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THE PORTA VIRTUTIS AND FEDERIGO ZUCCARI'S EXPULSION
FROM THE PAPAL STATES:
AN UNJUST CONVICTION?

This paper, presented at the Frick Symposium of 1987, originates from a seminar on the tradition of self-portraiture taught by Matthias Winner

at Columbia University. I am much indebted to him for inspiration and guidance, and to David Rosand for helpful suggestions.

1. *Porta Virtutis*, Oxford, Christ Church

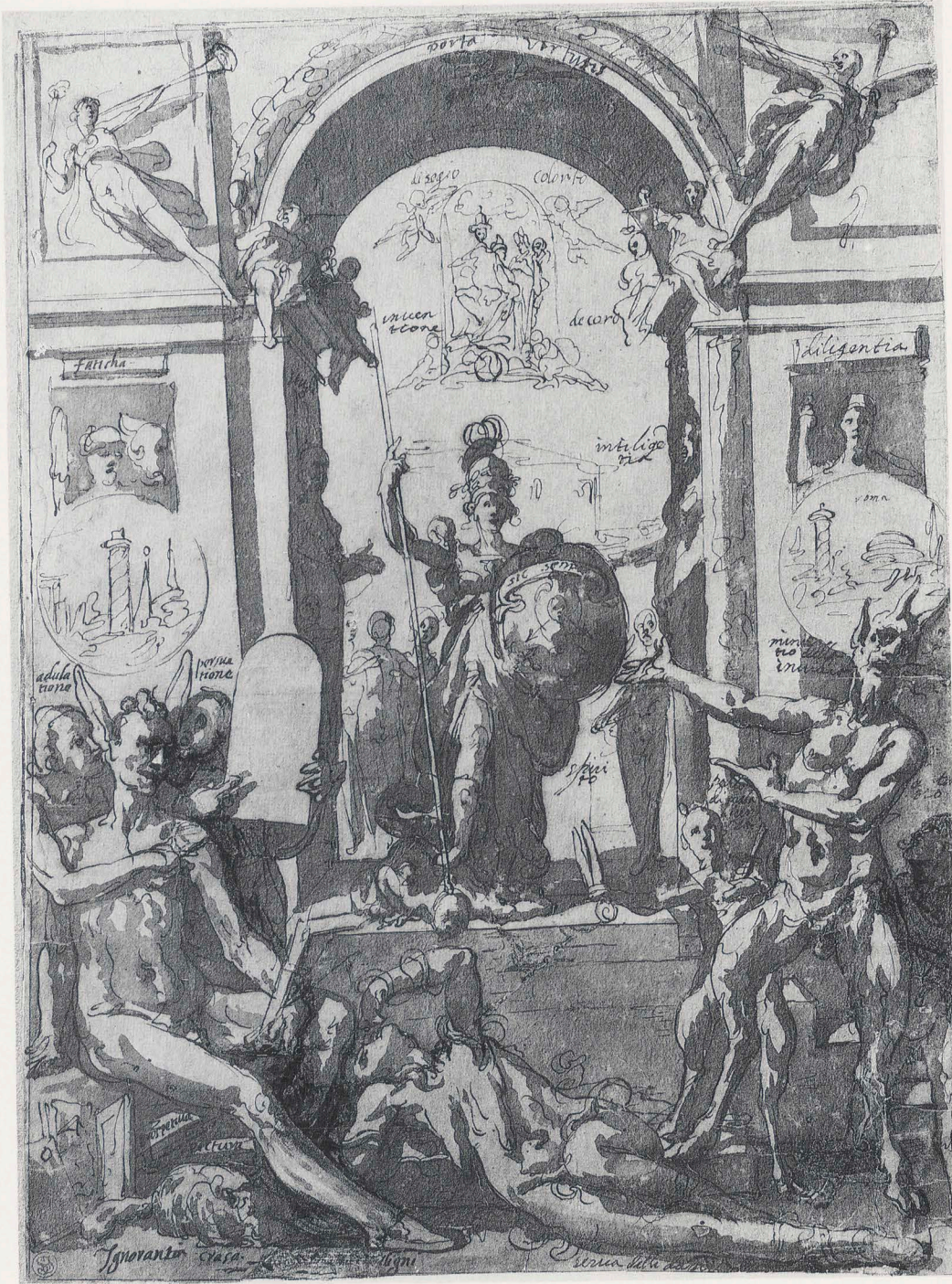


On 27 November 1581 Federigo Zuccari, one of the most famous artists of the time in Rome, was sentenced to expulsion from the papal states: he was given only four days to leave. If caught on papal possessions after the day established for his departure, or if he practiced his profession again within the same territory, he would have been sent to the galleys¹. The reason for this punishment

was his having painted and exhibited a large satirical cartoon entitled the *Porta Virtutis*, which unfortunately has not survived. We do have however its preparatory drawing at Christ Church in Oxford, and two fairly pre-

issue of the *RömJbKg*. They were originally published by A. BERTOLLOTTI, "Federigo Zuccari, il suo processo ed esilio nel 1581," *Giornale di erudizione Artistica*, V, 1876, 129–149, and also by V. LANCIARINI, "Atti del Processo contro Federigo Zuccari," *Nuova Rivista Misena*, VI, 1893. References are to Bertolotti.

¹ The proceedings of the trial that lead to Zuccari's banishment have been retranscribed by Philipp Fehl, and will be found in a future



cise and autograph replicas of this drawing in Frankfurt, and in New York² (Fig. 1–2–3).

Scholars have never found a satisfactory explanation for the stir the cartoon caused. Its meaning – the ultimate

2 Oxford, Christ Church, n. F 26; Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, n. 1391; New York, Janos Scholz collection. The drawings and their interpretation are discussed mainly in M. WINNER, *Die Quellen der Pictura-Allegorien in gemalten Bildergalerien des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Dissertation, Cologne, 1957, 76–84, and “Gemalte Kunsttheorie zu

Gustave Courbets *Allegorie Reelle* und der Tradition,” *JbBerlMus*, IV, 1962, 151–185, esp. 171–172; D. HEIKAMP, “Vicende di Federigo Zuccari,” *RivArte*, XXXII, 1957, 175–232, and “Ancora su Federigo Zuccari,” *RivArte*, XXXIII, 1958, 45–50; J. BYAM SHAW, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford. Catalogue*, Oxford, 1976, 155–156; J. BEAN, F. STAMPFLE, *Drawings from New York Collections. The Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1965, 156; K. OBERHUBER, D. WALKER, *Sixteenth Century Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz*, Washington, New York, 1973, 14–15; K. HERMANN-FIORE, “Disegno and Giudizio, Allegorical Drawings by Federigo Zuccari and Cherubino Alberti,” *Master Drawings*, 1982, 247–256.



triumph of the virtuous artist over his ignorant critics – is close to that of Zuccari's *Calumny of Apelles*, and ultimately also to that of his *Lamento della Pittura*. Every one of these allegories was meant by the painter to be a response against criticism of his art³. Why then was only

the *Porta Virtutis* considered particularly offensive? The answer to this question lies in the circumstances under which it was produced.

From the trial proceedings we learn that Federigo had been commissioned by Paolo Ghiselli, the steward of Gregory XIII, to paint an altarpiece for his family chapel

³ Heikamp, 1957, 176–184. The *Calumny of Apelles* and the *Lamento della Pittura* were engraved by Cornelis Cort. The former was directed against the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who was not satisfied by Zuccari's work at Caprarola; the latter against the

Florentines, who made fun of his frescoes in the dome of their Cathedral.



4. *The Procession of Saint Gregory*, engraving by Caprioli. Albertina, Vienna

5. *The Procession of Saint Gregory*. Albertina, Vienna

in Santa Maria del Baraccano in Bologna⁴. This painting, now lost, is well known from an engraving by Caprioli – derived from a virtually identical drawing by Zuccari in Philadelphia – and from a preparatory drawing in the Albertina⁵ (Fig. 4–5). In homage to the reigning pope, it represented his namesake Gregory the Great kneeling in front of a supernatural vision that had appeared above

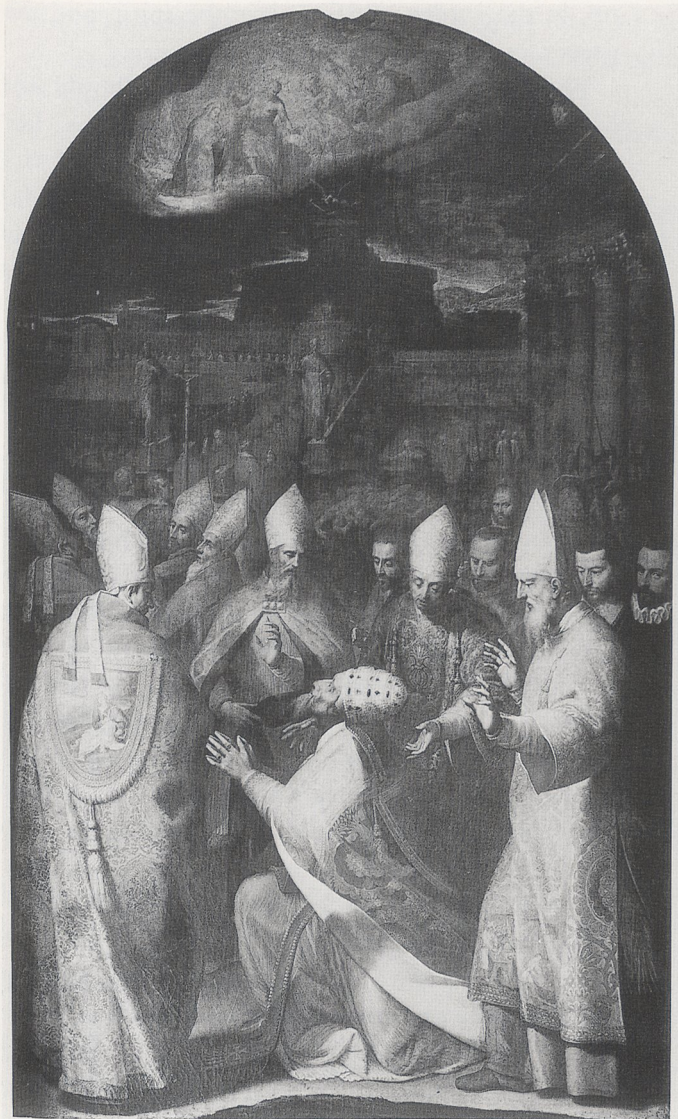
Hadrian's Mausoleum. He had been taking an image of Mary in procession through plague-stricken Rome, in the hope of lifting the pestilence, which was in fact abated by the apparition⁶. In the painting Gregory the Great had been represented with the features of Gregory XIII; two members of his retinue portrayed Ghiselli and Bianchetto, another papal official⁷. The patron, whose first name was Paolo, was also alluded to by the prominence given to the statue of Saint Paul, once standing on the Aelian bridge together with that of Saint Peter.

4 Bertolotti, 134.

5 Heikamp, 1957, 185; J. A. GERE, "The Lawrence-Philipps-Rosenbach Album," *Master Drawings*, VIII, 1970, 130, pl. 10.; A. STIX, A. SPITZMULLER, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung*, Vienna, 1941, VI, 64 (Inv. n. 2258). A third drawing of the same subject is in Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, n. 1949: 29. See below p. 176 for a second, anonymous engraving of the altarpiece. The Albertina has a copy of each engraving.

6 This subject was particularly appropriate for Santa Maria del Baraccano, a church built around a miracle-working fresco of the Virgin. See G. GIOVANNANTONI, *Historia della Miracolosa Immagine di Maria Vergine detta del Baraccano*, Bologna, 1674.

7 Bertolotti, 140.



6. *The Procession of Saint Gregory*. Cesare Aretusi. Santa Maria del Baraccano, Bologna

By Christmas 1580 Federigo had completed the altarpiece and sent it to Bologna. Once there, however, it failed to please the patron or, to be more precise, it failed to please the Bolognese painters, who wrote an anonymous memorandum listing all its defects. Their disapproval convinced Ghiselli to reject Zuccari's work. The latter then volunteered to paint a second version, but Ghiselli refused, and gave the commission to a Bolognese⁸. This second altarpiece, painted by Cesare Aretusi, is still *in situ* today⁹ (Fig. 6).

⁸ Bertolotti, 134.

⁹ Giovannantonij, 92; C.C. MALVASIA, *Felsina Pittrice*, Bologna, 1678, ed. 1841, I, 250; C. RICCI, "Di un Quadro di Federico Zuccari," *Rassegna d'Arte*, VII, 1907, 102–103. The painting might have been executed in collaboration with G. B. Fiorini. See D. BENATI,



7. Detail of Fig. 1

Zuccari had never taken kindly to criticism, and also this time his response was not long in coming. On 18 October 1581, the feast of Saint Luke, patron saint of painters, he exhibited the *Porta Virtutis* in Rome, on the facade of the church of San Luca, next to Santa Maria Maggiore¹⁰. Even though the cartoon, like the drawings, had explanatory inscriptions, Federigo, afraid that somebody might miss the point of his invention, spent a morning interpreting it for fellow artists¹¹.

We have no record of what he said, but he evidently offended the Bolognese painters so grievously that they sued him for libel. During the trial Zuccari maintained that the cartoon had not been directed against anybody in particular, certainly not against the Bolognese, since he had actually invented the composition four years earlier, when his frescoes in the dome of the Cathedral in Florence had been criticized¹². He affirmed to have done the

"Cesare Aretusi," in V. Fortunati Pietrantonio ed., *La Pittura Bolognese del '500*, Bologna, 1986, II, 709–711.

¹⁰ G. BAGLIONE, in *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, et Architetti del Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 infino ai Tempi di Papa Urbano VIII nel 1642*, (1st ed. Rome, 1642) Naples, 1744, 405, informs us that the cartoon had been shown "sopra la porta della chiesa [of San Luca Evangelista]." Bertolotti, 137; Heikamp, 1957, 189. The church itself, demolished under Sixtus V, was situated in the square today called Piazza dell'Esquilino. See M. ARMELLINI, *Le Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1942, vol. I, 239–240, vol. II, 1333.

¹¹ Bertolotti, 138, 144.

¹² *Ibid.*, 147.

painting in general, "wanting to allude that I always had this misfortune, that in my works I have been blamed¹³." At the same time he wrote to Francesco, Grand Duke of Tuscany: "In my opinion painters should not be considered guilty for what goes on in the back of their minds, when in their paintings there are no portraits, and they do not mention anybody in writing¹⁴."

And indeed there are no names or portraits in the three known drawings of the *Porta Virtutis*. In the final cartoon Federigo had been even less explicit since he eliminated there the roundels in the bodies of *fatica* and *diligentia*, that contain clear references to Rome¹⁵. Was he then found guilty simply because Gregory XIII, being from Bologna, would not tolerate even the vaguest derogatory allusion to his native city? Or rather because his satire unmistakably labeled his Bolognese detractors as ignorant asses, as they evidently believed?

Since the cartoon itself had disappeared before the trial, the painter could slightly play with its interpretation. Not much though, because the court was well informed about it, and also about what he had said on the morning of the 18th of October. Zuccari explained that the *Porta Virtutis* had been materially executed by his assistant Domenico Passignano, but that the "invention, whim, and origin" had been his own¹⁶. He then volunteered a written exegesis of the allegory that reads:

The said youth [Domenico Passignano] has represented with his effort the difficulties and the means necessary to acquire virtue, with the toils and persecutions that envy and slander always oppose virtue, and brazen ignorance, as its contrary that is cause of such slander.

To show the means that are necessary to acquire science he has shown mainly labor and diligence, in two niches, at the sides of the gate of Virtue. Next to these, in two other niches inside this gate are represented on one side study and love, and on the other understanding, that one acquires of all disciplines by means of study and travail. Further

on, in the garden of Virtue are the spirit, and the graces, companions of every intelligence.

But since whoever is really virtuous should not be content with such sciences and practices, but must also be accompanied by the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude, he has put them above the cornice of the door, as worthier things, lifted from the ground, just as they lift our soul to divine things.

Next to them there are two fames, who play their trumpets, one of gold, and the other of lead to denote, with one, the approval of these Virtues, with the other, the blame of slander.

Minerva then, or Pallas, goddess of the sciences and of Virtue stands in front of her garden, with her arms. Majestic and still, she receives the blows of slander on her shield, and we see the darts rebounding in the heart of her aggressors, with a motto that says *Sic semper*. Always has Virtue been persecuted and torn by her opposites, and she will always be; and the darts of envy and calumny will return at the end against the aggressors, where Truth takes place. And this has always happened, and it will always happen. Therefore Pallas has under her feet Vice, as his tamer, pierced with her spear; and under him, with the same spear, she pierces Envy's heart, who is writhing and feeding on the vipers and poisons that surround her.

And Envy is called servant of those who are worth little, because she is born in base hearts. Since she alone cannot do much harm, she grasps the feet of Crass Ignorance, here personified as Mida. She represents those who pretend to understand things they do not really know, but dare to judge other people's work, and they are often believed by those who are not very experienced. These, flattered by adulation and persuaded by their own presumption to be knowledgeable, often disapprove of the most singular and valuable things, and approve of others that are worthless. They cause infinite damage to the Virtuous, because most of the time they are deprived not only of the good will of those for whom they work, but also of their sweats and toils, and of the rewards of their Virtue. Thus they infinitely damage the universal and the particular.

Therefore Envy, favored by such a monster moves her ministers and satellites, that is blame, represented by that satyr that spits burning flames. He is all mottled in different colors, because of the indigestion of his own poisons. The twins born

13 "Io ueramente il quadro e pittura sudetta ho fatto generalmente, uolendo aludere che sempre ho hauto questa desgratia che nelle mie opere sono stato tacciato ..." Bertolotti, 136.

14 "A me pare che alli pittori non deba esare imputatto l'intrinsicho del animo loro, quando nelle loro pitture non vi siano ritratti, ne' nominati in scritto persona alcuna." J. W. GAYE, *Carteggio Inedito di Artisti*, vol. III, 444-445.

15 Bertolotti, 147.

16 "Veramente l'inuentione, capriccio et origine è stato il mio, e ben uero che li feci mettere mano a quel giouane, hauendo io altro che fare ..." Bertolotti, 136.

of slander are around him, and hold tools to cut and pierce, scissors, razors and daggers. The other has the spear to deal blows farther away.

This is the story, unfortunately true, represented in that cartoon, under which are these letters:

Virtue and excellence are usually attacked, but not conquered, by the defamatory monsters in the presence of the wicked powerful¹⁷.

The artist's testimony, if certainly illuminating, betrays a strange reticence: evidently he was not willing to say that the *Porta Virtutis* describes the predicaments of the virtuous artist in particular, not of the *virtuosi* in general. He was forced to reveal it though, when asked the meaning of the two round-headed tablets that were both left blank in the final version. Of the one below he declared that "a white wall is the page of the fool," while in the one above "Virtue can write whatever she wants ... because nearby there are already four small figures *disegno*, invention, color, and decorum, which are the principal elements of our profession¹⁸."

In the relatively large literature on the *Porta Virtutis*, little attention has been devoted to these tablets. Only Kristina Herrmann-Fiore has noticed that the upper one

17 "Ha rappresentato il detto giovane per suo studio le difficoltà, et mezzi necessari in acquistare la virtù con li travagli, et persecuzioni che l'invidia, et maledicentia continuamente danno ad essa virtù et l'ignorantia audace come sua contraria sia faultrice a cotal meledicentia ... Per mostrare i mezzi che sono necessari in acquistare le scientie ha figurato principalmente la fatigha e la diligentia ... il studio, et l'amore et all'incontro la intelligentia ... nel giardino di essa Virtù vi sono il spirito e la gratie che condiscono ogni intelligentia ... Minerva ... figurata per la dea de la scientie e de la Virtù ... riceve i colpi della maledicentia nel suo scudo, et li strali si veggiono ritornar a dietro col ferro nel petto de proprii feritori, con un motto che dice *Sic semper* ... essa Pallade si tiene sotto de piedi il vitio ... e sotto quello con la medesima hasta transfigge il cuor de la Invidia ... l'Invidia si attacca a li piedi del Ignorantia crassa qui figurata in persona di Mida per quelli che fanno professione da intendere quelle cose che veramente non sanno ... e molte volte è creduto loro da chi non è perito più che tanto. Questi lusinghati da l'adulatione, et persuasi da la propria presuntione di darsi a credere de intender il più delle volte dannano le cose più singolari e degne di di laude ... l'Invidia muove li suoi ministri e satelliti cioè il biasimo figurato per quel satiro che getta per bocca fiamme accese ... li gemelli et parto di maldicentia li sono atorno et tenghano instrumenti per tagliare o forare ..." This memorandum is preserved separately from the trial proceedings. See Heikamp, 1958, 48–50, for the complete Italian text.

18 "Quelle due tavole ouate in bianco ... non significa altro se non che come si suol dire proverbialmente *Albus paries stultorum est pagina* et che la uirtù nel bianco di sopra può scriuere quello che li pare per mostrare le parte del uirtuoso, poi che già ce stando li apresso quattro figure piccole cioè il disegno, l'inventione, il colorito et il decoro, che sono le parti principali della nostra professione ..." Bertolotti, 138. The word *intelligenza*, written below *decorum* in the Oxford drawing, is crossed out and does not appear in the other two drawings.

in the three surviving drawings is not blank¹⁹ (Fig. 7). She believes that the scribbles there show something similar to what Zuccari was later to paint on the ceiling of his own house: the enthroned figure of *Disegno*, with his three daughters, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, clad in long feminine dresses. Since one of the small figures around the tablet is also labelled *disegno*, she suggests that in the *Porta Virtutis* Zuccari expressed for the first time his theory of art, based on the assumption that two *disegni* exist: *disegno interno*, the Idea that preexists in the mind of the artist, and *disegno esterno*, the material realization of this Idea²⁰. But what would then be the meaning of the tablet on the lower left? And why would Zuccari have decided to leave also the upper one blank in the final version?

I believe that Federigo Zuccari introduced modifications in the exhibited cartoon because he foresaw the dangers of his unprecedented use of allegory. But when he showed the *Porta Virtutis* to his fellow artists, his wish for revenge – much greater than his prudence – compelled him to reveal its true meaning. Thus he was easily found out. The scribbles in the upper tablet must in fact be read as his rejected altarpiece for Santa Maria del Baraccano. The three figures with long garments and pointed hats are not Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. They are bishops with their mitres and their chasubles. Below their feet we can vaguely distinguish the body of a plague-stricken man; on the left is the kneeling pope, in the background Castel Sant'Angelo with the clouds of the vision above it. Federigo Zuccari's own device, the sugar cone with the lilies is recognizable below the painting. This last detail suggests that a drawing of the *Procession of Saint Gregory* in Munich – generally thought to be a study for, or a copy after, the altarpiece – is instead related to the *Porta Virtutis*²¹ (Fig. 8). The two puzzling hands

19 *Disegno and Giuditio*, 251–252.

20 For Zuccari's art theory see "*Scritti d'Arte di Federigo Zuccari*," edited by D. HEIKAMP, *Fonti per lo Studio della Storia dell'Arte*, I, Florence, 1961; E. PANOFSKY, *Idea. Concepts in Art Theory*, New York, 1968, 85–93; W. KEMP "Disegno. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Begriffes zwischen 1547 und 1607," *MarbJbKw*, XIX, 1974, 219–40; S. ROSSI, "Idea e Accademia. Studio sulle teorie artistiche di Federigo Zuccari," *Storia dell'Arte*, 1974, 36–56; K. HERRMANN-FIORE, "Die Fresken Federico Zuccaris in seinem römischen Künstlerhaus," *RömJbKw*, XVIII, 1979, 35–112. D. SUMMERS, *The Judgement of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics*, Cambridge, New York, 1987, 283–308.

21 See R. HARPRATH, *Italianische Zeichnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts aus eigenem Besitz: Ausstellung 1. Juli–28. August 1977. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München*, Munich, 1977, 168–170; P. HALM, B. DEGENHART, W. WEGNER, *Hundert Meisterzeichnungen aus der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung*, Munich, 49; P. Halm, *MüJb BK*, I, 1950, 250; Gere, 250; Heikamp, 1957, 188, and n. 40.



8. *The Procession of Saint Gregory.* Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich



9. *The Procession of Saint Gregory.* Anonymous engraving, Albertina, Vienna

that point towards the plague-stricken in the foreground could then be explained as those of invention and decorum. The drawing has always been considered autograph, but its tremulous, faltering pen-strokes seem rather to indicate that it was executed by an assistant²².

The four small figures around the altarpiece may simply be, as Zuccari claimed, the principal elements of the profession of a painter. However they could also be precisely the qualities that the Bolognese painters found lacking in

²² On the basis of reproduction this opinion is shared by Matthias Winner and by the late Lawrence Turcic. I have not seen the original.

his *Procession of Saint Gregory*. From Federigo himself we know that they criticized his *invenzione* (they objected to the placement of the Pope in the middle ground instead of the foreground), his *diseño* (he did not know how to handle proportion in foreshortening), and his *colore* (he had painted in dark colors what should have been light and vice-versa)²³. Zuccari did not say that the altarpiece was also charged with lack of decorum. Its huge nudes in the foreground though could well have been subject to such criticism: indeed the plague-stricken are more modestly clad in an anonymous engraving of the *Proces-*

²³ Bertolotti, 135, 141.

sion of *Saint Gregory* that presents some variations in respect to the one by Caprioli²⁴ (Fig. 9).

Federigo Zuccari was found guilty of slander because, even without naming or portraying anybody, he could hardly have been more explicit. There cannot be any doubt that the ass-eared figure of Crass Ignorance represents the Bolognese painters. The white tablet held by Persuasion must be the new altarpiece that is being – or will be – painted by one of Federigo’s detractors to replace his own. According to the inscription in the Oxford drawing, it will show nothing but their presumption. The gate, modeled on the triumphal arch of Titus, separates the domain of Ignorance from that of Virtue²⁵. As the round medallions indicate, labor and diligence, to bear any fruit, must be practiced by an artist in Rome, where he can learn from the example of the ancients. The particular choice of monuments – the Pantheon, the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, the obelisk – also suggests that only in Rome can an artist achieve fame.

The garden must be the realm of artistic Virtue, not simply of Virtue as Zuccari claimed, since the three Graces live there: for him they always represent the three sister arts, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. That realm of artistic perfection can never be reached by the ignorant like the Bolognese. If they try, they will be trampled upon by Minerva, like the half-human, half-serpent figure labelled *inscitia*, simply another word for ignorance²⁶. Painting, for Zuccari, originates from an intellectual activity: therefore Minerva, goddess of the liberal arts, protects his *Procession of Saint Gregory*. Once rejected and

vilified, now elevated and beyond the reach of the spiteful attacks of its enemies, the altarpiece slowly ascends toward eternal glory – the ultimate vindication of the artist.

Regrettably, the names of Zuccari’s enemies, and the reasons of their fierce objections to his painting still remain unknown. Most likely, as Wittkower thought, the Bolognese were simply motivated by professional rivalry toward a foreigner²⁷. Santa Maria del Baraccano, at that time still an extremely popular sanctuary, has a single, transverse nave, with two chapels at the end. Federigo’s painting would have occupied the one on the right and would have been visible from every position in the church. Probably Cesare Aretusi – who in his own painting relied heavily on Zuccari’s, but punctiliously corrected its supposed faults – was not extraneous to the whole episode. Malvasia in fact described him as “slanderous, and rather shameless, made impudent by his good luck, that he had won with his schemes, being wicked, prompt, and daring²⁸.”

Federigo’s banishment from the papal states, intended for life, did not last very long. By intercession of the Duke of Urbino he was soon given permission to work in Loreto, and completely pardoned less than two years later²⁹. He always remained firm in his protestation of innocence: “And that all of this [the cartoon of the *Porta Virtutis*] has been ominously interpreted, I attribute to my bad luck. But I am not surprised, since I know that even the sacred histories and the holy writings have been misinterpreted by impious and heretical men . . .³⁰”

Michelangelo’s catafalque: Minerva trampling over Envy, and *Ingegno* over Ignorance. See R. AND M. WITTKOWER, *The Divine Michelangelo*, London, 1964, 97–98. The whole concept that reaching perfection in the Arts corresponds to achieving Virtue – which is repeated over and over in Zuccari’s work – was taken from Benedetto Varchi’s funeral oration in honor of Michelangelo. See Z. WAZBINSKI, “Lo Studio. La Scuola Fiorentina di Federico Zuccari,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXIX, 1985, 310.

27 R. AND M. WITTKOWER, *Born under Saturn*, New York, 1963, 249–251.

28 “... linguacciuto e alquanto sfacciato, insolentito dalla fortuna prospera, procacciatisi pero’ da suoi artifici, essendo tristo, pronto e ardito.” Malvasia, 1841, I, 251.

29 A. RUSTICI, “Federigo Zuccari (Notizie Biografiche su Documenti Inediti),” *Rassegna Marchigiana*, 1922–23, 405–429.

30 “Et che tutto questo sia stato preso sinistramente, lo do alla mia poca sorte. Né me ne faccio meraviglia sapendo che anco le historie e lettere sacre sono malamente interpretate dagli uomini empii ed heretici . . .” From a letter to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, dated April 1st, 1582, published by A. RONCHINI, “Federico Zuccheri,” *Atti e Memorie delle Regie Deputazioni per le Province Modenesi e Parmensi*, V, 1870, 1–14.

24 In *Le Pitture di Bologna*, Bologna, 1686, 255, Malvasia wrote: “Nella prima capella [of the church of Santa Lucia] il quadro della processione per Roma del S. Pontefice Gregorio, che vide l’angelo riporre nel fodero la spada fatto per Monsignor Ghiselli, per porsi nella sua bella cappella al Baraccano, ove in vece di questo fu posto l’altro dell’Aretusi, è molto aggiustata opera di Federico Zuccheri.” Perhaps therefore the anonymous engraving reproduces modifications introduced in the altarpiece by Zuccari himself, who wanted to leave as little ground as possible for his detractor’s criticism. Heikamp, 1956, 187; Gere, 130. The painter gave the rejected altarpiece to the Jesuits in Rome, and they sent it to the church of Santa Lucia in Bologna “acciò . . . ella desse a dividedere quanto a torto (dicev’egli il Zuccheri) fosse stata rigettata.” MALVASIA, *Felsina Pittrice*, (1st ed. Bologna, 1678) Bologna, 1841, I, 250.

25 Winner, 1957, 83, suggests that the idea of a Gate of Virtue came to Zuccari from Filarete’s architectural treatise. That he was also looking at the arch of Titus though is indicated by the glory in the intrados, exactly in the same position of the apotheosis of the emperor in the arch.

26 The word is visible in the Oxford drawing. The source for the two figures might have been two of the sculptural groups on