

---

# Federico Zuccaro's Love Affair with Florence: Two Allegorical Designs

---

WENDY THOMPSON

*Independent Scholar*

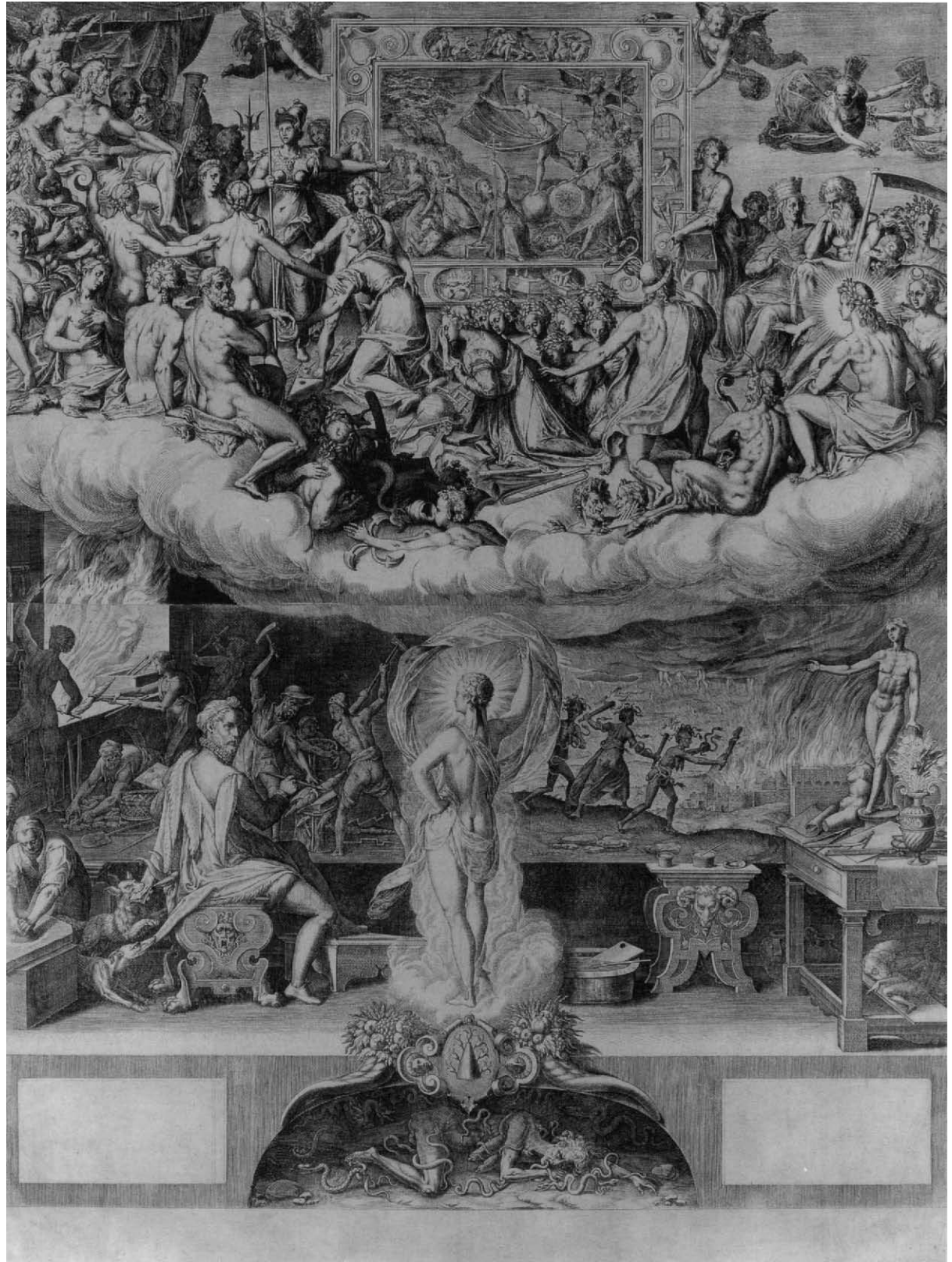
When Federico Zuccaro (1543–1609) received the commission in 1575 to fresco the dome of the Florentine cathedral, left incomplete after Giorgio Vasari's death in 1574, he moved to Florence with the apparent intention of settling there indefinitely. Having been entrusted with the most important commission in the city, he must have expected to become one of Florence's leading artists and to play an important role in the first academy for artists, the Accademia del Disegno, founded in 1563, to which he had been admitted during a stay in Florence ten years earlier. On January 23, 1577, Zuccaro purchased the former home of Florence's great Renaissance painter Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), just down the street from the seat of the academy in the church of the Santissima Annunziata; in 1578 he moved into the renovated house with his new bride. This article will examine two designs that originated in these years and are closely bound up with Zuccaro's hopes for his future in Florence. One of these, the complex allegory of the arts engraved by Cornelis Cort (Figure 1), usually known as *The Lament of Painting*,<sup>1</sup> continues to be viewed as Zuccaro's response to critics of his Florentine dome frescoes, but I shall argue that it should be considered instead in connection with his academic aspirations and plans for a splendid studio. The second design, an equally complicated allegory of spring, preserved in a highly finished drawing in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (see Figure 11), was pressed into service in a reduced and simplified form to decorate the ceiling of Zuccaro's Florentine home but must originally have been intended for a more prominent, independent project that celebrated, among other things, Zuccaro's proud identification with his adopted city.

Cort's engraving after Zuccaro's design depicts an elegantly clad painter, whom scholars have concurred in identifying as Zuccaro himself, seated in a handsomely furnished studio at work on an enormous canvas. He is engaged in painting one of Jupiter's thunderbolts, recently issued from Vulcan's forge. To the right we see the Furies descend on a burning city with their torches. Beneath the studio Envy is

enclosed within a grotto, although the dogs that nip at the painter's cloak may be her minions, in the form of jealous colleagues. The painter ignores the dogs and turns his gaze instead to a luminous, lightly draped female with winged feet in the center foreground who points to the bank of clouds above the artist's head. There is gathered the entire assembly of the gods, among whom Apollo and Hercules are especially prominent. In the center of the gathering are nine weeping Muses and a tenth, who is being introduced to an enthroned Jupiter by the three Graces, and a fourth figure, a winged adolescent boy who is sometimes identified as Amore and sometimes as Spirito. Minerva (at left) and a female figure holding artists' implements (at right) hold up an image that depicts Faith attempting to stand firm against the forces of evil, represented by Fortune, a demon, and a vicious warrior. This painting-within-a-painting includes a depiction of Ignorance at the top of the frame and some of the Cardinal Sins around the edges.

Two excellent articles have related the iconography of this allegory to such broad sixteenth-century concerns as the status of painting and the role of art in relation to Counter-Reformation theology. The first of these, by Inemie Gerards-Nelissen, locates the source of the imagery in two sixteenth-century treatises on painting and a well-known passage in the writings of the first-century rhetorician Quintilian, concluding that the allegory argues for painting's importance by illustrating the role it can play in the propagation of the faith and the inculcation of virtue, "a role which fitted in perfectly with traditional moral philosophy, . . . hardly surprising in the Counter-Reformation Italy of [Zuccaro's] day."<sup>2</sup> Gerards-Nelissen seeks to detach the allegory from the idea of Zuccaro's desire for revenge against his critics, and also from the more abstract art theory espoused by Zuccaro in his later years. The second article, by Sylvaine Hänsel, reinforces the connection with Counter-Reformation theology by analyzing the views of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)—a Spanish theologian and poet with a great interest in the proper use of images—whose poem accompanies the engraving in many impressions of

1. Cornelis Cort (Flemish, ca. 1533–1578) after Federico Zuccaro (Italian, 1543–1609). *The Lament of Painting*, ca. 1577–78. Engraving, top sheet: 14¼ x 21⅛ in. (36.2 x 53.7 cm); bottom sheet: 14¾ x 21⅛ in. (37.3 x 53.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Charles Z. Offin Fund, 1988 (1988.1086)



the print.<sup>3</sup> She finds no evidence for direct contact between Zuccaro and Arias Montano and considers the poem more a meditation on the image than a program for it, yet she argues convincingly that Arias Montano appreciated the allegory, and Zuccaro the poem, because they shared the

same views of the function of art in advancing the reforms of the church.

Despite these lucid analyses, many art historians, following the lead of the foremost Zuccaro scholars Detlef Heikamp and Cristina Acidini, continue to regard the print



2. Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccaro. *The Calumny of Apelles*, 1572. Engraving, third state, sheet (trimmed) 16¼ x 21¼ in. (41.2 x 54 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.100.466)

as self-justification and personal propaganda. Although most of these authors recognize that the print was completed at least a year and a half before Zuccaro's frescoes in the Florentine cathedral were unveiled to the public, the view persists that the print was published as a polemical response to critics of these frescoes.<sup>4</sup> It is often discussed as the second of three allegories that Zuccaro directed against his critics.

The first of these allegorical compositions was *The Calumny of Apelles* (Figure 2), engraved by Cort in 1572 and usually considered a response to Zuccaro's ill treatment at the hands of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.<sup>5</sup> While it is likely that an artist would turn to this theme when he felt himself slighted by a patron, the subject was of more than topical interest to Zuccaro and his contemporaries. Because the second-century rhetorician Lucian had described a painting of this subject by the ancient Greek artist Apelles, the theme offered Zuccaro the opportunity to show himself the equal of the most famous painter of antiquity.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, *The Calumny of Apelles* was among the ethical subjects Johannes Molanus listed as praiseworthy despite their origins in pagan imagery in his *De picturis et imaginibus sacris liber unus* of 1570, an early attempt to apply the strictures of the Council of Trent to the visual arts.<sup>7</sup> The third of Zuccaro's allegories, a satirical cartoon entitled the *Porta Virtutis*, was displayed publicly on the facade of the church of San Luca on the feast of the saint—the patron of artists—on October 18, 1581. Although the cartoon has not survived, there are autograph drawings of the subject, complete with identifying labels, in the collections of Christ Church, Oxford; the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main; and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Figure 3). In this case, the trial that the



3. Federico Zuccaro. *Porta Virtutis* (*Gate of Virtue*), ca. 1581. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, 15¼ x 11¼ in. (38.7 x 28.6 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Gift of Mr. Janos Scholz (1974.25)

cartoon provoked, as well as the presence in the drawings of a small, sketchy replica of Zuccaro's rejected altarpiece for a church in Bologna, make it clear that this allegory was a response to a specific incident.<sup>8</sup> Of the three allegories, this is the only one that resulted in a trial; it is also significant that this is the only composition that was never engraved.

In contrast to the evident correspondence between the *Porta Virtutis* and Zuccaro's commission for the Bolognese church, nothing in *The Lament of Painting* alludes specifically to his frescoes in the Florentine cathedral. Whereas the personifications of vices play an active role in the foreground of the *Porta Virtutis*, as well as in the *Calumny*, in *The Lament of Painting* most of the negative personifications that appear, including Ignorance, are relegated to the painting-within-a-painting displayed in the heavens. The main characters depicted are pagan gods and personifications of virtue, along with the painter, who is portrayed as calm, masterful, and—given his elegantly furnished and spacious studio—successful. Envy, who plays such a malignant role in the *Calumny* and writhes in the foreground in the *Porta Virtutis*, is rendered impotent in *The Lament of Painting*, where she is securely enclosed within a grotto beneath the painter's studio.

I do not intend here to undertake an exhaustive new interpretation of *The Lament of Painting* but merely to reinforce the positive reading provided by Gerards-Nelissen and Hänsel, situating the work more closely within the Florentine setting in which it was produced and reexamining a few iconographic details that are significant to the context. In order to define that context more precisely, it is necessary to trace the evolution of the engraving from its initial design to the addition of the various inscriptions—a task complicated by the variety of forms in which the print survives.

Many impressions, including that in the Metropolitan Museum (see Figure 1), are entirely without text, although the two empty cartouches on either side of Envy's grotto and the blank strip at the bottom of the image were clearly meant to house inscriptions. In other impressions of the print, one of the cartouches contains a statement printed in letterpress identifying Zuccaro as the inventor and Gabriel Terrades as the publisher, "Typis æreis, excudi iussit," while the second cartouche encloses Terrades' dedication of the print to the Florentine collector and patron of the arts Nicolò Gaddi, also printed in letterpress and concluding "Florentiæ IX Cal. Maias M.D.LXXIX."<sup>9</sup> At least five impressions bearing these inscriptions include a long Latin poem by Arias Montano, likewise typeset, that ends with a statement identifying the Florentine publisher Giorgio Marescotti as the printer: "FLORENTIAE, Cum Licentia Superiorum, Excudebat Georgius Marescotus, 1579." Two known impressions of the print, with the same inscriptions in the two cartouches printed

from separate engraved plates, have in place of the Latin poem an engraved inscription in Italian that some scholars have used as a key to interpreting the allegorical print.

Most of the scholars who have analyzed *The Lament of Painting* were writing prior to the publication of Manfred Sellink's revised catalogue raisonné of Cort's prints and so relied upon that of J. C. J. Bierens de Haan, who described four states of the engraving: the first, without letters; the second, with the Italian inscription; the third, with the poem of Arias Montano; and the fourth, bearing a publishing date of 1602, long after Zuccaro left Florence and thus not relevant to the discussion here.<sup>10</sup> Sellink has pointed out, however, that since all the texts are printed from type or separate plates and no changes are made to the original plate engraved by Cort in any of these versions, it is not possible to speak of states, but only of editions.<sup>11</sup> In the volumes of *The New Hollstein* dedicated to Cort, Sellink uses the term "variants."<sup>12</sup> Sellink's listing of the locations of each variant makes it clear that impressions with no text are the most common, with at least ten impressions extant.<sup>13</sup> In this form, the print is obviously incomplete, as is evident from the spaces left blank for text. No text was ever added to the plate by Cort or his associates in Rome, although surely Zuccaro expected to receive the plate with engraved text, as had been the case with *The Calumny of Apelles* and all the other plates Zuccaro commissioned from Cort.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, in all impressions of the print, the vase of flowers on the table at the right appears unfinished, since it is only partially shaded. It also seems likely that the blank sheet of paper that hangs off the table was intended to bear either an inscription or an image.<sup>15</sup> Thus, it seems that Cort never entirely completed the engraving and that, unless some of the impressions without text were published in Rome without Zuccaro's authorization,<sup>16</sup> the engraving was never published in Rome but only in Florence.

These circumstances could be explained by Cort's death in March 1578, which obviously put an end to work on the plate. Cort may have ceased work on the plate even earlier, however, when he and Zuccaro are known to have entered into a dispute. On October 30, 1577, Zuccaro wrote to a friend that he intended to include the engraver among the damned in his dome fresco, "in the midst of the perjurers and defaulters . . . with the contested copper plate around his neck and not far away from his supporters and associates."<sup>17</sup> The plate in question must surely be *The Lament of Painting*, the last engraving Cort executed for Zuccaro,<sup>18</sup> although the cause of the dispute is uncertain. Perhaps Cort insisted on a much higher payment than called for in the original agreement and Zuccaro, having recently purchased his home in Florence, was unwilling and unable to pay. It is possible that Cort and Zuccaro patched things up and that Cort continued to work on the engraving until his death, but in any case the



engraver must have received the drawing and begun work on the plate prior to Zuccaro's angry letter. Given the great complexity of the iconography, the many figures that it contained, and the fact that Zuccaro was also occupied with the frescoes for the Florentine cathedral, the artist must have begun to design the composition by early 1577.

Yet it was only in Florence in 1579 that the print was published in a finished form. As noted, the version with the poem by Arias Montano and the one with the Italian inscription include the same information in the cartouches, indicating that the work was published by Terrades ("Typis æreis, excudi iussit"), and that it was issued in Florence on May 18, 1579. Hänsel has argued that the term "typis æreis" used by Terrades in his publication statement can only refer to printed text and that, therefore, the edition including a Latin poem by Arias Montano printed from movable type must be the one that Terrades arranged to have published, whereas the inscription with the engraved Italian text printed from a separate plate could have been substituted at any later date.<sup>19</sup> It makes sense that once the long-anticipated plate arrived in Florence, it was faster to print the text with type than to wait for someone to engrave it, especially since this sort of engraving required a specialist who may not have been readily available in Florence. It also stands to reason that the desire to print successive editions from the plate would have led to the eventual engraving of the text, eliminating the need to reset it each time. Hänsel knew of only one impression with the engraved texts, yet Sellink records the existence of a second one in Bologna that includes a privilege, suggesting, contrary to Hänsel's argument, that a significant edition may have been issued in this form.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, Hänsel is surely correct in concluding that the version with the poem by Arias Montano was the first to be issued with text, since the date of the poem matches the dedication, both are written in Latin, and both are printed with type.

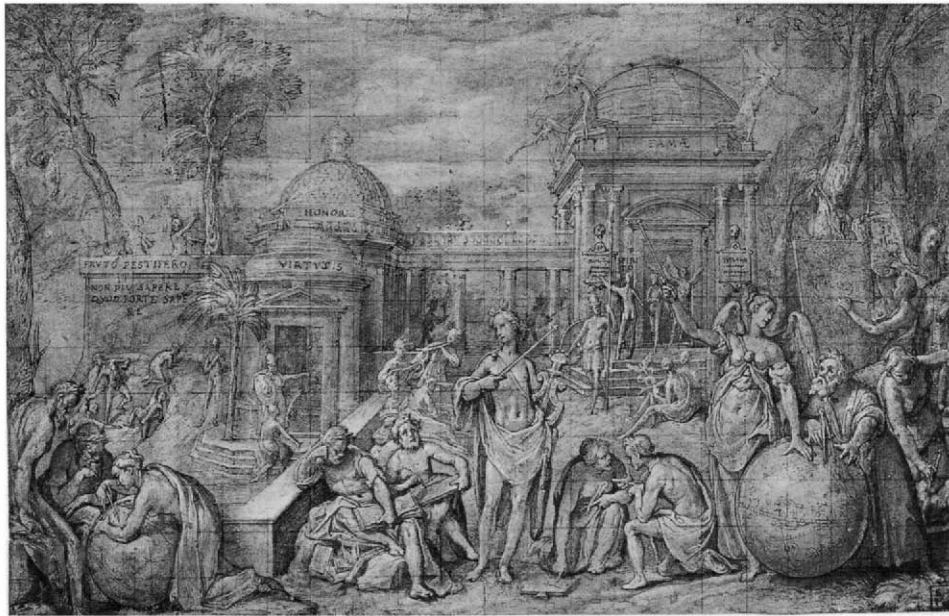
To sum up, Zuccaro must have begun work on the design fairly early in 1577; by October of that year, he had sent a drawing to Cort, who had begun work on the plate. After Cort's death, the plate remained in Rome for some time, perhaps only reaching Florence in the spring of 1579, when it was issued with Arias Montano's Latin poem.<sup>21</sup> We shall probably never know whether Zuccaro originally instructed Cort or his associates to engrave the poem or some other text. In any case the association of Zuccaro's allegory of the arts with this virtuous defense of the faith would have provided a favorable framework for the reception of his dome frescoes, which would be revealed a few months later, on August 19, 1579.<sup>22</sup>

Arias Montano's poem, which is more a response to the image than an interpretation, focuses on the sorry condition of the world and the role that painting can play in improving

the situation. The lamenting Muses are unable to describe the reasons for the current decline to Jupiter, but Painting presents him with an allegorical image that represents Faith on her knees, trying to hold her own against heresy and immorality. In the poem Jupiter responds that he will avenge these injustices and bring solace to the Muses. Whereas Arias Montano suggested that the Muses were weeping because of the sad state of affairs on earth, another interpretation has been advanced that relates the imagery more closely to professional concerns about the status of painting.

Gerards-Nelissen was the first to draw attention to two Italian texts that describe a personification of Painting who appears to a learned artist to deplore her fallen prestige.<sup>23</sup> The story was first told by Francesco Lancilotti in his *Tractato di pictura*, published in Rome in 1509; it also appeared, in a form closer to Zuccaro's image, in Michelangelo Biondo's *Della nobilissima pittura*, published in Venice in 1549. Biondo describes a large and beautiful embodiment of painting who appears to a painter to complain that whereas she reigned supreme in classical times, she is now insufficiently respected. She argues that she should be accepted as the tenth Muse. Gerards-Nelissen believes that Zuccaro illustrates this text, showing Painting directing the artist's attention to the heavens where the Muses weep because the Muse of painting has not yet been admitted to their number. The framed image depicting the evils in the world is presented to Jupiter as evidence of painting's power to influence men for the better. Although Gerards-Nelissen wants to dissociate the image from Zuccaro's later theorizing about Disegno and the Idea, her analysis of the iconography does bring it closer to a primary concern of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno: the elevation of the profession of the artist.

The Italian inscription found on some impressions of the engraving reflects this very concern. Scholars hold conflicting opinions as to whether Zuccaro authored or authorized the inscription; Gerards-Nelissen, like Hänsel, dismisses it as an unauthorized later addition. This fact would not preclude its relevance to Zuccaro's ideas, however, and the inscription bears further examination. This text states that "la virtù et le buone arti" (virtue and the fine arts), held in high esteem in former times, lament among themselves about their ill treatment in the present age and delegate Painting to present the situation to Jupiter. Thus Painting and her company expose the unhappy facts, throwing their tools at his feet. Jupiter seeks to punish the erring world by having Vulcan manufacture arms and sending out the Furies. While Gerards-Nelissen considers the luminous figure who addresses the painter a personification of Painting and Hänsel has argued that she can most appropriately be identified as Truth,<sup>24</sup> the Italian inscription gives her another name. The text states that the painter designs this allegory



4. Federico Zuccaro. *The Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts*. Pen and brush, brown ink heightened with white, squared for transfer with red chalk, on gray prepared paper, 8 7/8 x 14 1/2 in. (22.6 x 36.8 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Gift of Mr. Janos Scholz (1983.67)

within his studio, “keeping his eye and mind firm in the true intelligence, that stands nude before him.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, scholars who believe that the Italian inscription expresses Zuccaro’s intentions refer to the figure as the “vera intelligenza” (true intelligence), occasionally taking the argument further with reference to Zuccaro’s later writings and associating her with “Disegno Interno” or the Neoplatonic “Idea.”<sup>26</sup> Gerards-Nelissen and Hänsel disparage these associations as anachronistic,<sup>27</sup> yet while the theory of the Idea was not well developed at this time, Vasari had introduced the concept in his discussion of Disegno.

Vasari’s emphasis on the importance of Disegno (which translates from the Italian as both “drawing” and “design”) was intended to underline the intellectual aspect of the visual arts, dissociating them from craft. This was the premise of the Accademia del Disegno, of which Vasari was the principal founder; the new academy broke decisively with earlier artists’ guilds by uniting artists who relied on common mental processes rather than dividing them according to the materials they used. In the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, for example, Vasari opened his fifteenth chapter, “On Painting,” with the statement, “Because drawing/design, father of our three arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, proceeding from the intellect draws from many things a universal judgment similar to a form or Idea of all the things of nature. . . .”<sup>28</sup> Zuccaro’s marginal notes on this passage in his copy of the *Vite*—“a cold and weak definition of such an important subject”—certainly do not imply indifference to the concepts expressed.<sup>29</sup>

It is true that the Italian explanatory inscription on the print of *The Lament of Painting* must be regarded with caution, since its direct connection with Zuccaro has not been proven.<sup>30</sup> A petition that Zuccaro submitted to the head of

the Florentine academy in the late 1570s uses similar language, however.<sup>31</sup> Although most of Zuccaro’s suggestions for improvements in the running of the academy address practical pedagogical concerns, in his discussion of how students of sculpture should also receive instruction in drawing, Zuccaro wrote that “being one soul in two bodies, painting and sculpture, and the Intelligence of Disegno their proper soul, it [Disegno] is appropriate to one and to the other, the one and the other practice and science.”<sup>32</sup> In the next section he notes that architecture too, should be united with painting and sculpture, and that all the students should receive education in architecture. Thus, it seems that the Italian inscription referring to “vera intelligenza” found on some impressions of the print reflects Zuccaro’s views at least in part. I am inclined to believe that the inscription was not authored by Zuccaro, for, as Gerards-Nelissen has pointed out, it is far more likely, by analogy with the artist’s other allegories, that the figure who accompanies the Graces in introducing the tenth Muse to Jupiter is Spirito—not Amore, as stated in the inscription.<sup>33</sup> Even if it was not authored by Zuccaro or authorized by him, however, the text may have been written by someone who was acquainted with Zuccaro’s ideas. Thus, the inscription’s identification of the central figure as the “vera intelligenza” merits consideration.

The figure in the foreground exhibits none of the traditional attributes of Painting. She is distinguished by her nudity and her luminosity, both of which can be attributes of Truth. A description of Truth as luminous can be found in the pages of Vincenzo Cartari’s *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*,<sup>34</sup> a book with which, as shall be demonstrated below, Zuccaro was familiar. The idea of Truth as naked was known to him from the Venetian publisher Francesco Marcolini’s printer’s device, which illustrated Truth Revealed by Time, a design borrowed by Zuccaro on more than one occasion.<sup>35</sup> Yet the figure in *The Lament of Painting* also has rays of light coming from her head and wings on her feet, features that could allude to intelligence. The luminous female nude may indeed represent the “vera intelligenza,” yet in an engraving that represents an artist’s studio this must be “l’Intelligenza del disegno,” which, as Zuccaro makes clear in his advice for the Florentine academy, is most closely associated with painting but unites all the arts.

As for the Muse who pleads with Jupiter, the Italian inscription identifies her as Painting, one of the “buone arti,” without referring explicitly to the Muses. Arias Montano’s poem also states that it is Painting alone who is able to communicate with Jupiter. Gerards-Nelissen identifies her as the Muse of painting, with reference to the accounts of Lancilotti and Biondo, but this identification is problematic for its exclusion of the arts of sculpture and architecture. Each of the Muses has her sphere of influence, and if a new Muse is

appointed to represent painting exclusively, who is to inspire sculptors and architects? The tenth Muse has the tools of painting spread out in front of her, but just behind her one finds the mallet of the sculptor and the measuring tools of the architect. If these are not associated with her, to which of the Muses can they belong? In a related allegorical design, *The Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* (Figure 4), which likely dates to the same period, we find the representatives of the visual arts in the company of those who practice other arts and sciences.<sup>36</sup> On the right side of the drawing, three women are depicted practicing the arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture. It is true that the personification of painting is by far the most conspicuous—the painter's easel looms large, while the personification of sculpture is quite cramped in her corner—but there is some sense of equality and sisterhood among the three arts. In the allegory engraved by Cort, the exalted place given to the painter (Zuccaro) tends to privilege the art of painting to an even greater degree (see Figure 1). Yet on the table at right we notice a prominent display that includes a male statuette, a fragmentary female torso, two compasses, a ruler, an inkwell with quills, a knife, and a stiff board or plate, along with what may be a curled-up architectural plan that visually abuts the tower in the painting behind. While one could argue that these objects are part of the normal trappings of a painter's studio—and essential teaching tools—in this deliberately constructed allegory they must also stand in for the allied arts of sculpture and painting. It seems highly unlikely that an artist who was a member of the Accademia del Disegno would have entirely isolated painting from the other arts of design.

In designing an engraving celebrating the visual arts, Zuccaro was surely aware that he was entering into a tradition established by other distinguished members of the Accademia del Disegno. Joannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), a Flemish painter who had long been prominent at the Medici court and a close associate of Vasari, designed an allegory of the arts in 1573 that was engraved by Cort and published, apparently for the first time, only in 1578 (Figure 5).<sup>37</sup> This engraving seems to show an idealized academy where young artists study anatomy and draw from sculptures while mature masters are shown carving stone, sculpting clay, painting a fresco, drawing an architectural plan, and engraving a metal plate.<sup>38</sup> Although the statues of Roma and the Tiber in the center of the image place these activities in a Roman context, Stradanus also produced a drawing, now in Heidelberg, that features Brunelleschi's dome and the river Arno, with personifications of the three Arts of Disegno at work; Painting is depicted working on a fresco of Flora, patron goddess of the city of Florence. Since the figures in the drawing are all represented using their left hands, Stradanus must have intended to have this design engraved as well.<sup>39</sup> Heikamp, followed by Alessandra



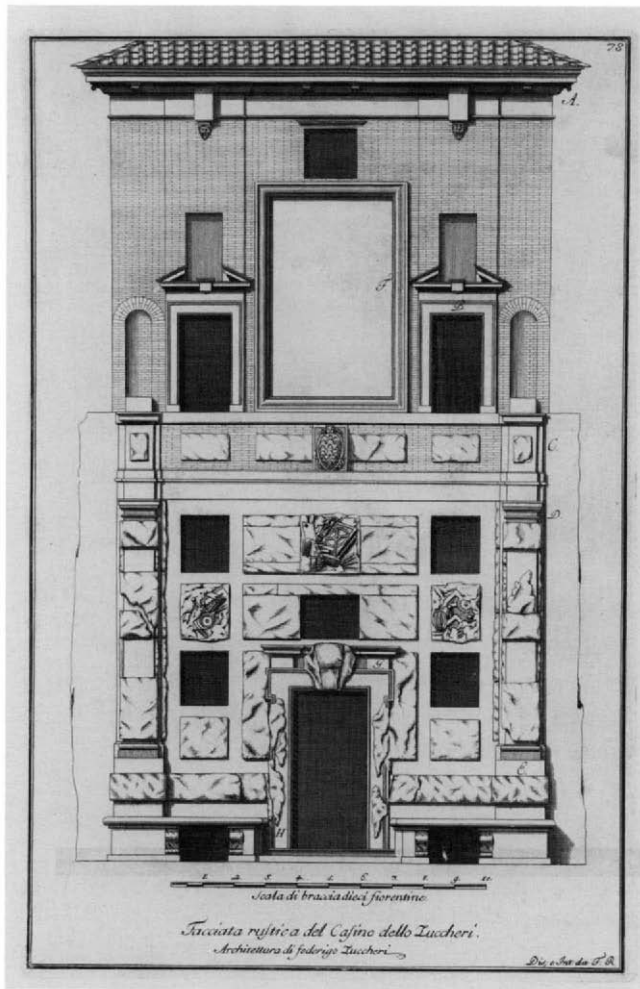
5. Cornelis Cort after Jan van der Straet (Joannes Stradanus; Netherlandish, 1523–1605). *The Practitioners of the Visual Arts*, 1578. Engraving, sheet: 16 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (42.8 x 28.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.509)

Baroni, has suggested that these drawings represent the academies of the respective cities, but since the Roman academy was not in existence until 1593, they probably represent a more general allegory of artistic training and practice. Given the difference in presentation, as well as significant differences in size and format, the drawings may be separated by quite a few years.

Another precedent for Zuccaro's engraving is a work by Vasari, the founder of the Accademia del Disegno, who painted what Matthias Winner has called "das erste echte Akademiebild" (the first true academy picture). In the painting *Ingenium et ars* in the Uffizi, Vasari represented Minerva as the intellectual aspect of art and Vulcan as the practitioner, the craftsman; behind Vulcan is a depiction of his forge, and behind Minerva a representation of an academy, where a small sculpture of the Three Graces rests on a high shelf.<sup>40</sup>

In attempting to place Zuccaro's allegory within the context of the Florentine academy, it is vital to recall that when the engraving was published in Florence in May 1579, it was dedicated to the art collector Nicolò Gaddi, an important figure in the Accademia del Disegno who had been elected its head (*luogotenente*) in January of that year and among whose papers Zuccaro's petition was preserved.<sup>41</sup> In

6. Ferdinando Ruggieri (Italian, ca. 1691–1741). *Facciata rustica del Casino dello Zuccheri*, first published 1724. From *Scelta di architetture antiche e moderne della città di Firenze* (Florence: Giuseppe Bochard, 1755), pl. 78. Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York University Institute of Fine Arts Fund, 1958, transferred from the Library (1991.1073.13[2])



7. Sculptural relief on the facade of Federico Zuccaro's Florentine studio, illustrating the tools of the painter. Photograph: the author



issuing the engraving, Zuccaro must have hoped to announce his intentions of elevating the art of Disegno and the profession of painting as part of his efforts to become a leading force in the academy. I believe that Zuccaro also had other plans for the composition that would have allowed him to publicize his didactic intentions in a highly visible location.

Although Heikamp pointed out that both the engraving, which depicted the artist in a splendid studio, and Zuccaro's newly constructed studio itself bear dates of 1579 and that the two projects have a close relationship, neither he nor anyone else has suggested that the composition may have been intended for the decoration of the studio.<sup>42</sup> Probably this is because Heikamp and many of the scholars who followed him were convinced that the engraving was a polemical response to critics of the dome frescoes. Yet, as I have demonstrated, the design for the print originated much earlier, around the same time that Zuccaro purchased the property of Andrea del Sarto and began his ambitious plans for a studio of revolutionary design. As Heikamp was the first to discuss, Zuccaro's strikingly original studio facade includes as its centerpiece a large framed field meant to contain a fresco (Figure 6). The rusticated facade also contains three roughly carved stone relief sculptures, one at the center beneath the space reserved for the fresco and the other two lower down on either side. While the dense imagery of these worn reliefs is difficult to read, it appears that the central relief, containing a pot with pens and a palette with brushes, represents the tools of the painter (Figure 7). That at the left, which includes a mallet, must represent the tools of the sculptor and that at the right, the tools of the architect. Acidini Luchinat has said that the "extraordinary facade" was "probably supposed to be an artistic manifesto, a program of life and profession."<sup>43</sup> Zygmunt Ważbiński suggested that, given the presence of sculptural reliefs alluding to the three parts of Disegno, the two niches on the facade might have contained sculptures representing Theory and Practice and the painting must have been an allegory of the arts.<sup>44</sup> He speculated that the painting might have been similar in theme to Zuccaro's *Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* drawing (see Figure 4) or the preparatory study for this composition in Berlin.<sup>45</sup> Although Zuccaro later adapted that subject to a vertical format for a fresco in his Roman palazzo, both the drawing and its preparatory study are horizontal compositions. Furthermore, *The Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* has a clear pendant in the *The Garden of Worldly Pleasures* in the Louvre. Heikamp suggested that these pendants were intended for the interior of the studio, which seems far more likely.<sup>46</sup> The allegory engraved by Cort, however, corresponds to the vertical orientation of the frame on the studio facade.

What could be more appropriate for the facade than this allegory of the arts, in which the luminous figure of the





8. Stone coat of arms of Federico Zuccaro surmounted by the Medici coat of arms, on the outside of Zuccaro's Florentine house. Photograph: the author



9. Facade of Federico Zuccaro's Florentine house, looking up at the framed field for a fresco. Photograph: the author

"vera intelligenza del disegno," placed directly above the tools of the painter, would seem to subsume the three arts alluded to below? Not only do the proportions of the design correspond roughly to the space provided, but the Zuccaro family emblem, a cone of sugar (*cono di zucchero*) with squash blossoms (*fiori di zucca*), would appear in an appropriate place on the facade. This "coat of arms" matches the one adorning the corner of Zuccaro's house, where it is likewise framed by cornucopia although somewhat dwarfed by the Medici coat of arms above (Figure 8). Surely the artist would have wanted to include the family symbol on his studio as well.<sup>47</sup> The allegory's composition is dense with figures and would have required some simplification for the studio exterior, but the framed field on the facade is quite large and not very far off the ground, as can be seen from a photograph recently taken from the street below (Figure 9).<sup>48</sup> The strong chiaroscuro makes the design readable from a distance, and the main figures would have stood out beautifully on the facade, presenting the conceit that one could look through the wall into Zuccaro's spacious new studio and see the painter at work. The illusionism of the engraving's design, in which the grotto containing Envy seems like an opening cut into the flat surface of a wall, is also well

suited to the location.<sup>49</sup> The way that Zuccaro has represented the light would have enhanced this illusion, for it appears to pour into the room from outside, falling onto the floor of the depicted studio and of Envy's grotto and illuminating the rim of the clouds above the artist.

A link between the engraved design and the studio facade is all the more likely since Zuccaro was not in the habit of creating designs exclusively for engraving. Of the seven other engravings he commissioned from Cort, there is only one for which no counterpart in another medium is known.<sup>50</sup> Three of the prints he produced in collaboration with Cort were created chiefly to record and publicize important public commissions, although the painter created new drawings to adapt the compositions to the print format.<sup>51</sup> Two of the other drawings he submitted to Cort correspond to details of his fresco cycles in private palaces; since the inscriptions do not record the location, these may have been viewed more as a way of recycling successful designs than as a means of promoting previous commissions.<sup>52</sup> *The Calumny of Apelles* was not a commissioned work, but even in that case Zuccaro was not content to have the composition exist merely in black and white. Two painted versions on canvas are known, one in the Palazzo Caetani, Rome,



10. Federico Zuccaro. *The Artist and His Wife Attended by Servants, with Zuccaro's Students in the Doorway*. Detail of fresco from Zuccaro's Florentine house, ca. 1578–79. Photograph: courtesy Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence



and another in the Royal Collections at Hampton Court, which are almost identical to the engraving and include the same ornamental historiated frame.<sup>53</sup> It is reasonable to imagine, therefore, that when Zuccaro conceived the design that he hired Cort to engrave, he was also looking forward to astonishing Florence with the novelty of painting such a subject on an artist's studio.<sup>54</sup>

It has been noted that Heikamp suggested a program for the decoration of the studio's interior, which would have consisted of *The Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* in the Morgan, squared for transfer, and its pendant drawing in the Louvre, *The Garden of Worldly Pleasures*.<sup>55</sup> It makes sense

that these didactic pendants were meant for the interior of the studio, where they would serve as a reminder to the artist's students to stick to the virtuous path. The importance to Zuccaro of his students, whom he surely viewed as more than apprentices and studio assistants, is evident from his plan to include spaces for their lodging within the studio.<sup>56</sup> The value he placed on them is even more evident from his decision to include them in a family portrait within his house. In a lunette in one of the ground-floor rooms, Zuccaro painted himself and his new bride, Francesca Genga, seated at table and attended by servants (Figure 10). In the doorway sit three young students, engaged in an animated discussion; their drawings and tools rest on the floor of the dining room and on a stool just inside the door.<sup>57</sup> In the background behind the students can be discerned the new studio, still under construction.<sup>58</sup>

This brings us to the decoration of the house, and to the other work by Zuccaro that is our focus here, the Metropolitan Museum's *Study for Spring* (Figure 11). In one ground-floor room of Zuccaro's Florentine palazzo, a cycle of frescoes has survived that includes the genre scene described above, landscapes, a mythological scene, episodes from the life of Aesop, and an allegory of Time. The Metropolitan's drawing, acquired in 2002, is related to the fresco representing spring

11. Federico Zuccaro. *Study for Spring*. Pen and brown ink, red chalk, brown wash, and heightening, 8 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (22 x 35 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ian Woodner Family Collection Fund, 2002 (2002.96)







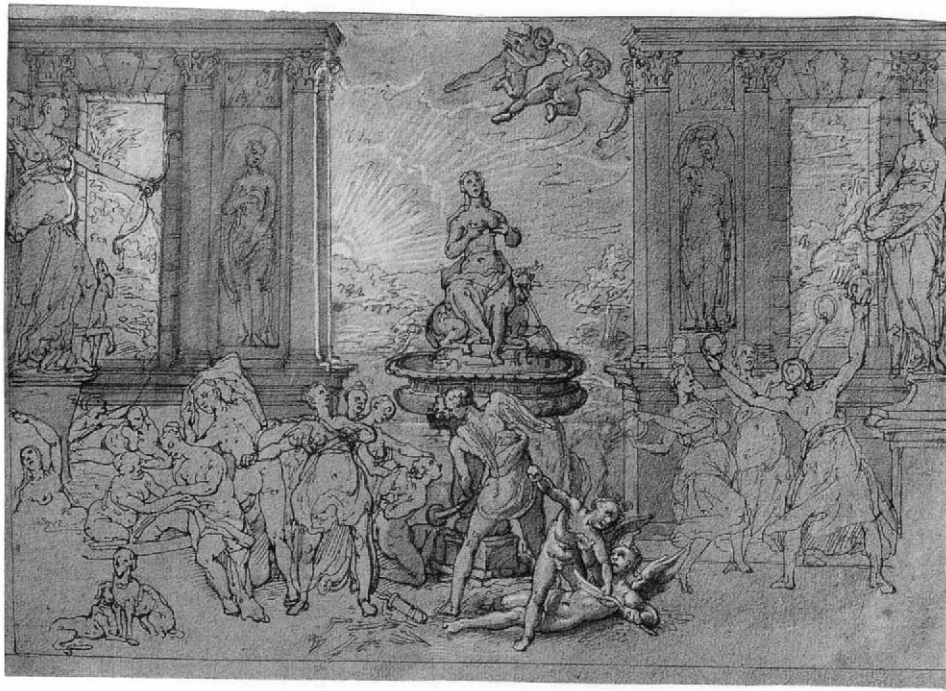
12. Federico Zuccaro. Detail of *Allegory of Spring* in Figure 13

(Figure 12), one of the allegories of the seasons that surround the figure of Father Time in the center of the room's vault (Figure 13).<sup>59</sup> Unknown before it appeared on the art market, the Metropolitan's drawing is one of three that depict the same allegorical scene of spring. A nearly identi-

cal drawing, although without the border seen in the Metropolitan's work, can be found in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome (Figure 14); another drawing in Lisbon, considered a studio replica of a lost original, is closer to the finished fresco yet has the same



13. Federico Zuccaro. *Time and the Seasons*. Fresco painted in the vault of a ground-floor room of Zuccaro's Florentine house, ca. 1578–79. Photograph: courtesy Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence



14. Federico Zuccaro. *Study for Spring*. Pen and brown ink, brown wash and white heightening, traces of black chalk, 7 1/4 x 10 3/8 in. (18.3 x 26.5 cm). Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome (FC 126126)

rectangular format as the drawings in Rome and New York.<sup>60</sup> These works have been considered preparatory to Zuccaro's ceiling fresco, despite the fact that the drawings' rectangular format, their spatial conception, and the proportions of their figures do not correspond to the fresco, where the composition has been altered and greatly simplified. With the discovery of the Metropolitan's study—a third clearly autograph drawing for this design, and one, moreover, with an elaborate border—it becomes clear that Zuccaro had a separate and more significant project in mind.

Carmen Bambach, writing in 2005, was the first to recognize that Zuccaro must have altered his intentions for the design.<sup>61</sup> She suggested that he had originally planned to paint the subject on a rectangular wall surface and later simplified the design for the ceiling fresco. This is entirely plausible, since a detailed study for the season of summer in La Valletta, Malta, also has a rectangular format,<sup>62</sup> as do the two allegorical drawings in the Morgan and Louvre mentioned earlier that were probably planned as decorations for the studio. Possibly Zuccaro originally intended to fresco the walls as well as the ceiling of this ground-floor room of the house.<sup>63</sup> Alternatively—or, more likely, additionally—the rectangular composition, with its complex iconography and ornate frame, could have been intended for an engraving.

Whereas only one detailed drawing is known for the allegory of summer and no preparatory material survives for those of fall or winter, which are far simpler and indeed rather schematic, there are, as noted above, three complete drawings for the spring subject. There is also a sketch in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, which may represent an early idea for the subject of spring.<sup>64</sup> Thus, of the seasons,

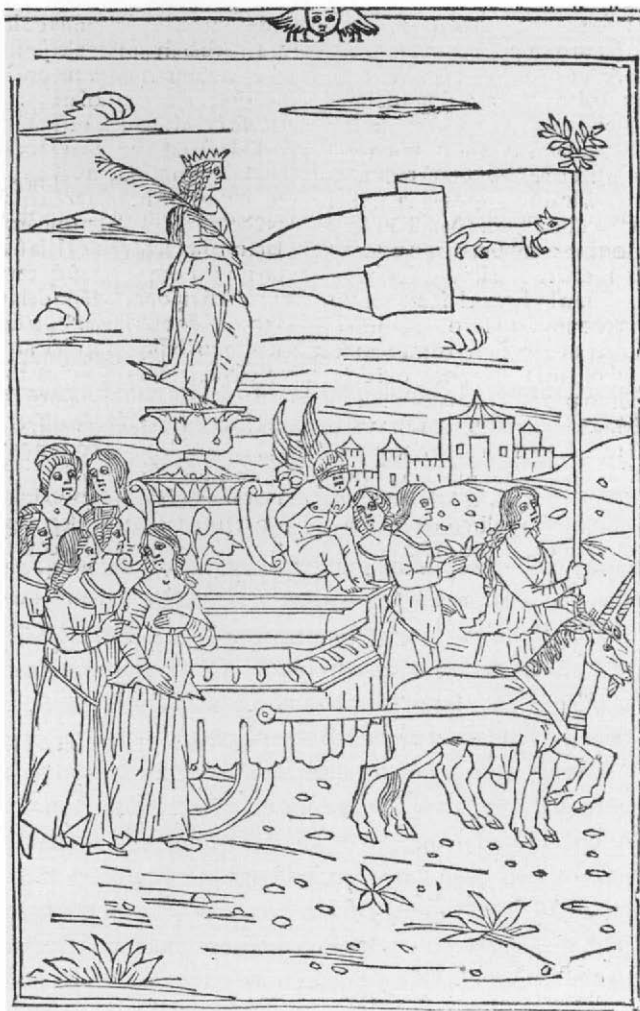
spring must have been of special importance to Zuccaro. The decorative frame included in the Metropolitan Museum's drawing consists of garlands and floral scrolls with three empty cartouches along the top and one on each side—presumably the drawing has been trimmed along the bottom edge—that were clearly destined to contain subsidiary images. To the left of the central cartouche in the top border, there is a paper patch that seems to have been added by the artist, perhaps covering an earlier idea for the ornamental border. In addition, a plaque or banner hangs from the center of the frame, overlapping the image slightly, that was no doubt meant for a title or other inscription. This drawing appears to be earlier than the one in Rome, for although it has been worked up to a higher finish, shaded with wash and highlighted throughout, loose and sketchy underdrawing in red and black chalk is visible; it also contains numerous *pentimenti*. The drawing in Rome, though exactly the same size as the central part of the New York drawing, lacks the frame and contains no *pentimenti*. Although some of its figures have been worked up with white highlighting and wash shading, notably the three Cupids in the foreground and the central fountain, most of the figures are represented in pure outline. Where the contours are unclear in the New York drawing, particularly in the lower left corner, with its almost illegible tangle of lines, the area has been left blank in the Roman drawing. Although this absence of lines could imply a copy by another hand, it could also represent a deliberate omission on Zuccaro's part. The Rome and New York drawings are very similar in their selective wash and highlighting. No incising is visible on either work; the New York drawing has not been blackened on the verso, nor are any other signs of transfer detectable.<sup>65</sup> The New York drawing also contains a few significant details, such as the vase of flowers in the right foreground and the water that issues from the central fountain, that are absent in the Rome drawing and that are critical to the reading of the allegory, as will be shown.

The iconography of the drawings in New York and Rome—which differs significantly from that of the finished fresco—is quite unusual. It has never been analyzed; even the fresco has never been fully explicated. Heikamp, who published the fresco decoration for the first time, described the iconography of the cycle of seasons in summary fashion, concentrating his analysis on the figure of Time (Figure 15), a novel invention that he identified as originating with Zuccaro's friend, the Florentine expatriate writer Anton Francesco Doni.<sup>66</sup> As in Doni's allegory, published in his *Pitture* of 1564,<sup>67</sup> Zuccaro depicts Time as an old man with wings who is flanked by two children, an emaciated child who looks into the mirror of the past and a plump one who points to the mirror of the future. At the bottom two additional children, representing Night and Day, point to a book in which all the events of history are inscribed.<sup>68</sup> It is here,





15. Detail of *Allegory of Time* in Figure 13



16. Pico Master. *Triumph of Chastity*. Woodcut. From Francesco Petrararch, *Opere; Triumphi, Soneti, & Canzone* (Venice: Bartolomeo Zanni da Portese, 1508), p. 34v (signature fii verso), first published in edition of 1492. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.43.1)

in the pages of the book, that we find the date 1579, presumably the date of completion of the frescoes.

Heikamp briefly described what was represented in the rest of the fresco. In the scene of spring (see Figure 12), he identified a statue of Diana, goddess of the hunt, at left; a virgin with her unicorn on the fountain at center; and a statue representing spring at right. Observing that the preparatory drawing contains many more figures, he singled out the struggling figures of Sacred and Profane Love, noting that these same figures appear in Zuccaro's palazzo in Rome.<sup>69</sup> Heikamp does not attempt to identify the figures who dance in the vicinity of the statue of "Spring," nor does he explain how the allegory functions or the significance of Sacred and Profane Love in a seasonal allegory. Acidini Luchinat repeats Heikamp's identifications in an overview of the fresco's content. She believes the whole ceiling alludes to Zuccaro's beloved theme of Truth Revealing Time, suggesting that even the allegory of the seasons has a polemical bent. In a footnote she mentions the preparatory drawing in Rome, with the figures of Sacred and Profane Love, and the second preparatory drawing in Lisbon, which she calls simplified and by another hand.<sup>70</sup> In the catalogue for the exhibition "Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici," held in Florence in 1997, Piera Giovanna Tordella analyzed the relationship of the drawing in Rome to that in Lisbon and to the sketch in the Biblioteca Nazionale and described more of the figures in the preparatory drawings, although without attempting to explain their significance.<sup>71</sup> None of these authors were yet familiar with the drawing now in the Metropolitan Museum and so were not fully aware of the attention Zuccaro devoted to the subject.

Before turning to the drawings, it will be useful to consider the iconography of the fresco. Heikamp's identification of the statue at left as that of Diana, chaste goddess of the hunt, is indisputable. Her nymphs have returned from hunting and, casting off their clothing, enter the fountain of Diana. In front of the fountain we see their dogs. Heikamp is also correct in identifying the figure who ornaments the fountain at center as a virgin with her tame unicorn.<sup>72</sup> The belief that unicorns could be tamed only by virgins dates back to medieval times, as does the conviction that the horn of the beast could purify water. In representations of Petrarch's *Triumph of Chastity* in prints, book illustrations, and *cassone* panels, the chariot of Chastity is always pulled by unicorns (Figure 16), a detail never mentioned by Petrarch himself. In two of the earliest Florentine engravings representing the subject, a virgin dressed in fifteenth-century attire is depicted seated on a hill behind the chariot of Chastity, combing the mane of a tame unicorn.<sup>73</sup>

The seminudity of Zuccaro's maiden, however, and the fact that water issues from her breasts are departures from tradition and result in a somewhat ambivalent symbol. The



17. Detail showing Flora and the Graces in Figure 11

nourishing breasts call to mind Diana of Ephesus, a symbol of fertile nature, which Zuccaro painted in these same years in his *Last Judgment* in the dome of the Florence cathedral. There a many-breasted old woman is represented lying on the ground in the company of personifications of the seasons to signify the sleep of nature at the end of time.<sup>74</sup> A fountain figure with water issuing from her breasts also calls to mind the statue by Zuccaro's friend Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511–1592) that represents Ceres, a symbol of the fruitful earth, and was intended for a fountain showing the cycle of water in the universe.<sup>75</sup> Zuccaro surely knew this sculpture, which was among those that had been moved to the Loggia dei Lanzi in 1563, awaiting final systematization in the Palazzo Vecchio,<sup>76</sup> and was probably still there in 1565 when he arrived to assist with decorations for the wedding of Prince Francesco de' Medici. By the time Zuccaro created his ceiling fresco, the *Ceres* was in the Palazzo Vecchio, although the fountain had still not been assembled as planned and never would be.<sup>77</sup> In addition to the *Ceres*, Zuccaro may have had in mind the mother of all nude female fountain figures, the nymph of the spring represented in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499.<sup>78</sup> There the lovely marble nymph from whose breasts the hero drinks is identified as "the Mother of All," indicating that she is Venus in



18. Bartolomeo Ammanati (Italian, 1511–1592). *Flora*, ca. 1565. Marble. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. Photograph: courtesy Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence

her role as Mother Nature or earth goddess.<sup>79</sup> The seemingly unusual fusion of chastity and fertility in Zuccaro's fountain design is paralleled in the two contrasting sides of the fresco.

In counterpoint to the chaste Diana at the left of Zuccaro's composition, the statue at the right—which Heikamp labeled "Spring"—represents a draped figure holding flowers in a fold in her robe. In the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, a large vase of flowers is placed in front of her (Figure 17); in the fresco she is surrounded by two or three such vessels. Surely this figure is not Spring but rather Flora, the tutelary goddess of Florence who is also a goddess of the flowering fields and of the fertility that leads to the harvests of summer. Once again we can turn for comparison to a figure that Ammanati created for his projected fountain—this time his figure of Flora (Figure 18), which, like his statue of *Ceres*, had been moved to the Loggia dei Lanzi in 1563 and by 1579 was in the Palazzo Vecchio. It is precisely in 1579, the year that Zuccaro dated his frescoed ceiling, that a letter to Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici refers to two statues by Ammanati in the Palazzo Vecchio, one of which "was the Flora that holds flowers in her lap and a weapon in her arm and denotes Florence."<sup>80</sup> Ammanati's Flora, like Zuccaro's, holds flowers in "her lap," although the fold in the gown of Zuccaro's Flora is far more ample. A similar



representation of Florence is found in the Stradanus drawing in Heidelberg mentioned earlier and likely dating from the same period: there a personification of painting paints Flora, who bears flowers in an ample fold of her mantle.<sup>81</sup> The object held in Flora's raised arm in Stradanus's drawing could be a weapon, as in Ammanati's sculpture, or it could be a fleur-de-lis, another emblem of Florence. Undoubtedly Zuccaro's Flora also carries a double meaning as a symbol of his adopted city.

If the draped figure represents Flora, then what are we to make of the three nymphs who worship her? The objects in their hands in the fresco are clearly tambourines, but this may be the result of confusion on the part of early restorers, for in the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum it is evident that these women grasp garlands of flowers.<sup>82</sup> The nymphs' identity can be established by consulting Ovid's *Fasti*, an obvious source for a seasonal allegory and one that was readily accessible to Zuccaro in the form of Vincenzo Cartari's Italian translation, *I fasti di Ovidio*, published in Venice in 1551. There, in a description of the spring festival of the Floralia, Flora describes her realm: "I enjoy perpetual spring. . . In the fields that are my dower, I have a garden of the most fertile terrain that ever existed. . . When in the morning the gentle breezes have made the dew fall from the leafy trees and the grass has felt the tempered heat of Phoebus, the Hours . . . come there and with their white hands gather the beautiful flowers . . . and the Graces come there likewise to make beautiful garlands that afterwards bind their divine locks."<sup>83</sup> Clearly, the three women holding crowns of flowers are the Graces, who appear in so many of Zuccaro's allegories.<sup>84</sup> It is interesting that this passage from the *Fasti*, like Zuccaro's fresco and his related drawings, evokes the dawn as well as the springtime. In the fresco cycle, each allegory relates to an age of man and a time of day as well as a season. Spring relates to the dawn, and in Zuccaro's drawings in Rome and New York the rays of sun that fan out from the horizon and gild the columns at the entry to the loggia clearly allude to the break of day.

How are we to understand this allegorical fresco of spring in which Diana, representing chastity, is placed opposite Flora, representing fertility, with the fountain between them fusing the ideas of chastity and fertility? We can turn again to the *Fasti*, where the goddess recounts the myth of her transformation from Chloris, nymph of the bare fields, to Flora, describing how Zephyr ravished her and then made her his wife and the queen of flowers<sup>85</sup>—a metamorphosis most strikingly represented by Botticelli in his *Primavera*.<sup>86</sup> The opposition between Diana (and her nymphs) and Flora (and the Graces, who worship her as the goddess of the flowering fields) suggests a transition from the sterility of winter to the fertile promise of spring that echoes Flora's own transformation.



19. Detail of *Allegory of Summer* in Figure 13

Zuccaro's fresco of spring, as well as the drawing in Lisbon, contains two additional figures, a young boy and girl who appear in the background to the left of the fountain. The young girl, fully dressed, crowns the nude boy. The significance of these figures is made clear by comparison with the fresco of summer, where, in exactly the same position, we find two seated lovers kissing and embracing passionately (Figure 19). In addition, marriages are celebrated in the upper right of the summer fresco—where peasants dance around the figure of Hymen, god of weddings. Thus, the transition from spring to summer in the cycle of the seasons represents how the budding of love in childhood (the dawn or springtime of life) comes to fruition in adulthood (noontime or summer). It should be noted that the fresco and all the drawings also depict two infant Cupids flying from the loggia—one of whom is grasping a bow.

The theme of love, delicately suggested in the ceiling frescoes, comes to the fore in the drawings in Rome and New York, where several figures of Cupid are placed in the foreground (Figure 20). At left, near the fountain of Diana, an adolescent Cupid is being punished by Diana's nymphs. The war between the chaste huntress Diana and Venus, goddess of love, was a familiar conceit in Renaissance art. In the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, for example, the protagonist Polia is portrayed as a devotee of Diana (probably to be understood as a nun) who, after having a frightening dream about Cupid's vengeance on those who resist his power, decides to reciprocate Poliphilo's love; after switching her allegiance to Venus, Polia experiences a vision of the goddess of love pursuing Diana in her chariot, melting the icy goddess with the flames of a giant torch held by Cupid.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, in a painting commissioned by Isabella d'Este from Perugino (active by 1469, d. 1523), *The Battle of Chastity and Lasciviousness* of 1505 (Musée du Louvre,





20. Detail showing Cupids around the fountain in Figure 11

Paris), Diana and her nymphs, with the assistance of Minerva, are depicted in fierce battle with Venus, Cupid, and all his little brothers.<sup>88</sup>

In Zuccaro's drawings Diana and Venus appear only as statues—a Venus Pudica (Venus of Modesty) can be recognized in the niche behind the fountain of Diana—but their representatives, chaste nymphs and carnal cupids, are engaged in active combat. Cupid has been forced to his knees with his hands bound behind his back. One of Diana's nymphs plucks feathers from his wings, while another, in the foreground, breaks his bow. Broken arrows litter the ground in front of the fountain. The ultimate source for this iconography is Petrarch's *Trionfi* (*Triumphs*). While Petrarch's first triumph celebrates Cupid and shows all the great men and mighty gods who have been subject to his power—including Jupiter, who is

21. Jacopo del Sellaio (Italian, 1441/42–1493). *The Triumph of Chastity*. Oil on panel. Museo Bandini, Fiesole. Photograph: Scala / Art Resource, New York



bound to Cupid's chariot—in the second triumph Chastity engages in battle with Cupid. Petrarch describes Cupid's ultimate defeat and his punishment at the hands of chaste women; on Chastity's chariot, it is Cupid who is bound beneath the victor (see Figures 16, 21).

The theme of Cupid's defeat and punishment was popular in domestic art, particularly in Tuscany, where it was painted on *cassoni*, wainscoting, and other furniture, illustrated in prints, and used on plaquettes and majolica. Household furniture depicting this subject was often commissioned in connection with weddings.<sup>89</sup> The Triumph of Chastity may seem an odd subject to decorate the nuptial chamber, yet a faithful marriage was considered a second state of chastity. One of the examples closest to Zuccaro's drawing is Jacopo del Sellaio's *Triumph of Chastity* in the Museo Bandini, Fiesole (Figure 21). There a long-limbed Cupid's hands are tied behind his back by one maiden while another plucks his feathers and a third breaks his bow on her knee.

This Petrarchan imagery was so closely bound up with Florentine tradition that Poliziano adopted it in his famed *Stanze per la Giostra di Giuliano de' Medici* (1475–78), where the poet describes the dream experienced by Giulio (as Giuliano is called in the poem) before the joust: Giulio sees his beloved Simonetta, with a stern face, tying Cupid to an olive tree, plucking the feathers from his wings, and breaking his bow and arrows.<sup>90</sup> This dream vision corresponds to the actual banner, painted by Botticelli (1444/45–1510), that Giuliano carried into the joust. Although the banner no longer survives, a report of the joust informs us that it represented Pallas Minerva with her shield and lance standing near an olive tree, to which Cupid was tied, "his hands bound behind his back with golden cords," with shattered arrows at his feet—an image clearly intended to allude to the chastity of Simonetta.<sup>91</sup>

The drawings in Rome and New York also illustrate other winged boys who do not have any basis in Petrarchan imagery. The two battling Cupids so prominent in the foreground have usually been identified as Sacred and Profane Love. They can more accurately be called Eros and Anteros, however, and linked to Cartari as their source. Although there were two readings of these figures current in the sixteenth century, Cartari, in his handbook on the gods of the ancients, first published with illustrations in Venice in 1571, clearly stated that the interpretation of Eros and Anteros as love and anti-love was in error: "But whoever believes that is seriously deceived, for Anteros was adored not because he made [an individual] turn against love, but because he punished whomever, being loved, did not love [in return]. . . ." After repeating a story told by Pausanias about how Anteros avenged a disappointed lover, he concludes, "and we can see that this one is no other than



reciprocal love.” Cartari went on to describe statues of two boys that the Greeks often displayed in their schools: one was Eros (Cupid), who held a palm branch in his hand, and the other Anteros, who struggled to take it from him. This represented the struggle of two lovers, each trying to prove that he or she loves the most fervently.<sup>92</sup>

If we compare Zuccaro’s drawing with the etched illustration in Cartari (Figure 22), we can see that he has depicted Eros and Anteros in a much more vigorous and athletic struggle: one of the boys has fallen to the ground but still maintains his grip on the palm, which the other tries to wrest from him. While the object over which they fight is not entirely clear in the drawing in Rome, in the New York drawing it is plainly identifiable as a palm branch. It is highly likely that Zuccaro, with his love of allegory, would have obtained a copy of the book by Cartari, who belonged to the same circle in which he had moved during his stay in Venice.<sup>93</sup> Zuccaro’s inclusion of the third Cupid in Cartari’s woodcut confirms that the illustration served as his source. This figure is Cupid Letheros, the Cupid who helps lovers forget unhappy loves by dousing his torch in the river of Lethe.<sup>94</sup> The Cupid to the left of Eros and Anteros in Zuccaro’s drawings in Rome and New York can be seen to hold a torch, which he lowers to the ground, but only in the Metropolitan’s drawing does water issue from the fountain onto the flame.

Now that we have identified the principal sources of the figures in this unprecedented allegory, the meaning of its unusual combination of imagery can be addressed. The composition can reasonably be seen in relation to Zuccaro’s marriage, which took place in May 1578. As noted, Zuccaro painted a fresco of his bride and himself seated at their dining table in the same room that contained the frescoes of the seasons dated to 1579. If the scene in Zuccaro’s drawing is to be read as a progression from left to right, from the sterility or chastity of Diana to the fertility of Flora, then perhaps, as in many narratives of love, the nymphs punishing Cupid could represent the initial hesitation and resistance of Zuccaro’s beloved, who clings to her chastity.<sup>95</sup> The Cupid who douses his flame could represent Zuccaro’s subsequent efforts to forget his beloved, who had rejected his advances. Finally, the Cupids who struggle for the palm and are placed in the realm of Flora could signify the happy fulfillment of reciprocated love. Since marriage imagery frequently combined the ideas of chastity and fertility, however, the different aspects of the design are not necessarily meant to be viewed as either oppositional or sequential. The painted furniture commissioned for conjugal chambers adapted the imagery of Petrarch’s *Triumphs* to convey the idea that carnal love is disciplined or confined within marriage.<sup>96</sup> Thus the scene at left, in which Cupid is chastised, could carry the usual significance of a disciplining of carnal desire



22. Bolognino Zaltieri (Italian, fl. 1560–80) after a design attributed to Giuseppe Porta Salviati (Italian, ca. 1520–ca. 1575). *Eros and Anteros and Cupid Letheros*. Etching. From Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1571), p. 502. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1948 (48.81)

within matrimony. As noted earlier, the fountain at the center explicitly combines, in a novel manner, the ideas of chastity and fertility that are the two seemingly contrary requirements of marriage.<sup>97</sup> The figures from Cartari introduce a new element into the iconography. Eros and Anteros and the happy idea of reciprocal love are clearly appropriate to a marriage allegory, but the meaning of Cupid Letheros is less apparent. Perhaps Zuccaro sought here to combine an idea expressed by Cartari with a passage from Petrarch’s *Triumph of Chastity* to allude to fidelity. The poet describes the chain of diamonds and topaz “once dipped in Lethe’s stream” that Chastity uses to bind Cupid to a column of jasper.<sup>98</sup> The dipping of the chain in the river of forgetfulness is apparently proof against temptations, symbolized in the poem by Cupid’s arrows, dipped in pleasure. Perhaps a similar meaning is conveyed by Zuccaro’s Cupid, who does not simply douse his torch in the river of oblivion but quenches it in waters purified by the unicorn’s horn.<sup>99</sup>

I believe that Zuccaro took such care with his allegory of spring because it was intended to commemorate not only his marriage but also his identification with his adopted city. The extensive use of Petrarchan imagery, so closely bound up with Florentine tradition, and above all the worship of Flora—the personification of the city under whose aegis his love finds its happy consummation (in the guise of Eros

and Anteros)—indicate that Zuccaro wanted to celebrate Florence as his newfound home.

We can only hypothesize about the medium in which Zuccaro intended to carry out this allegory. The drawing in the Metropolitan Museum with its elaborate frame invites comparison with Cort's *Calumny of Apelles* (see Figure 2), suggesting that Zuccaro might have planned to engrave the allegory of spring as well. As noted earlier, however, it was rare for the artist to conceive a design solely for the purpose of engraving: *The Calumny of Apelles* survives in two painted versions, both of which include the historiated frame. Zuccaro also painted frescoes with comparable fictive frames and even, on occasion, with a painted plaque bearing an inscription.<sup>100</sup> It is true that the technique used for the drawing in New York is very similar to that used by Zuccaro in his preparatory drawings for the *Calumny of Apelles* and *Coronation of the Virgin* engravings, as well as for the top half of the *Lament of Painting* engraving, and it is also comparable to that used by Stradanus in *The Practitioners of the Visual Arts* (see Figure 5).<sup>101</sup> This technique of pen and ink with wash and highlighting was certainly not reserved for drawings that were preparatory for prints, however. One of the strongest indications that the drawing was intended primarily for a wall fresco is the existence of its counterpart, the drawing for the subject of summer in La Valletta mentioned earlier. Moreover, while the floral border of the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum is appropriate to the subject, it also gives the design the appearance of a tapestry, and it would make sense that Zuccaro wanted to paint frescoes on the wall of his Florentine home that would imitate the appearance of tapestry.<sup>102</sup> The obvious care that Zuccaro put into designing his allegory of spring and the existence of multiple drawings are the only evidence that he intended to reproduce the design in a second medium. Nevertheless, since the subject celebrates not only the private matter of Zuccaro's marriage but also his identification with Florence, and since he so often had his designs engraved, it is reasonable to imagine that he hoped to have this composition published as well. This possibility must, however, remain in the realm of speculation.

Finally, it should be noted that the vase of flowers in the engraving of *The Lament of Painting* (see Figure 1) has never been explained. This bouquet, very like the one that appears in the foreground of Zuccaro's drawing of spring in New York, is not replicated in the Roman drawing of the same subject and may have been a late addition. The flowers in the engraving may also have been added at the last minute, just before the quarrel between Cort and Zuccaro erupted or just before Cort's death, and never finished—which could explain why the shading is incomplete. This vase of flowers

may be an allusion to Florence, where Zuccaro's studio was located and where he hoped to play a key role in elevating his profession. The prominence of Hercules, who sits directly above the artist, may also have special meaning. Scholars have read Hercules as a figure of virtue and a protector of the arts in the work; while this is certainly valid, it should not be forgotten that Hercules was the legendary founder of Florence, who had appeared on the city seal as early as the thirteenth century and whose imagery was adopted by the Medici once they assumed control of the city.<sup>103</sup>

With the unveiling of Zuccaro's frescoes on August 19, 1579, and the storm of abuse that greeted them, the artist's devotion to his new hometown soon soured. When his proposed plans to continue work in the cathedral were rejected, Zuccaro recognized that his dreams of fulfillment in Florence were an illusion and he soon departed for Rome. Although it is possible that the elaborate allegory of spring represented in the drawings in Rome and New York evolved out of Zuccaro's designs for the frescoed vault of his ground-floor room, another explanation seems more likely: once the artist realized that Florence was not to become his permanent home, he simplified and reduced the decorative program for his Florentine house, abandoned any plan he might have had to reproduce the design of spring as an engraving, and pressed an abbreviated version of the composition into service for a rapidly executed ceiling fresco. Although Zuccaro prepared a place on the facade of his studio for a large painted allegory of the arts, the fresco was never executed. In Rome Zuccaro would again take up his decorative and didactic schemes and carry them further, playing a key role in the founding of the Roman academy for artists and building and decorating a magnificent palazzo with frescoes that celebrated himself, his family, and his artistic program.<sup>104</sup> Yet there too his ambitions would exceed his means, and his dreams would never find their complete fulfillment.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am extremely grateful to Andrea Bayer, Peter Lukehart, and Nadine M. Orenstein, who read an earlier draft of this article and provided many useful suggestions. I also benefited from conversations with Carmen C. Bambach, Julian Brooks, and Gert Jan van der Sman. It would have been impossible to write this article without the excellent foundations laid by the work of Detlef Heikamp and Cristina Acidini.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Acidini Luchinat 1998–99

Cristina Acidini Luchinat. *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: Fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*. Milan and Rome, 1998–99.

Acidini Luchinat 2002

Cristina Acidini Luchinat. "A Painter, Two Houses, One Destiny: Federico Zuccari in Florence and Rome." In *Feier der Überleitung des Kunsthistorischen Institutes Florenz in die Max-Planck-Gesellschaft*, pp. 33–54. Florence, 2002.

Aurigemma 1995

M. Giulia Aurigemma. "Lettere di Federico Zuccaro." *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, ser. 3, 18 (1995), pp. 207–46.

Bolzoni 2001

Lina Bolzoni. *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*. Translated by Jeremy Parzen. Toronto, 2001.

Brooks 2007

Julian Brooks. *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome*. Exh. cat., J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Los Angeles, 2007.

Bury 2001

Michael Bury. *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620*. London, 2001.

Cartari 1551

Vincenzo Cartari. *I Fasti di Ovidio tratti a lingua volgare*. Venice: Marcolini, 1551.

Cartari 1571

Vincenzo Cartari. *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*. 3d ed. Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1571.

Gerards-Nelissen 1983

Inemie Gerards-Nelissen. "Federigo Zuccaro and the *Lament of Painting*." *Simiolus* 13 (1983), pp. 44–53.

Hänsel 1999

Sylvaine Hänsel. "Federico Zuccari, Benito Arias Montano und der 'Lamento de la Pittura.'" In *Der Maler Federico Zuccari: Ein römischer Virtuoso von europäischem Ruhm*, ed. Matthias Winner and Detlef Heikamp, pp. 147–57. Munich, 1999.

Heikamp 1957

Detlef Heikamp. "Vicende di Federigo Zuccari." *Rivista d'arte* 32 (1957), pp. 175–232.

Heikamp 1967

Detlef Heikamp. "Federico Zuccari a Firenze, 1575–1579) II: Federico a casa sua." *Paragone*, n.s., 18, no. 207 (May 1967), pp. 3–34.

Maffei 2004

Sonia Maffei, ed. *Pitture del Doni: Academico pellegrino*. Naples, 2004.

*Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici* 1997

*Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici: Arte a Firenze alla fine del Cinquecento*. Exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, Florence. Milan, 1997.

Sellink 1994

Manfred Sellink. *Cornelis Cort: "Constich plaedt-snijder van Horne in Hollandt / Accomplished Plate-Cutter from Hoorn in Holland."* Exh. cat., Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Rotterdam, 1994.

Sellink 2000

Manfred Sellink, comp. *Cornelis Cort*. Edited by Huigen Leeftang. [Vol. 8] of *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700*. 3 parts. Rotterdam, 2000.

Waźbiński 1985

Zygmunt Waźbiński. "Lo studio—la scuola fiorentina di Federico Zuccari." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 29 (1985), pp. 275–346.

## NOTES

1. Because of the Italian inscription on two impressions of the print, it is sometimes called *The Painter of True Intelligence*. As discussed below, both titles imply a certain interpretation that is open to debate, but for the sake of convenience I shall refer to it throughout as *The Lament of Painting*.
2. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, p. 53.
3. Hänsel 1999.
4. Heikamp (1957, p. 181 and n. 27) is aware that Cort died in March 1578, more than a year prior to the unveiling of the frescoes, yet still maintains that the print's purpose was to defend the artist against his critics. More recently ("Federico Zuccaro e la cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore: La fortuna critica dei suoi affreschi," in *Federico Zuccaro: Le idee, gli scritti, atti del convegno di Sant'Angelo in Vado*, ed. Bonita Cleri [Milan, 1997], p. 145), Heikamp states that although Zuccaro planned to publish a description of the dome together with engravings of some details, in the end he had Cort engrave only "una macchinosa allegoria contro le critiche" (a complex allegory against the critics). Cristina Acidini Luchinat (1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 99–101, 120n. 109) also sees the engraving as a response to criticism of the frescoes. Since Zuccaro broke with Cort in 1577, she believes that the engraving, published in 1579, is not by Cort. In a lecture presented in 2002, she repeated her certainty that the engraving was motivated by attacks on Zuccaro's paintings in the dome (Acidini Luchinat 2002, p. 45). Zygmunt Waźbiński (1985, pp. 308–9) notes that Zuccaro often created images of personal propaganda in response to critics of his work, including the *Lamento della Pittura* of 1579. Matthias Winner ("Triumph der Malerei von Federico Zuccari," in *Der Maler Federico Zuccari: Ein römischer Virtuoso von europäischem Ruhm*, ed. Matthias Winner and Detlef Heikamp [Munich, 1999], pp. 130–32) also holds this opinion, although he dates the design to 1577. This view was most recently repeated by Robert Williams, "The Artist as Worker in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in Brooks 2007, p. 99.
5. See, for example, Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 33–37, and Acidini Luchinat 2002, pp. 38–40.
6. In the second state of the *Calumny*, the inscription explicitly invites the viewer to compare a description of Apelles' painting with Zuccaro's variation on the theme. See Sellink 2000, part 3, p. 125.
7. See Gerards-Nelissen 1983, pp. 51–52, and Hänsel 1999, p. 154.

8. See Patrizia Cavazzini, "The *Porta Virtutis* and Federigo Zuccari's Expulsion from the Papal States: An Unjust Conviction?" *Romisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989), pp. 167–77.
9. Terrades was a Spanish poet resident in Florence and a close friend of Zuccaro's with whom the artist is known to have traveled (Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 101).
10. J. C. J. Bierens de Haan, *L'oeuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort, graveur Hollandais, 1533–1578* (The Hague, 1948), pp. 204–5, no. 221.
11. Sellink 1994, p. 205.
12. Sellink 2000, part 3, pp. 132–33.
13. Impressions without text could have been printed at any time, since the text was always printed either from type, which would have to be reset each time, or from separate plates that could have gone astray at some point. Sellink lists a variant with small pictures printed in the two rectangles (*ibid.*, p. 133, variant e, Coburg). Some impressions without text are of high quality, however, indicating that they were printed early in the life of the plate.
14. Whether initially published by Zuccaro himself or by the Roman publishers Lafreri or Cavallieri, all the prints Zuccaro commissioned from Cort were issued with Latin inscriptions. See Sellink 2000, nos. 1, 17, 20, 41, 100, 211. In the second state the *Calumny* was issued with a longer Italian inscription, sometimes printed from a separate plate and sometimes from type, that provided a key to the image, but it is unclear whether this was Zuccaro's idea or Lafreri's. See *ibid.*, part 3, p. 125. For the suggestion that some of Zuccaro's prints were published by the artist himself, see Bury 2001, p. 147. This is borne out by the fact that two of the prints he commissioned from Cort received a publisher's address only in the third or fourth state, after having been widely disseminated (see Sellink 2000, nos. 17, 41).
15. This seems particularly apparent if we compare the print with another allegory of the arts engraved by Cort after a design by Stradanus (Figure 5). See Sellink 1994, no. 69.
16. The engraver may have realized that he stood to gain more by printing and selling the plate himself than by accepting a one-time payment from Zuccaro. There is evidence that Cort intended to publish at least one of his own engravings in the 1570s. See Bury 2001, pp. 19–21, 225. Thus, some of the impressions of the *Lament* without text could have been printed without authorization, and hence without any author or publication information, by Cort in Rome as early as 1577.
17. Aurigemma 1995, p. 217: "ora mo qua giu baso nel Sabatho infernale tra li spergiuri e manchator di parola mi faro cornelio Cort ed il rame del litigio atachatto al collo, non molto lontano da lui i suoi fautori e compagni." Aurigemma suggests that the contested plate could be *The Calumny of Apelles* (Sellink 2000, no. 211), but that engraving is dated 1572.
18. The last print that Cort engraved for Zuccaro prior to the *Lament* is the *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1576 (Sellink 2000, no. 100). Although the design of an engraving produced by Cort in 1578, *The Birth of the Virgin* (*ibid.*, no. 95), has been attributed to Zuccaro, neither the engraving nor the preparatory drawing in Brussels is of sufficient quality to sustain that attribution. See Bierens de Haan, *L'oeuvre gravé de Cort* (as in note 10 above), p. 45, no. 20, fig. 6. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that a print after Zuccaro's design published in 1578 would fail to bear his name.
19. Hänsel 1999, pp. 148–50.
20. Sellink 2000, no. 212 (variant d, Bologna), p. 133. The paucity of impressions remaining is not out of line with the typical survival rate for such large prints, which were often displayed on the wall rather than preserved in albums. See Michael Bury and David Landau, "Ferdinand Columbus's Italian Prints: Clarifications and Implications," in Mark P. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539)* (London, 2004), pp. 191–94, where they discuss the low survival rate of large woodcuts.
21. Hänsel (1999, p. 153) suggests that Arias Montano saw the drawing or the plate in Cort's studio when he was in Rome in 1576. Given the portable nature of prints, however, and the fact that the poet was a buyer for the Escorial Library, he may have seen it at any time before May 1579. Hänsel also notes that there is no copy in the library now, but as mentioned above, large prints were often destroyed by being displayed on the wall.
22. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 97.
23. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, pp. 46–49.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 47–49; Hänsel 1999, p. 156.
25. "Tenendo l'occhio e la mente saldi nella vera intelligenza, che nuda gli sta davanti."
26. See, for example, Winner, "Triumph der Malerei von Zuccari" (as in note 4 above), p. 132.
27. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, p. 49; Hänsel 1999, p. 156.
28. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, 2d ed. (Florence: Giunti, 1568), vol. 1, p. 43: "Perchè il disegno, padre delle tre arti nostre, architettura, scultura e pittura, procedendo dall'intelletto cava di molte cose un giudizio universale simile a una forma ovvero Idea di tutte le cose della natura." For a thorough analysis of the evolving concept of the Idea, see Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory* (Columbia, S.C., 1968), and Elizabeth Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Notebook* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 147–75. For Zuccaro, see particularly pp. 155–56.
29. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 274: "freda e debole definizione di sì alto sugietto."
30. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, pp. 44–49; Hänsel 1999, pp. 148–50. The impression in the Uffizi that bears the Italian inscription does, however, appear to be a fresh and early one.
31. This document, reproduced in full in Heikamp 1957, pp. 216–18, was preserved among the files of Nicolò Gaddi, *luogotenente* of the Accademia del Disegno and dedicatee of Cort's engraving (Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 101).
32. Heikamp 1957, p. 217: "ché essendo un'anima in dua corpi, pittura et scultura, et l'Intelligenza del disegno, l'anima propria, conviene e al una et al altra, l'una et l'altra pratica et scienza."
33. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, p. 50. This is all the more likely given that the infant Cupid can be seen holding a flame and scales behind the enthroned Jupiter. In the *Porta Virtutis*, figures identified as the Graces and Spirito are visible through a triumphal arch. In the series of drawings illustrating the early life of Federico's older brother Taddeo, the young artist is shown returning to Rome escorted by Spirito, Disegno, and the Three Graces. In this instance the clearly labeled Spirito is shown as a young man with wings on his head rather than on his back. In the drawing of Taddeo painting the facade of the Palazzo Mattei, the figures that crowd around the artist on the scaffolding are identified as Spirito, Fierezza, and the Graces. See Brooks 2007, pp. 23, 26, 33–35, nos. 16, 19.
34. Cartari (1571, p. 369) writes that Hippocrates described Truth in a letter to a friend in the form of a "[d]onna, bella, grande, honestamente ornate, e tutta lucida, e risplendente."
35. See Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 56–58.
36. Heikamp (1967, pp. 28–29, pl. 20) compares the technique of this drawing to the *bozzetto* for the drawing of summer in Malta. The *modello* for the drawing of spring in the Metropolitan Museum, to be discussed below, is also carried out in a very similar technique and is very close in size and format.



37. Sellink 1994, pp. 200–201; Bury 2001, pp. 18–21.
38. It appears that Cort may have intended to publish this print himself (Sellink 1994, pp. 205, n. 5; Bury 2001, p. 21). If his relationship with Stradanus was an equal partnership, he may have had some say in the unusual prominence given to the engraver in the image. Although designed earlier, the print was published during the same period that Cort was working on Zuccaro's allegory. Perhaps Cort wanted some reference to engraving in Zuccaro's allegory as well. An object resembling a copper plate appears on the table, and it is this part of the composition where the unfinished vase of flowers appears. Is it possible that this was the bone of contention that led to Zuccaro's desire to paint his engraver in hell? Or was Zuccaro annoyed that Cort was working on Stradanus's engraving rather than finishing his own?
39. Pen and brown ink, highlighted with white, on prepared paper tinted green, 18¼ x 14¾ in. (46.5 x 36.5 cm), Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg, inv. D 69117. See Alessandra Baroni in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici* 1997, p. 281, no. 227.
40. Matthias Winner, "Gemalte Kunsttheorie: Zu Gustave Courbet's 'Allégorie réelle' und der Tradition," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 4 (1962), pp. 158–60, fig. 5.
41. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 101, 120 n. 119.
42. Heikamp 1967, p. 14.
43. Acidini Luchinat 2002, p. 45.
44. Ważbiński 1985, p. 281.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 334, n. 39.
46. Heikamp 1967, pp. 28–29, pls. 20, 21. See also J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1970), p. 129, no. 16. Acidini Luchinat (1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 140–41) associates these with a slightly later period owing to the association of the temples of Virtue and Honor with a device of Guidobaldo II. More recently it has been suggested that this composition and its pendant might have been intended for the ceiling of a room in Zuccaro's Roman palazzo that was decorated with the cycle of the early life of Taddeo. See Christina Strunck, "The Original Setting of the Early Life of Taddeo Series: A New Reading of the Pictorial Program in the Palazzo Zuccari, Rome," in Brooks 2007, pp. 118–19. However, the iconography of the Temple of Fame probably derives from Zuccaro's association with Anton Francesco Doni during his stay in the Veneto, which also inspired his depiction of Time at the center of the fresco cycle of seasons in his Florentine home. See Bolzoni 2001, p. 203, and Maffei 2004, pp. 13–16, 54–60. Zuccaro also used the image of the Temple of Fame in the border of the *Calumny* of 1572. It can also be pointed out that the statues of Venus and Bacchus in *The Garden of Worldly Pleasures* in the Louvre are very similar to the statues depicted in Zuccaro's cycle of the seasons, discussed below. Indeed, the Venus Pudica is also included in the preparatory drawing of spring in the Museum's collection (Figure 11), discussed below, although her figure is not discernible in the completed fresco. Ważbiński (1985, p. 279) argues that Zuccaro's studio housed a rival academy to the Florentine Accademia del Disegno and was decorated with the scenes from the life of Taddeo.
47. The coat of arms now visible on the corner of Zuccaro's house and illustrated here replaces the badly worn original. Heikamp (1967, p. 14) observed that both the engraving and the house display the same coat of arms and that the tools sculpted on the outside of the studio can be seen in the depicted studio on the table at right. Cort's engraving of Zuccaro's *Calumny of Apelles* (Sellink 2000, pp. 123–29, no. 211) also includes the Zuccari coat of arms on each side of the ornamental frame but in an inconspicuous position.
48. From the measured drawing of Ferdinando Ruggieri, created in the early eighteenth century, it is evident that the frame is thirteen Florentine braccia (a measurement that is equivalent to an arm's length, roughly 58 cm or about 23 in.) above the base of the building.
49. Perhaps in Zuccaro's most ambitious plans the grotto would have been a real niche and Envy either a statue or a high relief situated where a later coat of arms is already visible in Ruggieri's etching. The two cartouches are similar in proportion to the two blocks of stone beneath the windows that flank the frame.
50. That engraving is *The Presentation in the Temple* of 1568 (Sellink 2000, no. 41).
51. See Sellink 2000, nos. 17, 20, 100. See also E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum; National Academy of Design, New York (Milwaukee, 1989), pp. 192–95, no. 60, and Bury 2001, pp. 114–15, 147–48, nos. 74, 98, p. 74, fig. 4.
52. Sellink 2000, nos. 1, 156. See also Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 1, pp. 228–29, 258 n. 14, vol. 2, pp. 16–17.
53. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 34–35, figs. 70–73.
54. It is possible that a letter written by Zuccaro on May 2, 1578, refers to his plans for the fresco. Here he states that while his dome frescoes will soon be revealed, he has put his hand to another work "di altra materia e diversa inpensa" (of different subject matter and unusual conceit), quite small in comparison to his frescoes in the dome of the Florentine cathedral but already judged by many to be of great quality and unusual form, and a "cosa nova non piu usata" (new thing never before practiced). Aurigemma 1995, pp. 222–23. Certainly the allegorical composition is quite unusual in its subject matter, and to decorate his studio with such an image would have been a great novelty.
55. Heikamp 1967, pp. 28–29, pls. 20, 21.
56. Ważbiński 1985, p. 279.
57. That these students are so emphatically depicted in conversation rather than at work indicates that Zuccaro was already an advocate of the importance of discussion to artistic education—a view that would shape his ideas for the Roman academy and find clear expression in his later writings. See Peter M. Lukehart, "Parallel Lives: The Example of Taddeo Zuccaro in Late-Sixteenth-Century Rome," in Brooks 2007, p. 106.
58. Although the fresco in the center of the ceiling is dated 1579, this lunette could have been painted earlier.
59. The drawing was sold at auction at Drouot Richelieu, December 19, 2001, lot 186, where it is described as a study for the fresco of spring by commissaire-priseur Paul Renaud.
60. The drawing in the Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome, is inv. FC 126126. For the drawing in Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. 2581, see Piera Giovanna Tordella, "Federico Zuccari: Il mito di Aristotele in un disegno inedito," *Dialoghi di storia dell'arte* 3 (1996), p. 116, fig. 5.
61. Carmen C. Bambach, "Disegni Toscani al Metropolitan Museum of Art," in *Invisibile agli occhi: Atti della giornata di studio in ricordo di Lisa Venturini*, Firenze, Fondazione Roberto Longhi, 15 dicembre 2005, ed. Nicoletta Baldini (Florence, 2007), pp. 84–85.
62. See Heikamp 1967, p. 22, pl. 8a. The drawing is conserved in the Museo Nazionale delle Belle Arti di La Valletta in Malta.
63. The walls are now decorated with a geometric design simulating panels of marble that seems to have originated with the artist, but it is hard to believe that he did not originally intend to decorate them with something more elaborate and representational. See *Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut: Casa Zuccari* (Florence, 2006), p. 16.
64. See Tordella, "Federico Zuccari," pp. 112–17, fig. 1. The drawing in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (Fondi Tordi, ms. 510, c.72r) is

- inscribed with the word "VER," Latin for "spring," and deals with the springtime theme of the generation of life and with pollination in the guise of a rare subject drawn from Virgil's *Georgics*.
65. I am grateful to Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge of Paper Conservation at the MMA, for taking the time to examine this drawing with me.
  66. Heikamp 1967, pp. 18–22. For more recent discussion of Doni as a patron of the arts, see Wendy Thompson, "Antonfrancesco Doni's *Medaglie*," *Print Quarterly* 24 (2007), pp. 223–38; Maffei 2004; Bolzoni 2001, especially pp. 196–204.
  67. *Pitture del Doni academico pellegrino* (Padua, 1564). The allegory also appears in a 1560 manuscript version of Doni's *Pitture*, now in the Vatican (fols. 7v–8r). See Sonia Maffei, *Le nuove Pitture del Doni fiorentino* (Naples, 2006), pp. 93–96. See also Maffei 2004, pp. 53–60, 178–85.
  68. Heikamp 1967, p. 21. See also Bolzoni 2001, pp. 203, 305 n. 50; and Maffei 2004, p. 59.
  69. Heikamp 1967, p. 22.
  70. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 121, n. 155.
  71. Piera Giovanna Tordella in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici* 1997, pp. 257–58, nos. 203, 204.
  72. Heikamp 1967, p. 22.
  73. J. B. Trapp, *Studies of Petrarch and His Influence* (London, 2003), pp. 42, 215 fig. 1, 217 fig. 3; Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (London, 1938), vol. 2, pls. 19, 24.
  74. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 88, fig. 42.
  75. Detlef Heikamp, "Bartolomeo Ammannati: Il concerto poetico di statue," in *Il concerto di statue*, ed. Alessandro Vezzosi (Florence, 1986), p. 14, cites Raffaello Borghini, who in 1584 described the statues of the fountain as signifying the "generar dell'acqua... Giunone dimostrante l'aria e sotto l'arco Cerere figurata per la terra" (generation of water... Juno signifies the air and underneath the rainbow Ceres represents the earth). For the statue of Ceres, now in the Museo del Bargello, see *ibid.*, figs. 12–15, 28, 30–31.
  76. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
  77. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
  78. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499), fol. E1.
  79. See Dieter Blume, "Beseelte Natur und ländliche Idylle," in *Natur und Antike in der Renaissance*, ed. S. Ebert-Schifferer, exh. cat., Liebieghaus, Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), pp. 178–82.
  80. Letter from Tanai de' Medici to Francesco de' Medici, May 1, 1579, published in Heikamp, "Bartolomeo Ammannati," p. 44, doc. XXI: "era la Flora ch'è i fiori in grenbo e l'braccio armato e dinota Fiorenza."
  81. Baroni in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici* 1997, p. 281, no. 227.
  82. The house was restored by its current owners, the Max-Planck-Institut, between 2002 and 2004. "Despite loose plaster, flaking paint, sulfur blooming, and numerous traces of earlier extensive restoration work involving numerous repairs and the application of a high gloss fixative (Paraloid), the murals on the vaulted ceiling appeared to be essentially intact" (*Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz Max-Planck-Institut Casa Zuccari* [as in note 63 above], p. 16). Earlier photographs reveal that the wreaths had already taken on the form of tambourines before this time, and they were not changed in the recent restoration.
  83. Cartari 1551, fols. 182v–83r: "La primavera sempre godo, ... Colà ne i campi, quai mi furon dote, / Un' orto ho di terreno il più fecondo / Che giamai fosse in alcun'altra parte. ... Quando il mattino poi l'aura soave / fatto ha cader da gli alberi frondosi / La rugiada, e che l'herbe han già sentito / Il temprato calor di Phebo l'Hore. ... Vengono quivi, e con le bianche mani / Raccogli-
  - ono I bei fiori, ... e vi vengono le Gratie / Medesamente à far belle ghirlande, / Che poscia premon le divine chiome." The content is the same as in Ovid, *Fasti* 5.215–220, but Cartari adapts and expands the wording, partly to meet the demands of rhyme.
  84. In addition to introducing the tenth Muse in the engraved allegory discussed above, the Graces also appear in Zuccaro's allegorical drawing, the *Porta Virtutis*, and show up twice in the series of drawings illustrating the life of the young Taddeo.
  85. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.195–212. Cartari 1551, fols. 181v–182v. Cartari errs in his translation when he describes Chloris wandering through fields covered with flowers, but elsewhere, on fol. 183v, he states that everything was once all one color.
  86. Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli's Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 30–33.
  87. Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, fol. C7v–C8r.
  88. See Stephen Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven, 2004), pp. 169–90, fig. 100.
  89. See Cristelle L. Baskins, "Il Trionfo della Pudicizia: Menacing Virgins in Italian Renaissance Domestic Painting," in *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark, Del., 1999), pp. 117–31.
  90. Angelo Poliziano, *Stanze per la giostra* 2.28.
  91. Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), pp. 162–75.
  92. Cartari 1571, pp. 499–501: "Ma si inganna di gran lunga qualunque così crede, percióche Anterote fu adorato non perche facesse disamore, ma perche punisse chi non amava essendo amato...;" and "e potiamo dire che questo altro non sia che l'amore reciproco." For a discussion of Cartari's sources, see Caterina Volpi, *Le immagini degli dèi di Vincenzo Cartari* (Rome, 1996), pp. 549–51. See also Robert V. Merrill, "Eros and Anteros," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 19 (July 1944), pp. 265–84.
  93. A direct connection between the two men is suggested by a letter of 1585 that Vincenzo Cartari wrote to Zuccaro's landlord and financial adviser, Sebastiano Caccini, to inquire about Zuccaro (Aurigemma 1995, p. 210).
  94. Cartari 1571, p. 503.
  95. See, for example, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* or Enea Silvio Piccolomini's *Storia di due amanti*, although in the latter the woman's resistance is largely feigned.
  96. Baskins ("Il Trionfo della Pudicizia" [as in note 89 above], pp. 129–31) describes examples of this imagery that show Cupid imprisoned within a temple that signifies the body of the bride.
  97. I am grateful to Gert Jan van der Sman, Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Florence, and Universiteit Leiden, for pointing out that this combination of attributes is entirely appropriate for marriage imagery.
  98. Petrarch, *Trionfi* 2.121–23.
  99. If we compare this marriage allegory to its later counterpart in the Sala degli Sposi in Zuccaro's Roman palazzo, we find similar ideas expressed in a less pagan manner. Zuccaro and his wife are depicted there united by a guardian angel and framed by personifications of the virtues Castitas (Chastity), Continentia (Continence), Felicitas (Happiness), and Concordia (Harmony). See Strunck, "Original Setting of the Early Life of Taddeo Series" (as in note 46 above), pp. 114–15.
  100. See, for example, his painting for the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia, reproduced in Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 249.
  101. The drawing for the *Calumny* in Hamburg does not, however, include highlighting. See *Wettstreit der Künste: Malerei und*

*Skulptur von Dürer bis Daumier*, ed. Ekkehard Mai and Kurt Wettengl, exh. cat., Haus der Kunst, Munich; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (Wolfartshausen, Munich, and Cologne, 2002), pp. 210–12, no. 19. The technique used for the top half of the *Lament* is the same, apart from being on brown tinted paper. See *Meisterzeichnungen der Sammlung Lambert Krahe*, exh. cat., Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf, 1969), pp. 26–27, no. 23, fig. 13. For the drawing for the *Coronation*, see Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque* (as in note 51 above), pp. 191–93, and Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 282, n. 49. For the Stradanus drawing, see Bury 2001, pp. 20–21, no. 4.

102. It seems that only two of the walls of the frescoed room in Zuccaro's

house would have been suitable for a rectangular wall fresco, since one wall opens into the garden while another is broken by a window. The lunette of the window wall is decorated with frescoes of Bacchus and Silenus that could have been intended to symbolize autumn.

103. For Hercules and the Medici, see Alison Wright, "The Myth of Hercules," in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo: Convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze 9–13 giugno 1992)*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence, 1994), pp. 323–39.

104. For Zuccaro's role in the Roman academy, see Peter M. Lukehart, ed., *The Early History of the Accademia di San Luca, c. 1590–1635*, Seminar Series (Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, forthcoming).

