

# Henrico Zuccalli in Rome: New Archival Evidence

**H**enrico Zuccalli (c. 1642–1729; *fig. 1*), the architect of the Bavarian court in the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, is usually credited for introducing forms and building typologies of Roman Baroque architecture to Southern Germany and Austria (Sabine Heym, *Henrico Zuccalli und der Kreis der Graubündner Baumeister am kurbayerischen Hof in München*, in: *Graubündner Baumeister und Stukkateure. Beiträge zur Erforschung ihrer Tätigkeit im mitteleuropäischen Raum*, ed. Michael Kühlen-thal, Locarno 1997, 111–163). While his activity after 1672 is well documented, the evidence concerning the period preceding his arrival in Munich is scarce. A letter, written by him in 1694, states that he had been in Rome 33 years before, staying in the houses of his more wealthy Moësan compatriots (Cesare Santi, *L'architetto Enrico Zuccalli a Roma*, in: *Quaderni grigionitaliani* 48/IV, 1979, 243–247). Furthermore, the same document affirms that he had been in France and Pistoia and has come back to Rome, paying off his debts after the return (Santi, 245). In 1667, there are *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi* which record payments for two months' work on models for the Louvre to a certain Zuccaty, identified by Max Pfister as Henrico Zuccalli (Enrico Zuccalli in Francia, in: *Quaderni grigionitaliani* 61/II, 1992, 126f.). This is confirmed by a letter written by his relative Gaspare Zuccalli Sr. in 1668, which mentions Henrico's work for the

French king (Richard A. L. Paulus, *Der Baumeister Henrico Zuccalli*, Straßburg 1912, 8 and Arnaldo M. Zendralli, *I Magistri Grigioni*, Poschiavo 1958, 158). This evidence, as well as stylistic assonances and a certain proximity to Cavaliere Gian Lorenzo Bernini's and his pupil Carlo Fontana's architectural designs in Zuccalli's projects for the Bavarian court, suggest that Henrico, while in Rome in the 1660s, was trained in the circle of Bernini (Paulus; Heym; Bernhard Schütz, *Die kirchliche Barockarchitektur in Bayern und Oberschwaben 1580–1780*, München 2000, 28).

This article identifies Zuccalli in letters, preserved in the Dubrovnik State Archive, which directly prove his presence in Rome in 1668. The documents were published in 1960 as part of the collection of archival material pertaining to the aftermath of the great earthquake in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in 1667 (Radovan Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak posle velikog zemljotresa 1667 g. Arhivska građa*, Srpska akademija nauka, Belgrade 1960), but the fact that they mentioned the future court architect of Bavaria remained unacknowledged. Furthermore, drawing from the abovementioned sources and the episode of Zuccalli's failed engagement in Dubrovnik, as well as the recent suggestion by Sebastiano Roberto that Henrico Zuccalli worked in Pistoia for the Rospigliosi family (*Gianlorenzo Bernini e Clemente IX Rospigliosi*, Roma 2004, 224, 224n, 226, 226n, 247, 248, 248n, 249n), the article investigates the formative period of the architect and his role in the Roman Baroque architectural universe.

## THE DUBROVNIK NEGOTIATIONS

In spring 1668, Henrico Zuccalli offered his services as an architect to Niccolò di Raffaele Gozze (Nikola Gučetić), the envoy of the Republic of Ragusa. The South Adriatic city was substantially damaged on

**Fig. 1 Presumed portrait of Henrico Zuccalli, lost, formerly in Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München (Foto Nr. D1362 Pfister, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München)**



April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1667 by the most destructive earthquake in its history. The Dubrovnik noble was a special envoy of the Republic in Rome from March until early December 1668 (Samardžić, 288–294, 384–385), dispatched to Urbe in order to obtain supplementary assistance for the rebuilding of the ruined city. The Curia, and especially the protector of the Republic of Dubrovnik at the time,

cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), informed about the disaster by the Ragusan abbot living in Rome, Stjepan Gradić (1613–1683), had started to help Dubrovnik already in the summer of 1667 by sending money and qualified builders. Pope Clement IX Rospigliosi (1667–1669) paid military engineer Giulio Cerruti (c. 1640/1650–1719), who stayed in Dubrovnik through August 1667, helping the government with the restoration of ruined houses and advising on reparation of the city walls (Kruno Prijatelj, *Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke arhitekture*, in: *Tkalčičev Zbornik* 2, 1958, 119, n. 3, Katarina Horvat-Levaj, Francesco Cortese – projektant palače Zamanja u Dubrovniku [1669.], in: *Peristil* 45, 2002, 108).

Giulio Cerruti, who left Dubrovnik early but in good terms with the government, promised to recommend an architect who would continue his work, as the abbot Gradić reported in his letter to

the Dubrovnik Senate of 26 November 1667: “Si trova qui [a Roma] il signor capitano Ceruti [...]. Mi dice d’havere scritto per l’architetto, che bisogna, del quale anch’io tengo bone informazioni” (Đuro Körbler, *Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića Dubrovčanina Senatu Republike dubrovačke od godine 1667. do 1683.*, Zagreb 1915, 129). The abbot, who was a guardian of the Vatican library and an important figure within the Illyrian (later Croatian) community in Rome, gathering in their national church of Saint Gerome at Ripetta, was well informed about the architect chosen by Cerruti, and at that point considered him capable of the task.

The question involving the architect was still not solved on 24 March 1668, when Niccolò Gozze was given the following instructions by the Dubrovnik Senate: “Si tiene in particolar bisogno dell’architetto per poter indirizzare e guidare bene le fabbriche che sono in procinto da farsi; già quando

fu qui capitan Ceruti si ricercò che ci mandasse un'architetto che sapesse indrizzare le fabbriche delle case e chiese con provigione di reali trenta in giù al mese. Abbiamo avviso che il detto Ceruti habbi concertato con un giovine per mandarlo qua. Però procurerete vantaggiarvi in detto salario con procurare aggiustato che haverete di mandarlo quanto prima“ (Samardžić, 313). The rulers of Dubrovnik were urgently in need of an architect to work on ruined houses and churches, and having been informed about Cerruti's arrangements, instructed their envoy to try paying him less than promised by the engineer and sending him off as soon as possible.

On April 4<sup>th</sup>, Cerruti wrote a letter from Ferrara to Gozze in Rome: “Io intanto per non mancar a quello che mi si spettava doppo il mio arrivo in Roma ho fatto venir di fiori il giovine per proporsi al Eccellentissima Repubblica per assistere all'operazioni et ho fatti li disegni e modello della città, quali doveva inviare per detto giovine, ma perchè la congiuntura ha voluto che mi sii partito prima del stabilimento per l'andata del detto giovine che si doveva fare con il Signor abbate Gradi. Hora trovandosi Vossionoria Illustrissima a Roma ho ordinato al medesimo che sii da lei e che tratti seco per detto aggiustamento, mentre andando in lungo il mio ritorno costì, sarà meglio che Vossionoria Illustrissima invii il giovine senza dilazione in tempo, acciò nella presente stagione possa operar qualche cosa in beneficio del Eccellentissima Repubblica.“ (Samardžić, 318) Having left Rome before reaching the agreement with Gradić, Cerruti instructed the young architect to present himself to Gozze in Rome, and negotiate his position and salary, possibly leaving the Eternal City for Dubrovnik even before the engineer's return.

After quoting this passage from Cerruti's letter in his letter to Dubrovnik on the 28<sup>th</sup> of April, Gozze continued: “Io non havendo alcun ordine sopra questo dal Eccellenze Vostre nè meno il Signor abbate Gradi, et havendo penetrato da lontano le sue pretensioni essere lontane delle risoluzioni

dell'Eccellenze Vostre per il suo stipendio, nè sapendo il detto giovine chi sia nè i suoi meriti in professione d'architetto, infori che veniva proposto da Ceruti, non m'è parso bene entrare in questo negozio e non ho voluto trattare col detto giovine, sebene è stato in casa mia più volte, ma mi sono contenuto sulle generalità. Tuttavia ho risposto al Signor Ceruti che havendo lui cominciato a trattare col giovine del quale tengono bisogno l'Eccellenze Vostre havendone havuta quest'incumbenza che favorischi di concludere con offerire al medesimo da talari 30 pezze d'8 in giù al mese, se bene mi ricordo essere stati tanti oferti dal Eccellenze Vostre alla sua partenza da Ragusa. Aspetto le sue risposte col ordinario e del seguito ne darò parte al Eccellenze Vostre. Ma in caso che non s'aggiustasse col giovine proposto dal Ceruti per le di lui alte pretensioni, si trova un giovin qui di bon famma in questa profesione, il quale mi vien motivato al Signor abbate Gradi et il medesimo si contentarebe venir a servirle con minor prezzo di talari 30 al mese, al quale io ho parlato quando vene ad offerirsi in casa mia in forma che non ho discluso ne accettato il partito fin alle risposte del Ceruti. Vedendo l'Eccellenze Vostre cosa si deve fare, che loro devono comandare et io eseguirò.“ (Samardžić, 318–319) The envoy was not convinced by the architect who came repeatedly to Gozze's Roman residence, mainly because the requested salary was higher than the governors of Dubrovnik were keen to offer. The negotiations were complicated by the possibility of engaging yet another architect, found in the meantime by abbot Gradić and ready to work for less money.

## IMPORTANT REFERENCES

Finally, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1668, Gozze revealed the identity of the architect Cerruti was recommending: “L'architetto proposto dal Signor Cavalier Giulio Ceruti Henrico Zuccali havendomi detto che l'anno adietro fù in Francia con Signor Cavalier Bernino e che questi aveva cognizione del suo operato, col quale havendo parlato, mi diede a sapere che non aveva cognizione di questo giovine; siche agionto anche questo alli motivi di prima significati all'Eccellenze Vostre, non mi pare a

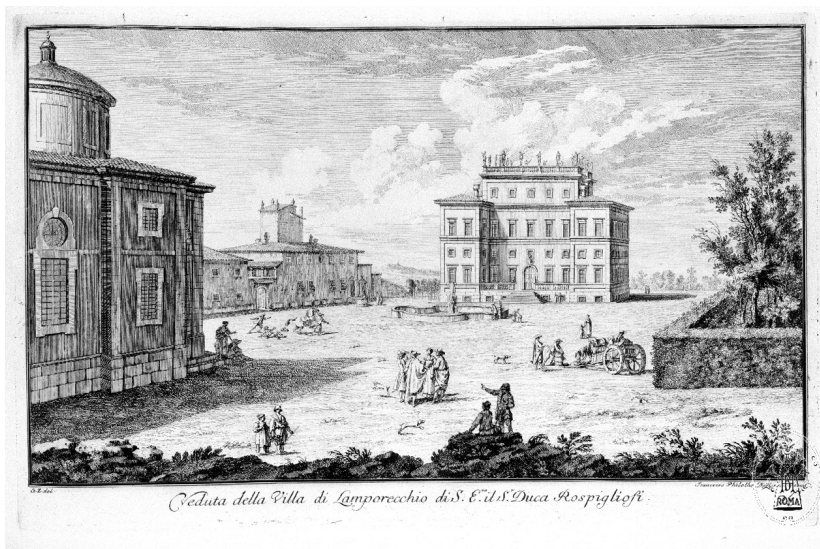


proposito e converà concludere con altro del quale pure diedi parte all'Eccellenze Vostre con l'ultima mia." (Samardžić, 330) This important passage reports not only Zuccalli's name, but also his references: the collaboration with Bernini and the journey to France. What is even more interesting is that the always suspicious diplomat was able to check the references with Bernini, who declined knowing Zuccalli. Everyone involved spoke Italian, leaving little possibility of some kind of misunderstanding, and one is inclined to conclude that the future court architect of Bavaria was not in direct contact with the old master. Gozze was certainly (and understandably) not satisfied with what he found out, and dutifully reported the whole episode to the Senate of Dubrovnik.

The other architect mentioned in the document is Francesco Cortese, who agreed to work in Dubrovnik for the humble wage offered by the Senate. He remains known only for his rather modest activity in the Adriatic city, where he worked on the restoration of the Rector's palace and erected the house of the Zamanja family before his sudden death in 1670 (Horvat-Levaj, 2002).

The Dubrovnik's letters indicate a more nuanced situation of Zuccalli's different types of employments before his arrival in Munich. They directly testify on the presence of Henrico Zuccalli in Rome in the 1660s and shed more light on his web of personal connections during his formative decade: the recommendation of Giulio Cerruti is an important one, since the latter was not only dispatched to Dubrovnik following Clement IX's request, but he was employed

as a papal engineer in a series of important projects in the 1660s, such as Bernini's rebuilding of Ariccia (Francesco Petrucci, *L'Ariccia di Bernini*, Roma 1998, 55, 57f., 62) and his interventions in Civitavecchia (Simonetta Pascucci, Cerruti, Giulio, in: *In urbe architectus. Modelli. Disegni. Misure. La professione dell'architetto a Roma 1680-1750*, ed. Bruno Contardi/Giovanna Curcio, Roma 1991, 335). Cerruti worked together with Carlo Fontana and Mattia de' Rossi, thus under Gian Lorenzo Bernini, gaining a reputation of a qualified military architect. Furthermore, Lucas von Hildebrandt quotes in his later letters the engineer as one of his teachers (Bruno Grimschitz, *Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt*, Wien/München 1959, 226f.). The fact that Cerruti wanted to send the models and designs he made for Dubrovnik with the "giovine" Zuccalli indicates that the engineer was confident of the younger architect's abilities to read them and present them to the Senate, as well as to become an independent builder. Finally, it is clear that the employment in Dubrovnik on recommendation of the papal engineer seemed to be a desirable one to Zuccalli, giving him a professional freedom and financial security he only reached in Munich after 1672.



**Fig. 2 Veduta della Villa di Lamporecchio di S. E. il S. Duca Rospigliosi, from Giuseppe Zocchi, *Vedute delle ville, e d'altri luoghi della Toscana*, Nuova ed. Firenze, Bouchard, 1757 (Fototehk Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome)**

## A JOURNEY TO FRANCE

The account of Zuccalli's trip to France in the Dubrovnik document is another piece of great importance. In the mentioned letter of 1694, Zuccalli stated that he had gone to France and had come back to Rome some time before 1672 (Santi, 245). But it is a Ragusan envoy's letter of 1668 that confirms that he went to France "a year before", confirming Pfister's identification of Zuccalli as the artist who worked on models for the Louvre in 1667. So it was definitely in 1667 that Zuccalli worked in Paris, almost two years after Bernini's well known journey to France in the company of his favored assistant, Mattia de' Rossi (1637–1695) (Daniela Del Pesco, *Bernini in Francia. Paul de Chantelou e il Journal de voyage du cavalier bernin en France*, Napoli 2007).

In the summer of 1665, while he was in Paris, Bernini devised what is usually referred to as his third Louvre project, leaving the French capital before winter in order to attend projects for the Curia. Mattia de' Rossi eventually came back to Paris with new designs by Bernini and stayed at least from May 1666 until May 1667 (Anna Menichella, *Matthia de' Rossi, discepolo prediletto del Bernini*, Roma 1985, 22f.). While staying there, he supervised the work on two models based on Bernini's designs, one in wood and one in stucco, updating the project of 1665. The models in question are represented in drawings now in Stockholm (Nationalmuseum, THC 1244, 1245; see Daniela Del Pesco, Bernini's last project for the Louvre: the Designs in the Nationalmuseum, in: *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm* 17, 2010, 89–96).

Therefore, while he stayed in Paris, Zuccalli worked on these models under de' Rossi, long after Bernini's return to Italy. What the Moësan architect told the Dubrovnik envoy in Rome after the return from France was the truth, or at least a half-truth, since he had worked on Bernini's designs but not directly under him. When de' Rossi left Paris in the spring of 1667, he was paid 9000 livres for his work and an allowance of 70.000 livres (del Pesco, 72, n.

115), which puts into perspective the importance and the amount of work Zuccalli might have had, given his modest salary of 180 livres. Soon afterwards, Bernini's project was to be officially rejected, but the whole episode gave Zuccalli an opportunity to work on developing Bernini's ideas side by side with de' Rossi, who was only five years his senior. It also provided him an access to the whole set of Louvre designs, including the famous first one, which he might have copied. It also confirms Zuccalli's experience in the handling of models, making understandable Cerruti's confidence expressed in the Dubrovnik documents. It also offers the possibility that Zuccalli participated in the building of the now lost model of the Adriatic city.

## "ARRIGO" IN PISTOIA

In the spring of 1668, regretfully for Croatian art history, Dubrovnik's authorities preferred another (cheaper) architect to Henrico Zuccalli. But there is another evidence of his activity in Italy, once again in the circle of Mattia de' Rossi: recently, Sebastiano Roberto has proposed to identify as Henrico Zuccalli the "capomastro Arrigo", who was responsible for the erection of the villa di Spicchio at Lamporecchio (*fig. 2*) and the high altar in the church of the Holy Spirit (ex Saint Ignatius) in Pistoia from summer 1669 until the summer of the following year. Indeed, in his letter of 1694, Zuccalli also mentions Pistoia (Santi, 245). Two of his engagements in Tuscany were part of the Rospigliosi family's investments in this area during and immediately after the pontificate of Clement IX. The projects were commissioned to Gian Lorenzo Bernini and were developed in detail in his Roman workshop, with Mattia de' Rossi documented as working on the model in August 1668 (Roberto, 242, n. 7).

In April 1669 de' Rossi traveled to Pistoia to oversee the construction of the villa at Spicchio, probably bringing Zuccalli with him, as documents seem to suggest (Roberto, 248, n. 28). In August 1669 de' Rossi went back to Rome, while Zuccalli remained in Pistoia. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1669 the Rospigliosi family's administrator, the priest Pietro



Fig. 3 Portal of Villa Rospigliosi in Lamporecchio (photo: Sebastiano Roberto)

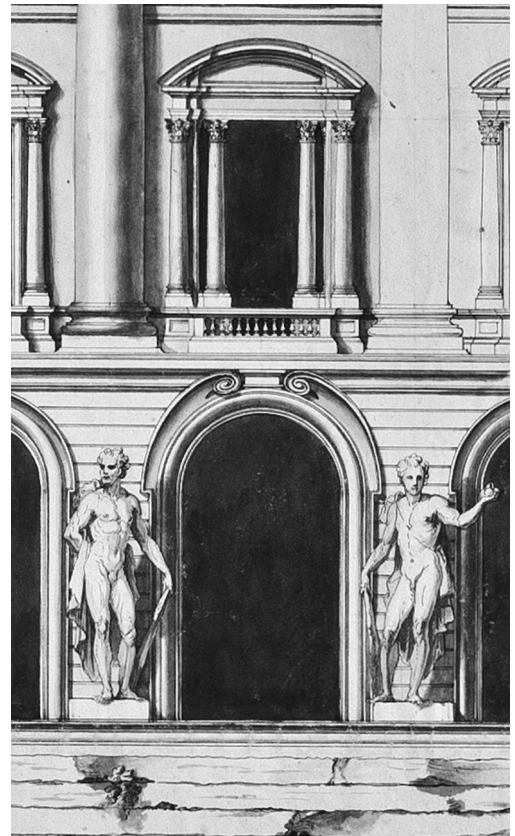


Fig. 4 Drawing of a lost model for the last Louvre project by Bernini and De' Rossi (photo: © Erik Cornelius, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)

Maestriperi wrote to Camillo Rospigliosi that there was no need to send a new architect after the departure of de' Rossi, since "capomastro Arrigo" was perfectly capable of finishing the building. At that point, as the letter of the administrator suggests, Zuccalli managed around 23 different artisans on the site (Roberto, 352). He probably remained in Pistoia until the building was finished in the summer of 1670.

The villa appears a compact H shaped edifice, with the central wing containing the two oval superimposed halls perpendicular to symmetrical lateral wings. The portal (fig. 3) closely resembles the third Louvre project (Roberto, 252), on which, as we have seen, both de' Rossi and Zuccalli had worked (fig. 4). Significantly, a drawing of the villa attributed to Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach exists in Milan (Castello Sforzesco, Raccolta Domenico Martinelli, t. IV, n. 22), and Roberto suggests that it may have been Zuccalli who provided the Austrian architect with the designs

from Bernini's workshop (Roberto, 248, n. 23). In the spring of 1670, Zuccalli also received designs and instructions from Rome for the high altar of Saint Ignatius, and he may have been entrusted with the supervision of the building of the church apse (Roberto, 226).

Hence, in the summer of 1670, Henrico Zuccalli was still in Italy (Roberto, 248), and after his return from Pistoia he was able to pay off his debts and invest 300 large ducats in a business deal (Santi, 245). His work in Tuscany reveals that just before he finally left for Bavaria, he had reached a certain professional level, being involved in papal family projects, although not the Roman ones. During the 1660s, Zuccalli grew into a capable director of construction sites, became a trusted help of Mattia de' Rossi and very familiar with Bernini's designs and the creative process leading from the design to the built architecture.



### IN BERNINI'S ORBIT

All this evidence puts Henrico Zuccalli in the orbit of Bernini during his formative years in Italy, never documenting the direct contact between the two architects, even speaking against it in the case of the Dubrovnik envoy's letter. The metaphorical model that might best describe Zuccalli's place in the architectural universe of the Roman Baroque is the "solar system", similar to the one proposed for Titian and the situation in Venetian painting a century earlier by Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo (Attorno, *all'ombra e ai limiti di Tiziano*, in: *Tiziano, l'ultimo atto*, ed. Lionello Puppi, Milano 2007, 145–162). This dynamic model puts Bernini in the centre, especially after the stars of Francesco Borromini and Pietro da Cortona had disappeared from the sky, with planets of the masters first assistants Mattia de' Rossi, Francesco Contini and Carlo Fontana circling around, each with their own satellites. Stretching the metaphor, one might say that in Rome Zuccalli was one of the de' Rossi moons, illuminated by Bernini's mastery and

inventiveness, but also overshadowed by "the mass" de' Rossi had in the Cavaliere's architectural practice. The importance of this "near-Bernini experience" remained evident in his later practice, in which he consistently used the ideas and motifs he absorbed while working under de' Rossi on the projects as important as the Louvre and Villa Rospigliosi in Lamporecchio. Zuccalli's case may also be taken as a propedeutic example on the experience other Northern architects may have had in Rome before the establishment of the more structured courses at the Accademia di San Luca and studios like the one of Carlo Fontana.

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## Charakterköpfe in Nürnberg

**Charakterköpfe: Die Bildnisbüste in der Epoche der Aufklärung.** Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung im Germanischen Nationalmuseum vom 6. Juni bis 6. Oktober 2013, hg. v. Frank Matthias Kammel. Nürnberg, Verlag des GNM 2013. 244 S., zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-3-936-68875-7. € 22,00

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**M**it der Ausstellung frühklassizistischer Büsten, die unter dem Titel „Charakterköpfe“ von Frank Matthias Kammel kuratiert wurde, präsentierte das Germanische Nationalmuseum (GNM) in Nürnberg Werke aus einem künstlerischen

Feld, das in seinem Sammlungs- und Ausstellungsprogramm bisher kaum berücksichtigt worden ist. Angeregt wurde das Ausstellungsprojekt durch den rezenten Erwerb von zwei interessanten Terracottabüsten aus dem späten 18. Jh., einem Porträt des Modellmeisters und Eigentümers einer Porzellanmanufaktur, Laurentius Russinger, von seinem Sohn Ignaz Christoph (*Abb. 1*) und ein Entwurf der Büste Johann Heinrich Pestalozzis von Johann Valentin Sonnenschein (*Abb. 2*), die in einen Zusammenhang mit den Werken der letzten Dezennien des 18. Jh.s im gesamten deutschen Sprachgebiet gebracht wurden. Dazu ist ein reich bebildertes, vom Kurator verfasstes Begleitbuch erschienen, dessen Schwerpunkt auf einer kulturhistorischen Einbettung der Kunstwerke liegt. Nur am Ende der Publikation findet sich ein knapp gehaltenes Verzeichnis der ausgestellten Objekte.