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Jacopo Zucchi, Artist-Iconographer

Abstract

Much of what is known about the invention of Mannerist decorative programmes is owed to the writings of humanist advisors like Annibale Caro, Vincenzo Borghini and Pietro Vettori. Jacopo Zucchi's *Discorso* on the Rucellai Gallery is a unique insight into the iconographic process for an artist who composed his own programme. This paper examines some of the textual and visual sources used by Zucchi and attempts to discern his criteria for selecting them. The decoration of the gallery, in the Palazzo Ruspoli in Rome, is far and away his largest secular programme and is like a painted resumé, reusing a repertoire of motifs which Zucchi accumulated under Vasari in Florence, and during his work as an independent artist for Ferdinando de' Medici in Rome.

Clare Robertson writes that the proliferation of printed sources of iconography for artists in the second half of the sixteenth century, far from supplanting the humanist advisor, in fact made him all the more necessary.[1] While this may be true for the work that most concerned her, the Stanza dell'Aurora at Caprarola, this argument does not hold up in the case of Jacopo Zucchi and his Galleria Rucellai, in the building today known as the Palazzo Ruspoli (in Rome, ca. 1585-6, fig. 1). At Caprarola, the programme was devised by a humanist advisor, Annibale Caro, who drew on Cartari's *Imagini degli Dei*. For Zucchi, however, the explosion of printed texts available in Latin and in vernacular translations made it possible for him to practise as an inventor of programmes in his own right, independently of any humanist advisor. Robertson was seeking to correct the "unjust estimate of Caro" made by Jean Seznec, who saw his work as being merely a transcription of Cartari.[2] Similarly, at the Galleria Rucellai, Zucchi drew not only on Cartari's handbook, but on other sources, so that he, like Caro, created a programme of great originality. Indeed, the examples of Caro and Zucchi reveal that Cartari's *Imagini degli dei* (fig. 2, frontispiece) needs to be considered in a fresh light. Instead of being an encyclopaedic compilation of everything needful for the representation of the gods of the ancients, it was an introduction to the subject and to its sources, which were then becoming more widely available in printed editions, which provided guidelines for the iconographer to exercise his creative powers in devising a programme.

The main piece of evidence for Zucchi as the author of his own programmes is his *Discorso* (fig. 3, frontispiece), published in Rome posthumously in 1602 with a dedication by his brother Francesco, also an artist.[3] This text reveals the extent of Zucchi's direct access to the writings of the ancients: it includes quotations in the original Latin, rather than from contemporary translations or from Cartari. This did not extend to Greek; quotations from Greek sources appear in Latin translations. Zucchi was the son of a Florentine *stimatore* (a surveyor or engineer) who had worked on the site for the Uffizi and had served as *capomaestro* of the Guelph party. It would not be surprising then, that Zucchi, the son of a well-connected urban professional should have been taught some Latin before he joined

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[1] Robertson, 1982, pp. 160-81.
[2] Robertson, 1982, pp. 160-81; Seznec, 1972, pp. 286-96.
[3] Zucchi, 1602. The full title is *Discorso Sopra li Dei De'Gentili, e Loro Imprese; Con vn breue trattato delle attioni de li dodici Cesari, con le dichiarationi delle loro Medaglie antiche*.

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Vasari's team at work in the Palazzo Vecchio in 1557, aged 16 or 17.[4] This had certainly been the case with Jacopo Pontormo. According to Giorgio Vasari: "[he] was left in the care of his grandmother, Monna Brigida, who kept him for several years at Pontormo, and had taught him reading, writing, and the first rudiments of Latin grammar", before he was taken to Florence aged thirteen.[5] Also according to Vasari, Michelangelo had been sent to a grammar master, Francesco da Urbino, before the age of fourteen.[6] Perhaps being educated for a few more years, it seems likely that Jacopo Zucchi had the opportunity to learn more than the "first rudiments" of Latin. This does not mean, however, that when Zucchi came to devise a programme, he would always, like Caro, have begun with a written programme. A plan in Zucchi's hand for the Stanza di Davide at the Villa Medici (fig. 4) shows the four walls and the subjects to be painted there.[7] It is less an artist's drawing than an annotated sketch plan, similar to Vincenzo Borghini's plan for the Sala del Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (fig. 5). This is an important piece of evidence for Zucchi's activity as an iconographer, showing that he planned this programme. It reveals a situation that differs markedly from Zucchi's frescoes in the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia (fig. 6), where the contracts specify that Zucchi is to follow the requirements specified by Fra Ignazio Danti.[8]

Why did Zucchi write the Discorso?

As an artist adopting the role of author, Zucchi is following in the footsteps of his master, Giorgio Vasari. Vasari's autobiography explains that he was encouraged to write his *Lives* by Cardinal Farnese, Francesco Maria Molza, Annibale Caro, Gandolfo Porrino, Claudio Tolomei, Romolo Amaseo, Paolo Giovio and many others as they discussed artistic matters over supper one night.[9] The example of his former master was no doubt important in encouraging Zucchi to write, and like Vasari, it seems that he too was encouraged by a patron. Zucchi explains that he was motivated by the need for money, confirming that he was tempted by a patron to embark on a task which, as he himself acknowledges, was outside his area of expertise.[10] It seems unlikely that this was his regular patron, Ferdinando de' Medici, in whose household he lived from 1571.[11] After Ferdinando's return to Florence and accession to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in 1587, Zucchi remained in Rome. The most likely original patron of the *Discorso* is Orazio Rucellai, whose palace the fresco cycle adorns. The pages of the book are headed "*Discorso sopra la galleria Rucellai*", and a flattering flourish in the section on Hercules praises the family:

> *The famous works and very noble deeds of the invincible and brave Hercules are so many and of such number and quality, that to speak of them again, would really be like wanting to add water to the sea, or to increase the splendour of the sun with more light, or to put it better, to think of increasing*

[4] Pillsbury, 1973, pp. 12-9.
[5] Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 246, the translation is De Vere's, Vasari, 1996, II, p. 339.
[6] Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p.137; Vasari, 1996, II, pp. 643-44.
[7] The drawing, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo, fol. 536 v., is part of a letter dated 2 October 1574 from Jacopo Zucchi in Rome to Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici. Boyer, 1931, pp. 7-9; Calcagno, 1933, figs. 9-12; Pillsbury, 1973, II, Doc. 306, pp. 562-63; Morel, 1991, pp. 11-12.
[8] Pillsbury, 1974a, pp. 434-44.
[9] Vasari-Milanesi, VIII, p. 682. Vasari, 1996, II, pp. 1042-44.
[10] Zucchi, 1602, pp. iii-iv.
[11] Pillsbury, 1973, I, p. 13.

> *the merits and the glory of the very noble and famous race of the house of Rucellai with weak words.*[12]

Orazio Rucellai, the nephew of the writer Monsignor Giovanni della Casa, was a patron not only of the visual arts (he commissioned works in San Lorenzo and Santa Maria Novella in Florence and Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome), but also of literary works.[13] In 1584 a dedication to Rucellai precedes the *Apologia del S. Torq. Tasso, In difesa della sua Gierusalemme Liberata*.[14] Tasso also praises Rucellai in his dialogue *Il primo Gonzaga overo del piacere onesto* of 1580. Rucellai commissioned Francesco Bocchi (1548-1618), known to art historians for his *Le Bellezze della Città di Fiorenza* of 1591, to write a life of his uncle the literary prelate.[15] A Latin translation of Della Casa's *Galateo* by Nicholas Fitzherbert was published in 1595 at the press of Domenico Gigliotti, the same printer who published Zucchi's *Discorso* seven years later in 1602.[16] These contemporary literary commissions support the case for Orazio Rucellai as the patron of the *Discorso*.

Apart from projects in Santo Spirito in Sassia and the Palazzo Vecchio, where the programs were devised by Fra Ignazio Danti and Don Vincenzo Borghini respectively,[17] Zucchi also worked extensively for Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici. He decorated new rooms in the Palazzo Firenze in Rome following Bartolommeo Ammannati's extensions to the building. He decorated four rooms there, of which the Sala di Davide has already been discussed through reference to Zucchi's iconographic plan. There is further evidence for Zucchi as the iconographer in the dining room which was decorated with Old Testament subjects including Solomon. In a letter of October 1574, Zucchi writes to his patron:

> "At present I have almost finished the room where your most excellent lordship usually eats and because I had various ideas of what I ought to paint as it is a large frieze of perhaps eight or nine palmi in height, so I was every day confused by various gentlemen of the household, one saying one thing,

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[12] Zucchi, 1602, p. 67, "LE illustri opere, e nobilissimi fatti dall'inuitto, & valoroso Hercole oprate, son tante, e tali, dico, & in numero, & in qualità, che chi volesse porsi di nuouo à discorrerle, saria proprio vn voler dar l'acqua al mare, ò di luce accrescere nuouo splendore al Sole, ò per dir meglio, con fiacche parole pensar di crescere i meriti, e la gloria alla nobilissima, & illustre prosapia di casa Rucellai."

[13] On the donation towards the vestments for the canons of San Lorenzo see Lapini, 1900, pp. 223-4, 9.VIII.1583. On the Stained Glass window donated in 1600 for the Rucellai Chapel in S. Maria Novella see Paatz, 1952, III, p. 738, n. 420 and Brown, 1902 p. 126, who cites Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, ms. II, IV, 324. Rucellai's burial chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle was decorated in a lavish variety of marbles and with frescoes by Cristoforo Roncalli at a reputed cost of 15,000 scudi. See Pietrangeli, "La Cappella Rucellai" in Pietrangeli, 1992, pp. 9-10; Kirwin, 1972, p. 441-44; Hibbard, 1961, fig. 10; Orbaan, 1920, p. 62. For Rucellai's biography, see Zaccaraia, 1992, pp. 67-78; Hans Meier, "Notizen über Orazio Rucellai", in Saxl, 1927, pp. 120-21; Passerini, 1861, pp. 111-12.

[14] Bastiano de' Rossi's dedication dated 16th February 1584 in Tasso, 1586. On de' Rossi, see Parodi, 1983, no. 5, p. 10.

[15] The letter of dedication, also included in the *Opere* of Della Casa, 1733, IV, n.p., is addressed "Al molto magnifico Signore Orazio Rucellai Signore, e Padron mio Osservandissimo".

[16] Della Casa, 1595. The dedication here is to Didaco del Campo, gentleman of the chamber to Pope Clement VIII. See Santosuosso, 1977, p. 142, no. 82 on this edition. On Fitzherbert, see Shaaber, 1975, pp. 71-72, nos. 104-6 and Williams, 2004, vol. 19, p. 878.

[17] Pillsbury, 1974a, pp. 434-44; Corrias, 1994 , pp. 169-181.

> and someone else another, so that I did not know myself what I should do, fearing I should make a wrong choice and do something bad."[18]

Here Zucchi is complaining of too much iconographical assistance or intervention, reflecting his independence of personality, but later in the same letter, while clearly still claiming authorship of the programme, he does acknowledge assistance. He writes: "This was the subject of the first invenzione that I had done, not without having it reviewed by those who are most accomplished in such things".[19]

One of the humanist advisors is probably Pietro degli Angeli da Barga, also a member of the Medici household in Florence.[20] Da Barga's intervention is evident in the complicated zodiacal iconography and combined muses and goddesses of the Villa Medici ceilings.[21] Zucchi also made plans for frescoes for the gallery of the Villa Medici, but these were never realised. The decorations for the Palazzo Ruspoli seem to develop from these plans. Drawings by Zucchi in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal Institute of British Architects (fig. 7) show a long gallery with busts of the Roman emperors alternating with full length statues, a scheme for displaying statuary similar to the later Galleria Farnese (fig. 8). While the actual layout varies of the Palazzo Ruspoli gallery varies from the drawings, perhaps because Orazio Rucellai didn't have a large collection of sculpture, the subject matter of gods and emperors is the same.

Compared to the obscure iconography of the Villa Medici canvases, the iconography of the Palazzo Ruspoli gallery is relatively simple. The scheme aspires to be encyclopaedic;[22] it shows the Roman gods (including those of the seven planets arranged along the central axis), the Twelve Caesars, the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the thirty-two constellations. More particularly it focuses on Florence and Rome, with personifications of the two cities at either end of the room. The frieze shows ten ancient Roman patrons of temples, and the families of the patrons of this cycle are represented in a discreet corner with their temples, Santa Maria Novella and Santa Felicità in Florence, their respective façades even today bedecked with symbols of Orazio Rucellai's family and of that of his wife, Camilla Guicciardini (fig. 9).

Much of the decoration of the gallery is explained in Zucchi's *Discorso*, published posthumously in 1602. The subject of the *Discorso* is similar to Vasari's *Ragionamenti*, an account of his mythological decorations in the Apartment of the Elements in the Palazzo Vecchio. Vasari's text, like Zucchi's, was not published until several years after its author's death, also by a family member, his nephew Giorgio, the architect.[23] The form and tone of Zucchi's *Discorso*, however, is much closer to that of the *Lives*. The *Ragionamenti* presents a fictional dialogue in the manner of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* or Torquato Tasso's *Dialoghi*,

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[18] ASF, Archivio Mediceo 5100, fol. 536-37, published in Boyer, 1931, pp. 7-9, "Sono al presente quasi al fine della sala dove suole mangiare Vostro Signore Illustrissima et perche io sono stato in varie fantasie di quello che io ci dovessi fare si per essere gran fregio e di altezza di forse otto o nove palmi come per essermi ogni giorno messo confusione da varii gentilomini di casa e chi una cosa e chi un altra dicendo, non sapeva io stesso che mi fare dubitando facendo di fare male e non faciendo pegio".

[19] ASF, Archivio Mediceo 5100, fol. 536-37. This may be contrasted with Cellini, 1995, Book II, Ch. 2, p. 245.

[20] For Da Barga's biography, see Manacorda, 1905, pp. 3-131; Brown, 1970, pp. 285-95; Morel, 1991, pp. 303-9.

[21] Morel, 1991, pp. 8, 303-10.

[22] Pfisterer, 2003, pp. 329-52.

[23] Vasari, 1588. See the English translation by Draper, 1973; Tinagli, 2000, pp. 189-96 and Tinagli, 2001, pp. 62-76.

creating an iconographic superstructure which unites the entire scheme as a celebration of the astrological destiny of Medici rule. Zucchi's text is far more everyday in tone, language and construction. Its conceit, its construct, is that Zucchi is speaking to the reader directly in an ordinary language about these quite learned matters. The sections usually end by saying that he has spent enough time on his subject and that he must move on to the next. This literary device, which conveys a sense of immediacy, may not be an entirely artificial construct, however; it may actually reflect the way the Discorso was composed. This habitual ending might be compared with what is known of Vincenzo Borghini's iconographic method from his unfinished scheme for the Casino Mediceo in the garden of San Marco. In a method like that of a mediaeval compiler, Borghini wrote subject headings on his pages, consulted his sources and wrote on each one until he had filled the space.[24] Though Zucchi's text does go beyond being merely a programme for the decorations, as it describes sources and things not depicted in the final cycle, it is more akin to Borghini's programme for the Casino than to Vasari's complicated interpretation of his own cycle in the Palazzo Vecchio.

The Structure of the Text

The *Discorso* begins with a dedication by Francesco Zucchi addressed to the Genoese nobleman Federico Federici. This letter recounts the honours bestowed on the Federici family, also praising Jacopo as "a very highly regarded painter in his own lifetime" and the fresco cycle as "the superb and rich Gallery of the very famous Lords Rucellai".[25] Following this letter is a foreword, unsigned and ostensibly by the author himself, headed "Alli Amorevolisimi della Professione". Maria Aurigemma, in her recent essay on the *Discorso*, rightly points out the difference between the language found here and that of the text proper, and suggests that it is in fact a later addition inserted at the time of publication.[26] This foreword is followed by poems dedicated to the patron Federici, and to the author Zucchi.[27] These include Petrarchan sonnets which for readers of English closely resemble those of Shakespeare in the theme of Art's victory over Time. The authors of these poems, Marc'Antonio Baldi, Tomaso Mancini and Francesco Bennati, are obsure figures, but a poem by Baldi also precedes the first edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, printed in 1593 by the Gigliotti press, where Zucchi's text was also printed in 1602.[28] The group of poems preceding Ripa's *Iconologia* seems closely associated with the Sienese *Accademia degli Intronati*. It includes one by the *Svegliato Intronato* and another by the *Accademico Intronato*, and a third by Scipione Bargagli, author of *Lodi delle Accademie* and a member of the Sienese academy.[29] It is highly likely that all the poets introducing the *Iconologia* were associated with the Siennese *Accademia degli Intronati*, and it seems likely that the authors of the poems introducing Zucchi's *Discorso* were also.[30]

The *Discorso* proper begins with a general treatment of the gods and beliefs of the pagans, followed by descriptions of the nineteen main scenes of the gods in the decorative scheme. These scenes are treated in genealogical order, starting with Coelus, the Sky, the first of the

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[24] Kliemann, 1978. pp. 158-62.
[25] Zucchi, 1602, n.p.
[26] Aurigemma, 2000, p. 44.
[27] Zucchi, 1602, n.p.
[28] Ripa, 1593, n.p.
[29] Ripa, 1593, n. p. Maylender, 1926-30, III, p. 351, cites "Lodi delle Accademie" in Bargagli, 1569. See Shiff, 1993, p. 338 on Bargagli's membership of the *Intronati*.
[30] On the Intronati, see Samuels, 1976, pp. 608-10. On Ripa's association with this academy, see Stefani, 1990, p. 309 and Witcombe, 1992, p. 278, n.6.

gods according to Apollodorus, whose account Zucchi privileges. I will return to these sections later in order to consider their typical structure. Following these sections on the gods, Zucchi lists the Zodiacal roundels explaining their significance in terms of the year. Sections describing the end walls, with their figures of Rome and Florence, follow. This much has taken us through seventy-five pages of the one hundred and seventy pages of the text. Virtually all of the rest is taken up with accounts of the marble busts of the twelve Caesars and of the thematically linked frescoes on the piers in which they are placed in niches. This section, the greater part of the text, is almost totally taken from the *Lives of the Caesars* by the Roman author Suetonius, so much so that it is more an abridged translation than an original work. This section is followed by a poem in Latin on the patrons of Roman temples, who are portrayed on the frieze. A final paragraph continues this theme, explaining that Rome's piety predated even Christianity.

Like Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars*, and contemporary iconographers like Borghini, Zucchi's sections on the scenes of the gods have a clear pattern. A section usually starts with the version of the god given by one authority. He discusses some of the ancient sources and their various accounts, settling on one of these. Then comes a description of the figures and attributes he has painted in the main scene and something of their significance. Finally, he explains the flanking figures in grisaille, and their relationship to the main subject. In the case of the seven planetary gods, Zucchi also includes a description of each planet itself. This information is almost identical to that given in the series of Florentine engravings of around 1465, the so-called Finiguerra Planets.[31]

Zucchi's text gives further information about the planets, first giving measurements of the distances between the planets but then dismissing these theories. Aurigemma describes this as "anticopernicanism",[32] but it is hardly clear that Zucchi was familiar with the work of Copernicus or Galileo. Far closer to him in time and distance was a work by Cavaliere Giovanni Maria Bonardo called *La Grandezza, Larghezza e Distanza di tutti le sfere ridotte a nostre miglia*, first published in Venice in 1570. Initially it is difficult to perceive much sense in the measurements which Zucchi gives at all, but in fact their source can be recognized. Disregarding the figures entirely, the distance from the Moon to Mercury and from Mercury to Venus are said by Zucchi to be equal, as are those between Mars and Jupiter and between Jupiter and Saturn. It is thus clear that the system here is a proportional, harmonic one, not an empirical, Copernican one. Knowing Aristotle's scheme of the planets to have been proportional, his ideas, which survived in Pliny's account of them in the *Historia Naturalis*, seem to be the likely source. One problem remains, for Pliny gives the distance between Earth and the Moon as 126,000 stade or 15,750 miles, whereas Zucchi gives the number as 15,625 miles.[33] Unlike modern editions of Pliny, though, Cristoforo Landino's edition gives the distance as 125,000 stade, exactly equal to Zucchi's measurement of 15,625 miles.[34] Working this measurement through the harmonic system described in Pliny, it becomes clear that it is typographic or copying errors which have so confused the scheme. It is also clear that rather than specifically responding to recent developments, Zucchi is arguing against all versions of astronomy, even Aristotle's.

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[31] On the Finiguerra Planets, see Saxl, 1938, pp. 72-74, Hillard, 1985, pp. 30-37, Whitaker, 2000.
[32] Aurigemma, 2000, p. 46.
[33] Pliny, trans. Rackham, 1938, II, 83-4, pp. 226-27.
[34] Pliny, 1476.

Caesars

The most important source for Zucchi's *Discorso* is Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars* which provides nearly all of the information found in the last seventy-five pages of the text. This information, though, has little bearing on what appears in the Rucellai gallery itself. There, each emperor is represented by a marble bust set in a niche in each of the piers between the windows (fig. 10). Zucchi surrounds each of these ovoid niches with an inscription taken from an ancient coin, and above, in a cross shaped field, he paints the reverse of the same coin in gold monochrome. This reverse also includes a copy of the inscription from the ancient coin. These reverses were copied from those printed in Sebastiano Erizzo's 1559 *Discorso sopra le medaglie de gli antichi*.[35] The inscriptions surrounding the marble busts are also transcribed from this source, in each case from the same coin as the reverse (figs. 11 & 12). Collections displaying busts of the emperors were popular at this time, and recall those painted after ancient coins in Mantegna's Camera degli Sposi (1465-74) at Mantua. A series of busts of the Caesars also adorned the first courtyard of the Palazzo Medici in Florence.[36] Titian completed a series for the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, which was later sold to Charles I of England, and disappeared during the civil wars.[37]

Rome and Florence

The standing figures of Rome and Florence (figs. 13 & 14) at either end of the Gallery reflect figures of the Arno and the Tiber which decorated Michelangelo's Catafalque in San Lorenzo. Vasari mentions that Zucchi did a painting for Michelangelo's funeral of 1564, which was accompanied by many artistic tributes.[38] Vasari describes the figures of the Arno and the Tiber for the funeral as accompanied by the Lion (i.e. the Marzocco) and the She-wolf with the suckling Romulus and Remus.[39] The main figures carry shields, the one for Florence being closer to those which appear in the *Apotheoses of the Quarters of Florence* on the ceiling of the Sala del Cinquecento, which were painted by Zucchi and Naldini.

A good deal of Zucchi's decorative cycle is not even mentioned in the *Discorso*. The decorations in the window embrasures of the Palazzo Ruspoli are extensive, and photographs of only a handful of them have been published; consequently their contents have not been studied at any length. These decorations contain several types of paintings, grotesques in the

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[35] Morel, 1993, p. 304 identifies the source of the inscriptions and reverses as the printed illustrations in Erizzo, 1559, II, pp. 2, 20, 79, 87, 108, 118, 120, 125, 134 & 146. See the illustrations from Erizzo, 1571, pp. 108, 122, 195, 200, 206, 225, 237, 238, 244, 253, 269.

[36] Middeldorf, 1979, pp. 297-312.

[37] Wethey, 1975, III, pp. 42-47, 235-40, Cat. No. L-12, copies I, fig. 31. See also Abraham van der Doort's inventory of the collection of Charles I, which includes them in a list of signed paintings Titian himself, Millar, 1960, p. 184, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 1514, f. 185 v., "itm at san jams de 12 imperors on terauff bin a kopi" [i.e. Item at Saint James's the 12 emperors, one of them being a copy]. The missing one, the Vitellius, is described as "utterlie spoyled by quicksilver (sic)" and is listed as being in storage, p. 174, MS Ash. 1514, f. 175. The replacement was painted by Anthony van Dyke, who also restored the Galbus. See Wood, 1990, p. 680 and Carpenter, 1844, appendix VI, p. 71, which gives transcriptions of the privy seal warrants for payments, showing he was paid (on 8 August 1632) twenty pounds for the copy and 5 for the repair. In December 1652, Captain Robert Stone received them on behalf of his "dividend" in lieu of back wages. He sold them to Don Alonso de Cárdenas, Philip IV's ambassador, for £625. See Brown, 1995, p. 81; Loomie, 1989, pp. 261, 264, citing Bodleian Library, Carte MS 74, "General Montagu or Earl of Sandwichs papers", f. 145r. Burke & Caldwell, 1968, cat. no. 135, identify Charles I's portraits as the source of those in William Hogarth's *Tavern Scene* from *The Rake's Progress*. See also the description in Ireland, 1791, pp. 39-40.

[38] Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 308. Vasari, 1996, II, p. 763.

[39] Vasari-Milanesi, VII, pp. 297-98; Vasari, 1996, II, p. 755-56, see also Wittkower, 1964, pp. 113-14, 152, 158, fig. 9.

manner of the Domus Aurea with fanciful creatures and pavilions, still life scenes of animals, and Aesopic fables.

Aesopic Fables

Aesop is obviously a source particularly well suited to illustration, but not without problems for the viewer trying to identify subjects. It is often less an action or narrative that is depicted, but rather a pair of animal protagonists, which prompt recognition of the story. Giulio Romano used Aesop's fables in the Appartmento del Giardino at the Palazzo del Te, and a series of them also decorate rooms of the Castello dei Rossi at San Secondo near Parma.[40] Zucchi himself had already used Aesop's Fables as a subject for frescoes in the studiolo of the Villa Medici (1576-8).[41] The tales shown in the Palazzo Ruspoli embrasures (figs. 15-20, for example) are similar to those of the Cento Favole Morali published in 1570.[42] But not all of them appear in that text. For example, 'Fortune and the Traveller at the Well' is an unusual fable, which appears in only a few of the early editions.[43] Rarities like this should make it possible to accurately identify the edition, or combination of editions used by Zucchi.

Zucchi's frescoes in the window bays also show animals singly and statically, removed from narrative. Conrad Gesner's books of Natural History on the various types of animals are beautifully illustrated, and the Latin edition of the 1550s was indexed in many of the languages known at the time, including English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Turkish, Hebrew, Arabic and Russian. This made it an appealing source for artists, and it served as a kind of copybook.[44] Thanks to Gesner's mistakes and inaccuracies in the illustrations of the birds, Philippe Morel was able to identify this text as the source for the birds of the Stanza degli Uccelli of the Studiolo of the Villa Medici.[45] It can also be identified as the source for the animals of Zucchi's window embrasures in the Palazzo Ruspoli. The edition used can also be identified. Rather than the hand-coloured German edition (for example the ostrich, fig. 21), it is clear the engraved Latin edition was used as several of Zucchi's creatures correspond to those of the German edition in shape, but not in colour (figs. 22-5).

Other birds, like the Owl fighting what appears to be a magpie, reflect other sources. In fact the image represents an Owl fighting a crow. This image appears later as an emblem in Camerarius's third book of 1596 (fig. 26).[46] Pliny, Aristotle and Avianus all relate the mutual enmity of these birds, the crow stealing the owl's eggs by day, and the owl the crow's eggs by night.[47] As Pliny has already been identified as a source for Zucchi's *Discorso*, it seems probable that this subject is also taken from the Roman encyclopaedist.

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[40] Signorini, 1988, pp. 21-36; Oberhuber, 2001, pp. 336-79 ; on San Secondo see Greci et al., 1981, pp. 189-93.
[41] Pillsbury, 1973, II, p. 324, cat. no. 15.
[42] Verdizotti, 1570.
[43] Babrius and Phaedrus, 1965, p. 65, no. 49 and p. 454, no. 174.
[44] Even as late as 1983 an edition of its illustrations appeared for use in copying, its cover advertising the images as copyright and royalty free! Gesner, 1983.
[45] Morel, 1991, pp. 66-71.
[46] Camerarius, 1596, III, no. 78 in Henkel and Schöne, 1996, columns 896-7.
[47] Pliny, Natural History, X, 205; Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, IX, I, 609a; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, V, 48. These sources are identified by Henkel and Schöne, 1996, columns 896-97. In addition, the following sources are identified by Thompson in his notes to Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*, 1910, IX, I, 609a, n. 5. Antigonus Carystius, *Mirabilia*, 57 (62); Plutarch, *Moralia*, De Inv. et Od., 4; Julianus Imperator, *Orationes*, IV, 149 (I have not been able to identify this passage in any of the translated edititions; see Julian, 1913, Julian,

Conclusion

Zucchi's *Discorso* and his fresco cycle draws on a wide variety of sources, from the most ancient like Aesop, to the most modern like Conrad Gesner. Zucchi's great scheme is a major artefact of the era, and a monument to him both as an artist and as an independent iconographer in his own right. His scheme combines what he learnt from other artworks from first hand experience, together with works he had only heard of by report from Vasari's *Lives* together with his own creations based on textual sources. In other cases he transformed the black ink outlines of Gesner's books into lifelike images of creatures he had never seen.

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1932). Thompson also quotes Suida, presumably from the *Adagia*, "άλλο γλαύξ άλλο κορώνη φθέγγεται παροιμία έπί τών άλλοήλοις μή συμφωνούντων."

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