

FEDERICO ZUCCARI AT CAPRAROLA, 1561–1569:
THE DOCUMENTARY AND GRAPHIC EVIDENCE



1. Federico Zuccari?, *Deucalion and Pyrrha View the Universal Flood*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Camera dell'Inverno

In a recent article Italo Faldi addressed Federico Zuccari's role at the Villa Farnese.¹ While offering no new evidence,

I offer my warmest thanks (and love) to my wife Leslie Martin whose keen editorial eye greatly improved this article.

¹ Italo Faldi, "L'opera di Federico Zuccari nel Palazzo Farnese di Caprarola," in: *Federico Zuccari e Dante*, ed. Corrado Gizzi, Milan 1993, pp. 75–82.

the author indicated his scepticism of the suggestions which I published a number of years ago concerning Federico's participation at Caprarola.² His position is essentially that Giorgio Vasari's "Life of Taddeo Zuccari" and Federico's marginal notes to his brother's biography in his edition of Vasari's *Lives* were written by two such well informed indi-

² PARTRIDGE 1971–72 and PARTRIDGE 1978.



2. Federico Zuccari?, *Allegory of Winter*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Camera dell'Inverno

viduals that their accounts should be taken at face value.³ In the light of Faldi's article it is time to reconsider Federico at Caprarola.

³ Federico's marginal notes were published by Gaetano Milanese in volume seven of his edition of VASARI, pp. 73–134. See also Michel Hochmann, "Les annotations marginales de Federico Zuccaro à un exemplaire des *Vies* de Vasari: La réaction anti-vasarienne à la fin du XVI^e siècle," *Revue de l'art*, 80 (1988), pp. 64–71, and WĄŻBIŃSKI 1985, pp. 299–306.

In his marginal notes to Vasari's *Lives* Federico gave himself no credit for any work done at Caprarola during the five years his brother Taddeo was in charge of the decoration at the Villa Farnese from 1561 to his death in September 1566. But the style of the frescoes and their preparatory drawings suggest that Federico did assist his brother during this period.

The building documents establish that the five ground floor rooms of the summer apartment on the northeast were completed by 15 January 1562 – and therefore executed in 1561 – when Federico was about age 20 or 21.⁴ To my eye, several scenes within these rooms appear to have been executed by Federico. Purely stylistic judgments can only be tentative, however, given the various campaigns of restoration that have been conducted since the decoration's completion. 'Deucalion and Pyrrha View the Universal Flood' (fig. 1) in the Camera dell'Inverno, the last of this apartment's five rooms, is particularly close to Federico's style, especially considering its close affinity, including the nearly exact repetition of two floating corpses, with the scene of the 'Closing of the Red Sea' in the loggia of the Casino of Pius IV documented by Federico only two years later in 1563.⁵ Using this scene as a standard of comparison, it then seems likely that Federico also painted the now damaged 'Allegory of Winter' (fig. 2) in the center of the vault of the same room. Note in particular the similarity between the child-like allegory and Deucalion in terms of anatomy, stance, turn of the head, and physiognomy.

For the adjoining Camera dell'Autunno there is a squared preparatory drawing by Taddeo for the 'Triumph of Bacchus' (fig. 3),⁶ but the fresco (fig. 4) differs considerably from the drawing and appears to have been executed by Federico. The early Federico characteristically depended heavily on his brother's ideas but also transformed them

⁴ *Libro delle misure*, third *misura*, 15 January 1562 (second *misura*, 20 February 1561), fol. 31v: "Per haver fatto il ponte alli pittori per pingare le 5 volte, cioè la sala et il salotto et alle 3 camere al pian del cortile." In another place on the same folio the rooms are called the "camere dipinte al pian terreno." The central compartments were cut into the vaults of all five rooms by 4 July 1560. *Libro delle misure*, first *misura*, July 4, 1560, fol. 10: "El sfondato fatto sotto alla volta della sala longhezza palmi 50, larghezza palmi 12 con altri 3 sfondati in ditto doi quadri et uno tondo, monta scudi 4.0;" "El sfondato fatto nella volta sopra al salotto larghezza per ogni verso palmi 12, scudi 0.70;" "Per haver fatto li sfondati nelle tre volte sopra alle camere al paro del salotto longhezza l'uno palmi 15, larghezza palmi 8, insieme monta scudi 2.10."

⁵ Walter Friedländer, *Das Kasino Pius des Vierten*, Leipzig 1912, pp. 130–31 and pl. 10.

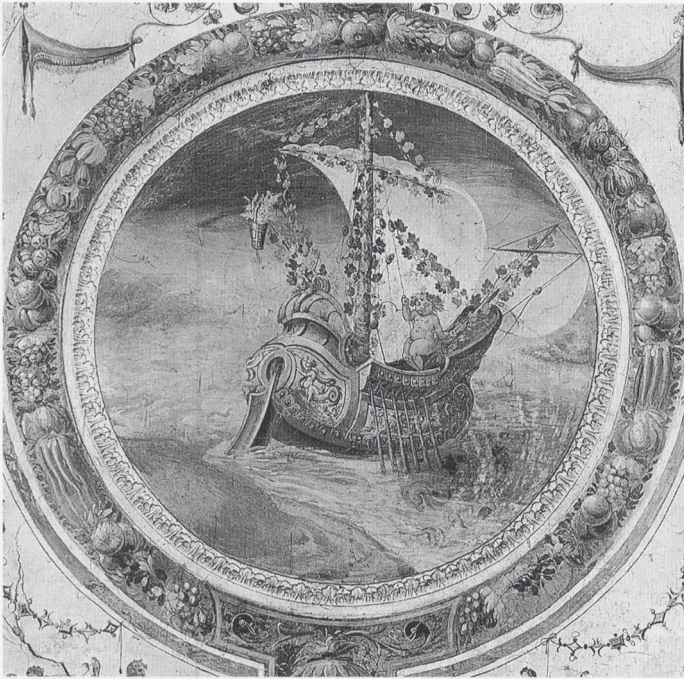
⁶ SEE GERE 1969a, p. 203, cat. no. 217, and GERE 1970, p. 127, no. 3. There is a second preparatory study which corresponds even less to the fresco published recently by GERE 1995, p. 258, fig. 34; see also p. 263, no. 99-A, fig. 39, and p. 307, no. 264-D, fig. 89, for two related, although probably earlier, drawings.



3. Taddeo Zuccari, *Triumph of Bacchus*. Ex-Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia (present whereabouts unknown)



4. Federico Zuccari?, *Triumph of Bacchus*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Camera dell'Autunno



5. Federico Zuccari?, *Bacchus Changes into Dolphins the Tuscan Pirates Who Try to Abduct Him*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Camera dell'Autunno



6. Federico Zuccari, *Fame*. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

according to his more abstract and allegorical vision. And the two figures in the fresco not included in the preparatory drawing – the trumpet-playing bacchant leading the procession and the bacchant bringing up the rear just behind the chariot – strongly recall Deucalion and the ‘Allegory of Winter’ (figs. 1 and 2). The splayed fingers of the two central female bacchantes and the facial features of all the figures are also in character with early Federico and quite distinct from his brother’s preparatory drawing.

When one compares the four infants and the two-wheeled chariot adorned with an ivy-covered trellis in the fresco of the ‘Triumph of Bacchus’ (fig. 4) – all elements that significantly differ from the preparatory drawing (fig. 3) – to the infant Bacchus and the ship with its ivy-bedecked rigging in the adjoining scene of ‘Bacchus Changes into Dolphins the Tuscan Pirates Who Try to Abduct Him’ (fig. 5), the latter scene also appears to have been executed by the young Federico.

In the rooms of the summer apartment on the *piano nobile* frescoed between 1562 and 1566 Federico’s participation under his brother’s supervision is almost certain. Beginning with the decoration of the Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani of 1562–63,⁷ three drawings by Federico relate to the

allegories in the vault: ‘Fame’ and ‘Valor’ in Edinburgh (figs. 6 and 7)⁸ and ‘Temporal Sovereignty’ in Turin (fig. 8).⁹ The drawings for both ‘Fame’ and ‘Temporal Sovereignty’ are almost identical to the frescoed allegories, which in turn are in the quintessential style of Taddeo. Furthermore, Taddeo created the two squared *modelli* in Besançon and Brunswick for ‘Fame’.¹⁰ Federico’s drawings for these two scenes (figs. 6 and 8), therefore, suggest either that Federico faithfully executed Taddeo’s designs, or, at the very least, that Federico was on the scene when the room was being executed. Federico’s drawing of ‘Valor’ (fig. 7), however, dif-

⁷ For the dates of execution see PARTRIDGE 1978, p. 494, nos. 1 and 3–5.

⁸ Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, no. D 2894 verso and recto, black and red chalk, 124x85 mm. See Keith Andrews, *Catalogue of Italian Drawings, National Gallery of Scotland*, Cambridge 1968, p. 130.

⁹ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, no. 15857, black and red chalk, 140x99 mm. See Aldo Bertini, *I disegni italiani della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, Rome 1958, no. 117, and GERE 1969a, p. 209, cat. no. 234.

¹⁰ See GERE 1969a, p. 134, cat. no. 10, and p. 135, cat. no. 13; and PARTRIDGE 1978, p. 499 n. 11.



7. Federico Zuccari, *Valor*. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland



8. Federico Zuccari, *Temporal Sovereignty*. Turin, Biblioteca Reale



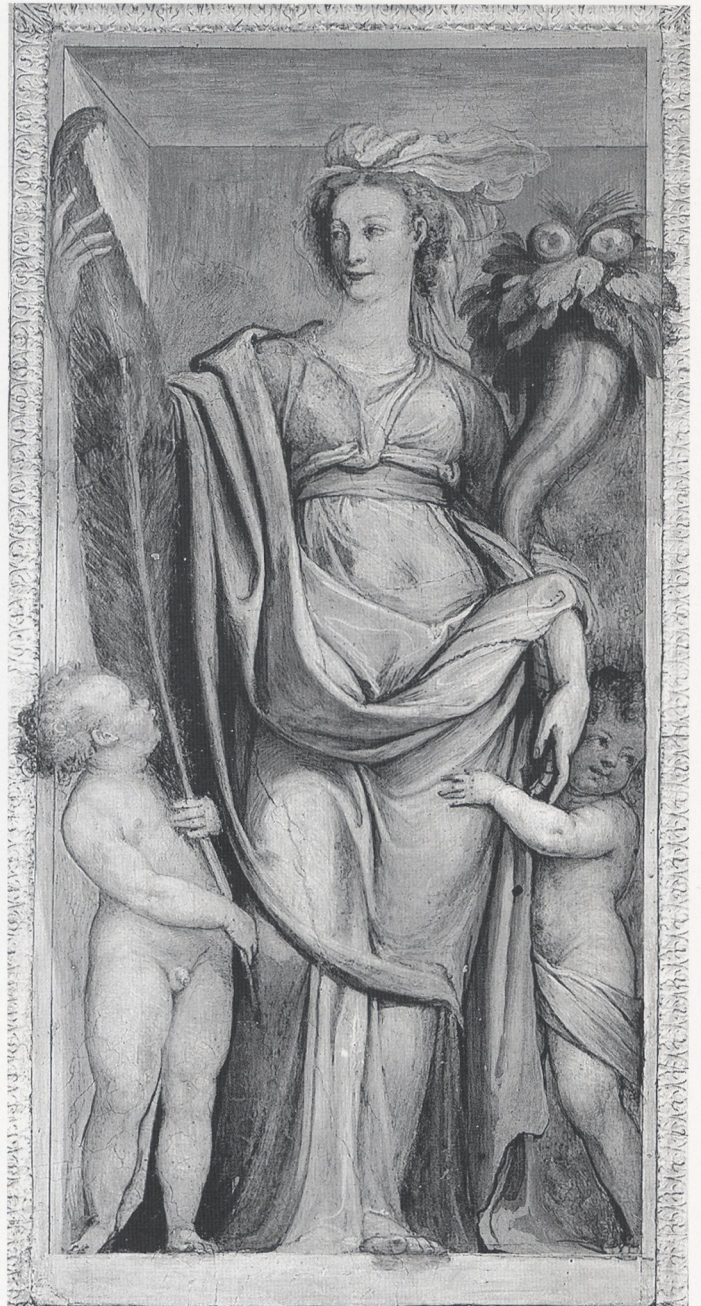
9. Federico Zuccari?, *Valor*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani



10. Federico Zuccari?, *Roma*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani



11. Federico Zuccari, *Peace*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Anticamera del Concilio



12. Federico Zuccari, *Hilaritas*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Anticamera del Concilio

fers somewhat from the fresco (fig.9), indicating that it might be a genuine preparatory drawing, perhaps worked up from a lost sketch by Taddeo. Also the fresco itself, particularly the physiognomy and rather awkward posture, indicates Federico's hand. The fresco of 'Roma' (fig. 10) over the door to the upper courtyard portico so closely resembles 'Valor' stylistically – note in particular the facial features, played-legged seated posture, drapery, and sandals – that it too would seem to have been executed, and perhaps even

designed by Federico. Finally, one cannot underplay the significance of Federico's depiction with Taddeo as a canopy-bearer in the scene of the 'Entry of Francis I, Charles V, and Cardinal Farnese into Paris in 1540'.¹¹

¹¹ See PARTRIDGE 1978, p.516, and fig.30, and, for a color reproduction, FALDI 1981, p.139.



13. Federico Zuccari, *Peace*. Ex-Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia (present whereabouts unknown)



14. Federico Zuccari, *Hilaritas*. Florence, Uffizi

For the decoration of the adjoining Anticamera del Concilio, also executed in 1562–63,¹² preparatory drawings exist by Federico for the allegories of ‘Peace’ (fig. 11) and ‘Hilaritas’ (fig. 12), the former once in the Rosenbach Foundation in Philadelphia (fig. 13)¹³ and the latter in the Uffizi

(fig. 14)¹⁴. Not only are the frescoed allegories to my eye almost certainly in Federico’s hand, so too are the other four allegories – ‘Authority’ (fig. 15), ‘Abundance’, ‘Justice’, and

¹² The date of execution is deduced from Annibal Caro’s letter to Fulvio Orsini dated 15 September 1562 in which Caro describes a series of ancient medals to serve as models for the allegories standing in niches and the *basamento* scenes. For the text of the letter see CARO 1957–61, vol. 3, no. 671.

¹³ Pen and brown wash, 280 x 132 mm. See GERE 1969a, p. 203, cat. no. 216, and GERE 1970, p. 128, no. 8. There are close variants of this drawing also by Federico in Windsor, no. 4786 (see POPHAM / WILDE 1949, no. 50, fig. 18) and the Uffizi, no. 1137 S (see GERE 1966, pp. 38–9, no. 50). Since the time I studied the Rosenbach drawings,

they migrated first to the British Rail Pension Fund and then were sold at auction by Sotheby’s in 1990, where I lost track of most of them.

¹⁴ Florence, Uffizi, no. 1137 S, red and black chalk, 250 x 142 mm. See GERE, 1966, pp. 38–39, no. 50, and 1969a, p. 145, cat. no. 47. The allegory’s correct title of ‘Hilaritas’ can be proven by the exact correspondence of attributes (palm, cornucopia, and two putti) with Roman coins inscribed *Hilaritas*, a type accurately described by Annibal Caro in his letter of 15 September 1563 referenced in note 12 above. For a drawing by Pirro Ligorio after this coin type see Patrizia Tosini, “Federico Zuccari, Pirro Ligorio e Pio IV: la sala del Buon Governo nell’appartamento di Belvedere in Vaticano,” *Storia dell’arte*, 86 (1966), pp. 13–38, esp. p. 29, fig. 23.



15. Federico Zuccari, *Authority*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Anticamera del Concilio

'Religion'. The stylistic similarity between these allegorical figures and 'Valor' (fig. 9) and 'Roma' (fig. 10) must not be overlooked.

In the decoration for Cardinal Farnese's bedroom, the Camera dell'Aurora, likewise executed in 1562–63,¹⁵ Federico again seems to have been an active participant in the design and execution on the basis of two preparatory draw-



16. Federico Zuccari, *Brizio, Interpreter of Dreams*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum



17. Federico Zuccari, *Harpocrates, God of Silence*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

¹⁵ The date of execution is deduced from Annibal Caro's famous program for the room sent in a letter to Taddeo Zuccari dated 2 November 1562 (see CARO 1957–61, vol. 3, no. 676) and reprinted by Vasari in his biography of Taddeo (see VASARI, VII, pp. 115–29).



18. Federico Zuccari, *Angerona, Goddess of Secrecy, Silence, and Suffering*. Florence, Uffizi

ings in the Victoria and Albert Museum for 'Brizio, Interpreter of Dreams' (fig. 16)¹⁶ and 'Harpocrates, God of Silence' (fig. 17),¹⁷ and a third in the Uffizi for 'Angerona, Goddess of Secrecy, Silence, and Suffering' (fig. 18).¹⁸ On the basis of these scenes we can surmise that Federico also designed 'Vigilance' (fig. 19).

Annibal Caro's program for the Stanza della Solitudine contained in a letter to Onofrio Panvinio is dated 15 May

¹⁶ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 8091.1, pen and brown wash over black chalk under drawing with white heightening, 205 mm. diameter. See GERE, 1969a, p. 169, cat. no. 114. There are copies in the Louvre, no. 11751, and in the London collection of the late John Brophy.

¹⁷ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 8091.2, pen and brown wash over black chalk under drawing with white heightening, 205 mm. diameter. See GERE, 1969a, pp. 169–70, cat. no. 115. There are copies in the Albertina (see Alfred Stix, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina, Die Zeichnungen der venezianischen Schule*, Vol. 1, Vienna 1926, no. 216), the British Museum (see GERE / POUNCEY 1983, vol. 1, p. 233, no. 398), and the Uffizi (no. 816 S).

¹⁸ Florence, Uffizi, no. 815 S, pen and brown wash with white heightening, 230x211 mm. Gere did not include this drawing in his corpus of attributions to Federico, but to my eye it is indistinguishable from the two Victoria and Albert Museum drawings. Uffizi no. 11135 F is a copy.



19. Federico Zuccari?, *Vigilance*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Camera dell'Aurora

1565.¹⁹ In a letter to Fulvio Orsini dated 30 June 1565 Caro wrote that he had just resolved some iconographical issues with Taddeo, that Cardinal Farnese wanted Taddeo to go to Caprarola for ten days, and that Taddeo had promised to return to Caprarola "together with his brother who was expected shortly."²⁰ Therefore, surely in the summer of

¹⁹ CARO 1957–61, vol. 3, no. 764.

²⁰ CARO 1957–61, vol. 3, p. 244, no. 767: "Sig. mio oss.mo. Saranno con questa le scolie, che V. S. m'ha domandate. Se son tardi mi scusi de la tarda tornata di Lepido [Caro's nephew], ch'era fuor di Roma. E se son male scritte, n'accusi lui. Se di costà avessi altro di più sopra la medesima retorica, fatene parte ancora a noi. Io non resto di sollecitar Taddeo. E pur ieri fummo insieme, e risolvemmo quasi il tutto, restandomi solo a pensare a certe di quelle empiture di sopra. Basta che egli ha da lavorare quanto vuole, o quanto può, perché si scusa di non aver fino a qui potuto più tanto per la malatia, ed ora non potrà per la ressa che gli fa il Cardinal Farnese, il quale vuole in ogni modo, che vada per X giorni a Caprarola, e non sa come fuggirla. Promette subito al ritorno darvi dentro insieme col fratello, e aspetta di corto. E io sarò loro a' fianchi con le cannemazze. Tenetemi in grazia di Mons. ill.mo [Ranuccio Farnese], del Sig. Fabio [Fabio Benvoglianti] e vostra. Rammentatemi al signor Pacino [Giovanni Pacini], e di poi a chi vi pare. Il vostro battolo del vaio fu portato qui, e gli s'è fatto il bisogno, or si farà di mano in mano. Attendete a la sanità. Di Roma, a li 30 di giugno 1565. Di V. S. Il C. Caro." – GERE 1966, pp. 40–41, following Vasari in his biography of Taddeo, argued that Federico did not return from Venice until January 1566, and therefore could not have participated directly in the execution of the Stanza della Solitudine. But Caro's letter suggests otherwise. In any case, by about mid September Federico was in Florence working on the large stage curtain representing a hunt, because on 21 September 1565 Vasari wrote to Vincenzo Borghini that Federico "has ten days' work left on his curtain for the stage;" see GERE 1966, pp. 36–37, no. 48.



20. Federico Zuccari, *Philosophers in the Wilderness*. Florence, Uffizi



21. Federico Zuccari, *Christ, John the Baptist, and St. Paul Preaching in the Wilderness*. Florence, Uffizi

1565 Federico produced the two drawings now in the Uffizi for the two principal vault scenes in this room depicting 'Philosophers in the Wilderness' (fig. 20)²¹ and 'Christ, John the Baptist, and St. Paul Preaching in the Wilderness' (fig. 21).²²

It is conceivable, as Faldi and others have argued, that Federico's drawings mentioned above are not original preparatory designs for the frescoes, but copies after Taddeo's designs. Were this the case, they would be indistinguishable from the dozens of other workshop copies extant in many drawing collections. But the sheer number of Federico's drawings, the vigor and clarity which separate them from the far more mediocre workshop copies, and common sense regarding the purpose of Renaissance drawings argue against this view. Furthermore, in the case of the two Uffizi drawings for the Stanza della Solitudine (figs. 20 and 21), it makes perfect sense that for the first time at Caprarola an over-committed Taddeo would have assigned to his brother – who had just demonstrated his independence in Venice – the responsibility for the main scenes in the vault. Furthermore, the compositions are entirely compatible with Federico's sense of design.²³

In short, the evidence appears conclusive that Federico played a significant role in the decoration at Caprarola before Taddeo's death. Vasari in his *Lives* and Federico in his annotations to Vasari's "Life of Taddeo Zuccari" most likely found justification in omitting this fact. Still very much a member of Taddeo's workshop and quite dependent on his brother for ideas, Federico was just beginning to reach artistic maturity during the early 1560's. Furthermore, neither Vasari nor Federico would have wished to detract from what both regarded as Taddeo's highest achievement. Vasari reserved his enthusiastic description of Caprarola for the culmination of his narrative. Federico redoubled Vasari's praise in his marginal notes by insisting that the frescoes at Caprarola "merit supreme praise" and that "neither inside

of Italy nor out is there any prince who has apartments with more adornment or with more grace than these."²⁴

On 2 September 1566 Federico wrote to Cardinal Farnese notifying him that Taddeo had died that evening and asking to replace his brother in the Cardinal's service.²⁵ His request was supported by a letter dated 5 September from the miniaturist Giulio Glovio.²⁶ Federico had certainly been appointed by Cardinal Farnese to continue the decoration at Caprarola by September 20, because on that date Antenore Ridolfi from Sant'Angelo in Vado²⁷ wrote a memo to Federico indicating the layout of the chapel vault and requesting preparatory drawings to carry on with the work (fig. 22).²⁸ The building documents also show that by Taddeo's death the scaffolding had been erected and the com-

²⁴ See VASARI, VII, p. 109 n. 1; for Federico's additional praise of Taddeo's work at Caprarola see also p. 114 n. 2, and p. 129 n. 1.

²⁵ See Amadio Ronchini, "Federico Zuccaro," *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, 5 (1870), p. 9: "Messer Taddeo mio fratello questa notte è mancato, ch'è così è piaciuto al Signor Dio. Sendo stato tanto servitore di V. S. Ill.ma, et havendo più dal favor di Quella acquistato lode e gloria, che dalla stessa virtù sua, m'è parso convenirmi de notificargli, et supplicarla che, sendo mancato lui, si voglia degnare di accettar me per humilissimo suo servo, promettondole che, quantunqua appresso mio fratello io non sia d'alcuna comparatione, m'ingegnerò di valer qualche cosa; et tutto che varrò, varrò sempre, più che per altro, per conservarmi qualche parte di quella grazia, ch'a mio fratello pareva d'haversi acquistato dalla cortesia et bontà di V. S. Ill.ma..."

²⁶ See Amadio Ronchini, "Giulio Clovio," *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, Modena, 3 (1865), p. 269: "Messer Tadeo pittore passò di questa vita martedì notte non con poco dolor mio, maxime essendo cusì gran valentomo come era, oltra che era pieno di ogni bontà, talmente che qui non si trova eguale a lui, fora del suo fratello, il quale a me pare di maggior espettatione assai, et ancora lui è simile; oltra la virtù, è da bene, quanto sia possibile. So che V. S. ha di bisogno di tal persona, e cusì non ve la lassate scappare da le mani, perché mi pare che molto è stato ricercato dal Cardinale di Ferrara..."

²⁷ For Antenore see CLERI 1993, pp. 101–05.

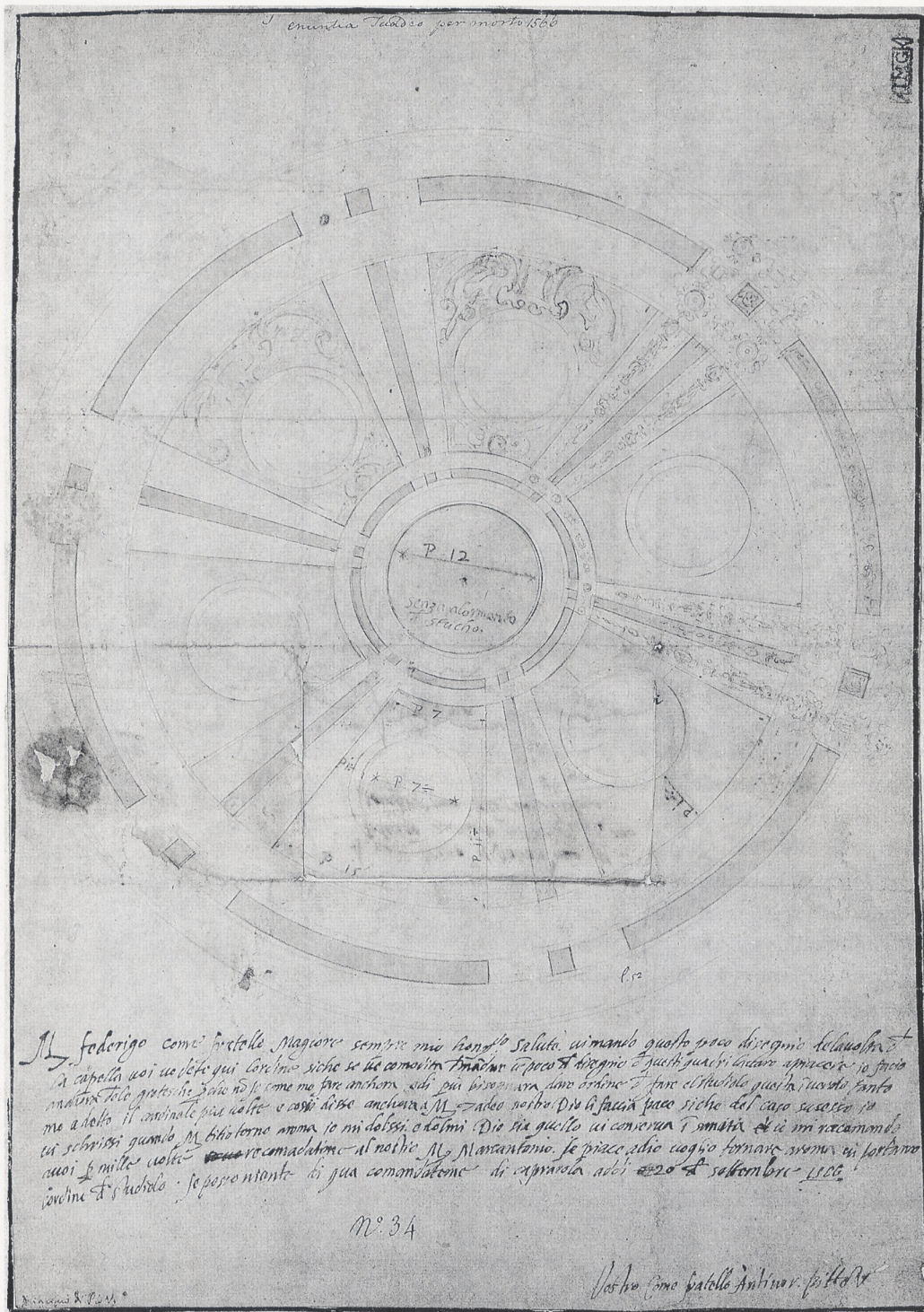
²⁸ Ex-Rosenbach Foundation in Philadelphia, inv. no. 472/22, no. 34b, black chalk and ink, brown wash, 415 x 280 mm., inscribed: "Messer Federigo, come fratello Maggiore sempre mio honorando, salute. Vi mando questo poco disegno dela volta della capella. Voi vedete qui l'ordine, siché se ve comodita di mandar un poco di disegno di questi quadri l'avarò a piacere. Io facio anchora dele grotesche perché non so come me fare anchora, e di più bisognerà dare ordine di fare el studiolo questa inverno, tanto me à detto il cardinale più volte e così disse anchora a Messer Tadeo, nostro Dio li faccia pace, siché del caso successo io vi schrissi quando Messer Titio tornò a Roma io dolissi e dolmi, Dio sia quello vi conserva in sanità et io mi racomando a voi per mille volte. Recomandatime al nostro Messer Marcantonio. Se piace a Dio, voglio tornare a Roma, vi porterò l'ordine del studiolo. Se posso niente di qua comandateme. Di Caprarola addi 20 di settembre 1566. Vostro come fratello, Antinor pittore." In the center of the drawing are the words "senza adornamento di stucho" and on the verso "Al molto Magni.co et Patron mio Messer Federigo Zucharo pittore Eccel.mo sempre osservandissimo in Roma." See PARTRIDGE 1971, p. 471 n. 27.

²¹ Florence, Uffizi, no. 822 S, pen, brown wash, and white heightening on brown-tinted paper, 175 x 240 mm, inscribed under the left foreground figure "cin[ica]" and under the right "platonica." See GERE 1966, pp. 40–41, no. 53, and GERE 1969a, p. 144, cat. no. 43. Uffizi no. 819 S is a workshop copy.

²² Florence, Uffizi, no. 821 S, pen, brown wash, and white heightening on brown-tinted paper, 171 x 235 mm. See GERE 1966, p. 40, no. 52, and GERE 1969a, p. 144, cat. no. 42. Uffizi no. 820 S is a workshop copy.

²³ The figures of Christ and St. Paul in 'Christ, John the Baptist, and St. Paul Preaching in the Wilderness' are also closely related to Federico's 'Resurrection of Lazarus' in the Grimani Chapel and the preparatory studies for it, for which see REARICK. – In my view, Federico probably designed several other scenes in the Stanza della Solitudine as well. The shiny costumes of 'Bayezid II' and 'Charles V', in particular, appear to reflect knowledge of Venetian handling of color and light.

22. Antenore Ridolfi, Layout of the Vault of the Chapel in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola. Ex-Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia (present whereabouts unknown)



partments cut into the chapel's vault.²⁹ Thus, upon his brother's death Federico almost certainly began his campaign in the chapel, for which he later claimed credit, and

probably completed it by early 1567. In any case, the building records document the chapel's completion by the time of the eighth *misura* on 12 February 1568.³⁰

²⁹ *Libro delle misure*, sixth *misura*, 4 March 1566 (fifth *misura*, 4 January 1565), fol. 57: "Sette sfondati tondi fatti nella volta sopra detta capella larghezza per diametro palmi 6 stimati scudi 2.20;" seventh *misura*, 11 November 1566, fol. 65: "El ponte fatto in detta capella per li pittori larghezza per diametro palmi 40, scudi 1.50."

³⁰ *Libro delle misure*, eighth *misura*, 12 February 1568, fol. 73v: "Per haver calato il ponte ch'era fatto sotto alla volta della capella e refatte più basso doi volta stimato scudi 2.40." – For Federico's gloss on Vasari where he gave himself credit for the chapel see VASARI, VII, p. 109 n. 2.

23. Federico Zuccari, *Creation of the World*. Oberlin, Allen Art Museum



Preparatory drawings by Federico confirm this documentation. These include a drawing now in Oberlin for the central *tondo* of the vault depicting the ‘Creation of the World’ (fig. 23),³¹ and five in the Louvre for four of the surrounding six *tondi*: the ‘Creation of Eve’ (fig. 24),³² the ‘Sacrifice of Isaac’ (fig. 25)³³ – for which there is a separate

study for the ‘Burro’ (fig. 26)³⁴ –, the ‘Anointing of David’ (fig. 27),³⁵ and ‘David Receiving Tribute from the Conquered Edomites’ (fig. 28).³⁶ For the walls there is the preparatory study for the ‘Three Maries’ (fig. 29) in the

³¹ Oberlin, Allen Art Museum, no. 47.2, pen, wash, white heightening, 324–260mm; the drawn frame may be owing to Vasari. See Licia Collobi, “Taddeo e Federico Zuccari nel palazzo Farnese a Caprarola,” *Critica d’arte*, 3 (1938), pp. 70–74, esp. pl. 46, fig. 2. There is a copy in Windsor: see POPHAM / WILDE 1949, p. 352, no. 1056.

³² Paris, Louvre, no. 4394, pen, wash, white heightening, squared, diameter 257 mm. See GERE 1969b, p. 55, no. 65.

³³ Paris, Louvre, no. 4396, pen, wash, white heightening, 335 x 255 mm.

³⁴ Paris, Louvre, no. 4619, black chalk, 161 x 182 mm.

³⁵ Paris, Louvre, no. 4398, pen, wash, white heightening, squared within a circle, 339 x 268 mm. See GERE 1969b, p. 55, no. 63.

³⁶ Paris, Louvre, no. 4469, pen, wash, squared within a circle, 337 x 274 mm. See GERE 1969b, p. 55, no. 64. Ameto Orti gives the correct title of the subject (2 Kings 8:10–14) in Stanza 179 of his poetic description of Caprarola: “David exigit tributa ab Idumaeis quos bello vicerat,” see Fritz Baumgart, “La Caprarola di Ameto Orti,” *Studi romanzi*, 25 (1935), pp. 77–179, esp. p. 151.

24. Federico Zuccari, *Creation of Eve*.
Paris, Louvre



25. Federico Zuccari, *Sacrifice of Isaac*. Paris, Louvre



26. Federico Zuccari, *Burro*. Paris, Louvre

27. Federico Zuccari,
Anointing of David.
Paris, Louvre



British Museum³⁷ and one in Montréal for the 'John the Baptist' (fig. 30),³⁸ although it varies somewhat from the fresco. Federico's frescoed altarpiece of the 'Dead Christ' derives from Taddeo's 'Dead Christ' on canvas.³⁹

³⁷ London, British Museum, Sloane no. 5224–4, pen, gray wash, traces of black chalk under drawing, squared, 215–101 mm. See GERE / POUNCEY 1983, Vol. 1, pp. 388–89, vol. 2, pl. 284.

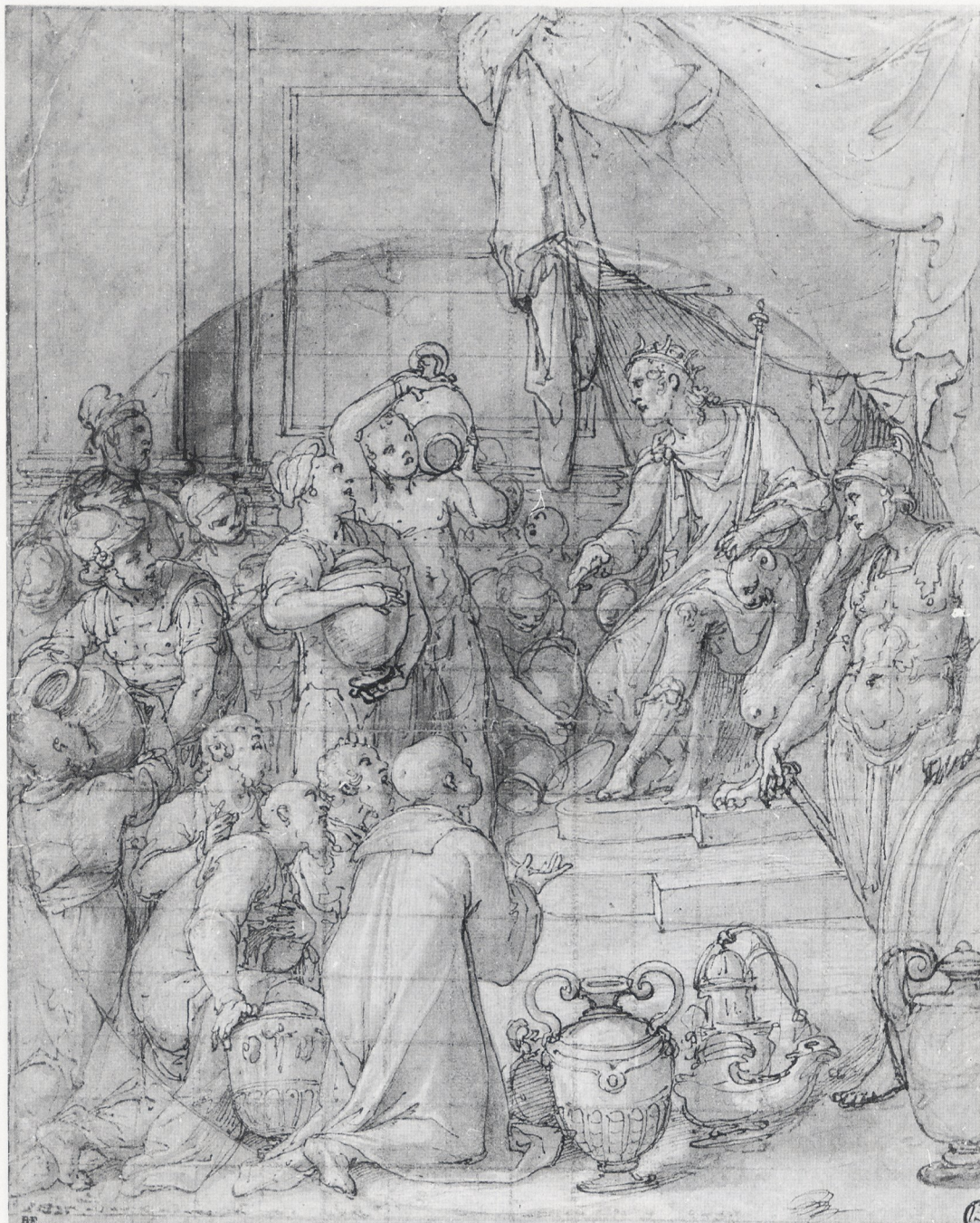
³⁸ Montréal, Private Collection, pen, brown wash, traces of black chalk under drawing, 231 x 175 mm.

³⁹ For the several versions of the 'Dead Christ' with some excellent color illustrations see Kristina Herrmann Fiore, "Pietà," in: *Federico Zuccari e Dante*, ed. Corrado Gizzi, Milan, 1993, pp. 316–22, and in this volume pp. 185–205 and plates II and III.

In his marginal notes to Vasari's *Lives* Federico credits himself with the design and execution of the small study at the rear of the summer apartments on the *piano nobile*, the Gabinetto dell'Ermatena (fig. 31),⁴⁰ an attribution that has never been questioned. In addition, the memo to Federico from Antenore on 20 September 1566 (fig. 22), discussed above, notes both Cardinal Farnese's and the late Taddeo's directives to complete this *studiolo* by winter. Federico, therefore, almost certainly began the design and execution of the *studiolo* at the same time as the chapel, and probably even completed it sooner – in late 1566.

⁴⁰ VASARI, VII, p. 109 n. 2.

28. Federico Zuccari,
David Receiving Tribute
from the Conquered
Edomites. Paris, Louvre



Yet another drawing, signed and dated 1567, by the Zuccari's assistant Antenore for the general layout of the vault of the Sala d'Ingresso on the ground floor (fig. 32),⁴¹ corroborates Federico's self-attribution for the room's design

and execution. Building documents which place the room's execution between 11 November 1566 and 12 February 1568 also confirm the date.⁴² However, three of the frescoed cartouches with tritons and nereids in the vault correspond closely with drawings by Taddeo, one of which is inscribed in the hand of Federico "*schizo di mano di tadeo i[n]ven-*

⁴¹ Private collection, pen, brown wash, 395 x 560 mm, inscribed on the verso: "Io Antinor pittor da S.to angelo in vado, 1567, facta in Caprarola nel palazzo del Ill.mo et Rever.mo Cardinal Farnese." See PARTRIDGE 1971, p.472 n.28, and, for a good color reproduction, CLERI 1993, p.104. For Federico's marginal note see VASARI, VII, p.109 n.2.

⁴² *Libro delle misure*, eighth *misura*, 12 February 1568 (seventh *misura*, 11 November 1566), fol.74: "Il ponte fatto per li pittori che hanno dipinto sotto la volta della loggia della prima entrata dove la porta della Roca."



29. Federico Zuccari, *Three Marias*. London, British Museum

tor.”⁴³ This suggests that Taddeo had already begun designs for this room before his death.

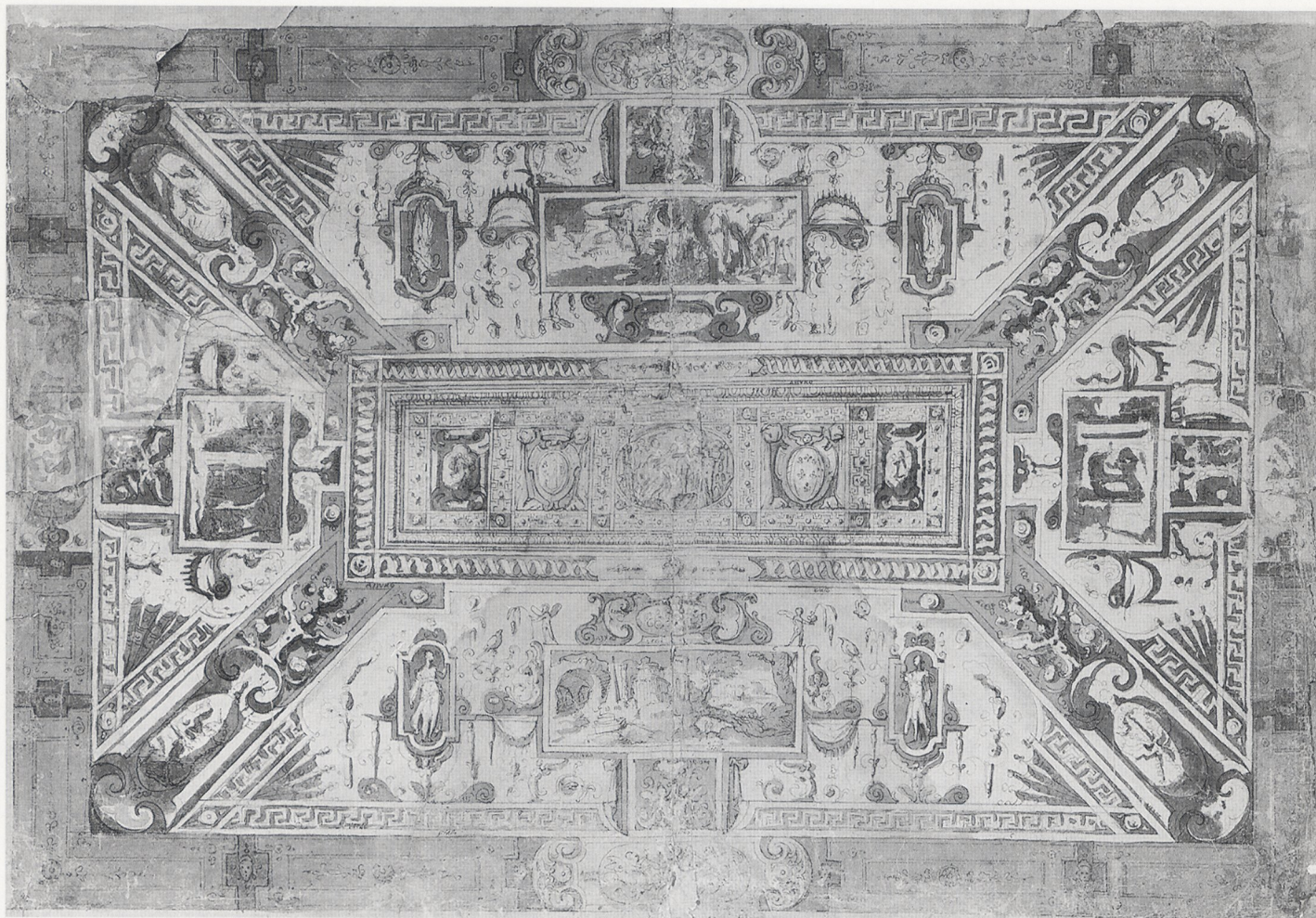
⁴³ See GERE 1995, p.238, no.39-A, fig.12; p.275, no.134-A, fig.52 (Gere did not recognize that this drawing corresponds almost exactly to the cartouche above the axial view of Caprarola, for which see FALDI 1981, p.85); p.302, no.249-B, fig.83 (which corresponds closely to the left cartouche within the central rectangular compartment, for which see Faldi, p.266); and p.321, no.264-P, figs.104 and 105 (the latter of which corresponds loosely to the right cartouche within the central rectangular compartment, for which see FALDI 1981, p.101).



30. Federico Zuccari, *John the Baptist*. Montréal, Private Collection



31. Federico Zuccari, *Hermes-Athena*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Gabinetto dell'Ermatena



32. Antenore Ridolfi, Design for the Layout of the Sala d'Ingresso at the Villa Farnese at Caprarola. Present whereabouts unknown

Federico credits himself with the entire southwest file of rooms of the winter apartments on the ground floor – *salone*, *anticamera*, bedroom, dressing room, and study (assuming that their functions corresponded to those of the rooms above on the *piano nobile*).⁴⁴ But in my view the *salone* – decorated primarily with Farnese coats of arms and devices – is probably not by Federico. When in describing Pope Gregory XIII's visit to Caprarola in September of 1578 Fabio Arditio states that the ground floor winter apartment *non è ancor fornito di dipingere*, he was probably referring to this room only.⁴⁵ The layout of the vault – modeled after a room in the Villa Madama⁴⁶ – is quite different from all the others designed under Federico's supervision at

Caprarola and elsewhere. And one of the vignettes on the side of the vault portraying three putti, one of whom is the infant Hercules strangling a snake, milking the goat Amalthea (fig. 33), is copied directly from a lost fountain in the gardens at Caprarola. In his 1578 narrative of the papal visit Fabio Arditio accurately described this fountain⁴⁷ which is also recorded in a drawing now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fig. 34).⁴⁸ The fountain in turn bears a remarkably close resemblance to the early works of Pietro Bernini, as noted by Irving Lavin.⁴⁹ Baglione records that when just a youth Pietro Bernini (born 1562) worked *as a painter* for a summer at Caprarola under the direction of Antonio Tempesta during the pontificate of Gregory XIII

⁴⁴ VASARI, VII, p. 109 n. 2.

⁴⁵ See ORBAAN 1920, p. 370.

⁴⁶ See William Ernest Greenwood, *The Villa Madama, Rome*, London 1928. pls. 21–23. The derivation of this room's vault design from the decoration at the Villa Madama has already been noted by Julian Kliemann in his review of FALDI 1981 in *Kunstchronik*, 36 (1983), pp. 106–109. esp. figs. 3 and 4.

⁴⁷ See ORBAAN 1920, p. 386.

⁴⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, no. B.2.a, Dessins, Architecture Ornaments I, Reserve, fol. 60, pen, 210–261 mm., inscribed “Al giardino de' farnese a caprarola.”

⁴⁹ See Irving Lavin, “Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of His Early Works,” *Art Bulletin*, 50 (1968), pp. 223–48, esp. pp. 231–32, n. 64, figs. 22–25.



33. Antonio Tempesta and Pietro Bernini?, *She-Goat Amalthea Milked by Two Putti and the Infant Hercules Strangling a Snake*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Salone, Ground Floor Winter Apartment

(1572–85).⁵⁰ This combined evidence suggests that the *salone* was in the process of execution by Tempesta and Bernini in September of 1578 at the time of Gregory XIII's visit to Caprarola (and that the lost fountain is probably the earliest known work of Pietro Bernini).⁵¹

Federico, in any case, certainly executed the remaining rooms of the ground floor winter apartment. The building documents establish that the "study," the last room of the apartment, was completed by 12 February 1568, and, therefore, probably actually painted in the summer or fall of 1567 simultaneous with work in the Sala d'Ingresso.⁵² The



34. Anonymous, *Fountain and Pergola in the Farnese Gardens at Caprarola (detail)*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

⁵⁰ Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti*, Rome 1642 (facsimile edition, Rome, 1935), p.304: "...da giovinetto ... andò con Antonio Tempesta e con altri Pittori di que' tempi al servizio d'Alessandro Cardinal Farnese in Caprarola; & ivi una estate dimorando, varie cose per quel Principe dipinse."

⁵¹ The building documents, however, do not exclude the possibility of Federico's design of the room. The rectangular compartment was cut into the center of the vault by the time of the first *misura*: *Libro delle misure*, first *misura*, 4 July 1560, fol.11v: "El sfondato fatto nella volta sopra alla sala verso mezzo giorno che è simile a quello de l'altra sala [Sala di Giove] monta scudi 4.0." The vault was prepared for frescoes by the eighth *misura*, 12 February 1568 (seventh *misura*, 11 November 1566), fol.72v: "Colla fatta sotto la volta della scala [sic: sala] che guarda verso S.to Silvestro al pian' del cortile longhezza palmi 77, larghezza palmi 37, canne 43 palmi 50." The scaffolding is not documented in the *misura*.

⁵² *Libro delle misure*, eighth *misura*, 12 February 1568 (seventh *misura*, 11 November 1566), fol.72r: "Colla fatta sotto alla volta delle stantia dove altre volte si faceva la dispensa palmi 29½, larghezza palmi 27½, quadrata canne 12 palmi 16," and fol.73v: "Il ponte fatto alli pintori che hano dipinto sotto la volta di detta camora dove già si faceva la dispensa, stimato scudi 2." – Since Federico seems to have executed both the chapel and the Gabinetto dell'Ermata in the fall of 1566, it is unlikely that he was also able to complete this room before the onset of cold weather, when frescoing was not possible. It

is equally unlikely that he executed the room in the January or February of 1568, again because of the cold weather. In the spring of 1567 payments were made to Federico on April 15 and 22, May 5 and 18, and June 21 for work on the vaults of the Salotto and the Room of Hercules at the Villa d'Este at Tivoli; see David Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*, Princeton 1960, pp.50–56, esp. p.51 n.34. Therefore, the date of execution can probably be narrowed to the summer or fall of 1567. In the not too distant past this room was used as a kitchen. The last time that I studied the vault it was covered with a thick layer of black soot, but the frescoes were still dimly visible underneath. They seemed to be of essentially the same design as the two preceding rooms of the apartment.



35. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, *Landscape*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, *Anticamera*, Ground Floor Winter Apartment

two rooms following the *salone*, the *anticamera* and the “bedroom,” are documented as being completed by 20 July 1569.⁵³ In fact, the execution dates of these two rooms, together with the adjoining “dressing room,” can be narrowed to the spring of 1568 on the basis of a letter dated 3 April 1568 from the majordomo Tizio Chermadio in Rome to Cardinal Farnese in Sicily stating that *le tre stantie da basso* would be completed by the time the Cardinal returned from Sicily, one having been already finished and the others in the process of execution.⁵⁴

Federico’s supervision of these rooms, obviously decorated rapidly with large-scale grotesque work and the barest



36. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, *Landscape*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, *Sala d’Ingresso*

minimum of subject matter – simply coats of arms, devices, landscapes, and allegories – is confirmed by the quotations from his own earlier designs for the villa decoration. One of the landscapes in the *anticamera* (fig. 35) is a close variant of one in the *Sala d’Ingresso* (fig. 36). In the “bedroom” ‘Peace’ (fig. 37) and ‘Authority’ (fig. 38) are derived from the same allegories for the *Anticamera del Concilio* (figs. 11 and 15). In the “dressing room” the allegory of ‘Fame’ (fig. 39) is copied from ‘Fame’ in the *Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani* for which, as we have seen, there is a drawing by Federico after Taddeo (fig. 6). Similarly, ‘Concord’ (fig. 40) is worked up from ‘Hilaritas’ designed by Federico for the *Anticamera del Concilio* (figs. 12 and 14), the allegory of ‘Valor’ (fig. 41) is

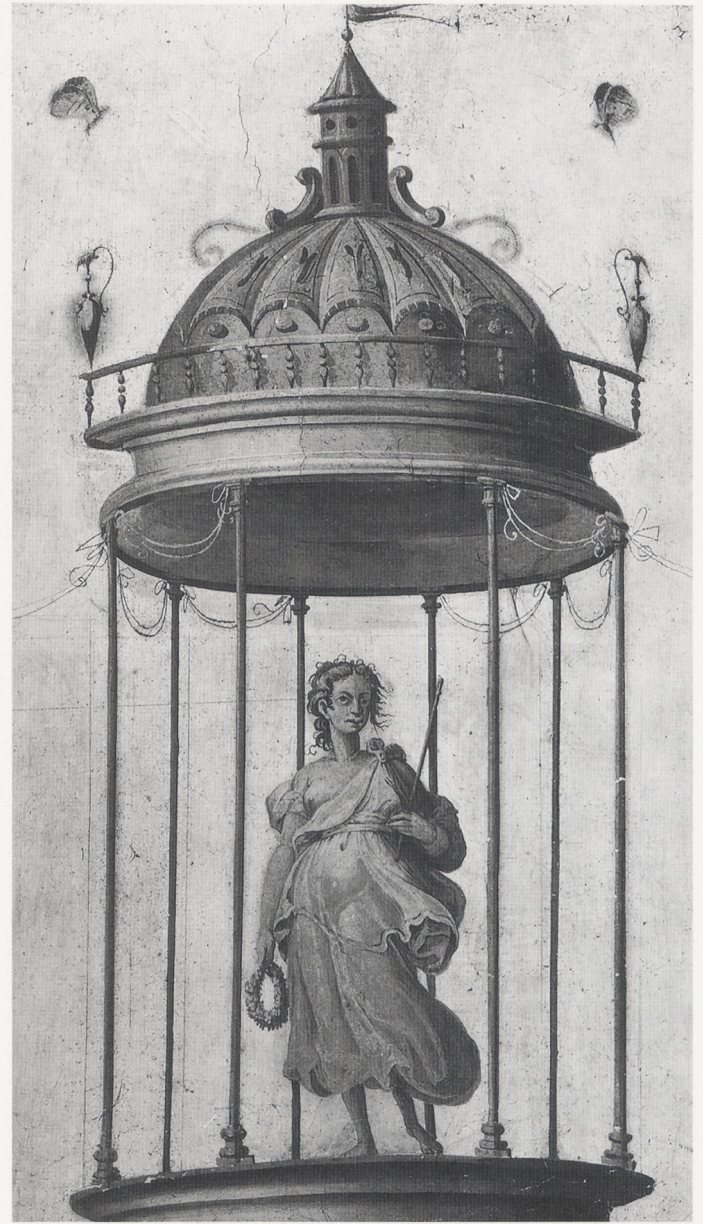
tornò, et mi dice che tutto passa bene, le tre stantie da basso le troverà piacendo adio finite, ché di già n’è finita una et se lavorano l’altre. Alla loggia [Sala d’Ercole] ce lavorano tre stucchatori homini da bene, et se tiene loro lochio adosso, acciò la mesata vada compita, per quanto intendo fano benissimo. Fra pochi di vi anderò a dar una scorsa. A la petrara se lavora. El Vignola è avvertito circa del mattonare, et la mattonata se farà a mattoni quadri arrotati di buona sorte. La Tribuna di San Lorenzo [in Damaso] corre avanti in vero. Federico [Zuccari] se porta benissimo, unum est, che alla tornata sua la troverà finita, una opera tanto bella che in Roma, non visarrà simile, il campanile sabbato Santo [April 17] sonarà ala gloria alegramente. Il Folgo [Giulio Folco] fa favorire la porta della chiesa di travertine che per tutto aprile sarà finita ... Di Roma III Aprile LXVIII. Dovitissimo servitore Titio.” Part of this letter was published by Wolfgang Lotz, *Vignola-Studien, Beiträge zu einer Vignola-Monographie*, Würzburg 1939, p. 82, n. 2. – The document suggests that Federico must have been completing the high altarpiece for S. Lorenzo in Damaso during the first three months of 1568, and working at Caprarola in the spring and probably summer of that year. On 14 November 1568 Federico is documented in Orvieto where he was contracted by the Opera del Duomo to paint “l’istoria della resurrectione de figliolo della vedova [of Naim]” and “l’istoria della inluminazione del cieco nato,” for which see Luigi Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, Rome 1891, 416, nos. CXCVIII, CC, and CCII. The former was painted in 1571, the latter probably in late 1568 or early 1569.

⁵³ *Libro delle misure*, ninth *misura*, 20 July 1569 (eighth *misura*, 12 February 1568), fol. 84r: “Ricciatura e colla dipinta fatta sotto alla volta del camerone in testa alla sala che guarda verso S. Silvestro al piano del cortile longhezza palmi 39½, larghezza palmi 38, quadrata canne 60 palmi 4;” fol. 89r: “El ponte fatto nel camerone in testa alla sala che guarda verso S. Silvestro al pian’ del cortile per servitio delli pittori che hanno dipinto detta volta, et alli muratori stimato scudi 2.50;” fol. 85r: “Ricciatura e colla dipinta fatta sotto alla volta della camora acanto al camerone che sta al pian’ del cortile in testa alla sala verso S. Silvestro longhezza palmi 35½, larghezza palmi 26½, quadrata canne 37 palmi 60;” and fol. 90r: “El ponte fatto alli pittori che hanno dipinto ditta volta et a servito anco alli muratori larghezza palmi 35½, stimato scudi 2.”

⁵⁴ Archivio di Stato, Parma, Epistolario Scelto, Busta 24 (Giacinto Vignola): “Ill.mo et R.mo Signor. Hoggi che siamo alli III di Aprile, tengo la sua di XII del passato di Mileto, con molto consolation et satisfaction per intendere di la sua salute, a dio infinita mercé. Quanto poi alle cose dela fabrica [of Caprarola] sonno due giorni che Vignola



37. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, *Peace*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, “Bedroom,” Ground Floor Winter Apartment



38. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, *Authority*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, “Bedroom,” Ground Floor Winter Apartment

derived from ‘St. James Major’ in the chapel (fig. 42), and, finally, ‘Vigilance’ (fig. 43) is related to the same allegory in the Camera dell’Aurora (fig. 19).

In his marginal notes to Vasari’s *Lives* Federico credits himself with the entire decoration of the loggia on the *piano nobile*, the Sala d’Ercole.⁵⁵ As I demonstrated at length in a two-part article in the *Art Bulletin* published in 1971 and 1972, Federico and his workshop are indeed responsible for the layout, stucco work, and grotesque work beginning in

the spring of 1568.⁵⁶ But only about half of the vault was completed before Federico was definitively dismissed from directing the decoration at Caprarola in late June of 1569. Although unrecognized by the author of the publication, a recently published preparatory drawing for the group of figures to the extreme right of ‘Hercules Swims in the Lago di Vico’ proves conclusively that Federico designed the large central scene of the vault.⁵⁷ I had argued for the attribution on the basis of its compositional and stylistic similarity to

⁵⁵ VASARI, VII, p. 109 n. 2.

⁵⁶ See note 54 above.

⁵⁷ See Corrado Gizzi, “Schede,” in: *Federico Zuccari e Dante*, Milan 1993, p. 252 (with an illustration in color) and p. 324. The drawing is Uffizi no. 11095, pen, 245 x 215 mm.



39. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, *Fame*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, "Dressing Room," Ground Floor Winter Apartment



40. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, *Concord*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, "Dressing Room," Ground Floor Winter Apartment

Federico's 1564 frescoes in the Grimani Chapel in San Francesco della Vigna in Venice as well as to his 1565 Florentine stage curtain of the 'Hunt' designed for a drama presented in the Sala Grande of the Palazzo Vecchio on December 26 in honor of Francesco de' Medici's marriage to Giovanna d'Austria.⁵⁸ I also suggested that Federico at least started the scene showing 'Hercules Plunges His Staff Deep into the Earth', because of the similarity between the standing figure to the extreme left wheeling around in reaction to Hercules' feat and a figure in the 'Resurrection of the Son of the Widow of Nain' commissioned from Federico in 1568 for the cathedral in Orvieto for which there is a preparatory drawing once in the Rosenbach Foundation. I also argued that the scene was probably completed by Bertoja, but this is still an open question.

But Faldi believes that the style of the major scenes adorning the remainder of the vault is so consistent with Federico's hand and so different from Bertoja's elsewhere in the villa that he is unable to accept that Bertoja completed the frescoes and harmonized his style with Federico's. But the evidence of the preparatory drawings is incontrovertible

that Bertoja designed 'The Young Men Try to Pull the Staff of Hercules Out of the Ground with Their Hands', 'Hercules Pulls His Staff Out and the Water of a Lake Issues Forth', and 'The Peasants Dedicate a Temple to Hercules'. We also know from a letter to Cardinal Farnese in Caprarola from his majordomo Ludovico Tedeschi in Rome dated 23 August 1569 – over a month after Bertoja's arrival at Caprarola on July 17 or 18 – that Federico had no intention of supplying Bertoja with his drawings, "not wishing others to receive the honor from his labors."⁵⁹ A preparatory drawing by Federico for the scene of 'The Young Men Try to Pull the Staff of Hercules Out of the Ground with Their Hands' (fig. 44), which recently appeared on the art market,⁶⁰ confirms the truth of this statement. The composition differs so markedly from Bertoja's preparatory drawing for the same fresco, that it was surely completed by Bertoja in ignorance of Federico's design. The new drawing

⁵⁹ See PARTRIDGE 1971, p. 472 n. 35.

⁶⁰ Pen, 335 x 270 mm. The drawing was called to my attention by Nissman, Abromson & Co. in Brookline, Mass. Its present whereabouts is unknown to me.

⁵⁸ For which see REARICK 1958–59 and GERE 1966, pp. 36–37, no. 48.



41. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, Valor. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, "Dressing Room," Ground Floor Winter Apartment

by Federico also confirms my conclusion that Federico designed the vault from the southeast (open loggia side) toward the northwest (courtyard portico side).

The conclusion to be drawn from the above documentary and graphic evidence, *pace* Faldi, is that Federico's presence at Caprarola was at once more and less than claimed by Vasari in his *Lives* and Federico in his marginal notations.

Why Federico was dismissed from one of the largest projects of the time by one of the most prestigious of patrons remains unclear. The rapidity with which his dismissal occurred suggests that he angered Cardinal Farnese. And from his marginal note in Vasari's *Lives* concerning his work at the Villa d'Este in 1566, contemporaneous with his work



42. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, St. James Major. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, Chapel



43. Federico Zuccari and Workshop, *Vigilance*. Caprarola, Villa Farnese, "Dressing Room," Ground Floor Winter Apartment

at Caprarola, it would appear that Federico disliked managing the large workshop that was required to produce frescoes at the speed to satisfy the likes of Cardinals d'Este and Farnese, who, according to Federico, wanted *le cose getate a stampa*.⁶¹ Whatever the reasons, Federico felt wronged by

Cardinal Farnese. In response – a sure sign of his prickly personality – he painted a 'Calumny of Apelles' as a visual justification, the first of three such contentious works produced throughout his career to promote his lofty ideals for painters and painting.⁶²

⁶¹ VASARI, VII, p. 102 n. 4: "Si servì Federigo di molti lavoranti, come occorre in simili lavori, per darli presto fine come fece, a volontà de ditto cardinale, che volea le cose getate a stampa."

⁶² For the three paintings see Patrizia Cavazzini, "The Porta Virtutis and Federigo Zuccari's Expulsion from the Papal States: An Unjust Conviction?," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 25 (1986), pp. 167–77; Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Idea et le Temple de la Peinture. II. De Francisco de Holanda à Federigo Zuccaro," *Revue de l'art*, 94 (1991), pp. 45–65; Inemie Gerards-Nelissen, "Federigo Zuccaro and the 'Lament of Painting'," *Simiolus*, 13 (1983), pp. 44–53; Detlef Heikamp, "Vicende di Federigo Zuccari," *Rivista d'arte*, 32 (1957), pp. 175–232, and "Ancora su Federigo Zuccari," *Rivista d'arte*, 33 (1958), pp. 45–50; Claudio Strinati, "Gli anni difficili di Federigo Zuccari," *Storia dell'arte*, 21 (1974), pp. 85–117; WAŻBIŃSKI 1985; Roberto Zapperi, "Federico Zuccari censurato a Bologna dalla corporazione dei pittori," *Städel-Jahrbuch*, ser. 2, 13 (1991), pp. 177–90. – I have suggested that Federico's dismissal from the work at Caprarola might have revolved around Cardinal Farnese's payment of a dowry for Federico's sister and the (unknown) strings the cardinal attached to that payment; see PARTRIDGE 1971, p. 470 n. 20. Strinati, pp. 89–93, believes that Federico's difficulty with the Farnese had

more to do with Federico's psychological sense of dependence and insecurity resulting from his patrons' expectations that he complete Taddeo's many unfinished projects. In other words, in his haste to demonstrate his own maturity, *virtù*, and fame the headstrong and egotistical Federico rebelled against his brother's posthumous domination, and that rebellion manifested itself in conflicts over his patrons' attempts to control him. I find this hypothesis very attractive, if unprovable. WAŻBIŃSKI 1985, pp. 326–31, on the other hand, claims that Federico's conflicts with patrons and critics resulted from a fundamental difference of opinion between Federico and Vasari concerning artistic training, Federico advocating training through the *bottega* in strong contrast to Vasari's paradigm of academic training. There is much to recommend this theory, especially since it would help explain the existence of so many workshop copies after Taddeo's drawings. But I doubt that Federico would have already held such strong anti-academic views in 1569, when he was dismissed by Cardinal Farnese from direction of the work at Caprarola. Gerards-Nelissen argues (unconvincingly in my view) that all three allegorical paintings – the 'Calumny of Apelles', the 'Porta Virtutis', and the 'Lament of Painting' – simply "illustrate art theory" (p. 53) and have little or nothing to do with responses to patrons or critics.



44. Federico Zuccari, *The Young Men Try to Pull the Staff of Hercules Out of the Ground with Their Hands*. Present whereabouts unknown

ABBREVIATIONS AND FREQUENTLY CITED LITERATURE

- CARO 1957-61 Annibal Caro, *Lettere familiari*, ed. Aulo Greco, 3 vols., Florence 1957-1961.
- CLERI 1993 Bonita Cleri, "Officina Familiare," in: *Per Taddeo e Federico Zuccari nelle Marche*, ed. Bonita Cleri, Sant'Angelo in Vado 1993, pp. 95-108.
- FALDI 1981 Italo Faldi, *Il Palazzo Farnese di Caprarola*, Turin 1981.
- GERE 1966 John A. Gere, *Mostra di Disegni degli Zuccari (Taddeo e Federico Zuccari, e Raffaellino da Reggio)*, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, vol. 24, Florence 1966.
- GERE 1969a J. A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in his Drawings*, Chicago 1969.
- GERE 1969b J. A. Gere, *Dessins de Taddeo et Federico Zuccaro* (XLIIe Exposition du Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre), Paris 1969.
- GERE 1970 J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillips-Rosenbach Zuccaro Album," *Master Drawings*, 8 (1970), pp. 123-140.
- GERE 1995 J. A. Gere, "Taddeo Zuccaro: Addenda and Corrigenda," *Master Drawings*, 33 (1995), pp. 223-323.
- GERE / POUNCEY 1983 J. A. Gere and Philip Pouncey, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Artists Working in Rome c. 1550 to c. 1640*, 2 vols., London 1983.
- Libro delle misure* *Libro delle misure della fabbrica del palazzo del Ill.mo e R.mo Farnese a Caprarola*, Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale III, 518.
- ORBAAN 1920 J. A. F. Orbaan, "Viaggio di Gregorio XIII alla Madonna della Quercia," *Miscellanea della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria, Documenti sul Barocco in Roma*, Rome 1920, pp. 365-89.
- PARTRIDGE 1971-72 Loren W. Partridge, "The Sala d'Ercole in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, Part I and Part II," *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), pp. 467-486, and 54 (1972), pp. 50-62.
- PARTRIDGE 1978 L. W. Partridge, "Divinity and Dynasty at Caprarola: Perfect History in the Room of Farnese Deeds," *Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), pp. 494-530.
- POPHAM / WILDE 1949 A. E. Popham and Johannes Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London 1949.
- REARICK 1958-59 W. R. Rearick, "Battista Franco and the Grimani Chapel," *Saggi e Memoria di storia dell'arte*, 2 (1958-59), pp. 107-139.
- VASARI Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols., Florence 1878-1885.
- WAŻBIŃSKI 1985 Zygmunt Ważbiński, "Lo Studio - La Scuola Fiorentina di Federico Zuccari," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 29 (1985), pp. 275-364.

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Roger Mandle 30; Oberlin, Allen Art Museum 23; Paris, B.N. 34; Paris, R.M.N. 24-28; Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation 3, 13, 22; Rome, G.F.N. 1-2, 4-5, 9-12, 15, 19, 31, 33, 35-43; Turin, Biblioteca Reale 8.