

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: A THEMATIC RECONSIDERATION OF THE
GALLERIA RUCELLAI OF JACOPO ZUCCHI

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This dissertation presents new research into the Galleria Rucellai, a longitudinal, decorated interior created by Jacopo Zucchi for Orazio Rucellai sometime between 1586 and 1591, arguing for a unifying theme, namely time. Zucchi's technical and artistic formation, his social and patronal milieu in the years leading up to the execution of the Galleria's frescoes, and the identities of the patron and his family are key considerations, each connected to the proposed theme. The linearity of time, both as a sequence of lived or historical weeks and years and as an experiential index for the visual material assembled and subsequently described by Zucchi in his later treatise on the Galleria, constitutes the unifying thread. In selecting time as a theme for this monumental domestic decoration program for Rucellai's Roman palace, Zucchi meditates on its very nature, from intangible and distant mythological origin narratives from antiquity and Rucellai lore to the biographies of figures both famous and forgotten from Ancient Rome, in the era of the Gregorian Reform of the calendar, which changed how time's passage is marked. Concepts of lineage and descent, whether mythological, familial, or dynastic, express the theme and allow digression into examinations of biography and character, oscillating between the

exemplary and the infamous and culminating in a uniquely Italian iteration of *vanitas* imagery. This combination of *exemplum virtutis* and *memento mori* both emphasizes the persistence of a complex form of identity, composed of the physical body, recorded actions, and external, sometimes posthumous character appraisal, and exhorts the viewer to careful consideration of behavior and life choices in the face of death as an end to the human experience of time. Specific appeals to the histories of Florence and Rome, the two chief cities of both Zucchi and Rucellai, link the figures' own biographies, which flower into encomia that visually revisit, at indexical spots within the room itself, the accomplishments and character each. The entire project is crowned and completed in Zucchi's *Discorso*, a treatise that both elucidates the imagery and furthers the artist's carefully-constructed self-presentation through rhetoric, engagements with contemporary art theoretical debates, and challenges to Michelangelo's insuperability.

A THEMATIC RECONSIDERATION OF THE GALLERIA RUCELLAI OF
JACOPO ZUCCHI

by

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The journey of this dissertation began a decade ago, while I sat thumbing through folio-sized books on the carpeted floor of the Morris Library at the University of Delaware. I was a research assistant, searching for images suitable to be shot for slides for a new course for which I hoped to TA. The subject of the course was Rome, a city I have loved since I first visited in 1996 and where I studied abroad in 2000, and I did later get the TA job. On that cold January day, however, a giant reproduction of a section of fresco, entirely useless for the course, caught my eye. While I had heard the name Jacopo Zucchi mentioned before, and had even seen a few of his paintings in person, I had no idea then that he would become the subject of my most sustained intellectual inquiry to date. Since that quest has taken so many years and seen me through so many miles, there are many people to whom I owe my thanks.

It is a hard thing to prioritize who should come first, or which contribution deserves the most recognition. Each person listed hereafter provided crucial assistance of one kind or another, without which this dissertation could not have been written.

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Sustaining the project of a dissertation cannot be undertaken without finance, and I have been singularly fortunate in this area. Funds I received from The Leo and Karen Guttmann Foundation during my time as an MA student at the University of Delaware helped create the basis of my personal library, an invaluable first step in this process. To the Guttmann Foundation and its steward,

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Figure 193: Giambologna, *Appenino* (1579–80). Pratolino: Villa Demidoff (ex-Medici). Image: Internet.

Figure 194: Michelangelo, *Doni Tondo* (1506). Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi. Image: Internet.

Figure 195: Michelangelo, *Moses* (c. 1513–1516/1545), from the Cenotaph of Julius II. Rome: San Pietro in Vincoli. Image: Internet.

Introduction

“The Rucellai gallery represents [Jacopo] Zucchi’s greatest achievement in the field of palace decorations. The ceiling is successful in its adaptation of the High Renaissance scheme of an architectonic ceiling and its decorative combination of figural and non-figural parts, but it fails as a totally convincing and rationalistic system of representing a gallery of precious objects. The task was left to Annibale Carracci in the Farnese Gallery. There Carracci created a unified and rational scheme of depicting real and imaginary parts which directly anticipates the achievements of Pietro da Cortona and others of the following generation.”¹

With these words concluding his appraisal of the Galleria Rucellai (figs. 1–3), Edmund Pillsbury distills the central problems that have plagued the comprehension of this space, both before and since his 1973 dissertation was submitted. Scholars have attempted to interpret this room for nearly a century, over the major languages and cultures of modern art historical discourse, and still they return to insufficiency, whether as explanation or excuse. Pillsbury’s estimation turns on two factors: the first, that the room is a failure as a convincing system in a space for the display of art, and the second, that successor rooms meet the challenge more ably. Pillsbury does not pause to ask whether he is anachronistically evaluating the merits of the Galleria Rucellai in light of the Galleria Farnese, or, if the two spaces do seek to compete with one another, whether the Galleria Farnese is a response to the earlier work, just as he asserts Jacopo Zucchi’s decorative campaign responds to High Renaissance precedents. The failure belongs to Pillsbury, and other scholars, rather than to Jacopo Zucchi or Orazio Rucellai, the patron, because the interpretive methods

¹ Edmund Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work” (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1973), 1:164.

scholars have historically brought to bear on this curious room have been freighted with historiographical and interpretive baggage that impeded the emergence of a clear, coherent unifying theory of the space that offers multidimensional context.

Scholarship on the Galleria Rucellai begins properly in the early twentieth century with Fritz Saxl's publication of Zucchi's treatise, and his own explanatory essay, in 1927, in the volume *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance*.² The title alone demonstrates Saxl's own interest in the space, and sets the tone for further scholarly discussion. Interest was renewed fifty years later, when Cardinal Dante Balboni published a slim volume and what are likely the first color images of the Galleria Rucellai, in conjunction with the International Art Foundation.³ Balboni's interest would resurface a decade later, when a conference on the cleaning of the Sistine Chapel was held in the Galleria Rucellai and his remarks made explicit comparison between those two fresco cycles.⁴ Between Balboni's contributions stands Edmund Pillsbury's doctoral dissertation from 1973, which positions the Galleria Rucellai as a replacement for a collection of art on par with that of Ferdinando de' Medici.⁵ This proposition returns to the idea of the room as

² Fritz Saxl, *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance: ein Freskenzyklus und ein Discorso des Jacopo Zucchi* (Berlin: BG Teubner, 1927).

³ Dante Balboni, *La Galleria Zucchi in Palazzo Ruspoli* (Oklahoma: International Art Foundation, 1970).

⁴ Dante Balboni, "La Galleria Zucchi in Palazzo Ruspoli splendido parallelo alla Cappella Sistina," in *Il Problema della Cappella Sistina: Ripulitura degli affreschi di Michelangelo*, ed. Dante Balboni, *Lezioni di arte sacra* 2d ser., 3:1 (Rome: Istituto Superiore di Arte Sacra "Beato Angelico," 1987), 13–16.

⁵ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:155–182.

solely one of sculptural display, noting especially the “sculpturesque” quality of Zucchi’s emulation of Michelangelo on the vault, a selection of individual gods the author feels were chosen to fit “the function of the room as a gallery in which art was to be seen and enjoyed,” rather than a unifying theme.⁶ Essays by Claudio Strinati (in a volume on the Palazzo Ruspoli)⁷ and Philippe Morel (in the catalogue *Roma di Sisto V*)⁸ from the early 1990s consider the monument in terms of Mannerist stylistic categories, especially those laid down by Craig Hugh Smyth; historical circumstances like the Council of Trent and its decrees; and the words written by Zucchi in his *Discorso*. Strinati’s contribution contrasts the bellicose middle years of the Cinquecento with the pacific age Zucchi painted, while Morel’s essay is mired in theoretical terminology that inhibits close and thoughtful looking. Three new contributions have appeared since 2000: an article by Ulrich Pfisterer (2003)⁹ that investigates the Galleria as an encyclopedic memory theater in comparison with a later work for the Savoyard court; a book by Ingrid Lohaus (2008),¹⁰ notably the first to deal with the entire decorative program and to synthesize all the scholarly opinion and information advanced up

⁶ Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work,” 1:161.

⁷ Claudio Strinati, “Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai,” in Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Palazzo Ruspoli* (Rome: Editalia, 1992), 185–216.

⁸ Philippe Morel, “Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria,” in Maria Luisa Madonna, ed., *Roma di Sisto V: Le arti e la cultura* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1993), 297–310.

⁹ Ulrich Pfisterer, “Weisen der Welterzeugung. Jacopo Zucchis Römischer Götterhimmel als Enzyklopädisches Gedächtnistheater,” in *Sammeln, Ordnen, Veranschaulichen: Zur Wissenskompilatorik in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Frank Büttner, Markus Friedrich, and Helmut Zedelmaier (Münster: LIT, 2003), 325–359.

¹⁰ Ingrid Lohaus, *Galleria Rucellai: Der Freskenzyklus von Jacopo Zucchi im Palazzo Ruspoli in Rom* (Baden-Baden: Deutscher Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008).

to that point into a clear, if limitedly probing, treatment that offers disconnected interpretations of the individual parts of the program; and a publication edited by Anna D'Amelio (2011),¹¹ offering her an opportunity to trace the ownership history of the Palazzo Ruspoli through to that of her own family, allowing Morel to reprint his previous contributions to the field with slight revisions, and introducing Fernando Rigon, who engages the entire decorative program through a close reading of Zucchi's *Discorso*, occasionally hinting at deeper levels of meaning, but never explicitly developing those hints.

What began as a project in categorizing the Galleria in terms of *seconda maniera* style, principally concerned with locating of the work within a narrow period of years through the use of connoisseurial methods in the absence of documentary proofs, like contracts or account books recording payments, has grown and changed, but only a little. While the array of methods applied thus far does encourage us to see the Galleria Rucellai as a work of its time, somehow the scholars who have written about it have managed to resist contextualizing its appearance historically, while simultaneously expecting the room to transcend time and supersede those works that appear decades later. The Galleria Rucellai does, in fact, transcend time, though not in the ways hoped for by scholars, and most definitely by the design of Jacopo Zucchi, the author and artist of its intricate program of decoration.

This dissertation advances a new interpretation of the Galleria Rucellai of Jacopo Zucchi by examining it in a variety of ways. Understanding the character,

¹¹ Anna D'Amelio, ed., *Storia di una galleria romana: la genealogia degli dei di Jacopo Zucchi e le famiglie Rucellai, Caetani, Ruspoli, Memmo* (Roma: Ugo Bozzi, 2011).

œuvre, era, and social milieu of the painter Jacopo Zucchi is the foundation of this investigation. By returning to his biography and known works, the general themes repeated throughout his career have been re-examined here and established as dominant, continuously self-renewing sources of inspiration for the artist on the various secular projects he undertook. The convergence of the unifying threads of Zucchi's professional output is made manifest in the Galleria Rucellai, most especially because of the coincidence of its construction and decoration and a transformative episode in history, the institution of the Gregorian Calendar. This investigation contextualizes the appearance of Zucchi's decoration with a moment that re-introduced considerations of what time was, how it functioned, and what forces and individuals controlled the way its passage was marked, developing time as the unifying theme for all the series of decoration presented in the Galleria Rucellai.¹² Previous scholarship has treated the series separately and never attempted to infer a clear thematic aegis, based on historical context or identifiable elements and concepts, from all of them.

Zucchi's own treatise, the first printed acknowledgment of the existence and meaning of the Galleria Rucellai, is the first step for all scholars who investigate this monument. The *Discorso* provides identities for the vast array of figures present in the fresco decoration, as well as considerable passages relating to religion (pagan antique versus Christian) and to art making, all of which have fueled the inquiries of past scholars. This investigation considers the

¹² Strinati, "Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 192. Strinati calls the Galleria "an immense allegory of time" (*una immensa allegoria del tempo*), but does not develop the theme. NB—Here and throughout, unless otherwise specified, all translations are mine.

text itself, as a linear arrangement of thoughts and images meant to direct the steps of a visitor, be he actually present within the room or virtually so by dint of reading. In ordering the images of the Galleria Rucellai as he does in the *Discorso*, Jacopo Zucchi creates an experiential path that must be followed, no matter how serpentine, in order to glean the full meaning of his work. Previous publications on the Galleria Rucellai hint at the need for this by reproducing images of the principal sections of Zucchi's fresco according to the textually-prescribed order. This investigation takes the idea further by considering Zucchi's order vis-à-vis the Galleria's plan and tracing movement through it, in order to recreate the experiential effect of that order. Following the path Zucchi has laid out in this way underscores the counterintuitive nature of that movement, as well as how the flow of that path emphasizes certain aspects of the program to create meaning.

There are, admittedly, difficulties to assigning this level of primacy to the text. Scholars believe that the artist died while writing, leaving it incomplete, and any reader will discover, from its prefatory material, that the text was published a decade later by the artist's brother, who may have made any number of modifications to it. Despite the assumed function of the text as a description of the decorations, not all aspects of the decoration are treated with equal depth.¹³ Two entire series within the program are reduced to summary lists, while other elements are omitted entirely. These inconsistencies argue against any heavily-intervening editorial hand, and especially one seeking to publicize a decorative

¹³ Tim Ould, "Jacopo Zucchi Artist-Iconographer," *Emaj 2* (2007): 5.

program of this magnitude. Consequently, omissions, abbreviations, and the zigzagging sequential arrangements of elements in the text are meaningful choices made by the artist, placing them on par with his pictorial ones in creating an experience that yields a cogent message for the viewer. Validating this understanding of the interplay between Zucchi's text and his decorative ensemble are the works of numerous other scholars in the field, each of whom writes about sequential viewership in other Early Modern spaces, some of which do not have contemporary textual descriptions.¹⁴ These other rooms create an on-going context for the appearance of the Galleria Rucellai, as they were created before, at the same time as, and after it, distinguishing this interpretation from Pillsbury's teleological comparison between Zucchi's gallery and Annibale Carracci's.

Considering sequential viewing is only the first part of this investigation's departure from previous scholarly methods of interpreting this ensemble. The existence of the *Discorso* is a double-edged sword for scholars: we long for this kind of documentation from a humanist or artist on complex programs like that of

¹⁴ Carolyn Wood, "Visual Panegyric in Guercino's Casino Ludovisi Frescoes," *Storia dell'arte* 58 (1986): 223–228. *Reverse engineering: un nuovo approccio allo studio dei grandi cicli rinascimentali*, eds. Émilie Passignat and Antonio Pinelli, *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 91–92 (2007). One of the first examples of this method is Carolyn Wood's article on Guercino's *Aurora* and *Fame* for Ludovico Ludovisi, where the viewer's progress with and against the directional movement suggested by Aurora's chariot, as well as the vertical ascent to the upper level of the two superimposed spaces, engages Guido Reni's prior *Aurora* for the Borghese in order to use the cycle of time and the sequence of viewership to express its panegyric meaning. More recently, an entire volume of the journal *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* was given over to the idea of reconstructing the triangular relationship among patron, humanist adviser, and artist when one of those pieces is lacking. Passignat's own contribution to that volume deals with Vasari's work in the Palazzo Vecchio and a fictional dialogue he wrote in order to explain sequential engagement of rooms and images within rooms. The volume also includes investigations into spaces within the Vatican, Vasari's house in Arezzo, the Salviati frescoes in Palazzo Sacchetti, the Casa Zuccari in Florence, and the Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici.

the Galleria Rucellai, but, in this case, it can become a crutch that impedes close looking and consideration of the elements present in the decoration. Because the primary foci of the *Discorso* are the vault decoration and the series of busts incorporated into the long walls, scholars have tended to restrict their consideration of this room to these two aspects. In doing so, they have assumed that the only way to comprehend the Greco-Roman mythological deities on the vault is through a comparison with a festival event held two decades before in Florence, organized on a theme referred to in passing by Zucchi in the treatise. Similarly, because the busts occupy inset niches in the walls and the biographies of their analogues account for more than 50 percent of the text of the treatise, scholars have insisted that this room, like many gallery spaces that preceded it in Rome and Lazio, was intended solely for the display of sculpture. Both of these propositions are narrow considerations, based on the shallowest reading of the treatise, a relative lack of accessibility to the Galleria Rucellai itself, and the puzzling reluctance of scholars to consider the visual elements and their juxtapositions within this space. By examining everything, from the neglected portions of the decorative program and color choices to seemingly ornamental flourishes and certain iconographic elements, whether unique in the space or repeated, this dissertation offers an interpretation that seeks to complement and complete the information offered by Zucchi in the *Discorso*, rather than parrot it. In so doing, it also attempts to reclaim the nuances contained within the *Discorso* by reading between the lines to find moments of rhetorical delight that support

the idea that such complexity in paint must come from an intelligent and witty mind.

The family resemblance of the vault of the Galleria Rucellai to Michelangelo's ceiling frescoes for the Sistine Chapel is among the first observations viewers make. While previous scholarship has been content to say *that* this is so, this investigation strives to understand *why* it is so. Michelangelo Buonarroti occupied a unique position in the imagination of any student of Giorgio Vasari, let alone his primary disciple. Vasari's enshrinement of Michelangelo as a divine artist was, in many ways, the driving force behind Jacopo Zucchi's career. Painting the master's face as that of *Winter* in the Sala delle Stagioni in the Palazzo Firenze (fig. 4), Zucchi announces his opinion: Michelangelo's achievements are those of cold maturity, warmed only by external sources like the flaming brazier. Emulating the Sistine Chapel in the domestic context of the Rucellai palace, with other gods and other narratives, supplied (sub)textually as well as visually, Zucchi challenges the insuperability of Michelangelo in the ways familiar to him as an artist trained in the mid-sixteenth century, while simultaneously bending his model to the ends of the space and the patron.

This interpretation is also aided by the consideration of different types of Renaissance spaces and how those spaces predominate in Zucchi's professional experience as a court artist. As the kinds of places he knew best and decorated most frequently, it follows logically that *studioli*, or private studies, would stand as the theoretical blueprint for his grandest undertaking. Magnifying their small dimensions and incorporating other kinds of works, Zucchi creates a kind of

studiolo writ large within the Galleria Rucellai. As places of intellectual contemplation in their small, ubiquitous iteration, *studioli* reflect not only the character and identity of those who own them, but also of those who adorn them. In this light, every choice made by Jacopo Zucchi, with his brush and with his pen, can be understood as acts of identity creation for himself and for Orazio Rucellai. Considering the details of his sparsely-documented biography afresh and alongside the imagery of the Galleria itself, the patron's identity surfaces beyond the broad and undeniable nods to his clan's history of patronage and their heraldic symbols. The search for Orazio here is always through the lens Jacopo provides, however, and investigating the biography of the patron yields parallels to that of the painter. These parallels made them ideally suited to one another and are repeatedly reflected in the imagery of the space.

This parallelism recalls Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson's discussion of context in their essay "Semiotics and Art History," wherein they state explicitly that "the art historian is always present in the construction she or he produces."¹⁵ In attempting to construct the contextual framework within which the achievements of Zucchi in the Galleria Rucellai and on the page can be understood, this investigation has sought to employ a variety of approaches in order to reveal the underlying intellectual processes that allowed Zucchi's works to emerge as comprehensible to his contemporaries. Zucchi grew up, was trained, lived, and worked in an age that revered works produced by the ancients and strove to their greatest possible understanding and replication through the

¹⁵ Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *Art Bulletin* 73:2 (June 1991): 175.

application of the only scintilla of a theory that survived from antiquity, distilled down by Horace to three words: “ut pictura poesis.” In choosing as he did to crown his greatest single undertaking in paint with one on the page, in a place pointedly for a contemporary Horace (Orazio), Zucchi makes explicit his engagement with the symbiosis of the arts of painting and poetry.

The emphases on linearity, time, and experience outlined above and the iconological and rhetorical investigations elaborated below, all drawn from close looking at and reading of Zucchi’s works, may seem redolent of reception theory and semiotics, but to apply those modern labels would be anachronistic, denying intellectual sophistication to Zucchi and his age only to assign it to ours. What this investigation attempts is the reclamation of the ties between a certain historical event and the appearance of the Galleria Rucellai, seen as the creation and arrangement of works of art in the eponymous space and as that space’s embellishment or clarification with a text. The dynamic interplay between the text and the work of art is bound up in the Horatian maxim, neither element fully mirroring its counterpart. That the description of this interplay uses the same terminology as semiotics is the historical accident of classical rhetoric and rhetorical concerns undergirding both the technological synthesis of late Cinquecento pictorial theory and practice, as well as modern art historiographical literature concerned with words and their meaning. Rhetoric’s powers of persuasion and praise, both in paint and print, create the multivalent space of iconological references and types Zucchi so deftly employed in the Galleria Rucellai, even if his strategies are not entirely overt to the eyes of modern

viewers. Anthony Grafton reminds us, in his book on the sixteenth-century astrologer Girolamo Cardano, that the era of the Galleria's appearance was differently attuned: "in an age of readers trained to move through texts as a mine-disposal squad moves through a field, eyes peeled and toes delicately feeling for allusions, arguments did not have to be blunt or straightforward to have force."¹⁶ This investigation aims at the recuperation of that subtlety of image and text so valuable to comprehension at the Cinquecento's end, when the work was new, rather peering through the prism of reception theory to see how that time and those thereafter received the work, whether they documented that reception or not.

¹⁶ Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 97.

Chapter One—The Recent Past: Actors, Events, and Spaces in Advance of Invention

At the heart of Rome, there is a room. Like a thousand other rooms in Rome, this room is inside a palace, paid for by a patron and decorated by an artist. Like a hundred other rooms in Rome, its surfaces were frescoed. Like dozens of other rooms in Rome, it came into existence in the sixteenth century. Like one other room in Rome, its decoration was described in a document. However, like no other room in Rome, this room has almost entirely resisted historical note, likely owing to the paucity of attested visitors to it and the fact that only four families have owned it over the course of more than 400 years since its completion.¹⁷ Though the decoration of this room is like many others, the artist who executed it occupies the unique position of designing and coordinating that decoration without the help of a humanist adviser, and then authoring that descriptive document to affirm it. Beyond this, the room and the document tantalize the viewer and the reader alternatively by overwhelming the eye and

¹⁷ Anna D'Amelio, "Le famiglie Rucellai, Caetani, Ruspoli, e Memmo nella galleria di Jacopo Zucchi," in Anna D'Amelio, ed., *Storia di una galleria romana: la genealogia degli dei di Jacopo Zucchi e le famiglie Rucellai, Caetani, Ruspoli, Memmo* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 2011), 27, 29, 38, 40–3. Balboni, "La Galleria Zucchi in Palazzo Ruspoli splendido parallelo alla Cappella Sistina," 13–16. The earliest visitor descriptions of the Galleria offered by D'Amelio come from the eighteenth century. She reports on two events, an oratorio performed in the Galleria in 1715 and a *fiesta* in 1775. On the first occasion, the visitor mentions only that the space contained incomparable pictures as in the other parts of the palace through which visitors were conducted, while on the second, the visitor notes the exquisite frescoes, erroneously attributed to Taddeo Zuccari. Both are more effusive about the music, refreshments, furnishings, illumination, and visitors than they are about the decorations. D'Amelio notes that, with the piecemeal acquisition of portions of the palace by her grandfather, Roberto Memmo, and the establishment of the Fondazione Memmo therein, access to and historical mention of the Galleria Rucellai increased. This is especially true in the 1980s and 1990s, beginning with a conference on the cleaning of the Sistine Chapel ceiling held in the Galleria in 1987 and followed by exhibition openings and other commemorative occasions attended by Prince Charles, Prince Albert of Monaco, King Juan Carlos of Spain, and Presidents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton, to name a few. D'Amelio also reproduces twentieth-century works of art commissioned by the Memmo family to record certain of these festive occasions (her figs. 34–37).

denying it, singling the whole ensemble of text and image out as worthy of scholarly investigation. To begin engaging the challenges presented by this unique room, the Galleria Rucellai (figs. 1–3), and its author, the artist Jacopo Zucchi, this chapter seeks to draw out the historical, biographical, and patronal context that occasioned the creation and decoration of the space. Charting these historical circumstances lays the groundwork of a thematically-unified array of meanings considered in each of the succeeding four chapters. Each portion of the decoration or mode of considering it stands as a reflection on time, borne of the most significant temporal event in 1600 years, the change in the marking of time with the Gregorian Reform of the calendar. Considering the identities of several pivotal figures that brought about the creation of the Galleria Rucellai, not the least of whom were Jacopo Zucchi and his patron, Orazio Rucellai, is the first step.

The Pope and His Calendar

While many popes ruled Rome in the latter decades of the Cinquecento, the one whose reign most impacted the genesis of the Galleria Rucellai is Gregory XIII (r. 1572–1585). Born Ugo Boncompagni, Gregory's most famous and enduring achievement remains his decision to enact the reform of the Julian Calendar, an interpretation of the Tridentine mandate that the breviary be updated.¹⁸ Gregory formed a committee of learned men to debate the issue and devise the best possible solution to the problem, bringing into proper alignment the vernal equinox and Jewish Passover with Catholic Easter and ensuring that

¹⁸ E.G. Richards, *Mapping Time: The Calendar and Its History* (New York: Oxford, 1999), 241.

the errors in chronometry that caused the problem never occurred again.¹⁹ On 24 February 1582, Gregory promulgated the papal bull *Inter gravissimas*, sending copies to every Catholic prince.²⁰ The steps taken, and their concomitant effects, are described at length by a period chronicle from Florence, dated October 1582.²¹ The chronicler, Giuliano de' Ricci, describes with surprising accuracy the specific problem in measuring time that the Julian Calendar introduced, as well as the effect of that error: the accrual of an additional ten days to the calendar, pushing the vernal equinox, Jewish Passover, and Christian Easter out of alignment. To rectify this, Gregory ordered the elimination of ten days from 1582 and instituted a new formula for the calculation of intercalary, or leap, days, so that the error would not recur thereafter. Despite the careful selection of which days to remove (Thursday, 4 October was followed by Friday, 15 October 1582) and provisions in the bull that ostensibly dealt with the financial outcomes of the new system, Ricci reports that confusion and consternation resulted in Florence. The selected days included the feasts of Santa Reparata and San Donnino, important Florentine holidays, along with the commemoration of a decisive battle in the Tuscan hills. Beyond the inconvenience and offense of having their festival days pushed aside, the judicial and governmental workings of the city were also

¹⁹ Richards, 241–244. Signatures on a 1580 report give the names of the members of the council as Cardinal Guglielmo Sileto, Bishop Vincenzo Lauri, Patriarch Ignatius (ex-patriarch of Antioch), Leonardo Abel, Seraphinus Olivarius, Pedro Chacòn, Antonio Lilio, Christoph Clavius, and Egnazio Danti.

²⁰ Richards, 245–246. See Appendix A for the Latin text of the bull and an English translation.

²¹ Giuliano de' Ricci, *Cronaca (1532–1606)*, ed. Giuliana Saporì (Milan: Ricciardi, 1972), 374–7 (498v–499v). NB—on citations from Ricci's chronicle, I have included the modern page numbers as well as the manuscript numbers cited as the source for the passages in the text. See Appendix B, Section 1 for the original Italian text of the chronicle entry and an English translation.

disrupted. Salary payments were diminished and contracts dependent on fixed amounts of time became elastic, shrinking or growing always to someone's detriment. Perhaps worst of all, Ricci reports that the pope granted a monopoly on printed materials that included the new calendar to Antonio Lilio, a member of Gregory's calendar commission and the brother of the man who devised the solution. In a banking city like Florence, where time was indeed money, these offenses could not be easily overlooked.

That Ricci could cite the specific mathematical calculation that was incorrect in the Julian Calendar, as well as the solution devised, suggests that *Inter gravissimas* had an audience beyond that of the courts to which it was sent. Its impact had various other effects, beyond those recorded by Ricci. Per the bull itself, adherent Catholic countries adopted the calendar reform either in 1582 or 1583.²² The asynchrony of calendars between adherent and non-adherent nations resulted in confusion, while Protestant resistance to the calendar constituted a renewal of the critique of Catholic and papal supremacy.²³ The difficulties did not end here, since "many had said that Lilio's proposals were, at the very least, difficult to follow and that it would be beyond the ability of a poor priest in a remote parish to work out the date of Easter by himself. To remedy this an explanatory booklet was compiled by Antonio Giglio, who finished the task in 1585. Unfortunately, Gregory died soon after, and the explanation was never

²² Ricci, 375. Richards, 247. In her notes on Ricci's text, Giuliana Saponi records that Francesco de' Medici issued the decree for the observance of the Gregorian Reform on 20 June 1582, nearly four months after the promulgation of *Inter gravissimas*, but just over three months before the reform itself went into effect.

²³ Richards, 246–247.

published.”²⁴ In attempting to address the breviary by broaching time and its measurement in calendar reform, Gregory generated discussion and thought on the topic of time, at all levels of both the secular and sacred spheres.

Certain works of Gregory’s artistic patronage in the Apostolic Palace resonate with the observations required to substantiate the calendar reform. Two spaces in particular distinguish themselves. The first is the vault decoration in the Sala Bologna (fig. 5–6). There, an illusionistic arcade borne by paired columns rings the springing of the vault and opens onto a series of ten domical pergolas, beneath each of which sits a famous historical astronomer/astrologer.²⁵ Above this, a framed rectangular space reveals four *putti* at the corners, each of whom pulls on a central, tentlike structure to make it taut. The resulting oval field within is painted with a representation of the nighttime sky, with all the constellations

²⁴ Richards, 246–247. The controversial nature of *Inter gravissimas* and its provisions continued to generate criticism, and Christoph Clavius was tasked with replying, writing and publishing explanations until 1603, when the apologetics reached their definitive form in a work entitled *Explicato Romani calendarii Gregorio XIII M. restituti*.

²⁵ Emily Urban, “Depicting the Heavens: The Use of Astrology in the Frescoes of Renaissance Rome” (paper presented in the fellow’s lecture series, Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, 23 May 2011). Grafton, 107–108. Jacopo Zucchi, *Discorso sopra li Dei de’ Gentili e loro Imprese; con un breve trattato delle attioni de li dodici Cesari, con le dichiarazioni delle loro Medaglie antiche* (Rome: Domenico Gigliotti, 1602), 21, 33, 34, 49, 63, 64, 68, 74, 84, 99, 155 [twice]. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 48, 54 [twice], 61, 66, 67, 68, 71, 75, 81, 105 [twice]. These figures are Anaximenes, Aratus, Ptolemy, Marcus Manilius, King Alfonso of Spain, Seth (the third son of Adam and Eve), Thoth, Atlas, Isis, and Thales. As Urban underscored in her lecture, the distinctions between astronomer and astrologer are modern, the former considered scientific and reputable, while the latter is considered superstitious and disreputable. Contrastingly, Grafton points to the words of Girolamo Cardano, a sixteenth-century doctor and author of horoscopic genitures, who claimed to have reformed both astrology and astronomy, pointing up the distinction that existed in the mind of at least this practitioner. Zucchi himself uses the terms astrologer and astrology exclusively within the text of the *Discorso*. Also, a brief note on the style of my notations for the *Discorso*. I have opted to give two sets of notes for each reference, since the chief available version of the text remains the transcribed reprint in Saxl’s *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance* of 1927. The first are to the page numbers in the 1602 edition, which Saxl included as marginal numbers keyed to in-text asterisks. The second references are to the pages in *Antike Götter* where the passages from the transcription occur.

figured as the animals, humans, and/or objects that inspired them in mythology, the stars of the firmament in their proper places superimposed on the figures and background in paint.²⁶ This decoration, logical for the pope who pursued and realized the reformation of the calendar, is nearly identical to another vault (fig. 9), executed the previous year for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's villa at Caprarola, in the Sala del Mappamondo (fig. 10).²⁷ In each room, the cycles below contextualize the vault decoration—at Caprarola, as a literal mapping of the stars, juxtaposed to maps of the world and portraits of famed explorers, and in the Apostolic Palace, as a reflection on the wisdom of the ancients who inspired the stories of catasterism or noted observable phenomena—and reflect the Age of Discovery's interest in documenting and charting all of knowledge as a means to possessing it.²⁸ Both frescoes are believed to have been executed by the same artist, Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese.²⁹

²⁶ Maria Giulia Aurigemma, "Un corpus perduto? Sui disegni di Jacopo Zucchi," *Studiolo: revue d'histoire de l'art de l'Académie de France à Rome* 5 (2007): 117. The conceit of the tent or at least of the painted field pulled taut over a frame derives from Raphael's Loggia of Cupid and Psyche (figs. 7–8) in the villa of Agostino Chigi, where the two narrative scenes are similarly treated and anchored to the floral pergola that establishes the fictive architecture of the space. We know from a later inventory, discussed by Aurigemma, that Zucchi studied and drew after this loggia.

²⁷ Maria Serlupi Crescenzi, "La Sala Bologna," pt. 2 of Guido Cornini, Anna Maria de Strobel, and Maria Serlupi Crescenzi, "Il Palazzo di Gregorio XIII," in Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Il Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 1992), 154. Loren Partridge, "The Room of Maps at Caprarola, 1573–75," *Art Bulletin* 77:3 (September 1995): 416. The Sala del Mappamondo was frescoed in 1574, while the Sala Bologna's vault was completed in 1575, in time for the Jubilee Year.

²⁸ Partridge, 438–439. Pfisterer, 325–328. Partridge points to mapping as a demonstration of political power and control. Pfisterer's connection of the Savoy gallery and its encyclopedic tone as linked to period *studioli* and *Wunderkammern* also evince this phenomenon.

²⁹ Emily Urban, "Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese," in *La Sala Bologna nei Palazzi Vaticani: architettura, cartografia e potere nell'età di Gregorio XIII*, eds. Francesco Ceccarelli and Nadja Aksamija (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2011), 178–179. Urban argues against prevailing attributions, saying that, while Vanosino designed the schemes for both Caprarola and Apostolic Palace, the

The second space in the Vatican complex that returns to the theme of observation in order to substantiate calendar reform is the Meridian Room of Gregory's Tower of the Winds. Here, the common unifying thread is the presence of wind in each of the stories frescoed on the walls, and the anemoscope, a wind vane, painted onto the vault (figs. 11–12).³⁰ However, the Meridian Room is also a precisely calculated solar observatory. The open mouth of the wind in *Christ Stills the Storm on the Lake of Tiberias and Heals the Possessed at Gerasa* (fig. 13) by Nicolò Circignani allows a shaft of light to enter the room and fall onto a meridian on the center of the floor (figs. 14–15). On the vernal equinox, the shaft strikes the center of the room. The date of this celestial event, crucial in the calculation of Jewish Passover, stood as an important factor in the commission's deliberations on the calendar reform. In fact, one of the individuals on the commission, a Perugian cleric named Egnazio Danti (1536–1586), figures prominently in Gregory's patronage. Danti had served as cosmographer to the court of Cosimo I in Florence since 1562, striking up a friendship with the young Ferdinando de' Medici and dedicating a scientific treatise to him in 1570, before departing Florence for Bologna in 1574, and later being called by the pope to

Sala del Mappamondo vault was painted by Giovanni de' Vecchi, while the Sala Bologna vault was executed by Lorenzo Sabatini and his team.

³⁰ Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican*, *Monuments of Papal Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 48, 69–103. Courtright's fourth chapter addresses the ways that the broad theme of the winds within the imagery of the Meridian Room serves as an umbrella to encompass both the immateriality of Protestant criticism as well as the room's function as a kind of solar chronometer.

serve him as papal cosmographer in 1580.³¹ He authored a treatise on the winds while in Gregory's service,³² and assisted in devising the program of decoration for the Tower of the Winds, including and especially the Meridian Room and the anemoscope on its vault.³³ Apart from helping to design the programs of these spaces, Danti, who was a painter himself, designed the decoration of the Vatican's Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (1580–83) (fig. 16), a long gallery beneath the Tower of the Winds featuring frescoed maps of each region of the Italian peninsula, and oversaw the decoration of the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri (fig. 17), where a series of life-sized monochromatic allegorical figures were painted on the walls by a cadre of artists in the early 1580s.³⁴ One of those artists was Jacopo Zucchi.

The Painter

Jacopo Zucchi (c.1540–1592)³⁵ was born the son of a *stimatore* or engineer in Florence.³⁶ The first historical note of Zucchi as an artist comes on 5

³¹ F.P. Fiore, "Egnazio Danti," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 32:659–60. Suzanne B. Butters, "Le cardinal Ferdinand de Médicis," in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1991), 2:173.

³² Courtright, 28. Danti's *Anemographia* was written in January 1581.

³³ Courtright, 31.

³⁴ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:152–153. Anna Calcagno, *Jacopo Zucchi e la sua opera in Roma: studi su un allievo del Vasari* (Rome: Stabilimento Tipografico Ditta Enrico Zelli?, 1933), 7. Calcagno gives the date as 1582.

³⁵ Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz* II, 316, as cited in Calcagno 3, 7. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:12. Maria Giulia Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze in Campo Marzio* (Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2007), 192. Luisa Mortari, "Considerazioni e precisazioni sulla Cappella Aldobrandini in Santa Maria in Via," *Quaderni di Emblema* (1973): 79. Simone Giordani, "The Church of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome: Some New Discoveries" (paper presented at the annual conference of the Renaissance Society of America, Washington, DC, March 2012). Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di Papa*

June 1557, when he is listed as a *mettedoro* (gilder) attached to the studio of Giorgio Vasari.³⁷ During the period, Vasari was at work on the famous *Quartieri* in the Palazzo Vecchio for Cosimo I, and documents attest that Zucchi worked as part of the studio there from autumn 1559 to winter 1561.³⁸ These superimposed suites of rooms within the palace make explicit connection between the lineage of the Medici, celebrated in the *Quartiere di Leone X*, and the ancient Roman gods, celebrated in the *Quartiere degli Elementi* (fig. 18). The rooms on the lower floor explore the personalities of key Medici figures like Cosimo il Vecchio, Lorenzo il Magnifico, Popes Leo X and Clement VII, and Cosimo I himself, while the rooms on the upper floor are dedicated to single Greco-Roman mythological deities, like Ops, Ceres, Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, and Hercules,³⁹ though their decoration often has strong seasonal or elemental themes intermixed. It is on this upper floor that Cosimo had a small personal study, called the *scrittoio di Calliope*, in which his collection of precious personal objects could be examined and enjoyed. The complex interplay between episodes of personal biography in a

Urbano Ottavo nel 1642, eds. Jacob Hess and Herwarth Röttgen, *Studi e Testi* 367 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1995), 1:46. Pillsbury lists the day as probably before 8 October 1540. Simone Giordani has definitively answered the thorny question of the date of Zucchi's death, which, over the centuries has been proposed anywhere from 1590 to 1595/7, by discovering a document recording Zucchi's funeral on 8 May 1592, which corroborates Aurigemma's previous assertions.

³⁶ Calcagno, 3. Ould, 1.

³⁷ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:12.

³⁸ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:12.

³⁹ Émilie Passignat, "Vasari e i *Ragionamenti* in Palazzo Vecchio," *Reverse engineering: un nuovo approccio allo studio dei grandi cicli rinascimentali*, ed. Émilie Passignat and Antonio Pinelli, *Ricerche di Storia dell'arte* 91–92 (anno 200). (Roma: Carocci, 2007): 116–117.

dynasty, mythologies and mythic gods, and the small private study space would be influential many times later in Zucchi's career. In connection with these rooms, Vasari penned the *Ragionamenti*, wherein he leads Duke Francesco I on a fictional guided tour of the imagery. The dialogue was published in 1588 by the artist's nephew and heir.⁴⁰

When in his early twenties, Zucchi was elected to the Accademia del Disegno, in violation of age requirements established in its by-laws, prompting prominent members to appeal to Cosimo I to allow the exception.⁴¹ This acknowledgment of his precocity comes alongside notice that Vasari left him in Pisa to sketch from autopsied corpses, linking him to Vasari's own stories about the importance that drawing from bodies played in the art of Michelangelo.⁴² Under Vasari's direction, Zucchi was one of the artists who paid tribute to Michelangelo during his funeral services in Florence, providing a painting of the master and Pope Julius III with the pontifical court in the pope's Roman villa, which was prominently displayed as one of the two painted subjects nearest

⁴⁰ Julian Kliemann, "Secular Imagery," in Julian-Matthias Kliemann and Michael Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes: High Renaissance and Mannerism, 1510–1600*, trans. Steven Lindberg (New York: Abbeville Press, 2004), 51. In describing the *quartieri* frescoes, Kliemann states, "the history paintings were filled with so many details that required explanation (portraits, and so on), and the mythological and allegorical ideas in the depictions on the upper floor...were so complex, that Vasari decided, by 1558 at the latest, to compose a written explanation of the decoration—the posthumously published *Ragionamenti*—so that the encomiastic message of the paintings could be disseminated beyond the small circle that was able to see the decorations." Given that Zucchi is first attested within Vasari's studio the year before Kliemann's latest possible date for the beginning of the authorship of the *Ragionamenti* and its publication after his death, the work stands potentially as Vasari's most continuous endeavor during Zucchi's apprenticeship. The aims Kliemann suggests for the work mirror those suggested for the *Discorso* in Chapter Two.

⁴¹ Calcagno, 3. Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 36–37.

⁴² Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1987), 332–333.

Buonarotti's catafalque in San Lorenzo (fig. 19).⁴³ The 1564 *essequie* came amid Zucchi's work, with fellow Vasari apprentices Battista Naldini and Jan van der Straet, known as Stradano, on the decoration of the Sala Grande of the Palazzo Vecchio,⁴⁴ alongside his election as *consigliere* of the Accademia,⁴⁵ and in advance of a larger and more sumptuous festival occasion in Florence: the marriage of Prince Francesco to Johanna of Austria. Here, again, Zucchi contributed works: one of the triumphal arches for Johanna's entry into the city bore a temporary painting of *Minerva, Concord, and Peace*, while two chiaroscuro murals appeared elsewhere;⁴⁶ a preparatory drawing (fig. 20) of a subject adapted from an ancient coin, executed in paint by another artist, for a series of *tondo* decorations, linked to commemorative coins designed by Borghini and issued by Cosimo, for the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio;⁴⁷ and general participation in the creation of what we might term parade floats for a court masquerade on the theme of the genealogy of the gods, also part of the wedding entertainments.⁴⁸ The latter half of the 1560s was crowned with more

⁴³ Jacopo Giunta, *The Divine Michelangelo: The Florentine Academy's Homage on His Death in 1564*, trans. Rudolf Wittkower and Margot Wittkower (London: Phaidon, 1964), 152. Calcagno, 4.

⁴⁴ Calcagno, 3–4

⁴⁵ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:12–14.

⁴⁶ Calcagno, 4. Edmund Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi: New Paintings and Drawings" (master's thesis, University of London, 1967), 47.

⁴⁷ Rick Scorza, "Borghini, Zucchi, Galeotti and the Genesis of a Medal for Cosimo I de' Medici," *The Medal* 53 (2008): 34–40.

⁴⁸ Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, *Mostra di disegni vasariani: carri trionfali e costumi per La Genealogia degli Dei (1565)*. Catalogo Critico 22 (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1966). Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 300. Strinati, "Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 190–191. Lohaus, 58–67.

achievements: Zucchi's first two visits to Rome to sketch (April 1566 and March 1567), his election as *camarlingo* of the Accademia (October 1566), Vasari's publication of the updated version of the *Lives* (1568) mentioning Zucchi among the academicians, and the collaboration of Vasari and Zucchi on the *Madonna of the Rosary* in Santa Maria Novella, for which Zucchi received half payment (1569).⁴⁹

Arguably the most crucial event in Jacopo Zucchi's personal life was the death of his father in late May 1571.⁵⁰ By this point, Zucchi had been working with Vasari in Rome on projects for Pope Pius V Ghislieri for six months,⁵¹ and had been a studio assistant in the workshop for fifteen years, perhaps half his life.⁵² When his father died, as a later letter from Zucchi shows, he became the head of the household,⁵³ taking on financial responsibility for his widowed mother and siblings in Florence.⁵⁴ It should not be surprising, then, to see in the next notes of his artistic activity a decisive move toward independent production of works likely motivated by a desire to increase his earning potential. By 15 July 1571, Zucchi had completed his panel picture of *The Gold Mine* for Francesco I's

⁴⁹ Calcagno, 5. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:12–14.

⁵⁰ Calcagno, 6. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 117, Appendix I, Document 12.

⁵¹ Calcagno, 13–18. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi: New Paintings and Drawings," 3.

⁵² Calcagno, 6. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 117, Appendix I, Document 12.

⁵³ Calcagno, 7. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 118–119, Appendix I, Document 16. Boyer, 10.

⁵⁴ Calcagno, 4. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 116, Appendix I, Document 7. In a letter dated 3 September 1566, Vasari mentions Zucchi's mother as a woman who makes "a thousand difficulties" (*mille difficoltà*). If this characterization is to be believed, it may bolster the urgency Zucchi felt in consolidating his family affairs under one roof.

studiolo and a fresco cartoon for the Sala Grande, both for the Palazzo Vecchio, and, on 6 December 1571, he received a consignment of paintbrushes from the *guardaroba* of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici in Rome.⁵⁵ The coincidence of completing of the last works associated with his apprenticeship and seeking new opportunities from within the Florentine expatriate community, and especially the Medici family, in Rome is suggestive of Zucchi's desire to earn above an apprentice's salary. Unfortunately, it also soured the close bond Zucchi and Vasari had enjoyed over the preceding decades,⁵⁶ documented with caustic bitterness by the master in a letter to Borghini, dated 9 January 1572. Here, Vasari tells Borghini that Ferdinando offered Zucchi back to the master and that he declined, describing Zucchi as *malignuzzo* (spiteful in an ugly sort of way) and *invidiosello* (envious in a petty way).⁵⁷ This characterization of Zucchi's efforts to establish himself in the household of another of the Medici implies cruelty on Zucchi's part, as if these hurtful deeds had germinated from envious seeds sown over years of watching Vasari's successes with Cosimo I. Within eighteen months, both Cosimo I and Vasari would be dead, and there is no indication that master and former student were ever reconciled.

⁵⁵ Calcagno, 6.

⁵⁶ Calcagno, 4. Lohaus, 11–12. Zucchi was Vasari's premier studio assistant and the closeness between the two men is demonstrated even early on. Zucchi acted as a witness to a 1564 legal document, acknowledging blood relationship between Vasari and two named parties [Archivio Vasariano, Arezzo: *Libro dei contratti della Famiglia Vasari* codex 2, n. 28]. Lohaus believes that the close dynamic between the two, leading Vasari to accept more commissions and rely increasingly on his protégé, sowed the seeds of its own destruction.

⁵⁷ Calcagno, 6. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 118, Appendix I, Document 13.

Liberated from Vasari's supervision and working independently, Zucchi began to flourish. For Cardinal Ferdinando's first Roman residence, the Palazzo Firenze, Zucchi executed decoration in two adjacent rooms on the *piano nobile* added by Bartolommeo Ammannati.⁵⁸ In the Sala delle Stagioni (figs. 21–22),⁵⁹ the coved ceiling decoration centers on personified seasons in *tondi* just above the cornice. These are surrounded left, right, and above with pivotal scenes from the myths of the zodiac constellations associated with each season, also represented by swagged garlands of flowers, fruit, and/or vegetables typical of each time of year. The corners of the room are decorated with the four times of day, surmounted by grotesques *all'antica* that communicate with squadrons of *putti*, who hold the Medici *palle* (spheres) in heraldic formation. At its summit, the vault has a fresco of Aurora sprinkling flowers ahead of Apollo in his chariot (fig. 23), all surrounded by a real stucco frame to create the *quadro riportato* effect. In the Sala degli Elementi (figs. 24–25),⁶⁰ a similar coved ceiling and stucco cornice define the real architecture. On each of the four walls, central scenes dedicated to mythic gods or episodes that most emblemize the four elements appear. Above each central scene, garlands of animals and objects related to the elements connect to medallions containing the element personified. Beneath

⁵⁸ Calcagno, 22–29. Philippe Morel, "Chaos et Démogorgon: une peinture énigmatique de Jacopo Zucchi au Palazzo Firenze," *Revue de l'art* 88 (1990): 64. Here, I need to thank Signora Lucia Caravalle of Società Dante Alighieri for her gracious permission to visit these rooms on two occasions and to study the frescoes, their relationship to one another, and the cardinal orientation of the rooms within the palace firsthand.

⁵⁹ Calcagno, 22–27. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:65. While Voss reassigns the frescoes in this room to Zucchi, Pillsbury rejects the idea.

⁶⁰ Calcagno, 27–29. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:133–6. Morel, "Chaos et Démogorgon..." 64–69. Calcagno misidentifies the Fire Wall as the Earth Wall and vice versa.

each scene, a single characteristic animal appears in a cartouche. Beside each scene, illusionistic herms create architectural frames that separate the central images from other gods, positioned closer to the room's corners, also associated with each element. Each corner is decorated with animals and grotesques keyed to the element featured on the wall to the left, as well as ovals containing the *imprese* of previous members of the Medici clan. As in the Sala delle Stagioni, *putti* cavort with Medici *palle* and cardinal's *galeri* (the distinctive broad-brimmed red hats with tassels worn by cardinals) in the interstitial spaces between the main scenes below and the real stucco cornice framing the central vault image above. There, Zucchi frescoed a moment of primordality, referred to as *Chaos and Demogorgon* (fig. 26), where the Platonic Demiurge forms inert matter into anthropomorphic shapes. Ops, the Mother Earth goddess, with her menagerie and projectile-lactating breasts, appears at the left, while Eternity, bearing an *ouroboros* serpent and surrounded by four color-coded *putti* representative of the Ovidian Ages, flanks the central scene on the right.⁶¹ The themes and images of these two rooms strongly recall Vasari's work for Cosimo I in the Palazzo Vecchio *Quartieri*, as well as the court masquerade and *studiolo* prepared for Francesco I, all of which works Zucchi knew intimately through his creative participation. The Palazzo Firenze rooms also look presciently forward, offering glimpses of the solutions Zucchi would devise for the Galleria Rucellai.

⁶¹ Morel, "Chaos et Démogorgon..." 66. Morel is the first to connect the central panel with decoration at the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano and the *mascherata* of 1565 for Francesco de' Medici's wedding, leading him to identify Demogorgon. However, Morel misidentifies the putto at the lower left of Eternity as the Golden Age.

Before these rooms, Zucchi also executed a series of panel paintings that were inset into a coffered ceiling scheme (fig. 27) for another space in the Palazzo Firenze. Here, the imagery centered on a picture of Diana and her nymphs. Larger, horizontal rectangular pictures occupying the cardinal compass points in the array featured Pan, Mercury, Endymion, and a personification of Night, while the corner spaces held other single-figure compositions of personified allegories (*Vigilance, Patience, Fidelity, and Silence*).⁶² Another similar ceiling scheme, unexecuted but conserved in a drawing in the British Museum (fig. 28), featured images of the gods in chariots, the Hours of night and day, and *putti* with Medici *palle* and cardinal's trappings akin to those in the two frescoed rooms.⁶³ Zucchi also executed a series of small mythological paintings on copper, the most famous of which is known as *The Coral Fishers*,⁶⁴ to adorn the cupboard doors of the *studiolo di noce*, a piece of casement furniture in walnut, now unfortunately lost, that likely housed small curiosities and objects precious to Ferdinando. However, the most important and earliest decorative cycle proposed by Zucchi is recorded in a letter and preliminary drawing (fig. 29) in the Archivio di Stato, Florence.⁶⁵ Here, Zucchi proposes a series of paintings

⁶² Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:149. Philippe Morel, "Ferdinand de Médicis et Jacopo Zucchi au palazzo Firenze," in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1991), 3:15–19. Morel, following Pillsbury, connects these images to inspiration in the Camera dell'Aurora in Alessandro Farnese's villa at Caprarola, mentioned previously as the site of the first Vanosino stellar cartographic ceiling fresco.

⁶³ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi: New Paintings and Drawings," 29–31.

⁶⁴ Calcagno, 30–33.

⁶⁵ Calcagno, 6, 20. Ferdinand Boyer, "Lavori di Jacopo Zucchi in Roma," *Roma* 9 (1931): 7–10. Boyer was the first to publish the text of the letter in its entirety.

drawn from episodes in the life of King David. Zucchi says that it is the first invention he himself created, though not without showing it to “chi era consumatissimo in tale cose” (whomever was most consummate in such things), even though this fledgling deference often resulted in his own confusion at the varying opinions offered by those in the household.⁶⁶ This inventive activity prefigures Zucchi’s work at the Galleria Rucellai, though on a considerably more modest scale, while his statements about being confused by the variety of voices offering opinions on this project echo his later written woes about the wealth of literary sources he consulted to achieve the Galleria’s invention.⁶⁷

Despite a pair of commissions for churches—the large *Mass of Saint Gregory* (1575) for the oratory at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini⁶⁸ and lateral frescoes of *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Circumcision* (early 1576) for the Cappella del Presepe in San Silvestro al Quirinale—Zucchi moved nearly seamlessly from decorating the Palazzo Firenze to another domestic decoration

⁶⁶ Boyer, 7–8. Morel, “Ferdinand de Médicis et Jacopo Zucchi au palazzo Firenze,” in *Villa Médicis*, 3:11–12. Calcagno, 20–22. Valentina Catalucci and Anna Cipparrone, “La decorazione del piano nobile di Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti a Roma” *Reverse engineering: un nuovo approccio allo studio dei grandi cicli rinascimentali*, ed. Émilie Passignat and Antonio Pinelli. *Ricerche di Storia dell’arte* 91–92 (anno 200). (Roma: Carocci, 2007): 95. Pfisterer, 336. Pfisterer points to this moment as an early example of Zucchi’s rhetorical posturing, which blooms further in the *Discorso*. As for the subject matter of the letter, a cycle related to the life of King David was frescoed in Rome by Francesco Salviati for Cardinal Giovanni Ricci da Montepulciano, Ferdinando’s protector, and must certainly have stood as an example to be emulated, in the same way that Zucchi seems to have done with the Caprarola precedents for the Diana ceiling shortly thereafter. Of the subjects described in Zucchi’s letter, five are repeated from the Salviati frescoes (*Samuel Anoints David*, *David Slays Goliath*, *The Death of Saul*, *Bathsheba at the Bath*, and *The Death of Absalom*).

⁶⁷ Calcagno, 20.

⁶⁸ Calcagno, 33–37. Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work,” 1:100–101. This amazing work fuses religious history painting and group portraiture. Pillsbury identifies Gregory XIII as Gregory the Great, along with Ferdinando, other members of the Curia, and Ferdinando’s intimates as prominently featured attendees to the miraculous sixth-century Mass set in a rendition of the interior of New St. Peter’s.

project for Ferdinando, his newly acquired villa on the Pincian Hill in Rome. Ferdinando purchased the property now known as the Villa Medici from the heirs of his protector, Cardinal Giovanni Ricci da Montepulciano, in 1576, and again engaged Bartolommeo Ammannati as architect for its retrofitting and amplification. Zucchi's first project there was the fresco decoration of two rooms on the periphery of the gardens. The first room of this garden *casino* (fig. 30) contains a mix of decoration, from *all'antica* grotesques and images of the ancient gods to seasonal representation, images of the villa property itself, the eight principal winds, and at least four of Aesop's fables, an ensemble appropriate for a personal study.⁶⁹ The second room (fig. 31) is decorated with an illusionistic pergola-aviary, populated with images of a wide variety of birds and other wildlife, taken from Konrad Gesner's *Historia animalium* (1555).⁷⁰ In the main villa building, Zucchi decorated two rooms within the north suite of apartments on the sixth floor. These rooms, Ferdinando's bedroom and its antechamber, echo the decoration previously executed for him by Zucchi. The bedroom itself, called the Camera delle Muse (figs. 32–33), includes panel pictures inset into a coffered ceiling scheme, like the Diana ceiling from the Palazzo Firenze, and a frescoed frieze of episodes from the mythologies of Minerva and Hercules.⁷¹ The adjacent Camera degli Elementi (figs. 34–35) also

⁶⁹ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:138–139.

⁷⁰ Philippe Morel, "Un teatro di natura," in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1991), 3:66, 74. Lohaus, 16–17. The inclusion of the hedgehog is undoubtedly a recall of the *stemma* of Cardinal Ricci.

⁷¹ Bernard Toulhier, "Pièce 10, chambre des muses," in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1989), 1:423–425. Philippe Morel, "Le Parnasse astrologique: Les décors peints pour le cardinal Ferdinand de

uses panel paintings, this time evocative of the elements, inset into wood beam coffers and a frieze of frescoes here visualizes tales from Ovid.⁷² In advance of Ferdinando's purchase of a large collection of antique sculpture in 1584/6, Zucchi seems to have offered up a proposal (figs. 36–42) for the decoration of a new sculpture gallery, the adoption of which is hard to gauge given transformations of the look and use of the space over time.⁷³ A further suite of apartments, this time on the fifth floor and south side of the villa building, executed by Zucchi's

Médicis—Etude iconologique,” in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1991), 3:120–218. The multivalent significance of the elements in this room occupies the lion's share of Morel's attention in the third of the volumes he co-edited with Chastel. Four essays explore the subject matter: “Les muses des sphères,” (120–143); “Les triplicités,” (144–167); “Le talisman du pouvoir,” (168–185); and “La cité de Minerve,” (186–218).

⁷² Bernard Toulhier, “Pièce 9, chambre des éléments,” in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1989), 1:420–422. Philippe Morel, “La chambre des éléments,” in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1991), 3:89–119.

⁷³ Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi: New Paintings and Drawings,” 33–34. Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work,” 1:138, 141–143. Bernard Toulhier, “Zucchi, Jacopo (1584–1587 ca): Elévation intérieure de la galerie, en 7 pièces,” in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1989), 1:190–193. Suzanne B. Butters, “Ammannati et la villa Médicis,” in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1991), 2:295. Philippe Morel, “Jacopo Zucchi a Roma: Chronologia,” in Michel Hochmann, ed., *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale: Collezioni e artisti di Ferdinando de' Medici* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1999), 123. Alessandro Cecchi, “Studi per la decorazione della galleria di Villa Medici,” in Michel Hochmann, ed., *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale: Collezioni e artisti di Ferdinando de' Medici* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1999), 278. Scholarly opinion about the precedence of drawings or architecture here varies. Pillsbury says that Ammannati submitted plans to append a wing to the south end of the extant villa building, constructed under Cardinal Ricci da Montepulciano, as a sculpture pavilion, which was later turned into the enclosed gallery seemingly designed by Zucchi in the drawings. Pillsbury places the construction activity in 1580–1, with completion by 1584. In the *Villa Médicis* volume, Toulhier dates the drawings to 1584–7, saying that they must be after the construction of the Galleria and the acquisition of the Capranica-Della Valle sculpture collection in 1584, and contemporary with the decoration of the Cardinal's apartments on the *piano nobile*. Suzanne Butters fixes the date of the delivery of the Capranica-Della Valle sculptures to 27 July 1584, and says that they were installed thereafter. Morel's chronology in Hochmann assigns the drawings for gallery to c.1587, during the thick of Zucchi's work on projects at Santo Spirito in Sassia, and a full three years after the consignment of the sculptures. Alessandro Cecchi, in the entry on the drawings, in the same volume, says that work on the gallery at the Villa Medici proceeded from 1578–1584, a full two years earlier than Pillsbury's dates, but agrees with Pillsbury that the gallery ultimately remained undecorated with the sculptures that arrived in July.

assistants and other artists whose names are lost to history, contained rooms dedicated to the deeds of Cosimo I, Ferdinando's father; to the quarters of Florence and cities under her dominion, visualized either as landscape, cityscape, or allegory with appropriate heraldry; and the *impres*e of the Medici, alternated with landscape and grotesque images, all done in frescoed friezes encircling the upper portions of the rooms' walls.⁷⁴ Taken together, these rooms continue the main themes of Zucchi's entire career, reflect the social network he shared with Ferdinando, and announce aspects of the interests and identity of his patron to those who would have viewed the works.

Amid his work at the Villa Medici, which spanned a decade from 1576 to 1587, Zucchi found time to execute two further portable religious pictures, *The Procession of Saint Gregory* and *The Foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore*, for Santa Maria Maggiore (begun 1577/8);⁷⁵ to become a member of the *Virtuosi al*

⁷⁴ Bernard Toulier, "Documentation et description," in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1989), 1:410–416. Philippe Morel, "Dynastie et territoire: Le programme politique de l'appartement méridional," in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1991), 3:232–273. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:26, 40–41. Toulier's contribution in the brief, catalogue-style first volume of the *Villa Médicis* series separates the three rooms: "Pièce 5, chambre de Cosme I^{er}," (410–411); "Pièce 6, chambre du dominio fiorentino," (412–413); and "Pièce 7, chambre des impresse," (415–416). Pillsbury reminds us that Zucchi likely worked in the Quartiere of Eleonora of Toledo's Sala di Gualdrade, where similar city views feature. Though he connects this activity to the images in the garden *casino* here at the Villa Medici and the patronage imagery in the Galleria Rucellai, discussed in Chapter Five, there is no reason to suppose that all the cycles are not connected by a common thread of instruction, since Pillsbury also notes that Zucchi was responsible for the direction and delegation of work to the artists in Ferdinando's employ.

⁷⁵ Calcagno, 9–10, 61–2. Baglione, 1:45. Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, eds. Adriana Marucchi and Luigi Salerno (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1956–1957), 1:276, 2:186. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi: New Paintings and Drawings," 5–6. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:108–109. Baglione describes these pictures as being "beneath the Ciborium where the image of the Blessed Virgin was, and now is displayed the Cradle [i.e., Manger] of Our Lord" (sotto il Ciborio dove stava l'immagine della B. Vergine, et hora si mostra la Cuna del N. Signore). Calcagno also cites Mancini, who says the pictures were in the Capella della Madonna. Pillsbury, in his master's thesis, states that the pictures were hung back to back

Pantheon (1579) and the Accademia di San Luca (1581), both elite associations for Roman artists; to join the confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato (1584); and to begin work on two major commissions outside the auspices of Ferdinando's patronage, both in the pivotal year 1582 and both under the supervision of Egnazio Danti. The first, mentioned above, was a pair of figures parceled out to the artist within the *chiaroscuro* program of the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri, or Old Swiss Guards' Room. Here, Zucchi painted the figures of *Religion* and *Sobriety* (figs. 43–44), and worked alongside other artists active in Rome at the time, including Paris Nogari, Antonio Tempesta, and Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavalier d'Arpino.⁷⁶ The other, considerably larger commission came from the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, the English national church in Rome.⁷⁷ There, Zucchi was charged with decorating the entire tribune from floor to ceiling, as well as the nave vault, though he only completed the former decoration in this first campaign.⁷⁸ In the tribune, Zucchi executed the most salient subject associated with the Holy Spirit, the Pentecost. His fresco is expansive. The main section recalls his *Mass of Saint Gregory* as both use portraits of figures from the

under the ciborium in the nave at Santa Maria Maggiore, an interpretation corroborated by the mention of the relic of the manger. Pillsbury further states that the pictures were moved to a side altar, likely after Ferdinando Fuga erected the present baldachin, before appearing in the Quirinal Palace in 1767. These pictures are presently in the Pinacoteca Vaticana.

⁷⁶ Calcagno, 41–42.

⁷⁷ Calcagno, 47–53. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:112. Edmund Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi in S. Spirito in Sassia," *Burlington Magazine* 156 (1974): 434–444.

⁷⁸ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi in S. Spirito in Sassia," 434, 437. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:112. The original contract is dated 24 June 1582, and the second from 16 October 1588, specifying that work would begin on 1 November and continue for eight months, until July 1589.

era, including at least one identified as Zucchi himself here, to represent the figures from each subject. The conch of the apse contains an image of Christ in Glory, while exterior spandrels and medallions created by the elaborate stuccowork show King David and the prophet Isaiah, and God the Father, respectively. The remaining surfaces are covered with elaborate grotesque decoration. Later, toward the end of the decade, in a private commission for the first chapel on the right in the church, Zucchi reprised the *Pentecost* subject as an altarpiece on canvas, flanking it with images of Saint John the Baptist and the prophet Joel on the same support, and surmounting it in the half dome and exterior spandrels with frescoed images of God the Father, Christ and angels, and two prophets.⁷⁹ It is somewhere, at some time during the middle years of the 1580s, while he worked on a reliquary design and painting for the sacristy of Santo Spirito in Sassia,⁸⁰ that Jacopo Zucchi makes the acquaintance of a new domestic patron, Orazio Rucellai.

The Patron

Orazio Rucellai (c.1522/1530–1605) is as fascinating a man as he is elusive. The nineteenth-century chronicler of the biographies of the Rucellai, Luigi Passerini, provides detailed family trees that show Orazio's descent from the mythic Rucellai ancestors, Ferro and Alamanno. Orazio's great-great-great grandfather, Piero di Bingeri Rucellai (d. before 1388), was the elder brother of Paolo di Bingeri Rucellai (d. 1381), the grandfather of Giovanni Rucellai (1403–

⁷⁹ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:120.

⁸⁰ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:118.

81), the Florentine patron of Leon Battista Alberti.⁸¹ Documents from the Quattrocento show that, despite the proliferation of the Rucellai clan, there was a core belief in clan cohesion by dint of their shared ancestry. Members of the family lived in proximity to one another, around the Florentine church of San Pancrazio and near Giovanni's palace in via della Vigna Nuova (fig. 45).⁸² When Giovanni made a move to transform the *larchetto* in front of his palace into a more monumental space, for use by all of the Rucellai, he either paid lip service to this concept of clan cohesion in the face of self-aggrandizement, or was legitimately invested in the idea that grandeur for one meant grandeur for all.⁸³ Giovanni's new monumental urban space, adorned by his palace on one side and the great loggia (fig. 46) he created on the other, was the site of a singular Rucellai celebration, the wedding banquet for his son Bernardo and Nannina de' Medici, Lorenzo il Magnifico's sister, in 1466.⁸⁴ Giovanni's professional ascent in

⁸¹ Luigi Passerini, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Rucellai* (Florence: Tipi di M. Cellini, 1861), Tables XI, XIII, XV, and XVI. These genealogical tables trace the relevant branches of the Rucellai family from Giovanni and Orazio's common ancestor, Bingeri di Naddo, down to their own times.

⁸² Brenda Preyer, "The Rucellai Loggia," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 21:2 (1977): 191. Luigi Lotti, "Palazzo Ruspoli," *Alma Roma* 7:1 (1967): 9. The notable exception was Bernardo Rucellai, who established his Orti Oricellari nearer Santa Maria Novella. The property became the enclave for his branch of the family, including Bernardo's grandson Cosimo. Lotti says that Cosimino, as he is sometimes called, was afflicted with grave infirmity, causing him to be homebound, engendering his cultivation of the near-continuous company of literary luminaries of the age, including Zanobi Buondelmonte, Niccolò Machiavelli, Luigi Alamanni, Jacopo Nardi, and Filippo de' Nerli. In the Orti, Machiavelli composed his *Discourses on Livy* and dedicated them to Cosimo Rucellai and Zanobi Buondelmonte.

⁸³ F.W. Kent, "The Rucellai Family and Its Loggia," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 397. Preyer, 188. Both Kent and Preyer demonstrate that Giovanni Rucellai generated animosity and engaged in some unscrupulous practices in order to obtain enough contiguous territory over a period of seven years (1456–1463) in order to create the loggia.

⁸⁴ Kent, 399.

the Strozzi bank and the merger of the Rucellai and Medici bloodlines were transformative events that forged networks of alliance and kinship.⁸⁵

This Rucellai-Medici intermarriage complicates the veracity of anecdotes that surround the very beginnings of Orazio Rucellai's life. Passerini cites political differences of opinion as root causes for the migratory patterns of Luigi di Cardinale Rucellai (1495–1549), Orazio's father. Passerini says, "after the fall of the [Florentine] Republic, rather than live as a servant where he had lived in liberty, he sought out new horizons and lived out the remainder of his days in Rome" (dopo la caduta della Repubblica, piuttosto che viver servo nel luogo in cui avea vissuto in libertà, cercò nuovo cielo e passò il restante dei suoi giorni in Roma).⁸⁶ Similarly, Passerini believes Orazio found the regimes of Cosimo I and Francesco I insufferable, leading him to travel widely in Italy and abroad, especially to France's royal court, before returning to Florence at the accession

⁸⁵ D'Amelio, "Le famiglie..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 7.

⁸⁶ Passerini, 108. Raffaella Maria Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Palazzo Ruspoli* (Rome: Editalia, 1992), 67–68. Luigi di Cardinale Rucellai was born in 1495, during the first Medici expulsion, when Savonarola held sway over Florence. Luigi grew up during the better part of Piero Soderini's regime, leaving the city in 1510, just before the re-establishment of Medici rule under Cardinal Giovanni (later Pope Leo X) in 1512. Despite the paucity of historical information that has come to light, Zaccaria notes that Luigi benefitted from the intermarriage of the Rucellai and the Medici in Rome, where the Cardinals Giovanni and Giulio treated him as a friend and aided his social ascent. Zaccaria also asserts that Luigi divided his life between Florence and Rome, both for business obligations and public responsibilities. It is difficult to determine how frequently and for what duration he returned to Florence, whether during the Medici rulership period, brief Republican era after the Sack of Rome, or before the installation of Alessandro de' Medici as duke by Charles V. Since neither Passerini nor Zaccaria point to specific information that substantiates a personal aversion to living under Medici rule, which would be at odds with the intermarriage of the Medici and Rucellai and with Luigi's own considerable loan of 16,000 florins to Don Francesco di Garzia di Toledo, a relative of Eleanora of Toledo in 1544, this may be a convenient historical fiction that explains Luigi's preference for Rome over his native city. Similarly, there seems to be no mention of where Luigi and his family were during the Sack of Rome. Married just six years before, it seems unlikely that he would have stayed in the Eternal City while it was under siege, making it attractive to believe that he had, if briefly, returned to Florence.

of Ferdinando de' Medici to the grand ducal throne.⁸⁷ This itineracy, Passerini asserts, is how Orazio met his friend Torquato Tasso in Naples.⁸⁸

Raffaella Maria Zaccaria, a modern scholar interested specifically in Orazio's nuclear family, offers a different version of the events. Zaccaria records that Luigi di Cardinale Rucellai came to Rome after his father's death and at his mother's instigation, in 1510, where connections to the Medici bank helped involve him with the expatriate della Casa family of silk merchants, into which he married on 11 November 1521.⁸⁹ Zaccaria believes, in contrast to Passerini, that it was Orazio Rucellai's own objections to the rulership of Alessandro de' Medici that compelled him to relocate to France sometime after 1532 and benefit from training and education within the family's network of mercantile and banking contacts.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Passerini, 111.

⁸⁸ Passerini, 111. Ould, 3.

⁸⁹ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 67.

⁹⁰ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 72. Zaccaria's language is a little difficult to penetrate, because antecedents are unclear—sentences joined with a semicolon, and two male figures in question could make the objections to Alessandro de' Medici those of Orazio or those of Luigi. Given that Zaccaria traces the ecclesiastical careers of Orazio's brothers Pandolfo and Annibale, there is no reason to suppose that Orazio was not the firstborn son. That said, given that Luigi di Cardinale and Dianora della Casa were married late in 1521, the earliest a possible, legitimate child might have been born is August of 1522. This consequently means that any child born during this period would have been about ten when Alessandro de' Medici was installed as duke, and fifteen at his assassination, therefore too young to have any discernible objection to his politics. If Orazio Rucellai had been born in 1522, however, it would mean he was twenty-seven at his father's death in 1549, and that his marriage to Camilla di Andrea Guicciardini on 14 September 1579 occurred when he was fifty-seven. If we follow this suggestion, it would mean Orazio was sixty-seven when he concluded the negotiations for Ferdinando's marriage in 1589, and eighty-three years old at his death in 1605. Contrastingly, if we accept a date closer to the end of the range generally given and discard the hypothesis that a *figlio primogenito* would have a public career while his younger brothers would enter the service of the Church, Orazio's birth might then have been as late as 1530. This would make him two at Alessandro's installation, seven at his assassination, nineteen at his father's death, forty-nine at his marriage, fifty-nine during the negotiations, and seventy-five at his death.

As the administrator of his family's business interests in Rome and Florence after his father's death in 1549,⁹¹ Orazio came into contact with a variety of notable figures. In 1562, the bank run by the heirs of Luigi Rucellai brokered a contract between Tommaso della Porta and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for a series of busts of the twelve Suetonian Caesars, in exchange for a prestigious knighthood.⁹² Thanks to his brother Annibale's position as an intimate of Catherine de' Medici from 1559 onward, Orazio's relationship with the French court was strengthened, such that Charles IX chose him for a diplomatic mission to Spain and Portugal in 1574.⁹³ This privileged position would aid Orazio when he traveled to France in 1588 on Ferdinando de' Medici's behalf to negotiate thorny issues of inheritance and the agreement for the new grand duke's marriage to Christine of Lorraine, the favorite granddaughter of the Medici dowager queen.⁹⁴ It is very likely that Orazio and Annibale met the itinerant Giordano Bruno, who enjoyed favor at the court of Henri III, and was in Paris

⁹¹ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 68, 72.

⁹² Christina Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese: Ein "Studio" für Künstler und Gelehrte* (Weinheim: VCH / Acta Humaniora, 1989), 28. After nearly a year, Alessandro's household account books recorded that a further 900 *scudi* needed to be paid to the artist, signalling the great value of these sculptures.

⁹³ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 68, 72. Annibale undertook a similar mission in 1567.

⁹⁴ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 74–75.

from 1581–3, precisely when the brothers were living there together,⁹⁵ and again in 1585–6 when Annibale was there, perhaps alone.⁹⁶

When not engaged in international business deals, Orazio Rucellai was a bit of an Early Modern thrill seeker. His two great pleasures seem to have been acquisitions and gambling. Immediately after his relocation to France in the 1580s, he incurred a significant debt of 290,000 francs against Henri III.⁹⁷ Shortly thereafter, Orazio bought a cache of jewels from a fugitive figure from the court of Portugal, and, in 1589, purchased a large raw diamond in Venice, reselling it to the Ottoman sultan for an exorbitant sum.⁹⁸ In fact, Orazio Rucellai's penchant for gambling may have been a defining activity for both his relationship with Ferdinando de' Medici and his notoriety in the city of Rome. Giuliano de' Ricci, the chronicler of Florence's woes at the institution of the Gregorian Calendar, also recounts this story, dated July 1583:

In Rome, one lives with the usual suspects, and the son of the Pope is regarded very poorly there. In fact, he does not let a single day pass without doing something to raise universal hatred of him. As in days past, he found himself at play in the house of Mr. Orazio Rucellai that is today in Rome. The said Mr. Orazio won a giant

⁹⁵ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 72–73.

⁹⁶ Ingrid D. Rowland, *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher/Heretic* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008), 191. Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 68. It seems Catherine de' Medici favored Florentine functionaries at her court, among whom were Annibale Rucellai, first chaplain and almoner to the court from 1559 onward; Jacopo Corbinelli, her personal secretary; and Piero del Bene, her son Henri III's almoner. The fugitive Bruno appealed to these latter two upon his return to the French court after his stint in England in 1585. If the Rucellai brothers did not meet Bruno personally, there can be no doubt that they knew of his works on the art of memory and mnemonics, which were published, read, and performed in Paris.

⁹⁷ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 72.

⁹⁸ Emanuele Barletti, "La 'Casa Grande' di Orazio Rucellai: Per una Attribuzione a Bartolommeo Ammannati," *Antichità Viva* 30:1–2 (1991): 53–54. Ricci, 365–6. See Appendix B, Section 2, Document a for the passage from Ricci and a translation.

sum of money from said Mr. Jacopo Boncompagni—it is said that he had lost more than 150,000 ducats that were won from Cardinal de' Medici, Cardinal Maffei, and the said Rucellai. Now, finding himself in this house one evening, and tarrying to play longer than his servants and those of Rucellai would have liked, a member of Rucellai's household staff, unbuttoning himself, said: "July arrived, and soon thereafter this big, ugly bastard began to come into this house, not knowing whether it be the dinner hour or bedtime." Hearing this, one of Boncompagni's servants took the words, and from them they came to blows, making noises heard by their masters, and removing themselves from whence they were, to conclude the matter. Being interested in the resolution of this matter, Mr. Jacopo Boncompagni ran one of Rucellai's household staffers through with his sword, and soon thereafter killed another and set a third to flight, and this servant was sought insistently and impatiently by the same Boncompagni, who thereafter received him from Mr. Orazio and he had that servant hanged.⁹⁹

Having suffered in this way at the hands of a character as universally reviled as Gregory XIII's son might have endeared Orazio to the Roman aristocracy, but other accounts attest his great difficulty at integrating himself into a society controlled largely by entrenched baronial families and the Curia.¹⁰⁰ A 1586 *avviso* (dispatch or notice) records what may have been a signal episode:

On a *palco* far from the proscenium of the Rucellai were the Cardinals Alessandrino and Deza, and the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice, in order to hear the *commedia*, even though they were *not invited*, and while it was being recited, the elder of [Cardinal] Montalto's sisters was forced to remove herself, and repaired to her bed for a bit of misfortune, which vanished in an instant.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Ricci, 390–1. See Appendix B, Section 2, Document c, for the full Italian text.

¹⁰⁰ Lotti, 7, 10. Lotti's characterization seems a romantic one, especially given the ending, wherein a despondent Orazio Rucellai, exhausted by attempts to ingratiate himself with the intransigent Romans, rents his imposing, if not entirely complete, palace and dies in Florence in 1605. It seems likelier that Orazio's responsibilities in the Florentine court kept him from living continuously in Rome. Wherever he expired, paying for a funerary chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle and transferring the remains of his uncle, Giovanni della Casa, dead since 1556, to one of the other *loculi* within it, argue against Lotti's characterization, or can, at least, be understood as Orazio's last attempt to find a place among Romans.

¹⁰¹ BAV MSS Cod. Urb. Lat. 1054. Lotti, 12. Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, (Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1961), 12:389–390; 14:688. Lotti and I differ

Here, it seems certain key figures in Roman society were not invited to a theatrical performance sponsored by the Rucellai. The passage implies that, in collusion with one of Sixtus V's nieces, a spectacle was made in order to draw attention to this oversight, since the seating obtained by the party crashers was so far from the stage. The two figures identified by name are important. Michele Bonelli, called the Cardinale Alessandrino, was the *cardinal nipote* of Pius V Ghislieri (r. 1566–72) and an occasional pawn in Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's machinations to become the next Vicar of Christ.¹⁰² Characterized as slightly megalomaniacal in his own right and a lover of the finer things of life (including the company of courtesans, rooms in the Borgia apartments of the Apostolic Palace during Pius V's reign, and a palace near the Column of Trajan afterward),

on the transcription of this handwritten *avviso*. The translation offered above is mine, as are the italics for emphasis on the phrase. Lotti believes the text of this *avviso* is:

“Sopra un palco remoto nel palazzo dei Rucellai stavano li cardinali Dezza et Alessandrino et gli ambasciatori di Spagna et di Venetia ad udire la commedia et mentre si recitava, la maggiore delle sorelle di Montalto fu forzata a levarsi et mettersi in letto per un poco di accidente che anco in un subito svanì.”

Having examined the BAV's digital copy of the manuscript in question, I noted additional passages not indicated in Lotti's transcription by the presence of ellipses, and read the hand differently. I believe it says:

“Sopra un palco remoto dal proscenio del Rucellai stavano li Card.li Aless.drino et Dezza, et gli Amb.tori di Spagna, et di Venezia ad udire la commedia, *benche ad essa non fussero stati invitati*, et mentre si recitava la maggiore delle sorelle di Montalto fu forzata a levarsi, et andarsene in letto per un poco di accidente che anco in un subito svanì.”

In transcribing as he does, Lotti expresses his belief that the text indicates the *palco* as a seating area within the Rucellai palace, rather than one at a distance from the focus of the theatrical activity, and he omits entirely the idea the named parties were not invitees (my italics). These differences change the meaning of passage. Historically contextualized support for my reading comes from Battaglia. The idea of a *proscenio* as a theatrical stage set first appears in the context of a Sicilian religious play, the *Rappresentazione di Santa Uliva* and in the writings of Boiardo, a fourteenth-century author from Emilia-Romagna, while the concept of a *palco* as specialized seating for ceremonies and spectacles precedes its use as abbreviation for *palcoscenico* (theatrical stage) both chronologically (first appearance in Giovanni Villani) and ordinally (meanings eight and nine, as opposed to meaning eleven).

¹⁰² Adriano Prosperi, “Michele Bonelli,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11:766–767.

Bonelli enjoyed decreasing responsibilities within the Curia after the death of his great uncle.¹⁰³ However, Bonelli was extremely important in at least one matter: the elevation of Cosimo I to the title of Grand Duke in August 1569.¹⁰⁴ Later, during a March to February 1570 visit, Cosimo stayed in Bonelli's Vatican apartments, reportedly because of the great friendship forming between him and the young Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, only twenty at the time.¹⁰⁵ As if this Florentine connection were not enough to suggest Bonelli as a possible Roman ally for Rucellai sixteen years later, he was also apparently a supporter of Pius V's attempts to aid the French in their fight against the Huguenots and, in 1571, undertook a diplomatic mission to the Iberian peninsula similar to those entrusted to the Rucellai brothers in 1567 and 1574.¹⁰⁶ After Gregory XIII's death, Bonelli aided in Felice Peretti's election as Sixtus V in 1585. Despite this assistance, Bonelli saw his power in the Curia eroding. Just a month before the *commedia*, he was stripped of certain powers, which were reassigned to the new *cardinal nipote*, Cardinal Montalto.¹⁰⁷ The *avviso's* mention of Bonelli in connection with the Spanish ambassador and Cardinal Deza can be taken as evidence of his redefined alliances toward the Spanish in Rome during the Peretti pontificate.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Prosperi, "Michele Bonelli," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11:767.

¹⁰⁴ Prosperi, "Michele Bonelli," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11:768.

¹⁰⁵ Butters, "Le cardinal Ferdinand de Médicis," in *Villa Médicis*, 2:172. Prosperi, "Michele Bonelli," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11:768. Ferdinando had been elevated to the purple seven years before, after the death of his brother Giovanni, who had preceded him in the Curia.

¹⁰⁶ Prosperi, "Michele Bonelli," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11:769–771.

¹⁰⁷ Prosperi, "Michele Bonelli," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11:772.

¹⁰⁸ Prosperi, "Michele Bonelli," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11:772.

Whatever offense this evening constituted to Bonelli and Montalto, it may have also helped steer the decisions of Pedro de Deza Manuel, the aforementioned Spanish cardinal. Deza obtained the church of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni as his *titulus* the following year, purchased what would become the Palazzo Borghese in 1590, and traded *tituli* for San Lorenzo in Lucina in 1597,¹⁰⁹ all three sites adjacent to Orazio Rucellai's palace (fig. 47). If this invitational oversight constituted a significant insult to Deza as well, or even if it were only perceived as such, it might have contributed to difficulties Orazio experienced in obtaining more contiguous territory for the amplification of his Roman real estate holdings.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, sive, Summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ...: e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita*, rev. ed. (Regensburg: Monasterii Libraria, 1913), 3:46. "The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church—Biographical Dictionary—Consistory of February 21, 1578," Florida International University, accessed 11 April 2013, <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1578.htm#Deza>. Deza was created cardinal by Gregory XIII in June 1580. Eubel does not record the shift in *titulus* in 1597 as reported in the website, likely because his reportage of the cardinals ends with the election of Clement VIII in early 1592.

¹¹⁰ ASV Archivio Ruspoli-Marescotti 2a.B.74.5, 2a.B.74.12, and 2a.B.75.36. Archivio Rucellai, Miscellanea Massai, Filza VIII.1. Joseph Connors, "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989): 207–294. Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 254. Joe Connors has articulated the unique difficulties experienced by landholders in Early Modern Rome, where networks of alliance and enmity determined the shape of lots and the final forms of buildings, aided by inventive architectural solutions. While he draws his examples primarily from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ecclesiastical influence on this phenomenon is borne out by documents related to two different sales of the present-day Palazzo Ruspoli. Both when Orazio Rucellai purchased the palace from the Jacobilli heirs in 1583 and when his remaining son sold it to the Caetani in 1629, the sales needed to be ratified by the cardinal of San Lorenzo in Lucina, the church located across the eponymous piazza from the palace on its south side. Though cardinals are known to live near their *tituli* (one thinks of Raffaele Riario, San Lorenzo in Damaso, and the Palazzo della Cancelleria as the extreme example), the balance of the decision of where to live as a cardinal had as much to do with location as it did with domestic space capable of accommodating the household of the cardinal in question. While the present-day Palazzo Borghese is near both churches held by Deza as *tituli*, the possibility of exerting control over the acquisition of property by someone who slighted him also seems a motive for selection. It should be noted, too, that Orazio Rucellai continued to buy up plots near the palace, obtaining stalls from the Sacchetti in 1590, an action Aurigemma characterizes as intended to block others from buying them and building.

Nor were these Orazio Rucellai's only brushes with infamy. Ricci's chronicle records yet another episode, this time in Florence and Lyons, from the previous year (November 1582).¹¹¹ In reporting on a fatal attack in Florence, Ricci recalls a case in the city's mercantile court that had nearly similar results. A case regarding Orazio's business dealings with the Capponi bank's outpost in Lyons was brought to trial. Because the matter centered on debts recorded in the account books kept in Lyons, the court ruled the books be made available to two agents, one selected by Orazio and another with ties to the Capponi, before their final judgment could be handed down. When the agents arrived in Lyons, they were made to wait days before being granted access and were attacked, each man receiving severe wounds and narrowly escaping with his life. While not entirely straightforward, likely because Ricci himself was involved, the account of the trial implies that, in order to prevent the discovery of malfeasance, the Capponi resisted the inspection of their account books by the court-appointed agents, even to the point of vicious armed attacks that disfigured a man loyal to their family. Taken together, these historical notes about Orazio Rucellai form a picture of the man—audacious and bold in his personal pastimes, deferential and sometimes victimized by the company he kept, trustworthy and convincing to those he served and those to whom he was sent—a reputation either reported faithfully or wrested from his control by those who penned the passages.

¹¹¹ Ricci, 377–8 (500r.). See Appendix B, Section 2, Document b for the full Italian text and English translation.

The Palace

Orazio Rucellai's itinerant lifestyle would seem to undercut the idea of fixed domesticity, and there is no evidence of his desire to establish a household for himself before the late 1570s. In 1575, Orazio inherited three small contiguous houses on via della Vigna Nuova from a paternal aunt; in 1579, he purchased another. In doing so, Orazio brought to completion the accumulation of properties in the family neighborhood, allowing him to erect a new palace for his Florentine residence (fig. 48), after his marriage to Camilla di Agnolo Guicciardini on 14 September 1579.¹¹² After briefly relocating to Paris in the succeeding years, Orazio returned to Italy and Rome and purchased an incomplete palace from the Jacobilli family of Foligno on 7 May 1583.¹¹³ This, it would seem, is the palace to which Jacopo Boncompagni came for gambling and where, in the same month of July 1583, Orazio gave "a banquet truly fit for royalty (un banchetto veramente regio)" in honor of Anne de Guillaume, duc de Joyeuse, the beloved brother-in-law of Henri III.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Barletti, 54. Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 72.

¹¹³ ASV Archivio Marescotti-Ruspoli 2a.B.74.4.

¹¹⁴ Ricci, 391–2 (508r). Baglione, 2:273–5. Lotti, 12–13. Pietro Tomei, "Un elenco dei palazzi di Roma del tempo di Clemente VIII," *Palladio* 3:4 (1939): 169–170. Marcantonio Altieri, "Avviso di Marcantonio Altieri, dato all'Illustre Signor Renzo di Cere intorno alla Civiltà, donata in persona del Magnifico Giuliano et alla casa de Medici," in Fabrizio Cruciani, *Il Teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513*, Archivio del teatro italiano 2 (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1969), 12. Richard Spear, "Scrambling for Scudi: Notes on Painters' Earnings in Early Baroque Rome" *Art Bulletin* 85:2 (June 2003): 312. Sandro Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Palazzo Ruspoli* (Rome: Editalia, 1992), 145–167. Ricci records that the banquet cost more than 10,000 *scudi* and was attended by sixteen cardinals and forty *gentildonne fiorentine*. Despite describing it as a ball rather than the banquet cited by Ricci, Hess and Röttgen, in their notes on Baglione, reaffirm that the event was given in honor of the duc de Joyeuse in the palace in 1583, but this confirmation is suspect, as it is bound up with their presentation of the construction history of the palace, which differs, to the point of error, on the number of windows that illuminate the Galleria Rucellai and the dates of Orazio Rucellai's activity there, from the account offered by Benedetti in his essay

The acquisition of this palace (fig. 49), whose construction began in the 1550s,¹¹⁵ occurs around the start of Orazio Rucellai's activity as a patron of the arts, which sadly has left a few, faint traces. Emanuele Barletti has been able to establish, using documents in the Archivio Rucellai and architectural connoisseurship, that Orazio's Florentine palace, located steps from the more famous Leon Battista Alberti structure, was indeed built for him in 1579 by Bartolommeo Ammannati, the famous sculptor and architect who had served Ferdinando in Rome at the Palazzo Firenze and continued to do so at the Villa Medici.¹¹⁶ The following year, 1580, Torquato Tasso mentions Orazio in his *Il primo Gonzaga ovvero del piacere onesto* (*The First Gonzaga, or rather On Honest Pleasure*); a year after the purchase, 1584, Tasso dedicated his own apology for his epic *Gerusalemme Liberata* to Orazio.¹¹⁷ Using comparative topographical images of the city of Rome from the period, Sandro Benedetti

and affirmed since the Cinquecento in a manuscript document known to both Tomei and Lotti and transcribed by them in their articles (Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele Mns. 721). With regard to the characterization "veramente regio" and the cost offered by Ricci, some comparative figures should help us evaluate the statement's veracity. According to Spear, 50 *scudi* was the average field worker's *annual wages* c.1605, a basis for considering how astronomical the sum spent by Rucellai was. As a point of comparison, Pietro Aldobrandini, Clement VIII's cardinal nephew, spent half as much (5000 *scudi*) as Rucellai in 1600 on a banquet for 1500 guests. Cruciani transcribes an *avviso* by Marcantonio Altieri, who informs us that only a portion, the "most splendid and very rich credenza" (*splendida e richissima credenza*), of the elaborate theater, constructed on the Capitoline in 1513 for the multi-day festivities surrounding the conferral of Roman citizenship on Leo X's brother and nephew, cost 100,000 ducats, or approximately 75,000 *scudi*. The French Crown spent 6500 *scudi*, more than half of the sum for Orazio's banquet, on the bronze horse, a sculpture considerably over life-size, they later gave to him. See Appendix B, Section 2, Document d for the full original passage and a translation.

¹¹⁵ Balboni, *La Galleria Zucchi in Palazzo Ruspoli*, 3. Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 146. Balboni says the palace was begun on 1556.

¹¹⁶ Barletti, 54, 56–59.

¹¹⁷ Ould, 2–3.

offers a chronology of the construction activity undertaken by the same Ammannati to complete Orazio's Roman acquisition, the present-day Palazzo Ruspoli.¹¹⁸ Benedetti asserts that the wing containing the elevated ground-floor loggia and the Galleria on the *piano nobile* were likely finished by Carnevale 1586, for the aforementioned Rucellai-sponsored *commedia*,¹¹⁹ and definitely completed by August 1586, when records show a bronze horse (fig. 50), cast by Daniele da Volterra for an incomplete equestrian monument to Henri II, came into Orazio's possession and residence from elsewhere in Rome.¹²⁰ Strangely, this large work of sculpture¹²¹ that decorated the expansive garden to the west of the new wing, along with some other fragments, received more attention from commentators in the era than did the frescoes and sculptures in the Galleria Rucellai.¹²² Had Jacopo Zucchi never authored his treatise describing the

¹¹⁸ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 151–156.

¹¹⁹ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 154. Lotti, 12–13.

¹²⁰ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 154. Antonia Bostrom, "Daniele da Volterra and the Equestrian Monument to Henry II of France," *Burlington Magazine* 137:1113 (December 1995): 809–820.

¹²¹ Lotti, 11–12, reproduces a text describing the dimensions of the sculpture.

¹²² Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:162. Pillsbury cites an early inventory of the palace, dated 1611 (Rome, Palazzo Caetano, Archivio Caetano, no. 160876 "Inventario de mobile che si trovano nel Palazzo de S^{ri} Rucellai, consegnate al S^{re} Bonniforte in nome, et per servitio dell'III^{mo} Sig^{re} Card^{le} Gioisa [?] questo dì di Magg(i)o 1611), that locates two marble tables and a statue of Venus within the confines of the Galleria: "Galeria / Dodici busti d'Imperat(o)ri di marmo con le loro teste / Una statua grande di Venere / Due tavole grande di breccias con cornice di marmo nero, et lor piede di noce Intagliato Finestre, Invitriate, et pitture ben condition(a)te." Composed nineteen years after the death of Zucchi, six years after the death of Orazio Rucellai, and more than a decade and a half before the definitive sale of the palace, this notice suggests uses of the Galleria, but does not definitively determine them, especially during the period in which Zucchi painted and wrote.

decorative ensemble that is the Galleria Rucellai, the bronze horse might still be the most famous work of art associated with Orazio Rucellai.¹²³

Conclusion

In rehearsing these names and events, this introductory chapter hopes to draw out the threads of a history faded and unraveled by time and kept more or less separate by other scholars who have heretofore offered interpretations of the Galleria Rucellai. The litany of repeated names (Gregory XIII, Egnazio Danti, Giorgio Vasari, Jacopo Zucchi, Ferdinando de' Medici, Bartolommeo Ammannati, and Orazio Rucellai) found over and over again in the archival documents and scholarship available on this period suggests a vibrant social network that coalesced in the creation of the Galleria Rucellai, Jacopo Zucchi's career-ending masterpiece. The litany of works recited, too many to repeat, provides a window into the artistic and patronal preoccupations and predilections in the era, underscoring the repetition of themes and the availability of precedents that affected Zucchi's inventive mind. The recall of signal events from the lives of Zucchi and Rucellai reveals essential aspects of their character and formation, as

¹²³ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 168–169. Lotti, 11–12, 24. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. Lat. 1090, dated 13 November 1621. ASV Archivio Ruspoli-Marescotti 2a.B.74.2 and ASV Archivio Ruspoli-Marescotti 2a.B.74.10., ASV Archivio Ruspoli-Marescotti 2a.B.75.54. D'Amelio, "Le famiglie...," in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 18. Bostrom, 809. The sale of this renowned sculpture, the most famous aspect of the palace during Orazio Rucellai's tenure, may have inspired the insistence, on the part of the Caetani as well as the Ruspoli, that the building not be further denuded or sculptural decoration, whether architecturally fixed or movable, at each of the palace's subsequent sales. If the comparative estimate for Cardinal Farnese's series of Suetonian Caesar busts can be relied upon, the loss of those similar sculptures that adorn the Galleria Rucellai would have impoverished the structure. It was not until the Caetani engaged Martino Longhi the Younger to build a new staircase that the palace again attained acclaim. Those stairs, carved from spoliated ancient columns in 120 single blocks of stone, at a cost of 80 *scudi* a piece, were regarded as wide and commodious, and considered one of the four wonders of Rome, along with the Palazzo Farnese, the Palazzo Borghese, and the *portone dei Carboniani* of the Palazzo Sciarra-Colonna, according to a mid-eighteenth-century source.

well as the historical coincidence that fused them in the patron-painter relationship that brought forth this singular room. Until now, the lack of this foundation has forced the Galleria Rucellai out of the eye of time and compromised its comprehension, even by the privileged few accorded access to it.

Chapter Two—The Near Future: The *Discorso*

On 8 May 1592, Jacopo Zucchi's funeral was celebrated in the church of San Giacomo degli Incurabili in Rome, less than ten minutes' walk up the via del Corso from the palace of Orazio Rucellai.¹²⁴ Zucchi's distinguished career as a painter, first at Giorgio Vasari's side and later in Rome as a court artist to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, had come to an end. However, Zucchi's contribution to the world of art did not end with his death. His brother Francesco (1562–1622), a noted still-life painter who had assisted in the decoration of the Galleria Rucellai and other projects, ensured that Jacopo's reputation would live on afterward. As the principal heir to his estate,¹²⁵ Francesco Zucchi came into possession of a cache of his brother's drawings, as well as a manuscript for a treatise, which he published in 1602. Called *Discorso sopra li dei de' Gentili, e loro Imprese; con un breve trattato delle attioni de li dodici Cesari, con le dichiarazioni delle loro Medaglie antiche* (*Discourse on the Gods of the Gentiles and Their Imprese, with a Brief Treatise on the actions of the Twelve Caesars, with the Legends of their Ancient Coins*), this document is largely, but not only, a description of the invention and decorative program of the Galleria Rucellai. After its publication, the *Discorso*, like the Galleria itself, was forgotten for centuries. In the 1920s, a copy of the *Discorso* was "rediscovered" in the Archivio di Stato in Rome by Fritz Saxl. He transcribed the text of the treatise, wrote a brief essay on the decoration of the Galleria, assembled other related notes and archival

¹²⁴ Giordani, "The Church of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome: Some New Discoveries."

¹²⁵ Aurigemma, "Un corpus perduto?..." 115.

documents about Jacopo Zucchi known up to that time, and published them together as a book in 1927.¹²⁶ Like Francesco Zucchi in 1602, Saxl aimed to rescue Jacopo and his greatest achievement in painting from oblivion. Yet, the similarity of their goals ends here. In fact, the full range of both Francesco's motives to publish and Jacopo's desires to write the text itself has not been completely explored. Neither has the treatise's depth of function and meaning been fully plumbed. Containing a wealth of information, the *Discorso* is a worthy parallel to its painted counterpart in all its complexity, a reflection of the late Cinquecento moment in which the two works arose. Simultaneously a replacement for the experience of seeing the Galleria and a companion guide to the highlights of its visual surfeit, the *Discorso* leads its audience through thought and sight, while incorporating Zucchi's own feelings about art making, often cleverly disguised with wit and rhetoric.

Why?

Two fundamental questions might be asked about Jacopo Zucchi's *Discorso*, and both begin with the word "why." Of primary importance is why Zucchi wrote this document. Perhaps no less important is the need to know why his brother decided to publish it a decade after his death. The answers to each question are complex, involving considerable historical and personal pressures, all important to consider for the careers of the two Zucchi brothers.

¹²⁶ Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 2.

Why Publish? Francesco Zucchi and the *Discorso* in Print

Though it is the second of our two important questions, the reason for the appearance in print of the *Discorso* in 1602 should be considered first. While the title page of the treatise names Jacopo as the author and describes him as “painter to the Most Serene Grand Duke Ferdinando of Tuscany (pittore del Seren^{mo}. Gran Duca Ferdinando di Toscana),”¹²⁷ the remaining figures at the core of its appearance are few and largely incongruous. They are: Francesco Zucchi, Jacopo’s younger brother; Federico Federici, the Genoese dedicatee; Francesco Bennati, Tommaso Mancini, and Marcantonio Baldi, a trio of men who contributed poems to the opening pages of the treatise; and Domenico Gigliotti, the Roman printer also responsible for the 1593 edition of Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*.¹²⁸ The presence of the names Francesco Zucchi and Ferdinando de’ Medici is easy to explain, given the roles each played in Jacopo’s life, and each points in his own way to an explanation of the others, and to the main purpose of publication.

In his *vita* of the younger Zucchi, Giovanni Baglione records that Francesco assisted his brother on painting projects, and, after Jacopo’s demise, added mosaics to his repertory.¹²⁹ Francesco’s dependence on his older brother, who had been working in Rome for at least five years before bringing his family

¹²⁷ Zucchi, title page. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 35. In truth, there are few if any indications that Zucchi continued to work for Ferdinando after his accession to the grand ducal throne, meaning Zucchi had not been painter to him as grand duke at all, but only during his cardinalate, an aggrandisement of Zucchi’s position consonant with aspirations described below.

¹²⁸ Lohaus, 99–100.

¹²⁹ Baglione, 1:102.

there, seems, in Baglione's statement, to have been an important factor in his obtaining work. The figures—Clement VIII Aldobrandini, his cardinal *nipote*, and the Cavalier d'Arpino¹³⁰—and the locations—Santissima Trinità dei Monti, the Lateran, and San Lorenzo in Lucina¹³¹—named in Baglione's account underscore the centrality of Jacopo's career to the advancement of Francesco's, as each person or place listed connects the brothers' art-making by Roman neighborhood or social network.¹³² In addition to helping his brother with painting commissions, there are indications that Francesco Zucchi was associated with mosaic projects at Santa Maria Scala Coeli and the chapel of Sant'Elena in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme as early as 1584,¹³³ suggesting a modicum of professional independence during his brother's lifetime. After Jacopo's death, Francesco also executed works in the Cappella Clementina of New St. Peter's (1601), the apse mosaic of San Cesareo (1602–3), and the dome mosaic of New

¹³⁰ Calcagno, 43–44. Mortari, 76, 79. Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 192. The Cavalier d'Arpino painted portions of the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri alongside Jacopo Zucchi in 1582 and the laterals of the Aldobrandini Chapel in S. Maria in Via, according to Mortari, c. 1594. Mortari also places Jacopo Zucchi there in late 1595 to early 1596, when Cardinal Aldobrandini's account books record a payment to his heirs, naming Francesco Zucchi specifically. Aurigemma, on the other hand, points to Zucchi's death in 1592, based on documents she discovered regarding a chapel model for S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

¹³¹ Baglione, 1:102. The biographer refers to the cloister of the monks of S. Francesco di Paola, attached to the church of the Trinità de' Monti on the Pincian, near the Villa Medici, where Jacopo worked for Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici. San Lorenzo in Lucina is across its eponymous piazza from the Palazzo Ruspoli, home of the Galleria Rucellai. The Cavalier d'Arpino worked alongside Jacopo in the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri, and later was engaged by Clement VIII to paint the transept of the Lateran (1599–1601).

¹³² Baglione, 1:102.

¹³³ Patrizia Tosini, "Francesco Zucchi," in Maria Luisa Madonna, ed., *Roma di Sisto V: Le arti e la cultura* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1993), 549.

St. Peter's (1608–10).¹³⁴ Participation in the Roman art world of the period, even on projects as prestigious as those in the Vatican, however, did not guarantee an artist fiscal autonomy. That Francesco Zucchi continued to work in two media and assumed responsibility for his family and Jacopo's dependent daughters (at least)¹³⁵ after his brother's death indicates that he was not a man awash in material wealth. This is further suggested by a letter, dated 15 May 1608, that Francesco sent to Ferdinando de' Medici, asking for help in providing a dowry for one of Jacopo's daughters, Elena, based on Jacopo's many years of loyal service and in consideration of Francesco's own meager resources, needed to sustain him in his old age.¹³⁶

Since Francesco's economic fortunes were tenuous and partially tied to those of his brother, it seems reasonable to assume that the publication of the *Discorso* was motivated by a desire to vaunt Jacopo's own work in order to augment Francesco's reputation. In the competitive climate of early Seicento Rome, a painter needed every advantage to secure new work. A printed volume, where the brothers' names appeared together, codified the likely common knowledge that Francesco had assisted his brother, especially in this final monumental undertaking, while the information could still benefit Francesco.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Tosini, "Francesco Zucchi," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 549.

¹³⁵ Baglione, 1:102–3.

¹³⁶ Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 119, Appendix I, Document 18. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 2: Document 381.

¹³⁷ Baglione, 1:46, 102–3. Baldo Catani, *La pompa fvnurale Fatta dall'III.^{mo} & R.^{mo} S.r Cardinale Montalto nella trasportatione dell'ossa di Papa Sisto Il Qvinto* (Rome: Stamperia Vaticana, 1591), 70, 73. Giordani, "The Church of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome: Some New Discoveries." Tosini, "Francesco Zucchi," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 549. Baglione records that Francesco Zucchi died

The inclusion of Ferdinando's name on the title page, made possible no doubt by his concession, adds further luster to the reputation of the Zucchis. That imprimatur reaffirms their connection to Florence and its ruling family, augmenting Francesco's desirability both to Roman and Florentine patrons in the Eternal City. Additionally, we may posit Federico Federici's role as a benefactor who helped to fund the publication of the text,¹³⁸ as well as consider that including a Genoese dedicatee further amplifies the circle of potential patrons with allegiances to their respective city-states. The remaining three figures who contributed the poems were likely friends of the Zucchis in some capacity or another.¹³⁹

during the reign of Pope Paul V Borghese, who occupied the throne of Saint Peter from 1605–1621, meaning at least twenty-one years had passed since the artist's death and the publication of Baglione's *vite*. That said, it is worth noting that Baglione assigned the completion of the Aldobrandini chapel in S. Maria in Via to Jacopo, and said that he died during Sixtus V's pontificate, which ended with his death in 1590. We know from Catani that Zucchi provided designs for sculpture for Sixtus's catafalque, and from Giordani that he died in early May 1592, into the first few months of Clement VIII Aldobrandini's pontificate, points that invalidate both of Baglione's assertions. Tosini lists Francesco's life dates as c.1562–1622, therefore into the rule of Gregory XV Ludovisi.

¹³⁸ C. Bitossi, "Federico Federici," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 45:627–630. Apart from some vague notions about an interest in Genoese antiquities, genealogy, and its connections to history and politics later in life and his personal art collection, which included a Raphael painting and a Michelangelo crucifix, not much is known about Federici that would recommend him as a logical patron in the Roman milieu for Francesco's printed undertaking. Francesco's own words in the dedication to Federici state that they met one another, but the context of that meeting is completely opaque. Well educated, Federici came from a family that had a unique privilege: perpetual exemption from shared liability and loss in joint maritime ventures, meaning that they were always guaranteed if not a profit, at least the return of their original outlay of capital or the monetary equivalent of goods, if lost or damaged. This helped to catapult the family, whose roots are in Sestri Levante, to prominence in Genoa, and resulted in Federico's election to the city's government in various capacities later in life.

¹³⁹ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:13. Giordani, "The Church of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome: Some New Discoveries." Tosini, "Francesco Zucchi," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 549. Pillsbury records that in 1579 Jacopo was made one of the *virtuosi al Pantheon*, a kind of inner circle Roman artist-intellectual academy. It is likely that these figures, now obscured by the passage of time, were of that same circle, into which Francesco Zucchi was himself inducted in 1601.

If Francesco Zucchi's sole motivation were money, it seems strange that he would wait a decade after his brother's death to publish the *Discorso*. We know from the extant paintings associated with his name that Francesco Zucchi was a specialist in still-life images, and that he occasionally worked in the Arcimboldesque idiom, creating fanciful heads from common and thematically unified objects (fig. 51). Additionally, as Luisa Mortari, Maria Giulia Aurigemma, and others have shown, the younger Zucchi likely brought to completion works commissioned from his brother that were left unfinished at his death.¹⁴⁰ While Francesco lacked the financial resources to publish the treatise himself and needed to wait until a benefactor like Federici presented himself, another reason for the date 1602 seems similarly pressing: the unveiling of the Galleria Farnese in Rome. Believed to have been painted from 1597 to 1601, in the years surrounding the wedding of Ranuccio Farnese and Margherita Aldobrandini in 1600, the Galleria Farnese stands as a more thematically self-disclosing monumental space¹⁴¹ on the order of the Galleria Rucellai (even if taller in height and shorter in length), and one poised to eclipse its slightly earlier counterpart. Publishing the *Discorso* in precisely the years when the Galleria Farnese was

¹⁴⁰ Mortari, 79. Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 192. Lohaus, 20. Baglione, 1:102. Tosini, "Francesco Zucchi," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 549. Giordani, "The Church of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome: Some New Discoveries." In the context of Simone Giordani's discovery of the date of Jacopo's funeral, and the documents cited by both Mortari and Aurigemma, we can reasonably assume, as Aurigemma does, that Francesco Zucchi was likely responsible for the execution of the fresco decoration of the Aldobrandini Chapel in Santa Maria in Via, another Pentecost scene akin to those his brother painted in the 1580s in Santo Spirito in Sassia. If Francesco did assume the fresco work in the Aldobrandini Chapel and executed it alongside the Cavalier d'Arpino, this would go a long way to explaining their later collaborations in both painting and mosaic at the Lateran and the Vatican.

¹⁴¹ The imagery within the Galleria Farnese is predominantly narrative, rather than iconic, allowing for the viewer to locate the common theme of love more easily than in a space like the Galleria Rucellai, where the opposite is true.

first viewed and most acclaimed, perhaps Francesco Zucchi sought to carve away at that reputation by guiding readers to a precedent, painted, invented, and described by his brother. In pointing to the Galleria Rucellai textually, Francesco may also have sought to establish the Florentine Zucchis as earlier, more fully-realized liberal artist brothers in the Roman art world, answering the Bolognese challenge the Carracci and their school constituted. This latter publication motive, however, does not begin to explain why Jacopo Zucchi wrote the treatise.

Why Write? Jacopo Zucchi's Authorship of the *Discorso*

Scholars date the authorship of the treatise to the last years of Zucchi's life, on the basis of presumed lacunae in the otherwise-complete descriptive text and the belief that the artist planned to write more, in order to fill these gaps. If dated to these years, this companion to the Galleria Rucellai would have amplified the importance of that work and helped Zucchi move forward professionally. Zucchi had made a deliberate choice in 1575 to close and liquidate his paternal home in Florence and relocate his dependents to Rome, in order to continue his career as an artist in the court of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici.¹⁴² Tied as he was to the cardinal's household, Zucchi's principle source of income was, for nearly two decades, the design and/or execution of architecturally-fixed and portable works of art for Ferdinando. With Ferdinando's accession to the throne of Tuscany in 1587, and despite commissions already in place, Jacopo Zucchi must have recognized that he was now without a steady

¹⁴² Calcagno, 7. Boyer, 10. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 118–119, Appendix I, Document 16.

stream of work needed to provide for his family.¹⁴³ This need for employment, based on Ferdinando's return to Florence, has led some scholars, most recently Philippe Morel, to state without question their belief that the Galleria Rucellai commission originated in these years.¹⁴⁴ This line of reasoning is attractive for a number of reasons. Not only does this timeline fit Zucchi's known commissions and commitments,¹⁴⁵ but it also solves the problem posed by a lack of commission documents, which would have established, if not the entire chronology for the work, then at least a *terminus post quem*. Furthermore, because the patron, Orazio Rucellai, was abroad in France conducting the negotiations for Ferdinando's marriage to Christine of Lorraine during the same period, the vacancy of the house would have allowed Zucchi to work without impediment on the monumental space.¹⁴⁶

A period chronicle by Giuliano de' Ricci nevertheless establishes a connection between Orazio and Ferdinando as early as July 1583, just two

¹⁴³ Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 119, Appendix I, Document 18. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi in S. Spirito in Sassia," 437. Lohaus, 20–21. In his 1575 letter, Zucchi notes that he is responsible for four relatives as the head of his family since 1571. We know that this number was increased at least by one, given Francesco's mention of the age of Jacopo's daughter Elena. With the passage of thirteen years between Jacopo's letter and the date of Ferdinando's accession, we might reasonably assume that the number had grown even more. Lohaus points to two passages in the *Discorso* as evidence that the Rucellai did not pay Zucchi in a timely fashion for services rendered: his description of the avarice of Galba, who did not pay his soldiers, and his description of his own condition, using Dantesque language, just after the comparison of the Rucellai with Hercules. Juxtaposed to his own assertion of humility, this latter passage evinces Zucchi's reproof of the Rucellai arrears.

¹⁴⁴ Philippe Morel, "La galleria Rucellai," in Anna D'Amelio, ed., *Storia di una galleria romana: la genealogia degli dei di Jacopo Zucchi e le famiglie Rucellai, Caetani, Ruspoli, Memmo* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 2011), 47–49.

¹⁴⁵ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi in S. Spirito in Sassia," 437, 443–444.

¹⁴⁶ Other aspects of the interpretation of the frescoes that lend themselves to this timeline are discussed at length in Chapter Five.

months after Orazio's purchase of the palace.¹⁴⁷ This link suggests the possibility of contact between Orazio and Jacopo Zucchi at this early date, as well. Sandro Benedetti has suggested that construction on Orazio Rucellai's palazzo—in order to bring it to a state of completion, to add the façade extension along the via del Corso, and to enclose the resulting garden with a retaining wall—all took place between the May 1583 purchase date and a comedy attested in a Vatican manuscript *avviso* from Carnevale 1586.¹⁴⁸ Consequently and somewhat

¹⁴⁷ Ricci, 390–1 (507v.).

¹⁴⁸ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 154. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1054, dated 15 February 1586. Lotti, 12. Cesare D'Onofrio, *Un popolo di statue racconta: storie, fatti, leggende della città di Roma antica, medievale, moderna* (Rome: Romana Società Editrice, 1990), 35. Baglione, 1:27–28, 3:263–4. D'Amelio, "Le famiglie..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 17. In 1586, Ash Wednesday fell on 19 February, placing the performance four days before. The supposition is that the theatrical spectacle took place in the Rucellai palace. A parallel example from the pontificate of Paul III Farnese is cited by Baglione in his life of Ammannati, who provided sculptures as part of the set design for the "*Comedia* of Giovanni Andrea Anguillara, which was to be recited in the larger room of the Palazzo Colonna at the [church of] Santissimi Apostoli" (*Comedia* di Gio. Andrea Anguillara, che recitar si dovea nella maggior sala del Palagio Colonnese a' SS. Apostoli). Hess and Röttgen believe this *maggior sala* to be the "the large room of the portico, which from well before formed part of the convent and that thereafter was incorporated into the adjacent Palazzo Colonna" (*salone del portico*, che già da prima faceva parte del convento e che venne poi incorporato nell'attiguo palazzo Colonna). Baglione, however, says that Ammannati died during the pontificate of Gregory XIII, when, in reality, he lived until 1592, so some critical circumspection should be allowed. Additionally, the difference between Baglione's reference and the *avviso* informing us of the *commedia* is that Baglione notes a location within the palace, while the *avviso* points to the "proscenio dei Rucellai." It is difficult to ascertain the specific circumstances of the performance, because of the vague nature of the phrase *proscenio dei Rucellai*. It does not seem likely that Orazio Rucellai could have used a piazza or other public space for the erection of temporary theatrical architecture, though it cannot be ruled out as a possibility, given the expropriation of public spaces by groups within Rome for spectacles organized at private expense. One thinks of papal *possessi*; the annual poetry competitions celebrated in conjunction with Saint Mark's feast day with Pasquino, Rome's most famous talking statue, as their centerpiece; or the festivities on the Capitoline arranged by the Conservatori on the occasion of Leo X's brother Giuliano, the duke of Nemours, and his nephew Lorenzo, the duke of Urbino, being granted Roman citizenship in 1513. With regard to non-Romans expropriating public squares and using them for spectacles organized and executed at their expense, a lack of available evidence prevents a definitive statement of whether or not this performance sponsored by the Rucellai could have happened elsewhere in the city. Orazio Rucellai occupies a strange space as a Florentine by family, but likely a Roman by birth, which complicates the matter even further. However, given the large dimensions of the garden behind the new wing of the palazzo, i.e., that containing the Galleria on the *piano nobile* and the open sculpture loggia on the *pian terreno*, it seems likely that this space could easily have been outfitted as a proscenium and *cavea* during the winter months. Alternatively, the original *cortile* of the Jacobilli core of the palace and the Galleria itself are the only other large spaces within the

speciously, Benedetti also believes that, being completed architecturally, the palace was also complete with regard to its decoration.¹⁴⁹ He asserts that, if Zucchi's fresco cycle was not already finished by the winter date of that comedy, then it must have been by August of the same year, when a bronze statue of a horse given to Orazio Rucellai by the French crown was installed in the loggia beneath the Galleria.¹⁵⁰

Whenever the work was begun, the year 1588 seems pivotal to the idea of authoring a treatise like the *Discorso*. In that year, Giorgio Vasari's nephew published the *Ragionamenti*, a final written work by the artist. A fictional dialogue between Vasari and Francesco de' Medici, the *Ragionamenti* is a guided tour of rooms undoubtedly familiar to Zucchi as a former studio assistant, the apartments in the Palazzo Vecchio that Vasari painted for Duke Cosimo. As Émilie Passignat has shown, a close reading of the *Ragionamenti* demonstrates Vasari's artifice as an author in leading the reader through a precise, specific

fabric that could have possibly hosted any theatrical performance of size. If Benedetti is incorrect about the completion of the new wing and façade extension along the via del Corso, the partial construction might also have appealed as a "marvelous ruin," akin to Heemskerck's drawings of New St. Peter's as it rose, making it attractive as a theatrical set. If the performance had been in a more open and therefore more easily accessible space, it might account for the party crashers' ability to enter. D'Amelio says Orazio bought theaters as well as the palace, but does not offer any follow-up information in her footnote.

¹⁴⁹ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 151–154. Benedetti's suggestion does make some sense. It is difficult to believe that Orazio Rucellai would commission the construction of a new wing of his palace, with a loggia for his sculpture collection and a large space like the Galleria above it, only to leave it undecorated for a period of three to four years. The question goes to the heart of how the Galleria was meant to be used: if Orazio intended to leave the space unpainted, those sources who insist it was always meant for sculptural display would have proof. If, by contrast, the space was adorned later, whether because Orazio changed his mind or finally found the right artist and subjects, another use might be convincingly posited.

¹⁵⁰ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 154. Bostrom, 809–820.

progression of rooms and the images within each room.¹⁵¹ To achieve this, Vasari uses his role as guide to chart the precise path to be followed, repeatedly emphasizing the concept of *ordine* (order).¹⁵² Occasionally, to induce the reader/viewer to engage individual images within a single room according to the sequential order that sends the desired message or follows a narrative historical progression, Vasari invents reasons to move or look along counterintuitive or asymmetrical lines.¹⁵³ One such device is rest: Vasari suggests it after a long passage concerning thematically-unified images on the ceiling of the Sala dei Cinquecento, and Duke Francesco, in asserting that one image on a lower level of a wall in the Sala di Leone X has drawn his attention, asks for the redirection as relief after craning his neck at length to view pictures on the ceiling.¹⁵⁴

Even though Zucchi's *Discorso* does not take the form of a fictive dialogue between two historical persons as interlocutors, the likelihood that Zucchi is emulating his mentor's literary output¹⁵⁵ and its attempt to guide a reader through a complex decorative program that could not, for a variety of reasons, be arranged in intuitive, linear, experiential paths, seems strong. This can be

¹⁵¹ Passignat, 116–117.

¹⁵² Passignat, 116.

¹⁵³ Passignat, 116–117, 119–120. This method is also an explanation by Vasari for why he chose to place certain images where he did. Passignat cites the Sala degli Elementi's arrangement, Vasari's discussion with Duke Francesco about the disposition and character of the elemental paintings, and the visual line traced by Vasari that merges together the ceiling scene of the castration of Caelum to the wall image of Water, the locus where the disembodied genitals fell.

¹⁵⁴ Passignat, 123–124, 126.

¹⁵⁵ Lohaus, 25. Ould, 4–5. While Lohaus explicitly connects the *Discorso* and the *Ragionamenti*, Ould compares the conversational tone to that of the *Lives*.

demonstrated by comparing the artistic and literary output of master and student. In the Sala delle Stagioni of the Palazzo Firenze (fig. 52), Zucchi has arrayed the zodiac constellation myths on three sides of the personifications of the seasons on each of the four walls. Even though motion between the seasonal personifications themselves proceeds clockwise around the room, a more elaborate path needs to be followed between the constellation myths in order to synchronize them with the zodiacal order. Rather than passing from one constellation to the next at the corners, from flanking panel to flanking panel, each season's constellations begin in a horizontal oval cartouche above the personification, then move back toward the previous season at the left, before completing the movement to the opposite side of the personification at right, and then onward to the oval above the succeeding season. Zucchi thus extols the signs of the solstices and equinoxes by assigning them a higher position on the wall than their counterparts, but engenders a zigzag motion in order to reconstruct their ordinal astronomical sense. This is comparable to Vasari's order for the side wall images in the Sala degli Elementi, as shown in Passignat's numbered plan of the room (fig. 53),¹⁵⁶ where movement begins with the large central panel, proceeds to the right flanking oval, crossing to the left flanking oval before moving counterclockwise to the next wall's central panel. On the literary side, Zucchi's word choices and their repetitions point Vasari's dialogue as inspiring source text. Evoking the title Vasari's text, the words *ragionamento* or *ragionamenti* (reasoning or reasonings) occur fourteen times throughout the text

¹⁵⁶ Passignat, 119.

of the treatise, with even more repetitions, should the verbal forms of *ragionare* (to reason or rationalize) be included. Zucchi also places significant and repeated emphasis on *ordine* (order) (forty-eight times, in various permutations, in the *Discorso*), signalling his desire to reason out, make sense of, or account for the decoration's complexity for the reader/viewer by offering directional and sequential guidance like his master had done in the *Ragionamenti*. It is important to remember, however, that Vasari followed inventions produced for him by figures like Vincenzo Borghini. In stating that he invented the program of decoration in the Galleria Rucellai,¹⁵⁷ Zucchi asserts his ability to assume the functions of both artist and humanist advisor, suggesting that he had personal knowledge of Borghini's correspondence with Vasari as a foundation for developing this skillset.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Zucchi, 9, 72, 75, 79. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43, 70, 71, 73. Calcagno, 53–59. Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work,” 1:32. Zucchi's ability to design and generate programs for decoration autonomously begins with his separation from Vasari. We know from a letter and a drawing, dated 21 October 1574, that Zucchi began planning a series of pictures on the subject of King David for Ferdinando de' Medici at the Palazzo Firenze. Zucchi's language makes clear that he appreciates the free reign given to him in devising the program. Furthermore, with respect to the Galleria Rucellai and the *Discorso*, Zucchi states at the beginning of each large section in the text (vault, zodiac medallions, *testate* [here, twice], and Caesar busts) that we are dealing with the invention.

¹⁵⁸ Scorza, “Borghini, Zucchi,...,” 35, 38–40. Rick Scorza, “Vincenzo Borghini and the Impresa,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 52 (1989): 92–3. Lohaus, 11–12. Ould, 5. As Vasari's closest assistant for a period of years, Zucchi must have known generally about the dynamics of invention as passed between Vasari and Borghini, if not, as Ould suggests, knowing precisely how the humanist composed his inventions. One specific project suggests itself as a moment when the collaborative process could have been elucidated for him. As part of the decoration of the *cortile* of Palazzo Vecchio for the festivities surrounding the marriage of Francesco de' Medici in 1565, Vasari delegated to Zucchi the design of one in a series of large *tondi*. Painted by another artist, this image and the others in the series were based on coins being designed by Borghini on ancient models to commemorate building programs instituted by Duke Cosimo. The theoretical dimensions of transforming different media here, especially where Borghini is concerned, are potentially impactful for Zucchi, his work in the Galleria Rucellai, and the *Discorso*. Since the Galleria includes imagery taken from ancient coins and Zucchi had previously included depictions of historic Medici *impresie* in projects for Ferdinando (the Sala degli Elementi at Palazzo Firenze, and the work Zucchi oversaw at the Villa Medici), the degree to which Zucchi was aware of Borghini's distinction between the categories of *riverso* and *impresa*

Another aspect of Zucchi's decision to write can perhaps be inferred from the presumed audience of the treatise. Before the actual body of the text begins, there is a brief dedicatory passage addressed to the "*amorevolissimi della professione*."¹⁵⁹ The supposition has always been that this dedication intends to engage Zucchi's fellow painters,¹⁶⁰ and Zucchi's own subsequent citations of "*nostra professione*" (our profession)¹⁶¹ within the dedication and later in the treatise seem to bear this out. As such, then, the *Discorso* becomes a self-conscious examination of the mechanisms by which an artist, speaking to other artists, defends and reconstructs his derivation of the invention for the program. This may account for the conversational tone, not dissimilar to Vasari's in the *Lives*,¹⁶² and the lack of the fictional dialogue artifice from the *Ragionamenti*, choices that allow the *Discorso* to reach, if not similar audiences, then at least similar ends. However, if the *Discorso* were meant solely as a didactic exercise,

and the decorum that dictated when each was to be used in decorative programs becomes an important inventive question. The titling of the *Discorso* includes the concept of *impresa*, associated with the gods, and used in a way entirely contrary to Borghini's principles. Conversely, the text of the treatise, borrowing from a contemporary source, shows how easily coin imagery can be understood, echoing Borghini's feelings perfectly.

¹⁵⁹ Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 38.

¹⁶⁰ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:192. Lohaus, 30. Fritz Saxl, "Un 'Discorso' di Jacopo Zucchi e gli affreschi di Palazzo Rucellai a Roma," in *La fede negli astri dall'antichità al Rinascimento*, ed. Salvatore Settis (Torino: Boringhieri, 1985), 424, 426. Maria Giulia Aurigemma, "Spunti dal *Discorso* di Jacopo Zucchi," in Maria Grazia Bernardini, Silvia Danesi Squarzina, and Claudio Strinati, eds., *Studi di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Denis Mahon* (Milan: Electa, 2000), 45. Saxl begins the tradition of reading the dedication as a didactic mission statement. Pillsbury translates the phrase broadly as "lovers of art" without specifying further. Lohaus begins to step into the broader context suggested above, locating the dedication in the tradition of period iconographic manuals, useful to artists and connoisseurs alike.

¹⁶¹ Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material, 74. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 38, 71. See below for Zucchi's use of first person plural possessive adjectives and verbs as part of the rhetoric of the *Discorso*.

¹⁶² Ould, 4–5.

there would be no call for the other aspects of the text, especially the long passages and the judgmental tone regarding ancient religious practice. Exploiting the ambiguity of its genitive case construction, the *Amorevolissimi* dedication intends a wider audience, composed not only of those *within* the profession who are beloved of the author and other practitioners, but also those who are lovers of the profession, namely art lovers and connoisseurs. The additional passages only make sense for this wider audience, since they help to situate Zucchi as an artist whose ideas on a variety of topics might need to be known to potential patrons.

This reading of the precise nature of the *Amorevolissimi* dedication echoes Zucchi's own words within the passage: "All said and done, having finished the first, or rather the greater labor of painting and ordering [the Galleria], I was forced also to execute the other, that is of describing it, because, not truly ambition, but the love and the memory of all my past labors compels me, and pushes me, not without the bias of cruel fortune, which has not ever demonstrated itself to be propitious to my desires."¹⁶³ The statement seems

¹⁶³ Saxl, "Un 'Discorso'...", 422–423. Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 39. Aurigemma, "Spunti...", 44. Boyer, 10. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:29. Fernando Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura: L'impresa di Jacopo Zucchi nella *superba e ricca Galleria* di Palazzo Rucellai," in Anna D'Amelio, ed., *Storia di una galleria romana: la genealogia degli dei di Jacopo Zucchi e le famiglie Rucellai, Caetani, Ruspoli, Memmo* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 2011), 115. Aurigemma suggests that, based on tone, the *Amorevolissimi* dedication was not part of Jacopo's original treatise, but instead was appended by Francesco before publication. Zucchi's assertion of fortune being contrary to his desires may be a reflection of certain accidents of history that shaped his career. In choosing to throw his lot in with Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici and moving his dependents to Rome in 1575, Zucchi effectively closed himself off from Florence. In fact, in the same letter to the cardinal wherein Zucchi asks for leave to conduct the business of this move, he laments his inability to advance work on two projects due to "my bad fortune...[and] many contrary winds buffeting me" (*mia mala sorte...tanti venti contrari addosso*). Available evidence suggests that, when Ferdinando acceded to the throne of Tuscany in 1587, Zucchi either chose not to return to Florence with him, by virtue of having established his family and independent career in Rome, or was not asked to join the cadre of artists in his native city at the

simple: Zucchi believes that painting the Galleria was harder than writing a description of it, a task he was forced into by love and memory, rather than ambition, though the vagaries of fortune have kept him from realizing his own desires. Zucchi's most basic motivation, despite his modest protestation to the contrary, is to fulfill his desire to work and earn money, just as it was later for his brother when he published the treatise. Zucchi's own stated motives for painting the Galleria Rucellai earlier in the same dedicatory passage confirm this: "I say, therefore, that, the project of painting the Gallery in the house of the Most Illustrious Rucellai lords, on the Corso in Rome, having come into my hands; and such an occasion having presented itself to me; even though the work in and of itself would have frightened me; nonetheless, *compelled by the fame and by the desire to earn*, putting aside every fear, I disposed myself to undertake this danger and this work."¹⁶⁴ Zucchi's own contradictions illuminate his priorities: the lesser work, that of painting and coordinating the decoration in the Galleria, is an

command of the grand duke. That Zucchi's name appears nowhere in documents related to the preparations for Ferdinando's wedding to Christine of Lorraine in 1589 should be proof of this. That further decorative commissions seem not to have materialized after the completion of the Galleria Rucellai might also be evidence of the misfortune which Zucchi laments. Alternatively, these passages may be evidence of a generally passive, pessimistic and melancholic temperament on Zucchi's part that caused him to view and react to events negatively, as Saxl understood them.

The original passage reads: "Tuttauia hauendo fatto la prima, anzi maggior fatica circa il dipingerla, & ordinarla; mi fu forza anco di seguitar l'altra cioè del descriuerla; al che non ambitione in vero, ma l'amore, e la memoria delle tante mie passate fatiche m'induce, e spinge, non senza biasmo della crudel fortuna, che non mai, s' è mostrata propitia a miei desiri."

¹⁶⁴ Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 38–39. My italics. The original passage reads: "Dico adunque, che essendomi venuto alle mani di dipinger la Galleria dell'III^{mi} Sig. Rucellai nella lor Casa in Roma nel Corso; e presentandomisi una tal occasione; se ben l'opra in se stessa spauentato m'haurebbe; nondimeno *spinto dalla fama, e dal desio del guadagno*; diponendo ogni timor da parte, mi disposi di sott' entrare a tanto pericolo. & à tal' impresa." Later still within the dedication, Zucchi points to his own battle, as the speaker, with the "the razor of poverty" (rasoio della povertà).

undertaking for which he feels fame is deserved, while the greater work, authoring the treatise, and the ambition associated with that act are repellant to him. The two, unfortunately, are inextricably linked. Without undertaking the very act of writing a lengthy descriptive treatise about the decoration he invented and coordinated and acquiescing to the ambition, Zucchi somehow cannot hope to enjoy the fame that this massive project should have brought him. Zucchi exploits this symbiosis for rhetorical purposes: by underscoring his humility, if facetiously, Zucchi announces his greatness.¹⁶⁵

An alternative reading of these words, advanced by Tim Ould, suggests that Zucchi was compelled to write the treatise by Orazio Rucellai, who came from an intellectual background and literary circles.¹⁶⁶ If this were the case, as in the examples cited by Ould, the general mention of the Rucellai, which occurs in only three places in the body of the text as written by Zucchi,¹⁶⁷ might have been replaced and amplified by specific citation of Orazio Rucellai himself. By contrast, historical evidence may support Ould's thesis: according to *avvisi*, Orazio

¹⁶⁵ Lohaus, 30. Against Saxl's characterization, Lohaus also points to the rhetorical nature of this passage and Zucchi's facetious tone.

¹⁶⁶ Hans Meier, "Notizen über Orazio Rucellai," in Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 120–121, Appendix II. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:162. Ould, 2–3. Orazio Rucellai's maternal uncle, Giovanni della Casa, was a canon of Florence's *duomo*, Santa Maria del Fiore, and the author of a treatise on manners, called *Galateo, ovvero de' costumi* (The Galateo, or On Customs), commemorated under Orazio's patronage in a life written by Francesco Bocchi, known best for his 1591 guide *Le Bellezze della Città di Fiorenza* (Beauties of the City of Florence). Orazio was also an intimate of Torquato Tasso, who dedicated his own apology for *Gerusalemme Liberata* to Rucellai (1584) and mentioned him in *Il primo Gonzaga ovvero del piacere onesto* (The First Gonzaga, or On Honest Pleasure) (1580).

¹⁶⁷ Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material, 8, 67. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 38, 43, 68. In the printed edition from 1602 and the Garland reprint, the Rucellai are mentioned on the page headings, as well. In the body text, however, the references are within the dedication to the *amorevolissimi*, the introduction (*grandissima stoltitia*), and in the Hercules passage.

Rucellai began renting his Roman palace from 1591 onward,¹⁶⁸ with his family occupying it at various times and to different degrees from then until its final sale to the Caetani in 1629.¹⁶⁹ With the influx of new residents, who presumably had access to the Galleria, there may have been a need for an explanatory document to protect Orazio and his family against the critique of any too-zealous prelate who might be scandalized by the decoration as executed, especially given its formal similarity to Michelangelo's Sistine vault (compare figs. 54–55), susceptible as it had been in previous decades to censorious desire.¹⁷⁰ This

¹⁶⁸ Lotti, 15–17. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. Lat. 1059, Parte II, dated 21 August 1591. Luigi Salerno, "Palazzo Rucellai-Caetani-Ruspoli," in Luigi Salerno, ed., *Via del Corso* (Roma: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma, 1961), 155.

¹⁶⁹ BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1059, parte II, dated 21 August 1591. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1076, parte II, dated 21 November 1608. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1077, dated 17 January 1609. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1077, dated 14 November 1609. ASV Archivio Ruspoli-Marescotti 2a.B.74.6. Lotti, 15–17. Carlo Pietrangeli, "Appunti sul Palazzo Ruspoli al Corso," *L'Urbe* n.s., 51:5/6 (December 1988): 6. Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 235. Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 76. The issue of the occupancy of the palace by members of the Rucellai family is a complicated one. *Avvisi* name a litany of occupants of the palace at various times: Cardinal Gonzaga (21 August 1591), a Sforza duke (7 July 1596—summer only), the French ambassador (6 August 1605), the Duke of Nevers (21 November 1608–17 January 1609), the Savoird ambassador (14 November 1609), and Cardinal Gaspare Borgia, the orator of Spain (1618). That said, there are significant spans of time for which we have no information, anecdotal or otherwise, regarding occupancy. After the death of Orazio in 1605, it seems his son Luigi, a prelate, inherited the palace and perhaps lived there, being the self-effacing recipient of gifts sent by the Duke of Nevers at the end of his stay. Additionally, Aurigemma notes that, in 1611, a member of the Guicciardini clan became Florentine ambassador in Rome, taking up residence in the Palazzo Firenze, citing that he would live near his Rucellai relatives. This contradicts the occupancy history traced by Lotti and Pietrangeli.

¹⁷⁰ Zucchi, titlepage, unpaginated prefatory material [twice], 1, 8, 9, 12, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 32, 35, 40, 50, 53, 54, 57, 58 [twice], 59 [twice], 61, 65, 73, 169. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43 [twice], 45, 47, 49 [twice], 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 61, 62 [twice], 64 [twice] 65 [twice], 66, 67, 71, 111. Saxl, "Un 'Discorso'...", 422. Pfisterer, 351. Lohaus, 32–33, 87–88. *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Œcumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 234–235. Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, 6:674–679. Pfisterer suggests the *Discorso* fulfills this function in order to conceal the mnemonic aspects of its decoration, while Lohaus points to post-Tridentine concerns about the power of images, mentioning Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, who spearheaded the campaign to reform religious painting. Zucchi's choice of the word *Gentili* (Gentiles) to describe the adherents of the Greco-Roman religious tradition throughout the *Discorso* suggests a link between the secular and sacred spheres. While there are nods to the positive, noble connotations of this word within the treatise's text, overwhelmingly Zucchi's usage appears in connection with his scathing

need must not have been strong enough to prompt the publication of the document immediately after Zucchi's death, however, since his brother waited a full decade before publishing.

The strongest motivation, it seems, remains a financial one and the choice of the Galleria Rucellai as a work to be described makes the most sense, as its subjects each individually reflect some prior work undertaken by Jacopo Zucchi during his career, making it a visual *curriculum vitae* and the *Discorso* his *summa*.¹⁷¹ However, as a work of literature describing a work of art, the *Discorso* is an *ekphrasis*, a specific literary form that grew in popularity at the dawn of the Seicento with works like the Cavalier Marino's *Galeria*, published in 1619.¹⁷² The strongest parallel work, however, is the 1640 pamphlet "published" by Rosichino, the "secret sweeper" of Palazzo Barberini. According to the text, this household functionary felt compelled to pen a description of Pietro da Cortona's *salone* fresco (fig. 56) in that palace out of a desire to curtail repeated requests by

condemnations of antique religion in the discussion of the vault imagery. This word is also explicitly used in "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics, of Saints, and on Sacred Images," the 1563 decree of the Council of Trent regarding image-making (my italics): "that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or, that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done *by the Gentiles* who placed their hope in idols..." Even though Zucchi's decoration here is in the context of a domestic palace, thereby disqualifying it from the rules as laid down by the Tridentine decree, any whisper of heterodoxy would have likely have excluded him from the lucrative growth area of church and chapel decoration inaugurated by those same decrees. Important to recall, too, is that the publication of the *Discorso* was, as its titlepage proclaims, "con licenza de' Superiori," meaning that its content likely had to pass through curial censorship before printing was authorized.

¹⁷¹ Strinati, "Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 206.

¹⁷² A. Martini, "Giovanni Battista Marino," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 70:526. While the title page bears the date 1620, the work was completed and published in 1619.

visitors for an explanation of the imagery.¹⁷³ Unfortunately, there are no contemporary accounts of visits to the Galleria Rucellai that would further cement the comparison between the *raisons d'être* of the two works,¹⁷⁴ and one would suppose that the home of Orazio Rucellai, a banker and diplomat, would have been slightly less trafficked than that of the ecclesiastical and secular branches of the family of a reigning pontiff. It may well be that the lack of indications that the Galleria Rucellai was visited served as the impetus for Zucchi to compose the *Discorso*. As a literary replacement for the experience of viewing, and one that leads the reader through the precise sequence of images required to glean the meaning of the whole, Zucchi's *Discorso* provides a kind of vicarious experience that would aid potential patrons in seeing what the artist could accomplish for them, if given the opportunity.

Willing to Tell You, Wanting to Tell You, Waiting to Tell You: Jacopo Zucchi and the Natural Gift of Rhetoric

After investigating why the *Discorso* was written and published, the next logical question to ask is whether Jacopo Zucchi was educated enough to have written such a document. Despite Zucchi's protestations to the contrary,

¹⁷³ John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 136.

¹⁷⁴ Baglione, 1:46. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:165. Lohaus, 31. Pillsbury points out the brevity of Baglione's citation of the Galleria Rucellai, which lacks any description of the content, and suggests that this summary treatment is due to the fact that Baglione himself was unable to enter it and view its splendor. Lohaus believes that the *Discorso* was likely the only way the content of the Galleria was made accessible to the general public, citing an early seventeenth-century guidebook that mentions Zucchi's public commissions in churches, but leaves off his work for Orazio Rucellai.

discussed below, the balance of modern scholars argue for Zucchi's significant intellect.¹⁷⁵ Edmund Pillsbury asserts:

The artist's intelligence and learning are amply demonstrated in his writing, particularly in his published *Discorso* on the Rucellai Gallery frescoes. In this book he presents the philological sources for each representation on the ceiling and demonstrates that he did not rely upon a historian (like a Vincenzo Borghini, Annibale Caro, or Fulvio Orsini) for the invention of the program of the decorations but devised it himself from his own reading and with the help of [mythographic] manuals. Among his contemporaries Zucchi was no doubt considered a minor *literato*.¹⁷⁶

Tim Ould points to the direct quotation of passages from ancient authors in Latin within the text of the treatise as proof that Zucchi did indeed have enough

¹⁷⁵ Lohaus, 25. Aurigemma, "Un corpus perduto?...", 124. Scott, 136. Lohaus explicitly connects the authorship of the *Discorso* with the desire of sixteenth-century artists to be considered liberal intellectuals in two ways: by describing and decoding a complex work of art that evidences the artist's great learning doubly, through solo invention and authorship. Aurigemma posits that it anticipates a 1618 work by Francesco Bracciolini, the same poet who Scott advances as the true author of the invention of and explanatory pamphlet on Pietro da Cortona's *Divine Providence* fresco for the Barberini.

¹⁷⁶ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:32, 163. Pillsbury continues his discussion of Zucchi's intelligence later:

What does seem clear is that the artist did not rely upon a historian or outside person like a Borghini, Caro, or Adriani to formulate the programme for the decorations. As [Jean] Seznec has demonstrated, he did not need the intervention of an iconographer since he had the manuals written by Cartari and others which supplied the necessary source materials. In the treatise which the artist wrote on the decorations, *Discorso sopra li dei...*, published posthumously in 1602, the literary and other sources for the principal figures are given.

Pillsbury also voices his opinion of the precedent of Vasari (my italics and translation):

This pamphlet [i.e., the *Discorso*] is not like Vasari's *Ragionamento* on the Palazzo Vecchio in which "hidden" meanings of the figures are given and the formal arrangement justified. It is a simple record of the various authors and accounts which the author has used in devising his images. In it the artist declares that the genealogy of the gods has been chosen because the site required a suitable subject: "Pareva veramente, che tal sito richiedesse soggetto conveniente" (It seemed, truly, that such a site required a convenient subject). *As a consequence, the subject matter is almost incidental to the overall decorative considerations, and we have the phenomenon, observed by Saxl, of the artist's total indifference, almost disdain, for the subject of his representations.*

By contrast, this investigation has and will continue to argue for a different reading of the *Discorso*, from the level of the word and phrase (especially "soggetto conveniente") to the sequential order, that likens it more to the *Ragionamenti* in the revelation of hidden and important meaning.

education to have written the work himself, paralleling his life with those of Pontormo and Michelangelo as a way of positing possible education in the ancient languages and authors.¹⁷⁷ Zucchi cites a litany of authors from Vergil, Livy, Plutarch, Pausanias, Strabo, Suetonius, Ovid, Homer, and Valerius Maximus, to name a few among the ancients, to Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, and the authors of the books of the Bible, throughout the text of the *Discorso*.

While knowledge of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio,¹⁷⁸ as well as the Bible, would seem to be requisite for any modestly educated schoolboy from Florence in the era, Zucchi's citations encompass a wider array of authors, including his contemporaries. Other scholars have already parsed out Zucchi's use of the contemporary mythographic handbooks, like those Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, Vincenzo Cartari, and Natale Conti,¹⁷⁹ in order to understand the sources of the *Discorso*'s complex synthesis of information on the ancient gods, the first subject in the treatise's title.¹⁸⁰ Zucchi's connections to emblematic literature, especially Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, and the numismatic treatise written by

¹⁷⁷ Ould, 1–2.

¹⁷⁸ Vasari, *Lives*, 333–334. These authors are precisely the ones Vasari cites as those Michelangelo read aloud to Giovanfrancesco Aldovrandi, his host in Bologna during a year-long stint in the Emilian city (1494–1495). At nineteen, when these events transpired, Michelangelo was three years older than Zucchi would be when he entered the Vasari workshop.

¹⁷⁹ Zucchi, 73. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 70. Lohaus, 26.

¹⁸⁰ Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 304. Pfisterer, 335, n.28. Lohaus, 26–29, 58. Pfisterer sees sparse evidence of Zucchi's personal consultation of the ancient sources, noting a transcription error repeated in the *Discorso* as proof.

Sebastiano Erizzo have also been explored.¹⁸¹ In seeking Zucchi's sources, whether ancient or contemporary, for his mode of composing the inventions described in the *Discorso*, previous scholars have achieved little. By locating Zucchi among his peers at the end of Cinquecento in a class of artists using such materials, they have collaterally disqualified him and his peers from possessing the intellect necessary to generate complex inventions. This method seeks to maintain the separation between humanist and artist that was collapsing precisely at this moment. Rather than passing judgment on his use of mythographic manuals and other treatises as source material, considering *how* Zucchi used them and how he structured the *Discorso* reveals considerably more about his intellect, knowledge of rhetorical rules and modes, and ends, both stated and unstated. Whether he drops the names of authors or titles of works alongside quotations or paraphrases and plagiarizes freely without acknowledging his sources by name, Zucchi synthesizes information in an attempt to construct an erudite identity for himself through the creation of specific meaning. The process is parallel to that of his painting, as both involve compositional rhetoric and both rely on the ancient maxim in Horace "ut pictura poesis."

In terms of architecture, the *Discorso* is fairly Romanesque. Zucchi punctuates thick passages used to buttress his propositions about the invention

¹⁸¹ Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 304, 307. Strinati, "Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 185. Lohaus, 95–97, 99–100. Pfisterer, 333.

and about the “greatest foolishness” (*grandissima stoltitia*)¹⁸² of ancient religious belief systems with the briefest of descriptive passages that function as windows onto the precise compositions of the elements within the Galleria. In fact, had Zucchi intended to publish a document that strictly described the decorated surfaces of the Galleria Rucellai, he might have done it in considerably fewer pages and more straightforwardly—of the 170 pages occupied by the text of the treatise itself, the descriptive passages account for just twenty-nine pages, or about 17 percent of the entire document.¹⁸³ The remaining 141 pages of the text oscillate between mythological or historical background for the figures under consideration, the condemnation of falsehoods and insufficiencies in ancient pre-Christian religious beliefs, and a set of pronouncements, far smaller but no less important (or studied), by Zucchi about himself. Occasionally, there are passages wherein the first two modes coalesce: “we say that [Jupiter] was believed to be God, the punisher of wicked deeds, and that he was first to order Justice and Religion” (diremo, che [Giove] fu creduto Dio punitore dell’opere scelerate, e che il primo fusse, che la Giustitia, e la Religione ordinasse).¹⁸⁴ With this line, Zucchi takes up Jupiter’s role as the ruler of the Age of Silver, the last before the abandonment of mankind by the goddess of Justice, Astraea, and joins it with *scelerato*, his adjective of choice for denouncing the heterodoxies of belief and

¹⁸² Zucchi, 1. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 40.

¹⁸³ This datum was obtained by using a transcribed copy of the treatise in Microsoft Word, with text enlarged and margins changed to fit the original pagination indicated in the margins in the Saxl edition, and then paring away the non-descriptive portions of the text.

¹⁸⁴ Zucchi, 20. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 48.

practice.¹⁸⁵ Zucchi's strong emphasis on the foolishness of those ancient practices reads subtextually as an indictment of the Protestant critique of Catholicism, upheld throughout as the true Faith, and bulwarked by his repeated references to "our century" (*nostro secolo*) as a time of avarice, insolence, cruelty, travails, and misfortune.¹⁸⁶ This critique becomes explicit in the final paragraph of the *Discorso*, where Zucchi says of the *dieci spiriti illustri*, a collection of ten Republican-era Romans, each of whom vowed and built a temple and figure on the frieze-level decorations of the long side walls:

These lone ten examples will be enough to demonstrate or just note, for us, that piety regarding the cult of religion has always belonged, as one says, to the most noble Romans, an everlasting continuity from the [city's] very nativity, more than in other places or provinces of the world, so much so that, exiting the shadows and the obscurities of the Gentiles, it became the sweet and beloved nest of the true and holy Vicar of God to whom every faithful Christian owes forever the most glorious and perpetual happiness from God, prayed for with all their hearts in the most solemn manner. May her *Navicella* nevermore be rocked by means of our

¹⁸⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.150. Zucchi, 2, 7, 12, 20 [twice], 21, 34, 51, 86, 98 [twice], 99, 105, 106, 107, 112, 130, 135, 144. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 40, 42, 44, 48 [twice], 49, 54, 61, 76, 81 [three times], 84, 85, 87, 94, 96, 100. Zucchi uses the adjectival form *scelerato* (wicked) (8) and two nouns forms, *sceleratezza* (wickedness) (3) and *sceleratagine/sceleraggine* (villainy) (8). The instances of use are as follows: two in the prefatory remarks under *Grandissima stoltitia*, one in Caelum, three under Jupiter (in the above quote, plus one), one under Mercury, one under Juno, one under Julius Caesar, three under Tiberius, three under Caligula, one under Nero, one under Galba, one under Otho, and one under Vitellius. Zucchi uses the concept in contrast with a positive term, as a descriptor of activity undertaken or protected by the figure in question, and/or as an outright condemnation.

¹⁸⁶ Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material, 9, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 37, 168). Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 38, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 [twice], 49 [twice], 55, 110. Avarice is directly named in the instance in the prefatory remarks under *Grandissima stoltitia*; the century is called insolent, cruel, and travailed in the description of Ocean; and *ferigno* (like a ferocious wild animal) and *sfortunato* (unfortunate) under the description of Saturn. This is juxtaposed with Zucchi's statements regarding previous centuries, which he characterizes alternatively as eras of ignorance or happiness, in the youth of the world, and with Francesco Bennati's characterization of the sixteenth century as *bel* (beautiful) and possessed of *vetusto saper* (ancient wisdom) in his prefatory poem.

behaviors or our sins on the tempestuous waves of Barbarian pride.¹⁸⁷

Although they were ancients who dedicated temples to personified abstract concepts and were under the sway of superstition,¹⁸⁸ Zucchi exempts the *spiriti illustri* from the scathing critique of being called *scelerati*, instead affirming that their excellent piety was what allowed Catholicism to find a permanent home in Rome. After the sustained and open critique of the ancients, and the thinly-veiled one of the Protestants, in the foregoing pages, a reversal such as this at the end of the document is an obvious ploy to ingratiate himself with the entrenched Roman baronial families, some of whom traced their origins to the ancients, and to garner ecclesiastical commissions for himself from these families and Rome's other aristocracy, the Curia, headed by the pope.¹⁸⁹ The rhetorical weight of protesting too much about the subject, as Zucchi has done here, can read as

¹⁸⁷ Zucchi, 169–170. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 111. While fairly classic in rhetorical terms, this image of the ship of the Church rocked by waves has proximate antecedents in Danti's program for the Meridian Room of the Vatican Tower of the Winds, where two of Circignani's wall frescoes feature tempest-tossed ships. Zucchi's text in the *Discorso* is as follows:

Questi dieci soli esempi ci basteranno, per mostrare, ò accennare solamente, che la Pietà è stata sempre, come si disse, delli nobilissimi Romani, intorno al culto della religione, continuando sempre dalla sua istessa natiuità, più che altra parte, ò prouincia del mondo, sino à tanto che vscita dalle tenebre, & oscurità de' Gentili, si è fatta dolce, & amato nido del vero e santo Vicario di Dio à cui santamente ogni fedel Christiano deue sempre gloriosissima, e perpetua felicità da Dio con tutto il cuor pregarli; nè comporti che mai più per i peccati nostri la sua Nauicella dalle tempestose onde de' Barbarici orgogli vada più misera vacillando.

¹⁸⁸ Zucchi, 75. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 71.

¹⁸⁹ Mortari, 79. Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 192. Pfisterer, 331, 334. If the timeline for authorship proposed by the majority of the scholars, i.e., the early 1590s, is indeed correct, it should come as no surprise that Zucchi may also be trying to curry favor with the papacy, Sixtus V having died in August 1590 and a series of short-lived successors following thereafter. Ironically, however, it seems that Zucchi was engaged at some point in these same years by Cardinal Aldobrandini, the *cardinal nipote* of Clement VIII, elected in January 1592, to decorate the family chapel in Santa Maria in Via. Thus engaged, Zucchi would have had less reason to insist upon the primacy of the pope, since a link between the artist and the pontiff already existed.

almost farcical, too. His striving throughout to convince his readers that he repudiates pre-Christian religion, and by extension its subject matter, stands in direct contrast to the exacting nature of the frescoes as executed,¹⁹⁰ where everything from the bold principle figures of the vault to the weeping Medusa (fig. 57) located above the Pisces medallion and the minutely detailed scientific instruments (fig. 58) in multiple garlands about the vault, receives equally deft and reverential treatment. Concluding the treatise as he does seems a winking acknowledgment by Zucchi that the content of the document can be taken lightly. Crafted in this way, Zucchi's text allows the reader to infer tone based on his own position and beliefs.

The *Discorso's* title arrangement reflects the basic organization of its content. Consideration of the ceiling/vault imagery is placed first and separated from that of the side walls, which are second and third, the treatment of each surface or decorative aspect divided into individual sections inside each larger heading. Those smaller subheadings reflect the identity of the figure under consideration next (e.g., Juno, Apollo, Galba, or Caligula)¹⁹¹ or provide the

¹⁹⁰ Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 304. Morel, "La galleria Rucellai," in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 101. Aurigemma, "Spunti...", 46, 48. Pfisterer, 337, 350. Pfisterer also notes this, alongside the parallel contemporary example of Bartolomeo Ammannati, calling the architect's post-Tridentine repentance genuine and Zucchi's clearly a rhetorical pose. That Ammannati should be cited here may point to an example within his milieu that Zucchi is engaging and emulating with wit. Later, Pfisterer engages similar repudiations by Simonides of Syracuse as a way of connecting Zucchi's statements with the inventor of mnemonics in antiquity. Morel also briefly notes Ammannati, while Aurigemma believes the *Discorso* does not pretend at all to the repudiation of the pagan gods.

¹⁹¹ Zucchi, 64, 67, 69. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 67, 68–69. Interestingly, in original copies of the *Discorso* and in the Garland facsimile edition, bound with Baldini's description of the pageant held for Prince Francesco de' Medici's wedding in 1565, also on the theme of the ancient gods, there are two Hercules title identifications. Saxl's transcribed edition from 1927 does not included the second of these titles, but only nods to its existence, using small caps on the first word after the

sectional breaks that distinguish one set of surfaces from another (e.g., *testate*, the short walls that comprise the common wall with the rest of the palace or the terminus of the Galleria, or *facciate*, the long side walls), all of which creates the sequential order of figures that make up Zucchi's counterintuitive pathway through the imagery for the reader and the viewer. Essential as this order is for comprehending the literary inspiration of the *Discorso*, the subjects in the Galleria, and the sense of both works and their parts, the order itself also participates in Zucchi's sophisticated rhetorical system. Zucchi cleverly dispensed with the sectional title for the vault—by beginning with Caelum (fig. 59), the sky god, called Cielo in Italian, Zucchi both suggests the sky as the locus of beginning and the direction toward which the viewer need turn in order to begin. In fact, Zucchi's last sentence in the prefatory material before turning to Caelum is a clever chiasmus worthy of any rhetorician: "However, coming to the conclusion, from great father Caelum we take the beginning of our reasonings" (Però, venendo alla conclusione, dal gran padre Cielo pigliaremo principio del nostro ragionamento).¹⁹² Signalling the end of the beginning of the introduction as the beginning of the beginning of the material itself is a sophisticated move, one that promises greater rhetorical fireworks within.

title, "VOgliono." Another peculiarity is the group title, after Atlas but before Maia, for Atlas, Maia, and Pan, the three figures described just before Hercules in the text.

¹⁹² Zucchi, 9. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43.

II Burchiello: Zucchi's Image of Himself in the *Discorso*

Zucchi's statements about himself within the *Discorso* have been seized upon the most by previous scholars. Saxl, reading everything within the treatise as a statement made in earnest, felt Zucchi was a true believer in the supremacy of the Catholic faith, and a figure predisposed to announce "[his] vile and depressed condition" (la vile, e dipressa [sua] conditione).¹⁹³ As early as 1929, only two years after the publication of *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance*, at least one reviewer found Saxl's belief in Zucchi's statements, especially regarding religion, to be too serious.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, in the passages about himself inserted into those about the gods and emperors, Zucchi makes a great show of underscoring that "needing to navigate outside of my profession, I confess that within myself I remained confused; but pushed on finally by necessity" (douendo...fuor della mia professione nauigare, confesso, che ne rimasi in me

¹⁹³ Saxl, "Un 'Discorso'...", 422–423. Zucchi, 67. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 68. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:34–35. Pillsbury also takes Zucchi at his word about the nature of his melancholia, citing three principal reasons for this state: (1) the difficulty of being the head of the family after the death of his father 1571, including his mother, mentioned by Vasari; (2) the isolation and alienation of working for one patron alone; and (3) his late acceptance into Roman artists' associations, like the Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon and the Accademia di San Luca. Curiously, however, this statement by Zucchi comes at the beginning of the Hercules passage, adjacent to the statements about the greatness of the Rucellai, possibly making it a rhetorical *contrapposto* in order further to vaunt the greatness of the Rucellai. See footnote 143 for Lohaus's alternative reading of this passage.

¹⁹⁴ Frank Jewett Mather, Review of *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance, ein Freskenzyklus und ein Discorso des Jacopo Zucchi*, by Fritz Saxl. *American Journal of Archaeology* 33:1 (January–March 1929): 154–155. Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 304–305. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura: L'impresa di Jacopo Zucchi nella *superba e ricca Galleria* di Palazzo Rucellai," in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 166. This position has been confirmed by more recent scholars, most notably Philippe Morel and Fernando Rigon, and is consonant with my own opinions, formed before reading Rigon's work.

stesso confuso; ma spinto finalmente dalla necessità)¹⁹⁵ he proceeded valiantly to describe the works by his own hand. Zucchi later says:

I take [as my subject] the most famous and celebrated Gods. And may it be to our defense, against those most consummate in such a profession, that if, according to their opinion, they do not remain satisfied. For if those ancients, who with such curiosity and study, did not know how to discern the light of truth, how could I, and not only in this, for I am blind in my own profession? I would have tried to understand which of those things, among the many lies, has an air of truth. If I know well one thing, without a doubt, it is that, as with the truth, I will be accused of ignorance, that beneath these skins, there is no meat. This I do not deny.¹⁹⁶

Zucchi's posturing here suggests that even connoisseurs sometimes have no idea what they are talking about, as a way of expressing the modesty of his attempt and his belief that it will come under fire. However, there is a slyness to this passage, ending as it does with Zucchi's refusal to deny the charge against him, a clear evocation of the Passion narratives and Christ's response to the questioning of the High Priest, the Sanhedrin, and Pontius Pilate. Zucchi continues the tropes of ignorance and omniscience in his word and phrase choices elsewhere in the text.

Twice in the text, Zucchi applies the comic name *il Burchiello* to himself.¹⁹⁷

Il Burchiello is the moniker of Domenico di Giovanni, a fifteenth-century

¹⁹⁵ Zucchi, 9. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43.

¹⁹⁶ Zucchi, 8. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43. The original text reads: "pigliando dico i più famosi, e celebri Dei; e sia in nostra scusa, con i consumati in tal professione, se non rimarranno, secondo il parer loro, satisfatti; poiche, se quelli antichi, che con tanta curiosità, e studio, non seppero discernere il lume della verità; manco io, che non solo in questa; ma nella mia istessa professione, cieco sono; haurò potuto intendere qual di loro, frà le tante bugie, ne habbia vna composta, che del verisimile habbia. Se ben sò, che senza dubbio mi sarà imputato (come è il vero) ad ignoranza, il pensare, che sotto queste scorze, non ci sia del suco. Dico, che nol niego."

¹⁹⁷ Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material, 12. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 39, 45.

Florentine who became a sort of accidental literary figure.¹⁹⁸ Trained and working as a barber, il Burchiello saw the coalescence of a community of literati at his shop. This circle originated a genre of comic-realistic poetry, and il Burchiello was considered one of its most brilliant voices.¹⁹⁹ Here, Zucchi has found the appropriate type, a simple craftsman, navigating outside of his discipline, to achieve acclaim for extraordinary work in which he has no formal training, with whom to compare himself, in order to convey the tonal complexity of the *Discorso*.

Though he does not hesitate to underscore his humility and preference for the profession of painting, characterized as the work of a humble craftsman,²⁰⁰ Zucchi is again establishing a symbiotic dichotomy for rhetorical effect. The very idea of battling against the need to leaf through books and read²⁰¹ in order to describe the content and the invention of the Galleria Rucellai stands in direct contrast to the statements made in the *Amorevolissimi* dedication, where Zucchi characterizes the work of painting and ordering things as “the greater labor” (la maggior fatica), and the act of writing as one done from memory.²⁰² While it is

¹⁹⁸ G. Patrizi, “Domenico di Giovanni, detto il Burchiello,” *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 40:621.

¹⁹⁹ Patrizi, “Domenico di Giovanni, detto il Burchiello,” *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 40:621.

²⁰⁰ Zucchi, 8–9, 12, 60. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43, 45, 65.

²⁰¹ Zucchi, 8–9. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43.

²⁰² Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 39. Rigon, “Pittura e scrittura...,” in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 114–115. Morel, “Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria,” in *Roma di Sisto V*, 305. The idea that the work was done from memory may be another rhetorical device used by Zucchi, who left out the identifications of the *bronzi finti* on either side of Diana-Luna, and inverted the identities of the *marmi finti* flanking Maia. There are also discrepancies between certain of his descriptions of the allegorical figures surrounding the Caesar busts and the

true that Zucchi had, in the past, expressed similar sentiments about labor and difficulties, especially in his letter to Ferdinando regarding the consolidation of the households that he oversaw,²⁰³ it seems difficult to believe, in the face of so much text, that this posture of humility and ignorance is not just that.²⁰⁴ The trope of the modest craftsman offering to his aristocratic patron the humble work of his hands attends the very roots of artistic practice and anecdote, even as far back as Apelles' work in the service of Alexander the Great.²⁰⁵ Rather than being an accurate reflection of the artist's feelings about himself, this characterization is a pose meant to satisfy the expectations of artist, patron, and, in this case, reader/visitor. As a rhetorical gesture designed to maintain the social balance between all parties involved, however, there is also an implicit inversion, whereby the greatness of the natural talents of the artist imparts a kind of nobility on him, no matter how humble or exalted his beginnings. That Saxl fell prey to the trap of reading the *Discorso* literally is a further testament to the subtlety of the

figures as they exist today, though scholars seem content to dismiss these differences as possible repaintings of the wall surfaces.

²⁰³ Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 118–119, Appendix I, Document 16.

²⁰⁴ Pfisterer, 336–337. Pfisterer does assign some, but not all, of the credit to Zucchi in his passage.

²⁰⁵ Pliny, *Natural History*, Loeb Classical Library (1952), 9:325. (*Naturalis Historia*, XXXV.85–87). The example of Apelles and Alexander the Great shows the great influence the humble painter can exert on the high-born patron. In this short passage, Pliny furnishes us with three examples. First, Apelles' "great courtesy of manners" earned him the distinction of being the only painter authorized to paint Alexander the Great's portrait. Second, when Alexander speaks about painting as if possessed of knowledge, inviting sniggers from Apelles' studio assistants, the artist "would politely advise [Alexander] to drop the subject...so much power did his authority exercise over a King who was otherwise of an irascible temper." Finally, and perhaps most famously, discovering that the artist had fallen in love with his favorite mistress Campaspe while painting her in the guise of Venus, Alexander presented her to Apelles, who received "not only his bedmate but his affection."

document and the sophistication of its rhetoric and tone. Unsurprisingly, Zucchi's self-fashioning in the *Discorso* extends beyond his self-referential statements and the sheer volume of text compiled.

Us versus Me, or The Importance of Number

One of the concealed features of the text of the *Discorso* is the use of first person plural verbs. Zucchi casts almost all of the text as a linguistic journey taken by us, rather than him. While Zucchi does refer to himself, both as the first person singular intended subject of certain sentences, and in the third person as an object, more often than not, his phrases include plural verbs.²⁰⁶ Constructed in this fashion, we read a passage in Diodorus about Bacchus,²⁰⁷ we can say that certain authors believe Vesta to have been synonymous with the fire her priestesses protected,²⁰⁸ and we observe the esteem of Apollodorus's opinions about Caelum.²⁰⁹ This move on Zucchi's part extends beyond verbs and into "our painting" (*nostra pittura*),²¹⁰ a phrase to which Zucchi has repeated recourse. By conflating our separate identities, we become part of "our profession" (*nostra*

²⁰⁶ Vasari, *Lives*, 328. It bears remembering that Vasari, too, used both the first person and third person singular to refer to himself within the text of the *Lives*. This particular passage shows the kind of range of self-reference of which he was capable, and may be a source for Zucchi's tricks within the *Discorso*: "This drawing is now kept by me among my treasured possessions. I received it from Granaccio, along with other drawings by Michelangelo, for my book of drawings; and in 1550, when he was in Rome, Giorgio Vasari showed it to Michelangelo who recognized it and was delighted to see it again."

²⁰⁷ Zucchi, 57. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 64.

²⁰⁸ Zucchi, 53. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 62.

²⁰⁹ Zucchi, 10. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 44.

²¹⁰ Zucchi, 14, 18, 53, 61. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 45, 47, 62, 65. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 114. Rigon also notes this use, but feels it is meant to elide only to other painters, the narrow reading of the *amorevolissimi* dedication.

professione),²¹¹ members of his team of assistants, and participants in executing the invention and the resulting decorative ensemble that is the Galleria Rucellai. The furthest extent of this usage comes in the discussion of one of the images related to Julius Caesar: “but beneath the said head, that is in the pedestal, one sees another figure also of feigned bronze, which has wings on its feet and shoulder, and holds a falcon in one hand, and a moon on its head, and we take this figure to be the Swiftness of Caesar.”²¹² By saying that we take the figure’s identity to be Caesar’s famed Swiftness, Zucchi casts doubt on whether or not we can know precisely if this is her true identity, as if the image had been unearthed in the Domus Aurea and the identity supplied merely a guess based on logic. While this adds the subconscious, momentary luster of antiquity²¹³ to the images Zucchi is describing, it destabilizes him and us as knowing readers and viewers of the images within the Galleria. However, Zucchi contrasts this low point elsewhere in the document, retaining for himself a kind of “first among equals” position, manifested in a variety of ways. The first is in disagreement or distancing, especially in phrases like: “but, turning to our painting, I say that in the *testata* of the Gallery, on the north side, according to what one sees in the

²¹¹ Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material, 74. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 38, 71.

²¹² Zucchi, 86. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 76. The original text: “ma sotto à detta testa, cioè nel piedestallo, si vede vn'altra figura pur di bronzo finta, laquale con l'ali à piedi, & alle spalle, tiene in vna mano vn falcone, & vna luna in testa, & questa per la Celerità di Cesare la pigliaremo.”

²¹³ Vasari, *Lives*, 329–331, 334. This passage may be the textual equivalent of Michelangelo’s actual attempts to tinge his drawings and sculptures to achieve feigned antiquity, as described by Vasari in the *Lives*.

compartment, there cold Saturn was made in a large painting.”²¹⁴ The contrast between *nostra pittura* and Zucchi’s *dico* creates a space wherein Zucchi can supply to the remainder of us information to which we are not privy. This cancels out the effect of *nostra pittura* and the feeling that we have stood or are standing in the Galleria, possessed of certain knowledge. Zucchi amplifies this negation, to the point of omniscience, in one of his repeated phrases: “ne mi è nascosto,” or “nor is it hidden from me.”²¹⁵ Zucchi uses this construction to introduce additional facts about the identities within the space, re-establishing the distance between himself and us. These instances are the antithesis of Zucchi’s protestations of ignorance, in that they evidence his ability to scour all written knowledge for the fact presented, as well as of his genial inclusion of the rest of us within the apprehension of his intellectual labors and the completion of those physical ones.

Anaphora, Prolepsis, Synecdoche: Classic Rhetorical Devices

Zucchi’s use of language in the *Discorso* is carefully crafted to achieve a desired effect, without that effect registering *in medias res* in the mind of the reader. Three principle devices taken from ancient rhetoric, anaphora, prolepsis, and synecdoche, work in concert to create part of this subtle effect.²¹⁶ Anaphora is the repeated use of a word or a phrase to achieve a desired end, the most

²¹⁴ Zucchi, 14. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 45. The original text: “però tornando alla nostra pittura, dico nella testata della Galleria, dalla banda di Tramontana, secondo che si vede nel compartimento, si è fatto in vn quadro grande il freddo Saturno.”

²¹⁵ Zucchi, 13, 28, 39, 42, 52, 66. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 45, 51, 56, 57, 62, 68. While the phrase varies in verb mood and negative identifier, only twice, in the passages about Neptune and Pan, does Zucchi transform this into a first person plural, where “mi” becomes “ci” (we).

²¹⁶ Zucchi’s use of chiasmus and other rhetorical devices has been noted earlier in this chapter.

consistent of the three devices used by Zucchi. Prolepsis is the engagement of a topic or idea by pretending to ignore it, used less frequently.²¹⁷ Synecdoche, finally, is the use of a part of something to stand in for the whole, used least frequently but no less deftly than the other two. Zucchi uses these three devices to unify the text that he had carefully titled, and therefore subdivided, into a cohesive whole with a consistent message.

At the level of single words, Zucchi repeats much of the vocabulary he uses within the 49000+ word text of the treatise. Reading the words of *Discorso*, it is surprising how ordinary most of them are. This easily-grasped vocabulary and its anaphoristic repetition are key to comprehending the sophisticated rhetoric Zucchi employs. Words emphasizing the three visual arts appear most frequently, with sculpture (96) represented by *statua* (statue) (26), *rilevo* (relief) (2), *medaglia* (medal) (20), *riverso* (reverse) (20), *cammeo* (cameo) (9), *pedistallo* (pedestal) (15), and *colosso* (colossus) (4); painting (88) by *pittura* (painting) (22), *quadro* (picture) (43), and *dipinto* (painting) (23); and architecture (78) by *palazzo* (palace) (9), *tempio* (temple) and several limited-use Latin terms Zucchi makes synonymous (69). Repeated emphasis on adjectives, like *avaro* (greedy) (23), *crudele* (cruel) (70), *sporco* (filthy) (20), and *scelerato* (wicked) (19), make Zucchi's argument about the depravities of pre-Christian societies and their religious beliefs, as do nouns like *lussuria* (luxury) (11) and *vitupero* (vituperation) (20). Zucchi also cross-connects certain words like *stravagante*

²¹⁷ Pfisterer, 341. In his discussion of the Hyades and Pleiades as presented in the *Discorso*, Pfisterer hints at this as a rhetorical strategy employed by Zucchi, who brought them up briefly, relying on the idea that his readership would know the remaining information necessary to comprehend both the text and the images.

(extravagant) (19), *suntuoso* (sumptuous) (18), and *famoso* (famous) (34) to forge links between the parts of ancient civilizations he finds less objectionable and his own works. This may be most meaningful in the case of *casa* (house) (31). Whether in English or in Italian, the word is commonly used both to denote house or home in a domestic sense and the zodiacal houses of the planetary gods. Zucchi has turned this to his specific advantage in the treatise. The first two uses of *casa* are references to the Rucellai palace containing the Galleria,²¹⁸ while the subsequent five uses engage the celestial meaning,²¹⁹ causing stellar destiny linked with the constellations to intersect with the domestic space of Zucchi's patrons and even their lineage in the eighth use of the term.²²⁰ Repetitions of *secolo* (century) (14) establish the temporal boundaries that separate Zucchi's time from that of the ancients, as well as develop the idea of eras of great scope for each society, while repeated emphasis on *infinito* (infinite) (113), *mille* (thousand) (41), and *millione* (million) (7) help to create the feeling of abundance, encyclopedic scope, and completeness discerned by authors like Ulrich Pfisterer.²²¹ Most important, though, are the repetitions of *ordine/ordinare* (order/to order) (48) and *(ri)tornare* (to (re)turn) (58), as they help to establish

²¹⁸ Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material, 8. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 38, 43.

²¹⁹ Zucchi, 21, 27 [twice], 31, 40. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 48, 51 [twice], 52, 56.

²²⁰ Zucchi, 67. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 68. Domestic and familial meanings of the word predominate thereafter in the passages about the Suetonian Caesars.

²²¹ Pfisterer, 325–328. Strinati, “Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai,” in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 188. Lohaus, 13–14. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1077, dated 14 November 1609. Pfisterer connects the Galleria Rucellai to a similar space with encyclopedic character executed for the Savoy in 1605 (four years before the rental of the Rucellai palace by the Savoird ambassador, and therefore not determined by his experience of it), while Lohaus sees this tendency already in Zucchi's work in the Sala delle Stagioni at Palazzo Firenze.

Zucchi's aim of explaining how the Galleria is meant to be understood and in what order, as well as to emphasize the nature of movement, both mental and physical, required to apprehend that order.

In fact, *(ri)tornare* figures prominently in a multiply repeated phrase found in the *Discorso*, one that again, like the verb forms and possessive adjectives mentioned in the previous section, reflects on Zucchi's intelligence. His continued use of the forms "but let us return to our discourse/reasoning/proposition" (*ma (ri)torniamo al nostro discorso/ragionamento/proposito*)²²² or "enough" (*a bastanza/basta*)²²³ are textual indices of his mastery of the material that grate against his statements decrying intellectual exertions on the part of the artist, characterized as a simple craftsman. Both statements truncate what Zucchi intimates *could* have been longer investigations of each figure²²⁴ and the natural deviations into ancillary conversations that enrich and deepen comprehension of his chosen figures. These statements also function as prolepsis, in that they hint at what is there before ignoring it in a change of subject. This finds its rhetorical counterpoint in the places where Zucchi says he will say a few words that will be sufficient about a certain figure, and then proceeds on for pages.²²⁵ The first

²²² Zucchi, 28, 35, 39, 40, 48, 51, 53, 67, 75, 80, 89, 90, 117, 129, 155. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 51, 54, 56 [twice], 60, 61, 62, 68, 71, 73, 77 [twice], 89, 94, 105.

²²³ Zucchi, 14, 24, 26, 42, 44, 61, 71, 72 [twice], 85, 93, 132. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 45, 50, 51, 57, 58, 65, 70 [three times], 75, 79, 95.

²²⁴ Ould, 5. Ould advances the idea that these statements reflect Zucchi's adoption of Borghini's inventive process, wherein Borghini would write about a given figure or element until he had completely filled up the sheet of paper, and then conclude the discussion of each.

²²⁵ Zucchi, 86. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 76. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 184. Rigon seizes upon Zucchi's facetious use of this phrase in the introduction to Octavian in the *Discorso*.

phrase, in its three possible final words, reminds the reader of the interchangeability of the first two terms within this anaphoristic context, subtly eliding together Zucchi's treatise and Vasari's dialogue by using their one-word titles as synecdoches. This underscores Zucchi's indebtedness to Vasari as instructor in both the decorative and textual realms. By relying on the concept of satiety or sufficiency when there could be textual surfeit on par with the visual, Zucchi implicitly acknowledges that there is more to know in order to comprehend each figure and, by extension, the program as a whole, supporting the theory that Zucchi is playing with reader and that reading between and beyond the lines is necessary. Without knowing the precise temporal circumstances of the writing of the *Discorso*, one might even be tempted to take the argument even further by suggesting the lacunae certain scholars note as proof that Zucchi died while writing are intentional, making the treatise a document that seems incomplete by accident, but is so on purpose.

Zucchi the Theorist: Words, the *Paragone*, and Michelangelo

Beyond rhetoric, and in consideration of the first meaning assigned to Zucchi's dedication to the *Amorevolissimi*, the *Discorso* stands as a singular opportunity for the artist to espouse ideas about making art. Again, this potential within the document is explored at the level of the word, specifically Zucchi's curious language choices with regard to the description of the busts of the twelve Suetonian Caesars and the elements surrounding them on the wall sections. Zucchi describes each of the portrait busts as a *medaglia* and the placard-shaped painted images of the frieze level above as a *riverso*. This is not

particularly unusual, given that the legends Zucchi used around the busts and the images in the frieze placards all derive from a numismatic treatise by Sebastiano Erizzo.²²⁶ Though he does not use numismatic terms to describe them, the allegorical images that appear above and below each bust also have particular vocabulary: the upper image is described as a *cammeo* and the lower as a *pedistallo*. Though only the busts are works of sculpture, each of these four words is sculpturally tied, insofar as the first three describe surfaces of relief, while the fourth is a support. *Medaglia* and *riverso* are perhaps the most important of the four terms, as they evoke sculpture's objecthood and the numismatic medium's ability to be turned over in the hand. This possibility underscores the experience of sculpture as one that unfolds as an index of time, sequentially, just as Zucchi's description of the ordinal viewing of his painted elements within the Galleria does. Participants in the *paragone* debate current in the later Cinquecento used this aspect of sculpture to suggest its superiority, since the sculptor could show all the parts of the subject to the viewer, who needed only to move around the work to experience all aspects. As a painter trained by Vasari and made a member of the Florentine academy from an early age,²²⁷ Zucchi was undoubtedly familiar with this debate, and unquestionably a partisan of the painting camp.

Keeping his terminology to examples of relief sculpture, Zucchi affirms that movement around a sculptural object is not always possible. Calling the busts

²²⁶ Lohaus, 28–29. Pfisterer, 333. Ould, 7.

²²⁷ Calcagno, 3. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:12.

medaglie and insetting them into the wall sections of the Galleria, in fact, goes beyond this, by denying the viewer access to other sides of the sculpture. Finally, and perhaps most tellingly for the supremacy of painting and an evocation of its origins, the appeal to relief surfaces recalls the story of the Corinthian Maid in Pliny the Elder.²²⁸ This tale, where drawing, which can be elided with another important Florentine art theoretical term, *disegno*, serves as the origin of painting in an act of mimesis, which is later monumentalized as a relief surface. Zucchi's engagement with sculpture through the use of this terminology becomes increasingly more important if Ingrid Lohaus's thesis about the origins of the Galleria Rucellai is indeed correct. If the Galleria were constructed solely as a place for the display of the busts of the twelve Caesars,²²⁹ Zucchi, as a painter

²²⁸ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 35.5.15–16, 35.43.151–152. Victor I. Stoichitã, *A Short History of the Shadow* (London: Reaktion, 1997), 11. Pliny places monochromatic painting at the origin of that art in the same passages. Uncoincidentally, Zucchi's paintings described as sculptures are either strict monochromes or *stucchi* or *marmi finti* against colored backgrounds, a kind of dichromatic representation.

²²⁹ Lotti, 15. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:161. Lohaus, 39–40, 92–93, 144. Maria Grazia Picozzi, "Le antichità," in Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Palazzo Ruspoli* (Rome: Editalia, 1992), 236–237. Aurigemma, "Spunti...", 47. D'Amelio, "Le famiglie...", in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 22. Despite repeated emphasis on Orazio Rucellai as a collector of sculpture, the authors who advance this idea have little to no documentary support for this phenomenon, apart from the clear narrative of the famous bronze horse. Pillsbury is perhaps the first one to assert that, "unlike Ferdinando de' Medici..., Orazio Rucellai did not own an important collection of sculpture or other precious art objects to form the basis of an elaborate decorative scheme... In the Rucellai gallery the painted decorations were designed to compensate for the lack of 'real' art objects." Lohaus herself also admits this, casting doubt on the idea that an entire palace wing, worth considerably more than the 1000 *scudi* price of a series of busts, would be built solely for the purpose of housing them. Her acknowledgement that the Galleria wing of the Palazzo Ruspoli symmetrically balances the via del Corso façade of the extant core of the palace as purchased by Orazio Rucellai and her assertion that the number of Caesar busts determined the very architecture of the Galleria, and therefore the number of gods Zucchi could paint on the vault, are similarly contradictory and destabilizing. Picozzi points to a 1632 inventory, citing seven sculptures, five of them busts, that the Caetani were returning to the descendants of Orazio Rucellai. Being as late as it is, there is no way to determine if these works were collected after his lifetime, or where in the palace complex they were displayed. Affirming that Orazio Rucellai did not have a collection sufficient to justify Lohaus's logic, Aurigemma makes the bold claim that the painting, rather than the sculpture, shaped the architecture of the Galleria Rucellai. D'Amelio points to post-Rucellai display of sculpture in the Galleria.

formed on the idea of painting's supremacy, may be using his treatise as a way to evidence his belief in painting's superiority, both in general and in the space in particular, by profiting from the standard mode of incorporating sculptures such as these into the fabric of a room. In truth, his frescoes within the Galleria Rucellai dwarf and eclipse the sculptural component, reaffirming the preeminence of painting as a medium. Even Zucchi's arrangement of the description and titling confirm that his painted cycles are primary, while the sculptural component is secondary, reinforcing the hierarchy of media preferred by painting's devotees. The linear nature of the text of the *Discorso* itself and the paths it suggests for sequential viewership is a meta-example of Zucchi affirming the primacy of *disegno*-based art, since the treatise draws a line for us to follow through the room.

Because comparison is implicit in the very word *paragone*, it seems logical that Zucchi would also use the text of his treatise as a space in which to engage the mastery of Michelangelo, set up by Vasari in the *Lives* as the unassailable champion of the visual arts. As anyone who visits the Galleria Rucellai acknowledges immediately, Zucchi's great inspiration for the vault decoration is Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling (fig. 48–49). However, lacking the capacity to replicate the fictive architectural framework as an immediate visual impression in text, Zucchi needed to find other ways to engage the Sistine precedent. Three of Zucchi's Biblical citations in the text of the *Discorso* are to passages associated with scenes from the Sistine vault: the original moment of creation, when God the

Father separates the light from the darkness;²³⁰ the drunkenness of Noah after the Flood;²³¹ and Judith inebriating Holofernes in order to behead him and save her people.²³² Zucchi cites the first of these passages in connection with his discussion of Mercury, the penultimate planetary god on the vault, and the figure located in the analogous position to Michelangelo's fresco in the papal chapel (compare figs. 3 and 60). Though the other two scenes appear adjacent on the entry end of the Sistine Chapel, the stories are cited in the treatise as evidence of the effects of intoxication in connection with Bacchus, who appears at the Galleria's midpoint on the western or garden *facciata*.²³³ By recalling these episodes, two of which do not have the longest visual tradition outside the Sistine Chapel,²³⁴ Zucchi is guiding the reader to his engagement with Michelangelo's art in Rome.

²³⁰ Genesis 1:3–5. Zucchi, 34. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 54.

²³¹ Genesis 9:21. Zucchi, 58. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 64.

²³² Judith 13:2–8. Zucchi, 59. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 64.

²³³ Zucchi, 58–59. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 64. These passages, along with the episode of Lot and his daughters (Genesis 19:29–38) and two single-verse quotes (Sirach 19:2 and Ephesians 5:18), appear together, as exhortations to moderation, consistent with themes and messages about identity and the use of the Galleria, discussed at length in Chapter Five. Strangely, though, Zucchi has also included the destruction of Job's children (Job 1:8–19) in with these passages warning of the excesses of wine, perhaps pointing to a darker strain in his wit, since the bet between God and Satan, rather than the wine being consumed during the meal, was what brought about their deaths.

²³⁴ Andor Pigler, *Barockthemen: eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 1:29–30, 192–197. Pigler lists approximately twenty prior examples, including Michelangelo's, of depictions of the *Drunkenness of Noah*, with sculptural reliefs, portable paintings, and frescoes as the predominant media. There are no citations of other instances of the scene of God the Father separating light from darkness, and forty-one instances, in various media, for Judith and Holofernes.

Zucchi's repeated and rhetorical statements of his pain, suffering, and insufficiency within the text of the *Discorso* may also be evocations of Michelangelo's similar and more famous laments about the difficulties of painting the Sistine Chapel. The poetic form and small sketch of the artist himself executing the frescoes (fig. 61)²³⁵ may not have had a wide audience, but, given Vasari's voracious devotion to the master and Zucchi's own position within Vasari's world, it seems likely that they would have known about this work.²³⁶ Michelangelo's complaint of a sore neck in the poem about his Sistine travails may even have inspired Vasari's use of similar pain in the *Ragionamenti* as a way to move the reader through counterintuitive sequence, an aspect of Vasari's text we have already associated with the *Discorso*.²³⁷ Zucchi's exchange of the physical pains (paint dripping into the eyes, a sore back and neck, and a goiter) described by Michelangelo in the poem for the confusion and mental exertion of reading to discover information about his subjects creates a chiasmic balance, the

²³⁵ See Appendix C for the full text of the poem, both in Italian and English.

²³⁶ Charles de Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo* (Novara: Istituto geografico De Agostini, 1975), 1:126 and figure 174 recto. De Tolnay records that Michelangelo sent the drawing and poem to a certain Giovanni da Pistoia, and notes only this extraneous connection, citing the provenance as a direct line from the master to the Casa Buonarrotti collections. De Tolnay also notes the similarities in the Vasari and Condivi accounts of Michelangelo's painting of the Sistine Ceiling (i.e., standing rather than lying down) to the depiction in the drawing as evidence, if not that the sheet was known to the authors, then at least that they knew Michelangelo had painted in this posture.

²³⁷ Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 139–140, as cited in Passignat, "Vasari e i Ragionamenti in Palazzo Vecchio," 124. Vasari, *Lives*, 354. Vasari himself notes Michelangelo's neck pain, comparing it to his own from painting rooms in the Palazzo Vecchio, in the *Lives*. His final sentences on the matter might be a facetious acknowledgment of the drawing and sonnet, or simply a way to using the knowledge of Michelangelo's discomfort as a way to vaunt the image of his exceptional characteristics: "I am astonished that Michelangelo bore all that discomfort so well. In fact, every day the work moved him to greater enthusiasm, and he was spurred on by his own progress and improvements that he felt no fatigue and ignored all the discomfort."

famed intellectual artist complaining of bodily aches and the humble craftsman lamenting the work of the mind.

A final engagement with the master may have occurred without Zucchi intending it. Much has been made in the modern scholarly literature of Michelangelo's *non finito*, the unfinished state of certain of his works, and how, even in their incompleteness, these works reveal the fully-realized designs Michelangelo intended. Vasari himself helped begin the trend: "In addition, Michelangelo blocked out in the Office of Works of Santa Maria del Fiore a marble statue of St. Matthew (fig. 62). Rough as it is, this is a perfect work of art which serves to teach other sculptors how to carve a statue out of marble without making any mistakes, perfecting the figure gradually by removing the stone judiciously and being able to alter what has been done as and when necessary."²³⁸ The text of Zucchi's treatise is similar in certain respects. At the end of the passage about Apollo, Zucchi says: "But, as with infinite other things, I let this pass, for two reasons: first, because this site was insufficient to contain all the minutia in paint, and, the other, in an effort to flee as much as possible from running the same risk in which today one finds countless others, who, in filling reams of paper with grotesques, make an ambitious meal of blisters an offering to the Muses."²³⁹ Zucchi's stated reasons here call on the reader to be a viewer,

²³⁸ Vasari, *Lives*, 339–340.

²³⁹ Zucchi, 28. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 51–52. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 133. The original passage reads: "Ma così questo, come altre infinite cose, le passo, per due ragioni: prima, perché il sito non è stato capace a mettere così ogni minutia in pittura: l'altra, per fuggir quanto possiamo di non cascare in quel medesimo vischio, che hoggi in molti, & infiniti si vede, che, empiendo vn quinterno di carta di Grottesche, fanno alle Muse vn ambizioso pasto di vessiche."

to see all the details he could not write, or conversely supply all those that he could not paint. Zucchi's treatment, at the end of the document, of the *spiriti illustri*, is similar, with their specific images undescribed, but a list of their identities, vowed structures, and painted text legends carefully included.²⁴⁰ These may, in fact, be other places where Jacopo Zucchi chose to play with the viewer, denying description to induce desire to see the work itself and suggesting incompleteness in the text, while giving enough contour to discern the remainder that lies hidden in the space of prolepsis, an appropriation of sculptural method from Michelangelo in the arena of authorship.

Unifying these threads within the works of Michelangelo, Michael Rohlmann sees the poses of Michelangelo's self-caricature, that of God the Father in the *Separation of Light from Dark*, the unfinished *Saint Matthew* for the Florentine *duomo*, and the *Laocoön* (fig. 63) as nearly identical, all expressing a nexus of restive struggle that leads to creation or suggests completion.²⁴¹ This network of images of productive struggle can perhaps again be tied to Zucchi's words in the *Discorso*. In his *Amorevolissimi* dedication, Zucchi laments that there are those in the world who, like the god Momus, mock "the labors of the miserable and virtuous" (le fatiche di miseri virtuosi).²⁴² Recalling Michelangelo's images and inspirations, both completed and not, and all lauded as masterworks,

²⁴⁰ Zucchi, 169. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 110.

²⁴¹ Michael Rohlmann, "Rome: Vatican Palace: Sistine Chapel," in Julian-Matthias Kliemann and Michael Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes: High Renaissance and Mannerism, 1510–1600*, trans. Steven Lindberg (New York: Abbeville Press, 2004), 96.

²⁴² Zucchi, unpaginated prefatory material. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 39.

Zucchi reassures his fellow artists and encourages them to learn from Buonarrotti's example, underscoring Vasari's statements about the didactic power of the unfinished *Saint Matthew* as well as modern scholarship's own understanding of the *Discorso* as a teaching tool.²⁴³

However, since we do not know whether the text of the *Discorso* was as complete as Jacopo Zucchi intended in May 1592 when he died, these hypotheses remain tantalizing, but impossible to confirm.

Conclusion

The opening words of the *Discorso sopra li dei de' Gentili* perfectly capture all that Jacopo Zucchi intended, seemingly, to achieve with the treatise: "Grandissima stoltitia" (Greatest foolishness).²⁴⁴ With these two words, Zucchi embarks on his condemnation, be it serious or facetious, depending on the reader, of ancient religion and ancient gods; his description of his own invention; and discussions of the stars and the personalities of long-dead emperors, while setting the tone for the entire document. The endeavor is meant to be understood lightly, for so much of what happens in the past can be viewed retrospectively as having been of the greatest foolishness. Spilling forth from the mouth of il Burchiello, the content described and the judgments against ancient cultures, who participated in the grand folly of not being Catholicism, are similarly a great folly, one designed to be tonally undetectable to the reader who seeks for serious discussion of the topics presented, or mockingly witty in its effacement of the

²⁴³ Saxl, "Un 'Discorso'...", 424, 426. Ould, 4–5.

²⁴⁴ Zucchi, 1. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 40.

liberal intellectual-artist who authored it carefully. Most importantly, those first two words of the treatise itself provide the clue that bridges the gap between the rhetoric of the text of the *Discorso* and the meaning of the invention it elaborates and describes.

As initial words, *grandissima stoltitia* are the exact opposite of another pair of famous contemporary initial words: *Inter gravissimas*. These are the opening words, and therefore, by tradition, the title, of Gregory XIII's papal bull of 24 February 1582, the document that laid out the calendar reform mandated by the Council of Trent, undertaken by the Bolognese pope, and designed by a commission selected personally by him. Set against this temporally transformative document's *incipit*, the words that start Jacopo Zucchi's treatise are a kind of challenge. They cause the conscious and careful reader to realize that, though the papacy may consider the calendrical discrepancy and its adjustment among the gravest matters, the idea of time as a malleable construct that can be erased, remeasured, and "fixed," likely struck many as the greatest foolishness. That the words engage the document that changed time signals, too, that time will be a great and determining factor in comprehending the decoration of the Galleria Rucellai, and that Jacopo Zucchi sought, in his own way, with his written and painted works, to handle time delicately at the dawn of an era that would use the concept as a metaphor in ways he could not yet dream.

Chapter Three—Mythic Pasts: Macrocosm and Microcosm through Time on the Vault of the Galleria Rucellai

Of the individual elements coordinated by Jacopo Zucchi in his decoration and description of the gallery in Orazio Rucellai's Roman palace, the frescoes on the vaulted ceiling have easily garnered the most scholarly attention (fig. 55).²⁴⁵ This area of the decoration contains a profusion of attributes and attending figures for the fourteen mythological beings that ring the ceiling, derived from the consultation of period mythographic texts and programmatic handbooks, like Vincenzo Cartari's *Le Immagini degli dei*, Lilio Giraldi's *De Deis Gentium*, and Giovanni Boccaccio's *Geneologia de gli Dei*.²⁴⁶ Inside this ring, a further five mythological gods and goddesses appear. Unlike their peripheral counterparts, they ride more highly visible triumphal carts, borne forward more clearly by signal animals, and are attended by smaller corteges and zodiac representations. Between the fourteen and the five, gilded bronze medallions with all twelve zodiac constellations perch atop spandrels that lead downward to a series of lunettes and faux stucco cartouches, each of which features one or more of the remaining thirty-six Ptolemaic constellations. With a superabundance of imagery such as this, the ceiling seems the logical place to begin investigating Zucchi's masterpiece. The temptation has been to read the confluence of zodiac and mythological planetary imagery as having horoscopic significance for the patron, but no commission documents or significant life events for Orazio Rucellai and

²⁴⁵ See the Introduction for a complete overview of the extant scholarship on the Galleria Rucellai and its primary focus on the frescoes of the vault.

²⁴⁶ Saxl, "Un 'Discorso'...", 427. Lohaus, 26, 58. Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 300, 302.

his family have come to light to substantiate this. Similarly, though the fictive architectural framework of the ceiling compares favorably with High Renaissance horoscopic ceilings, like those of the Sala di Galatea at the villa of Agostino Chigi (fig. 64) or in the Sala dei Pontefici in the Borgia Apartments of the Vatican (fig. 65), the necessary presence and absence of certain figures argues strongly against a horoscopic reading.²⁴⁷ Neither are the images on the ceiling of the Galleria Rucellai comparable to more traditional cycles of the months and their labors, since the requisite imagery for this kind of decoration is also absent.²⁴⁸ While the vault imagery lacks elements that would connect it to these more common types of astronomic, horoscopic, or calendrical cycles, it does contain

²⁴⁷ Grafton, 25, 30–31, 97, 138–139. Kristen Lippincott, “Two Astrological Ceilings Reconsidered: The Sala di Galatea in Villa Farnesina and the Sala del Mappamondo at Caprarola,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 185–196. Pfisterer, 334–335. Lohaus, 79. Philippe Morel, “Les triplicités,” in André Chastel and Philippe Morel, eds., *Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome/École Française de Rome, 1991), 3:144–167. A natal or other horoscopic chart would include only those constellation figures visible in the sky at the moment in question, excluding the others hidden on the other side of the planet, as Lippincott and Grafton explain. Both Lohaus and Pfisterer state that the Galleria Rucellai is not a horoscopic program. Pfisterer’s wholesale dismissal of a connection between the horoscopic ceilings, the more cartographic visions of Vanosino at Rome and Caprarola, and their aims, whether shared or disparate, is too sweeping a pronouncement, lacking nuanced and critical consideration of the ensemble in the Galleria Rucellai, which, while not horoscopic, cannot deny its interest in celestial markers like the stars and planets. This is perhaps due to the suffusion of astrological concerns in the age, as described by Grafton in his work on Girolamo Cardano. Had Zucchi been required to create a ceiling that dealt with the complexities of horoscopic genitures, his experience in decorating the ceiling of the Camera delle Muse with its panels dedicated to Ptolemaic triplicities, groups of three zodiac signs associated with single elements and the control of certain planets, would have stood him in good stead.

²⁴⁸ Lohaus, 80. Scott 69–70. These calendrical cycles, popular in Northern Italy (see the Sala dei Venti in Palazzo del Te, Mantua (fig. 66); Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (fig. 67); and Palazzo dell’Arco, Mantua (fig. 68) for examples) generally contain images of agricultural life or allegorizations thereof, derived from the medieval tradition visualized in works like the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry. Since the Galleria Rucellai’s constellation representations provide only limited narrative detail through attributes, it can reasonably be assumed that the aim was not to produce a calendrical cycle on the order of those at the aforementioned locations. This seems to be Lohaus’s aim in describing the cycles in question. On the other end of the spectrum, Scott provides a discussion of the types of astronomical ceiling programs and their salient characteristics.

representations of all the celestial bodies, if anthropomorphized and allegorized, that mark the passage of time, suggesting a reading of these images as a nexus of time itself. This interpretation finds support in a variety of sources. While ancient writings about the planetary gods, whether absorbed directly or through intermediaries like Cartari, Giraldi, and Boccaccio, provide the basis of Zucchi's representational choices, other accounts, like the concentric spherical model of the universe, dictate the organization and disposition of the elements. Zucchi's own artistic experience, œuvre, and writings also offer clues to compositional and thematic choices and inspirations. The appearance of the ensemble and its reflection on time finds contextual support in the most significant temporal event of the age, the institution of the Gregorian Calendar, while the theme itself affords Zucchi the opportunity to inscribe a family mythos for Orazio Rucellai into the broader history of time and destiny.

The Genealogy of the Gods

Despite consistent reference in scholarship to this concept as the main subject of the vault frescoes, Jacopo Zucchi did not paint the genealogy of the gods in the strictest sense. Zucchi himself, in the preface to his description of the vault in his treatise, *Discorso sopra li dei de' gentili...*, says not once, but twice, that “this painting of mine [is] made on the subject or the origin, and the properties of the aforementioned Gods of the the Gentiles” (questa mia pittura [è] fatta sopra l'origine, e proprietà delli detti Dei de' Gentili),²⁴⁹ with the word *geneologia* appearing first in the description of Jupiter (fig. 69), the fourth of his

²⁴⁹ Zucchi, 7–8, 9. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43. Aurigemma, “Spunti...,” 45.

deities, and then again in the preface to his discussion of the twelve Suetonian Caesars, where it is made synonymous with the word *proprietà*.²⁵⁰ Zucchi's prefatory remarks manage to be truer than his use of the word *geneologia*, in the sense that each of his short discussions of the mythological figures he painted includes a brief account of their identities and how previous mythographers whittled their multiplicity to polished, monolithic splendor.²⁵¹ Zucchi's first use of the word, in fact, points up the tensions between the concept of genealogy and the privileging of certain imagery in his compartmentalized organization of the ceiling. Zucchi begins his description of Jupiter, "Having ourselves begun the seven planets with Saturn, according to the order, or the genealogy of the Gods..." (Havendo noi dato principio con Saturno alli setti Pianeti, secondo l'ordine, ò geneologia delli Dei),²⁵² signaling that the Ptolemaic order of the planetary gods, from farthest to closest to the earth, is the order/genealogy that he is most interested in exploring.²⁵³ If there is any doubt about the significance

²⁵⁰ Zucchi, 18, 75. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 47, 71.

²⁵¹ Lippincott, 201. Zucchi, 28. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 51. A concrete example of this particularity of Zucchi's writing may come from the *De Astronomia* of ancient mythographer Hyginus. Lippincott says, "Hyginus generally offers three or four alternative myths for each stellar grouping, some of which are quite exotic if not self-consciously recherché." Evidence within the text of the *Discorso*, a single mention of "Iginio" in his discussion of Apollo, suggests that Zucchi read the author and perhaps used his method of offering multiple alternative catasterism narratives as a basis for treating the similarly multifarious gods. See below for further evidence of a connection to Hyginus's *De Astronomia*.

²⁵² Zucchi, 18. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 47.

²⁵³ Zucchi, 14, 72. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 45, 70. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Loeb Classical Library (1944), 1:5, 7. Lohaus, 47. Zucchi also affirms that the planetary gods occupy the "seven large principal pictures" (sette quadri grandi principali) within the overall decorative scheme of the Galleria, in discussing Saturn as the first of these seven. It is interesting to consider this and Zucchi's own reference to the the ceiling fresco as being located on the "sky of the vault" (Cielo della volta) with a passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1:45–51): "And as the celestial vault is cut by two zones on the right and two on the left, and there is a fifth zone between, hotter than these,

and primacy of this order, one needs only to consult the rest of the *Discorso*'s text, which arranges the planetary gods in this order. Owing to this ordinal structure, every modern publication on the Galleria Rucellai that contains reproductions of the nineteen mythological figures on its vault places the images in the order given by Zucchi in the *Discorso*. Though the planetary gods are important, Zucchi begins with the primal deity Caelum and proceeds to the Titan Ocean before turning to Saturn as the first of the gods in the planetary sequence. When that sequence is begun, any notion of a family tree is immediately discarded, since continuing through the planetary gods forces other Olympian figures of the post-titanic generation to the sides of the gallery in haphazard fashion (fig. 70);²⁵⁴ female principles are also seemingly an afterthought. In fact, in terms of the organization of the gods on the ceiling, the planetary subcycle that occupies the central position on the vault is the only continuous, long, straight line path through his complex imagery that Zucchi suggests with his zigzagging textual description.²⁵⁵

so did the providence of God mark off the enclosed mass with same number of zones, and the same tracts were stamped upon the earth." This passage may account for the unusual relegation of the Saturn and Luna figures to the vault's perimeter, rather than a formal solution that would have located all seven planetary deities at the vault's center and apex. As such, the formal arrangement leaves two compartments to the left and two to the right of Apollo, the hottest planetary god of them all as the sun, at center, when viewed from the middle of the Galleria.

²⁵⁴ Lohaus, 47–48. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura...", in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 189. Lohaus points to Zucchi's own words in the *Discorso*, which connect certain adjacent figures out of the ordinal sequence of the text, to reaffirm genealogical connections. She argues that this minimal attempt at designing a family tree was constrained by the very complexity and multiplicity of origin stories and identities that Zucchi himself points to in each of his discussions within the *Discorso*. Rigon notes the sequential order, almost as a throwaway statement, near the end of his essay.

²⁵⁵ Vasari, *Lives*, 354–360. Partridge, 434–435, n.75. Vasari's description of the Sistine vault in the *Life of Michelangelo* is interesting as a comparison. He begins with a general description of the architecture, before turning to the figural aspects, including the appearance of the ancestors of Christ in the lunettes, the *ignudi* and a mention of their heraldic conceit and its meaning, before

Scholars have long associated Zucchi's words "geneologia delli dei" with a court spectacle arranged on the same topic in 1565 for the marriage of Prince Francesco de' Medici to Johanna of Austria in Florence.²⁵⁶ Then at the very beginning of his career, Zucchi worked as a studio assistant alongside Giorgio Vasari in the preparation of decorations for that spectacle.²⁵⁷ From the designs left by Vasari and his studio, a picture of the Medici court festival, complete with allegorical figures and mythological deities, all arranged on triumphal carts, begins to emerge.²⁵⁸ In some cases, it compares favorably with the images

launching into the Genesis scenes in chronological order, by virtue of his misidentification of the Sacrifice of Noah as the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel. Vasari returns us to the altar end of the chapel, beginning with the prophet Jeremiah and tracing a horseshoe-shaped path down the side of the chapel from west to east, paralleling the tour of the Genesis scenes recently completed, to Zacariah at the entrance end, and back, reversing the Genesis narrative (east to west), until he reaches the Libyan Sibyl. From here, Vasari returns to the entrance end and proceeds clockwise to discuss the pendentives of *David and Goliath* (northeast corner) and *Judith and Holofernes* (southeast corner), before engaging their counterparts above the altar (*The Raising of the Brazen Serpent*, southwest corner, and *The Punishment of Haman*, northwest corner) concluding with the final remaining prophet, Jonah. Vasari treats the different series separately, not always returning to the same location on the altar end of the chapel as starting point, and even interrupting the series of prophets and sibyls before the final figure. Partridge charts out the unusual order of the zodiac constellation myths in the Sala el Mappamondo at Caprarola, mentioning in his footnote that, "In 'La Caprarola' Ameto Orti describes the signs in the Room of Maps in their proper zodiacal sequence beginning with Aries...That a contemporary should want to see them this way despite the visual evidence makes the reordering at Caprarola all the more significant." This is the opposite phenomenon of what I believe Zucchi is trying to encourage with his description in the *Discorso*.

²⁵⁶ Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 300. Lohaus, 58–67. Baccio Baldini, *La mascherata della genealogia degli'idei* (Florence: Giunti, 1565); bound with Jacopo Zucchi, *Discorso sopra li Dei de' Gentili e loro Imprese* (Rome: Domenico Gigliotti, 1602); (New York: Garland, 1976). In fact, the Garland facsimiles of Zucchi's *Discorso* and Baldini's description of the *Mascherata* are bound together as a single volume. Lohaus makes the incredibly specious jump of associating the marriage of Francesco and Johanna with that of Orazio Rucellai and Camilla Guicciardini, saying that the choice of subject matter unifying the event and Zucchi's description constitutes an immortalization of the Rucellai-Guicciardini union, which occurred on 14 September 1579, well before Orazio purchased the Roman palace and engaged Zucchi to decorate it.

²⁵⁷ Calcagno, 4. It is known that Zucchi himself created a painting of *Minerva, Concord, and Peace* for the decorations, from a letter written by Vasari.

²⁵⁸ Petrioli Tofani, *Mostra di disegni vasariani: carri trionfali e costumi per La Genealogia degli Dei (1565)*. Catalogo Critico 22. (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1966.). Lohaus, 62–67.

present on the vault at the Galleria Rucellai, having an almost one-to-one correspondence of subject matter. Despite these similarities and the tenor of profusion and pageantry that informs such state events, Zucchi's frescoes in the Galleria Rucellai are not the same as the floats, carts, and characters of Francesco's wedding.²⁵⁹

In fact, if the words of the *Discorso* are a roadmap to encountering each of Zucchi's images in his desired sequence, then the artist may have, through the pairing of text and image, created the first instance of a feature of the burgeoning Baroque style. One of the key tenets of the Baroque as a style is a use of temporary festival forms in permanent materials.²⁶⁰ The dynamic tension created in such monuments recalls the transitory, affirms the celebratory, and was especially popular in religious works, such as Bernini's *baldacchino* for the crossing of New St. Peter's. Zucchi's expression of this, albeit subtle and understated, is in different materials and functions in a different way. Thirteen of the gods on the vault of the Galleria Rucellai²⁶¹ ride in triumphal carts that are

²⁵⁹ Baldini, 5–132. Baldini lists these as the figures in command of the various triumphal carts: Demogorgone (used by Zucchi as the central figure in the vault of the Sala degli Elementi at the Palazzo Firenze for Cardinal Ferdinando), Cielo (Caelum appears as the first figure in the Galleria Rucellai, per the *Discorso*), Saturn (third in the Galleria Rucellai), Sole (Apollo is the sixth figure), Giove (Jupiter is the fourth figure), Marte (Mars is the fifth), Venere (Venus is the seventh), Mercury (eighth), Luna (ninth), Minerva (fifteenth), Vulcan (appears alongside Minerva as her attendant in the Galleria Rucellai), Juno (twelfth), Neptune (tenth), Ocean and Tethys (second), Pan (eighteenth), Pluto and Proserpina (eleventh), Cybele (thirteenth), Diana (ninth, if taken as a repeat of Luna above), Ceres (not a principle figure, but an attendant of Cybele/Vesta, who is thirteenth, as above), Bacchus (fourteenth), Janus (not a principle figure, but an attendant of Saturn, who is third).

²⁶⁰ Strinati, "Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 190. Strinati makes the connection with the festival made permanent, but does not develop it as below.

²⁶¹ The last six figures sequentially, beginning with Bacchus, abandon the triumphal cart, not even suggesting it with an obliquely viewed wheel as had been done in several of the images from the vault where the cortege of each figure overwhelms the visual field and only a suggestion of

discernable to varying degrees. These representations suggest motion through fluttering drapery or animals caught mid-leap, while simultaneously denying it, the same draft animals demonstrating no exertion at all. These carts remain in fixed position, as if stilled to have their images painted in fresco, unlike their antecedents in spectacles at court. The text of the *Discorso* and the path it charts for the viewer through the images effectively reverses the motion of the court spectacle, taking spectators from a seat at the sidelines and forcing them to engage the procession of motionless triumphal carts by moving. This inversion of motion again engages the concept of time, as moving from one image to the next within the Galleria is spectatorship that unfolds in the course of time.

The Concentric Spherical Model of the Universe

Given the emphases on the planetary gods and time, considering what the sixteenth century thought about the cosmos and how it controlled the passage of time should be explored. The prevailing concept of the organization of the heavens in the Renaissance was a Christian conception of the model advanced by the ancient astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus, known generally as Ptolemy.²⁶²

vehicular transportation can be inserted. Bacchus retains the sense of movement and drama from a festival parade or spectacle by virtue of riding atop an elephant, but the remaining figures are seated on fixed elements, such as landmasses or sculptural plinths, affirming their stationary status.

²⁶² Lohaus, 51, 74. Rowland, *Giordano Bruno*, 66–68. Lohaus links Zucchi's work in the Galleria Rucellai to Alessandro Piccolomini's *De la sfera del mondo*, noting that the author follows Ptolemy's treatise with regard to the scientific observation of the heavens, adding mythological glosses on the constellations. She also sees the affirmation of the planetary gods and constellations as the agents of the celestial, cyclically-determined passage of time. Rowland's discussion of Giordano Bruno and his interest in the heavens introduces John of Sacrobosco, a thirteenth-century author whose text espouses the Ptolemaic conception of the universe and was considered the standard astronomy reference through the seventeenth century. Sacrobosco and Zucchi intersect via the Gregorian Calendar commission's Christoph Clavius, who wrote a commentary on the treatise, and was likely known to Zucchi through Egnazio Danti.

In this model, Ptolemy posits the earth as a fixed orb at the center of nine concentric crystalline spheres, each successively larger than the last. The first encompasses the orbit of the moon, the second the planet Mercury, the third Venus, the fourth the Sun, the fifth Mars, the sixth Jupiter, the seventh Saturn, and the eighth the fixed stars, with the ninth and final sphere as the realm of God. These spheres provided orbits for the planets that appeared within them, and their continuing, synchronous rotation created a balance and harmony in the universe, called the music or the harmony of the spheres.

This natural philosophical cosmology has connections to Greco-Roman mythology. There, the figure associated with maintaining the separation between the earth and the heavens is the Titan Atlas. Atlas received this punishment for his participation in the war between the Titans, headed by Saturn, and the gods, headed by Jupiter, when the gods triumphed. The Greeks, in fact, believed that, apart from maintaining the separation, Atlas also caused the vault of heaven to rotate and change, thus making Atlas's role in perpetuating the harmony of the spheres indispensable.²⁶³ It should come as no surprise, then, that we find a figure of *Atlas* (fig. 71) included among the nineteen mythological beings on the vault of the Galleria Rucellai, given the prominence of those seven planetary deities that are identified with the spheres in the Ptolemaic model. What might be more unusual is Zucchi's description of Atlas's origins in the *Discorso*:

²⁶³ Fritz Saxl, "Atlante al servizio della geografia astrologica," in *La fede negli astri dall'antichità al rinascimento*, ed. Salvatore Settis (Torino: Boringhieri, 1985), 293. The notion of rotation is made curiously manifest in a drawing by Zucchi (fig. 72), showing Atlas aided by Hercules in holding aloft the heavens. Here, as at the Galleria Rucellai, they are figured as a sphere, but curiously, to the left Atlas's head, an axial pivot as would appear on a terrestrial or celestial globe of human facture in order to make it movable is visible. The inclusion of this detail signals Zucchi's knowledge of this key idea.

“Apollodorus wants that the named Atlas was a very great Astrologer, and that Hercules, happening to be in these lands, helped him to sustain the Sky; but according to others we have, he was the first to observe the course of the Moon...” (Vuole Apollodoro, che il detto Atlante un grandissimo Astrologo fusse, e che Hercole capitato in questi paesi l'aiutasse il Cielo a sostenere; ma secondo che da altri habbiamo, fu il primo, che il corso Lunare osservasse).²⁶⁴ This description suggests that Zucchi was aware of a late-medieval tradition with ancient roots in which the mythological Atlas the Titan was elided with a legendary figure from Egypt called Athalas, who traveled to the court of Spain as an astrologer and was credited with inventing the astrolabe.²⁶⁵ This connection is borne out in observing the garlands of attributes that hang above the blackamoor Atlas, since they include representations of the device, as well as in the faux marble figure of Astrology that appears at the right of the panel. This fusion of myth layers from antiquity and the Middle Ages lends the figure of Atlas here in the Galleria a double significance as both a figure who keeps the stars moving on their proper course (and in so doing maintains the harmony of the universe and the destiny of mankind)²⁶⁶ and one who provides mankind with the tools to observe the orderly course of the heavenly spheres, which in turn create the celestial movements by which we reckon the passage of time.

²⁶⁴ Zucchi, 64. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 67.

²⁶⁵ Saxl, “Atlante...,” 295.

²⁶⁶ Saxl, “Atlante...,” 299.

Atlas also participates in the genealogical theme, such as it is, of the Galleria Rucellai, for in the *Discorso* he is ordinarily placed before his daughter Maia (fig. 73), one of the Hesperides and the mother of the god Mercury by Jupiter. A straight line drawn across the vault from Atlas to Maia passes directly through the planetary god panel featuring Mercury (fig. 70).²⁶⁷ Beyond this, however, the genealogical current again wavers, as Maia is followed in the treatise by the figure of Pan (fig. 74). Pan's *raison d'être* may be reconstructed, if we consider other works by Zucchi, both visual and textual. In the *Discorso*, Zucchi says of the panpipes carried by the god at his side: "the seven spouts of the panpipes signify the seven planets" (la fistola per le sette cannelle significhi li sette pianeti), thus creating a link between this figure and the principle focus of the cycle.²⁶⁸ This link is deepened by considering the image of Pan itself. The rustic half-goat god offers a fistful of white wool to the goddess Diana-Luna,

²⁶⁷ Zucchi, 63–64. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 66–67. Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 301. In this regard, namely of having his titanic grandfather and both of his divine parents present, Mercury is unique, but not alone, among representations on the vault of the Galleria Rucellai. The only other figure to have this distinction is another planetary god, Mars, whose parents are the gods Jupiter and Juno and whose grandfather is Saturn. This unusual fact may be a byproduct of Zucchi's invention, one that cleverly returns to the essential character and identity of the Rucellai family and of Orazio Rucellai himself, for without the ingenuity and cleverness that attended the personality of Atlas, passed down to his grandson, the god of merchants and commerce, the Rucellai clan would not have risen to prominence as cloth merchants and dyers in the city of Florence. Similarly, without the bellicose nature of Mars, diplomacy would be unnecessary, leaving Orazio Rucellai jobless.

²⁶⁸ Thomas Puttfarcken, "Golden Age and Justice in Sixteenth-Century Florentine Political Thought and Imagery: Observations on Three Pictures by Jacopo Zucchi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 139–142. Lohaus, 32, 143–144. Philippe Morel, "Ercole musagete o Il regno di Giove," in Michel Hochmann, ed., *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale: Collezioni e artisti di Ferdinando de' Medici* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1999), 294–5. The figure of Pan that appears in the painting referred to as *Ercole Musagete* (fig. 83) in the Uffizi also carries a seven-piped panpipes, perhaps in relation to the suggestion that this work takes as its subject another facet of Justice as it appeared during the reign of Jupiter, Ovid's Age of Silver. A similar Pan figure appears in the *Wedding of Jupiter and Juno* from the Camera degli Elementi at the Villa Medici.

located in the adjacent compartment of the ceiling (fig. 75). This gesture links the painted fields by evoking a narrative²⁶⁹ popular in the visual arts of the era, including Zucchi's own pictures for a coffered ceiling project at the Palazzo Firenze (now in the Sala delle Carte Geografiche at the Uffizi) (fig. 27), Taddeo Zuccari's frescoes for the Camera dell'Aurora at the Villa Farnese in Caprarola (fig. 76), and Annibale Carracci's later fresco work in the Galleria Farnese at the Palazzo Farnese in Rome (fig. 77) to name three.²⁷⁰ A Zucchi drawing in the British Museum hints at another meaning for the Pan figure (fig. 28). Here, the figure of Pan again appears in a coffered ceiling scheme alongside the seven planetary gods, allegorical figures of the hours of night and day, and *putti* that play with Medici *palle* and cardinal's *galeri*, signaling that this was a project for Ferdinando.²⁷¹ Pan sits, legs splayed, playing a set of panpipes and looking

²⁶⁹ Vergil, *Georgics* III.II 391–3.

²⁷⁰ Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 185–186. Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 301. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:165. Pillsbury states, "there does seem, however, to be little doubt, as has been previously noted, that the decorations provided the starting point for Annibale Carracci when he came to decorate the gallery in the Palazzo Farnese. This can be seen in the overall treatment of the room mixing illusionistic and real elements as well as in specific figures." Lohaus makes the connection between the works for the Farnese in Rome and at Caprarola.

²⁷¹ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi: New Paintings and Drawings," 29–31. Philippe Morel, "Studio per un soffitto," in Michel Hochmann, ed., *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale: Collezioni e artisti di Ferdinando de' Medici* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1999), 286–287. Lohaus, 9–10. Pillsbury discusses this drawing, indicating that the project has no clear linkage to an executed work, but that it is consonant with others for the Palazzo Firenze. He asserts that, while this may have been a design for the *sala da pranzo*, it is equally possible that was for the *studiolo di palle*, a large casement desk that Ferdinando de' Medici had made during his tenure in the Palazzo Firenze, that is now sadly lost. Ingrid Lohaus provides a small reference, culled from practical oblivion, about the early apprenticeship of Jacopo Zucchi, one that may have planted the seed of considering planetary ceilings in his mind. In 1566, Vasari took Zucchi to Perugia to install three works in the monastery of San Pietro. It seems strongly likely that Vasari would have taken the opportunity to learn about works of art in the city, and especially by its most famous native son, Pietro Vannucci, called Perugino. At the heart of the city, steps from the Palazzo dei Priori and the cathedral, Perugino executed an elaborate fresco program circa 1500 in the city's Collegio del Cambio. In the Collegio's first chamber (fig. 78), above wooden stalls, Perugino's frescoes cover

toward the upper left of the sheet, where, in the corner square, Apollo rides in his chariot. Arcing above Pan's head is a zodiac band.²⁷² By including this detail, Zucchi is positing a role for Pan akin to that given in the late medieval literature to Atlas, namely the maintenance of celestial movement and therefore destiny, this time as a player of or participator in the music of the spheres rather than the physical effort of rotating the heavens.²⁷³ In fact, tracing the Ptolemaic sequence of planetary gods as a series of arrows from one to the next on this drawing, akin to Zucchi's descriptive order for the Galleria, excludes Pan from the ordered path, unless that path *begins* with him (fig. 80).

Ovid and The Ages

The chief conception of time in the mythographic writings of antiquity was advanced by the Roman poet Ovid in the introduction to his *Metamorphoses*. Ovid compartmentalizes time into four Ages aligned with four different metals (Gold, Silver, Bronze, and Iron), and casts the passage from one to the next in the course of mythological and human history as a process of decay and generation. The theme of Ovid's Ages was one with which Zucchi was quite

the ceiling and upper portion of the side walls. The compartments of the vault include roundels with the planetary gods in chariots, surrounded by *all'antica* grotesques (decorative motifs taken from the newly discovered Domus Aurea in Rome) and even imagery from the reverse of an ancient coin. The side walls feature groups of sibyls and prophets, virtues and exemplary figures from ancient Greece and Rome. The splendors of the Collegio may have been discussed in the court of Cosimo I in Florence from four years before this visit. That year, 1562, Egnazio Danti joined Cosimo's court as cosmographer.

²⁷² Reinhard Herbig, *Pan, der griechische Bocksgott, Versuch einer Monographie* (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 1949), 63–69. This image derives from an antique prototype (fig. 79) and the comprehension of the etymology of the name Pan.

²⁷³ Saxl, "Un 'Discorso'...", 435–438. Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1984), 83–86. Cox-Rearick points to Servius's commentary on Vergil's Second Eclogue, which she links both to the harmony of the spheres and the continuity of dynasty.

familiar. He executed a series of small paintings on copper associated with these eras (figs. 81–83) and knew programs and images for this theme from Vasari and Francesco Morandini, called il Poppi (fig. 84), and from the Medici propaganda machine in which he participated during his time as Vasari's studio assistant and after.²⁷⁴ The idea of the Golden Age was particularly salient in the Medicean context, having been important to Lorenzo il Magnifico during the Quattrocento and revived by Cosimo I as part of his efforts to legitimize the ascendancy of his cadet branch of the family.²⁷⁵ Ovid describes the Golden Age in this way:

Golden was that first age, which, with no one to compel, without a law, of its own will, kept faith and did the right. There was no fear of punishment, no threatening words were to be read on brazen tablets; no suppliant throng gazed fearfully upon its judge's face; but without judges lived secure. Not yet had the pine-tree, felled on its native mountains, descended thence into the watery plain to visit other lands; men knew no shores except their own. Not yet were cities begirt with steep moats; there were no trumpets of straight, no horns of curving brass, no swords or helmets. There was no need at all of armed men, for nations, secure from war's alarms, passed the years in gentle ease. The earth herself, without compulsion, untouched by hoe or plowshare, of herself gave all things needful. And men, content with food which came with no one's seeking, fathered the arbut fruit, strawberries from the mountain-sides, cornel-cherries, berries hanging thick upon the prickly bramble, and acorns fallen from the spreading tree of Jove. Then spring was everlasting, and gentle zephyrs with warm breath played with the flowers that sprang unplanted. Anon the earth,

²⁷⁴ James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 31–33, 35. While Zucchi may have had occasion to participate in the creation of works on the theme of Ovid's Ages for his father Cosimo, it was for Cardinal Ferdinando that we know he engaged this subject, specifically in the four young children, each appropriately colored, that appear on the right of the *Chaos and Demogorgon* section of the vault of the Sala degli Elementi in Palazzo Firenze (fig. 26). Though it seems he did not participate in the creation of works of art for the celebration, Zucchi would no doubt have been informed of all the works being done in Florence for the wedding of now Duke Ferdinando de' Medici and his bride Christine of Lorraine in 1589. These included theatrical spectacles, an *intermedio* for one of which was themed on the Golden Age.

²⁷⁵ Cox-Rearick, 231.

untilled, brought forth her stores of grain, and the fields, though unfallowed, grew white with the heavy bearded wheat. Streams of milk and streams of sweet nectar flowed, and yellow honey was distilled from the verdant oak.²⁷⁶

A utopian civilization that required no laws, this age was characterized by a carefree existence sustained by the bounty of the earth as it could be gathered and identified with the rule of the titanic generation and the god Saturn. The subsequent era begins with his deposition from the throne:

After Saturn had been banished to the dark land of death, and the world was under the sway of Jove, the silver race came in, lower in the scale than gold, but of greater worth than yellow brass. Jove now shortened the bounds of the old-time spring, and through winter, summer, variable autumn, and brief spring completed the year in four seasons. Then first the parched air glared white with burning heat, and icicles hung down congealed by frozen winds. In that age men first sought the shelter of houses. Their homes had heretofore been caves, dense thickets, and branches bound together with bark. Then first the seeds of grain were planted in long furrows, and bullocks groaned beneath the heavy yoke."²⁷⁷

Ovid here emphasizes two aspects we consider central to the development of civilization—agriculture and fixed architecture—while simultaneously insisting on the dual shift of epochal time. Saturn's rulership in an eternal spring is followed by Jupiter's rule and the year's fracture into the seasons we associate with the passage of time today. This latter aspect of the description seems to inform some of Zucchi's choices within the Galleria Rucellai, as it had in other projects. Pointedly, Zucchi painted a Sala delle Stagioni for Ferdinando de' Medici at the Palazzo Firenze. On the four wall sections of the coved ceiling, he created

²⁷⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Loeb Classical Library (1944), 1:9, 11. This corresponds to *Metamorphoses* 1.90–112.

²⁷⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Loeb Classical Library (1944), 1:9, 11. This corresponds to *Metamorphoses* 1.113–124.

ensembles for each season. Each was composed of an allegorical figure, narrative images of the zodiac myths, and garlands composed of flowers, fruit, and vegetables, coordinated specifically with each individual time of year (figs. 21–22).²⁷⁸ Zucchi reprised this seasonal garlanding in the corners of the Galleria Rucellai, again aligned to match the appearance of the zodiac constellations, here figured in bronze medallions rather than narrative scenes of catasterism.

Over and above the coordination of the garlands and the zodiac medallions, Zucchi may again be referring to the passage from the Golden Age to the Silver in the appearance and disposition of attributes and attendants of two of the main figures on the vault of the Galleria Rucellai. Along the band of planetary gods at center, the majority of the figures appear aligned head to foot. The only exception to this arrangement is the place, beneath the cartouche/medallion for the sign Cancer, where the sections featuring Saturn and Jupiter meet. Here, owing to the need to represent Saturn rightside up, his head and Jupiter's meet (fig. 85). In his field, Saturn (fig. 86) is accompanied by his brother Janus and a figure of Italia, symbols that he has passed from rulership of the world into dominion over Italy with his brother, also fleeing the aftermath of the Titanomachy. If Saturn's overthrow were not clear enough by the presence of these two principle figures, the two fictive bronzes at his sides, representing the Golden Age and Agriculture, continue the theme. Saturn became an agricultural deity as he passed into the West, and the development of agricultural practice, as we have seen, was a facet of the Age of Silver for Ovid. The cultivation of

²⁷⁸ Lohaus, 72. Lohaus points out the correspondence of the garlands to the seasons, as at the Palazzo Firenze's Sala delle Stagioni.

foodstuffs was necessary, since man no longer foraged and ate the acorns of the Golden Age, symbolized here by the oak branch held by that figure.²⁷⁹ These *accoutrement* couple with Saturn's position in the Ptolemaic planetary arrangement as the farthest from earth, and here rendered upside-down with respect to the rest of the planets, to suggest his isolation from the remainder of the figures on the vault. Lastly, the appearance of the long snake with many coils as the Dragon constellation beneath Saturn may perhaps be positioned to coincide with the *putti* and hourglass above in the main scene as an evocation of the *ouroboros*, the symbol of eternity. This symbol was familiar to Zucchi, who painted allegorical figures of Eternity holding the mordant serpent both on the vault of the Sala degli Elementi (fig. 26) at the Palazzo Firenze and to the left of Caelum here in the Galleria Rucellai (fig. 59), as well as an isolated representation in the garland above Janus's head in the Saturn panel (fig. 87).²⁸⁰ However, since the snake in the constellation cartouche does not bite its tail, Zucchi may here be using the image as a way to represent the rupture of the

²⁷⁹ Vasari, *Lives*, 355. Vasari himself notes the connection between the Golden Age and acorns in his description of the Sistine Chapel, saying "And to show the vast scope of his art, [Michelangelo] made [the *ignudi*] of all ages, some slim and some full-bodied, with varied expressions and attitudes, sitting, turning holding festoons of oak-leaves and acorns to represent the emblem of Pope Julius and the fact that his regin marked the golden age of Italy..." This additional link to the Golden Age between the two spaces, one chronologically before the other, perhaps helps to underscore the era of the Galleria Rucellai, the Sistine successor, as the Age of Silver.

²⁸⁰ Zucchi, 11. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 44.

Golden Age's sealed, timeless perfection and its degradation into the Age of Silver.²⁸¹

Standing beneath the Cancer cartouche/medallion, in the space between Saturn and Jupiter, the theme of Saturn's overthrow continues to develop. Here, the foreshortening of Jupiter (fig. 69), the only one of the planetary gods whose triumphal chariot is shown in full frontality and as if it were dashing through the picture plane toward the viewer, resolves perfectly, situating the god at a magisterial apex from which he surveys his domain.²⁸² Flanking the god are two figures: Justice, the maiden with the sword and scales at left, associated with the constellations Virgo and Libra, and called Astraea; and Religion, the woman with the sacrificial altar at right.²⁸³ Zucchi's fresco in the Palazzo Firenze's Sala delle Stagioni for the constellation Virgo is an image of the goddess Astraea hovering above Jupiter, as he seeks to deliver another lightning bolt to the rebellious Giants/Titans below (fig. 22).²⁸⁴ If the positioning of Astraea here with Jupiter is

²⁸¹ Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 125, n.52. Rigon believes there is a relationship here to the *ouroboros*, namely that the Dragon constellation replaces it, but does not say why he thinks this is so.

²⁸² Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 129. Rigon notes the perspectival aspects of the image, too, in his essay, published after this chapter was written.

²⁸³ Zucchi, 20. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 48.

²⁸⁴ Partridge, 429. Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 230. In discussing the imagery from Caprarola, Partridge makes no textual distinction between the concepts of gigantomachy and titanomachy in the writings of Hyginus. Whether no distinction between the categories existed in the minds of Renaissance artists, authors, and other intellectuals remains to be demonstrated. In her description of the prior work in Zucchi's *œuvre*, Aurigemma calls the scene a gigantomachy. Zucchi's introduction in the *Discorso* mentions "famous Jupiter..., who they adorned with supreme power and divinity, then they contrast him with the proud Giants, who wished to remove him from the heavens" (*famoso Giove..., che di suprema potenza, e diuinità l'adornano, poi lo fanno contrastare con i fieri Giganti, che toglier il Cielo li voleuano*), a clear evocation of the Gigantomachy. Later, Zucchi couches the fulmination of Jupiter in terms of "punisher of wicked deeds" (*punitore dell'opere scelerate*), and the conjunction of the figures of Justice and Religion

meant to recall Zucchi's earlier image as well as refer to the immediate aftermath of the Titanomachy, this may help to explain why Atlas does not seem to strain under the weight of the stellate sphere he bears on his back, and why Pan concentrates on his offering to Diana-Luna: neither one has yet begun his part in the maintenance of the movement of the spheres and their attendant harmony.²⁸⁵

Zucchi's positioning of Jupiter here also accomplishes another function. At the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* (1:5–7, 21–23), Ovid places a curious passage regarding an unnamed god: "Before the sea was, and the lands, and the sky that hangs over all, the face of Nature showed alike in her whole round, which state have men called chaos...God—or kindlier Nature—composed this strife; for he rent asunder land from sky, and sea from land, and separated the ethereal heavens from the dense atmosphere."²⁸⁶ This separation of elements from one another, especially that of the heavens from the waters, is a feature of the Old Testament God in Genesis,²⁸⁷ and was painted by Michelangelo as one of the nine Genesis scenes of the Sistine Chapel vault (fig. 88). Zucchi here has appropriated the role of separator for his Jupiter, whose arms spread wide, and whose panel appears between those of Ocean and Caelum, the waters and the

suggests a post-Tridentine Catholic interpretation that glimpses presciently at Pietro da Cortona's fresco for the Palazzo Barberini, where Minerva, as an agent of Jupiter, casts the Giants down as they attempt to dismantle the room's fictive architecture and use it against the gods.

²⁸⁵ Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 172. Rigon contributes to this reading, by informing us that Manilius and Hyginus discuss the constellation Ara as the altar of sacrifice used by the Olympians before their war with Saturn and the Titans or the war with the giants.

²⁸⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Loeb Classical Library (1944), 1:3, 5..

²⁸⁷ Genesis 1:6–8.

sky. The evocation of a non-Christian corroborating account from antiquity confirms the Judeo-Christian origin narrative, suggests the veracity of the Catholic position, and recalls the indebtedness of this Greco-Roman mythological representation to Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling, where the Genesis narrative is also figured at the end of a central band on the vault.

Zucchi engages time and the story of Ovid's Ages in his decoration of the Galleria Rucellai in one final way. Each of the nineteen figures of the vault appears either inside or set against an aperture of some sort. These perforations, plus a further two, borrowed from the fictive architectural scheme of the Sistine Chapel, allow us to see, in most cases,²⁸⁸ the sky above. More often than not,²⁸⁹ the predominant color of sky is not the blue one might expect, but rather a golden yellow.²⁹⁰ Since Rome's afternoon light has famously and frequently been described as golden, Zucchi's adoption of that color scheme here may have been done in order to suggest transition. The passage of one day into the next becomes an atmospheric allegory of the shift from the Age of Gold to the Age of

²⁸⁸ Pluto's aperture opens to the fires of the Underworld.

²⁸⁹ In twelve of the nineteen scenes, plus the two small strips at the ends of the planetary band, with that of Pluto being different and aforementioned.

²⁹⁰ Zucchi, 15, 20, 23, 25, 31, 33. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54. Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 302. Morel, "La galleria Rucellai," in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 33. Pfisterer, 343. Morel and Pfisterer point to Zucchi's emphasis, in the passages about the planetary gods, the color of the sky within these individual images as evocations of their identities as planetary gods. However, they do not discuss the appearance of the sky in the apertures framing the figures that line the *facciate* sides of the vault, in the two small strips between the Cancer and Capricorn medallions and their adjacent planetary gods, or the sky visible in the constellation lunettes. These areas are almost uniformly yellow, and the inclusion of the small strips is a direct appropriation from the Sistine Ceiling that Michelangelo used to bolster the idea of its perforated fictive architecture.

Silver, a literal twilight of the gods where Jupiter dispels the clouds of war above the Eternal City itself.²⁹¹

These various indications point to Zucchi's use of the beginning of the Age of Silver as the mythological moment figured in his frescoes, but do not explain why he selected this era, characterized by Ovid as inferior to the Age of Gold. Two possible reasons, not mutually exclusive, suggest themselves. First, this subject may be a reflection on the times. With the promulgation of the Gregorian Calendar, a discussion about the nature of time began, perhaps engendering anxiety. Despite the fact of day and night proceeding as usual with the appearance of sun and moon, the common person must have been unsettled, at least, by the fiat of the pope and his cancellation of ten days from history. While the popes had long claimed power over temporal and spiritual matters, they were not God himself. Changing time, on the face of things, seems to suggest fallibility in the very things created by God to mark the passage of time.²⁹² That the human-derived accounting system for this was the problem,²⁹³ and that it needed to be corrected, of course, mitigates this, and could even read as a triumph of Catholicism over pre-Christian antiquity. The instantaneous removal of days could not have passed without some disorientation and a concomitant longing for

²⁹¹ Aurigemma, "Un corpus perduto?...", 126. The victory of Jupiter and the Olympians seems emphasized through atmospheric conditions in the scene. The heat and light of Jupiter's star affect the sky around him: the heat dispels portions of the clouds, transforming them into a laureate's crown, while the golden light suffuses everything it touches, blocked only in the wedge-shaped section of sky beneath the chariot itself. Zucchi's interest in atmospheric effects is attested by an item on the drawings inventory chronicled by Aurigemma: a drawing of a sunrise.

²⁹² Genesis 1:3–5, 14–19.

²⁹³ Refer to Chapter One's discussion of Ricci's chronicle passage on the fallibility of the Julian Calendar and the Gregorian Reform, or below for additional discussion of the phenomenon.

a time when time itself was less subject to the vicissitudes of human fallibility. Returning to the moment when time itself was set in motion achieves the fulfillment of that nostalgia, and suggests something eternal about the space into which the decoration fixed at this Ovidian era was painted. Secondly, as an agent of Ferdinando de' Medici, Orazio Rucellai was tied to that perpetual propaganda machine that bolstered the Florentine family's regime and legitimized it. With the passage of each new successor to the grand ducal throne, it became more and more urgent to revivify the old messages about the Golden Age, which were, pointedly, fitted into the celebrations for Ferdinando's wedding to Christine of Lorraine in 1589.²⁹⁴ This Golden Age propaganda is also an appeal to nostalgia, in that it hopes for the return of that era under the stewardship of the new ruler, implicitly acknowledging that we are now in one of the subsequent eras. By characterizing time in the Galleria Rucellai as the moment after Age of Gold has fallen away, Zucchi and Rucellai have simultaneously suggested that little has been lost from that utopian time, and that a return to its delights is a shorter journey than ever before.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 31–33, 35.

²⁹⁵ Zucchi, 22. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 49. Pfisterer, 343–345. In sketching out an almost Brunian mnemonic use of the planets and gods in the era that he believes is key to understanding the Galleria Rucellai, Pfisterer speaks about moving backward in time to the singularity of universal knowledge, a condition of intelligence that existed before the Fall of Man. If this is indeed an intended function of the Galleria Rucellai, then that engagement of the Fall dovetails both with Zucchi's use of the Sistine architectural scheme and the visualization of the passage of the Age of Gold to the Age of Silver posited herein. Zucchi's nostalgia for "those happy centuries" (*felice quei secoli*) comes to the fore in his discussion of bellicose Mars.

The Ptolemaic Constellations

Just beyond the compartments wherein the nineteen mythic figures appear on the vault of the Galleria Rucellai, Zucchi created another cycle associated with astronomy and therefore with time: the forty-eight Ptolemaic constellations, which first appeared as a list in the author's treatise *Almagest*. Their symbols and stories are divided into three kinds of representation: twenty appear in lunettes, sixteen are cartouches of *stucco finto* (faux stucco), and twelve, those of the zodiac, are contained in faux bronze medallions. Based on the appearance of the ecliptic, an imaginary extension of the equator out into the nighttime sky through which the twelve signs of the zodiac appear to travel, Ptolemy grouped the constellations in his list as existing either north or south of this imaginary line.

Contemporary interest in the constellations intensifies in the 1570s, when Cardinal Alessandro Farnese called the Northern Italian artist Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese to his service, in order to paint a scientifically precise rendering of the night sky and its stars, with images of the constellation figures superimposed, for his sumptuous villa at Caprarola (fig. 9).²⁹⁶ Vanosino painted another such ceiling, this time for Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni in the Sala Bologna of the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican (fig. 6). Gregory XIII's interest in the positions of the stars seems logical, given that it was under his aegis that the Trent-mandated reform of the calendar was completed. The revision of the calendar no doubt entailed precise scientific observation and measurement of the

²⁹⁶ Partridge, 416. Work on the vault was completed in 1574.

stars and the other celestial bodies, in order to establish definitively the coming of spring and the date of Easter as a way of asserting Catholic religious supremacy.²⁹⁷ The dating of Easter was the key point of contention in the decision to revise the calendar, as greater and greater temporal distance had accrued over time due to the faulty nature of fractional days as calculated by the Julian Calendar and the use, by the Jewish community, of the Metonic cycle to calculate the date of Passover.²⁹⁸ This system, named for ancient Greek natural scientist Meton (fifth century BC), is a way to reconcile two competing methods of determining the passage of time: the lunar month and the solar year.²⁹⁹ Meton observed that 19 solar years and 235 lunar months were congruent to a difference of some 2 hours.³⁰⁰ Since the solar year has 12 months and 19 such

²⁹⁷ Richards, 238–239, 247, 249, 250–251. Zucchi, 27. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 51. According to Richards, “the primary complaint about the Julian calendar was not the fact that it was slipping with respect to the seasons and that the vernal equinox was occurring earlier and earlier before 21 March, but that the calculation of the date of Easter was going awry.” The idea to fix the equinoxes (more particularly than the solstices) at their dates in March (more importantly) and September, disregarding the idea of matching celestial movements as they are to the coming and going of seasons, came from this group. See discussion in Chapter One.

²⁹⁸ Ricci, 374–377 (498v–499v). Richards, 95, 223.

²⁹⁹ Richards, 95.

³⁰⁰ Richards, 95, 223. *Livy*, Loeb Classical Library (1939), 1:69. Livy describes a nearly identical set of numbers and calculations in his discussion of Numa Pompilius’s original foundation of the Roman calendar (*Ab Urbe Condita*, I.XIX.6–7), saying, “And first of all he divided the year into twelve months, according to the revolutions of the moon. But since the moon does not give months of quite thirty days each, and eleven days are wanting to the full complement of a year as marked by the sun’s revolution, [Numa] inserted intercalary months in such a way that in the twentieth year the days should fall in with same position of the sun from which they had started, and the period of twenty years be rounded out.” Omitting the twentieth year from Numa’s accounting, as retold by Livy, we arrive at precisely the terms of the Metonic Cycle: nineteen solar years made congruent with the smaller internal unit of the lunar month. We know that Zucchi read Livy in order to select the identities of his *dieci spiriti illustri*, and it is not a stretch to believe that he also consulted the text on Numa, since he also figures in the frieze level decoration of the Galleria Rucellai, above the door on the Rome *testata*. Similarly, it seems fair to assume that the calendar commission established by Gregory XIII would have done significant research into slippages of time like the one recorded here, in order to adjust it accordingly and obtain the correct relationship between Passover and Easter.

years therefore have 228 months, Meton proposed the introduction of intercalary months into 7 years of the cycle to cancel out the mensile discrepancy.³⁰¹ Since the Jewish calendar observes both of these time-keeping systems and needs to reconcile them, it too introduces the seven intercalary months, leading some years to have thirteen rather than twelve.³⁰² Therefore, the date of Passover, which must occur after the first full moon after the vernal equinox, shifts within a period of five weeks.³⁰³ Since the New Testament Passion narratives tell us that Jesus was celebrating the Passover Seder with his disciples and that he rose from the dead on the first day of the week (Sunday) after that meal, for modern celebrations of Easter to coincide with the biblical accounts, Easter and Passover must exist in temporal relationship to one another. Knowing the mechanics of the Jewish calendar, and by extension the Metonic cycle, must have been a prerequisite for the members of the commission. These included Christoph Clavius, a German Jesuit and astronomer, and Egnatio Danti, the Perugian artist and astronomer who had worked in Cosimo I's court, had become the papal cosmographer, and would oversee Jacopo Zucchi on fresco decorations he executed in Rome in 1582, the year the new calendar was put into force.³⁰⁴ This

³⁰¹ Richards, 95.

³⁰² Richards, 223–224. The Jewish calendrical calculation system is ascribed to Rabbi Hillel II in the fourth century.

³⁰³ Richards, 346.

³⁰⁴ Baglione, 1:56–57, 2:445–453. Courtright, 254, n.50. Lohaus, 27, n.118. F.P. Fiore, “Egnazio Danti,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 32:659–661. Aurigemma, “Spunti...,” 49. Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi in S. Spirito in Sassia,” 438, 441. Danti and Zucchi are first connected explicitly by the commission for the figures in the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri in 1582. Pillsbury says that Zucchi's initial campaign at Santo Spirito, also supervised by Danti, ended early in 1583, just shy of the first anniversary of Gregory XIII's promulgation of *Inter gravissimas*. Pillsbury also says that

close connection between Zucchi and one of the members of the calendar reform commission, someone he likely knew in Florence as a fellow Academician and a member of Cosimo's court, suggests the possibility of profound discussions about this definitive temporal event for their lifetime and how an observation of the stars figured into it. The unusual coincidence of the number nineteen as the number of solar years in the Metonic Cycle and as the number of principle mythological figures on the vault of the Galleria Rucellai also seems suggestive of a link.³⁰⁵ Zucchi's repeated insistence in the *Discorso* on astronomical observation and history, too, argues for this empirical observation's relevance to the program.³⁰⁶

Compared to Vanosino's depiction of the Ptolemaic constellations, Zucchi's displays adherence and variation to the standard forms dictated by stellar cartography. For example, the constellations Equuleus and Pegasus appear in the vaults at Caprarola (fig. 89) and the Vatican (fig. 90) as a pair of

the work in the Apostolic Palace on the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri was completed by early summer of the same year. Despite this cluster of collaboration in the early 1580s, the pair likely knew one another from as long as twenty years before. Danti entered Cosimo's service in 1562, painting in the Palazzo Vecchio and serving the court as cosmographer. By that date, Zucchi had already been working with Vasari in the Palazzo Vecchio for five years. Their paths crossed again when Danti entered the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome in 1583, Zucchi preceding him by two years. Lohaus records that, in 1998, Florian Härb expressed doubt that Danti helped Zucchi with the invention of the Galleria Rucellai program. This theory depends on, if not an execution of the frescoes earlier in the 1580s, then at least on a commission from Orazio Rucellai in that period. Danti was elevated to the office of Bishop of Alatri in 1583, and died in 1586.

³⁰⁵ Zucchi, 9. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43. Zucchi himself emphasizes that he had "ordered, as one can see in the work, a compartmentalization into nineteen paintings (*ordinato, secondo che in opera si vede, un spartimento con quadri diciannove*).” There is, also, the unusual appearance on the new facade of the Palazzo Ruspoli, as extended after Orazio's purchase and under Bartolommeo Ammannati's designs, of nineteen bays along the via del Corso.

³⁰⁶ Zucchi, 21, 33, 34, 49, 63, 64 [twice], 68, 74, 84, 99, 155 [twice]. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 48, 54 [twice], 61, 66, 67 [twice], 68, 71, 75, 81, 105 [twice].

horses. Pegasus is light, winged, and in the foreground, while Equuleus is dark and farther back, and the pair run together across the fictive sky, just as in the firmament. In the lunette where they appear in the Galleria Rucellai (fig. 91), Zucchi has followed this configuration faithfully. By contrast, both of Vanosino's depictions of the constellation Auriga, or the Charioteer (figs. 92–93), appear as kneeling figures, seen from behind, carrying a goat and her kid,³⁰⁷ while Zucchi's depiction (fig. 94) differs. Instead, we find the curious figure of Erichthonios, a half-man, half-snake mythic king of Athens credited with inventing a type of chariot.³⁰⁸ This suggests that Zucchi chose to forego more standard constellation iconography in favor of a variant of the catasterism that might be more meaningful.³⁰⁹ In the context of Auriga, this choice aligns the constellation with a specifically identifiable mythological character, one who overcame personal hardship through ingenuity and rose to a position of prominence in a powerful city-state, rather than a generalized goatherd/charioteer.³¹⁰

³⁰⁷ Partridge, 422. In the case of Caprarola, the representation of this constellation makes punning use of the tradition that holds that the Charioteer was also a goatherd, who carried a nanny goat and one of her kids on his shoulder.

³⁰⁸ Lohaus, 75. Lohaus links this variant appearance of Auriga with Piccolomini's treatise.

³⁰⁹ Hyginus, *De Astronomia*, 2.13. Lippincott, 187–188, n.11. Lippincott points to Hyginus's confused characterization (first a youth, then a snake, then a youth with serpentiform legs) in her discussion of the horoscopic imagery in the Sala di Galatea at Agostino Chigi's villa in Rome, where the figure is akin to the charioteers appearing in the later Dürer print of the constellations and the Vanosino ceilings at Caprarola and Roma. Despite the visual precedents, Zucchi seems to have chosen Hyginus's final description as the clearest way to convey the identity of the figure and that his innovation was bound up in a physical characteristic.

³¹⁰ Partridge, 424–425. At Caprarola, the embellishment of the constellation Eridanus with the falling figure of Phaeton helps both to link the river in question with a narrative episode, as well as to the concept of a charioteer.

These moments of artistic license help to underscore Zucchi's power of invention in the context of this varied and rich program. It is strange, then, to note that his remarks on the constellations are brief:

from here, I believe that it was a difficult thing for them to arise, to give them one lone and particular office, as we say, treating already the pictures beneath him on the sides, and in the half roundels between the lunettes. One sees divided according to the site the remaining forty-eight images ascribed by the Astrologers poetically to the Sky, which, by virtue of being things so well known to every good spirit, it does not seem to me fitting to name them. Leaving the burden of the rest to the painting, I judge, that it will be better to remit each one to the cited authors, so that they remain satisfied in every particular thing. In so doing, we leave those things that do not pertain to our profession to others. For us, this is not dissatisfying. Briefly, therefore of the remainder, that is of the *facciate*, we will say two more words and make an end.³¹¹

³¹¹ Zucchi, 74. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 71. Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 301. Morel believes that Zucchi's brief treatment here underscores that he is not the one who painted the images of the constellations, leaving that work to studio assistants, with predictable results. The unusual choices made here, especially where Auriga/Erichthonios is concerned, are too sophisticated to have been made by a studio assistant. Additionally, with a program as complex and varied as this one, with a descriptive treatise written by the artist who balanced his pride at inventing with rhetorical modesty tropes, saying that he would allow the pictures to speak for themselves participates in that rhetoric. Suggesting that the images would be able to speak for themselves establishes in viewers the expectation that they could comfortably navigate the room, identifying all the images without aid. Doing so in the context of a treatise that they are reading already negates this proposition. Further, knowing that not all the figures would be immediately identifiable creates a tension and space for the artist, or the patron, to be appealed to for the definitive explanation after a diverting game of trying to determine the subject of a work among friends assembled before the work. If this is not the intention of Zucchi, then it stands to reason that, since the *Discorso* is known to have been incomplete at his death, his brother Francesco added the necessary bridging passage to transition between the vault descriptions of the gods and zodiac medallions to the discussion of the Caesars before he published the document in 1602. Any of the collaborating literary figures who provided poems for the prefatory material could have aided Francesco in this, if he were not sure of his own ability to emulate his brother's literary style.

Zucchi's original text:

di qui credo, nascesse, che difficil cosa era darli un solo, e particolar uffitio, come dicemmo, trattando già di lui sotto à i quadri dalle bande, & ne'mezi tondi sotto le lunette, si vede partito secondo il sito, il restante delle 48. imagini ascritte da gl'Astrologi poeticamente in Cielo, le quali, per esser cose, hormai notissime ad ogni bello spirto, non mi pare à proposito altrimenti di chiamarle, però lasciando il carico alla pittura del resto, giudico, che meglio sarà rimettere ciascuno alli citati autori, che in particolar d'ogni cosa sodisfatti rimarranno, accioche facendo noi quello che in tutto non è nostra professione, e per altri, & per noi non ci fosse mala sodisfattione, brevemente adunque del restante, cioè delle facciate, diremo due altre parole, e farem fine.

Philippe Morel has called this passage a clear indication that Zucchi did not paint these images himself.³¹² The careful planning of the layout of each constellation image argues against this interpretation. Zucchi has taken the cardinal orientation of the Galleria and coordinated Ptolemy's constellations to that axis (fig. 95). Setting aside scholarly difference of opinion about which constellations are figured where in some cases (Lohaus sees the dolphin and Cetus, as well as the Hydra and the Drago, switched, but the adherence to iconographic conventions for each seems to remove doubt in these cases),³¹³ Zucchi only departs from Ptolemy's north-south rubric in one place: the constellation Cetus, the large sea monster sent by Poseidon to devour the princess Andromeda in the Perseus mythology.³¹⁴ Astronomically, Cetus is a southern constellation, appearing below the ecliptic at a great distance from Perseus, Andromeda, and her parents, Cassiopeia and Cepheus (fig. 96). In the arrangement of the Galleria Rucellai, Cetus appears at the north end of the space. At the Galleria's center, Perseus (fig. 97), having recently decapitated Medusa, appears poised to take flight and rescue the princess, whose powerless parents stand between her and the sea monster (fig. 95). Since a simple rearrangement of the constellation imagery would have kept Perseus with the northern constellations while allowing

³¹² Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 301. Lohaus, 72–73. Lohaus reiterates Morel's opinion.

³¹³ Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 301. Morel, "La galleria Rucellai," in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 80–81. Lohaus, 71–77. Cecilia Sica, "La 'Genealogia delli dei,'" in Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Palazzo Ruspoli* (Rome: Editalia, 1992), 217–220. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura...," in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 167–174.

³¹⁴ Lohaus, 76. Lohaus notes this unusual disposition of the Perseus myth constellations, but does not suggest a reason why it is so.

Cetus to appear among his southern brethren, Zucchi's choice seems deliberate, intended to participate in the ways the Galleria's imagery creates meaning. The likeliest solution engages the persistent, if underexplained, theme of time itself.³¹⁵

Zucchi has, in fact, not shown a single constellation at all. Unlike Vanosino's vaults, here no underlying stars with the forms of man and beast superimposed by tradition and paint outline the night's cosmic pictures. Zucchi's images are of living beings and animate objects, ones that cast shadows, even if they seem made of stucco, because they, like the gods and goddesses above them, exist in the golden and transient light of a day coming to its close, not as twinkling stars installed into the blue-black nighttime firmament. Because of the overarching theme of the transition between the Age of Gold and the Age of Silver and the daylight in which this occurs, the beings that would become the stars in the heavens are still on earth.³¹⁶ In truth, when reading the myths of catasterisms, it is the gods themselves who reward notable heroes and creatures with the immortality of the stars. Those same gods have only just, moments before, wrested power from the generation of the Titans. This use of an epoch-ending temporal moment whose effects are incomplete, especially with regard to the human figures below, could perhaps be a commentary, again, on the strange evanescence of ten days from the lives of contemporary Italians at the institution

³¹⁵ Zucchi, 10. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 44. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura...", in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 118, n.35. Rigon points to the description of Caelum in the *Discorso*, showing Cetus to be a son of Caelum, emphasizing the genealogical aspect of the program.

³¹⁶ Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura...", in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 171, 173–174. Rigon notes the proximity of all the Perseus myth constellations briefly, and says the transformation of Lycaon is happening in the image, perhaps a confirmation that we are looking a suspended moment of transition in time here and throughout the Galleria Rucellai.

of the Gregorian Calendar in October 1582: movements on high were made and a fiat spoken, shifting time itself, just as when Jupiter, on his Olympian throne, decreed that a fallen figure or fearsome monster take up a heavenly post by which those below could mark the passage of time.

Zucchi's "Secondo il sito"

Four times in the text of the *Discorso*, Jacopo Zucchi employs an unusual phrase: "according to the site" (*secondo il sito*).³¹⁷ The first use of this phrase is in Zucchi's prefatory remarks, where he says he was called upon to decorate the Galleria Rucellai with various pictures and caprices, according to the site.³¹⁸ In this passage, the phrase is linked with Zucchi's selection of the origin and proprieties of the gods, which seemed to him a convenient subject.³¹⁹ As we have seen, this convenient subject and all the imagery arrayed around it return again and again to the major theme of time. While "secondo il sito" might be

³¹⁷ Zucchi, 8, 74, 79, and 168. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43, 71, 73, and 110.

³¹⁸ Zucchi, 8. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43.

³¹⁹ Zucchi, 8. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:71, 161–162 and n. 136. Here, Pillsbury follows Saxl in taking Zucchi at his word in the *Discorso*, suggesting that the subjects chosen are incidental and decorative rather than meaningful. Pillsbury actually says that he thinks that the subjects were chosen because they were "appropriate to the space, not for their intrinsic merits or special relevance." This statement presupposes a use for the space, which Pillsbury later defines in vague terms by saying, "the function of the room [is] as a gallery in which art was to be seen and enjoyed." This returns to the notion that the gallery type of room is solely for sculptural display, especially given Pillsbury's assertion, further along in the same paragraph, comparing Orazio Rucellai's gallery with Ferdinando de' Medici's at his villa (my italics): "In the Rucellai gallery the painted decorations were designed *to compensate for the lack of 'real' art objects*." This argument reduces the space to one where form does not, in fact, follow function, transforming it into an architectural armature for the display of immovable paintings. Pillsbury's assertion is, however, grounded in the debate about Orazio Rucellai's activity as a collector of sculpture and the relative dearth of extant documents that would correlate the use of a gallery space like this one to Ferdinando's intended use for his. Recognizing that the architectural form is not strictly wedded to a display context for sculptural works is a valuable contribution from Pillsbury, if worded poorly and suggestive of all the easiest and most reductive stereotypes of art from the late Cinquecento. The "chicken-and-egg" question of architecture vs. adornment vis-à-vis the Galleria Rucellai follows hereafter.

understood to mean that Zucchi was constrained in his choice of subject matter and placement by the predetermined architectural aspects of the Galleria and the palace,³²⁰ it might not be a stretch to suggest, alternatively, that this phrase indicates something intrinsic about the space and its connection to time.

The timeline for the construction of the portion of Palazzo Ruspoli that houses the Galleria Rucellai is unclear. Orazio Rucellai purchased what has been called “an imperfect palace” (un palazzo imperfetto) from the Jacobilli family on 7 May 1583.³²¹ According to Sandro Benedetti, this is the core of the present-day Palazzo Ruspoli, including ten original façade bays along the via del Corso and the entrance and *cortile* on the via della Fontanella di Borghese in the present-day Largo Goldoni.³²² Soon thereafter, Orazio Rucellai contracted with his friend and sometime-architect Bartolommeo Ammannati to enlarge the palace, creating a larger rectangular enclosure to the south along the via del Corso.³²³ Benedetti believes that the window for this building activity was between the purchase in the spring of 1583 and Carnevale of 1586, when a

³²⁰ Clare Robertson, “Annibale Caro as Iconographer: Sources and Method,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 168, n.45. Annibale Caro also indicates that his choices were constrained by the size and shape of pre-prepared surfaces to be frescoed, in the case of the Camera dell’Aurora at the Villa Farnese, Caprarola and an unexecuted program for Vicino Orsini at Bomarzo.

³²¹ ASV, Archivio Ruspoli-Marescotti 2a.B.74.4.

³²² Benedetti, “L’Architettura,” in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 145–151.

³²³ Benedetti, “L’Architettura,” in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 152–153. Benedetti cites a document from the Archivio Rucellai, without providing the date of said interaction between patron and architect.

Rucellai-sponsored spectacle is recorded.³²⁴ He tells us that Ammannati came to Rome on 19 May 1585 to work for Sixtus V, remaining in the city with his wife until November of that year.³²⁵ During this six month period, Ammannati lived in a palazzo near the Arco di Portogallo, an ancient monument mentioned in the 1583 sale document between the Jacobilli and Orazio Rucellai used as an adjacent point of reference, marking the period as an ideal opportunity to work on Orazio's palace.³²⁶ Occupied with the pope, however, Ammannati may not have been available to oversee the implementation of his designs for the construction of the palazzo's extension.³²⁷ At the same time, it is difficult to believe that he would have delegated this work for someone consistently described as his great friend to some underling or general contractor.³²⁸ Benedetti's theory of the construction activity also posits that the decoration of the Galleria Rucellai was complete by

³²⁴ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 154. The author refers to BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat 1054. See discussion of this event and the varying interpretations of the *avviso* in Chapter One.

³²⁵ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 164. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:156–157.

³²⁶ "Appendice Documentaria," in Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Palazzo Ruspoli* (Rome: Editalia, 1992), 182.

³²⁷ Baglione, 2:259–60. Lotti, 10. In their notes on Baglione's text, Röttgen and Hess point to the brevity of Ammannati's time in Rome and the appearance of the name Alberto Alberti as a *maestro della fabbrica* (master of building works) at the Villa Medici, as proof that, while the architect may have designed and planned for Ferdinando, he did not remain in Rome long enough to see the work executed. Without references to corroborate his suppositions, Lotti characterizes the work as proceeding slowly due to the vast dimensions of the palace and the various obligations of the architect and the painter. The inclusion of Zucchi's name suggests his assignment of the decoration of the Galleria Rucellai to the earlier part of 1580s, which conflicts with the projects at Santo Spirito and in the Apostolic Palace dated to those same years.

³²⁸ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 152. Barletti, 54. Felicia Else, "Bartolomeo Ammannati: Moving Stones, Managing Waterways and Building an Empire for Duke Cosimo I de' Medici," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 42:2 (Summer 2011): 423. Else points to Ammannati's interest in international trade.

February 1586.³²⁹ Even if Ammannati did manage to execute the erection of a new wing for Orazio Rucellai's palace in those brief six months, Jacopo Zucchi would not have had ample time to execute the entire fresco cycle in the Galleria Rucellai, given its scale and complexity, and the comparative figure of four years for the completion of the Sistine Chapel vault by Michelangelo.

The particular nature of Orazio Rucellai's ability to acquire adjacent properties and fold them into his architectural aspirations for his Roman palace had, from the start, imposed restrictions on its construction. Ammannati's extension to the palazzo, in fact, manages only to be a shallow one, projecting on one side and failing, largely to enclose a second *cortile*.³³⁰ Had Ammannati and Rucellai succeeded in transforming the palazzo into something more, there is no telling what dimensions it would have observed or what the use of space would have looked like. What is certain, in Benedetti's view, is a kind of bifurcation in the use of spaces within the building itself. The Jacobilli core retains the arrangement of smaller chambers and rooms typical to the organization of a Renaissance home, while the Ammannati extension contains grand spaces suited to a more public or social function.³³¹ Might this more public, spectacular (in the strictest etymological sense) function be tied to the presentation at Carnevale in 1586, which records a comedy attended by cardinals and papal

³²⁹ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 154.

³³⁰ Lohaus, 40. Lohaus feels that the construction, as it is, reflects Orazio's intent for the palace, saying that he and Ammannati could have indeed created a second courtyard, but chose instead to make the creation of the Galleria primary. The difficulties of construction laid out in footnote 110 and Orazio's continued acquisition of territory on the block argue against this.

³³¹ Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 156.

relatives? Could the dimensions of the rooms, over and above the limitations imposed by the available real estate (described in an Archivio Rucellai document as being “un sito vasto” (a vast site))³³² be calculated to accommodate crowds of this magnitude, which would therefore require fresco decoration to delight the eye and stimulate the intellect?

Jacopo Zucchi was already familiar with this section of the *centro storico* of Rome, having served Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici at the nearby Palazzo Firenze from 1571/2 to 1576 (fig. 47).³³³ There, Zucchi oriented his seasonal fresco program in the Sala delle Stagioni to the temperatures associated with the cardinal compass points (i.e., Winter on the north, Summer on the south, Spring on the east, and Autumn on the west). There has even been a suggestion that Cardinal Ferdinando had the garden, visible from the balconies of the Zucchi-frescoed rooms, laid out according to this cardinal orientation with a view toward using it as a way to track time using light, akin to a sundial.³³⁴

The association of these gardens with this use is particularly curious, given that, in 1463, while digging the foundations of a side chapel in San Lorenzo

³³² Benedetti, “L’Architettura,” in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 153.

³³³ Giordani, “The Church of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome: Some New Discoveries.” Aurigemma, “Spunti...,” 45. Aurigemma points to documents in the archives of the Accademia di San Luca that show Zucchi was living the *rione* of Regola, nearer Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini and Palazzo Farnese, in 1581. Giordani suggests, by contrast, that Zucchi lived nearer Orazio Rucellai’s palace, his funeral Mass being celebrated in San Giacomo degli Incurabili on the via del Corso on 8 May 1592.

³³⁴ This observation was conveyed to me when I visited the Palazzo Firenze by one of the employees of the Società Dante Aligheri.

in Lucina, a section of the paving of the Augustan Horologium was discovered.³³⁵ During the reign of Julius II, another indication of its position was found, when the pedestal of the *gnomon* obelisk was found and reburied.³³⁶ Knowing, from these discoveries forward, that this section of the Campus Martius was the home of the famous sundial, the most monumental time-keeping device of ancient Rome, would certainly have added a kind of prestige to the location of these sites, all within walking distance of one another and therefore likely within the circuit of the monument's paved ground surface.³³⁷ More suggestive still is the idea that the knowledge of this monument, now lost and buried beneath their feet, made this portion of Rome the heart of solar chronometry, could have exerted direct influence on Zucchi as he planned the decorative program for the Galleria Rucellai and searched for appropriate unifying themes. This archaeological knowledge might then transform Orazio Rucellai's palace and Jacopo Zucchi's frescoes into the most recent stratum of temporal importance on what was already an ancient palimpsest in real estate. Such an awareness might be gleaned from Zucchi's words about selecting a convenient subject and working "secondo il sito."

³³⁵ Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, Oxford Archaeological Guides (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 191. Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 204. Aurigemma hints at the fundamentality of the concept of time and the proximity of the Horologium to the Palazzo Firenze, but does not develop the idea further, or connect it to the Galleria Rucellai.

³³⁶ Claridge, 192.

³³⁷ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXVI.XV.71–72.

Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* (36.15.73–74) offers a potential link between the Augustan Horologium and the Gregorian Reform of the calendar.

Pliny writes of the sundial:

The readings thus given have for about thirty years past failed to correspond to the calendar, either because the course of the sun itself is anomalous and has been altered by some change in the behavior of the heavens or because the whole earth has shifted slightly from its central position, a phenomenon which, I hear, has been detected also in other places. Or else earth-tremors in the city may have brought about a purely local displacement of the shaft or floods from the Tiber may have caused the mass to settle, even though the foundations are said to have been sunk to a depth equal to the height of the load they have to carry.³³⁸

The lack of congruity between the calendar dating and the solar information cast as a shadow by the *gnomon* of the sundial, which had gone on for thirty years by the time of Pliny's writing (likely around AD 77, so since AD 47, a full fifty-seven/fifty-eight years since the obelisk was positioned)³³⁹ is an eerie ancient parallel to the questions surrounding the discrepancy between celestial movement and calendrical counting occurring in the late sixteenth century, by which time the sky and the calendar were incongruous by ten whole days. Pliny's mention of the possible shifts in the course of the sun or the position of the earth, occurring before other, less cataclysmic reasons for the chronometric discrepancy, begins to suggest the centrality of those celestial bodies in the Roman worldview where time is concerned, and might add increased significance to the orderly movement and appearance of the planetary gods

³³⁸ Pliny, *Natural History*, Loeb Classical Library (1962), 10:57, 59.

³³⁹ Claridge, 190.

along the center section of Zucchi's frescoed vault, where the Age of Silver and the beginnings of mythical time are dawning and no problems have yet surfaced.

Ammannati's grand plan for the expansion of Orazio Rucellai's palace may also have played a significant role in determining Jacopo Zucchi's temporal theme in the frescoes of the Galleria's vault. In his prefatory material for the *Discorso*, sandwiched between his statement "secondo il sito" and his assertion about selecting a convenient subject, Zucchi gives the dimensions of the Galleria: "the Gallery of the Rucellai in their house in Rome located on the Corso...being 120 *palmi* in length, 35 wide, and 40 high."³⁴⁰ These dimensions are a curious starting point for the dialogue about the Galleria. As a set of numbers, they allow the reader to determine the arithmetic relationship of the three dimensions of the Galleria to one another: the width is seven-twenty-fourths the length, and the height is one-third the length. These ratios are close to those of the chief monument of Renaissance Rome with which the Galleria is in dialogue, namely the Sistine Chapel. There, the ratios are taken from the dimensions of Solomon's Temple given in the Bible, namely the width is one-third the length, and the height is one-half. Seven-twenty-fourths is the fraction between one-third and one-quarter, and one-third is just shy of one-half, meaning the width and height are proportionally a little smaller, with regard to the length, than what appear in the Sistine Chapel.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Zucchi, 8. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 43. The original text reads: "la galleria de'Rucellai nella lor casa in Roma posta nel Corso...essendo di lunghezza di palmi cento venti, larga trentacinque, alta 40."

³⁴¹ Aurigemma, "Spunti..." 47. In arguing the architecture of the Galleria Rucellai was shaped by the painting, Aurigemma gives credence to the theory that the model being emulated from the start was the Sistine Chapel.

Alamanno and the Family Mythos, or The Golden Shower and the New Color of Money

If the program of the vault, and indeed the entirety, of the Galleria Rucellai relies on varying conceptions of time, and the guiding principles of that concept are descendance, lineage, and genealogy, then considering the Rucellai family itself through this lens follows naturally. According to Luigi Passerini, an author who concerns himself with the clan's biography, the first certifiable ancestor of the Rucellai is a certain Alamanno, to whom the entire family owes its position in Florence, its fortunes, and even its name:

Enrolled in the Wool Guild, enterprising and ardent, he was not content with the resources that commerce in his own native place offered him, but, in an attempt to grow the cloth trade coming from his own shop, he girded himself and embarked on disastrous voyages. A discovery, made by chance, that to one less aware than him would have gone unnoted, proved to be the source of riches. And thus, having noted that the plant *Rusca* or *Oricella*, a perennial that lives on the rocky shores of the Arcipelago and the Canary Islands, bathed in urine changed its color to a lovely violet, he thought that he might be able to apply this discovery to the dyeing of cloth. Returning to his country, he studied in order to perfect this, and succeeded in finding other acids that produced the same effect as urine when applied to the *oricello*. Then he began to tint with the new color the cloth that his firm produced; for this new thing, they acquired such acclaim that Alamanno, who had kept for himself the secret of the dye, found himself inundated with commissions. The sober life that the Florentines had led up until then had allowed them the possibility to accumulate great riches, and his family began to acquire some esteem in Florence. From his discovery his descendants obtained their surname, being called *Oricellaj*, that is children of the *Oricellario*, and thereafter *Rucellai*.³⁴²

³⁴² Passerini, 5–6. Original text:

Ascritto all'Arte della lana, intraprendente ed ardito, non si rimase contento alle risorse che gli offeriva il commercio standosi a casa sua, ma per tentare di accrescere lo smercio dei panni che uscivano dalle proprie officine, si accinse a disastrosi viaggi. Una scoperta fatta a caso, che ad un altro meno accorto di lui sarebbe riuscita indifferente, gli fu sorgente di ricchezza. Imperciocchè, accortosi che l'erba *Rusca* o *Oricella*, pianta perenne che vive sulli scogli dell'Arcipelago e dell'isole Canarie, tinta nell'orina cangiavasi in un bel colore violetto, pensò che

Passerini's characterization, in the nineteenth century, of Alamanno's discovery of the color-changing properties of lichen when covered with uric acid, underscores his ingenuity and tenacity in the field of commerce, shining a new light on the figure of Erichthonios, whose own recognition of a problem and subsequent study yielded a fame-inducing invention with applications beyond his own small sphere.

In fact, Alamanno's discovery continues to be useful to students of chemistry even today, as strips of litmus paper employ the same the chemical mechanism Alamanno noted in lichens, changing to the Rucellai reddish purple in the presence of acids. This color, in fact, constitutes the strongest point of connection between the Galleria Rucellai and the thirteenth-century ancestor who gave the family its name. Instead of emulating Michelangelo's *pietra serena* architecture in the Sistine Chapel as the background against which the colorful and *cangiante* dress and living flesh of all his figures stand in powerful relief, Zucchi has instead used this same *violetto* or *rosso-violaceo* as the base color of the walls of the vault.³⁴³ It is visible in the interstitial spaces between the

potevasi questa scoperta applicare alla tintura dei panni. Tornato in patria studiò per poterla perfezionare, e riuscì a trovare altri acidi che sull'oricello producevano l'effetto medesima dell'orina. Allora cominciò a tingere col nuovo colore i panni che uscivano della sue officine; per la novità acquistarono tale un credito, che Alamanno, il quale si era riservato il segreto della tintura, si trovò sopraccarico di commissioni. La vita sobria che conducevano allora i Fiorentini gli permise di accumulare molte ricchezze, e la sua famiglia cominciò ad acquistare qualche considerazione in Firenze. Dalla sua scoperta desunsero i discendenti il cognome, dicendosi Oricellaj, cioè figli dell'Oricellario, e quindi Rucellai.

³⁴³ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:158. Pillsbury characterizes the color as lilac. More recent photographs show the color to be closer to the characterization of the Rucellai *rosso-violaceo*. Pillsbury also says that one of the primary colors used in the Galleria is blue. No ultramarine blue appears at all, the most intense shade of the color being sky blue, which is not consistently used, Zucchi favoring yellow for the color of the firmament.

apertures, garlands, medallions, and *marmi finti*, and outlining the interior edges of the apertures of the peripheral figures, and as the color of the walls and frames for the apertures of the five central planetary gods. Zucchi's use of the characteristic color of Rucellai cloth emphasizes the original source of their wealth, prestige, and social position in general. More particularly, since the color is also the source of the Rucellai name, its use is a metonymy for Alamanno and the family. Suffusing the wall surface as it does, the color attends the origins of time and the constellations, events of mythic history that begin the marking of time and the fixing of human destiny. In this way, Zucchi has asserted that Alamanno is on par with the gods of Greco-Roman antiquity, and that his discovery partakes of an order of preordination that antedates stellar destiny and the beginnings of time. Everything that happens in front of this basic color, therefore, happens because of the foundation it provides, making Alamanno and the Rucellai integral to the foundation of history and time.³⁴⁴ This literal

³⁴⁴ Suzanne B. Butters, *The Triumph of Vulcan: Sculptor's Tools, Porphyry, and the Prince in Ducal Florence*, Villa I Tatti / The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies 14 (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1996), 150–51, 133–143. "Firenze ed il colore viola: un antico legame," Luca Coladarci, accessed 7 April 2013, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/92337676/Firenze-ed-il-colore-viola-un-antico-legame>. Farfetched as this reading may seem, there is a precedent for the consideration of the Rucellai purple in connection with the family's identity and puns in the person of Bernardo di Giovanni Rucellai, the figure around whom the Orti Oricellari circle formed. Bernardo, the son of the patron of the Palazzo Rucellai in Florence, made use of inscribed slabs of porphyry, the reddish-purple stone that was the prerogative of ancient Roman and near-contemporary Byzantine emperors, as a way to connect to the purple nature of his surname, both in public and private contexts. It should be remembered, too, that, prior to Alamanno's botanical discovery, purple dye came only from murex shells native to the Levant, a costly luxury good also reserved solely for the imperial family, which later came to be identified with depictions of Christ and with the concept of true Christian witness and martyrdom, where shed blood was identified also with purple color. Butters further asserts that, given the influx of Greek speakers to Florence after the 1453 fall of Constantinople, the interest in ancient manuscripts, and Bernardo's likely knowledge of Greek, he may have been punning at an honorific imperial title, *porphyrogenitus*, or "purple-born," as an association that extended the prestige of the Rucellai clan through etymology. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, Jacopo Zucchi's fresco program for the Galleria Rucellai engages the Quattrocento scions of the more famous branch of the family, specifically through representations of Giovanni Rucellai's architectural patronage. There is no

dependence (in Italian, to depend means to hang from) of time on the Rucellai is continued at the corners of the Galleria, where the seasonal garlands hang down from the combined *stemma* of Orazio and his bride, Camilla Guicciardini, the new standard bearers of the family's lineage and destiny.

Conclusion

Before beginning his work for Orazio Rucellai in the 1580s, Jacopo Zucchi had been called upon by his Medici patrons, both as a studio apprentice of Vasari and as an independent artist, to tackle subjects related to the origin of the natural world and the passage of time. Rooms dedicated to the elements and seasons, a suite of cabinet pictures that engages Ovid's Ages, decorations for a court festival, and Zucchi's own design using the planetary gods show that these

reason to suppose that Zucchi's color choice for the fictive architecture of the vault here is not also an engagement with the personality of Bernardo, Giovanni's son, his position in Florentine intellectual life, and his famous residence. Attracting the likes of Niccolò Machiavelli, the Orti Oricellari were a place of erudite discussions. Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* were composed there and dedicated in part to Cosimo Rucellai, Bernardo's grandson. Extending this discussion of the paragonistic competition between Orazio Rucellai and the more famous branch of his family are the details and modern assertions about the nature of purple and the character of collections and interests between the spaces. Butters informs us that Bernardo wished to have a replica made of an ancient sun-clock from the Della Valle collection in Rome (later purchased by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici) for installation in the Orti; that Bernardo himself is said to have rescued choice examples of ancient sculpture from Lorenzo il Magnifico's garden at San Marco before the Medici expulsion of 1494, installing them in his Orti; and that Bernardo's maternal grandfather, Palla Strozzi, purchased an early Ptolemy manuscript from Manuel Chrysoloras, a minister and friend of the Byzantine court whom he had helped bring to Florence. Zucchi surely knew something of this collection of associations from early on, having executed the *Madonna of the Rosary* with Vasari for Santa Maria Novella, one of the great sites of Giovanni Rucellai's patronage in Florence, in precisely the years that his mentor and Duke Cosimo were engaged there (1565–1574). Luca Coladarsi offers another interpretation that helps further connect these interpretations. Relying on etymology, Coladarsi presents two alternatives for understanding the word *oricello*: first, a connection with *orina* (urine), pointing to the use of acidic or ammoniac solutions on the lichen to produce the violet color; and second, with the Latin *oricus*, a diminutive form of *ora*, pointing to associations with edges, boundaries, or extremities, and further intermixed with notions of time, as it can denote the boundary between day and night, when the sky can turn a reddish purple, or the appearance of violets in the springtime as a manifestation of the change of seasons. Considered alongside the appearance of the Ptolemy manuscript linked tentatively to the Rucellai family, these etymological associations further buttress the importance of time as a consideration in decoding the vault decoration of the Galleria Rucellai.

disparate themes were present from the very beginning of Zucchi's artistic activity. The majority of these works were, in fact, executed *before* time itself changed in October 1582 when the Gregorian Reform of the calendar was enacted. Seven months before Orazio Rucellai purchased the core of his Roman palace from the Jacobilli, this signal event of the era called into question the stability of the celestial modes by which time was marked and reckoned from antiquity. It seems logical that Zucchi, in concert with his patron, in conversation with his supervising collaborator on other projects, Egnazio Danti, and in consideration of the archaeological history of the site, would have been ruminating on this topic and the many iterations it had previously taken in his art as he considered "convenient subjects" for decorating a domestic space as vast as the Galleria Rucellai. Turning to Michelangelo's solution for the Sistine Ceiling, another long, rectangular space concerned with origins, lineage, destiny, and time, Zucchi was able to rearrange the members of the fictive architecture and adapt them to the needs of a secular Sistine, one which glorifies its patron as much as that sacred antecedent. Filling the spaces with imagery related to the passage of time (zodiac symbols, seasonal garlands, and planetary gods), Zucchi amplified it with encyclopedic fervor, heraldic conceits, and mythographic knowledge to create a whole concerned with the place that the Rucellai occupy within the broad unfolding of time, at and before its mythological inception.³⁴⁵

Intertwining personal and Greco-Roman mythological strands and hinting at a special kind of the "festival made permanent" phenomenon, Zucchi creates a

³⁴⁵ Partridge, 437. Partridge makes similar claims about vault decoration in the Sala del Mappamondo at the Farnese villa in Caprarola.

proto-Baroque statement in subtle glorification of his patron that stands at the head of the longer and more fully developed Seicento visual tradition that would follow shortly thereafter.

Chapter Four—The Historical Past: Dynasties, Biographies, Pieties and Decimal Coinage

Beneath the lunettes and fictive stucco medallions, as the vault curves downward, a golden stucco cornice³⁴⁶ separates the mythic realm of the ceiling from the decoration below on the walls of the Galleria Rucellai (figs. 1–2). This separation not only distinguishes the vertical and horizontal surfaces from one another within the room, but constitutes a break in the system and conception of time that governs the two areas of the decoration. Beneath the dentil-volutes and their painted shadows, a quantum leap has taken place and now, the viewer finds himself in the world of those who wrote of the ancient gods, the ancient Greeks and Romans.³⁴⁷ While the decoration favors Romans and the context of the Eternal City itself, there are notable departures that still participate in a concept of “antiquity” that telescopes distinct cultures and geographies into a single temporal field.

This temporal asynchrony with the vault notwithstanding, the visual field of the Galleria’s walls is both unified with that of the vault and richly varied. The architecture of the room itself is the first point of departure, with its window and door embrasures hollowing eighteen coves into what might otherwise be four continuous wall surfaces. Ingrid Lohaus notes connections between the wall and ceiling decoration that transcend the boundary the cornice provides, since the thematic decoration of each embrasure is closely connected to that of the

³⁴⁶ Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work,” 1:157. Lohaus, 44.

³⁴⁷ Rigon, “Pittura e scrittura...,” in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 175.

fourteen mythic figures that ring the Galleria's vault.³⁴⁸ At the base of each of these embrasures, below their grotesque decoration, pairs of panels with scenes from Aesop's Fables appear at the dado level, as the only true narrative imagery within the Galleria.³⁴⁹ With natural light streaming in from the windows, Zucchi no longer needs to use the device of the aperture he employed in the vault. Consequently, the painted figural decoration is all set against false apertures, closed in with panels of Rucellai red-purple, only one of the colors continued onto the walls, thereby chromatically unifying the space (fig. 99). Zucchi has also continued the use of gilded bronze forms, now horizontal "tabbed" rectangles, in the wall decoration, and added more variety and color to his monochromatic vignettes. These surround the second artistic medium represented in the Galleria Rucellai, a series of Cinquecento portrait busts of the first twelve emperors of Rome (fig. 100).³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ Lohaus, 44, 85–88. NB fig. 98. This correspondence also occurred to me during my visit to the Galleria Rucellai on 29 July 2011. However, as Lohaus's own plan and its labels note, the correspondence is not perfect, with diagonal shifts necessitated by the alignment of the twelve mythic figures above the long walls with the solid wall surfaces, rather than the embrasures; the curious double portion allotted to Minerva and the exclusion of Saturn from having decoration within this schema. Unfortunately, given the time constraints on my visit, I was not able to examine these areas more closely in order to determine, insofar as is possible, any further meaning that might attend the grotesque decoration employed on these surfaces.

³⁴⁹ Lohaus, 44. Aurigemma, "Spunti...", 51, n. 36. Morel, "La galleria Rucellai," in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 87. Aurigemma mentions that Roberta D'Amelio was, in 2000, preparing to publish qualifying paper of some sort on the Aesopic imagery used herein, but this has not come to light. Morel says that, because of the interventions undertaken to the window embrasures, there is no way to know if they were originally painted with Aesopic subjects by Zucchi or not. The supposition is that these images represent later interventions in the Galleria, from the eighteenth century during the Ruspoli tenure. The comparative evidence of Cardinal Ferdinando's garden *casino*, with its four Aesopic images in the first chamber, challenges this reading.

³⁵⁰ Lohaus, 89.

Surprisingly, this eye-level decoration has received little attention in the scholarship on the Galleria Rucellai.³⁵¹ While less monumental and awe-inspiring than the beginnings of mythical time that animate the Galleria's vault decoration, the side walls are an equally intricate reflection on the theme of time, and one appropriately placed for their content. Just as the celestial and mythical machinery that began time as we know it was inaccessible and inviolate, the procession of Romans, both Republican and Imperial, and what was known of their lives and deeds provided concrete exempla within a defined, accessible historical past. These illustrious human ancestors of the audience (likely Romans, too) who might have viewed the Galleria Rucellai at Orazio's invitation are the right company to surround, if on high, and instruct "modern" aristocrats already primed to consider the many forms that time can take.

On the Caesars and Their "Actions"

As with the frescoes of the vault, Zucchi's *Discorso* yields important clues about how to comprehend the decoration of the side walls of the Galleria Rucellai. This begins with the title, which announces the inclusion of "a brief treatise on the actions of the Twelve Caesars, with the declarations of their ancient Medals" (un breve trattato delle attioni de li dodici Cesari, con le dichiarazioni delle loro Medaglie antiche).³⁵² The title of the *Discorso* effectively

³⁵¹ Morel, "Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria," in *Roma di Sisto V*, 304. Strinati, "Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 196, 205. Lohaus, 89–142. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura...," in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 110, 175–189. Before Lohaus's study, the treatment of this portion of the decoration was one and one-half columns long in Morel's catalogue entry and a few paragraphs by Strinati.

³⁵² Zucchi, titlepage. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 35.

mirrors the actual content, insofar as the bulk of it cleanly divides down the middle between Zucchi's discussions of the nineteen mythic vault figures and the twelve Suetonian Caesars, with the briefest of nods at the end of each section to aspects of the decoration so clear as to warrant no elucidation by the artist,³⁵³ and a diversion into the decoration that attends the short walls sandwiched between the two halves.³⁵⁴ With fewer subjects in his main series of wall decoration, however, and ones more concretely rooted in historical time, some even described by trusted authors who lived within the lifetime of their subjects, Zucchi dedicates more space to the discussion of each Caesar than he did to single gods. That said, as with the gods, the passages about each of the Caesars generally reduce to a pattern. Zucchi begins with the origins of the family or individual emperor, keying into the concept of genealogy as an index of time, before continuing to a description of a few signal elements within each life, including military campaigns undertaken, principal enemies or allies, and any plots or conspiracies against them, fulfilled or foiled. Auguries, prophecies, or other manner of mystical signs connected to the Roman civic religion often figure, and are generally associated with the circumstances of their deaths. When describing their deaths, Zucchi always reports their exact ages, as well as the length of time that they ruled. A physical description usually appears next,

³⁵³ Zucchi, 72–74, 168–170. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 70–71, 110–111. See Chapter Three for the discussion of this as it pertains to the decoration of the vault, namely the figures of the Ptolemaic constellations. See below in this chapter for the discussion of the material on the *spiriti illustri* in the Galleria Rucellai.

³⁵⁴ Zucchi, 75–79. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 71–73. See Chapter Five for the discussion of the material on the short walls on the Galleria Rucellai.

followed by a transition to the legend surrounding the oval niche containing the portrait bust. Despite his editing of Suetonius's text down to relatively few pages for each of the twelve emperors, Zucchi does not shy away from the unifying themes of their harshness and the frequency of conspiracies against them, saying at the start of his discussion:

the present invention is made, such that, in declaring the ornaments, one might comprehend, where indicated and however summarily, according to the site, the bounty, the clemency, and the religion of those valiant Princes, for whose merits they were placed as if among the number of the immortal Gods, as much as those effeminate, vicious, and cruel Tyrants that finally in the blink of an eye miserably lost their lives, those states, and honors that, if one assigns more significance to them, consume them with shame, and damage; leaving them the eternally spiteful game, and target of the honored pens of Authors.³⁵⁵

Again, as with the discussion of the vault decoration, Zucchi provides clues to the reader for his preferred sequential experience of this portion of the program. Because of the linear nature of the text, Zucchi's choice of privileging the vault decoration over the side walls gives that portion primacy. Within his discussion of the vault imagery, as we have seen, the focus is on the planetary gods that define the spine of the vault and constitute the only intuitive, straight-line sequence in the decoration both in text and paint. Passing to the long side walls, Zucchi continues to use circuitous motion in concert with a single intuitive path to underscore primacy in a subset of the decoration. Counterintuitively,

³⁵⁵ Zucchi, 79. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 73. Original text: "si è fatto la presente inuentione; si come nel dichiarare gl'ornamenti si potrà comprendere, doue si v'è mostrando però così sommariamente, secondo il sito, la bontà, la clemenza, e la religione di quei Principi valorosi, per li cui meriti son stati quasi nel numero posti delli immortali Dei, come anco parimente gl'effeminati, e vitiosi, e crudel Tiranni hanno finalmente in vn tratto miseramente perso la vita, li stati, e l'honor, che più importa, consumma lor vergogna, e danno; restando eternamente giuoco, e bersaglio in dispetto loro, delle honorate penne delli Scrittori."

however, Zucchi begins not with the decoration immediately below the cornice, but with the sculptural busts. In bypassing the Republican-era *spiriti illustri* and naming the emperors in dynastic order, Zucchi signals that, at least in this portion of the program, one precise chronology is to be respected at the expense of another. In order to move from the vault decoration's guided motion path, as explained in the *Discorso*, to the beginning of the decoration on the long walls, the typical viewer must complete the circuit of the two *testate*, or short walls, ending at the allegorical figure of Constancy, then cross the Galleria diagonally, from southwest (the Hercules/Autumn corner) to northeast (the Oceanus/Spring corner), to reach the bust that is sequentially first, that of Julius Caesar. From there, the path proceeds south along the east wall, crosses to the west, and then continues north, concluding with the bust of Domitian beneath the figure of Caelum, where the vault path began (fig. 101). This path, if carried upward onto the vault decoration, constitutes a passage backward through the zodiac constellations and the seasonally-appropriate motion through them described by Zucchi at the end of the first portion of the *Discorso*.³⁵⁶ This arrangement and path, while seemingly at odds with the chronologies advanced by Zucchi with regard to the decoration in the Galleria, may perhaps be a seasonal commentary on the reigns of the twelve Suetonian Caesars, in that it more or less locates those emperors considered by history to be of less than surpassing virtue in the hardest seasons of the year, vaunting the early Julio-Claudians and the Flavians

³⁵⁶ Zucchi, 72–73. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 70. Here, one begins between the figures of Cancer and Gemini, at the seasonal tipping between spring and summer, moving backward through the seasons and clockwise through the Galleria, until one reaches the bust of Domitian, who is securely located in the summer, between Cancer and Leo.

by their positioning within the arc of spring and summer at the Galleria's north end. It is also an indication that, while unified coloristically and thematically, the individual subject series within the Galleria can observe microchronologies or overriding subthemes that disrupt the continuous, linear flow of time, all in the service of creating meaning, often through experiential path and counterintuitive sequential viewing.

Within the direct, sequential viewing of the Caesar busts, Zucchi creates moments of pause for vertical looking. The general description of the imagery on each wall section containing a bust begins with the sculpture, continues upward to the coin image, descends to the allegory above the bust, and further to the one below. This sequence creates a biography by accretion for each represented emperor, proceeding from facial resemblance outward toward symbols and allegories that metonymically create identity tantamount to that of the visage itself (fig. 102).³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Zucchi's general pattern is as follows: bust, called *medaglia* to coin, called *riverso* to upper monochrome, called *cammeo* to lower monochrome, called *pedistallo*. He observes this until his discussion of Otho, whose coin is mentioned last, returns to it with Vitellius and Vespasian, and departs again with Titus, where the pattern is bust to coin to lower monochrome to upper monochrome, and back the pattern with Domitian. Zucchi, 63–64. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 66–67. Zucchi himself describes a parallel process of the passage of identity into myth when discussing Atlas: “finally Perseus happened by luck into the realm of this one; and having denied hospitality to the supplicant youth because of suspicion, he was by this one with the mortal Gorgon transformed into a very high mountain. Thus he was deprived of the life and rule, retaining only the famous name” (finalmente capitato à sorte Perseo nel costui Regno; & hauendo per lo sospetto negato il supplicante giouane l'ospitio, fu da esso con la mortal Gorgone in vn altissimo monte conuerso. Onda della vita, e del regno fu priuato, solo il famoso nome ritenne). This process of literal and mythological petrification is seemingly taken up in the discussion of the Caesars as a literal AND metaphorical one, in that their visages are transformed into sculptures, while their deeds and their names remain associated and represented in relief media, as even Zucchi's words for the painted sections—*medaglia*, *riverso*, *cammeo*, and *pedistallo*—skew toward sculpture and away from painting. Refer to Chapter Two for discussion of Zucchi's sculptural terminology.

As with the constellation imagery on the painted vault, Zucchi appends only the briefest discussion of the “ten illustrious spirits, that guided various temples piously and with the highest religion” (dieci spiriti illustri, che varij tempij pietosamente con somma religion drizzorno),³⁵⁸ namely the ten figures of the frieze-level decoration along the long walls of the Galleria Rucellai. In the *Discorso*, Zucchi includes identifications for all of these figures, as well as a transcription of the legend that appears above each in a trefoil cartouche. These figures, drawn from the history of the Ancient Roman Republic, underscore the vertical descent of time from the vault to the ground level, but, horizontally, do not obey any clear, (chrono)logical arrangement on the walls.³⁵⁹ If a typical viewer were to try and visit each figure stationally in chronological fashion, the resulting path would mostly cross the center of the Galleria, with only two lateral motions in the group of ten (fig. 103). Neither does it seem that Zucchi intended a viewer to approach these figures as they had just done with the emperor busts, that is, proceeding down one wall and back up the other in straight-line motion. Instead, Zucchi has ordered the figures within his list at the end of the *Discorso* into an arrangement that creates more lateral motion on each side wall, and only one crossing of the Galleria’s width (fig. 104).

Preparation and Commentary: The “Villa Medici” Gallery Drawings

The Galleria Rucellai is not, in theory, the first interior for which Jacopo Zucchi was asked to consider a series of busts as a part of the decoration. A

³⁵⁸ Zucchi, 168. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 110.

³⁵⁹ Lohaus, 105–106. Lohaus also notes the lack of clear organizational principle on the walls as experienced, having checked for transversal correspondences, or in the *Discorso*.

series of seven drawings, in the collections the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal Institute of British Architects, records a slightly earlier design from Zucchi's hand for such a space (figs. 36–42). Initially believed by Edmund Pillsbury to constitute a study for the interior of the Galleria Rucellai,³⁶⁰ they are now considered by scholars to be preparatory designs for the decoration of a sculpture gallery planned by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici for his villa on the Pincian Hill in Rome.³⁶¹ The articulation of the gallery interior that appears in the drawings is identical to the space finally constructed (and since then divided and slightly transformed) in that pilasters flank large niches containing life-size figural sculpture of mythological characters on the solid sections of wall, alternating with window alcoves with simple socles beneath. Above each sculpture niche, a blank pictorial space, simply framed, appears, while the windows are crowned by *tondo* niches containing twelve busts, each of which is identified beneath by name or abbreviation in a cartouche. The last two drawings in the series, those containing the busts of Titus and Domitian (figs. 41–42), differ in the appearance of an

³⁶⁰ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi: New Paintings and Drawings," 33–34.

³⁶¹ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:141–3. Toulrier, "Zucchi, Jacopo (1584–1587 ca): Elévation intérieure de la galerie, en 7 pièces," in *Villa Médicis*, 1:190–193. Butters, "Ammannati et la villa Médicis," in *Villa Médicis*, 2:295. Morel, "Jacopo Zucchi a Roma: Chronologia," in *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale*, 123. Alessandro Cecchi, "Studi per la decorazione della galleria di villa Medici," in *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale*, 278. In the *Villa Médicis* volume, Toulrier dates the drawings to 1584–87, saying that they must be after the construction of the Galleria and the acquisition of the Capranica-Della Valle sculpture collection in 1584, and contemporary with the decoration of the Cardinal's apartments on the *piano nobile*. Suzanne Butters fixes the date of the delivery of the Capranica-Della Valle sculptures to 27 July 1584, and says that they were installed thereafter. Morel's chronology in Hochmann assigns the drawings for gallery to c.1587, during the thick of Zucchi's work on projects at Santo Spirito in Sassia. Alessandro Cecchi, in the entry on the drawings, in the same volume, says that work on the gallery at the Villa Medici proceeded from 1578–84, and it ultimately remained undecorated with the sculptures that came in July. When, three years later, Ferdinando goes back to Florence to reign as Grand Duke, the great bulk of his movable sculpture collections returned with him.

enlarged, pedimented blank pictorial space above a low, wide door. Scholars have used these drawings to reconstruct what Zucchi's conception of the decoration of Ferdinando's gallery would have been, positing that these represent slightly more than half of the drawings created and supposing that the space would have accommodated twenty-four life-size sculptures in the round and a further ten Imperial busts,³⁶² but no further drawings have come to light. Additionally, it is worth considering that inventories of Ferdinando's art collection listed many antique busts, but no complete series of the twelve Suetonian Caesars as the busts akin to those in the drawings is mentioned.³⁶³ There is similarly no complete correspondence, in the inventory, between Ferdinando's known sculptures and those depicted in the niches by Zucchi, who occasionally worked for the Duke as an agent in the acquisition of antiquities.³⁶⁴

What seems likelier as a set of conclusions is that these drawings began their life as plans for the gallery at the Villa Medici, then later took on other uses

³⁶² Toulter, "Zucchi, Jacopo (1584–1587 ca): Elévation intérieure de la galerie, en 7 pièces," in *Villa Médicis*, 1:192.

³⁶³ Eugène Müntz, *Les collections d'antiques formées par les Médicis au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895), 26, 29–30, 68. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:141–3. Lohaus, 92. While it certainly would have been possible for Ferdinando to order a complete set of sculptures, as it seems Orazio must have done, from the hand of a sixteenth-century sculptor, the cost of this was significant, around 1000 *scudi*, and traces of the commission, including payments and contracts, would have appeared in the documentary record for household acquisitions. There is also no evidence that such a collection existed in the Villa Medici or subsequently in Florence as part of the ex-cardinal's sculptural acquisitions.

³⁶⁴ Müntz, 26, 68. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:141–3, 187–8. The suggestion has been made that Ferdinando might have been planning to use sculptural fragments in his collection to build, literally, the collection shown by Zucchi in these drawings by restoring identifying attributes to the gods. In addition, a compositional comparison between one of Zucchi's figures, the easily-identifiable Saturn from the Tiberius and Caligula sheet (fig. 37), and the same figure from Rosso Fiorentino's *Gods in Niches* (fig. 105), reveals that the figures are nearly identical. The correspondence to the source drawing from Rosso's hand would be stronger, as the mirror image, than to the engraving by Caraglio.

as the construction of that project diminished in importance.³⁶⁵ Physical and conceptual evidence of this can perhaps be found on the drawings themselves. The name cartouches identifying the Caesars on four of the seven sheets have precisely cut slips of paper inserted into the delicate floriform space.³⁶⁶ The hand in which the labels are written seems (relatively) uniform over the entire series of drawings, pointing to a single intervention.³⁶⁷ These pasted slips represent a re-identification of the busts pictured in the four sheets on which they have been affixed, and that the decorative details included by Zucchi bear this observation out. Based on the biographical details that have come down to us from authors like Suetonius and Tacitus, many, if not all, of the Roman emperors had a value judgment passed on their lives, marking them out as either “good” or “bad,” a fact pointed to by Zucchi in his introductory material on the Caesars in the

³⁶⁵ Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work,” 1:138, 141–3. Toulhier, “Zucchi, Jacopo (1584–1587 ca): Elévation intérieure de la galerie, en 7 pièces,” in *Villa Médicis*, 1:190,192. Butters, “Ammannati et la villa Médicis,” in *Villa Médicis*, 2:295. Morel, “Jacopo Zucchi a Roma: Chronologia,” in *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale*, 123. Cecchi, “Studi per la decorazione della galleria di Villa Medici,” in *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale*, 278. Pillsbury says that the gallery of the Villa Medici was begun between 1580 and 1581 and completed by 1584, in time for the installation of window glass by a certain Maestro Gherardo and the Capranica-Della Valle sculpture collection that summer, upon receipt. Due to the difficulties in obtaining the sculpture collection and Ferdinando’s unexpected accession, there remains no single clear narrative about the decoration of this space.

³⁶⁶ I made this observation when inspecting the drawings in the V&A Prints & Drawings Study Room and the RIBA Architectural Drawings Study Room at the Victoria and Albert Museum on 6 and 10 May 2011. No previous author who has written about these drawings noted the presence of patches or posited a meaning for that presence.

³⁶⁷ Meg Grasselli from the National Gallery of Art considers the hand to be inconsistent on the drawings, noting early use of short abbreviations and later examples where the name is fully integrated into the cartouche with excellent spacing, among the unpatched drawings. Confusingly, there are examples of this good spacing among the patched drawings, and poor spacing in both categories as well. Additionally, Graselli notes that patching can be a studio practice, as well as a collector’s practice, for changing portions of a drawing to suit differing needs and preconceptions.

Discorso.³⁶⁸ Seemingly, this aspect of their posthumous reception by readers has informed the articulation of Zucchi's decorations planned for Ferdinando's gallery, as eleven of the twelve *tondo* niches containing the busts are flanked with commentary figural decoration.³⁶⁹ In the three drawings where the writing has been done on the sheet itself instead of on a slip later pasted down, the general pattern is established: Julius Caesar and Augustus, being considered good, are encircled by *putti*, while Galba, Otho, and Domitian, being considered bad, are flanked by harpies (figs. 36, 39, and 41).³⁷⁰ If this decorative commentary were to hold true throughout the other drawings, even noting the addition of the paper slips within the cartouches, then one could simply assign the work to Zucchi himself for an idiosyncratic reason that has not yet come to light. In the remaining drawings, however, good emperor Vespasian appears flanked with harpies, while bad emperor Nero is attended by *putti* (figs. 38 and 40). These details may not seem particularly salient or even germane to the

³⁶⁸ Diane H. Bodart, "Il dodicesimo Cesare mai dipinto da Tiziano," *Arte documento* 13 (1999): 157, 161. Lohaus, 99–100. In describing Titian's cycle of Caesars for Federico II Gonzaga's *camerino dei Cesari*, Bodart says, "each Caesar is identified by his physiognomy and by a brief citation of Suetonius's text, placed as if a motto, that refers to the vices and virtues of the imperial subjects and, in some cases, also to their whims" (ogni Cesare è identificato dalla sua fisionomia e da una breve citazione del testo svetoniano, apposta a mo' di motto, che si riferisce ai vizi e alle virtù dei soggetti imperiali e, in qualche caso, anche alle loro fisime), underscoring that the phenomenon attends multiple post-antique series of ancient imperial representations, and, in this case, one where they constitute the primary series for the room.

³⁶⁹ Despite the excesses that color his post-antique reception, Tiberius's niche (fig. 37) is flanked with non-anthropoform scrolling volutes.

³⁷⁰ Claudio Pizzorusso, "Harpy on the Back of a Toad," in Cristina Acidini Luchinat, ed., *The Medici, Michelangelo and The Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (Detroit: Yale University Press, 2002), 228–229. Compare with the decorative details in Andrea del Sarto's famous composition *The Madonna of the Harpies* (fig. 106). Pizzorusso states of the figure in the Tribolo sculpture that "the harpy and the toad are traditionally associated with negative elements and they are sometimes combined to signify avarice or greed," supporting our reading of the similar figures within these drawings as commenting negatively on the Caesars to which they are juxtaposed.

discussion of the decoration on the long walls of the Galleria Rucellai at first glance, but they become foretastes of what Zucchi eventually would do when one considers the presence, both above and below the now-oval portrait bust niches, of small monochromatic allegorical sections of fresco that echo either positive or negative personal traits of each of the Caesars, based on Suetonius's biographies.³⁷¹

Given this similarity, and the presence of the pasted-on labels, someone (Zucchi or Orazio Rucellai or even Bartolommeo Ammannati, the supposed architect both of the gallery at Villa Medici and the projecting wing of Palazzo Ruspoli that houses the Galleria Rucellai?) took these drawings as a point of departure for how the Galleria might be decorated, cutting, relabeling, and reorganizing them as an intermediate step to creating the final, complex decorative ensemble that exists today.³⁷² A raking-light technical investigation

³⁷¹ The qualities selected by Zucchi in his monochromatic works here generally echo the good versus bad dichotomy, except in the case of Claudius, who is cast as an unstable drunk, and Otho, whose benignness is touted.

³⁷² Edmund Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," *Master Drawings* 12:3 (1974): 20, 31, n.74. Zucchi consistently uses incomplete pilasters at the edges of each sheet to suggest the continuity of the elevation beyond those confines. This aspect of the drawings led Pillsbury to conclude that they were once unified into a continuous sheet. It is likely that Pillsbury's conception was shaped by the separate drawings themselves, since each page is composed of at least two parts, with the pilaster bases and socle moldings drawn onto strips attached to the bottom. Two of the drawings (figs. 38–39) also have vertical sections of varying widths glued to their edges. In each case, the appended vertical sections do not align perfectly with the delineated architectural and ornamental features on the main section of the drawing. This misalignment has few possible explanations. The first is that the discrepancy was created when Zucchi's drawings were cut apart from one another, if Pillsbury's hypothesis about pasting is indeed correct. Since the drawings might have more easily been separated along the vertical seams from the original paste job posited by Pillsbury, this seems implausible. Additionally, had the drawings originally been pasted together to show the gallery elevation as continuous, it seems possible to assert that Zucchi would have glued the sheets together before beginning his drafting, since he took such care in using a straight-edge to create the long horizontal lines within the drawings. Since the lines on the vertical strips do not meet perfectly, one might more comfortably believe that the drawings were drafted separately and were never intended to be affixed together, or that recutting has taken place,

conducted by the conservation team from the V&A/RIBA has found evidence of writing beneath the slips (fig. 107), substantiating the idea of reuse of these drawings, and rendering it likely that they formed part of the conversation that led ultimately to the construction and decoration of the Galleria Rucellai.³⁷³

“Le loro Medaglie antiche”: The New Shape of Money

Just as the imagery and influence of the gods and goddesses above on the vault seem to flow downward into the window embrasure decoration,³⁷⁴ in a similar way the visual material related to each of the twelve Suetonian Caesars is not limited to the vertical wall sections that contain their oval bust niches. Zucchi has woven these uprights into the continuous frieze band that encircles the upper section of the Galleria’s four walls by including painted images based on the reverses of coins struck during the reigns of the emperors represented (fig. 108).³⁷⁵

perhaps to achieve a particular kind of sequential continuity, one consonant with the observation of the reidentifications using patches.

³⁷³ Katherine Jones, personal e-mail, 20 January 2011. Conservator Lisa Nash and curatorial assistant Katherine Jones from the RIBA confirm the presence of writing on the main sheet in each of the RIBA’s three patched drawings, from a single legibile characters to the portion of the word visible in figure 95. Their assistance and willingness to conduct this investigation is gratefully acknowledged.

³⁷⁴ Morel, “La galleria Rucellai,” in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 87. Morel believes that this decoration was executed after Zucchi’s initial campaign for three reasons: (1) the lack of a description of it in the *Discorso*, (2) the statements Zucchi makes decrying grotesque decoration therein, and (3) the lack of stylistic affinity to Zucchi’s known works.

³⁷⁵ Morel, “Palazzo Rucellai, Via del Corso: Galleria,” in *Roma di Sisto V*, 304. Lohaus, 93–94. Pfisterer, 333. Morel, Lohaus, and Pfisterer point to the use of Sebastiano Erizzo’s *Discorso...sopra le Medaglie de li Antichi* as the likeliest source for the visual material Zucchi transformed for inclusion in this area of the decoration. Lohaus however recognizes that Zucchi must have used a later edition (1568 or 1571) edition, since it includes all the images used in the Galleria Rucellai, while the 1559 edition does not.

As with the general conception of including busts in the decoration of a longitudinal space, the combination here of the coin imagery and the busts of the twelve Caesars, in direct correspondence to one another, is not something new, or at least unfamiliar, to Jacopo Zucchi. In June of 1562, approximately five years after Zucchi had begun to work in the Vasari workshop as a gilder,³⁷⁶ Duke Cosimo received an unusual piece of furniture (fig. 109).³⁷⁷ This object, a large casement cabinet adorned with replicas of famous sculpture, was a gift from Gianfrancesco Orsini, conte di Pitigliano, on the occasion of Florence's patronal feast of San Giovanni Battista.³⁷⁸ Apart from replicas of the equestrian bronze of Marcus Aurelius, the Quirinal Horsetamers, and certain Venuses, the cabinet had, on its front, a series of three columns of vertical oval niches containing miniature busts of the twelve Caesars by a Dutch sculptor, Willem van Tetrode.³⁷⁹ Beneath each of these busts was a small drawer, which contained medals and coins from Cosimo's collection that were minted during the reigns of the corresponding Caesars.³⁸⁰ This object, called a *monetiere*, helped to

³⁷⁶ See Chapter One for a full discussion of Zucchi's professional chronology in the Vasari workshop and after.

³⁷⁷ Calcagno, 3. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:12. Anna Maria Massinelli, "Il monetiere di Cosimo I," in *Vasari, Gli Uffizi e Il Duca*, eds. Claudia Conforti, Francesca Funis, Francesca De Luca, and Cristina Acidini Luchinat (Firenze: Giunti, 2011), 328.

³⁷⁸ Massinelli, "Il monetiere di Cosimo I," in *Vasari, Gli Uffizi e Il Duca*, 328.

³⁷⁹ Massinelli, "Il monetiere di Cosimo I," in *Vasari, Gli Uffizi e Il Duca*, 328. Lohaus, 91–93. Lohaus notes the existence of these sculptures by Tetrode, comparing details of their hair and clothing styles to known works by Giovanni Battista della Porta, to whom she assigns the busts in the Galleria Rucellai, but does not advance any opinions about their connection to the medals or the *medagliere* as an object.

³⁸⁰ Massinelli, "Il monetiere di Cosimo I," in *Vasari, Gli Uffizi e Il Duca*, 328.

organize Cosimo's collection, which had previously been stored by Vasari in the duke's small personal *scrittoio di Calliope*, located in the Quartiere degli Elementi, off the Sala di Cerere, in the Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 18).³⁸¹ Given Zucchi's proximity to this fantastic, and sadly no longer extant, object during his years of apprenticeship to Vasari, and Vasari's subsequent description of his organization of this collection in the *Ragionamenti*, published in 1588,³⁸² it seems strongly likely that this piece of diplomatic furniture was the origin point for Zucchi's decoration on the Galleria's long walls.

There is, however, a significant disjunction to consider between the *monetiere's* ability to organize a discrete collection of small objects for the duke's private, close intellectual delectation, and Zucchi's replication of the correspondences the cabinet mapped, now at life- or over life-size, onto the walls of the Galleria Rucellai. In the former context, Cosimo could select a medal at random, turn it over in his hand, and consider the imagery, antiquity, facture, and

³⁸¹ Passignat, 117. Müntz, 19–20. Müntz's transcribed Medici inventories record the nearly 200-strong medal collection Cosimo amassed between 1546 and 1561, occasionally noting their provenance and/or their materials. Given the existence of this collection, it seems likely that all the artists in the Vasari circle, Zucchi included, might have had occasion to study them in working for Cosimo, making Zucchi's choice of Erizzo's treatise for the images, and perhaps even for their interpretation, meaningful indeed.

³⁸² Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, Giorno I, Ragionamento IV, 42, as cited in Anna Maria Massinelli, "Serie di dodici busti imperiali: Cesare, Augusto, Tiberio, Caligola, Claudio, Nerone, Galba, Ottone, Vitellio, Vespasiano, Tito, Domiziano," in Claudia Conforti, Francesca Funis, Francesca De Luca, and Cristina Acidini Luchinat, eds., *Vasari, Gli Uffizi e Il Duca* (Firenze: Giunti, 2011), 334. Vasari tells Duke Francesco: "in these drawers, made from cedar wood, he kept all his medals, that he could see easily and without confusion, because the Greek ones were all in one place, those of copper in another, those of silver on this side, and those of gold on that" (in queste cassette di legname di cedro terrà poi tutte le sue medaglie, che facilmente si potranno senza confusione vedere, perche le greche saranno tutte in un luogo, quelle di rame in un'altro, quelle d'argento da quest'altra banda, e così quelle d'oro). Because of Vasari's clear emphasis on the divisions by material and culture of origin, it is supposed that this passage describes an organizational paradigm that antedates the arrival of the *monetiere*.

meaning of the rare object.³⁸³ It was, in fact, this kind of consideration that led the duke and his humanist adviser Vincenzo Borghini to conceive and issue a series of commemorative medals, based on carefully-chosen antique prototypes, in order to glorify the martial and civic achievements of Cosimo's rule.³⁸⁴ These achievements served as the starting point for a series of large, painted *tondi*, the forerunners of the coins themselves, that decorated the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio during the pageant staged for the entry of Johanna of Austria, the betrothed of Prince Francesco de' Medici, into the city of Florence in 1565.³⁸⁵ Rick Scorza has demonstrated that Borghini supplied the inventions for these images to Vasari, who then meted out their execution to artists under his direction.³⁸⁶ One of these drawings (fig. 20), though not the completed painting, was in fact done by Jacopo Zucchi, pointing to an early occasion of the artist's ability to transform small, pocket-sized images with propagandistic import into large ones, part of a series, that hammered home a unified message within a larger iconographic program.³⁸⁷

³⁸³ Lohaus, 97. Lohaus describes this privileged activity of the *studiolo*, but does not formulate the idea of virtual collecting outlined below.

³⁸⁴ Scorza, "Borghini, Zucchi,..." 34–40. According to Scorza, this process begins with the preparations for the festival entry of Johanna of Austria in 1565. Scorza points to the coin treatise of Enea Vico and the ancient religion treatise by Guillaume du Choul as the sources for Borghini's inventions. The reasons Borghini chose these two works are hard to determine. Without a detailed inventory of the coins in Cosimo's collection, mapping the correspondence between his holdings and the objects treated by Vico and Du Choul is impossible. The selection of Vico and Du Choul over Erizzo, whose first edition was printed in 1559, seems potentially meaningful, however, as it may point to the importance of the ideological underpinnings of each treatise.

³⁸⁵ Scorza "Borghini, Zucchi,..." 34–5.

³⁸⁶ Scorza, "Borghini, Zucchi,..." 36–7.

³⁸⁷ Scorza, "Borghini, Zucchi,..." 34–6.

Zucchi's transformation of coin imagery in the Galleria Rucellai is not only a question of magnitude, but also of format. Rather than representing these coin images as round medallions in fictive gilded bronze, as he had done above with the zodiac constellations, Zucchi has chosen to reformat the coins into horizontal rectangles with tabs at the top and bottom, in the same fictive material (fig. 110). The outside edges of these placard shapes are highlighted in either bright, intense orange or a medium-dark green, alternatively, and constitute a highest level of allegorical commentary on the lives of the Caesars.

In assigning the apical position within each "biographical pier" to an image from ancient coinage, as described and reproduced by Sebastiano Erizzo, Zucchi constructs an intricate message. Borne of the author's humanistic training and personal collecting of around 2000 ancient coins, Erizzo's treatise, the *Discorso...sopra le Medaglie de li Antichi*, espouses a unique position regarding the minting of ancient medals, namely that this was done sometimes for the honor of the individual on the obverse, to commemorate events, or in glorification of deeds.³⁸⁸ In fact, in his descriptions of the twelve coins used by Zucchi in this area of the decoration, Erizzo says directly that at least ten of them were minted

³⁸⁸ Gino Benzoni, "Sebastiano Erizzo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 43:201. Scorza, "Borghini...", 35. Erizzo's primary antagonist in the emerging field of numismatics, artist Enea Vico, instead believed that coins were minted solely for purposes of commerce. This is a surprising position for Vico to take, given the Renaissance tradition of minting medals to commemorate significant events. One thinks immediately of Caradosso's famous medal of Bramante's design for New Saint Peter's, and the entire series issued by Cosimo on Borghini's designs though the distinction between commemorative medals and coins for transactional use was likely more formalized by the mid-sixteenth century. Interestingly, at the very beginning of the ideation of the project for Cosimo's medals, Borghini writes that the tradition of commemorative coinage reaches back to the Roman Republic, "when private citizens—like Cosimo himself—sought to honour (sic) their families in this way." Later, Borghini chose Suetonius's *Life of Augustus* as the basis of his panegyric.

for honor or glory of the rulers in question, mostly by their subjects.³⁸⁹ The order of their inclusion in each biographical section of the *Discorso* suggests that Zucchi wants these images to be engaged before the allegorical ones that enclose the busts themselves, a sequential way of contrasting public commemoration of deeds within the lifetime of an individual with the implied, posthumous value judgment of composite identity that the allegories offer. Aligned as they are beneath the twelve mythological figures above the long walls, these vertical sections function visually (if not actually) as the architectural supports of the Galleria's vault. Taking the decorative content into consideration, a mutually-reinforcing metaphorical message emerges. While the biographies of the Caesar thus rendered, both positive and negative, uphold the vault of the Galleria in a structural sense, they depend on the mythological actions and their temporal consequences above in a vertically descending chronological sense.

Located at the apex of each architecturally-rendered biography in a layered visual sense and within the context of commemoration in an iconographical sense, the images from the medals also function like a Victory or Fame crowning each visual biography, as a figural sculpture might do on a period catafalque or an ancient tumulus.³⁹⁰ The illusionistic segmented pediments

³⁸⁹ Sebastiano Erizzo, *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo sopra le medaglie de gli antichi: con la dichiarazione delle monete consulari, & delle medaglie de gli Imperadori romani: nella qual si contiene una piena & varia cognitione dell' Istoria di quei tempi*. 3rd. ed (Venice: Giovanni Varisco & compagni, 1571), 101, 122–124, 195–196, 200–202, 206, 225–226, 237, 238, 238–242, 244, 253–254, 269–270. Erizzo grudgingly offers the striking circumstances for each coin as being in honor, glory, or praise of particular princes, with less convincingness when it comes to those of Caligula and Nero, which aggrandized the imperial sisters and the emperor himself, respectively.

³⁹⁰ Catani, 23–24, 70, 73. Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," 16–18. Larry Feinberg, "Study for a Catafalque Dedicated to Cosimo I de' Medici," In Larry Feinberg, ed., *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes* (Seattle: University of

beneath each coin image in fact underscore this architectural interpretation, turning each wall section into a proxy for the temples vowed to certain emperors at their posthumous divinization and enshrining even the wickedness of those whose actions in life did not merit elevation to the status of *divus*.³⁹¹ That this function is achieved with imagery derived from antique coins, among the most portable of art forms onto which political propaganda can be inscribed or stamped, both stresses the similar ends to which the portable and the stationary can be put in lauding leaders, while enlarging and privileging the role of decimal coinage.³⁹² This showcasing of what money can and did do seems distinctly appropriate for Orazio Rucellai, who administered his family's international banking empire during these years and maintained ties to the Medici, whose fortunes were indeed made in finance. The conflation of the portable and the

Washington Press, 1991), 204–5. Giunta, 148, 152. Calcagno, 4. Zucchi was familiar with the creation of these temporary funerary monuments, having participated in it on at least three occasions: Zucchi provided a painting for the funeral of Michelangelo in 1564 (near his catafalque, which was crowned with a trumpeting Fame) (fig. 19), created at least two drawings for a catafalque (figs. 111–112) for Cosimo I (likely to be used in the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome) in 1574, and designed (but presumably did not execute) two allegorical figures for sculptures that flanked the bier of Sixtus V in 1590 (figs. 113–115). Here, I need to thank Lamia Doumato, the Head of Reader Services at the National Gallery of Art Library, and Yuri Long, Rare Book Specialist, for generously approving and executing the scanning of these pages and providing me the images.

³⁹¹ Lawrence Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 45–46, 87–88, 213–14, and 412. Only those emperors who managed to rule with some semblance of benevolence and were followed by others wishing to extol their connections were the recipients of temples to them in the guise of a *divus*, or deified figure. Temples were known to have been constructed for Julius Caesar, Claudius, and Vespasian and Titus together, while one for Augustus and his wife Livia is thought to have existed. Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian were not accorded this honor.

³⁹² Lohaus, 94. Lohaus points to the propagandistic use of coins in antiquity, but does not make the connection between the portable and the stationary made below.

stationary echoes Zucchi's proto-baroque usage of the parade triumphal carts on the ceiling in fixed, permanent materials.

The fixed position and "portrait" visage of each of the emperor busts below constitutes a kind of obverse for each of the coins, even though the portraits are more fully frontal than profile. In fact, Zucchi states as much in the *Discorso*, and makes use of the identifying language from Erizzo's treatise to create the legends that appear in the oval surrounds.³⁹³ The formal distortion of the otherwise round shape of the coin into the oval of the niches is, as we have seen, related to the structure of the now-lost *monetiere* of Cosimo I from the Palazzo Vecchio.

The Death is in the Details: Zucchi's Decorative Vocabulary of *Vanitas*

The formal and decorative aspects of the coin images and their surroundings in the historical frieze also participate in an overall meditation on *vanitas*, part of the reflection on time offered by the long walls of the Galleria Rucellai. While this kind of subject matter is more commonly associated with still-life paintings from Northern Europe during the period, it is not difficult to believe that Zucchi would have infused his temporal program with these messages, for a number of reasons. First, Jacopo Zucchi had contact with artists from Northern Europe from the very beginning of his career, working alongside Jan van der Straet, known as Stradano, in the Vasari studio while in Florence. Upon his arrival in Rome in the early 1570s, Zucchi surely met, worked with, and befriended many expatriates who had come to the Eternal City to work and

³⁹³ Lohaus, 95.

study. These connections allowed for the bilateral exchange of ideas, techniques, and emphases in painting that informs such great works by Zucchi as his *Allegory of Creation* (fig. 116) and, not coincidentally, the garlands and other still-life elements of the Galleria Rucellai itself. Unsurprisingly, as Nicola Courtright has shown, the prominence of Northern artists and their particular emphasis on the genres of still-life and landscape painting were being mixed with messages about time, triumph, and the Counter Reformation during the reign of Gregory XIII in papal commissions, which consistently set the tone for subsequent works of art in the city.³⁹⁴ Egnazio Danti, Zucchi's friend and supervisor on other projects, was intimately involved with these works in the Vatican Palace for Gregory, further strengthening Zucchi's absorption of Northern ideas and influence as a basis for his work on the Galleria Rucellai and its imagery.³⁹⁵

Evidence of a kind of *vanitas* message appears on the vault of the Galleria itself, in the figure of Pluto. In the *Discorso*, Zucchi collapses together distinctions that held apart the separate and confusingly near-homonymous deities Pluto and Plutus.³⁹⁶ The former was the counterpart of Greek Hades, ruling the eponymous

³⁹⁴ Courtright, 69–144.

³⁹⁵ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi: New Paintings and Drawings," 14. Refer to Chapter One's discussion of the connections between Zucchi and Danti. Pillsbury likens the background of Zucchi's *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John* in Toulouse to the painting of Matthais Brill. This painting of Zucchi's, dated to the late 1570s by Pillsbury, would therefore argue that Zucchi was at least aware of the Northern artist's work, if not the man himself, before Brill began work on the landscape imagery located in the upper rooms of the Vatican Tower of the Winds a decade later, adding a second connection to that project and Zucchi's possible comprehension of it and the Gregorian ambient from which it derived.

³⁹⁶ Zucchi, 44–48. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 58–60. Natale Conti, *Natale Conti's Mythologiae*, eds. John Mulryan and Steven Brown, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 316 (Tempe, Ariz.: ACMRS, 2006), 1:150–157.

kingdom and the dead who dwelled there; the latter was a divinity associated with the mineral riches that come from subterranean realms.³⁹⁷ Zucchi unifies these in his text, and in the representation of Pluto (fig. 117), who, flanked by figures symbolizing Riches/Richness and the fiery River Acheron,³⁹⁸ holds aloft a bough of cypress, a tree sacred to the dead and used in ancient funerary contexts, while the garlands above him are composed of golden vessels, a few more appearing in the spaces just beneath his chariot and beside a skull and bone.³⁹⁹ The conjunction of these two identities, the precious objects, and symbols of mortality underscore sharply the passage in Ecclesiastes that gives name to this imagery (“vanity of vanities; all is vanity”⁴⁰⁰), while the flames emitted from the aperture surrounding Pluto recall representations of Hell and its grim consequences for a life of sin.

Coins themselves, as a genre of objects, suggest the permanence of money in the face of human mortality. This concept is even more amplified in the case of these images, taken from coins struck around one and one-half millennia ago for a succession of long-dead emperors, whose reputations remain tied to

³⁹⁷ Conti, 150, 153.

³⁹⁸ Acheron differs from the majority of the fictive sculptural figures flanking the gods and demigods on the vault of the Galleria Rucellai. Rendered in another patina of faux bronze, distinct from the gilded use seen in the zodiac medallions and coin placards, he more closely resembles the eight figures at the corners of the room, which both attend their mythic deities as well as surround the corner garlands and Rucellai-Guicciardini arms.

³⁹⁹ Rigon, “Pittura e scrittura...,” in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 146. Morel, “La galleria Rucellai,” in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 87.

⁴⁰⁰ Ecclesiastes 1:2. Zucchi, 44–45, 138. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 58–59, 98. Zucchi himself cites this biblical verse in his discussion of the transient glories of empire in the context of introducing the emperor Vitellius. He also begins the discussion of Pluto with the concept of avarice, citing passages from Dante and elsewhere on the topic.

their deeds. That the coins passed through history and into Erizzo's and Cosimo's collections to perpetuate the memory of those deeds and the honors vowed to those emperors underscores the indestructibility and value of reputation and identity throughout the centuries. The transient, ephemeral quality of identity and reputation can similarly be linked to the very artistic process of painting here. Zucchi has achieved for Orazio a kind of virtual collection of ancient coins, where the collector does not possess what has been collected. This type of representation, like the images in Erizzo's treatise, replicates and re-presents the coins, allowing access to the wisdom they encode, but offers no tangible relief surface to the collector of book or painting, just as reputation and identity are intangible. The reformatting of the coin imagery and its juxtaposition with the allegorical figures nuances this message, reminding viewers that reputation and identity are not only the products of esteem within a lifetime, but also of posthumous evaluations undertaken by the writers of history, who can reshape them.

The placard form of the coins also contributes to this concept. The rectangular shape and projecting tabs resemble antique labeling forms reintroduced into the artistic vocabulary of ornament from their appearance in ancient grotesques, like those of the Domus Aurea.⁴⁰¹ While the ancient type is flanked by triangular tabs, Zucchi's version has rectangular projections above and below. Over and above the universal labeling function, this form has

⁴⁰¹ This aspect of ancient decoration was quickly incorporated into contemporary works by artists, and most notably by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel (fig. 118) and Raphael in the Stanza della Segnatura (fig. 119)

distinctly funerary applications, appearing on the painted wall surfaces of ancient columbaria and carved grave stelae, as the form that enclosed the name of the deceased or other relevant symbolism. This use for the placard is translated to the Renaissance by artists who recognized that it could be used for the most familiar identity label in all of the history of art: the INRI superscription affixed to the cross at the Crucifixion (figs. 120–121). Again, this supports the metonymic function of the coin imagery, helping to associate image with identity and the idea of death.

The last element in this area that supports a *vanitas* interpretation is the pair of decorative volutes in the space between the coin placard and the segmented pediment (fig. 110). While these volutes may seem like an inconsequential motif used by Zucchi to fill the blank space and mask the awkward disjunction between rectilinear and curved surfaces, a formal comparison to architecture and sculpture makes the connection clear. These are the same volutes Michelangelo used atop the sarcophagi of the Medici dukes in the New Sacristy at San Lorenzo in Florence (fig. 122). While Zucchi would, no doubt, have been familiar with this decorative vocabulary from the funerary chapel itself, he was surely aware of its passage into more common usage in architecture influenced by Michelangelo. In fact, the same volutes were used by Bartolommeo Ammannati on his redesign of the *piano nobile* window trabeation at the Palazzo Firenze (fig. 123), Cardinal Ferdinando's first Roman residence and the location of Zucchi's decorations for the Sala degli Elementi, Sala delle Stagioni, and the dismantled and repurposed coffered ceiling set with paintings,

now in the Uffizi.⁴⁰² While Zucchi may simply be copying Ammannati's use in a witty and laudatory way by creating illusionistic painted volutes of the same type inside another example of Ammannati's architecture,⁴⁰³ Zucchi's consistent and pronounced engagement with Michelangelo's art elsewhere in the Galleria argues more strongly for a reference to the original scrolls themselves, one that amplifies his broad theme of time and the side walls' local theme of death. Michelangelo's use of these volutes in the New Sacristy was to create a resting surface for his allegorical sculptures of the times of Day. In this light, the emulative use of the scrolls here becomes less decorative and coincidental than it may seem on the surface, establishing a further connection with the theme of time that suffuses the decoration of the Galleria Rucellai. Additionally, because the sculptures on the sarcophagi do not meet head-to-head, but rather have a rectilinear space between them, this decorative solution must have seemed the perfect one to accommodate Zucchi's redesign of the ancient coin images into the placard form.⁴⁰⁴ Furthermore, with the wall niche containing the non-portrait effigy of each Medici duke in the area just above these volutes and the void between them, the comparison between the two treatments associates the coin

⁴⁰² Giordani, "The Church of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome: Some New Discoveries." The images of Giordani's lecture reveal other instances of use. Ammannati used these scrolls on doorways within the church of San Giovanni Decollato, suggesting his desire to appropriate from Michelangelo's decorative vocabulary in specifically liminal spaces. If the scrolls appear in the Galleria Rucellai for the reasons posited below, then Zucchi's use participates in an extant visual tradition for this seemingly innocuous decorative embellishment.

⁴⁰³ To be clear, the exterior architecture of the Galleria Rucellai does not have this same embellishment.

⁴⁰⁴ It may even be the case that the coin placards were redesigned to accommodate the appearance of the volutes as pregnant bearers of meaning.

imagery and its metonymic representation of the emperors below with Michelangelo's sculptures, in which he famously eschewed portrait likeness in favor of a spiritual likeness that emphasized idealized representation and virtues like heroism.

***Spiriti Illustri* or *Uomini Famosi*? Comprehending Biographical Choices in the Historical Frieze**

The value of exemplary behavior also appears in the figures that alternate with the coin images of the frieze. Ten individuals, eight men and two women, from the ancient Roman Republic adorn this area, and are lauded by Zucchi as *spiriti illustri*.⁴⁰⁵ Like the constellation imagery of the Galleria's vault, this portion of the program receives summary treatment in the *Discorso*, reduced to a list of the figures with the temples they vowed in Italian, followed by a transcription of the Latin legends that identify them in cartouches above their heads. Zucchi admits that he drew the figures from the writings of Titus Livy, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus, in order to demonstrate that religious piety attended the very foundations of the city of Rome.⁴⁰⁶ Despite the appearance of these figures beneath the gods and goddesses on the vault, none of the temples depicted here are dedicated to figures from the Greco-Roman pantheon. Instead, Zucchi has selected temples vowed to abstract concepts enshrined in the civic religion of

⁴⁰⁵ Lohaus, 101–111. Lohaus's real contribution to the study of this space is her in-depth analysis of the side wall decoration, most especially the series of *spiriti illustri*. She is the first scholar to address them in any useful way.

⁴⁰⁶ Zucchi, 168–170. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 110–11.

ancient Rome.⁴⁰⁷ The assignment of piety to the temple vowers and, by extension, to the concepts they monumentalized for worship suggests Zucchi's desire to continue engaging the concept of the *exemplum virtutis*, or example of virtue, that he began with the allegorical images painted around the busts of the Suetonian Caesars. While generally a theme present in princely residential decoration, be it fixed or portable, the *exemplum virtutis* is uniquely appropriate to the decoration of the Galleria Rucellai, given its grand dimensions and the inspiration Zucchi found for it in the *studiolo*, a place where the contemplation of such ideals could take place. Understood in this way, Zucchi's series of ten figures, who sit above the Galleria's real windows and before its false ones of painted Rucellai *rosso-violaceo*, become veritable windows onto virtue and the past.

The most notable comparison for such a cycle is the concept of the *uomini famosi*. Artists of the era produced series of paintings and sculptures of the famous men of history, both ancient and contemporary, to adorn the palace walls and villa gardens of the aristocracy.⁴⁰⁸ The tradition stretches back to ancient

⁴⁰⁷ Lohaus, 106–109, 145. Lohaus links the concepts to a healthy state from the ancient Roman perspective, and cites the power that Roman civic religion held in the maintenance of the polity. Her excellent analysis finds reasons for the unusual appearance of Virginia, Veturia the mother of Coriolanus, and for the unusual feature of the twin figures presenting the temple of Concordia, assigned by Zucchi in the legend to Furius Camillus. All ten *spiriti illustri* function as examples of Roman virtue and connect to the climate of the grand ducal court after Ferdinando's accession. This theory insists on an execution date for the frescoes after 1587, and perhaps later, since Orazio Rucellai necessarily had to be a member of his court and household for the reading to succeed. By contrast, Lohaus's interpretation neglects iconographic issues central to the theory of the cycle presented here and how those elements participate in the unifying theme of the Galleria Rucellai. The different approaches are by no means mutually exclusive, perhaps functioning as specific layers of accessible meaning within the overall intellectual synthesis that is the Galleria's program.

⁴⁰⁸ Bodart, 157. Luigi Zangheri, *Pratolino: il giardino delle meraviglie*, Documenti inediti di cultura toscana 2 (Florence: Gonnelli, 1979), 1:148. At Pratolino, a section of the gardens behind the

Rome and the emperor Augustus, who assembled the first such series of sculptures, called the *summi viri*, or best men, for the decoration of the south colonnade and exedra of his monumental forum complex.⁴⁰⁹ On the north side, Augustus counterbalanced the *summi viri* with a series of his ancestors in the Julian *gens*, suggesting implicitly that the two lineages, one of virtue and the other of blood, were equal and both worthy of monumentalization. It is curious and telling that Zucchi would transform these more common descriptors of similar cycles, both in language and content. His inclusion of two women, Virginia and Veturia, described as the Mother of Coriolanus,⁴¹⁰ obviously disallows the use of *uomini*, and his desire to hold these ten up as pious figures accounts for the *illustri*, both in the sense of “illustrious” and “illustrating.”

The description *illustri*, however, seems to fail at both intended meanings, insofar as the figures do not all strike the viewer immediately as the most salient from the history of the ancient Roman Republic. Some, like Rome’s third king Tullus Hostilius (fig. 124), the famous orator Cato the Elder, and the military leader Furius Camillus, immediately spark recognition and recall of characteristic episodes from their biographies; these figures and those episodes were often the subjects of paintings. Others, like the vaguely described Attilius the Praetor,

main house was called the *parco degli uomini rari* (park of rare men), and featured busts inset into wall niches, making it distinct in title and medium from the more famous collection of painted portraits of *uomini famosi* amassed by Paolo Giovio.

⁴⁰⁹ Richardson, 160–161.

⁴¹⁰ Grafton, 94. While the interest in the physiognomy and biography of famous men was pervasive, there was at least some spark of interest in their female counterparts. Grafton points to the unusual nature of one sixteenth-century astrologer in the Protestant North, Erasmus Reinhold (1511–1553), who compiled a group of horoscopic genitures illustrious women alongside a group examples for illustrious men.

Gaius Junius Brutus Bubulcus, or Manius Acilius Glabrio, do not immediately spring to mind as illustrious, and by extension explanation is required to comprehend how they illustrate anything.⁴¹¹ That explanation begins with the legend provided for each figure, an element that simultaneously undercuts the association with the *uomini famosi/summi viri* tradition on a semantic level, but unites the series on an actual level, as inscriptions or *tituli* appear throughout the historical iterations of such series.⁴¹² While the ambiguity of the identities of certain of these figures almost certainly would have inspired conversation among visitors to the Galleria Rucellai, Zucchi's own words about the piety of each of these figures and its manifestation as vow and construction of religious site functions as the common thread that unifies the ten into a series and was likely the criterion for their selection.⁴¹³ This is underscored visually by Zucchi's inclusion of one or more temple structures in the hands of each figure.

⁴¹¹ Lohaus, 106. Lohaus also admits the obscurity of some of the figures.

⁴¹² Richardson, 161. Cox-Rearick, 97. Bodart, 161. Richardson affirms the presence of inscriptions in the Forum of Augustus, while Cox-Rearick asserts that *tituli* were important components of similar cycles in the Palazzo Vecchio. Bodart also confirms this, stating that Titian's Gonzaga series had citations from Suetonius's text.

⁴¹³ Lohaus, 145. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 10:23:1–3, 22.9.7–10, 23:31:15, 28.11.1–5, 35:9.5–6, 36.37.4, 40:37:1–2, and 41:15.3–5. Lohaus posits the same conversational interplay between guests, connecting it to the intellectual climate fostered at the Orti Oricellari by Orazio's distant relatives. It is also worthwhile to consider that fully half of the *spiriti illustri* (Cato [2], Attilius Praetor[4], Gaius Junius Brutus Bubulcus [5], Licinius Lucullus [6], and Furius Camillus [8]—their order in the experiential motion path of the Galleria Rucellai is noted beside them with a number in brackets) and their vowed structures are mentioned, in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, in conjunction with periods of history wherein unusual signs and portents in the environment manifested, signaling critical upheaval and requiring significant prophetic guidance, usually the consultation of the Sibylline Books. This could be compared to the state of religious upheaval of the Cinquecento, the fervor for construction and renovation of churches in Rome, and, most significantly, with the Gregorian Reform of the calendar, linked as all calendars are to the celebration of religious festivals (e.g., Ovid's *Fasti*).

Templum, Delubrum, Aedes, Fanum, Ara: Semantic and Formal Elasticity in the Historical Frieze⁴¹⁴

In his list of the *dieci spiriti illustri* at the end of the *Discorso*, Jacopo Zucchi uses two systems of notation. The first is in Italian, identifying the name of the figure and that of the religious site he or she vowed. As the pattern of notation in these lines becomes predictable, Zucchi steadily pares the lines down, removing the phrase “with this verse” (*con questo verso*) after the first figure and the identification “temple” (*tempio*) after the fourth.⁴¹⁵ The Latin inscriptions that appear as the second line for each figure, however, differentiate and diversify the types of religious structures associated with the ten figures, likely based on the sources in Titus Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* and the commentary on this book by Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Discourses on Livy*. This variance, and the way it relates to this portion of the fresco decoration, as well as the decoration on the whole, seems another significant clue to interpreting Zucchi’s choices.

All of the *spiriti illustri* hold at least one model of a *tholos*-type temple.⁴¹⁶

This formal choice is undoubtedly more consonant with Zucchi’s Italian notation

⁴¹⁴ These Latin terms used by Zucchi translate as follows: *templum*—sacred district or precinct, *delubrum*—shrine, *aedes*—dwellingplace of a god, *fanum*—consecrated ground or sanctuary, and *ara*—altar.

⁴¹⁵ Zucchi, 169. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 110.

⁴¹⁶ Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, ed. Michael Grant, trans. Robert Graves, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1989), 69. With Tullus Hostilius and Marcus Marcellus, since their sites were double dedications, the figures in question have two temples instead of one. It is also interesting to note that, in some of the detail images, one can see that the structures are painted with walls made of brick, an individuation that at once shows the care and attention to detail poured into every aspect of this fresco program, while simultaneously acknowledging the observation of ancient ruins within the city and Augustus’s famous statement, recorded in Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 28,

system in the *Discorso*, which renders uniform all the religious sites vowed by the figures, even with its proleptic syncopation. The test case that guarantees this is a significant formal choice is in the figure of Virginia (fig. 99), listed third in the *Discorso*. In the Italian line, her site is called a “tempio” (temple), while in the Latin it is rendered as “aram” (altar).⁴¹⁷ In the image, the figure holds aloft a *tholos* with her left hand, and a statue with a column, steadied by her right hand, rests on her right thigh. This is unusual, given that Zucchi has figured altars in the nearby decoration in the Galleria: the allegorical figure of Religion (fig. 125), a woman holding a flaming altar in her left hand, on the same wall as Virginia; the faux stucco medallion of the constellation Ara beneath the figure of Diana-Luna at the southern terminus (fig. 75); and one of the attendants of Jupiter, identified in the *Discorso* as Religion, cradling a sacrificial lamb atop another altar, on the vault above (fig. 69). Even if all the other terms used to describe the religious sites were synonymous with the Italian “tempio,” the inclusion of the Latin word for altar into this homogenized identity undercuts the air of educated liberal artist that Zucchi seeks to create with the *Discorso*, especially in the face of visual evidence within the Galleria that points to his ability to distinguish between and paint apposite images.

Zucchi’s privileging of the idea of temple in these images is a clear formal choice, then. That this choice manifests itself as the *tholos* form seems another formal choice with potential importance. Though there are few, if any, nods in the

that he found Rome a city of brick and left it one of marble, securely locating the construction of these sites in the Roman Republic.

⁴¹⁷ Zucchi, 169. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 110.

ancient literature to the formal disposition of most of the sites selected by Zucchi, there does not seem to be a reason why he could not have shown the “temples” in question as rectilinear rather than round. In fact, a fresco cycle completed in the Palazzo Vecchio by Francesco Salviati provides an interesting possible source eschewed by Zucchi. The cycle in the Sala dell’Udienza, surely known to Zucchi, who worked alongside Vasari elsewhere in the Palazzo Vecchio, executing decoration for Cosimo de’ Medici in the 1560s, focuses on one of the ancient figures used by him in the frieze, namely Furius Camillus. One of the scenes shows Furius Camillus dedicating a temple (fig. 126), rendered as a rectangular building with a tetrastyle pronaos. Closer to his work in the Galleria Rucellai were examples of both round and rectilinear temples remaining in Rome in the later Cinquecento, actual ancient architecture that could have lent his cycle authenticity. The “temples” Zucchi chose to paint, however, are not like the round temples of antiquity, such as the Temple of Vesta or the Temple of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium (fig. 127).⁴¹⁸ Instead, they are hemispherically-domed Renaissance temples, more akin to Bramante’s Tempietto (fig.128) than any architectural example Roman antiquity had left to offer Jacopo Zucchi.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 129–130. Bruschi points to Servius’s statements on round architecture as an ancient proof that the form was most closely associated with “Diana (or the moon), and above all...Vesta and ...Hercules (or Mercury).” Curiously for the Renaissance, Bruschi also says that Palladio paraphrased the ancient author, saying “circular temples were dedicated to the moon and the sun,” the two celestial bodies that provide the clearest marking of the passage of time.

⁴¹⁹ Zucchi, 15, 60. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 46, 65. Partridge, 440. Rigon, “Pittura e scrittura...,” in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 182. Two previous monuments suggest themselves as noteworthy in this context. The first is the depiction of a personified Jerusalem on the walls of the Sala del Mappamondo at Caprarola. Partridge describes her as being “in the costume of the Jewish high

As iterations of Bramante's Tempietto, filtered through the religious piety of the site founders selected by Zucchi for inclusion in the Galleria Rucellai, these images strike at the heart of how such sites were chosen and monumentalized, both in antiquity and the Renaissance. The construction location for Bramante's Tempietto was thought to be the site where Saint Peter was crucified, and the vowing of that structure was an act of religious piety on the part of the Spanish king and queen, Ferdinand and Isabella.⁴²⁰ As such, the Tempietto constitutes the monumentalization of a spot imbued with religious significance, as all ancient temple buildings essentially were. The pivotal difference here is that the Tempietto is essentially a martyrrium shrine, inextricably linking the form with overtones of death, while ancient types could commemorate lightning strikes, sacred springs, or miraculous auguries noted by priestly colleges.

It could be argued that Zucchi chose the cylindrical domed form because it was simply easier to paint. This argument fails to convince when we consider other formal choices that transform source imagery within the Galleria's decoration, namely Zucchi's two references to the Temple of Janus. The first is in Tiberius's coin image, which figures the structure as a cylindrical temple similar to the others (fig. 130), rather than a closed pair of doors signifying peace as on the coin itself (fig. 131), or as a square temple, as shown on a coin of Nero's (fig.

priest, holding a palm frond and a *round temple* with a menorah inside" (my italics). Partridge connects the temple to Bramante's Tempietto. The second work is by Zucchi himself, in the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri. Here, his *Religion* (fig. 43) holds up a similar round temple. The round temple form also appears in other locations within the Galleria Rucellai, namely: as the temple dedicated to Saturn, crowned with the Triton, held by Janus in the Saturn panel (fig. 86), and as the temple tucked in behind Minerva (fig. 129) in her panel, which Zucchi associates with the Parthenon in Athens. Rigon notes the similarity of the *spiriti illustri* temples to the Tempietto.

⁴²⁰ Bruschi, 129, 132.

132), both reproduced in the edition of Erizzo's treatise thought to be the source for the coin imagery. The choice becomes even more curious if we consider the founder of this temple, Rome's second king Numa Pompilius (fig. 133), who appears on the *testata* of Rome at the Galleria's northern end. Here the king holds a rectilinear structure closer to the one shown on Nero's coin than the other examples. The temple itself was, in antiquity, an important symbolic structure for the Romans. Described essentially as a monumentalized passageway with flanking passages on its sides, Temple of Janus was only opened when the Romans waged war.⁴²¹ Janus as a figure adorned the doorways of ancient Roman houses, his two faces looking outward from door jambs and giving them their Latin name (*ianuae*), as well as the name for the first month of the modern calendar year, January, which itself looks backward to the old year and forward to the new. This liminal identity for the temple, as a passageway between war and peace and, more broadly, for the passage of time, suggests its possibilities as an emblem for the final passage, from life to death, and its overall importance to Zucchi's temporal program for the Galleria Rucellai.⁴²²

⁴²¹ Richardson, 207.

⁴²² Lohaus, 114–115. The other temple, held by Numa's balancing figure on the Rome *testata*'s frieze, Romulus deified as Quirinus (fig. 134), is also different from the remainder of the series of temples. Essentially a hemispherical dome supported on piers instead of columns, the temple lacks walls and has an altar that bears a passing resemblance to a sarcophagus at its center. Since the emphasis in the frieze figures of the *testate* is on foundation of the cities in question, rather than on simple religiosity expressed through architecture, the difference of these two examples of temple-building must be linked with meaning, just as the repetition of the *tholos* form in the *spiriti illustri* images of the long walls seems to be. Lohaus feels that the temples are meant to contrast to one another, the closed nature of the Janus temple emblematic of peace in Numa's era, while the openwork construction of Romulus's temple suggests the opposite.

The passage from life to death recalls the origins of the ancient *tholos*, the Near Eastern sepulchral form that exerted influence on ancient Roman tumuli like the Mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian, and its resonances in post-antique architecture. As Richard Krautheimer has shown, the connection between death and circular architecture informed the early Christian and medieval choice of centrally-planned structures, in imitation of the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem, for baptisteries, where the death of sin is exchanged for the life of virtue in Christ.⁴²³ For the High Renaissance, centrally-planned architecture was the prime expression of the perfection of the Christian God,⁴²⁴ and its use here, in the hands of ancient Romans who celebrated concepts like Victory, Health, the Mind, Youth, and Honor and Virtue, announces a kind of triumph of Christianity over paganism by showing the Christian God in all things.⁴²⁵ The formal similarity to the Tempietto, a martyrium shrine, closes the circle, uniting Christian exemplar and witness with ancient virtue and piety, both of which last beyond the lifetime of the actors who built or died on these monumentalized spots, the ancient Roman definition of temple.⁴²⁶

⁴²³ Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 5th ed. (London: Academy, 1998), 17. This connection between ancient cylindrical architecture and baptism is particularly meaningful for Florentines, who believed the baptistry of their cathedral complex to have formerly been an ancient temple to Mars.

⁴²⁴ Wittkower, 39.

⁴²⁵ This was an entirely apposite theme to consider in the context of the late 1580s, when Sixtus V was topping the helically carved columns and re-erected obelisks of Rome with the first symbols of Christianity triumphant over paganism. The Column of Trajan received its statue of Saint Peter on 4 December 1587, while the Column of Marcus Aurelius was topped with a similar one of Saint Paul on 27 October 1588.

⁴²⁶ *Livy*, Loeb Classical Library (1939), 1:41. In *Ab Urbe Condita*, 1.10.5–6, Livy gives us Romulus's description of the foundation of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, the first repository of

Conclusion

The unique blend of Roman imperial images and Republican temple builders on the side walls of the Galleria Rucellai engages concepts of identity in manifold ways, always returning to the Galleria's central theme of time. Zucchi's use of the portrait busts of the Caesars as the primary series, located at eye level and experienced sequentially along dynastic lines, shows the descent of power and rulership through time. As the visitor to the Galleria experiences these portrait images, in conjunction with Zucchi's words in the *Discorso*, a picture of how identity forms begins to crystallize. Zucchi's ordinal organization, in text, of the elements provides a sequence, showing that identity begins with visage and physical likeness, is augmented by reputation and commemoration linked to deeds, and is encapsulated by posthumous appraisal, be it positive or negative, that forever surrounds all that has come before. This treatment of the biography of each Caesar had its embryonic form in the drawings Zucchi made for the proposed decorative scheme at the Villa Medici's sculpture gallery, and its full gestation in the program of the Galleria Rucellai's long walls.

The imagery from the coins of the Caesars allowed Zucchi to access prior experiences and objects from the ducal court of Florence, used particularly deftly here to adorn the walls of a banker's home. Using the imagery of ancient money, transforming its shape and updating its symbolism and content, Zucchi suggests fully how the imagery of medals minted by certain individuals can become a

the *spolia opima*, saying, "to thee, I, victorious Romulus, myself a king, bring the panoply of a king, and dedicate a sacred precinct within the bounds which I have even now marked off in my mind, to be a seat for the spoils of honour (sic) which men shall bear hither in time to come, following my example, when they have slain kings and commanders of the enemy" (my italics).

metonymy for their very identities and names. This transhistorical phenomenon is conveyed by the coin's new placard form, which shows the malleability of identity and reputation with the passage of time, while underscoring its inextricable character. Resting atop Michelangelo's New Sacristy volutes, these images affirm how the constellation of identity and reputation transcend even time's end in human death.

The appearance of the temple vowers, or *spiriti illustri*, yet again underscores how, both textually and architecturally, the deeds of life and the reputation associated with them outlive the human actors who brought them into existence, some of whom are lost except for brief passages recording their pious or heroic deeds. The transformation of the great variety of religious structures, indicated by the vocabulary of Zucchi's Latin legends for each figure, into the singular form of the *tholos*, as interpreted in the High Renaissance, augments the theme of time's end in death, while recalling centuries of circular architecture marshaled as a visible form of piety, even unto the etymological witness of death in martyrdom.

While the vault of the Galleria Rucellai announces the beginning of seasonally, celestially, and mythologically marked time with the overthrow of Saturn, the side walls of the Galleria Rucellai are a more immediate, more human appeal to its visitors who are already primed to consider how abstract time influences their concrete lives. The composite of all the types of decoration, from coins to busts to historical figures, is a continuous exhortation to examination of self and to a life of virtue that persists as reputation beyond the

end of time as experienced by each individual in death. On these walls, Zucchi reminds us that, while actions in life, whether civic, religious, or military, may create and maintain political power, which we may pass hereditarily through dynastic lineage, that power is ultimately temporal, that is bounded by time, and, when time ends for each of us, it remains to those who come after to write our biographies, judge our actions, and moralize with us in mind. While he presents us this reflection on time, Zucchi also explores the possibility of wresting the power of identity creation from future generations and maintaining control within life, the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Five—Personal Past and Future: End Goals and Identity Creation for Patron and Painter in the Galleria Rucellai

As we have seen, Jacopo Zucchi's seemingly encyclopedic and chaotic assemblage of elements within the Galleria Rucellai obeys a certain kind of order and logic that is not immediately apparent to the visitor who, we might reasonably assume, was as confused and overwhelmed upon entering the room as we are now. It is for this reason that Zucchi authored the *Discorso*, namely to offer a textual key to the ordinal sequence and experiential understanding of the Galleria Rucellai that was lacking, and would, by its introduction, clarify and rationalize the surfeit of images into a guided tour of Zucchi's inventive mind, formed over nearly forty years of art making. While previous scholars have done an admirable job mining the text of the treatise for the identities of certain figures and the organizational principles that undergird the invention, there has been a tendency to see this as the goal of the *Discorso's* words, and nothing more. Considering its order and recognizing that nothing could be mistaken or left to chance, even in a document that is ostensibly incomplete, the critical reader must also acknowledge that certain kinds of rhetoric are unspoken. Since the experiential perspective in the Galleria is so central to interpreting its surfeit of images, and not discounting Zucchi's clearly prescribed sequences of viewing, the viewer must also trust his own instincts when entering the decorated, longitudinal space. It is in the marriage of spoken and unspoken interpretive glosses, in what Zucchi leads the viewer/reader to and in what he allows that person to discover, intuit, or decode on his own, that the full meaning of juxtaposed elements within the Galleria Rucellai is revealed. That meaning, bound up in all of the indices of time,

is also intensely personal, both for artist and patron, encompassing the history and biography of each and the unique parallelism of their two lives.

Testate Urbane: The Walls of Rome and Florence

Zucchi's sequence for the decoration of the short walls, or *testate*, with the allegorical figures of Rome and Florence (figs. 135–136) in the *Discorso* begins by describing the attitudes, dress and attributes of the two female city allegories,⁴²⁷ concluding each with a description of their respective shields, since repainted.⁴²⁸ Following this, Zucchi comments on the river gods painted into each figure's illusionistic pedestal and the signal animals (the wolf for Rome, the lion for Florence) shown above in the tabbed medal format used on the long walls for the imperial coin reverses, before engaging the other figures on the frieze level. These are the founders of each city, and, in the case of the Rome *testata*, like the *spiriti illustri*, each figure appears with a miniature temple vowed by him. Zucchi begins in each case with the figure above and to the left of the allegorical figure of the city, with Romulus deified as Quirinus (fig. 134) as the first figure on

⁴²⁷ Zucchi, 76–77. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 71–72. Rome, dressed in a cuirass and elaborately plumed helmet, holds two crowns: the papal tiara, held higher, in her right hand, and the imperial crown, topped with the figure of the emperor (suspiciously like Goltzius's *The Standard Bearer*), lower in her left, signs that show her to be the source of both temporal and spiritual authority. Florence, dressed in gold with ermine collar, a circlet crown slid onto her helmet, holds a scepter topped with the *fleur-de-lys*, and lifts her drapery casually at left to reveal the traces of a military skirt beneath, signalling her balance of grand ducal dignity and militarism.

⁴²⁸ Zucchi, 76–77. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:160. Toulrier, "Pièce 6, chambre du dominio fiorentino," in *Villa Médicis*, 1:412–413. Morel, "Dynastie et territoire: Le programme politique de l'appartement méridional," in *La Villa Médicis*, 3:249–267. The shields' original decoration, the symbols of the neighborhood administrative regions of Rome and Florence, respectively, demonstrated the artist's familiarity with the two cities. It bears recalling that one of the rooms on the fifth floor at the Villa Medici also had decoration related to sectors of Florentine dominion. While those images, not executed directly by Zucchi but likely under his supervision, feature towns within Tuscany and their symbols, the shield imagery here focuses on the neighborhoods of Florence and their emblems.

the Rome *testata*. Zucchi has dressed the figure in a wolfskin mantle, placing a skeletal Temple of Jupiter Stator⁴²⁹ on his right and arraying six birds on either side of his head.⁴³⁰ Rather than proceeding to the balancing figure of *Numa*

⁴²⁹ Livy, Loeb Classical Library (1939), 1:45, 47; 4:505. Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, 18.6–7. Livy's first passage (*Ab Urbe Condita*, 1.12.4–7) records Romulus's battle vow of the temple to Jupiter as The Stayer, in order to aid the Romans in victory over the Sabines (marginal notes in the Loeb edition give the date as a shadowy 753–717 BC). The second passage (*Ab Urbe Condita*, 10.37.15–16), recording events from 294 BC, tells of a second vow and indicates that the site was only a *fanum* or place set apart (precinct) after Romulus's vow. Owing to the second vow, according to Livy, the Senate was obliged to erect a structure on that precinct. In his passage, Plutarch ascribes to Romulus the origin of triumphs, explains the etymology and concept of *spolia opima*, and lists the three figures who have won that honor.

⁴³⁰ Zucchi, 76. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72. Morel, "Un teatro di natura," in *Villa Médicis*, 3:66–71. Ould, 8, n.45. Catani, 24, 70, and 73. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.7.1–2. *Plutarch's Lives*, Loeb Classical Library (1948), 1:115, 117. Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 1.4.praef (Nepot.) ("De Auspicio"). Despite this reference to the trio of ancient authors named above, all of whom describe the augury contest between Romulus and Remus for the right to found the city, and Zucchi's own adherence to the account, wherein the brothers spotted vultures in flight, the birds reproduced here seem more akin to doves of the Holy Spirit than carrion birds. This is highly unusual, given Zucchi's own familiarity with a variety of bird species from Konrad Gesner's woodcut illustrations, which he infused into his various projects (e.g., the program in the pergola room of the *casino* at the Villa Medici (fig. 31), and the garlands that adorned the Air wall (fig. 137) of the Sala degli Elementi in the Palazzo Firenze and figure of Juno (fig. 138) here in the Galleria Rucellai itself). The substitution must be a meaningful one, and Plutarch may provide the necessary linkage. Immediately after the passage describing the augury contest between the twin brothers, Plutarch (*Life of Romulus* 9.4–7) offers the following aside:

"Herodorus Ponticus relates that Hercules also was glad to see a vulture present itself when he was upon an exploit. For it is the least harmful of all creatures, injures no grain, fruit-tree, or cattle, and lives on carrion. But it does not kill or maltreat anything that has life, and as for birds, it will not touch them even when they are dead, since they are of its own species. But eagles, owls, and hawks smite their own kind when alive, and kill them. And yet, in the words of

Aeschylus:—

"How shall a bird that preys on fellow bird be clean?"

Besides other birds are, so to speak, always in our eyes, and let themselves be seen continually; but the vulture is a rare sight, and it is not easy to come upon a vulture's young, nay, some men have been led into a strange suspicion that the birds come from some other and foreign land to visit us here, so rare and intermittent is their appearance, which soothsayers think should be true of what does not present itself naturally, nor spontaneously, but by a divine sending."

This passage affirms, in the ancient Roman context, the sacrality of the augury of the vultures, while at the same time leaving room for Zucchi, as a post-Christian reader, to see within the classical characterization a type similar to the dove of the Holy Spirit. Transforming the vultures of Romulus into doves creates a religious continuity from pre-Christian antiquity to Rome's Catholic

Pompilius (fig. 133), Zucchi turns the adjacent corner and instead describes the allegorical figure of *Audacity* (fig. 139), a woman in flowing red drapery who places her hand inside a lion's mouth.⁴³¹ Next, Zucchi moves to Numa, Rome's second king and founder of her civic religion, with his temple of Janus, the most specific ancient monument repeated throughout the Galleria Rucellai,⁴³² before continuing to the other corner allegory associated with this *testata*, saffron and white robed *Religion* (fig. 125), who holds aloft a flaming altar. Zucchi associates Audacity with Romulus/Quirinus and Religion with Numa through legends appearing above each of the allegorical figures, which are reproduced in the *Discorso's* text.⁴³³

present, resonant with Zucchi's own statements on the *spiriti illustri* as evidence the piety attended the Eternal City before the introduction of Christianity and helped to feather the nest of the one true faith.

Similarly, the open construction of the temple of Jupiter Stator is curious, given the passages cited above (see footnote 429), regarding the vowing and construction of this temple. The spare structure shown in Zucchi's fresco allows the viewer to peer directly into the center of it, where an altar appears. The structure bears a certain similarity to temporary festival architecture, especially the catafalque. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Zucchi provided designs for two temporary sculptures of virtues (Temperance and Prudence) for the catafalque of Sixtus V in 1590 (figs. 114–115). That structure, though considerably more ornate and embellished, was similarly tholoform and open, allowing visual access to the center chamber, where the sculptures after Zucchi's designs attended the sarcophagus, positioned where the altar in his Jupiter Stator is located, alongside Fortitude and Justice, the other temporal virtues.

⁴³¹ Zucchi, 76. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72. The appearance of a lion here emphasizes both the woman's fearlessness as a personification of Audacity, and the ferocity of the lion, which can be read as a heraldic conceit for Orazio Rucellai.

⁴³² Zucchi, 15, 77, 93, 100, 116. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 46, 72, 79, 82, 88. Janus and his Roman temple are mentioned in the text of the *Discorso* a total of five times: the description of the figure himself in the Saturn scene, the temple appearing in Numa's hand on the Rome *testata*, a comparison to the figure Zucchi describes in Augustus's *piedistallo*, the reverse of Tiberius's coin in the frieze, and in connection with Nero's closure of the temple during his reign, commemorated in a coin he struck that was reproduced in Erizzo.

⁴³³ Zucchi, 76–77. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72.

Zucchi observes a similar pattern with the frieze-level figures on the Florence *testata*,⁴³⁴ which differs in that the two figures on either side of the placard-medal of the *Marzocco* are stand-ins for collective founders and preservers of the city, bearing banners and escutcheons adorned with caducei and pairs of hands.⁴³⁵ *The Second Triumvirate* (fig. 140) is credited with having founded Florence, and the associated corner allegory is of *Magnificence* (fig. 141), complete with (contemporary) Imperial crown. The so-called *Protettori della Patria* (fig. 142) recall the medieval tyranny of Walter de Brienne, duke of Athens, whom the Florentines expelled after ten months in office, considered a signal moment in their urban history.⁴³⁶ These figures are associated with the allegory of *Constancy* (fig. 143), who holds her hand stationary over a flaming vase.

⁴³⁴ Lohaus, 116–138. Lohaus offers an in-depth consideration of the historical character of the figures on this *testata*. She compares the texts of four different works of history (Giovanni Villani's *Cronica*, Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio florentinae urbis*, Niccolò Machiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine*, and Scipio Ammirato's *Istoria fiorentina*) to provide a balancing history of the foundation of Florence, as is necessary, for that of Rome, whose figures and events are more familiar to us. Given the images and mottoes that decorate this area, her diversion into the oscillating politics of Florence, from monarchy to republic, illuminates Zucchi's choices, draws them into sharp relief, and locates the concept of *Libertas* within the anti-Medicean politics ascribed by historical biographers of Orazio Rucellai to him. While the concepts of statecraft embedded in both presentations provide continuity between her discussion of the *spiriti illustri* and the Florentine founder/protectors, her conclusions ultimately position them at odds with one another, either reflecting an internal conflict on Orazio's part that has no other mention in history, or evidencing a hasty conclusion that focuses too keenly on the particulars that define this area of the decoration, at the expense of the universals that connect all levels.

⁴³⁵ Zucchi, 78. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72–73. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 178–179.

⁴³⁶ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 235 n.76. (Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, 2.6.20.) Niccolò Machiavelli, *History of Florence from the Earliest Times to the Death of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, rev. ed. (New York: The Colonial Press, 1901), 92–110. (Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, 7–8) Passerini, 38–41. "Walter de Brienne, duke of Athens, was invited to Florence as captain in 1342 and overthrown by conspiracy in 1343." A certain Naddo di Cenni Rucellai was killed in 1343, because it was felt that he had mismanaged the war with Pisa over the Florentine attempt to take possession of Lucca, sold to them by Mastino della Scala. The Duke of Athens had him exiled to Perugia and kept under 10,000 florins' bail. This confinement did not last long and Naddo arranged to return, only to fall victim to the Duke of Athens' machinations. He was

The cumulative effect of these descriptions always reflects back onto the cities themselves. Inasmuch as Audacity attends Romulus/Quirinus and Religion Numa, these figures also describe the essential character of Rome herself. The repeated emphasis on Religion as an allegorized concept in the Galleria (she also appears beside Jupiter) and as a theme in the *Discorso* underscores the importance of this aspect of culture over time in the Eternal City, and is made visually present in the inclusion of the papal tiara held by Roma, as well as the *spiriti illustri* themselves, selected as pious pre-Christian exemplars for their religious vowing and construction activity during the Roman Republic. Similarly, Magnificence and Constancy are made attributes of Florence, a city that now enjoyed a ducal throne by the dispensation of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope. The emphasis on militaristic figures as founders and preservers of the city points to the role of armed conflict in maintaining Florence, and the repeated interpretations, in the *Discorso*, of the caduceus as a symbol of magnanimity, liberality, and above all peace legitimize the appearance of that device on the escutcheons borne by each figure.⁴³⁷ Understood along these lines, the tone of each city's identity appears carried outward onto the other frieze elements of the *facciate*, with the repetition of *spiriti illustri* as religiously pious individuals and the

tortured and finally executed by hanging from a chain, becoming a martyr of the conflict with the Duke of Athens and therefore a hero of the Florentine establishment.

⁴³⁷ Zucchi, 35–36, 86, 92. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 54, 76, 78. Erizzo 1571, 101, 122–124. Zucchi's description of Mercury (fig. 144) cites Magnanimity and Liberality, while his discussions of the Julius Caesar coin (fig. 145) and the Augustus coin (fig. 146) explicitly associate the symbol with Peace. The association with Peace was made by Erizzo in his treatise.

coin reverses as commemorative and often martial in theme.⁴³⁸ Zucchi even relates the two cities to one another, calling Florence the *figliuola* (daughter) of Rome,⁴³⁹ connecting again to the idea of lineage and time.

Nodal Points: Clusters of Meaning Within the Galleria Rucellai

Because the decoration of the Galleria Rucellai is composed of so many smaller series of related elements and motifs, many of which Jacopo Zucchi engages sequentially within the text of his treatise, each path through those series within the program necessarily has a beginning and an end, a linear arrangement both in the sense of plane geometry as well as time. Beginnings and ends here set the tone and complete the meaning, respectively, of each layer of Zucchi's ambitious program. The vault cycle of the gods and goddesses (fig. 70) necessarily begins at the entrance end of the Galleria and ends at the far end, with an emphasis on the planetary gods arrayed along the center spine of the vault, a clear visual strategy whether the viewer has read the *Discorso* or not. The second sequential path, through the zodiac imagery (fig. 147), begins at the center of the room, proceeds from the vernal equinox at Aries through the year as it unfolds seasonally, and returns to Aries at the conclusion, again, not counterintuitively. The remaining Ptolemaic constellations, so clear as to warrant

⁴³⁸ Zucchi, 86, 92, 101, 111, 132, 138, 145, 154, 160, 168. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 76, 78, 82, 86, 95, 97, 101, 104, 107, 110. Caesar's coin treats universal dominion; Augustus', peace; Tiberius', peace with the closed temple of Janus; Claudius', autocratic power; Galba's, the Pax Augusti guaranteed by imperial rule; Otho's, Security; Vitellius', an image of Mars; Vespasian's, Roma Resurgens, a theme of renewal through the military might of the emperor; Titus', Judea Capta, from the conquest of Palestine; and Domitian's Bellona, the native Italic warrior goddess.

⁴³⁹ Zucchi, 79. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 73.

no explanation (or even a summary list) according to Zucchi,⁴⁴⁰ constitute the final portion of the vault decoration, which has now been doubly traced by the viewer, who perhaps noted, as we have, that the constellation myths appear to be unfolding simultaneously in an inaccessible mythical past bathed in the golden afternoon light of their frescoes. In offering no sequential foothold, either by accident or by design, Zucchi leaves the viewer to find his own way among these myths, later catalogued. Zucchi's zigzagging descriptions of the *testate* (fig. 148) build the character of the cities of Rome and Florence from allegorical trappings to urban divisions, from founders to cardinal virtues, in the strictest etymological sense. Returning to the north end, with its entry to the Galleria, and concluding on the south end, this portion of the descriptive path mimics the path through the gods on the vault in its origin and destination points, while the spatial arrangement of elements in each description hints presciently at the imperial biographies to come. Continuing to the busts of the Suetonian Caesars, Zucchi's descriptive arrangement (fig. 102) draws the viewer's attention up and down each wall section to generate a complete biographical picture of each emperor, while guiding them through a U-shaped perambulation of the Galleria (fig. 101), beginning near the entry door and concluding beside its false counterpart on the Rome *testata*. Zucchi's summary list of the *dieci spiriti illustri* of the frieze level once again draws the viewer's eye upward to begin with the figure closest to the entry door. This time, however, a series of lateral moves (fig. 104) along the *facciate* with a single transverse crossing conveys the viewer from figure to

⁴⁴⁰ Zucchi, 74. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 71.

figure, depositing him before the figure of Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the last in the series, centered on the western or garden *facciata* of the Galleria. This is the final spot to which Zucchi's description conveys us, since it does not engage the window embrasure grotesques, or the small frescoed scenes of Quattrocento patronage and lineage for the Rucellai and Guicciardini, located on the Florence *testata*, in particular. These paths, considered in this fashion, point to three key locations within the Galleria Rucellai, each of which develops the complex messages about time, Orazio Rucellai, and himself that Jacopo Zucchi has urged us, in broad and subtle ways, to see.

The Northern End: Beginning and Amending Time

If the grand theme of the Galleria Rucellai is time and the words of the *Discorso* help to elucidate how that theme manifests itself in the imagery, it should be important then to consider that a visit to a space like the Galleria is a path traced over time, with a discernible beginning, middle, and end. The visitor's time begins when he passes through the doorway of the Galleria and beholds the sweep of it (fig. 1) for the first time. Staring down its twenty-seven meter length, the visitor looks immediately upward at the vault, soon realizing that the fictive architecture arrayed before him is an emulation of the Sistine Ceiling (figs. 54–55), rendered warmer and more golden by the tones Zucchi chose. His engagement of Michelangelo's most famous work of painting, another longitudinal space with a program devoted to the beginning of time and its unfolding in a religious context, are significant clues to the meaning of the space

overall, and they will be enriched as the viewer's experience of the Galleria continues.

From the first moment of entry into the Galleria Rucellai, the visitor is presented with clues regarding the meaning of the space. In passing under the threshold of the Galleria's entrance, the visitor finds himself between two figures in the decorative program that set the theme of time. Above the entrance threshold on the Rome *testata* sits Numa Pompilius (fig. 133), Rome's second king, the founder of her civic religion, and the first to institute a calendar.⁴⁴¹ The celestial associations of the concept of "calendar" are underscored by the presence, at the lower right of the scene, of an armillary sphere with clearly visible zodiac band, while the liminality of the spot is recalled through Zucchi's inclusion of the small, archaeologically-correct rendering of the temple of Janus held aloft by Numa's right hand.⁴⁴² The etymological connections of Janus to January and the Roman concept of threshold or *ianua* resonate the calendrical associations, while the appearance of the temple itself reminds the viewer of its more popularly-known function as a visible index of peace within the Roman world.⁴⁴³ As if these associations were not enough, Zucchi's use of striped cloth of two types, draped around the figure of Numa, along with the sharply-pointed

⁴⁴¹ Zucchi, 77. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.19.5–1.20.7. Lohaus, 114. Zucchi says specifically that, "because he reformed the year, an armillary sphere appears at his feet" (perche riformò l'anno, se gli è fatto un globo à sfera à'piedi). Lohaus also notes the connection to the Gregorian Reform of the calendar.

⁴⁴² Zucchi, 77. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72. See also discussion in Chapter Four regarding this temple and comparisons to coins reproduced in Erizzo, as well as painted in the Galleria Rucellai.

⁴⁴³ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.19.2–4. Livy lists two periods of the closing of the temple: during Numa's own reign, and after the Battle of Actium, when Octavian defeated Marc Antony and Cleopatra. See footnote 422 for Lohaus's discussion of the two temples.

crown, recall the iconography of Judaism, hinting at the role of Passover and Hebraic calendrical calculations in the recent Gregorian Reform that once again changed time.⁴⁴⁴ Immediately to visitor's left, inset into the wall, is the bust of Julius Caesar (figure 3), the first in the series of Suetonian Twelve, and the second figure from ancient Rome associated with the calendar, and more specifically with modifying an existing calendar from the office of *pontifex maximus*.⁴⁴⁵ This office is elided with the papacy visually in the appearance of Julius Caesar's coin, changed from the original (fig. 149) reproduced in Sebastiano Erizzo's treatise in only one detail. The traditional headgear of a

⁴⁴⁴ Zucchi, 77. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72. Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* 22.1–2. *Plutarch's Lives*, Loeb Classical Library (1948), 1:335. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.18.6–10. Richards, 207. Zucchi calls Numa's dress "priestly," using the word *sacerdotale*, which does not locate it fixedly within the context of Christianity. While his headdress is not that of the Chief Priest of the Jews, the possible connection with the representational tradition for visualizing Jewishness remains likely, the crown reminiscent of Davidic imagery and the striped cloth akin to that seen on Jewish figures in contemporary works. Even the curved *lituus*, a ceremonial instrument from the Roman religion used in marking regions of the heavens by those who take auguries from flights of birds (described by Plutarch as originating with Romulus, and by Livy as being used during the auguries that affirmed the Romans' choice of Numa as king), held by Numa here looks as though it could double for a shepherd's crook or the staff of Moses. A Mosaic connection, based on the notions of calendar current in Rome during the era, is not out of the question, especially given their connections to the Jewish Passover, instituted by Moses, and this suggestive passage in Plutarch's *Life of Numa* (8.7–8):

"And in like manner Numa forbade the Romans to revere an image of God which had the form of man or beast. Nor was there among them in this earlier time any painted or graven likeness of Deity, but while for the first hundred and seventy years they were continually building temples and establishing sacred shrines, they made no statues of bodily form for them, convinced that it was impious to liken higher things to lower, and that it was impossible to apprehend Deity except through intellect."

The prohibition of iconic worship by Numa resonates with Moses' delivery of the second commandment (Exodus 20:4–6) and his destruction of the Golden Calf (Exodus 32:1–6, 15–20). Richards reminds us that Numa is the one who established the college of *pontifices*, too, making his appearance on this wall apposite for its relationship to the city of Rome as the domain of the Christian Pontifex Maximus, the most recent religious leader to consider the formation of past calendars in his efforts to synchronize them with the heavens.

⁴⁴⁵ Zucchi, 84. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 75. Zucchi's presentation of Caesar's activity is as follows: "so skillful in the astrological professions he reformed the year in that way which to the present, we have" (come peritissimo nelle astrologhe professioni riformò l'anno in quel modo, che al presente habbiamo).

flamen, one of Rome's priestly colleges, identified in the 1571 edition of Erizzo as signaling Caesar's status as chief priest, has been transformed into a crude *monoregno*-type precursor of the papal tiara (fig. 145).⁴⁴⁶

Over and above the specific connections with time as calendar upon entry into the Galleria, there are other indices of time. Arranged in an arc beginning at the left of the Rome *testata* and concluding on the adjacent *facciata*, Zucchi has figured the first three kings of ancient Rome, with the third, Tullus Hostilius appearing between the coins of Caesar and Augustus, effectively linking together the beginnings of two disparate traditions of dynastic rule within the city.⁴⁴⁷ Panning back toward the entry from these ruler figures, the viewer finds, extending upward on the vault at the entry corner of the Galleria, a garland of spring flowers and fruits (fig. 150). On a basic level, this garland points to the

⁴⁴⁶ Lohaus, 93–94. Sebastiano Erizzo, *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo, sopra le medaglie antiche: con la particolar dichiarazione di molti riuersi* (Venice: Valgrisiana, 1559), 117. Erizzo 1571, 101. Zucchi, 86. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 76. Altieri, "Avviso di Marcantonio Altieri...", in *Il Teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513*, 13, n.5. Zucchi actually calls the image "the Pontifical hat" (il Pontificio capello). This is part of the trail of evidence that substantiates Lohaus's assertion that the 1571 edition of Erizzo was Zucchi's source. In the earliest edition, from 1559, Erizzo could not identify the object at furthest right of the coin image, while the 1568 and 1571 editions identify it as the "the *galero* of the Flamen, or the Pontifical hat" (il galero del Flamine, overo il capello Pontificio). The coins issued by Tiberius and Caligula do not appear until the 1571 edition. The most familiar and final iteration of the papal tiara is referred to as a *triregno* in Italian, a designation that describes the three superimposed circlet crowns bound together by the beehive fabric of the tiara itself. It acquired this final form during the first decade the Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy in Avignon at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

⁴⁴⁷ Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, 52–53. This passage corresponds to Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, 1.19.1. The appearance of the first three Roman kings together in sequence potentially recalls a passage in Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*, wherein the three are held up as an example of the alternating approaches to monarchical power. Romulus, a strong leader with a firm grasp on political power, was followed by Numa Pompilius, who was less concerned with presenting a fierce image and using military means to consolidate authority. Because of this shift, Machiavelli posits, it was inevitable and necessary that Tullus Hostilius, a ruler more akin to Romulus, should come to power next. Machiavelli's treatise on the works of Livy was composed in the Orti Oricellari, a palace garden attached to the house of Bernardo Rucellai, the son of Giovanni Rucellai, and the text itself was dedicated to Cosimo Rucellai, Giovanni's great-grandson and therefore a distant relative of Orazio, and Zanobi Buondelmonti.

beginning of the classically-construed cyclical year in precisely the location a visit to the Galleria would begin. Culminating, as it does, in the combined arms of the Rucellai and Guicciardini at its apex, the garland also underscores the fruitfulness of the patronal couple and the lineage that they inaugurate, key encomiastic concepts linking time to the auspices under which the visitor has arrived in this august space, namely the largesse of Orazio Rucellai and his Guicciardini wife. That the remaining seasonal garlands in the other three corners of the Galleria similarly culminate the Rucellai-Guicciardini combined *stemma* (fig. 75 and 86) amplifies the meaning even further, suggesting that the couple and their family are fruitful in all seasons.

Passing again to the left, to the central portion of the vault over the Rome *testata*, the viewer encounters Saturn (fig. 86), the ancient god most associated with the concept of time. Saturn's associations with time are borne out in the content of the garlands swagged above his scene, replete with hourglasses, an Italian Renaissance table clock,⁴⁴⁸ an astrolabe, and an *ouroboros* serpent (fig.

⁴⁴⁸ Roberto Panicali, *Orologi e orologi del Rinascimento italiano: la scuola urbinata*, Biblioteca del Rinascimento (Urbino: Quattro Venti, 1988), 74–99 (especially 79), 102–105. The clock figured by Zucchi in the garland here is similar to a series of clocks shown in six Titian portraits (“Gli orologi dei Barocci nei ritratti di Tiziano/Barocci’s clocks in Titian’s portraits/Les horloges des Barocci par le Titien”), all of which are supposed to have originated in the Urbino workshop of the Barocci family, relatives of the painter Federico Barocci, either in actuality or by setting a trend of style. Curiously, one of these clocks (called the Giovanni Maria Barocci clock; “L’orologio di Giovanni Maria Barocci/The Giovanni Maria Barocci clock/L’horloge de Giovanni Maria Barocci”) was brought to Rome near the end of 1570, the year of its facture, and given to Pope Pius V Ghislieri in early 1571, the penultimate year of his pontificate, just when Vasari and Zucchi arrived in Rome to begin working for the pope on the decorations of the superimposed Torre Pia chapels in the Vatican. Though the clock here corresponds to the general type—square in plan, rectangular in elevation, with corner columns and a domical bell on top—the round corner finials, the offset Roman numerals on the dial for the hours, and the presence, in the corner of the faces of four winds differ from the example owned by Pius, which featured astrological imagery on its dial. The suggestive collapse of time, astrology, and the influence of the winds all in one series of objects and their representations seems almost tailor-made to recall the intervening artistic commissions of Gregory XIII at the Sala Bologna and the Tower of the Winds, where charting

87). The further inclusion of the books and coins (fig. 151) in the scene simultaneously recalls the function of Saturn's Roman temple, held here as a model by Janus, as a treasury, while suggesting, along with those instruments and symbols of chronometry, the brevity of life and rule. Saturn's role as an agricultural deity, symbolized by his scythe and the monochromatic figure of Agriculture framing his scene at right, are also bound up in the cyclicity of time. That Saturn's back is turned to the figure of The Golden Age, balancing Agriculture on the left of the scene, begins to hint at the plausibility of interpreting that age as past, a fact further emblemized by the conjunction of the Saturn and Jupiter sections of the vault decoration immediately above the viewer as he stands beneath the Cancer medallion.

Considering Jupiter (fig. 69) as the triumphant divine ruler inaugurating the Age of Silver as we have done in Chapter Three signals this figure as one associated with beginning mythological time and the seasons, but is not the only association with time Jupiter offers. Zucchi's words in the *Discorso* regarding Jupiter's punishment of the impious and religiously disrespectful, with the figures of Justice and Religion and Jupiter's own fistful of thunderbolts, resonate strongly with Zucchi's image of the constellation Libra from the Sala delle Stagioni in Palazzo Firenze (fig. 22), and connect with the religious paintings and ideology that guided Nicolò Circignani's brush (under Egnazio Danti's supervision) in the frescoes of the Meridian Room of the Vatican Tower of the Winds, the room that monumentalizes Gregory XIII's calendrical intervention and catalyzes the

constellations and the positive and deleterious effects of the wind are mixed with observation of the course of the sun, Danti's anemoscope, and the changes to the calendar.

consideration of time's malleability at the heart of the Galleria Rucellai's program of temporal decoration.⁴⁴⁹ In this regard, Zucchi's work participates in a lineage of art that uses classical and biblical subject matter to visualize Counter-Reformation responses to the challenge of Protestant critique, culminating in Pietro da Cortona's decoration of the Barberini *salone*, where Athena as the Church Triumphant repels the Giants who seek to dismantle its very architecture (fig. 56).

The Southern End: Writing Deeds and Identities Across Time

Guise and Disguise: Gods and Allegories in Identity Creation

The viewer's comprehension of the complex array of meanings associated with time and identity at the southern terminus of the Galleria Rucellai begins as he looks down its length once again (fig. 2). Recalling the similarity to the Sistine Ceiling (fig. 54), the viewer may begin to see Jacopo Zucchi's wit in the appropriation and emulation of the palatine chapel's decoration. The figure of *Diana-Luna* (fig. 75) on the vault at this end of the Galleria is a transformation of the pose of Michelangelo's *Jonah* (fig. 152), the prophet located on the chapel vault at the far end from its public entrance. Cleverer still is Zucchi's use of the constellation imagery placed beneath Diana-Luna to underscore the Galleria's connections to the Sistine Chapel. Zucchi has painted Ara the Altar, depicted in faux stucco and reoriented upright from its position in the nighttime sky as a southern constellation, beneath the goddess Diana-Luna, akin to the altar of the Sistine Chapel falling beneath Jonah. Just as the altar in a liturgical space is the

⁴⁴⁹ Courtright, 31–33, 69–103.

end or goal, so is the southern terminus of the Galleria, in that the paths through the vault imagery and the *facciate*, as described in the *Discorso*, conclude here, balancing the northern terminus's messages about the beginnings of time and dynasty.

Mythological guises for real historical actors, marshaled into an allegorized commentary on events perhaps contemporary with the decoration of the Galleria, are focused on the vault figures at this end of the space. As discussed in Chapter Three, Pan (fig. 74), the penultimate figure of the vault's divine path, played a role, both mythologically and within the context of Zucchi's artistic imagination, in the music or harmony of the spheres, and therefore with the maintenance of the celestial motion that creates time as humans mark it. The similarity of the figure, who offers the bundle of white wool to the adjacent Diana, to others within Zucchi's own oeuvre, period decoration executed by Zucchi's contemporaries, and future cycles like Annibale Carracci's in the Galleria Farnese (fig. 77), has already been noted, as has the figure's pose, identical to Michelangelo's *Erythraean Sibyl* (fig. 153) from the Sistine Chapel.⁴⁵⁰ However, Pan's role within the context of a consideration of the Golden Age broadly and within Medicean iconography thereof more particularly has not. As the ruler of Arcadia, Pan's music-making activity was limited to the era of the Golden Age. That the seven-piped syrinx at his side is not being played may further confirm the interpretation of the ceiling as participating in the newly ascendant Age of Silver, instead of its more famous and laudable antecedent. In the Medicean context, Lorenzo il

⁴⁵⁰ Saxl, "Un 'Discorso'...", 438. Aurigemma, "Un corpus perduto?...", 132. Zucchi had a drawing of this figure that passed to his brother and entered the inventory studied by Aurigemma.

Magnifico made use of Pan imagery during his period of ascendancy in Florence as the first Medici evocation of the Golden Age.⁴⁵¹ In search of a visual language to legitimize his rulership and the sometimes-violent means by which it achieved its ends, Duke Cosimo turned to Lorenzo's usages, inflected with his own personal devices: a design by Tribolo (fig. 154) for a Grotto of Pan included a statue of him seated in a niche with a relief panel depicting the Capricorn, one of Cosimo's devices and an astrologically important sign for him, beneath it.⁴⁵² It is curious, then, that in the context of the Galleria Rucellai, we should find a "living" image of Pan with a relief panel showing the Capricorn *above* it. Perhaps this conjunction was a new revival by Zucchi, based on his memories of working with Vasari in the duke's service, to laud another member of the Medici dynasty. Repositioned in this mode, it seems possible to contextualize the conjunction in this way: just as power passed (literally, descended) from Lorenzo il Magnifico (the original Pan of the Medicean Golden Age) to Cosimo as the Capricorn in the statuary images drawn by Tribolo, now Cosimo, having become a visible constellation in the heavens, presides over Ferdinando's accession to power as a new Pan in Zucchi's frescoes. The offer of wool by Pan to Diana, Ferdinando's preferred ancient goddess, then might be reinterpreted to indicate an offering of love by Ferdinando himself to his new bride Christine of Lorraine, figured as Diana.⁴⁵³ This interpretation can, again, be linked to the unplayed panpipes, the

⁴⁵¹ Cox-Rearick, 83–6.

⁴⁵² Cox-Rearick, 176.

⁴⁵³ Zucchi, 38, 66. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 56, 67. Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, Loeb Classical Library (1940), 182–183. Battaglia, "Cornuto," *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*,

transmuted form of the nymph Syrinx, Pan's other love, on whom he literally turns his back, in favor of Diana.⁴⁵⁴

The final transverse crossing of the Galleria vault, as described in the *Discorso*, leads to the figure of *Hercules* (fig. 155) and may indeed support these possible interpretations of the Pan-Diana dynamic in a Florentine political context. Hercules is the final figure in Zucchi's path through the vault imagery, a demigod later apotheosized for his greatness in life and a figure who, by dint of his semi-divine nature, forms a bridge between the world of the gods and that of humanity. Zucchi's Hercules is surrounded with attributes associated with his

3:793 (definition 6). Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 184. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura...", in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 138. There are distinct textual challenges offered to this interpretation by Zucchi's characterization of the two figures in the *Discorso*. Each is described in the text using the *double entendre*-laden Italian term *cornuto/a*, meaning both "possessed of horns" and "cuckold," the latter usage first documented in Italian literature dating to the mid-fifteenth century. Zucchi's description of Diana-Luna's crescent-moon crown and his reportage of the historical descriptions of Pan as a horned figure in the text may, however, be united with the source text for the proffered wool, Vergil's *Georgics* (3.391–393), in order to offer extended meaning to those of Ferdinando's inner circle, like Orazio. It seems to have been an open secret that Ferdinando dallied with Clelia, the daughter of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. In fact, Aurigemma posits that the Diana ceiling of the Palazzo Firenze has connections to this relationship. Zucchi's portrait of Clelia Farnese, now in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica at Palazzo Barberini, points to his familiarity with this courtly lady, as does his first commission at the newly acquired Villa Medici in 1576, namely the decoration of Ferdinando's garden *casino*, where it is suspected the cardinal and Clelia met for trysts. Given this activity, it would be appropriate to consider Diana-Luna (Christine of Lorraine) as *cornuta*. However, Vergil's text suggests Pan's transformation into a snowy white ram, in order to woo Diana-Luna, as the intended meaning of the passage, rather than one of shearing and proffering. In this light, one could argue that Pan's physical transformation into a ram is akin to Ferdinando's internal transformation from cardinal-dallier to devoted lover and husband, capable of offering his newly-unblemished self to the goddess. Vergil's passage ends with an affirmation of Diana's passage into the woods with Pan (interpreted in this context as her ceremonial arrival into Italy?) and her acquiescence to his amorous advances. Conversely, there is Zucchi's neglecting to mention the figure of Endymion, flanking the goddess on the right, to consider. Might it be a possible reference to a past lover of Christine's? Perhaps more distantly, the reference to Diana-Luna's crescent moon crown as "cornuta" could be a way to recall Diane de Poitiers, the preferred mistress of Henri II of France, the grandfather of Christine of Lorraine, by way of affirming the superiority of his legitimate bloodline through Catherine de' Medici, Ferdinando's distant relation, by casting the mistress as the cuckold in a clever inversion.

⁴⁵⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.689–712.

famous Twelve Labors: the corpse of the giant Antaeus,⁴⁵⁵ the Cretan Bull, the Erymanthean Boar, the Stymphalian Birds, the Lernean Hydra, the Serpent of the Hesperides, the eponymous Pillars of Hercules, and most prominently the impenetrable skin of the Nemean Lion, which became the hero's mantle. Even the faux marble images of Virtue and Labor that flank him emphasize the importance of the hero's deeds. Here, it is worth quoting Zucchi's words introducing the hero:

The illustrious works, and most noble deeds of the unconquerable and valiant Hercules are many, and such that, I say, both in number and in quality, that for whomsoever would want to offer themselves to discuss them, it would be truly an undertaking like adding water to the sea, or light to increase to new splendor the Sun, or, to say it better, with slack words to intend to increase the merits and the glory of the most noble and illustrious ancestry of the house of Rucellai.⁴⁵⁶

This sentence is remarkable in two ways: first, it compares the fame of Twelve Labors with that of the Rucellai family, locating the Galleria in an encomiastic context for its patronal family; second, it marks the only instance, apart from in the prefatory material, that the name 'Rucellai' appears in the text of the *Discorso*.⁴⁵⁷ That Zucchi is making explicit linkages between the Rucellai and

⁴⁵⁵ Paul Joannides, "Two Drawings Related to Michelangelo's 'Hercules and Antaeus,'" *Master Drawings* 14:2 (Summer 2003): 114–115. One wonders why Zucchi chose this ancillary labor of Hercules, rather than the Rome-specific Labor *parergon* of the temporary theft of Geryon's cattle by the giant Cacus. Paul Joannides points to the slippery nature of the subject as a political allegory in Florence during the sixteenth century.

⁴⁵⁶ Zucchi, 67. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 68. Original passage: "Le illustri opere, e nobilissimi fatti dall'invitto, & valoroso Hercole son tante, e tali, dico, & in numero, & in qualità, che chi volesse porsi di a discorrerle, saria proprio vn voler dar l'acqua al mare, o di luce accrescere nuovo splendore al Sole, o per dir meglio, con fiacche parole pensar di crescere i meriti, e la gloria alla nobilissima, & illustre prosapia di casa Rucellai."

⁴⁵⁷ Ould, 2. It is important here to distinguish between the body text, which contains just two mentions of the Rucellai, and the page headings, which read from verso to recto: "*Discorso di Giacomo Zucchi / Sopra la Galleria del Rucellai*" (Discourse of Jacopo Zucchi / On the Galleria of

Hercules should not surprise, on the grounds that an easy heraldic conceit would connect the nearly unkillable Nemean Lion and its impenetrable hide with the rampant lion of the family's *stemma*. Despite the seeming globality of Zucchi's comparison between the labors of Hercules and the deeds of the Rucellai, it may be possible to condense the elision of the entire Rucellai lineage with Hercules, as Zucchi has cast it, down to just one figure in the context of the Galleria Rucellai, namely Orazio himself. The appearance of the Pillars of Hercules as framing elements on the sides of the Hercules panel are at once a reminder of a labor, the hero's retrieval of Golden Apples from the garden of the Hesperides in the West, and his *parergon* of establishing the columns at the straits of Gibraltar. This location, where the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa meet closely as the passageway between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, recalls the allegorical figure of *Africa* beside *Atlas*, both of whom appear to Hercules' left (fig. 71),⁴⁵⁸ as well as the countries Spain and Portugal, destinations to which Orazio traveled as a diplomatic envoy of the French royal court in March 1574.⁴⁵⁹ If indeed the diplomatic career of Orazio is to be interpolated based on the symbols of the Labors here present, the viewer would then understand that Hercules-Orazio has

Rucellai). This functional retitling of the treatise, and its emphasis on a single Rucellai, Orazio, as evidenced by the articulated preposition "del" (of the, in the singular) points up his primacy in considering the monument as a whole, lending support for our reading below.

⁴⁵⁸ Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:182. All these elements are linked to figure 72, discussed in footnote 263, which is generally considered a preparatory work for the Galleria Rucellai.

⁴⁵⁹ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 72. As boundaries, these mythological pillars were surpassed nearly 80 years before with the first voyages of exploration and discovery to the East and West Indies, most of which were funded by the two countries in question.

diffused dangerous situations with ferocious adversaries and survived their venomous attacks and multifarious generation of collateral problems.⁴⁶⁰ If we blend this interpretation with the posited interplay between Pan and Diana as stand-ins for Ferdinando and Christine, the diplomatic mission to France in October 1588 undertaken by Orazio to negotiate issues of inheritance, as well as the marriage between Ferdinando and Christine, immediately comes to the fore.⁴⁶¹ It should come as no surprise, then, that the final leg of the vault path should also have meaningful connotations for Orazio. The crossing itself is a path beneath Mercury (fig. 70), the god of messengers, boundaries, and commerce, all characteristics inextricably interwoven with the identity of international banker

⁴⁶⁰ Marcie Freedman Slepian, *Merchant Ideology in the Renaissance: Guild Hall Decoration in Florence, Siena, and Perugia* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1987), 1:204. Lohaus, 144. Here, it seems appropriate to mention Lohaus's final characterization of Hercules as "Garant der Volksfreiheit" (guarantor of the people's freedom), which she connects explicitly with the Florentine context.

⁴⁶¹ Ricci, 50v (522), 51v, (524), 500r (377–8). Conti, 2:572. Warren Kirkendale, *Emilio de' Cavalieri "Gentiluomo Romano": His Life and Letters, His Role as Superintendent of All the Arts at the Medici Court, and His Musical Compositions*, *Historiae Musicae Cultores* 86 (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2001), 353. Lohaus, 86–87. Edmund Pillsbury, "The cabinet paintings of Jacopo Zucchi: their meaning and function," *Monuments et Mémoires Publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres Paris* 63 (1980): 207, n.53. This reading may also involve Camilla Guicciardini, in that there seems to have been a connection or relationship between Camilla Guicciardini and Christine of Lorraine. Warren Kirkendale reproduces the correspondence of Emilio de' Cavalieri that links the two figures in Rome in 1594, and it is not impossible to imagine that they had known one another in the context of the Parisian court when Orazio (and Camilla?) lived in France in the early 1580s. As such, Camilla might be seen as a kind of lady-in-waiting, and might therefore be identifiable with the figure called the Dew, at right in the Diana-Luna panel (and therefore adjacent to the *stemma* and Hercules), who points emphatically at Diana. The presence of hunting horns, akin to those on the Guicciardini arms, in the garlands above Diana-Luna further strengthens this supposition. That the overdoor fresco directly beneath Hercules is the Rucellai estate of Quaracchi should also come as no surprise—positioned there, it is literally under his protection. Beneath this image, in the final embrasure of the garden *facciata*, a small door led to a staircase that deposited a visitor in the loggia below, with direct access to the garden of the palace, linking the two spaces as garden retreats of the Rucellai.

and diplomat Orazio⁴⁶² and Medici heir Ferdinando, who considered the god's representation an *apotropaion*.⁴⁶³

Unsurprisingly, if this interpretation is correct, the conjunction of all these disguised figures appears above the *testata* of Florence, the grand-ducal seat and the city that would be most affected by the marriage of the French princess and the Medici heir. Zucchi ensures that there will be no confusion about the connection between Florence as an allegorized city and the rule of the Medici as grand dukes, stating in his description that she wears “an outfit similar to that of the Grand Duke” (*vn'habito simile a quello di gran Duca*),⁴⁶⁴ a description borne out by comparison to an image of Cosimo in his ermine mantle (fig. 156). Zucchi's prominent repeated usage of the caduceus may further allude to and emphasize the importance of Ferdinando de' Medici to this section of the decoration. The staff is held by Mercury (a favored and apotropaic god for Cardinal Ferdinando) in that important transitional scene between Pan and Hercules, and appears on both banners held by the figures symbolizing the Second Triumvirate and the *Prottetori della Patria* (figs. 140 and 142). If interpreted as a symbol linked to Ferdinando's superstitions through the repetitions here, the message is clear: peace, magnanimity and liberality (those

⁴⁶² Zucchi, 32. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 53. Zucchi himself underscores Mercury's identity from Ovid as “arbiter of wars” (*arbitro delle guerre*), making him a distinctly important type for Orazio the diplomat.

⁴⁶³ Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 187. Aurigemma says particularly the pose of Mercury, with arm extended and holding a purse, from the Diana ceiling in Palazzo Firenze, was symbolic of prosperity. Though the iteration here stands on his chariot rather than being borne across the night sky by his *petasus* and *talaria*, the meaning of the pose must be similar if not identical.

⁴⁶⁴ Zucchi, 77. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 72.

interpretations of the symbol emphasized by Zucchi in the *Discorso*) are enjoyed with constancy in Florence as a result of the magnificence of his rule, a phenomenon projected back through time to the very foundation of the city, thereby subsuming all the Medici into the lineage of beneficence.

Five Family Pieces: Rucellai and Guicciardini Lineage Imagery

The imagery associated with identity, lineage, and time continues in other areas of the Florence *testata*. This begins with Zucchi's own discussion of Diana-Luna, whose roles include patroness of childbirth⁴⁶⁵ and a connection to the city of Fiesole,⁴⁶⁶ perfect evocations of the genealogical ties that anchored the Rucellai and Guicciardini families to Florence. Beneath Diana-Luna, integrated into the grotesque decoration of the window embrasures on either side of the figure of Florence are, pointedly, five images associated with the lineage of the patronal couple.⁴⁶⁷ The three images relating to the Rucellai branch are arranged in an arc overhead in the left embrasure (the one beneath the *Second*

⁴⁶⁵ Zucchi, 38. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 55–56. “They say that [Diana] under the name Lucina is invoked by pregnant women, who believe she eases the road for late-term pregnancies. The Ancients symbolized this aspect by placing a key in her hand, as one sees painted in this image of her, which holds in her other hand the bow and arrows, which are present to denote the harsh pains of labor.” (Vogliono, che sopra il partorire fosse dalle donne sotto il nome di Lucina chiamata, & creduta, che facilitasse molto la strada à già maturi parti, & à questo effetto la facessero gl'Antichi con una chiave in mano, si come in questo quadro dipinto si vede; la quale tiene dall'altra mano l'arco, & le saette; i quali finsero, che gli aspri dolori del partorire dinotassero.)

⁴⁶⁶ Zucchi, 79. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 73. “Thus beneath the Moon [Diana], particular symbol of ancient Fiesole, comes to be united with Florence.” (così sotto la Luna, insegna particolare dell'antica Fiesole, viene con lei la vnita Fiorenza)

⁴⁶⁷ Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work,” 1:160–161. Lohaus, 141–142. Lohaus describes a sixth scene, an allegory of Francesco Guicciardini's work as a politician, opposite the portrait across the embrasure. This image is unfortunately not reproduced in any of the volumes, and, during my brief visit, I was not able to examine the area. This image figures in Lohaus's discussion of the function of Republican Libertas and Guicciardini's own political leanings.

Triumvirate), while the two associated with the Guicciardini occupy the apical and right positions in the corresponding arc in the embrasure beneath the *Protettori della Patria* on the right (fig. 157). This division, left and right, mimics the disposition of the arms of each family on the shared *stemmi* of the vault's corner garlands, as well as the attributes held by the bronze *putti* above the name cartouches of the gods above the *facciate*.⁴⁶⁸ While the use of imagery related to the family of the wife of a couple may, at first, appear strange, it bears remembering that the Guicciardini were a distinguished aristocratic family in Florence in their own right and had at least one great humanist among their ranks. Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) (fig. 158), the great-uncle of Orazio Rucellai's wife Camilla,⁴⁶⁹ is in fact figured in a portrait as one of the two Guicciardini images. Shown balancing one book on his lap and writing in another set on the tabletop beside him, the figure is identifiable by his Quattrocento dress and the Guicciardini arms displayed in the escutcheon above his head. The unusual space in which he is located, with its central niche, large decorative volutes and curving alcove, has been called his study,⁴⁷⁰ but reads more like an architectural fantasy of Zucchi's, based on Michelangelo's vocabulary in the New Sacristy and the vestibule of the Laurentian Library (fig. 159). Guicciardini is

⁴⁶⁸ Lohaus, 44. Lohaus says this division of heraldry extends to the gender of the putti here, male ones embracing Orazio's lions and female ones holding Camilla's hunting horns.

⁴⁶⁹ Pompeo Litta, *Le famiglie celebri italiane*, 2nd. ed. (Milan: Luciano Basadonna, 1866–1871), fascicolo XXI, dispensa 32, third genealogical table for the family. Francesco Guicciardini was the older brother of Camilla's grandfather, Jacopo. A note on Litta: issued as a series of fascicles, the binding on different copies varies. I have used the National Gallery of Art Library copy, where these tables are in volume three of ten.

⁴⁷⁰ Lohaus, 141–142. Strinati, "Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 190.

attended by numerous *putti*, each of whom bears paired ancient *fascēs*, the bundled rods with occasional axes (called *securēs*) that symbolized a conquering general's possession of *imperium*, or the power of life and death over individuals. It is this core power and the word that describes it that becomes translated in time to the notion of empire and emperor. Guicciardini served the city and the two Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VIII, in a variety of capacities, but is perhaps best known for his *Storia d'Italia*, published in 1561.⁴⁷¹

The remaining Guicciardini image, above the viewer's head, shows the piazza and church of Santa Felicità in Florence (fig. 160). A site of Guicciardini patronage located in the family's eponymous street, the church bears their arms in its visible roof gable at upper right center.⁴⁷² This image is more in keeping with the three that define the balancing Rucellai side, in that each is a small cityscape of Quattrocento Florence, populated by figures in period costume. The three Rucellai images show the palace in via della Vigna Nuova (fig. 161), the loggia standing opposite it (fig. 162), and the church of Santa Maria Novella (fig. 163), all sites believed to have been shaped by the patronage of Giovanni Rucellai and the vision of Leon Battista Alberti.⁴⁷³ It is these two figures who

⁴⁷¹ Lohaus, 38, 107, 141. Lohaus considers Guicciardini an important foil for Machiavelli, and one of the linchpins for comprehending the Galleria's program.

⁴⁷² Lohaus, 140. Lohaus demonstrates that this image is a bit of a temporal pastiche, as the Vasari Corridor, connecting the Palazzo Vecchio and the Uffizi via the Ponte Vecchio to the Palazzo Pitti, blocks the façade of the church. This passageway was built in 1564.

⁴⁷³ Preyer, 187–191. Aurigemma, "Un corpus perduto?...", 125–6. Preyer shows that, contrary to Vasari's report, Alberti did not, in fact, design the Loggia for Giovanni. Aurigemma notes in the inventory of drawings completed in 1611 [Archivio di Stato, Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 1, 1611, vol. 81, notaio Agabitus Riccius, gennaio giugno, c. 786r–790r e 803r–809r 128.] that there were both "un disegno del palazzo dei rucellai di penna fatto in Fiorenza" (a drawing of the Palace of the Rucellai in ink made in Florence) and "Disegno di penna della facciata di S. Maria

appear in each image, inspecting plans and surveying work underway, since all three building projects are shown incomplete.⁴⁷⁴ The image of Santa Felicità also partakes of this imagery of patron and craftsman reviewing plans, while workmen seem engaged in construction activity, though the church appears complete.

Neither Francesco Guicciardini nor Giovanni Rucellai were direct *antenati* (ancestors) of the patronal couple at the Galleria Rucellai, each belonging to other branches of the larger clans, making their inclusion as identifiable figures within the context of this program unusual on the surface.⁴⁷⁵ The Renaissance notion of family ties was, however, considerably more expansive than the nuclear one preferred today, making references to relatives other than parents, siblings, and children more understandable.⁴⁷⁶ Beyond this, the installation of these scions of the two families into the side wall programs, dedicated as they are to moral exemplars and foundational figures, is a logical way to weave the two families into the world of *spiriti illustri*, even if Zucchi has managed to leave this portion of the Galleria's decoration entirely out of his treatise.

novella di Fiorenza" (drawing in ink of the facade of Santa Maria Novella in Florence), undoubtedly executed to aid the completion of these small frescoes in the embrasure.

⁴⁷⁴ D'Amelio, "Le famiglie..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 7. The right edge of the Palazzo Rucellai, which remains incomplete, was left so when Giovanni Rucellai failed to obtain more adjacent real estate. The right façade of Santa Maria Novella is similarly incomplete, and workmen hoist buckets of roofing material to the top of the Rucellai Loggia. D'Amelio believes this was done simply to add an everyday feel to the images.

⁴⁷⁵ Passerini, Table XI. Giovanni Rucellai, the great patron of Leon Battista Alberti, and Orazio Rucellai shared a common ancestor in Berlinghieri, called Bingeri di Naddo (d.1348). Bingeri's older son Piero (life dates uncertain) was Orazio's great-great-grandfather, while a younger son, Paolo (d.1381), was Giovanni Rucellai's grandfather.

⁴⁷⁶ Kent, 397–401. Kent sketches out Giovanni's crafty appeal to collective family unity in his grab for territory in order to build the Rucellai Loggia, still extant today. Though the space was ostensibly for use by all the Rucellai, problems most certainly arose from the "first among equals" mentality that surely attended this fraught site.

While the reflected glory provided by these tenuously-related figures, marshaled to amplify that of Orazio and Camilla in their new home, answers the question of their inclusion in the Galleria's overall program, considerations of the theme of time amplify the comprehensibility of these images and their relation to the patrons to the maximum. As we have noted, the images of architectural patronage within Florence each appear to be unfolding, rather than as complete,⁴⁷⁷ making each scene a window onto a past neither Zucchi nor Orazio nor Camilla was alive to witness. These representations may perhaps most fruitfully be understood with reference to verb tense, namely the imperfect. By presenting each of the signal patronage contributions of the families, though arguably more those of the Rucellai than the Guicciardini, as in a state of coming to completion, Zucchi recalls the language of the purchase contract between Orazio and the Jacobilli heirs, which described the palace as "imperfetto."⁴⁷⁸ However famous these sites of the patronage of the two families in Florence might be, and however complete they were for Zucchi, Orazio, and Camilla in the late sixteenth century, Zucchi has locked them in a state of imperfect tension, pointedly to contrast with the fully-realized perfection surrounding the viewer in the Galleria Rucellai and the palace itself,⁴⁷⁹ not unlike his decision, based on the moment of mythological time he chose for the vault, to show the myths of the

⁴⁷⁷ Lotti, 8. The continuing construction on the façade of Santa Maria Novella may point to the fact that Giovanni Rucellai did not complete it in his lifetime, and the task fell to his son Bernardo, the owner of the adjacent Orti Oricellari complex.

⁴⁷⁸ ASV Archivio Ruspoli-Marescotti 2a.B.74.4. Portions of this document are reproduced in "Appendice Documentaria," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 182.

⁴⁷⁹ Pfisterer, 335. Pfisterer characterizes the images as panegyric and restrained, in keeping with period decorum and a mode of indirect praise for the client.

constellations as continuing to unfold. Standing at the center of Galleria, beneath Apollo as the Sun, makes the message of imperfection in past architectural patronage even clearer by analogy. If the sun's brightness and light could be compared to the Galleria itself, then those past achievements of the Quattrocento, aligned beneath Diana-Luna as the Moon, could be construed as a pale, past-time reflection of the glories to come for the two families, a trick of time and physics worthy of Einstein but rooted in papal rhetoric from the Middle Ages, which used those two celestial bodies as analogues to describe the relationship of spiritual to temporal power.⁴⁸⁰

The Final End: Locating a Palimpsest of Identity for All Time

The third, final, and perhaps most important nodal point of the Galleria Rucellai appears, paradoxically, at its very center. Only twice within the *Discorso* does Jacopo Zucchi draw our attention specifically to the center of the room: first, in order to begin the path through the zodiac medallions with Apollo-Sol, and second with the figure of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and his temples of Honos and Virtus. Both of these appeals to the visitor to relocate to the heart of the Galleria are calculated attempts to create further levels of meaning on the theme of time and identity, both for patron and painter, and, as such, should be

⁴⁸⁰ Pillsbury, "Cabinet Paintings," 189–194. *Important Old Master Paintings*. Sotheby's New York, 27 January 2005, lot 118, 34–37. This line of reasoning might seem farfetched, if not for a mythological picture (fig. 164), dated to 1575–6 and associated by Pillsbury with the *studiolo di noce*. Called *The Assembly of the Gods*, the copper panel shows a cloud-filled Olympus with the various ancient gods gathered and the birth of Athena beneath a zodiac band at rear center. On the right half of the image, the god Apollo holds aloft a brightly glowing sphere emitting a long ray, which connects it to a dimmer crescent/sphere held aloft by a goddess seen from behind, who must be Artemis/Diana/Luna.

considered together as supporting a reading that locates Orazio Rucellai's seat within his Galleria at its very center.

In the House of the Lion: Orazio Rucellai's Identity Encoded

The centrality of the Apollo panel (fig. 3) on the Galleria's vault is a function of the Sun as a planet falling at the center of the seven planetary spheres in the concentric model.⁴⁸¹ As a consequence of this arrangement, when we consider the Galleria's two *testate*, the implication is that the realm of the Earth, closest to the moon (i.e., Diana-Luna) is to be associated with the city of

⁴⁸¹ Rowland, 17, 24, 27, 146, 164–5, and 191. This reading does not seek to advance any sort of Copernican heliocentrism within the context of the Galleria Rucellai, though the concept was current in circles abroad frequented by Orazio Rucellai. His time at the French court and that of Giordano Bruno, whose lectures at Oxford acknowledge the Copernican idea that the sun, rather than the earth, was central in the solar system, do align in certain key periods, and it seems likely that the two might have at least known of one another, if not known one another directly, perhaps through Jacopo Corbinelli, Catherine de' Medici's Florentine personal secretary, or Piero del Bene, Henri III's almoner. It is also tempting to consider Rowland's description of Bruno's *Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* in connection with the imagery of the Galleria Rucellai:

Jupiter, the king of the gods, fretting about the signs of old age; the ancient womanizer no longer has the energy to change into bulls, lightning, or showers of gold in pursuit of nubile young women. After a long and none too distinguished career as rulers of the universe, the gods of Olympus, he recognizes, are on their way out of power. But perhaps, Jove muses, he can stave off retirement by reforming the heavens. Too many of the constellations enshrine monsters, cruel kings, and degenerate princesses, not mention a large, timid rabbit. By promising to reform the cosmos—and doing so on his own terms—the father of the gods hopes to buy more time for himself and his regime...As he explains to [Sir Philip Sidney, the dedicatee] at length, Jupiter, fickle, weak-willed, and fallible, represents both the material world and human nature. The triumphant beast is 'the vices that dominate and trample the divine part' of our spirit; by expelling the triumphant beast, 'the spirit is purged of error and comes to be clothed in virtue.'

As a system, it could be argued that the intentions of Jupiter in Bruno's text match what might be going on in the Galleria Rucellai, especially with regard to the reordering of the heavens and Jupiter's speaking gestures. However, Zucchi assigns Religion and Justice as the companions of Jupiter, unlike Bruno's "Momus, the mocker of the gods (who, as he tells [the dedicatee Sir Philip] Sidney, represents conscience); the Egyptian goddess Isis; Sophia, the image of Greek wisdom..." Momus is mentioned in the *Amorevoleissimi* dedication twice, as well as in the passages about Vesta and Domitian, but not in connection with Jupiter. Seen from another angle, Bruno's writings might have been attractive to Zucchi, in that his *Il Candelaio* (*The Candlemaker*) speaks about the planets and the zodiac, and its protagonist is a painter into whose mouth Bruno pours his philosophical dialogue regarding the order of things in the world.

Florence, while the unmoved sphere of the fixed stars and the Judeo-Christian God (closest to Saturn) is therefore associated with Rome. In this way, the alternation between religious piety/devotion and militarism is uniquely apposite within the space, whose heart is between the realms of Man and God.⁴⁸²

This space, between Man and God, is also the center point between Rome and Florence, the two cities that, by this point in their two lives, were both home places for artist and patron. Zucchi, born in Florence and trained by Vasari there, could not deny his Florentine pedigree, as it provided him with work and protection in Rome once he relocated there. Without the patronage of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, Zucchi could neither have wrested himself from his apprenticeship, nor established himself so completely in Rome as to have relocated his elderly mother, brother, and other dependants there, in order to seek work and limit unnecessary expenditure.⁴⁸³ Rome provided Zucchi with work, money, and independence, and would remain his home until his death in 1592. Orazio Rucellai, on the other hand, came from an established and internationally-known Florentine clan, despite his likely birth in Rome.⁴⁸⁴ That his father Luigi considered Rome a worthy refuge for his family and relocated it there

⁴⁸² Lohaus, 114–115. The corners bear this out, especially the idea that the Florence end is dominated by militarism (pair of trophies at the corner), while the Rome end is more balanced. Between Audacity and Romulus/Quirinus is a trophy, but it is the prototypical one dedicated to Jupiter Ferretrius, presumably, while between Numa and Religion is an altar.

⁴⁸³ Calcagno, 7. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 118–119, Appendix I, Document 16. Saxl reproduces a letter (ASF Archivio Mediceo filza 5101, c. 363), dated 5 November 1575.

⁴⁸⁴ Passerini, 108. Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 67. With Luigi di Cardinale Rucellai transferred to Rome by 1510 and married in Rome to another Florentine expatriate, Dianora della Casa, in 1521, it seems strongly likely that Orazio was born in the Eternal City.

meant that Orazio more likely saw Rome as home, despite an undeniable sense that Florence was *patria*. Living and working abroad in and for the French court, Rucellai returned to Florence to find a bride, acquired property in the historic Rucellai enclave in via della Vigna Nuova, and engaged Bartolommeo Ammannati to build him a domestic palace there in the late 1570s.⁴⁸⁵ After another period of international business and diplomacy, Rucellai returned to Rome, purchased the incomplete Jacobilli palace, and again called upon his friend Ammannati to complete it as a residence for him and his growing family.⁴⁸⁶ By the time the decoration of the Galleria was executed, both Orazio and Jacopo were both intimately familiar with the two cities that dominated their identities. Locating the two men spatially within the Galleria at the point between Florence and Rome is the truest expression of those identities.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 72. Barletti, 54–55.

⁴⁸⁶ ASV Archivio Ruspoli-Marescotti 2a.B.74.4. Benedetti, "L'Architettura," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 152.

⁴⁸⁷ Zucchi, 25–27. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 50–51. This is especially true for the interpretation to come, and given Zucchi's own words about the centrality and importance of Apollo as Sol. Zucchi says that Apollo as a planet (the sun) is the "great minister of nature...on him depend all the generations and corruptions of things" (gran ministro di natura...da lui dipendono tutte le generazioni, e corrotioni delle cose). Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, Zucchi lists out epithets and roles that the Sun plays: "Some call him *Mind*, others Eye of the world, Beauty of the sky, Happiness of the day, *Virtue*, and vigor of all things, Perfection of the stars, King, and prince of nature. They want, so that it is most simple, that he be the one from whom is born lightness and agility in motion, from whom is born productive and generative virtue, that avoiding virtue, from whose simplicity follows the virtue of plants, resolving the humors, he transforms them into nourishment, and therefore opening the pores of the earth gives virtue to grow, to pullulate" (Chiamanlo alcuni *Mente*, altri Occhio del mondo, Bellezza del Cielo, Allegrezza del giorno, *Virtù*, e vigore di tutte le cose, Perfettione delle stelle, Rè, e Principe della natura. Vogliono, che sia semplicissimo, da cui nasca la leuità, & agilità del moto, dalla cui virtù generatiua, e produttiua ne nasca, che euitando la virtù, dalla cui simplicità segue la virtù delle Piante, & risoluendo gl'humori, li conuerte in nutrimento, & quindi aprendo i pori della terra dà virtù di crescere, & pullulare) (my italics). As both *Mente* (Mind) and *Virtù* (Virtue), it follows logically that Zucchi would locate the figures of Attilius the Praetor and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose temples are of nearly identical dedication to those two principles, beneath this planet along the opposing

Zucchi's great care and sensitivity to the orientation of the Galleria in the execution of his frescoes is no more strongly apparent than when considering the Apollo section (fig. 165), where the god's tall conveyance proceeds from left to right within the panel, correlating the sun's celestial movement from east to west to the Galleria's orientation to those cardinal compass points (fig. 3). The foregrounding of the Hours and the Seasons emphasizes the temporal theme of the Galleria, as does the presence of Aurora, goddess of the dawn, who signals the arrival of Apollo as the sun and a new day, the great subject and theme of two later Baroque ceiling images in Rome, for the Borghese and the Ludovisi. Rather than being accompanied by *putti*, Apollo-Sol's zodiacal constellations (the exaltation and the house, as the Sun has only one house) appear arrayed around the figure himself, Aries as the Golden Fleece leaping/hanging above the god's head and Leo recumbent at his feet, head turned to regard the god.

Zucchi's starting point for the zodiac imagery with Apollo is a reference to the sun's course through the ecliptic, the imaginary astronomical projection of the Earth's equator along which all the zodiac constellations are arrayed. However, Zucchi's east-west orientation of the cart of Apollo to the cardinal compass points puts the sun's ability, here in the Galleria Rucellai, to trace the ecliptic from Aries to Pisces, as Zucchi describes it in the *Discorso*, in difficulty, since the Aries medallion appears on the east side of the image, rather than the west. While the viewer may trace the seasonal route through the zodiac according to Zucchi's description in the *Discorso*, Zucchi's own representation of the sun does not. This

facciate. Both partaking of this identity and located centrally, the seats/spots for Orazio and Jacopo are justified and balanced.

is not an accidental choice on Zucchi's part. That the sun's only house is in the constellation Leo the lion, and that a recumbent lion lies at the feet of the Sun on his chariot, should provide the viewer the appropriate clue to unravel the conundrum. This image of Apollo as the sun is *literally* in the house of the Lion, that of Orazio Rucellai, who, as a devoted servant, prostrates himself at the god's feet and looks adoring up at him. Since Zucchi did not waste other opportunities within the Galleria and the *Discorso* to use this heraldic conceit to his greatest encomiastic advantage for Orazio Rucellai, there is no reason to suppose why this occasion was not exploited as well in order to show that Orazio, as the Lion, looks upward at Apollo from his seat.

That Apollo as the Sun forsakes Aries in favor of Libra in the movement of his chariot across the "sky of the vault" (Cielo della volta),⁴⁸⁸ seems another choice deliberately made to engage time and locate Orazio's seat. Aries is the sign of the vernal equinox, the all-important astronomical phenomenon that marks the passage of winter to spring, simultaneously the beginning of mythic time, the start of the Florentine year,⁴⁸⁹ and the event that featured most contentiously at the heart of the Gregorian Reform of the calendar, tied as it is to Jewish Passover and Christian Easter. Apollo's turning of his back on this variable and fraught sign of the zodiac in favor of its diametric opposite, the Libra

⁴⁸⁸ Zucchi, 72. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 70.

⁴⁸⁹ Richards, 218. Bonnie J. Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "25 March," *Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 133. Like a number of Christian countries, the Florentine calendar began their year on 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation, rather than on 1 January. This feast is also celebrated as the birthday of Florence itself. These two indices of chronometry made Aries a crucial constellation for Florentines and Catholics of the era.

of the autumnal equinox, symbolic as it is of balance and justice, is another instance, akin to his selection of the precise instant when the Golden Age passed to the Silver, of visual nostalgia in the rhetoric of time Zucchi has woven. It bears remembering that it was during the autumn, begun by the sun's appearance in Libra, that the requisite days in 1582 were erased, bringing balance to the cycle of time by realigning the calendar. Additionally, as the sign that inaugurates the autumn, with the figures of Bacchus and Vesta beneath, each in their own way symbolizing the fecundity of the earth, Apollo's move toward the Libra emphasizes completion and literal fruition, when humanity can reap the rewards of its labors and enjoy their abundance.⁴⁹⁰

As the seat of the patron, a position beneath Libra announces his equanimity and justice. Associated with the constellation Virgo, who is identified with Astrea, the goddess of Justice, the Libra may be a commentary on Orazio Rucellai's diplomatic activity in the various European courts to which he was a delegate in his long career. Orazio's role as an emissary of peace may in fact be visualized on the vault as well: just as Apollo's chariot turns toward the Libra and Orazio's seat, Mars' chariot (fig. 166), as an engine of war, proceeds across the vault in the opposite direction,⁴⁹¹ the god looking over his shoulder, either wary of Orazio Rucellai's efforts that undermine him or in keeping with the ancient Roman tradition that held that the future sneaks up on you unseen from

⁴⁹⁰ Zucchi, 2. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 41. In his introductory remarks, Zucchi talks about the just scale, meting out rewards and punishments in the afterlife, another important consideration for Orazio seated beneath the Libra.

⁴⁹¹ Only Mars and Saturn appear to go in this direction.

behind.⁴⁹² This reading is further reinforced by the corner allegorical figures that stand at either end of the western wall behind this supposed seat: sitting here, Orazio is *literally* positioned between the extremes of Audacity and Constancy (fig. 3), virtues undoubtedly indispensable for the international diplomat. It is perhaps for this reason that Zucchi placed Marcus Claudius Marcellus (figs. 3 and 110), the Roman general who was the third and final winner of the *spolia opima*,⁴⁹³ whose moderation was legendary,⁴⁹⁴ and his temples of Honos (Honor) and Virtus (Virtue) on the frieze above this now-thickly panegyric spot. As the final figure in the list of *spiriti illustri* and final destination in the litany of the *Discorso*, Marcellus is counterbalanced at the beginning of the course with the

⁴⁹² Tertullian, *Apology and De spectaculis*, Loeb Classical Library (1931), 157. "Even in triumph, as he rides in that most exalted chariot, he is reminded that he is a man. It is whispered to him from behind: 'Look behind thee; remember thou art a man.'" Tertullian's example here in the *Apology* (33.4) is related to the humbling of the emperor in triumph.

⁴⁹³ Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* 16.3–8. The *spolia opima* were a special category of military trophy in the ancient Roman world. Roughly translated "the very rich spoils," these were the martial gear (cuirass, sword and scabbard, helmet, greaves, armlets, etc.) of an opposing general stripped from his body after being defeated by the corresponding Roman general in a battle that included single combat between the two leaders. There are only three instances in the entire history of ancient Rome when these spoils were collected. Plutarch ascribes to Romulus the origin of triumphs, explains the etymology and concept of *spolia opima*, and lists the three figures who have won that honor, in his passage.

⁴⁹⁴ Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Loeb Classical Library (2000), 1:343. *Plutarch's Lives*, Loeb Classical Library (1917), 5:485. In a section entitled "Of Moderation" (4.1.7), Valerius Maximus says this of Marcus Claudius Marcellus: "It is not possible to vary the praise of Marcellus as often as he himself entered new stages of moderation towards our allies." Plutarch elaborates (*Life of Marcellus*, 19.2–3.), saying, of the plan to raze and burn Syracuse after its rout under his command,

"This proposal, however, Marcellus, would not tolerate at all, but much against his will, and under compulsion, he permitted booty to be made of property and slaves, although he forbade his men to lay hands on the free citizens, and strictly ordered them neither to kill nor outrage nor enslave any Syracusan. However, although he seems to have acted with such moderation, he thought that the city suffered a lamentable fate, and amidst the great rejoicing of his followers his spirit nevertheless evinced its sympathy and commiseration when he saw a great and glorious prosperity vanishing in a brief time."

only other figure with two temples, Tullus Hostilius (figs. 104 and 124).⁴⁹⁵ If the path through these figures is understood through their temple dedications, beginning with Pavor (Fear) and Pallor (Pallor) and ending with Honos (Honor) and Virtus (Virtue) suggests the kind of maturation necessary in human social and political development through the lifetime of an individual. More specifically, as a type from ancient history for Orazio, Marcellus's victory in single combat, his collection of the most prized trophies, and his dedication of temples to Honor and Virtue, concepts enshrined by Machiavelli in the Florentine consciousness and ones mentioned by Zucchi in both of his general lists of temple dedications by the *spiriti illustri* in the *Discorso*,⁴⁹⁶ point to the superb and superior character of the man⁴⁹⁷ who brought the highest honors to his nation through war as well as peace⁴⁹⁸ and was honored and respected even in death by his enemy, Hannibal.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁵ There may be more of Zucchi's wit at play here, since Tullus Hostilius and his two temples are located under the sign of the Gemini.

⁴⁹⁶ Zucchi, 75, 168. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 71, 110. Virtue is mentioned in both, while Honor is only mentioned in the first list. The concepts of Fortuna and Salute are also mentioned twice. Fortuna will be important for the discussion of Camilla Guicciardini below.

⁴⁹⁷ *Plutarch's Lives*, Loeb Classical Library (1917), 5:487, 489. "The Romans were considered by foreign peoples to be skillful in carrying on war and formidable fighters; but of gentleness and humanity and, in a word, of civil virtues, they had given no proofs, and at this time Marcellus seems to have been the first to show the Greeks that the Romans were the more observant of justice. For such was his treatment of those who had to with him, and so many were the benefits which he conferred both upon cities and private persons, that, if the people of Enna or Megara or Syracuse met with any indignities, the blame for these was thought to belong to the sufferers rather than to the perpetrators." (*Life of Marcellus*, XX.1–2)

⁴⁹⁸ *Plutarch's Lives*, Loeb Classical Library (1916), 5:495, 497. This passage (*Life of Marcellus*, 22.1–4) recounts Marcellus's willingness to accept the lesser *ovatio* instead of celebrating a third triumph for his military victories, going on to distinguish the triumph as a celebration of enemies fought and slain, terrible in its martial exultation, "while to those generals who had had no need of war, but had brought everything to a good issue by means of conference, persuasion, and argument, the law awarded the privilege of conducting, like a paeon of thanksgiving, this unwarlike and festival procession. For the flute [a multitude of which are played at *ovatio*] is an

The spot in question beneath the Libra medallion is further distinguished as one that heaps meaning onto the identity of Orazio. The constellation Libra was introduced into the zodiac by Augustus, a story with which Zucchi was familiar, as he painted it on the walls of the Sala delle Stagioni in the Palazzo Firenze (fig. 167).⁵⁰⁰ The association with Augustus is further augmented by the fact that his birthday was 23 September,⁵⁰¹ the day after the autumnal equinox itself, and located under the sway of Libra. The act of creating a new sign and the importance of falling beneath it himself likens Augustus to those who instituted or changed calendars and therefore modified time and destiny, acts commemorated throughout the Galleria. The Libra medallion (fig. 168) itself is outfitted with a

instrument of peace, and the myrtle [the plant that crowns the general in this context] is a plant of Aphrodite, who more than all other gods abhors violence and wars.”

⁴⁹⁹ Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 5.1.4, 5.1.ext.6. (“De Humanitate et Clementia”) Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus*, 30.1–4. The passages in Valerius Maximus note Marcellus’s compassion for the conquered Syracusans, and Hannibal’s deferential burial, with gifts, of his slain adversary. Plutarch’s account is characteristically flowerier, but conveys the same reverence for a worth fallen adversary, even to the point of Hannibal’s collection Marcellus’s cremated remains and his attempt to send them to Marcellus’s son in a silver urn.

⁵⁰⁰ Lippincott, 203. Partridge, 432. Vergil, *Georgics*, 1.24–35. Zucchi’s representation in the Sala delle Stagioni shows a group of four astrologers of different traditions, visualized by their garb and headgear, pointing toward the space for the constellation on a celestial globe with a zodiac band. While it seems to make no specific visual reference to Augustus, it could be argued that the gold-clad figure on the right of the scene is the emperor, while the remaining three figures on the left are the astrologers. Authors Kristin Lippincott and Loren Partridge, writing about the imagery of the Sala del Mappamondo at Caprarola, provide additional literary references to the ancient Augustan connection. Lippincott cites the opening verses of Vergil’s *Georgics* as a poetic example of the association: “Yea, and thou, O Caesar, whom we know not what company of the gods shall claim ere long...or whether thou [wilt] add thyself as a new star to the lingering months, where, between the Virgin and the grasping Claws, a space is opening (lo! For thee even now the blazing Scorpion draws in his arms, and has left more than a due share of heaven!” Partridge takes this further, saying that “according to Vergil’s *Georgics* and Servius’s commentary [the Libra] was added in 46 BC by Augustus between Virgo, an emblem of justice, and the claws of Scorpio, an emblem of virtue, as a sign of Augustus’s equity, deification, and foundation of the *pax augusta*” [my italics].

⁵⁰¹ Zucchi, 87. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 76. This is an important and known fact, repeated by Zucchi in his discussion of Augustus.

unique feature that may be a heraldic conceit: the animal-mantled grotesque that appears above the medallion is the only one in the Galleria that is clad in a lion skin, recalling Hercules and Zucchi's own explicit connection of the Rucellai with him. This inclusion places Orazio literally above the Libra, and therefore nearer its handle, making him a figure that controls the sign and its power to balance, superseding Augustus as the figure who brought the sign into existence.

Directly beneath the Libra medallion is the constellation lunette figuring Perseus (figs. 3 and 97). Zucchi's representation of Perseus here recalls Cellini's famous bronze (fig. 169) in the Loggia dei Lanzi, in that blood spurts both from Medusa's decapitated body and severed head. Unusually within the series of constellation lunettes, Perseus and Medusa evidence the greatest illusionism in Zucchi's painting, each transgressing against the painted faux stucco architectural embellishments surrounding them, Perseus with his helmet and Medusa with her left hand outstretched. That the constellations associated with the Perseus myth are arranged in a row from here to the northern terminus of the Galleria (fig. 95) is the primary indication that the constellation myths are in the process of occurring, and that their catasterisms have not yet come to pass, signaling the double importance of this series in establishing meaning about time within the Galleria Rucellai. Lastly, and perhaps most suggestively, it is worth remembering that Perseus the hero was conceived when his mother Danäe encountered Zeus/Jupiter as a shower of gold. Whether this gold is visualized as a cascade of coins or of urine, the associations with the banking activity and

mythic ancestry of the Rucellai seem to coalesce and crystallize in the figure of Perseus, making him a perfect analogue/identity/guise for Orazio Rucellai.

Considered in conjunction with the figures flanking the constellation's medallion above on the western side of the vault, namely Bacchus (fig. 170) and Vesta (fig. 171), the Libra becomes symbolic of measured generosity in dispensing food (Vesta is attended on the left, i.e., closer to the medallion, by Ceres, goddess of the harvest) and drink (Bacchus and his cortege), perhaps in a banqueting context. That a longitudinal room like the Galleria Rucellai might be used specifically as a banquet hall seems likely, especially given comparative Cinquecento uses for the Sala di Galatea at the villa of Agostino Chigi and the Sala del Mappamondo at the Farnese villa at Caprarola, important precedent spaces with cosmological vault decoration.⁵⁰²

Bacchus and the array of figures surrounding him also add layers of encomiastic meaning to the identity of Orazio Rucellai. Bacchus himself is shown in two other locations within the Galleria, as part of the myths of both the Corona Borealis and the Corona Australis (figs. 172–173). In each of these images, Bacchus is shown crowning a female figure: the Corona Borealis was his gift to Ariadne, the castoff Cretan princess he found on the island of Naxos and later made his bride, while the Corona Australis was awarded to his mother Semele

⁵⁰² Lippincott, 207. Aurigemma, "Spunti...", 46. Pfisterer, 338. D'Amelio, "Le famiglie...", in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 1, 49–43. Pfisterer and Aurigemma approach this idea by citing Lucian's *De domo* with its description of a banqueting hall decorated with mythological frescoes, but do not explicitly connect the Galleria Rucellai to this use. See footnote 17. The Galleria Rucellai continues to be used in this way by its present owners (fig. 174), the Memmo-D'Amelio family, furthering the historical continuity of its origin and comprehension as a semi-public representational space.

after he rescued her from the underworld.⁵⁰³ These actions, commemorated as crowns catasterized, point to Bacchus's singular devotion to and reverence for the women in his life, as faithful lover and dutiful son, fitting epithets for any man, let alone Orazio Rucellai.⁵⁰⁴ To the left of the Bacchus panel, the faux marble figure of Triumph appears, as Bacchus was the first in (mythic) history to celebrate a triumph on his return from the East. Considered alongside Orazio's diplomatic activity, the concept of triumph could be a gloss on his successes as an envoy, and a link between the guises of Hercules and Bacchus that each celebrate Orazio.⁵⁰⁵

This positive emphasis is seemingly countered on the opposite side with the bagpipe-playing figure of Marsyas (fig. 170), the unfortunate victim of his own hubris in the musical contest with Apollo, a mitigation of the exuberance of triumph and a warning to steer the median course, symbolized by the dominating Libra above. The constellation of Auriga, figured in faux stucco medallion

⁵⁰³ Cecilia Sica, "La 'Genealogia delli dei,'" in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 217–220. Hyginus, *De Astronomia*, 2.5

⁵⁰⁴ The full potential of the symbolism in a nuptial context is developed by Annibale Carracci in the Galleria Farnese, whose decoration was begun around five years after the death of Jacopo Zucchi, with its central panel displaying the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, and its likely *raison d'être* in the marriage of Ranuccio Farnese and Margherita Aldobrandini.

⁵⁰⁵ Zucchi, 57. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 64. In the text of the *Discorso*, Zucchi presents another commonality between the two gods, both sons of Jupiter, namely the establishment of pillars: "Diodorus wants that, with his [i.e., Bacchus] valor, he caused the largest countries to submit, subjugated India, and brought back from her the Triumph that he found there; he penetrated even to the extreme part of Asia, such that in the East, in the mountains of India, he erected two famous Pillars, just as in the west the invincible and valorous Hercules had done." (Diodoro vuole, che col valor suo si sottomettesse grandissimi paesi, soggiogasse l'India, & ne portasse di quella, il da lui ritrouato Trionfo; penetrò sino all'estrema parte dell'Asia; ma che nell'Oriente drizasse ne'monti dell'India le due famose Colonne; si come poi parimente nell'Occidente fece lo inuitto, e valoroso Ercole.) Taken together as a pair of identities for Orazio, he becomes a figure who, through valor, conquers the entire contiguous landmass known as the world in antiquity.

beneath Bacchus and transformed from a kneeling goatherd into the half-man, half-serpent figure of Erichthonios, is similarly meaningful. Replacing the more familiar goatherd with Erichthonios may, as we have already suggested, be an appeal to the Rucellai lineage and its famously ingenious ancestor Alamanno.⁵⁰⁶ As the Charioteer of Auriga, Erichthonios holds up a chariot of his own invention, devised through creativity to solve a personal handicap, in the same way that Alamanno used the accidental discovery of the lichen's color-changing properties to enrich his family and literally make its name.⁵⁰⁷ The additional connotations of humility as a literal closeness to the earth associated with Erichthonios, whose name includes the Greek root for earth (chthonos), would also have been a desirable gloss on Orazio's identity amid all the laudatory elements, and one defensible given his proximity to Vesta, as we shall see.

Ideal Womanhood: Camilla Guicciardini in the Galleria Rucellai

In a similar way, it seems possible to identify a seat for Camilla Guicciardini beside that of her husband, in a location similarly layered with encomiastic glosses on her identity as a devoted wife and mother. This place, to the left of Orazio's when considered from the spot itself along the western

⁵⁰⁶ See Chapter Three.

⁵⁰⁷ Zucchi, 26, 32, 42–43, 43–44, 55, 57, 59, 64. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 50, 53, 57–58, 58, 63, 64, 65, 67. Rigon, "Pittura e scrittura...", in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 173. There is, in fact, a strong current within the *Discorso* of assigning to gods and men the inventive power of things: Apollo, medicine; Mercury, the lyre and "diverse sciences" (diuerse scientie), as well as being the first to observe "the course of the heavens" (il corso de'Cieli); Neptune, equestrian arts and the profession of navigation, along with a litany of ancients and their relative contributions to ship design; Pluto, burials and funerals; Ceres, grain and its cultivation; Bacchus, viticulture, sacrifices, divination, and triumphs (Rigon believes this is the connection to Erichthonios); and Atlas, the first to observe the course of the moon. Zucchi's placement of Erichthonios here undercuts the genealogical thread of his temporal program here. Located on the far side of the Galleria from Athena and Vulcan, the gods most commonly associated with his "generation," Erichthonios is isolated from his father and adoptive mother.

facciata, is beneath the figure of Vesta (figs. 3 and 171). Zucchi's choice of positioning this figure here is troubling in the context of the loose governing concept of his vault sequence, namely that of divine descent and genealogy, since Zucchi tells us in the *Discorso* that Vesta is not the Olympian honored with the round temple in the Roman Forum, but rather the goddess variously known as Tellus, Magna Mater, Cybele or Ops (identifiable by her mural crown and her spherical meteorite), the consort of Caelum and the mother of both the titanic generation and Erichthonios.⁵⁰⁸ The more familiar Vesta, goddess of the hearth, has been relegated, with her sister Ceres, to a position as an attendant for this older, chthonic goddess, effectively resetting time in the vault *percorso* to its first moment at the very beginning of myth with her consort Caelum. In casting this figure as the primordial mother, Zucchi reaches for the purest definition of abundance and fecundity in the mythological realm, a subject popular in Florentine art from Rosso's *Gods in Niches* (fig. 175) to the Ammannati sculptures they inspired (figs. 176–177) to Zucchi's own frescoes in the Sala degli Elementi in the Palazzo Firenze (fig. 26). However, Zucchi's choices here de-emphasize the more standard mode of representing that fecundity and abundance visually, namely depicting the figure nude, grasping her overflowing breasts and surrounded by a menagerie of animals.⁵⁰⁹ Rather, the fecundity has been rendered as the garlands of flowers above the main scene, wherein all the

⁵⁰⁸ Zucchi, 53. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 62. Apollodorus, *The Library of Greek Mythology*, trans. Keith Aldrich (Lawrence, KS: Coronado, 1975), 83.

⁵⁰⁹ Alessandra Giannotti, "Ops," in Cristina Acidini Luchinat, ed., *The Medici, Michelangelo and The Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (Detroit: Yale University Press, 2002), 187–8.

female figures are clothed. More than this, Zucchi turns to the language of Michelangelo on the Sistine Ceiling to suggest both demureness and primordially: Vesta's pose and its *grazia* echo that of the *Libyan Sibyl* (fig. 178),⁵¹⁰ while her extended left index finger is a clear quotation of the same finger of God the Father in the *Creation of Adam* (fig. 179). That this finger points downward, in the direction of Vesta's gaze, to the pair of recumbent lions that draw her chariot, may be another heraldic conceit, here emphasizing her husband's devotion to her as a demure and proper wife.⁵¹¹

Zucchi has even used the sequential path in the Discorso to create a foil for Vesta in the preceding figure of Juno (fig. 138), the wife of Jupiter, who is shown bare-breasted, with an array of costly vessels at her feet,⁵¹² recalling the *vanitas* messages of Pluto, the figure before her in Zucchi's description. Diametrically opposed across the vault (fig. 70), the message is clear: while Juno brings forth, parthenogenetically, only the strife of the god of war Mars,⁵¹³ and is laden with material wealth of no consequence to her, Vesta is the generous,

⁵¹⁰ Aurigemma, "Un corpus perduto?...", 132. Zucchi also studied this figure, as attested by a drawing on the inventory.

⁵¹¹ Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*, eds. Ginetta Auzzas, Federica Martignago, Manilio Pastore Stocchi, and Paola Rigo (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1996), 205. While lions are standard iconography for the chariot of Cybele (compare with Zucchi's own representation of her and her chariot to the right of the scene of the rape of Persephone on the Earth Wall of the Sala degli Elementi in Palazzo Firenze (fig. 21), as well as Cartari's own discussions of the goddess, this additional reading seems possible. Similarly, it could be argued that Bacchus's elephant is a parallel heraldic conceit for the Guicciardini, whose *stemma* is both *tre guicciarde* (three hunting horns) and therefore etymologically linked, but also described in Italian as *olifanti*, a corruption of "elephant" pointing to the material nature of those horns.

⁵¹² Zucchi, 22. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 49. Zucchi says, in describing Mars, that "Juno is taken for riches of this world" (Giuno per le ricchezze di questo mondo presa).

⁵¹³ Zucchi, 22, 50. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 49, 61.

fruitful mother of all, attended by figures symbol of domestic virtue (Roman Vesta) and bountiful harvest (Ceres). As a gloss on Camilla Guicciardini, who gave her husband at least eight children,⁵¹⁴ this reading of the connection between goddess and patroness seems entirely appropriate.

Vesta's attendants also comment on the roles of Camilla Guicciardini meaningfully. Roman Vesta, as the hearth goddess, is emblematic of the wifely duty of domestic maintenance and household organization. That Zucchi has figured one of the Vestal Virgins, Vesta's Roman priestesses, as a *marmo finto* beside the goddess and adjacent to the zodiac medallion of Virgo,⁵¹⁵ amplifies her importance as a type for Camilla. As virgins drawn from the aristocracy, the Vestals embodied that unblemished status prized by men in women that might be their wives, and any priestess found to have violated this vow of virginity was punished by being put to death.⁵¹⁶ The dress of the Vestals, too, is significant, in that they wore the hairstyle of a Roman bride, externalizing a state of perpetual nubility, coupled with the dress of a Roman matron, signifying their devotion to the cult and their fidelity to their vows.⁵¹⁷ As a class of persons within the Roman

⁵¹⁴ Passerini, Table XV. Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 72.

⁵¹⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1:150. The importance of Virgo as a constellation in the context of Ovid's Ages should not be overlooked. Virgo is identifiable with Astrea, the goddess of justice, who was the last to abandon the human race at the end of the Age of Iron. Camilla is therefore not just virginal, but also a helpmate to her husband in his role as international diplomat, as a literal font of balanced advice that leads to just dealings.

⁵¹⁶ Zucchi, 164. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 108. Zucchi himself recounts the tale of Domitian's punishment of the adulterous Vestal Cornelia, who was beaten by those with whom she broke her vow before being buried alive.

⁵¹⁷ Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland, *Ancient Rome: From the Early Republic to the Assassination of Julius Caesar* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 400.

world, the Vestals also enjoyed considerable freedoms on par with those of male citizens of Rome,⁵¹⁸ making an evocation of the priestesshood appropriate for a figure like Camilla, whose aristocratic Florentine upbringing and clear parity with her husband, emblemized in their shared *stemmi* and in the attributes of the bronze *putti*⁵¹⁹ above the gods' name cartouches, seem to be touchstones for her identity as encoded in the Galleria Rucellai. This reading continues as the viewer works his way visually down the wall, through Andromeda (fig. 171), the beloved of Perseus (associated with Orazio in our reading) to Veturia (fig. 180), the Mother of Coriolanus, and her temple of Fortuna Muliebris (Womanly Fortune).⁵²⁰ The etymology of Andromeda ("ruler of men") and Zucchi's clear choice to cast Veturia as Coriolanus's mother, emphasize Camilla's strength, and her roles as mother, successful intercessor for peace, and pious woman dedicated to the well-being of society.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.20.3. Plutarch, *Life of Numa*, 10.3–7. Livy records that Numa established the Vestals from the Alban cult, creating a link to past religious observance, and providing a stipend for them from the public treasury. Plutarch, by contrast, gives us more details about the unique privileges accorded them (chiefly, the ability to transact business and create wills without male guardian supervision, unlike other Roman women), and the severity of punishments leveled against them as well, including burial alive for violation of their vow of chastity.

⁵¹⁹ See footnote 468.

⁵²⁰ Zucchi, 169. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 110. Veturia, the Mother of Coriolanus is the penultimate figure in the list of *spiriti illustri* given by Zucchi at the end of the *Discorso*, marking her importance and the overall importance of women in the path laid out by Zucchi, which leads, ultimately, if our interpretation is correct, through Womanly Fortune (Camilla) to Honor and Virtue (Orazio). It should also be noted that the temples in question were located near one another to the southeast of Rome and just outside the circuit of Republican Walls, between the minor spur of the Aventine and the Caelian (fig. 181). The remainder of the temples vowed and built by the *spiriti illustri* were all within the *pomerium*, and therefore within the inhabited part of Rome.

⁵²¹ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 2.40. Veturia's moving oratory and intercession with her son averted a disastrous coup Coriolanus was about to attempt. Modest and true to her Roman virtues, she asked only that her efforts be recognized with the construction of the temple of Fortuna Muliebris, making her an ideal type to honor Camilla.

The Mind Behind It All: Jacopo Zucchi and His Galleria

If Orazio Rucellai and Camilla Guicciardini are indeed meant to be found in the two adjacent positions indicated on the Galleria's western *facciata*, by virtue of the clues left by Zucchi in his *Discorso* paths and visual choices, and if the identities of their ancestors, Ferdinando de' Medici, and Christine of Lorraine are all to be inferred at various locations throughout the room, Jacopo Zucchi may have also carved a space for himself within the program. As we have established, Jacopo Zucchi and Orazio Rucellai were kindred spirits after a fashion, each living lives dominated by their dual identity located somewhere between the cities of Florence and Rome. Comprehending this crucial aspect of the parallelism of their lives, Jacopo Zucchi positioned himself directly across from Orazio Rucellai, that is, at the center of the eastern *facciata* (fig. 3). This location, apart from being the only other one that balances Florentine and Roman identity perfectly, recommends itself by virtue of other elements in the decoration.

Associating himself with the zodiac medallion of Aries (fig. 182), Zucchi connects his own identity with that of the city of Florence, which celebrated its own birthday on 25 March, days after the beginning of spring and under the sway of the ram constellation. More than this, though, the Aries is doubly significant at the center of the Galleria Rucellai, appearing both in the medallion, where the myth of Phrixus and Helle's escape on the back of the flying ram unfolds, and leaping in a position that recalls the flayed remains of that airborne animal, the famed Golden Fleece, above the head of Apollo (fig. 165). As a mythic prize, the Golden Fleece was obtained by Jason and his Argonauts, whose ship appears

as a modern rigged sailing vessel in the next constellation lunette to the south of this spot (figs. 3 and 183). As a contemporary prize, the Order of the Golden Fleece was an honor bestowed by the Hapsburg imperial court, and may perhaps evoke the ancient honor of aristocrats and rulers giving a gold chain to virtuous artists in their employ. On the level of time, Aries is the all-important zodiac sign for the Gregorian Reform of the calendar, and Zucchi's selection of a spot beneath it for himself may refer to his close personal connection with Egnazio Danti, a member of the committee that consulted on the calendrical reform. This relationship could also be enhanced by the location of the Rucellai patronage imagery in the window embrasure on the Florence *testata*: in 1572, Danti designed and executed an astronomical quadrant, with eight sundials, in marble on the façade of Santa Maria Novella, adding an equinoxial armillary sphere in 1575,⁵²² making the site important for time, the Rucellai, and also for Zucchi, who shared the execution of an altarpiece in the church with Vasari in 1569.⁵²³

This spot is marked, on the frieze level, by the mysterious figure of Attilius the Praetor (fig. 184), a contemporary of Marcus Claudius Marcellus, here associated with the temple of Mens (Mind). Zucchi's bold claims to programmatic invention, as codified in the *Discorso*, fit with a location adjacent to a temple dedicated to the Mind. Zucchi's own past work, his entire *œuvre* from apprenticeship to maturity, in fact, was the rich mental repository from which he

⁵²² F.P. Fiore, "Egnazio Danti," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 32:660.

⁵²³ Calcagno, 5. Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi, His Life and Work," 1:12–14.

drew nearly every element within the Galleria Rucellai. That said, Zucchi's assignment of the identity Attilius the Praetor, as the vower of the temple of Mens, is incorrect. Livy's text records that this temple was vowed by Titus Otacilius Crassus, who was also a praetor in 217 BC.⁵²⁴ By shifting the vow for this temple, Zucchi accomplishes two mutually-reinforcing effects. First, in choosing Attilius, Zucchi associates himself with someone who disappeared into history, an apex of humility. Second, and perhaps more importantly, by effacing the name Titus Otacilius Crassus, Zucchi retains the full range of intellect implied by the temple's dedication, which would have been blunted by the true dedicatee's *cognomen* Crassus, which means thick or dull.

This temple, vowed in 217 BC after the Roman defeat at the Battle of Lago Trasimeno, also provides a geographical link to the ideation of the Galleria's rich program. Lago Trasimeno is located in Umbria, near the city of Perugia, to which Zucchi traveled as a young assistant to Vasari in order to set up three images for the monks of San Pietro in 1566.⁵²⁵ Perugia is also the site of Perugino's complex program for the Collegio del Cambio, a mercantile guild association, whose meeting hall (fig. 78) is adorned with planetary gods, ancient coin imagery, and grotesques derived from the Domus Aurea on its vault, and with collections of prophets, sibyls, virtues, and *uomini famosi* on its side walls, an ideal point of reference for considering how to decorate a large space, likely for the public, social aspects of the household of an international banker. Perugia

⁵²⁴ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 22.9–10.

⁵²⁵ Lohaus, 9–10.

is also the hometown of Egnazio Danti, Zucchi's supervisor on projects within the Vatican and elsewhere in Rome, as well as a member of Gregory's Calendar Commission and the creator of the complex program of the Vatican Tower of the Winds, undoubtedly a mind to which Zucchi turned and from which he learned a great deal about the power and malleability of images related to time.⁵²⁶

Akin to their reflection on Orazio Rucellai on the western *facciata*, the corner allegories of the eastern wall create a continuum on which Zucchi locates himself. Just as Orazio balances Audacity and Constancy in his roles as banker and envoy, Zucchi serves both Religion and Magnificence, understood as the two diametrically-opposed sources and sites of commissions in his career, the Church and the domestic sphere of aristocrats, especially the Medici, who provided him with the single greatest patron in the person of Ferdinando, who straddled both worlds himself.

Messages about the activity of the mind and the liberal intellectual nature of Zucchi as a practitioner of painting also imbue the adjacent vault image of Minerva (fig. 185). Minerva is the figure described after Bacchus in the *Discorso* and the one located transversally across the Galleria from him (fig. 70). As a pairing, their similarities as offspring born from Jupiter's own body whose mothers were consumed, literally or figuratively, might be seen as a unifying

⁵²⁶ Ricci, 505–6 (42v.). Perugians were also among the first to send embassies and congratulations to Ferdinando de' Medici. Ricci records five individuals explicitly described as "perugino" in an account dated 19 October 1587, two days after his brother Francesco's death and his acclaim as the next grand duke of Tuscany. Amid these names is also that of Orazio Rucellai. See Appendix B, Section 2, Document e for the passage and a translation.

theme, continuing the parallelism of the lives of Zucchi and Rucellai.⁵²⁷ Though the figure is nearly identical to one painted by Zucchi for Ferdinando de' Medici's Camera delle Muse at the Villa Medici (fig. 186), the Galleria Rucellai Minerva more closely replicates the poses of select ancestors of Christ from the Sistine Chapel. The pointing gesture of the figure in the left half of the Azor-Sadoch lunette (fig. 187) is transformed into a gesture of stabilization for Minerva's *gorgoneion*-decorated shield, while retaining the interiority of that series through Minerva's downcast, pensive glance (fig. 188). The suggestion of intellectual contemplation and reflection permeates the scene, brought literally to the fore through the grouping of books, scientific objects, and musical instruments presided over by a griffon and an owl at the base of Minerva's javelin (fig. 189), which in turn draws the viewer's eye up to her garlands, composed of nearly identical accoutrements (fig. 190). The juxtaposition of the petrifying visage of Medusa (fig. 191) with the painter's palette and brushes encapsulates Minerva's role as patroness of the visual arts of painting and sculpture and creates a further transverse link across the Galleria to Perseus, who also holds the Gorgon's head, while the *tholos* inserted between Minerva and the flanking figure of Vulcan (fig. 129), another protector of artists and artisans, suggests the embrace of

⁵²⁷ Hesiod, *Theogony* 886–900. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3:259–320. According to myth, upon hearing a prophecy that any son of his born of Metis, Minerva's mother, would overthrow him, Jupiter swallowed Metis, leading to Minerva's birth from Jupiter's head. When Semele, Bacchus's mother, asked to see Jupiter in all his divine radiance as a proof that he was a god, she was incinerated. Jupiter swiftly snatched his son from the body of his immolated mother and, sowing him into his thigh, gestated the fetal godling to term.

architecture as well.⁵²⁸ Taken together, these elements underscore the genesis of complex works of art like the Galleria Rucellai first in the mind, while simultaneously offering the viewer some of Zucchi's most detailed and carefully described passages, including fully legible sheet music and book pages (fig. 192) and individually rendered bricks in the temple architecture, *tours de force* of intellectual activity put into vivid practice. Zucchi's most witty expression of this is in the two *marmi finti* that appear over his ostensible seat: Vulcan (fig. 129), the lame craftsman who created wonders of art at his forge, is juxtaposed with Juno's messenger, the goddess Iris (fig. 138), whose attribute, the rainbow, is rendered as a semi-transparent monochromatic arc that distorts our perception of the architectural frame surrounding the Aries medallion, as if to affirm to the viewer that Zucchi is capable, even in a room awash in warm color, of suggesting all colors using only one.

Sitting here, beneath these images and the lunette of Hercules (fig. 185), perhaps an evocation of Orazio as his new patron and protector, Zucchi must have surveyed his entire masterpiece, an emulative work that repeatedly engaged works of painting and sculpture generated by the Florentine school that nurtured his talent from the very beginning. Zucchi's emulative replication of works by artists active in Florence, from the *Appenino* of Giambologna at the Medici villa of Pratolino (compare figs. 59 and 193) and Cellini's *Perseus* (compare figs. 97 and 169) to numerous works by Michelangelo, including the

⁵²⁸ Florian Härb, "The Forge of Vulcan," in Cristina Acidini Luchinat, ed., *The Medici, Michelangelo and The Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (Detroit: Yale University Press, 2002), 347.

Doni Tondo (compare figs. 117 and 194), the *Moses* (compare figs. 71 and 195),⁵²⁹ and most especially the works in the Sistine Chapel, glorifies and apotheosizes those visionary artists who had come before him. By transforming the identities of most of the figures he repurposed, Zucchi also installs himself in the same pantheon of great artists. More than anything else, by his emulation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Zucchi engages in a dialogue with that other famous artist whose life was divided between Florence and Rome and whose example had been a benchmark for excellence in the artistic world from before Zucchi picked up his first brush. Perhaps the words of Michelangelo's famous sonnet, complaining of the aches and pains suffered in painting the Sistine, came back to Zucchi often as he undoubtedly bent his body to do the same work as the master in a space he hoped would be considered as grand an achievement. It may even be, with the poem ringing in his ears, that Zucchi began to plan the language of his *Discorso*, a further emulation of the master's work, and one that would crown the Galleria Rucellai with understated wit and rhetoric. Having painted, too, the close collaboration between Giovanni Rucellai and Leon Battista Alberti,⁵³⁰ Zucchi must have reflected on his own Rucellai patron and his relationship with the architect he engaged most, Bartolommeo Ammannati. By

⁵²⁹ Aurigemma, "Un corpus perduto?...", 117. The inventory of Zucchi's drawings records a copy after the legs of Michelangelo's sculpture, substantiating the comparison with Zucchi's *Atlas*.

⁵³⁰ F.P. Fiore, "Egnazio Danti," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 43:660. The location on the east wall also puts Zucchi closer to and in dialogue with the images of Giovanni Rucellai's patronage, evoking his own collaboration with Vasari on an altarpiece, the *Madonna of the Rosary*, displayed in that signal location of Rucellai religious patronage, San Maria Novella. Though perhaps not recorded in the image, Egnazio Danti constructed a marble astronomical quadrant on the church's façade, making the church additionally evocative for Zucchi and the Galleria Rucellai.

returning to a decorative detail used by Ammannati on the Palazzo Firenze for Ferdinando de' Medici, but derived from Michelangelo's vocabulary, Zucchi also plumbed the depths of Ammannati's career while engaging a monument that augmented death as a dimension of time to his program. While the parallelism between the Rucellai patrons and their architects is stronger, Zucchi may also have begun comparing himself to Leon Battista Alberti, spurring him to authorship, where Alberti's own slim volume *On Painting* in general could be juxtaposed to Zucchi's treatise about this painting in particular. In advertising what he could do and what he had already done on the walls and ceilings of this unique room, Zucchi paid tribute to his patron, his inspirations, and to himself, all in the hopes of garnering new commissions and achieving still greater works that, alongside this largest and latest masterwork, would garner him the ultimate prize of the Golden Fleece, immortality.⁵³¹

⁵³¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.162–293. Partridge, 433. Partridge, in discussing the Golden Fleece with regard to the Caprarola program, calls it a “sign of immortality.” This association is not developed, but likely has to do with the mythic glosses of the heroism of the Argonauts, who achieved immortal fame in retrieving the Fleece from Colchis, and with the eastern sorcery and power of Medea, who was able to rejuvenate her father-in-law Aeson by slitting his throat and replacing his blood with a potion she brewed.

Epilogue—Conclusion, or Deaths and Traces

Jacopo Zucchi's meditation on time as the theme for the Galleria Rucellai took many forms. In broaching the subject of death as an end to the human experience of time in his imagery on the Galleria's long walls, Zucchi was able to craft a complex message about identity and its persistence beyond the end of mortal existence. This message also applies to his use of mythological figures as guises for the patronal couple. Each is a figure who transgresses against the boundary between the world of the living and that of the dead. For Orazio, this is triply so. Hercules' labors to retrieve Theseus and obtain Cerberus allowed him to enter and exit Pluto's realm.⁵³² Mercury's role as the *psychopompos*, or guide of souls to the afterlife, is reaffirmed by Zucchi himself in his citation of Vergil, who marks the journey pointedly as a *return* from Hades.⁵³³ Bacchus's ability to transgress against the barrier is visualized in the corner lunette near Hercules, wherein he rescues Semele and gives her the later-catasterized Corona Australis. Even Camilla participates in this partially, given her location beneath Vesta. Ceres, her attendant on the side closer to Bacchus, sought her daughter Proserpina, the *marmo finto* beside her, after her rape by Pluto, another mythological tale of the origins of cyclical time. Zucchi's intended meaning must be that Orazio and Camilla would pass into immortality through their reputations,

⁵³² Zucchi, 70. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 69. Zucchi says, "he freed his dear friend Theseus from Hell: he took the cruel Cerberus prisoner in the bowls of Pluto and bound him with indissoluble chains" (libera dall'Inferno il caro amico Teseo: piglia prigionie in grembo à Pluto, e con indissolubil catena lega il crudel Cerbero).

⁵³³ Zucchi, 32. Saxl, *Antike Götter*, 53. Zucchi says, "Vergil in the ninth book of the *Aeneid* [describes him as the one] who calls the soul back from hell" (Virgilio al 9. dell'Eneida, che riuocasse l'anime dall'inferno).

an event that sadly did not come to pass. Only now, after several subsequent owners, centuries of relatively silent visitors, and the research of modern and contemporary scholars, are the patronal couple and their connections to the Galleria Rucellai's imagery returning, with the space itself, to the eye of time.

This phenomenon, like the creation of the Galleria itself, owes much to historical chance. In 1591, Orazio Rucellai wrote to Ferdinando, agreeing, with hesitation, to undertake a new overseas diplomatic mission, likely having to do with conversion to Catholicism of Henri, the King of Navarre, and his eventual accession to the throne of France as its first Bourbon ruler.⁵³⁴ This assignment meant a vacation of Rucellai's Italian residences for an unforeseeable term, which is likely what led him to begin renting his Roman palace out from that year onward, according to manuscript *avvisi* in the Vatican Library.⁵³⁵ The unbroken continuity of this practice is challenged by another document, which tells us that a Guicciardini relative of Orazio's children was content to be living so near family when, in 1611, he took up residence in the Palazzo Firenze.⁵³⁶ As Orazio packed

⁵³⁴ Zaccaria, 75 Lohaus, 37. D'Amelio, "Le famiglie..." in *Storia di una galleria romana*, 18. Ferdinando may have been sending Orazio to encourage Henri along this path. During his reign, Ferdinando attempted to distance himself from the Hapsburg allegiances the Medici had forged under both his father and brother. His niece Maria, Francesco's daughter, married Henri in October 1600, making her the second Medici queen of France and redoubling Medici connections to the French throne. These were almost certainly political moves on Ferdinando's part, given the historical precedent of the ascendance of a cadet branch of the family to power in the example of his father Cosimo.

⁵³⁵ BAV MSS Cod. Urb. Lat. 1059, Parte II, dated 21 August 1591. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1076, parte II, dated 21 November 1608. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1077, dated 17 January 1609. BAV MSS Cod. Urb. lat. 1077, dated 14 November 1609. Lotti, 15–17. Salerno, "Palazzo Rucellai-Caetani-Ruspoli," in *Via del Corso*, 155. Pietrangeli, "Appunti sul Palazzo Ruspoli al Corso," 6. Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 235. Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 76.

⁵³⁶ Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze*, 235. Zaccaria, "I Rucellai da Firenze a Roma," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 76. The issue of the occupancy of the palace by members of the Rucellai family is a

to leave Italy again, Jacopo Zucchi seems to have put pen to paper in order to begin the *Discorso*. Dying in May 1592, his ability to announce the intricacies of his visual program for the Rucellai-Guicciardini couple was briefly extinguished. When the *Discorso* was published in 1602, Orazio Rucellai had only three years left to live, and his fantastic gallery had been eclipsed by that of the Farnese. A new and darker paradigm for private pictures and altarpieces was on the rise with the advent of Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio and his works in San Luigi dei Francesi and Santa Maria del Popolo.⁵³⁷ The Baroque had been born in Rome.

Standing back from all the history and text, the loss of ability to comprehend the Galleria Rucellai's imagery should seem strange. From this vantagepoint, viewing the Galleria as a space that carries forward in time all the majesty and propagandistic power of the High Renaissance, both in form and content, to the doorstep of an era where works of art were tools skillfully and deliberately employed to create identity, influence politics, and reflect religious piety makes complete sense. Seeing the historical circumstances and mix of artists, architects, prelates, diplomats, and authors unified to create the unique contextual moment that brought forth both a shift in the accounting of time and

complicated one. *Avvisi* name a litany of occupants of the palace at various times: Cardinal Gonzaga (21 August 1591), a Sforza duke (7 July 1596—summer only), the French ambassador (6 August 1605), the Duke of Nevers (21 November 1608–17 January 1609), the Savoird ambassador (14 November 1609), and Cardinal Gaspare Borgia, the orator of Spain (1618). There are also significant spans of time for which we have no information, anecdotal or otherwise, regarding occupancy. After the death of Orazio in 1605, it seems his son Luigi, a prelate, inherited the palace and perhaps lived there, being the self-effacing recipient of gifts sent by the Duke of Nevers at the end of his stay. Additionally, Aurigemma notes that, in 1611, a member of the Guicciardini clan became Florentine ambassador in Rome, taking up residence in the Palazzo Firenze, citing that he would live near his Rucellai relatives.

⁵³⁷ Strinati, "Jacopo Zucchi e la Galleria Rucellai," in *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 207.

the very understanding of what time was, just as Orazio Rucellai bought his new property and Jacopo Zucchi continued to paint subjects devoted to portions of the subject of time in disparate locations, should recommend time as the major, if not the only, theme sensible for understanding this room. Seeing the array of temporally-themed works of art that stretch forward as a golden thread that reveals truth and beauty, wisdom and power in the era of the Baroque, it should come as no surprise to find that thread knotted in the 1580s around the Gregorian Reform of the calendar and the Galleria Rucellai.

Access to this room of time has been the primary obstacle to comprehension, necessitating a retrospective view of it through the lens of Zucchi's posthumous *Discorso*. Written and published likely to buoy up the careers of the brothers Zucchi, the *Discorso* is our first point of entry, and our first indication that the path through Zucchi's invention is a circuitous and rhetorically decorated one, leading ultimately to the artist-author himself, cast in mock humility as the poor craftsman whose threadbare mantle occasionally slips to show the reasoning, quasi-omniscient intellectual and theorist hidden beneath the tatters. Understanding the layout of his program on the page, reminiscent as it is of other period writings and suggestive as it is that this is a fruitful if counterintuitive paradigm for considering other period works, is not experiencing it totally as a viewer, however, despite the clues of order of importance and temporal progression provided in the linearity of the text and title. Entering the room and viewing the vault, guided by Zucchi's words, we are led on a zigzagging tour of nineteen gods and forty-eight constellations, fitted into an

emulation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, that emphasizes planetary, zodiacal, and genealogical themes with its careful disposition of elements that visualize the beginning of counting time in Ovid's Age of Silver and position Orazio Rucellai's founding ancestor Alamanno within the pantheon for his ingenuity and the colorful source of the family's riches. The vault is a paean to the moment when time was new and exact, free from the errors observed by humans who devised the schemes by which it is divided and the devices by which its passage is marked.

Passing through the final figure of the vault, the demigod Hercules, offers the viewer a tangible link between the mythic realm and the human one, the ostensible subject of all that falls below the Galleria's cornice.⁵³⁸ On the *facciate*, the Caesars of Suetonius constitute the primary cycle of decoration, and the only one not crafted by Jacopo Zucchi's two hands and one mind. Inset into the wall surfaces, the solution recalls the drawings Zucchi made for the gallery of the Villa Medici, seven sheets whose sometime-patched surfaces may conceal stronger links to the program of the Galleria Rucellai than have already been suggested. Mixed with imagery taken from the coins of the emperors and allegories commenting on their biographies, Zucchi's treatment of the busts is a primer in identity creation, in both the ways an individual can control and those he cannot. From the identity bound up in the body to that formed by deeds to that sealed in retrospective appraisal of character, Zucchi retells the chronicle of the first

⁵³⁸ Partridge, 424. Loren Partridge says that in both ancient representations as well as the Sala del Mappamondo, "satyrs mark the transition between earth and heaven," bolstering our assertion that sequence matters, since Pan appears just before Hercules.

emperors as a cautionary tale for modern viewers. Ending with the litany of *spiriti illustri*, some of whose names were exhumed from the sands of time and all of whose temples were rendered uniform by time's action and his brush, Zucchi continues his exhortation, this time to piety, in a visual program that combines the *exemplum virtutis* with the *memento mori* in carefully chosen iconography, be it architectural or decorative. Here, in the human realm, death is the undeniable end of time and power, no matter the dynasty or lineage, and reputation is the only thing that endures.

The *testate*, cardinally oriented north and south, reflect the poles of identity for both Orazio Rucellai and Jacopo Zucchi. Adorned with images of Rome and Florence and accoutered with founders, preservers, animal symbols, and attributes of power, these two cities dominated the destinies of each man, fixing them to a spot ever between. Standing at the center of the Galleria, in the physical realization of that spot, the viewer comes to see the whole as a space that begins with the raw materials of existence and time, proceeds to praise individuals in the present dressed in disfiguring guises and outstripping the achievements of their ancestors, and concludes always at the center of it all, with a shorter axis separating the two figures who made the room a reality, Orazio Rucellai and Jacopo Zucchi. Their *curricula vitae* travel inward from the ends of the Galleria, downward from the summit of the vault to their seats on its floor, and ultimately outward in the minds of all those who chanced to enter in those short few years at the end of the sixteenth century and exited to an Eternal City that once again changed time.

Appendix A: Text of the Papal Bull *Inter gravissimas*

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Inter gravissimas pastoralis officii nostri curas, ea postrema non est, ut quæ a sacro Tridentino concilio Sedi Apostolicæ reservata sunt, illa ad finem optatum, Deo adiutore, perducantur.

Sane eiusdem concilii patres, cum ad reliquas cogitationes breviarii quoque curam adiungerent, tempore tamen exclusi, rem totam ex ipsius concilii decreto ad auctoritatem et iudicium Romani Pontificis retulerunt.

Duo autem breviario præcipue continentur, quorum unum preces laudesque divinas festis profestisque diebus persolvendas complectitur, alterum pertinet ad annuos Paschæ festorumque ex eo pendentium recursus, solis et lunæ motu metiendos.

Atque illud quidem felicitis recordationis Pius V, prædecessor noster, absolvendum curavit atque edidit.

Hoc vero, quod nimirum exigit legitimam calendarii restitutionem, iamdiu a Romanis Pontificibus prædecessoribus nostris et sæpius tentatum est; verum absolvi et ad exitum perducere ad hoc usque tempus non potuit, quod rationes emendandi calendarii, quæ a cœlestium motuum peritis proponebantur, propter magnas et fere inextricabiles difficultates, quas huiusmodi emendatio semper habuit, neque perennes erant, neque antiquos ecclesiasticos ritus incolumes (quod in primis hac in re curandum erat) servabant.

Dum itaque nos quoque, credita nobis, licet indignis, a Deo dispensatione freti, in hac cogitatione curaque versaremur, allatus est nobis liber a dilecto filio Antonio Lilio, artium et medicinæ doctore, quem quondam Aloysius eius germanus frater conscripserat, in quo per novum quemdam epactarum cyclum ab eo excogitatum, et ad certam ipsius aurei numeri normam directum, atque ad quamcumque anni solaris magnitudinem accommodatum, omnia quæ in calendario collapsa sunt, constanti ratione et sæculis omnibus duratura, sic restitui posse ostendit ut calendarium ipsum nulli umquam mutationi in posterum expositum esse videatur.

Novam hanc restituendi calendarii rationem, exiguo volumine comprehensam, ad christianos principes celebrioresque universitates paucos ante annos misimus, ut res quæ omnium communis est, communi etiam omnium consilio perficeretur; illi cum, quod maxime optabamus, concordēs respondissent, eorum nos omnium consensione adducti, viros ad calendarii emendationem adhibuimus in alma Urbe harum rerum peritissimos, quos longe ante ex primariis christiani orbis nationibus delegeramus.

Ii cum multum temporis et diligentiae ad eam lucubrationem adhibuissent, et cyclos tam veterum quam recentiorum undique conquisitos ac diligentissime perpensos inter se contulissent, suo et doctorum hominum, qui de ea re scripserunt, iudicio, hunc, præ ceteris, elegerunt epactarum cyclum, cui nonnulla etiam adiecerunt, quæ ex accurata circumspectione visa sunt ad calendarii perfectionem maxime pertinere.

Considerantes igitur nos, ad rectam paschalis festi celebrationem iuxta sanctorum patrum ac veterum Romanorum pontificum, præsertim Pii et Victoris

primorum, necnon magni illius œcumenici concilii Nicæni et aliorum sanctiones, tria necessaria coniungenda et statuenda esse: primum, certam verni æquinoctii sedem; deinde rectam positionem XIV lunæ primi mensis, quæ vel in ipsum æquinoctii diem incidit, vel ei proxime succedit; postremo primum quemque diem dominicum, qui eandem XIV lunam sequitur; curavimus non solum æquinoctium vernum in pristinam sedem, a qua iam a concilio Nicæno decem circiter diebus recessit, restituendum, et XIV paschalem suo in loco, a quo quatuor et eo amplius dies hoc tempore distat, reponendam, sed viam quoque tradendam et rationem, qua cavetur, ut in posterum æquinoctium et XIV luna a propriis sedibus numquam dimoveantur.

Quo igitur vernum æquinoctium, quod a patribus concilii Nicæni ad XII Kalendas Aprilis fuit constitutum, ad eandem sedem restituatur, præcipimus et mandamus ut de mense Octobri anni MDLXXXII decem dies inclusive a tertia Nonarum usque ad pridie Idus eximantur, et dies, qui festum S. Francisci IV Nonas celebrari solitum sequitur, dicatur Idus Octobris, atque in eo celebretur festum Ss. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii martyrum, cum commemoratione S. Marci papæ et confessoris, et Ss. Sergii, Bacchi, Marcelli et Apuleii martyrum; septimodecimo vero Kalendas Novembris, qui dies proxime sequitur, celebretur festum S. Callisti papæ et martyris; deinde XVI Kalendas Novembris fiat officium et missa de dominica XVIII post Pentecostem, mutata litera dominicali G in C; quintodecimo denique Kalendas Novembris dies festus agatur S. Lucæ evangelistæ, a quo reliqui deinceps agantur festi dies, prout sunt in calendario descripti.

Ne vero ex hac nostra decem dierum subtractione, alicui, quod ad annuas vel menstruas præstationes pertinet, præiudicium fiat, partes iudicum erunt in controversis, quæ super hoc exortæ fuerint, dictæ subtractionis rationem habere, addendo alios X dies in fine cuiuslibet præstationis.

Deinde, ne in posterum a XII Kalendas Aprilis æquinoctium recedat, statuimus bissextum quarto quoque anno (uti mos est) continuari debere, præterquam in centesimis annis; qui, quamvis bissextiles antea semper fuerint, qualem etiam esse volumus annum MDC, post eum tamen qui deinceps consequentur centesimi non omnes bissextiles sint, sed in quadringentis quibusque annis primi quique tres centesimi sine bissexto transigantur, quartus vero quisque centesimus bissextilis sit, ita ut annus MDCC, MDCCC, MDCCCC bissextiles non sint. Anno vero MM, more consueto dies bissextus intercaletur, Febuario dies XXIX continente, idemque ordo intermittendi intercalandique bissextum diem in quadringentis quibusque annis perpetuo conservetur.

Quo item XIV paschalis recte inveniat, itemque dies lunæ, iuxta antiquum Ecclesiæ morem ex martyrologio singulis diebus ediscendi, fideli populo vere proponantur, statuimus ut, amoto aureo numero de calendario, in eius locum substituatur cyclus epactarum, qui ad certam (uti diximus) aurei numeri normam directus, efficit ut novilunium et XIV paschalis vera loca semper retineant. Idque manifeste apparet ex nostri explicatione calendarii, in quo descriptæ sunt etiam tabulæ paschales secundum priscum Ecclesiæ ritum, quo certius et facilius sacrosanctum Pascha inveniri possit.

Postremo, quoniam partim ob decem dies de mense Octobri anni MDLXXXII (qui correctionis annus recte dici debet) exemptos, partim ob ternos etiam dies quolibet quadingentorum annorum spatio minime intercalandos, interrumpatur necesse est cyclus literarum dominicalium XXVIII annorum ad hanc usque diem usitatus in Ecclesia Romana, volumus in eius locum substitui eundem cyclum XXVIII annorum, ab eodem Lilio, tum ad dictam intercalandi bissexti in centesimis annis rationem, tum ad quamcumque anni solaris magnitudinem, accommodatum; ex quo litera dominicalis beneficio cycli solaris, æque facile ac prius, ut in proprio canone explicatur, reperiri possit in perpetuum.

Nos igitur, ut quod proprium pontificis maximi esse solet exequamur, calendarium immensa Dei erga Ecclesiam suam benignitate iam correctum atque absolutum hoc nostro decreto probamus, et Romæ una cum martyrologio imprimi, impressumque divulgari iussimus.

Ut vero utrumque ubique terrarum incorruptum ac mendis et erroribus purgatum servetur, omnibus in nostro et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ dominio mediate vel immediate subiecto commorantibus impressoribus, sub amissionis librorum ac centum ducatorum auri Cameræ Apostolicæ ipso facto applicandorum; aliis vero, in quacumque orbis parte consistentibus, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ ac aliis arbitrii nostri pœnis, ne sine nostra licentia calendarium aut martyrologium, simul vel separatim, imprimere vel proponere, aut recipere ullo modo audeant vel præsumant, prohibemus.

Tollimus autem et abolemus omnino vetus calendarium, volumus que ut omnes patriarchæ, primates, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates et ceteri ecclesiarum præsides novum calendarium (ad quod etiam accommodata est ratio martyrologii), pro divinis officiis recitandis et festis celebrandis, in suas quisque ecclesias, monasteria, conventus, ordines, militias et diœceses introducant, et eo solo utantur, tam ipsi quam ceteri omnes presbyteri et clerici sæculares et regulares utriusque sexus, necnon milites et omnes christifideles, cuius usus incipiet post decem illos dies ex mense Octobri anni MDLXXXII exemptos. Iis vero, qui adeo longinquas incolunt regiones, ut ante præscriptum a nobis tempus harum literarum notitiam habere non possint, liceat, eodem tamen Octobri mense insequentis anni MDLXXXIII vel alterius, cum primum scilicet ad eos hæ nostræ literæ pervenerint, modo a nobis paulo ante tradito, eiusmodi mutationem facere, ut copiosius in nostro calendario anni correctionis explicabitur.

Pro data autem nobis a Domino auctoritate hortamur et rogamus carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Rodolphum Romanorum regem illustrem in imperatorem electum, ceterosque reges, principes ac republicas, iisdemque mandamus ut quo studio illi a nobis contenderunt, ut hoc tam præclarum opus perficeremus, eodem, immo etiam maiore, ad conservandam in celebrandis festivitibus inter christianas nationes concordiam, nostrum hoc calendarium et ipsi suscipiant, et a cunctis sibi subiectis populis religiose suscipiendum inviolateque observandum curent.

Verum, quia difficile foret præsentibus literas ad universa christiani orbis loca deferri, illas ad basilicæ Principis Apostolorum et Cancellariæ Apostolicæ valvas, et in acie Campi Floræ publicari et affigi; et earumdem literarum exemplis, etiam impressis, et voluminibus calendarii et martyrologii insertis et

præpositis, sive manu tabellionis publici subscriptis, necnon sigillo personæ in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutæ obsignatis, eamdem prorsus indubitam fidem ubique gentium et locorum haberi præcipimus, quæ originalibus literis exhibitis omnino haberetur.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrorum præceptorum, mandatorum, statutorum, voluntatis, probationis, prohibitionis, sublationis, abolitionis, hortationis et rogationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Tusculi, anno Incarnationis dominicæ MDLXXXI, sexto Kalendas Martii, pontificatus nostri anno X.

[Translation obtained from: "Inter gravissimas," Wikisource, the free online library. Last accessed 7 April 2012.

http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Inter_gravissimas

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, for the perpetual remembrance of this matter.

Amongst the most serious tasks of our pastoral office, not the least of them is to see to it that the affairs which the holy Council of Trent reserved to the Apostolic See are conducted, with God's help, to a desirable conclusion.

When the fathers of the said Council added to their outstanding considerations the care of the breviary, they were prevented by lack of time, and indeed by decree of the same Council they referred the whole matter to the authority and judgement of the Roman Pope.

There are two principal parts in the breviary. One comprises the prayers and divine praises to be offered on feast days and ordinary days; and the other relates to the annual recurrence of Easter and the feasts that depend on it, to be measured by the movement of the sun and moon.

Pius V, our predecessor, of happy memory, completed and brought into force what had to be done about the one part.

But the other part, which requires first a legitimate restoration of the calendar, could not be completed up to now, even though that was attempted on many occasions over a long period by our pontifical predecessors. That was because previous proposals for amending the calendar, put forward by experts in celestial motions, all involved great and nearly inextricable difficulties, and they would not have been of long-lasting effect, and also would not have maintained intact the ancient rites of the Church (of which care had to be taken above all).

While we too, confident of God's dispensation, were engaged in the task and considerations thus entrusted to us (unworthy though we may be), our dear son Antonio Lilio, doctor of arts and of medicine, brought to us a book previously written by his brother Aloysius. It appeared that the latter had devised a certain new cycle of epacts, adapted to a certain rule of the golden number, and an accommodation for every length of the solar year, showing that all the things that have fallen into disarray in the calendar can be

restored on a consistent basis that will be everlasting, so that the calendar will not suffer any alteration again.

A few years ago we therefore circulated this new calendar-restoration proposal, in a small book, to Christian princes and to well-known universities, so that this matter, which is of common concern, might be brought to perfection by the advice of all. When they responded with agreement, as we had greatly hoped, we were led by their agreement to invite the greatest experts in such matters to the Holy City for the amendment of the calendar; they had already long since been selected from the principal Christian nations of the world.

When these experts had applied themselves to the matter with much time, diligence and study into the night, and had searched out cycles, both ancient and modern, from all sources, and discussed them and most carefully evaluated them, they chose, by their own judgment and that of learned men who wrote about the matter, in preference to other things, this cycle of epacts, to which they have also added some things which are seen after careful circumspection to be needed for perfecting the calendar.

Therefore, considering that for the proper celebration of the feast of Easter, according to the holy fathers and Roman pontiffs of ancient time, especially Pius I and Victor I, as also that great ecumenical Council of Nicaea among others, three necessary things have to be set together and established:

- first, correct placement of the vernal equinox;
- next, correct placement of the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month, which [fourteenth day] either occurs on the day of the equinox itself or is the next to follow after;
- and lastly, the first Sunday which follows that same fourteenth day of the moon;

we have arranged not only to restore the vernal equinox to its original place from which it has already receded by about ten days since the Council of Nicaea, and to replace the paschal fourteenth day of the moon back into its place from which it is currently distant by four days and more, but also for a method and a rule to be handed down, for preventing the equinox and the fourteenth day of the moon from ever again in future being moved away from their proper places.

Therefore, in order to restore the vernal equinox, which was placed by the fathers of the Council of Nicaea at [21 March] the twelfth day before the Kalends of April, and to return it to that same place, we direct and ordain:

- that ten days shall be removed from the month of October of the year 1582, from [5 October] the third day before the Nones up to [14 October] the day before the Ides, inclusive;
- and that the day which follows the feast of St Francis (as usually celebrated on [4 October] the fourth day before the Nones) shall be called [15 October] the Ides of October, and on it shall be celebrated the feast of saints Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius, martyrs, with commemoration of St Mark, pope and confessor, and of Saints Sergius, Bacchus, Marcellus and Apuleius, martyrs.

- On [16 October] the seventeenth day before the Kalends of November, which shall be the day next following, there shall be celebrated the feast of St Callistus, pope and martyr.
- Then on [17 October] the sixteenth day before the Kalends of November, the Dominical Letter shall be changed from G to C, and the office and Mass shall be those of the 18th Sunday after Pentecost.
- Finally, [18 October] the fifteenth day before the Kalends of November shall be the feast of St Luke, evangelist;
- after which, the remaining feast days shall take place successively, as they are described in the calendar.
- But in order that nobody suffers prejudice by this our subtraction of ten days, in connection with any annual or monthly payments, the judges in any controversies that may arise over this, shall by reason of the said subtraction add ten days to the due date for any such payment.

Next, so that the equinox will no longer recede in future from [21 March] the twelfth day before the Kalends of April, we decree:

- that the bissextile day every fourth year shall continue, as the custom is now, except in centurial years, although these were always bissextiles before, and we wish the year 1600 to be bissextile as well;
- after that, however, the centurial years that follow shall not all be bissextiles, only every fourth centurial year shall be bissextile, thus the years 1700, 1800 and 1900 shall not be bissextile. But in the year 2000, the bissextile day shall be added in the usual way, with February containing 29 days;
- and then the same order of leaving out and adding the bissextile day shall be observed in each period of 400 years ever after.

Again, so that the fourteenth day of the paschal moon may be correctly found, and that the age of the moon may be truly announced to the faithful every day from the martyrology, according to the ancient custom of the Church, we decree: that the golden number is to be removed from the calendar and in its place is to be substituted a cycle of epacts, regulated (as we have said) by a certain rule of the golden number, to make sure that the new moon and the paschal fourteenth day of the moon will always retain their true places.

This is made manifestly clear in our explanation of the calendar, which also describes Paschal tables according to the ancient rite of the Church, from which the date of the most holy Pasch can more certainly and easily be found.

Finally, on account partly of the ten days removed from the month of October in the year 1582 (which ought properly to be called the year of correction) and on account partly of the three days fewer to be intercalated in each period of 400 years, it is necessary to interrupt the 28-year cycle of Dominical Letters as it has been used in the Roman Church up to now. We wish to be substituted in its place the cycle of 28 years as the same Lilio has adapted it to the rule of intercalation in centurial years and to every duration of the solar year; from which the Dominical Letter may be found in perpetuity as easily as before, with the benefit of the solar cycle as explained in the Canon that deals with this.

By this our decree, we therefore assert what is the customary right of the sovereign pontiff, and approve the calendar which has now by the immense grace of God towards his Church been corrected and completed, and we have ordered that it be printed and published at Rome in one with the martyrology. But in order that each of them may be preserved intact and free from errors and mistakes throughout the world, we forbid all printers established in territories which are either directly or through intermediaries within our jurisdiction, and the printer to the holy Roman Church, from daring or presuming to print or publish the calendar or martyrology without our authorisation, either together or separately, or to profit from them in any way, under pain of loss of books and payment of 100 ducats of gold ipso facto to the Apostolic Chamber; and as for other printers, wherever they may be established, we prohibit them from daring or presuming to print or publish the calendar or martyrology without our licence, whether separately or together, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae* and other penalties at our discretion.

On the other hand we entirely repeal and abolish the old calendar; and we wish all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and others who preside over churches, to introduce the new calendar (to which also the martyrology has been adapted) for reciting divine offices and celebrating feasts in all their churches, monasteries, convents, orders, militias and dioceses, and to use it exclusively, for themselves and for all other presbyters and clergy both secular and regular, of either sex, along with all soldiers and all Christian faithful; the use of it shall commence after the ten days have been left out of the month of October in the year 1582. But for those who inhabit regions too far away for them to have notice of these letters from us before the time prescribed, they are permitted to make the change in the same month of October of the following year 1583, or the next, that is to say, when these our letters first arrive with them, in the manner indicated above and as will be more abundantly explained in our calendar of the year of correction.

We also, by virtue of the authority given to us by the Lord, exhort and ask of our dear son in Christ, Rudolph, illustrious king of the Romans and emperor-elect, as well as other kings, princes, and republics, and we recommend to those who pressed us to complete this so excellent work, also and especially for the sake of maintenance of concord between Christian nations in the celebration of feasts, both to adopt this our calendar for themselves, and to take care that all the peoples subject to them religiously accept it and scrupulously observe it.

As it may be difficult to distribute these letters to all Christian places in the world, we ordain that they be published and affixed to the doors of the basilica of the prince of apostles and of the apostolic chancellery, and at the entrance to the Campo dei Fiori; and we order the same undoubted faith to be accorded among all peoples and in all places, also to printed copies of these letters and of the volumes of calendar and martyrology, when signed by a notary public and sealed with the seal of an ecclesiastical dignitary, as the original letters would have in their entirety.

It is therefore entirely forbidden to any man to infringe these our precepts and decrees, mandates, statutes, will, approval, prohibition, sublation, abolition,

exhortation and request, or to dare to bear witness or proceed against them. If nevertheless any presume to make such an attempt, they are to know that they will incur the indignation of almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Tusculum, in the year of the incarnation of Our Lord 1581, on the sixth day before the Kalends of March [*i.e. on 24 February – which makes the year correspond to 1582 in the New Style beginning 1 Jan; '1581' is expressed in the Old Style in which the year begins 25 March*], and in the tenth year of our pontificate.]

Appendix B: Excerpts from Giuliano de' Ricci's *Cronaca (1532–1606)*

Passages were excerpted from

Ricci, Giuliano de'. *Cronaca (1532–1606)*. Edited by Giuliana Saponi. Documenti di Filologia 17. Milan: Ricciardi, 1972.

1. Account of the Effects of the Institution of the Gregorian Calendar, dated October 1582 (pp.374–377, corresponding to 498v.–499v. in the original manuscript]

Stato ecclesiastico et riformatione dello anno. Per avanti da papa Gregorio decimoterzo presente pontefice fu publicato un nuovo calendario detto il Calendario Gregoriano accettato et publicato dal nostro serenissimo gran duca per osservarsi in questo Stato, sì come desiderio del papa è che si osservi in tutta la Cristianità: il fine del quale è di riordinare il calendario vecchio et ridurlo nel termine che era al tempo che sotto Constantino Magno si celebrò il Concilio Niceno anni 322 dopo la natività di Cristo, che ha variato in anni 1260 vel circa a giorni dieci. Et questo perché nell'anno riordinato da Giulio Cesare fu calcolato di giorni 365 et hore 6 et il corso solare è solo di giorni 365 hore 5 minuti 50, che in progresso di tempo fa questa variatione. Era necessario per ridurlo ritornarlo ad un principio che dal pontefice è stato giudicato meglio a quello del Concilio celebrato da' vescovi cristiani nel quale si determinò che la Pasqua della Resurrezione di Nostro Salvatore si celebrasse la prima domenica dopo la quartadecima luna doppo l'equinozzio della primavera. È stato, dico, detto da Sua Santità ridurlo a questo termine più presto che al suo primo principio instituito et ordinato da uno imperadore et signore gentile. Et per ridurlo si è levato 10 giorni al presente mese d'ottobre, et fatto che immediate doppo il giorno di San Francesco, il giovedì alli 4 di ottobre, che il venerdì prossimo seguente si dica alli 15 senza pregiudizio però de' pagamenti, delle ferie et di ogni altra cosa appartenente alle particolari persone, che a tutto si è provvisto da' magistrati ne' modi che si dirà appresso. Et perché ne' secoli avvenire non si incorra nel medesimo disordine, ha ordinato che ogni centenario si lasci di fare un bisesto in modo che nell'anno 1600 febbraio harà 29 giorni sì come ha ogni quattro anni che se gli aggiugne un giorno, ma l'anno 1700 resterà con 28 sì come è quando l'anno è commune, et così di poi ogni 100 anni, o sì vero ogni 400 anni si lieva 3 bisesti: che me ne rime/tto al calendario che come sarà a miglior prezzo ne compererò uno et lo inserirò qui. Si è stato drieto a questa pratica da molti pontefici et molti et molti anni et da diversi mathematici sono stati proposti varii modi, et questo del levare in una sola volta quelli giorni che era trascorso è stato il più commune, né quasi si poteva fare altrimenti che non si causassino mille molestie et generassino moltissime confusioni a' popoli, et tutti quelli che hanno discorso sopra questo fatto lo volevano ridurre al suo principio nel modo che fu ordinato da Giulio Cesare che bisognava levare 13 o 14 giorni. Solo un Luigi Giglio medico ha hauto questo pensiero di ridurlo al termine del Concilio Niceno, che ha fatto appresso al pontefice accettare questo et lasciare

da banda tutti gli altri modi. Et perché in questo secolo ozioso non si faccia cosa dove non si tratti di monopolio, ha dato un privilegio a un fratello di questo inventore che niuno possa stampare di questi calendarii né cose dipendenti da esso, né inserirlo in libro alcuno da chiesa né altro come messali, breviarii, offiziali, almanacchi et cose simili; et gli stampati in Roma et Vinezia, pure di licenzia di detto Giglio, dove harebbono a valere dua crazie gli vendono lire una per ciascuno li minori et dua giulii gli maggiori. Di maniera che questo Giglio ci avvanzerà meglio che 30.000 scudi, et io so certo che molti anni sono era il medesimo concetto in diversi, et solo si variava da ridurlo come si è ridotto a ridurlo al suo primo principio. Et poi che ho preso a scrivere questa materia, farò memoria qui appresso di tutti gli ordini particolari che mediante questa dipendenza mi verranno a notizia:

Il venerdì de' 15, che per ordinario haveva a essere alli cinque, la Chiesa in universale fece menzione di tutti quelli santi che erano ne' 10 giorni levati da 4 alli 14 ottobre. Alla Mercanzia nostra di Firenze per ordinario è feriato il giorno di Santa Reparata et di San Donnino: si ordinò che queste 2 ferie fussino il venerdì et sabato delli 15 et 16. / Il magistrato de' Consiglieri, perché il giorno di Santa Reparata et di San Dionigi i magistrati non si ragunono, ordinò che in quel cambio il venerdì et sabato de' 15 et 16 non sonassa campana et gli magistrati fossero esenti dal ragunarsi.

Tutte le cause che erano a' fòri civili si trasportorno 10 giorni avanti in modo che quelle che haveano il loro termine alli 10 va alli 20 et così conseguentemente. La Pratica Segreta fece partito che tutti gli magistrati soliti a entrare nelle calende de' mesi entrassono al medesimo tempo, ma a quelli che sedevano, perché di effetto servano manco dieci giorni, fosse levato il 1/3 d'un mese nel conto del salario.

Il magistrato delli Otto haveva a uscire a' 18 di ottobre, et perché era infra il mese doveva secondo questa regola andare alli 28 et gli ufficiali havere il salario intero de' 4 mesi: fu determinato che havessino a entrare in calende di novembre per ridurli al principio del mese et haranno il salario intero che verranno a servire gratis tre giorni. Ne' pagamenti delle lettere di cambio, ne' conti di tempi in pigione, nelle provisioni delli stipendiati in tutto si calcula questi dieci giorni, et si fanno buoni nel prezzo o si scorre con il tempo. La chiesa cattedrale nostra Santa Maria del Fiore, intitulata in Santa Reparata, dece la festa il giorno de' 15, et in tal dì si corse il palio solito corrersi alli 8 di ottobre in memoria della rotta che ne' monti di Fiesole hebbe Radaguso re de' Gotthi. Le gravezze ordinarie et altri pagamenti simili si sono pagati et pagano al tempo che si sarebbero pagate se l'anno non fosse stato ritocco, in modo che il Comune ha avanzato questi dieci giorni. Li Franzesi lo accettorno alli 10 di dicembre et dissono alli 20.

[The Papal States and the reform of the year. By order of Pope Gregory XIII, the current pontiff, a new calendar called the Gregorian Calendar, was published, and has been accepted by our Most Serene Grand Duke [Francesco I] for observance in this state [i.e., Tuscany], since it is the wish of the pope that it be observed in all of Christendom. The reason for the aforementioned is to reorder

the old calendar...that has varied ten days over the course of 1260 years. This is why: the year as calculated by Julius Caesar was 365 days and 6 hours, while the course of the sun is 365 days, 5 hours, and 50 minutes. With the passage of time, the variance accumulated. It was necessary to reduce and return it to a principle that was judged by the pope to be better than that of the celebrated Council of Christian bishops in which it was determined that Easter, the Resurrection of Our Savior, is to be celebrated on the first Sunday after the fourteenth night after the vernal equinox. It was, I say, decided by His Holiness to reduce this to this term more quickly than had been done when the system was originally instituted and ordered by an emperor and lord of the Gentiles [Julius Caesar had updated the calendar to fix a similar problem]. And to reduce it, ten days were removed from the present month of October, such that immediately after the feast of Saint Francis, Thursday 4 October, fell the following Friday, called 15 [October] without prejudice of payments, holidays, and every other thing pertaining to particular persons, such that everything was provided for by the magistrates in the ways that one will hear immediately. And, in an effort to prevent the same error from accruing with the passage of succeeding centuries, he ordered that every centenary the leap day will be avoided, so that in the year 1600 February will have twenty-nine days as it does every four years, but, in the year 1700, it will be left with twenty-eight, as when the year is common, and in this way every 100 years, or better to say that every 400 years, three leap days will be removed: for my part, I'll trust any calendar that I can buy at a good price and put here [before me]. Many popes concerned themselves with this project for many, many years and many mathematicians proposed various methods, and this of removing all at once those days that were passed was the most common, and one could almost not do otherwise, without causing thousands of annoyances and generating much more confusion in the populace, and all those that have spoken about this thing wanted to reduce the year at its beginning in the way that was ordered by Julius Caesar, which required removing thirteen or fourteen days. Only Luigi Giglio [Lilio], a doctor, had the idea to reduce it to the term established by the Council of Nicea, such that he caused the pope to accept this and leave by the wayside all the other modes. And since, in this leisurely century, one does not do things unless monopolies are concerned, he [the pope] gave the privilege to a brother of this inventor that no one else could print these calendars nor those things dependent upon them, nor insert them into any church books nor others, such as missals, breviaries, divine offices, almanacs and similar things; and the books printed in Rome and Venice, also under the license given to the aforementioned Giglio [Lilio], where they would be worth two wooden nickels, they sell these books for a *lira* a piece for the smaller works and two *giulii* for the larger ones. In this way, Giglio will earn more than 30,000 *scudi*,

and I know for certain that many people have had the same idea for quite a while, only hampered because they were indecisive about the variation needed to resolve the problem and return things to their beginning. And since I undertook to write this material, I will record hereafter all the particular orders of which, because of this dependence, notice came to me:

On Friday the fifteenth, which ordinarily would have been the fifth, the Church in general made mention of all the saints that would have been celebrated in the ten days removed from between 4 and 14 October. In our *Mercanzia* in Florence, ordinarily the feasts of Santa Reparata and San Donnino were given as holidays: they ordered that these two holidays would be celebrated on Friday and Saturday, the fifteenth and sixteenth. Because on the feasts of Santa Reparata and San Dionigi the magistrates do not pass sentences, the magistracy of the Consiglieri ordered that, in view of this change, on Friday and Saturday the fifteenth and sixteenth, the bell would not be rung and the magistrates were exempt from passing sentences.

All the cases that were to be heard before the civil authorities were postponed by ten days, so that those who were to have their time on the tenth went on the twentieth, and so on. The *Pratica Segreta* established that all the magistrates who customarily began their appointments at the start of the month would enter at the same time, but, those who were already in office effectively served ten fewer days, which would lead to the loss of a one-third of a month's salary. The magistracy of the Eight was to end its term on 18 October, and because it was within the month, they needed, according to this rule, to extend their term to 28 October, and the officials were to have the entire salary for four months: it was determined that they had to take office at the beginning of November in order to realign the cycle to the beginning of the month, meaning they received their entire salary but had to serve for three days without pay. In the payments of the letters of the Exchange, in the accounting of the duration of leases, in the provisions of those paid stipends, in all, one calculates these ten days, either obtaining bonuses within the price or allowing time to run out. Our cathedral church, Santa Maria del Fiore, also dedicated to Santa Reparata, observed her feast on 15 October, and on this day, the usual *pallio*, generally run on 8 October in memory of the rout of Radagaisus King of the Goths in the mountains of Fiesole, was run.

The ordinary gravities and other similar payments were paid and they pay at the rate that they would be paid if the year had not been retouched, and had the Comune not advanced the calendar by these ten days. The French accepted the change on 10 December and moved forward to 20 December.]

2. Passages Regarding Orazio Rucellai

- a. Account of Orazio's jewel acquisition, dated July 1582 (pp.365–366, corresponding to 493v. in the original manuscript]

Don Antonio. Don Antonio scacciato dal Regno di Portogallo, che tiene in suo potere le isole delli Astori, con circa a 60 vele si è partito di Francia aiutato dal re et dal duca di Brabante suo fratello et se ne è ito ne' mari di Portogallo: dicono per impedire le flotte che vengono delle Indie al re di Spagna; et il re Filippo allo incontro arma galiardissimamente per spegnerlo et levarsi questo obstacolo. Haveva nella sua fuga il prefato don Antonio salvato assai gioie delle quali ha venduto una gran parte in Parigi al signor Horazio di Luigi Rucellai gentilhommo nostro fiorentino, il quale pochi anni sono prese in Firenze per moglie una figliola di Agnolo di Iacopo Guicciardini et la condusse in Francia dove era accasato et haveva preso uno arrendamento di Sali: nel quale ha fatto tanto utile che lasciatolo ad altri per un grosso donativo se ne è tornato in Firenze ricchissimo di 40 5000.000 scudi tutti avanzati in 8 o 10 anni prima non haveva molto avanzati. Questo, dico, oltre alle honorevolissime et grandi spese che ha fatte sempre, et hoggi vive di maniera in questa città che con verità si può dire che sia lo splendore di essa et riceve in casa sua quanti signori et gentilhomini franzesi passano di qua con tanta magnificenza et con tanta grazia et horrevolezza che da qual si voglia persona non si può desiderare più, et si mostra in tutte le sue attioni accorto et prudente et liberale senza ambitione, senza fasto et senza prodigalità liberalissimo.

[*Don Antonio.* Having been chased from the Kingdom of Portugal, Don Antonio, who holds in his sway the Azores, left France with around sixty sailing ships. Having been aided by the king and by the Duke of Brabant, his brother, he went into the seas of Portugal. They say that he undertook this voyage to impede the flotilla coming from the Indies to the King of Spain. King Philip armed himself most valiantly to extinguish him and remove this obstacle. The aforementioned don Antonio had "saved" many jewels when he took flight, and he sold the better part of them in Paris to Orazio di Luigi Rucellai, one of our Florentine gentlemen. In Florence only a few years before, [Rucellai] had taken as his wife a daughter of Agnolo di Iacopo Guicciardini, and had brought her to France, where they set up a household and obtained a salt monopoly. This was so lucrative that, having it left it to others for a large "donation," he was able to return to Florence very rich, having made 405 billion *scudi* all tolled, in eight or ten years, where there were none before. I say this man, apart from the most honorable and grand expenditures that he has always made, lives today in high style in this city. Verily, one can say that he lives in splendor and receives at his home as many French

lords and gentlemen as pass this way, with such magnificence, graciousness, and honorable manners that these guests never want for anything more. By his actions, he shows himself to be aware, prudent, and liberal, without ambition, without ostentation, and without the most liberal prodigality.]

- b. Account of Orazio's legal difficulties with the Capponi, dated November 1582 (pp.377–378, corresponding to 500r. in the original manuscript)

Firenze. Fu ferito nello entrarsene in casa sua, della qual ferita pochi giorni appreso si morì, Ruberto di Pandolfo Pandolfini fallito per avanti a Napoli et tornato qui datosi a litigare per sè et per altri, et intromessosi anco in faccende di Sua A. Serenissima delle ferriere. Et con questa occasione delle picchiate che spesso ne rilievono i litigatori, dirò quello che è accaduto a Michelagnolo Granacci uno de' calcolatori della Corte della Mercatantia. Verte a detta Corte lite fra il signor Horazio Rucellai da una parte et dall'altra Luigi et Alessandro Capponi per dipendenze di conti seguiti mediante Francesco Spina loro ministro infra detto Rucellai et la loro casa di Lione; et dovendosi fra dette parti trarre un ricorso secondo il solito, per la parte del Rucellai si è fatto instantia davanti a' signori Sei che gli Capponi devino fare venire di Lione i loro libri. Fu giudicato che i libri non ci devesino venire ma sì bene che li Capponi dovessino dare vista et copia di essi a huomini del Rucellai, et intanto si soprassedesse la tratta del ricorso. A fare questa visita de' libri fu mandato Giovanni di Simone Renuccini et in sua compagnia questo Michelagnolo Granacci, il quale prima era stato assoldato et haveva havuto danari da' Capponi per difendere la causa loro in compagnia di Domenico Salotthi altro calculatore di detta Corte. Andati a Lione questi huomini del Rucellai et fattovi di dimora alquanti giorni, il Granaccio se ne è tornato ferito di 2 gran fregi nel viso et se il Renuccini non si aiutava con il fuggire vi restava morto, et al Granaccio avveniva il medesimo se non era bene armato. Si venne alla tratta del ricorso con molta difficoltà, havendo ottenuto il signor Horazio che 34 oltre a i sospetti ordinarii non potessino intervenire a giudicarlo, fra' quali sospetti fui il Giuliano de' Ricci. Finalmente si firmò il giuditio et per la parte de' Rucellai la causa fu difesa da ser Giovammaria Cocchi, ser Antonio del Grasso, Michelagnolo Granacci, et dallo stesso signore Horatio con tanta eloquentia et tanto bene che più non si poteva desiderare. Alla difesa per la parte del Capponi intervennono ser Bartolomeo dell'Ancisa, ser Antonio Folchi, Domenico Salotti et Francesco di Piero Capponi et Filippo di Antonio Magalotti. I Capponi domandavano ducati 13.000 ne ottennono ducati cinquemilasecento, i quali il signore Horazio, mediante reservi lasciatili contro alla rede dello Spina, non gli ha voluti pagare, ma gli ha depositati et sempre va tergiversando.

[*Florence.* While entering his house, Roberto di Pandolfo Pandolfini was wounded, and a few days later died from this wound. Bankrupted on account of events in Naples, he returned here in order to fight for himself and for others, and having interfered with the affairs of his Serene Highness's ironworks. And with this instance of blows, which often gives relief to the combatants, I will say a bit about what happened to Michelagnolo Granacci, one of the accountants of the Mercantile Court. It centers on arguments in his court between Mr. Orazio Rucellai on the one side and Luigi and Alessandro Capponi on the other, for debts incurred by Francesco Spina, their agent, between the said Rucellai and their house in Lyons; and needing, among the various parties, to find a solution according to the usual methods, on Rucellai's part, he asserted before the Council of Six that the Capponi needed to send to Lyons for their account books. It was judged that the account books did not need to come to Florence, but that the Capponi should make them available for inspection and that a copy of them to be made for Rucellai, and meanwhile they tabled the matter. Giovanni di Simone Renuccini was sent to Lyons to conduct the inspection and Michelagnolo Granacci accompanied him. Granacci was formerly hired and had obtained money from the Capponi to defend their case along with Domenico Salotti, another accountant of the same court. Rucellai's agents having gone to Lyons and being made to wait as many days, Granacci returned wounded with two large scars on his face. Had Renuccini not aided Granacci in his escape and had Granacci not been well armed, they surely would have died. He arrived at the presentation of the verdict with great difficulty, having heard from Signor Orazio that thirty-four other persons beyond the ordinary suspects were not able to intervene in judging him, and among these suspects was Giuliano de' Ricci. Finally, the judgment was signed, and for Rucellai's part, the case was defended by Mr. Giovammaria Cocchi, Mr. Antonio del Grasso, Michelagnolo Granacci, and the same Orazio with such eloquence and so well that no one could have asked for more. Mr. Bartolomeo dell'Ancisa, Mr. Antonio Folchi, Domenico Salotti, Francesco di Piero Capponi, and Filippo di Antonio Magalotti spoke in defense of the Capponi. Of the 13,000 ducats the Capponi demanded, they obtained 5600, of which Mr. Orazio, including reserves left for him against the expenditures of Spina, did not wish to pay, but he deposited them and always goes hemming and hawing.]

- c. Account of Orazio's encounter with Jacopo Boncompagni, the son of Gregory XIII, dated July 1583 (pp.390–391, corresponding to 507v. in the original manuscript)

Stato ecclesiastico. In Rome si vive con li medeximi sospetti, et il figliolo del papa vi è malissimo veduto et non resta anco d fare ogni giorno qualche attione d'accrescersi l'odio universale, come alli giorni passati, trovandosi a giucare in casa in signor Horazio Rucellai che hoggi sta in Roma. Il qual signor Horazio ha vinto grossa somma di danari a detto signore Iacopo Buoncompagno, quale si dice avere perso più di ducati 150.000 che gli sono stati vinti dal cardinale de' Medici dal cardinale Maffei et dal detto Rucellai. Hora, trovandosi egli una sera in casa sua, et trattenendosi a giucare più che gli servitori sua et del Rucellai non harebbono volsuto, uno staffiere del Rucellai sbottoneggiando disse: "venga il canchero, dappo' che questo bastardaccio ha cominciato a venire in questa casa non si conosce mai che hora sia né di cenare né di dormire." Sentendo questo un servitore del Buoncompagno vi prese le parole, et dalle parole vennono alle mani et facendo romori i padroni sentirono, et levatisi di donde erano corsono per dividere la quistione. Et intendendo il signore Iacopo Buoncompagno la cagione di essa, con una stoccata passò da banda a banda uno delli staffieri del Rucellai, et poco appresso ne ammazzò un altro et uno se ne fuggì, quale poi gli è stato, prima chiesto da lui con grande instantia, dato dal signore Horazio et egli lo ha fatto impicare. Quelli del suo Stato di Sora continovano di esserli rebelli, il papa attende a fare soldati, et quattro galere di Genova sono passate da Livorno con 200 soldati che li portano in Corsica di donde ne cavono 600 soldati per condurli a Civita Vecchia a' servizii di N. S.

[In Rome, one lives with the usual suspects, and the son of the Pope is regarded very poorly there. In fact, he does not let a single day pass without doing something to raise universal hatred of him. As in days past, he found himself at play in the house of Mr. Orazio Rucellai that is today in Rome. The said Mr. Orazio won a giant sum of money from said Mr. Jacopo Boncompagni—it is said that he had lost more than 150,000 ducats that were won from Cardinal de' Medici, Cardinal Maffei, and the said Rucellai. Now, finding himself in this house one evening, and tarrying to play longer than his servants and those of Rucellai would have liked, a member of Rucellai's household staff, unbuttoning himself, said: "July arrived, and soon thereafter this big, ugly bastard began to come into this house, not knowing whether it be the dinner hour or bedtime." Hearing this, one of Boncompagni's servants took the words, and from them they came to blows, making noises heard by their masters, and removing themselves from whence they were, to conclude the matter. Being interested in the resolution of this matter, Mr. Jacopo Boncompagni ran one of Rucellai's household staffers

through with his sword, and soon thereafter killed another and set a third to flight, and this servant was sought insistently and impatiently by the same Boncompagni, who thereafter received him from Mr. Orazio and he had that servant hanged.]

- d. Account of the visit of Anne de Guillaume, duc de Joyeuse, and the banquet thrown for him by Orazio, dated July 1583 (pp.391–392, corresponding to 508r. in the original manuscript)

Firenze. Addì 15 di luglio 1583 venne in Firenze, accompagnato da circa a 50 gentilhomini et fra essi Mario di Pierantonio Badini et Alessandro di Albizo del Bene, monsignor...franzese duca di Belgioioso, cavaliere dell'Ordine di Santo Spirito, cognato di Henrico presente re di Francia et da esso amato grandemente et aggrandito di ricchezze et di dignità, perché da S. M. gli fu data questa moglie che ha sorella della sua di Casa Guisa con dote grandissima. È stato questo signore per tutta Italia et particolarmente per sua devotione a Nostra Donna dell'Horeto et a Roma, nella qual città è stato benissimo visto, et dal signore Horazio Rucellai gli è stato fatto un banchetto veramente regio che vi era da 16 cardinali et 40 gentildonne fiorentine, che ha speso, dicono, più di scudi 10.000. Qui fu incoronato dal nostro serenissimo gran duca con tutta la Corte et con gran numero di gentilhomini della città nel maggiore che io habbia mai visto incontrare signore nessuno che sia venuto nella città. Ci si tratene 4 giorni assai accarezzato, et egli presentò molto honorevolmente tutta la Corte et alle monache di Santa Monaca donò 200 ducati in recompensa di certi zuccherini che gli mandorono. Se ne andò ad alloggiare la ultima sera a Pratolino et di quivi seguitò il suo viaggio, et in Ferrara da quel duca gli sono fatti honori grandissimi et apparecchiansi molte feste.

[*Florence.* On 15 July 1583, the duc de Joyeuse, a Frenchman, arrived in Florence, accompanied by around fifty gentlemen, among whom were Mario di Pierantonio Badini and Alessandro di Albizo del Bene, a monsignor. A Knight of the Order of the Holy Spirit, [the duke] is the much-beloved brother-in-law of His Highness Henri [III], the present king of France, who aggrandized him with both riches and dignity in giving him as a wife his sister-in-law, who came with a very great dowry from the house of Guise. It was this lord who has been regarded so favorably throughout his travels in Italy, and especially because of his devotion to Our Lady in Loreto and in Rome. A banquet truly fit for royalty was given for him by Mr. Orazio Rucellai. It was attended by sixteen cardinals and forty Florentine noblewomen, and they say [Rucellai] spent more than 10,000 *scudi*. While here in Florence, [the duke] was crowned by our own most serene grand duke [Francesco de' Medici], in the presence of a great number of noblemen from the city, more than I have ever seen come into the city to meet such a lord. He

remained here, much pampered, for four days, presenting the entire court with much honor. To the nuns of Santa Monaca, he gave 200 ducats in repayment for certain little sweets they had sent him. He departed in order to spend his last night at Pratolino and from there continued his trip. In Ferrara, that duke of theirs received him with great honors and prepared many celebrations.]

- e. Account of the early obeisance paid to Ferdinando de' Medici upon his accession to the grand ducal throne of Tuscany, dated October 1587 (pp.505–506, corresponding to 42v. in the original manuscript)

Nota delli personaggi et inbasciatori venuti a fare complimenti con il gran duca: Signor Mario Sforza Santa Fiore. Signor Alessandro Appiano Aragona signore di Pionbino. Signor Tiberio del signor Sforza delli Oddi perugino. Capitano Cesare Montemellino perugino. Messer Signorello Signorelli perugino. Signor Paolo Emilio Cesis marchese d'Ariano. Il signor Enea Vaini da, anzi il signor Ascanio del signor Diomede della Cornia perugino. Il signor Horazio di Luigi Rucellai. Signor Pietrogiacopo della Staffa perugino quale ottenne la liberatione del figliolo di Alessandro della Staffa suo fratello di galera. Signor Giovanpagolo del signor Ridolfo Baglioni. Il signor Ascanio de' Maximi per il cardinal Salviati.

[A note on the characters and ambassadors who came to pay their respects to the grand duke: Lord Mario Sforza Santa Fiore. Lord Alessandro Appiano Aragona, lord of Piombino. Lord Tiberio of Lord Sforza delli Oddi, a Perugian. Captail Cesare Montemellino, a Perugian. Mr. Signorello Signorelli, a Perugian. Lord Paolo Emilio di Pietro Cesi, Marchese of Ariano. Lord Enea Vaini from, rather Lord signor Ascanio of Lord Diomede della Cornia, a Perugian. Lord Orazio di Luigi Rucellai. Lord Pietrogiacopo della Staffa, a Perugian, who obtained the liberation of his nephew, the son of Alessandro della Staffa, his brother, from prison. Lord Giovanpagolo of Lord Ridolfo Baglioni. Lord Ascanio de' Maximi for Cardinal [Antonio Maria di Lorenzo] Salviati.]

- f. Account of the voyage of Orazio Rucellai to France to arrange the marriage of Ferdinando de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine, dated October 1588 (p.522, corresponding to 50v. in the original manuscript)

Il duca di Savoia prese la terra et fortezza di Carmignuola nel Piamonte che era del re di Francia et presidiata da 500 franzesi. Ha dato nome di havere fatto questo motivo perché la vedeva riempire di ugonotti et dice volerla tenere per la Corona di Francia. Io sono di opinione che tutto sia seguito ad instantia et con consenso di Spagna.

Horatio Rucellai fu mandato da S. A. Serenissima in Francia inbasciadore, dicesi per il matrimonio che si tratta tra la figliola del duca di Loreno con la prefata Sua A., et si è detto che in Savoia il detto Rucellai ha hauto impedimento nel passare, et così anco essere state ritenute alcune lettere cer per tal conto andavano innanzi et indrieto.

S. A. Serenissima, che continovamente pensa et provvede all'honore et riputatione et bisogno de' suoi sudditi, fece gli infrascritti riformatori sopra lo habito civile: messer Giovanbatista Concini, Giovanni Ugolini—questo morì avanti che pubblicassono la legge—, Iacopo Pitti, Lorenzo Guicciardini. I quali riformatori ordinarono che tutti quelli che passavano 29 anni devessero portare il mantello o il lucco; et la legge è stampata, veggasi quella. Et che il luogotenente et consiglieri lo portassino rosso sotto et sopra, i 48 lo portassono soppannato di rosso.

[The Duke of Savoy seized the land and fortress of Carmignuola in Piedmont, which belong to the king of France and were guarded by 500 Frenchmen. [The duke] justified his actions by saying that he witnessed the land filling up with Huguenots and that he desired to keep it [safe] for the Crown of France. I am of the opinion that everything was done spontaneously and with the approval of Spain.

Orazio Rucellai was sent by His Most Serene Highness to France as an ambassador, in order to contract the marriage between the daughter of the duke of Lorraine with His aforementioned Highness. It is said that in Savoy, Rucellai was impeded in his passage, and that certain letters, intended to go back and forth, were intercepted.

High Most Serene Highness, who continuously things of and provides for the honor, reputation, and needs of his subject, appointed the aforementioned reformers to civil service: Mr. Giovanbatista Concini, Giovanni Ugolini—he died before the laws could be published—, Jacopo Pitti, and Lorenzo Guicciardini. These reformers ordered that all those over twenty-nine years of age must wear a mantle or *lucco*; and the law was published, so that it might be read by all. Also, the lieutenant and *consigliere* must wear red both on top and bottom, while the forty-eight are required to wear a red overgarment.]

- g. Account of the embassy of Orazio Rucellai to France to arrange the marriage of Ferdinando de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine, dated October 1588 (p.524, corresponding to 51v. in the original manuscript)

In Francia si truova per il nostro serenissimo gran duca il signor Horazio di Luigi Rucellai, il quale ha concluso parentado tra S. A. Serenissima et la serenissima Cristina Guisa figliola del duca di Loreno et di una figliola di Enrico secondo re di Francia et di Caterina de' Medici.

[Orazio Rucellai is in France for our most serene grand duke. He has concluded the marriage contract negotiations between His Most Serene Highness and the most serene Christine de Guise, daughter of the Duke of Lorraine and a granddaughter of Henri II king of France and Catherine de' Medici.]

Appendix C: Michelangelo's Sonnet 5

The text of the sonnet and the translation below appear in

James M. Saslow, *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Annotated Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 70–72.

l' ho già fatto un gozzo in questo stento,
come fa l'acqua a' gatti in Lombardia
o ver d'altro paese che si sia,
c'a forza 'l ventre appicca sotto 'l mento.

La barba al cielo, e la memoria sento
in sullo scrigno, e 'l petto fo d'arpia,
e 'l pennel sopra 'l viso tuttavia
mel fa, gocciando, un ricco pavimento.

E' lombi entrati mi son nella peccia,
e fo del cul per contrapeso groppa,
e' passi senza gli occhi muovo invano.

Dinanzi mi s'allunga la corteccia,
e per piegarsi adietro si ragroppa,
e tendomi com'arco soriano.

Però fallace e strano
surge il iudizio che la mente porta,
ché mal si tra' per cerbottana torta.

La mia pittura morta
difendi orma', Giovanni, e 'l mio onore,
non sendo in loco bon, né io pittore.

[I've already grown a goiter at this drudgery—
as the water gives the cats in Lombardy,
or else it may be in some other country—
which sticks my stomach by force beneath my chin.

With my beard toward heaven, I feel my memory-box
atop my hump; I'm getting a harpy's breast;
and the brush that is always above my face,
by dribbling down, makes an ornate pavement.

My loins have entered by belly, and I make
my ass into a crupper as counterweight;
without my eyes, my feet move aimlessly.

In front of me my hide is stretching out
and, to wrinkle up behind, it forms a knot,
and I am bent like a Syrian bow.

Therefore the reasoning that my mind produces
comes out unsound and strange,
for one shoots badly through a crooked barrel.

Giovanni, from now on
defend my dead painting, and my honor,

since I'm not in a good position, nor a painter.]

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