

THE *IMPRESA* OF FEDERICO ZUCCARI AND THE ACCADEMIA DEGLI INSENSATI OF PERUGIA*

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In memory of Julian Kliemann

After its conflict with Pope Paul III Farnese, the so-called ‘guerra del sale’ of 1540, Perugia once again became a province of the Papal States. In the decades that followed, the social elites of Perugia sought to defend their cultural identity against enforced ‘Romanisation’, in particular through the creation of academies, of which no less than seven were established in the city between 1546 and 1573.¹ The most important of these, unquestionably, was the Accademia degli Insensati, which was founded in 1561 and had a deep and enduring influence on Perugian cultural life.²

The history of the academy can be divided into two principal phases. The first, up to the early 1590s, was dominated by the notary Ottaviano Aureli, the founder and theorist of the institution. The second was shaped by the prelate Cesare Crispolti, a poet, musician, historiographer, literary theorist and refined collector of paintings, archaeological pieces and *naturalia*. While the academicians from the first period were particularly interested in Petrarch, whom they considered both a literary and a moral example, those from the second opened themselves to broader philosophical themes and in poetry turned their attention to the greater gravitas and severity of Torquato Tasso and Giovanni della Casa.³

Under the charismatic leadership of Crispolti the Academy looked outwards, and an extensive network of Roman patronage was established, with the gradual involvement of important affiliate members such as Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII, Cardinals Bonifacio Bevilacqua and Carlo Emanuele Pio di Savoia, the intellectual nobles Melchiorre Crescenzi and Paolo Lucio Mancini, and the poets Giovan Battista Marino, Aurelio Orsi, Giovan Battista Lauri and Gaspare Murtola.⁴ This network of connections has in recent decades drawn the special

* I use the following abbreviations:

ASUPg = Perugia, Archivio storico dell’Università degli studi di Perugia;

PBCA = Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta.

1. The Perugian Academies are discussed by C. Crispolti in his *Annali di Perugia libro X. Dal 1559 sino al 1570*, PBCA MS 1663, fols 12^r–15^r. See also E. Irace, ‘Le Accademie letterarie nella società perugina tra Cinquecento e Seicento’, *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria*, LXXXVII, 1990, pp. 155–78; and L. Sacchini, *Identità, lettere e virtù. Le lezioni accademiche degli Insensati di Perugia (1561–1608)*, Bologna 2016, pp. 30–31. On the general cultural situation in Perugia after the Guerra del Sale see

L’invenzione della biblioteca. Prospero Podiani, Perugia e l’Augusta, ed. A. Bartoli Langeli and M. A. Panzanelli Fratoni, exhib. cat. (Perugia, Sala ex Borsa Mercè and Biblioteca Augusta), Perugia 2016.

2. On the Accademia degli Insensati see M. Maylender’s classic *Storia delle Accademie d’Italia*, 5 vols, Bologna 1926–30, III, pp. 306–11; with Irace (as in n. 1), pp. 155–78; and Sacchini (as in n. 1), with previous literature.

3. Sacchini (as in n. 1), pp. 149–55.

4. See Sacchini (as in n. 1); and on Crispolti L. Teza, ‘Cesare Crispolti “sacerdote” di Perugia’, in *Raccolta delle cose segnalate di Pittura, Scoltura, ed Architettura che si ritrovano in Perugia, e suo territorio*, ed. eadem, Florence 2001, pp. 11–78.

attention of art historians, since various members of the *Insensati*—Giovan Battista Lauri, Aurelio Orsi, Maffeo Barberini, Cardinal Pio, and Crispolti himself—owned works by Caravaggio, and some of the emblematic poems of Lauri, Orsi and Murtola engage with themes which are similar to those found in the artist's early paintings. This resemblance has led some art historians to argue that these paintings, like the poems, should be read not as neutral depictions of everyday life, but as emblems and allegories.⁵ However in the first phase of the Academy's existence a much closer relationship was forged with a famous painter—a painter whose interest in emblems and allegories needs no special argument. In this article I shall discuss the *impresa* designed by Federico Zuccari that appears to have been meant as his application to join the Perugian Academy.

The *Insensati* had a carefully-considered theoretical approach, and were concerned that it should be conveyed to the world precisely. Especially in their initial phase, they effected strict control over the printed editions of their work.⁶ Aureli and Crispolti were both diligent chroniclers of the Academy's history, assiduous in the transcription and preservation of its literary compositions. Some of their manuscript records are housed in the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia and in the Biblioteca Civica Hortis in Trieste. Biblioteca Augusta MS 1717 contains twenty-seven *lezioni* and *discorsi* documenting the early cultural orientation of the *Insensati*.⁷ Here, the founding principles of the Academy are laid down, with protocols on the creation of its general *impresa*, of academicians' nicknames, and of individual devices by its members. The manuscript also contains comments on various poetical compositions, especially Petrarchan ones, and discussions of general philosophical and moral themes such as beauty, happiness, poverty, and virtue.⁸

Besides these statements of the Academy's principles there is another source, now preserved in the Archivio storico dell'Università degli studi di Perugia as MS P. III, which shows how those principles were reflected in the Academy's *impresa*. This manuscript is an illustrated register of forty-three academicians' devices, together with the device of the Academy itself (Fig. 1). Its collection of drawings, made by several painters and miniaturists, remains largely unpublished.⁹

On the first folio of the manuscript stands the device of the *Insensati*. There is no text panel which might explain the meaning of the *impresa*, but an explanation is given in the first of the *discorsi* in Biblioteca Augusta MS 1717. The author of this

5. L. Salerno, 'I dipinti emblematici', in idem, D. T. Kinkhead and W. H. Wilson, 'Poesia e simboli nel Caravaggio', *Palatino*, x, 1966, pp. 106–26 (107); S. Schütze, *Caravaggio. Das vollständige Werk*, Cologne 2009, p. 35; L. Teza, *Caravaggio e il frutto della virtù. Il 'Mondafrutto' e l'Accademia degli Insensati*, Milan 2013.

6. F. Mariottelli, *Invettiva del Sommerso Insensato agli Accademici Insensati di Perugia. Recitata per dimostrare che non sia bene lo stampar le compositioni academiche...*, Perugia 1597. On control over printed texts in the 1500s see Sacchini (as in n. 1), pp. 117–24; on the manuscript tradition in Italian academies of the

same century see B. Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 44–53.

7. On the manuscripts of the *Insensati* see L. Sacchini, 'Scritti inediti dell'Accademia degli Insensati nella Perugia del secondo Cinquecento', *Lettere italiane*, LXV, 2013, pp. 376–413 (386–87); and idem, *Identità* (as in n. 1), pp. 130–81.

8. See Sacchini, *Identità* (as in n. 1), pp. 79–04.

9. ASUPg MS P III. See the Appendix below for a codicological description and bibliography. I plan to publish a complete edition of this manuscript in due course.



1. Archivio storico dell'Università degli studi di Perugia MS P III, no. 1,
impresa of the Academia degli Insensati

discourse, as is revealed by a reference in a subsequent lecture, was Ottaviano Aureli.¹⁰ He tells us that the name of the Academy has a double meaning: one is related to the outer rind of existence, the other to the kernel.¹¹ If the word *insensato* ('senseless'), in its ordinary sense, means 'brainless' or of 'little understanding', the Academicians interpreted it as denoting a person who has transcended the senses, so is not sensual but contemplative.¹² It is this meaning of 'senseless' that Aureli develops in his explanation of the Academy's device. A flight of cranes passes over the sea, each holding a stone in its foot, accompanied by the motto *Vel cum pondere* ('Even with a weight'):

These Senseless Ones want to show to the world that (just like these cranes which, *VEL CUM PONDERE*, even with the weight of those stones they hold in their feet, fly aloft and distance themselves from the ground), though they are oppressed by the terrible weight of the senses, which are so burdensome and mostly drag us down to things which are low, earthly, mortal and transitory, they [the Senseless Ones] seek nevertheless to distance themselves from those [earthly things] and to rise up to the contemplation of things that are high, heavenly, immortal and eternal, and to use the senses only as instruments, both for the necessity of nature, and in order by their means to learn the sciences.¹³

10. PBCA MS 1717, Ottaviano Aureli, *Discorso intorno al nome, et impresa comuni degli Accademici Insensati*, fols 1^r–6^v. C. Caponeri, 'Imprese degli Accademici Insensati. Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, mss. 1717 e 1058', Bachelor's thesis, University of Perugia 2010–11, pp. 21–22, notes that Aureli alludes to his earlier discussion about their common device in a later lecture, *Lezione dello Svogliato Insensato Delle qualità che ai nomi et alle Imprese particolari de gli Accademici si convengono* (PBCA MS 1717, fols 48^r–57^v).

11. In making use of these terms, Aureli declares his source as Bartolomeo Arnigio, *Il Discorso intorno al Sileno impresa de gli Accademici Occulti* (Brescia 1568, sigs **^r–**33). On the influence of the Accademia degli Occulti of Brescia, which also turned its back on the realm of the senses, see Sacchini, 'Scritti inediti' (as in n. 7), pp. 393–95, with previous literature.

12. Aureli, *Discorso intorno al nome* (as in n. 10), fols 2^v–3^r: '... Chiameremo un huomo sensato, uno che sia sensitivo, risentito, et svegliato, che habbia buon conoscimento, et stia (come si dice) in cervello. Et per contrario, Insensato, chiameremo uno che o per infirmità di corpo habbia perso il conoscimento, et non stia in cervello, o pure, che di natura sia scemo di cervello, et habbia poco conoscimento... Quando adunque in questo combattimento che fanno in noi i sensi, et la Ragione, rimangono vincitori i sensi, allora noi siamo chiamati sensati, cioè sensuali, et dati alle cose che delectano i sensi. Quando poi riman vincitrice la Ragione, allora noi siamo chiamati Insensati, cioè non dati alle cose, che piacciono ai sensi, et all'appetito. Et in questa ultima significatione, vogliono i nostri Accademici, che sia inteso questo lor nome INSENSATI. Volendo con quello mostrare al mondo di essere Insensati, cioè di non attendere alle cose sensuali, ma quelle fuggendo, esser solo intenti alla contemplatione

delle cose celesti, et divine. Onde questo nome verrà a significare quasi il medesimo, che CONTEMPLATIVI.' On the name of the Insensati see L. Sacchini, 'Da Francesco Petrarca a Giovan Battista Marino: l'Accademia degli Insensati di Perugia (1561–1608)', in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700. Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. J. Everson, D. V. Reidy and L. Sampson, Cambridge and New York 2016, pp. 245–57 (246).

13. Aureli, *Discorso intorno al nome* (as in n. 10), fol. 4^r: 'Vogliono questi Insensati mostrare al mondo che, sì come queste grue, *VEL CUM PONDERE*, etiandio col peso di quei sassi, che tengono ne i piedi, volano in alto et si allontanano da terra, così essi, come che siano aggravati dal gravissimo peso de i sensi, i quali sono tanto gravi, che per lo più ci tirano alle cose basse, terrene, mortali e transitorie, cercano tuttavia da quelle allontanarsi ed inalzarsi alla contemplatione delle cose alte, celesti, immortali et eterne, et di servirsi de' sensi solo per istromenti, et per necessità della natura, et potere col mezzo di quelli apparare le scienze.' On the subject of cranes in flight holding a stone, explored on several occasions by Andrea Alciato, and on their use in other contemporary devices see Sacchini, *Identità* (as in n. 1), pp. 81–83. This *impresa* was also adopted by the Accademia dei Dubbiosi in Spoleto, founded in 1660, as noted by J. Montagu, *An Index of Emblems of the Italian Academies based on Michele Maylender's 'Storie delle Accademie d'Italia'*, London 1998, p. 41. The *impresa* could well have been drawn by the local artist Onofrio Marini. The same hand can be seen in the design of the *imprese* of *il Sonnacchioso*, *l'Affamato*, *il Debole*, *l'Astratto*, *il Sospeso* and probably of *Lo Stupido* and *il Materiale*, all belonging to the first phase of the Academy (see the list of Academicians in 1575, at n. 17 below). See F. F.



2. Archivio storico dell'Università degli studi di Perugia MS P III, no. 5,
 impresa of Ottaviano Aureli, *lo Svogliato*

Aureli provided precise regulations both for the choice of the academicians' nicknames and for the form of individual devices. In his lecture *Delle qualità che ai nomi et alle Imprese ... si convengono* of 1574 he tells us, regarding the *impresa* of an Academy, that it should refer to the name of the Academy.¹⁴ When it comes to the *impreses* of individual Academicians, these should refer to the nicknames assumed by each Academician. The nickname, in turn, should be a good, standard word in the language spoken by the Academicians, and it should not be haughty, immoral or dishonest. The names chosen by the members of the *Insensati* all play with the theme of senselessness. A complete list of the names in the manuscript is given in the Appendix to this article, but a few examples here will suggest the process of selection: *lo Spensierato* ('the Heedless one'), *il Confuso* ('the Confused one'), *l'Affamato* ('the Famished one'), *il Forsennato* ('the Frenzied one'), *il Cieco* ('the Blind one').¹⁵ The Italian *senso*, like the English 'sense', extends in meaning over sensation, reason and significance, so that one can be *insensato* in a variety of ways; one can lose the use of one's (five) senses, one can take leave of one's senses, one can stop making sense. The nicknames of the *Insensati* use the full range of these meanings.

Aureli gives explicit directions on the structure of the *impresa*, which were for the most part respected by the academicians. The forty-three individual devices are presented in decorative medallions, often surrounded by little putti or foliate figures, set within architectural frameworks (Figs 1–4). The motto is inserted within the medallion, while the nickname of the Academician and his family's coat-of-arms are usually placed in the space below. The panel at the bottom bears the explanation of the *impresa* (the *subscriptio*) either in prose or *ottava rima*. Of the forty-three individual devices in the manuscript, twelve have a prose paraphrase, seventeen are in *ottava rima*, thirteen have a panel that remains blank, and in one the *subscriptio* has been cut away.¹⁶ The writing of all the explanatory texts is in the same hand, with the single exception—a highly significant one, as we will see—of the *impresa* of Federico Zuccari.

Our manuscript is undated, but we can be certain that it was not complete before the end of 1575. In December of that year Ottaviano Aureli delivered a lecture to the Academy on Petrarch's sonnet 'I' vo piangendo i miei passati tempi', and the manuscript of this lecture includes a list of the nicknames of thirty-one *Insensati*.¹⁷ In Archivio storico dell'Università MS P. III there are only twenty-five

Mancini, *Miniatura a Perugia tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, Perugia 1987, esp. pp. 66–69; and C. Galassi, 'Onofrio Marini', in *Nel segno di Barocci. Allievi e seguaci tra Marche, Umbria, Siena*, ed. A. M. Ambrosini Massari and M. Cellini, Milan 2005, pp. 338–41.

14. Aureli, *Delle qualità* (as in n. 10), fols 48^r–57^v.

15. See too n. 17 below.

16. That of *il Traviato*. It seems likely that the *subscriptio* was cut out for its text; but we cannot know if it was in prose or verse.

17. [O. Aureli], *Letzione dello Svogliato letta da lui nell'Accademia degli Insensati il dì 11 di dicembre 1575*.

Sopra il sonetto 'Io vo piangendo i miei passati tempi', Trieste, Biblioteca civica Attilio Hortis MS Petr. I 53, fols 264^r–279^v. The lecture was discovered and examined by Lorenzo Sacchini; see his 'Verso le virtù celesti. La letterata conversazione dell'Accademia degli Insensati (1561–1608)', Ph.D. thesis, Durham University 2013, pp. 85–86, 253–54. The nicknames in the list which reappear later in ASUPg MS P. III are *Affamato*, *Assetato*, *Astratto*, *Cieco*, *Confuso*, *Debole*, *Immobile*, *Ingordo*, *Insensato*, *Languido*, *Materiale*, *Offuscato*, *Rozzo*, *Rugginoso*, *Smarrito*, *Smemorato*, *Sonnacchioso*, *Sordo*, *Sospeso*, *Spensierato*, *Stracco*,

emblems corresponding to the names on the 1575 list, suggesting that six had fallen by the wayside; but there are eighteen emblems for new Academicians, who must have joined after the 1575 lecture. We cannot say precisely how long it took for all of them to join, but by cross-referencing a series of the biographical notes of these new members we can hypothesise that the period in question probably ranged over fifteen years or so, from about 1577 to the early 1590s.¹⁸

Individual devices were originally painted on the right-hand side of a sheet of paper, oriented horizontally, which was then folded in two so that the illustrations were protected inside a bifolium. These bifolia must have been stacked together for some years before they were sewn into a binding, because some of them are stained with impressions of devices from other bifolia.¹⁹ It is clear from the distribution of these stains that the current order of the emblems in the book is different from the order in which they were stacked. The volume has come down to us in a parchment binding of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, so it is possible that the bifolia were bound together over a century after they were made.²⁰ It seems probable then that the current order is largely random, a hypothesis supported by the fact that the *imprese* of the Academicians who had joined by 1575 are scattered through the volume.²¹ The device of Federico Zuccari is the fifteenth individual *impresa* in the manuscript, but this cannot reflect his place in the sequence of admission, since we know that at least one Academician who appears later in the manuscript—Convintino Castaldi—must have joined the *Insensati* before him.

Federico Zuccari proudly styled himself *il Sonnacchioso insensato*, ‘the Sleepy Senseless one’. At the end of his career, having re-founded the Accademia di S. Luca and become its *Principe*, in his *Lettera a Prencipi* and in the *Lamento della Pittura* of 1605, he presents himself as ‘nell’Accademia Insensata detto il Sonnacchioso’, as he does in the dedicatory madrigal to the Duke of Savoy that opens his *L’idea de’ pittori, scultori, et architetti* of 1607.²² And yet in the emblems of MS P. III, Zuccari’s device bears the name *il Desioso*, ‘the Desirous one’ (Fig. 4), and another Academician bears the nickname *il Sonnacchioso* (Fig. 3). This ‘Sleepy one’ can be identified by both the coat of arms and a much later list of the *Insensati* as the Perugian physician and philosopher Convintino Castaldi. He was a member of a

Stupido, Svanito, Svogliato and *Tramortito*; the six Academicians who appear to have fallen by the wayside are *Avido, Immerso, Ottuso, Sbatuto, Spaventato* and *Stemperato*.

18. An analysis of the individual biographical profiles of *Insensati* will form part of the forthcoming edition of ASUPg MS P III (as in n. 9), which will also include a stylistic interpretation of the drawings of the *imprese*. We can tell from the biographies of the various Academicians that they were all associated with the Accademia or Perugia University by 1587 except for Paolo Lucio Mancini, *il Mortificato*, who may have been admitted some years later; see L. Marconi, *Studenti a Perugia. La matricola degli scolari forestieri (1511–1723)*, Perugia 2009, p. 53; for a later dating see Sacchini, ‘Da Petrarca a Marino’ (as in n. 12), p. 247.

19. See the codicological description below in the Appendix.

20. The dating for the binding has been suggested by Fabio Fiorani and Gabriella Pace of the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica.

21. The list in n. 17 may be compared with the order given in my codicological description in the Appendix.

22. Facsimile editions of Zuccari’s *Lettera a prencipi* (Mantua 1605) and *L’idea de’ pittori, scultori e architetti* (Turin 1607) are provided in Federico Zuccari, *Scritti d’arte*, ed. D. Heikamp, Florence 1961; for the references to *il Sonnacchioso* see pp. 109, 111, 139, 146. See also C. Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, 2 vols, Milan and Rome 1998–99, II, pp. 179–80, 260.



3. Archivio storico dell'Università degli studi di Perugia MS P III, no. 18,
 impresa of Convintino Castaldi, *il Sonnacchioso*

well-known family of jurists, who died at an early age.²³ The device of Castaldi shows the ‘sonnacchioso tasso’ (slumbering or sleepy badger), echoing a line from Ariosto.²⁴ This placid animal, lazy and much inclined to sleep, is not, the motto tells us, asleep to everything: *Non omnibus dormio*. To this conceit a fellow Academician, Ottaviano Platoni, gave ‘molte belle significationi’ (‘many beautiful meanings’).²⁵

The biography of Castaldi is a meagre one, but as we shall see the symbolic reading of his life, as expressed in his funeral oration, may have offered an attractive model for Federico Zuccari. It is certainly the case that, after the Perugian philosopher’s death, Zuccari adopted Castaldi’s Academic name.

FEDERICO ZUCCARI INSENSATO

The *impresa* of Federico Zuccari, *il Desioso* (Fig. 4) provides important evidence for his relationship to the Perugian Academy. An individual of great intellectual and social ambitions such as Federico Zuccari could not have been indifferent to the allure of an academic institution, the most common form of contemporary cultural grouping; belonging to one was perceived as an obligatory step in the shaping of an intellectual and a gentleman. In 1565 he was admitted to the Florentine Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, which he frequented during his second sojourn in Florence (1575–79), when he was engaged in painting the frescoes in the cupola of the Cathedral.²⁶ Zuccari enacted a comprehensive and energetic reform of the Roman Accademia di S. Luca, which he headed in 1593–94; but while his Roman experience has been the object of study, his time in the Perugian Academy has remained indistinct and difficult to date. Although it leaves some questions unanswered, the evidence regarding Zuccari’s personal involvement with the *Insensati* provides detailed information about the theories behind his membership, which can be linked to a specific moment in his career.

Among the series of devices, the artist’s *impresa* is unique, physically, stylistically and intellectually. The sheet of paper on which it is drawn is larger than the sheets in the rest of the manuscript, all of which are cut to one size; it has been poorly

23. See G. Vincioli, *Rime di Francesco Coppetta ed altri poeti perugini*, Perugia 1720, p. 149. The coat of arms is that of the Castaldi di S. Simone: see Perugia, Archivio storico di San Pietro, Enrico Agostini, *Famiglie perugine*, C.M. 204, fols 176^v–177^r; and idem, *Dizionario perugino*, C.M. 221, fol. 84^v. On Castaldi see PBCA MS 1460, Annibale Mariotti, *Appunti intorno agli uomini illustri di Perugia*, fol. 73^v; and further below in this article, pp. 139, 154ff.

24. Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, xxxii.12: ‘Oh quante volte da invidiar le diero / e gli orsi e i ghiri e i sonnacchiosi tassi!’

25. Ottaviano Platoni, *Discorso dello Smemorato sopra l’impresa dell’eccellente signor Sonnacchioso*, PBCA MS 1717, fols 193^r–198^r, addresses the task of explaining the no less than four ‘belle significationi’ dedicated to this ‘artificiosissima e vaghissima impresa’. In the first reading the badger is interpreted as a lazy Academician,

awakened by Academic lightning, i.e., stirring speeches and the sounds of fellow Academicians’ voices. The second interpretation identifies lightning with the senses, Aristotle’s first form of knowledge. In the third interpretation the badger is awakened by the beauty of the woman he loves. The last meaning has a religious imprint: *Sonnacchioso*, ‘the Drousy one’ or ‘Torpid one’, is the badger awakened by trials—the lightning of God, which drives him to conversion. See Sacchini, *Identità* (as in n. 1), pp. 86–88.

26. Acidini Luchinat (as in n. 22), p. 275; and M. Moralejo Ortega, ‘Federico Zuccari: innovazione e trasgressione nelle accademie italiane tra Cinque e Seicento’, in *Intrecci virtuosi. Letterati artisti e Accademie nell’Italia centrale tra Cinque e Seicento: Roma e Firenze*, ed. C. Chiummo, A. Geremicca and P. Tosini, Rome 2017, pp. 139–52, esp. 144–46.

folded and is consequently damaged along its edges.²⁷ The *impresa* is set within an architectural framework decorated with masks and topped by a broken pediment that contains his device of the sugarloaf shield: *Zuccaro* = *zucchero* ('sugar'). Two small putti support a roundel containing the device itself: a pickaxe, depicted vertically, as an emblem, against a rich archaeological landscape. The motto *Spero* ('I hope') is written on a fluttering scroll. In the distance we see ancient structures with grand arches, while the foreground has a shovel and fragments of statues, among them a head, a torso and a leg. Zuccari's draughtsmanship in this *impresa* immediately distinguishes this bifolium from the others in the manuscript.

The emblem is explained in the commentary below. Unlike the other *subscriptions*, which were transcribed by a single copyist whose task it was to lay out each text, this commentary is in Zuccari's own hand. True to his didactic and speculative vocation, Zuccari takes advantage of the situation to explain the motivations that led him to construct his *impresa*, in convoluted, jumbled prose:

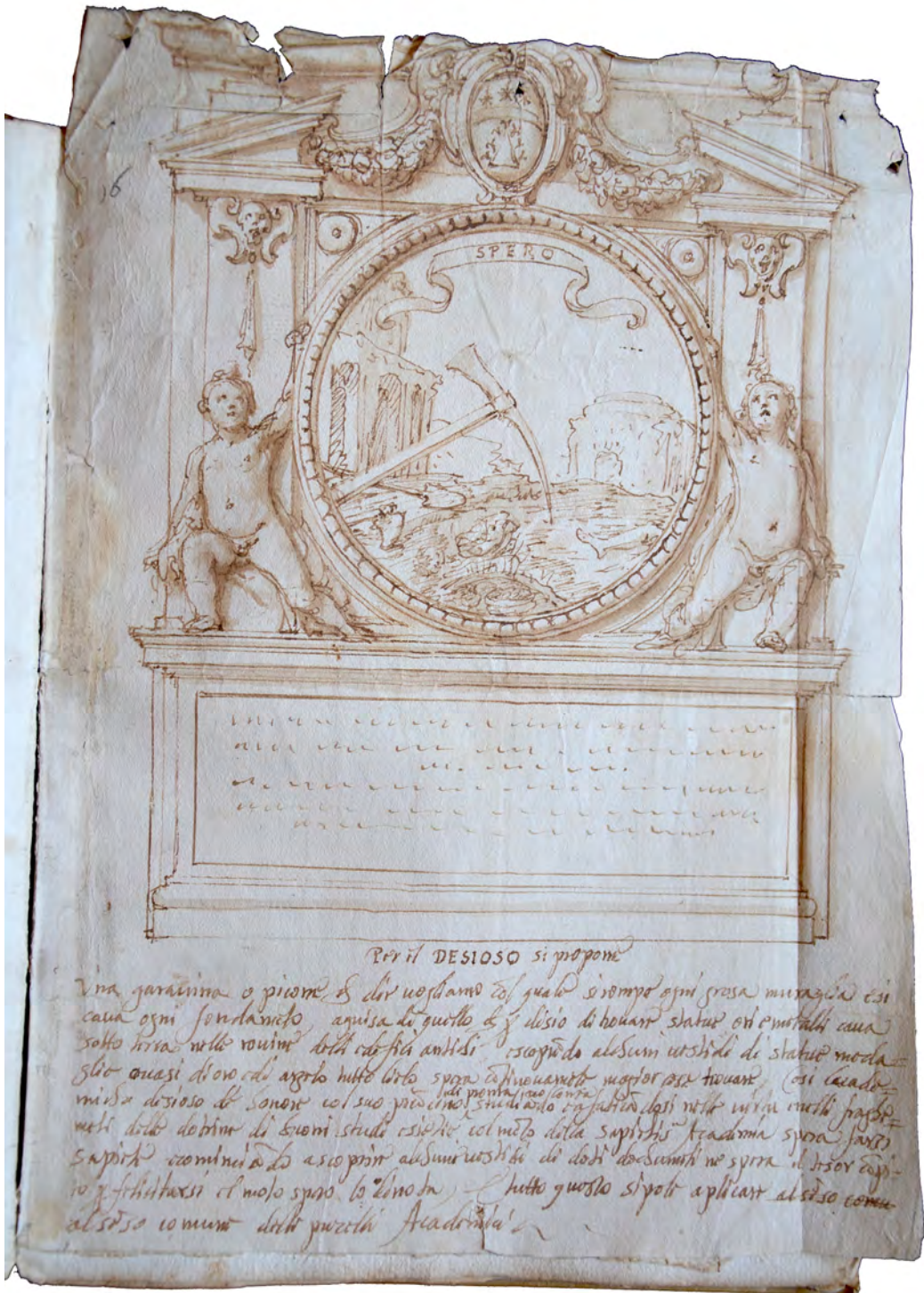
A mattock or pickaxe, call it what you will, used to break any big wall or dig foundations, like that used when you are seeking statues, gold and metals, and you dig under ruins of ancient buildings, and finding some vestiges of statues, medals or gold and silver vases, delightedly continue to hope finding greater things. Thus the academician who is desirous of honour with his little pickaxe of ready willingness, studying and straining himself in the virtues and fragments of doctrines of good studies and sciences by means of the most wise academy, hopes to make himself wise, and starting to discover vestiges of learned documents hopes to find the treasure to congratulate himself, and is marked by the motto *spero*. And all this can be applied to the common sense of academic precepts.²⁸

His choice of a pickaxe is that of an instrument that breaks the rubble of past ages which covers valuable, fragmentary and hidden things. The utensil is moved by willpower and curiosity for the treasures that emerge, in fragments, from the depths of the earth, just as knowledge, scattered and dispersed, offers a stimulus for continued work—strenuous, diligent, stubborn—of the kind so often encouraged by Zuccari in his theoretical writings. At this point the Academy plays an essential didactic role in uniting these scattered pieces of knowledge and supporting the Academician in his search for wisdom. His allegorical reading of the device already reveals some of the vital ideas of his cultural universe, as continually asserted throughout his life.

27. His bifolium measures 270 × 190 mm, while the average size of the others is approximately 235 × 170 mm; the drawing is in pen and ink, brush and brown wash on ivory paper. A sheet on loan to the Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, shows a similar iconographic arrangement, with two angels seated on a cornice presenting a central roundel. See E. J. Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque. Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari 1500–1600*, exhib. cat. (Milwaukee Art Museum), Cambridge and New York 1989, pp. 270–72, no. 91.

28. 'Una garavina o piccone, che dir vogliamo, col quale si rompe ogni grossa muraglia e si cava ogni fondamento, a guisa di quello che per disio di trovare

statue ori e metalli, cava sotto terra nelle rovine delli edifici antichi, e scoprendo alcuni vestigi di statue medaglie o vasi di oro e di argento tutto lieto spera continovamente maggior cosa trovare. Così l'academico desioso de honore col suo picconino [*above the line*: di pronta volontà] studiando e afaticandosi nelle virtù e nelli fragementi delle dottrine di buoni studi e sentie col mezo della sapientissima academia spera farsi sapiente e cominciando a scoprire alcuni vestigi di doti documenti ne spera il tesoro compito per felicitarsi el moto spero lo adnota. E tutto questo si pote applicare al senso comune [*repeated and then crossed out*: al senso comune] delli precetti academici.'



4. Archivio storico dell'Università degli studi di Perugia MS P III, no. 16,
 impresa of Federico Zuccari, *il Desioso*

Zuccari's *subscriptio* is placed beneath the phrase 'per il Desioso si propone ...', 'for the Desirous one is proposed ...'. If 'il Desioso' is meant as a nickname then it is unusual for an *Insensato*, in that it does not refer in a straightforward way to deprivation of sense. The whole tone in fact differs from the other devices, with its repeated talk of hope (the verb *sperare* is used four times) and its reverence for the wisdom of the *sapientissima academia*. All of this suggests that what we have here is not in fact the emblem of a member of the Academy, like the other *imprese* in the book, so much as an application to join the Academy, which has come to be bound into the volume with the others.

It is not easy to date the creation of this fine *impresa*. We first hear of Zuccari's involvement with the *Insensati* in the words of another Academician, the Siense Olivetan Benedictine Ventura Venturi, *il Velato* ('the Veiled one'), whose *Conclusioni diverse*, published in 1597, includes 'some deliberations on the matter of Design on the occasion of a disputation initiated in our Academy by the very famous painter Federico Zuccari'. In the chapter on Design, the artist is referred to as *il Sonnacchioso*.²⁹ The year of Venturi's birth as given by Olivetan sources is 1573, and since his *Conclusioni* were published at the end of the century, this seems to shift Zuccari's involvement with the *Insensati* to a later date in the life of the Academy, dominated by the figure of Cesare Crispolti.³⁰ Even the indication of the subject of the lecture, centred on *disegno*, would point to a subject treated by Zuccari above all in the period tied to the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome, that is, from 1593 onward. At the end of the century, too, Zuccari had established frequent relationships with Perugia, particularly with a well-known collector and *amateur*, Simonetto Anastagi, who by 1597 was acting on the artist's behalf, reimbursing the creditors of Federico's son Ottaviano, who was a student at Perugia University.³¹

29. *Conclusioni diverse di D. Ventura Venturi da Siena Academico Insensato detto il Velato. Le quali si disputeranno in Perugia sotto Publica Academia de gl'Insensati sotto il felice reggimento dell'ill. Sig.re Cesare Crispolti*, Perugia 1597, sig. A2^v, dedication to Marchese Ascanio della Corgna: 'alcune determinazioni sopra il Disegno si per l'occasione di una disputa incominciata dall'Accademia nostra dal sign. Federico Zuccaro, pittore famosissimo'. For the nickname *Sonnacchioso* see 'Del Disegno', IV, III, sigs B3^v–B4^r: 'Considerando il disegno universalmente, in quanto che alla fabrication d'ogni idea intellettuale si può quel nome applicare, non si potea esplicar meglio che con gl'attributi datigli dal signor Federigo Zuccaro detto nell'Accademia Insensata il Sonnacchioso, cioè che sia lume generale dell'intelletto ...'. The 'Determinazioni sopra il disegno' were later republished in Federico Zuccari and Romano Alberti, *Origine e progresso dell'Accademia del disegno di Roma*, Pavia 1604; see Zuccari, *Scritti d'arte* (as in n. 22), pp. 93–95.

30. For biographical data on the Olivetan monk Venturi see *Poemi biblici del Seicento*, ed. E. Ardisino, Alessandria 2005, pp. 11–13.

31. F. Gage, 'Giulio Mancini and Artist Amateur Relations in Seventeenth-Century Roman Academies', in *The Accademia Seminars. The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590–1635*, ed. P. L. Lukehart, New Haven CT and London 2009, pp. 259, 283, no. 94. Ottaviano Zuccari attended Perugia University from 13 Nov. 1596, enrolling in the Province of Rome. See Marconi (as in n. 18), p. 54 n. 814. On Ottaviano and the sale, after his father's death in 1609, of various paintings and the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome, see now L. Sickel, 'Federico Zuccari *post mortem*. Der Verkauf der Kunstwerke aus seinem Nachlass durch Sohn Ottaviano mit einem Anhang zu Pier Leone Casella', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XL, 2011–12 [publ. 2016], esp. pp. 85–114. On Simonetto Anastagi, a client who was very close to Federico Barocci, see G. Saporì, 'Rapporto preliminare su Simonetto Anastagi', *Ricerche di storia dell'arte. Artisti e committenti nel '500*, XXI, 1983, pp. 77–85; and C. Galassi, 'Simonetto Anastagi accademico e collezionista. Qualche considerazione', in *L'Accademia riflette sulla sua storia. Perugia e le origini dell'Accademia del Disegno. Secoli XVI e XVII*, ed. F. Boco and A. C. Ponti, Perugia 2011, pp. 151–72.

If 1597 forms a *terminus ante quem* for our device, the *terminus post quem* is December 1575, the date of Ottaviano Aureli's exposition of the sonnet 'I'vo piangendo i miei passati tempi', together with its list of thirty-one Academicians.³² Zuccari's name is not on that list, so he must have been admitted later. Since the passing of Convinto Castaldi had to happen before the name *Sonnacchioso* could be bestowed on Zuccari, it would help us to know when the Perugian philosopher died. Unfortunately this is not a date that we can identify with great precision.

Castaldi enjoyed notable prestige within the circle of the *Insensati* and his premature death was widely felt, as we can tell from the only funeral oration bestowed on a member of the Academy in this period. The task was taken on by the canon Rubino Salvucci, *il Sordo* ('the Deaf one'),³³ while Ottaviano Platoni, *lo Smemorato* ('the Absent-minded one'), gave a lecture 'sopra l'impresa dell'eccellente signor Sonnacchioso'.³⁴ Neither of the two speeches is dated, but some cross-referencing within Castaldi's biography helps to establish a few points of chronology. We know that he belonged to a famous Perugian family of jurists and military men, and that he had a doctorate by 1562, after which he is recorded as a young lecturer at Perugia University, which would mean between the ages of twenty and twenty-five.³⁵ His date of birth can thus be placed around 1540. In the eulogy, his 'premature and bitter death' ('imatura et acerba morte') is stated to have occurred 'in the flower of his age' ('nella sua più bella et più fiorita etade'),³⁶ which might suggest somewhere around thirty-five—that is, shortly after 1575.³⁷ We also know from the oration that Castaldi died in Rome, where he had gone to find his brother Galvano, a doctor of law in the service of the Cardinal of Perugia, Fulvio della Corgna.³⁸ Given that the cardinal died in 1583, we may establish that year as a *terminus ante quem* for Conventino's visit and premature death in Rome. The date of his decease should thus fall between 1575 and 1583. We do not know how long Castaldi had been dead when Zuccari took over his Academic sobriquet. However, a reading of the style and iconography of the *impresa* enables us to narrow these parameters to a period in the early 1580s.

Zuccari's commitment to the Accademia degli *Insensati* was entirely in keeping with his personal attitudes and way of life. Indeed he had long nurtured thoughts about academies, as we know from his will, where he expresses his pleasure at the foundation of the academic school on the Pincian Hill, his Roman residence: 'questo mio antico desiderio' ('this old desire of mine'). No doubt, his enthusiasm for academies was an intellectual consequence of his Florentine years.³⁹ He joined

32. [Aureli] (as in n. 17); Sacchini, *Identità* (as in n. 1), p. 36.

33. PBCA MS 1717, fols 93^r–98^r, Rubino Salvucci, *Oratione funebre del Sordo Insensato nella morte del Sonnacchioso Insensato*. On Salvucci, a colleague of Castaldi's who also studied philosophy and medicine, see Giovan Battista Vermiglioli, *Biografia degli scrittori perugini*, 2 vols, Perugia 1828–29, II, pp. 278–79.

34. Platoni, *Discorso dello Smemorato* (as in n. 25). Platoni refers to Castaldi with the phrase 'felice memoria', so he had died by the date of the lecture.

35. PBCA MS 1457, Annibale Mariotti, *Memorie estratte dai Libri esistenti nell'archivio della Camera in Perugia ... nell'anno 1778*, fol. 385^r.

36. Salvucci, *Oratione funebre del Sordo* (as in n. 33), fol. 93^r.

37. We know he was still alive in 1575 because his nickname is one of those listed by Aureli in December of that year; see above, n. 17.

38. Salvucci, *ibid.*, fol. 93^r.

39. As justly underlined by Z. Wazbiński, 'Lo studio: La scuola fiorentina di Federico Zuccari',

the Accademia del Disegno in Florence in October 1565, while working on the decorations for the wedding of Francesco I de' Medici and Joan of Austria,⁴⁰ but frequented it above all during his second, much longer sojourn in the city, in the three years from 1575. He then proposed to reform the institution, outlining his ideas in a written *Memoriale*. Here, he focusses clearly on the formative artistic process, asserting the need for establishing a precise, educational protocol for young artists, composed of *tornate*, or clearly regulated, didactic academic sessions.⁴¹ Practical experience is to be accompanied by theoretical teaching of perspective and mathematics, so as to alternate 'pratica e scienza'.⁴²

It is possible that Zuccari's affiliation with the Insensati could have commenced at or soon after the time that he wrote his *Memoriale*. When he left Florence and settled in Rome, the centre of gravity of his intellectual life shifted too, as he embarked on the construction of studio space in his residence on the Pincian Hill, intended as the birthplace of a long-awaited personal school of painting. His fascination with Roman archaeological culture, so evident in the Perugian device, now came to dominate Zuccari's new cultural horizon, taking him beyond his Florentine years, when he had been preoccupied with the urgent study of drawing from nature.⁴³ The unearthing of ancient fragments, like those he describes in the commentary to his *impresa*—buried treasures of knowledge, ready to be discovered with the 'little pickaxe of ready willingness'⁴⁴—corresponded better with his new goal, the Eternal City itself, where his educational mission was to be realised.

*

In the autumn of 1579, having finished the great fresco project of the cupola of Florence Cathedral (not without controversy), Federico made ready to leave the city and go to Rome. Letters written in preparation for his move reveal that an important part was played by Monsignor Fabio della Corgna, the Papal Nuncio to Florence. The prelate's family, and especially his brother Ascanio II della Corgna, were notable patrons of the Insensati. Fabio della Corgna was summoned to Rome by his uncle Fulvio, the Cardinal of Perugia, and began a swift ascent in the Curia, obtaining numerous benefices and being appointed Nuncio to Florence, establishing excellent relations with the Medici court.⁴⁵ The jurist Galvano Castaldi also

Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, xxix, 1985, pp. 275–346 (276).

40. Z. Ważbiński, *L'Accademia medicea del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento. Idea e istituzione*, 2 vols, Florence 1987, I, p. 387 n. 29.

41. For the *Memoriale* see D. Heikamp, 'Vicende di Federigo Zuccari', *Rivista d'arte*, XXXII, ser. III, vol. VII, 1957, pp. 175 and 216–18. For the pedagogical training of the Florentine Academy see K. Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State. The Discipline of 'Disegno'*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 67–73.

42. Cited by Ważbiński, *L'Accademia* (as in n. 40), II, appendix, p. 491.

43. S. Pierguidi, 'Disegnare e copiare per imparare: il trattato di Armenini come fonte per la vita di Taddeo Zuccari nei disegni del fratello Federico', *Romagna arte e storia*, xxxi, 2011, pp. 23–32 (26–27); Moralejo Ortega (as in n. 26), esp. pp. 144–46.

44. Quoted above, n. 28.

45. On Federico's move from Florence to Rome and on his motivations see Z. Ważbiński, 'Federico Zuccari nell'anno 1579: il contributo al mecenatismo di Francesco Maria II della Rovere duca di Urbino', in *Der Maler Federico Zuccari. Ein römischer Virtuoso von europäischem Ruhm*, ed. M. Winner and D. Heikamp, Rome 1999, pp. 207–13. See also Acidini Luchinat (as in n. 22), pp. 122–23. Fabio's mother was Laura della

worked at the court of Cardinal Fulvio (it was while visiting him in Rome that his brother Convintino died), and it is possible that the cardinal's Roman residence, the Palazzo Salviati alla Lungara, was a meeting-place for Zuccari, Fabio della Corgna and members of the Castaldi family.

Zuccari took up work in Rome in early 1580, but his boundless self-esteem and zealous polemical character led him in the year that followed into political conflict. On 18 October 1581, he exhibited his satirical response to criticism of his *Procession of St Gregory*, painted for the chapel of the steward Paolo Ghiselli in S. Maria del Baraccano in Bologna: a complex, allegorical cartoon entitled *Porta Virtutis*.⁴⁶ This rebellious action was followed by a trial before the Roman governor and a sentence of banishment from the Papal States. Zuccari beseeched Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for help, which was declined.⁴⁷ It is very hard to imagine a prominent Perugian academy welcoming such an individual in the wake of these events. All the evidence would point to a date for Federico's admission either before October 1581 or after his detention and subsequent pardon, obtained in the spring of 1583 through the mediation of Francesco Maria II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino.⁴⁸

Support for a dating in the early 1580s comes from convincing stylistic parallels within Federico's graphic oeuvre, if one compares the *impresa* with drawings known to have been made in the years 1580–83, when he was moving between Rome, Venice and Loreto. One particularly interesting drawing represents a project for the wall tomb of a pope (Fig. 5). It has a classic architectural arrangement with two globes at the top and a pair of angels flanking a coat of arms with the papal tiara.⁴⁹ Two allegorical figures, perhaps Heaven and Earth, drawn with firm but sensitive traits, recline above a plinth decorated with the same cartouches and medallions as our device. These ornamental features are also found in two preparatory drawings for the frescoed *Submission of the Emperor Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III* in the Doges' Palace in Venice (1582), with similar garlands, masks and cartouches.⁵⁰

Corgna, sister of Cardinal Fulvio and of the *condottiero* Ascanio, and Ercole della Penna; his brother Diomede was adopted by Ascanio and named heir of the marquise, taking on the name Della Corgna. See PBCA MS 1221, Raffaello Sotii, *Annali Memorie et Ricordi ... cominciando l'anno MDXL*, fol. 144^r; and I. Fosi Polverini, 'Della Cornia Della Penna, Fabio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, xxxvi, 1988, pp. 777–79. On the links between the Della Corgna and the Accademia degli Insensati see Teza, *Caravaggio e il frutto della virtù* (as in n. 5), pp. 19–21, 54–55.

46. For the impact of the cartoon of the *Porta Virtutis* see Heikamp, 'Vicende' (as in n. 41), pp. 185–96; P. Cavazzini, 'The *Porta Virtutis* and Federico Zuccari's Expulsion from the Papal State. An Unjust Conviction', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, xxv, 1989, pp. 167–77; R. Zapperi, 'Federico Zuccari censurato a Bologna dalla corporazione dei pittori', in *Städel-Jahrbuch*, xiii, 1991, pp. 177–90; and T. Weddigen, 'Federico Zuccaro zwischen Michelangelo und Raffael: Kunstideal und Bilderkult zur Zeit Gregors XIII', in *Federico Zuccaro zwischen Ideal und*

Reform, ed. idem, Basel 2000, esp. pp. 215–25. The cartoon itself is discussed in detail below, pp. 144–50.

47. The trial was suspended on the third hearing by order of the Pope. On the trial and banishment see V. Lanciarini, 'Dei pittori Taddeo e Federico Zuccari da S. Angelo in Vado', *Nuova rivista Misena*, vi, 1893, no. 6–7, pp. 104–09, and no. 8, pp. 113–34; for Federico's appeal to Alessandro Farnese see M. G. Aurigemma, 'Lettere di Federico Zuccari', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'archeologia e Storia dell'arte*, s. III, xviii, 1995, p. 237.

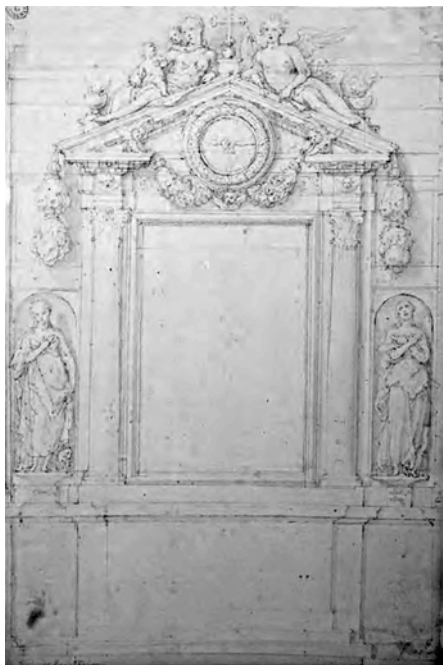
48. On the intercession of the Duke of Urbino see A. Rustici, 'Federigo Zuccari (notizie biografiche su documenti inediti)', *Rassegna marchigiana*, I, 1922–23, pp. 405–29.

49. *Sotheby's Old Master Drawings including Property from the Collection of the British Rail Pension Fund*, New York, 8 Jan. 1991, lot 13, p. 104. See Acidini Luchinat (as in n. 22), pp. 2, 4, no. 7.

50. One of these drawings is now in New York, Morgan Library and Museum, The Janos Scholz Collection, inv. 1973.29; see J. A. Gere, 'The Lawrence-



5. Federico Zuccari, project for a papal wall tomb, drawing (268 × 201 mm), c. 1580–83. Present whereabouts unknown



6. Federico Zuccari, study for the altar of the chapel of the Annunciation in the Basilica at Loreto, drawing, 1582–83. Florence, Gabinetto Nazionale di Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi, 244A

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Notable too is a sheet in the Uffizi Gallery (Fig. 6), recently identified as the project for the altar of the Annunciation Chapel in the Basilica at Loreto (1582–83): it has architecture like that of our *impresa*, its pediment containing a central tondo with hanging swags. Apart from the very similar compositional structure, the figures of Charity and the angel reclining on the pediment have the same subtle treatments of line and light.⁵¹ There also exists a drawing of *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Fig. 7), believed to date from the same period and made either for an unknown Della Rovere project, or possibly for an ephemeral decoration.⁵² This represents an inexperienced youth's entrance into the realm of *Superbia* (Pride), where a seductive, malicious dance will introduce him to the Seven Deadly Sins and other vices.⁵³ The architectural structure

Phillipps-Rosenbach "Zuccaro Album", *Master Drawings*, VIII, 1970, p. 132, no. 21, pl. 14; and Mundy (as in n. 27), pp. 256–59, no. 86, with previous literature. The other is in Los Angeles, Getty Museum, inv. 83.GG.196; see Acidini Luchinat (as in n. 22), pp. 132, 150, no. 80, with previous literature.

51. Florence, Gabinetto Nazionale di Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi 244A. See S. Schütze, in *From Raphael to Carracci. The Art of Papal Rome*, ed. D. Franklin, exhib. cat. (National Gallery of Canada), Ottawa 2009, no. 109, pp. 344–45, 467. Zuccari's sculptural surround framed the *Annunciation* by Federico Barocci; see A. Russo, 'Federico Zuccari and the Chapel of the Dukes of Urbino at Loreto: The Design for the Altar of the Annunciation', *Burlington Magazine*, CLVII, 2015, pp. 832–35. Russo makes a comparison with the drawing of the *Quarantore* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 1993.120 (*ibid.*, p. 833 n. 12), which is also useful for studying the Perugian *impresa*.

52. Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 23201. The drawing was published by D. Heikamp, 'Federico Zuccari a Firenze 1575–1579. II: Federigo a casa sua', *Paragone*, XVIII, no. 207, 1967, pp. 3–34 (28); Heikamp believed it to be connected with the decorations planned for Zuccari's Florentine studio, but never executed. On its current dating see Acidini Luchinat (as in n. 22), p. 140.



7. Federico Zuccari, *Il Giardino delle Delizie terrene* (*The Garden of Earthly Delights*), 1582–83, pen and brown ink with brown wash, white heightening and red chalk (236 × 366 mm). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 23.201

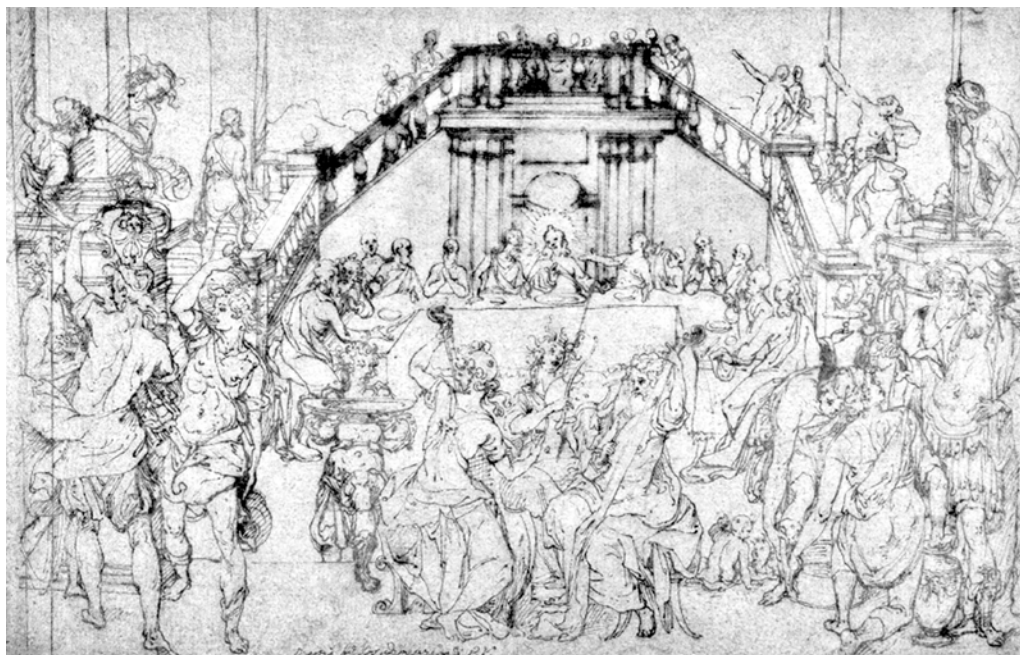
of the gate leading into the garden shares several elements with the one devised by Federico for his admission to the *Insensati*. In the *impresa*, the pediment is broken, but the bossed shields in the pendentives recur, as do the projecting plinths surmounted by orbs (which, in the drawing of the garden, take on the shape of skulls).

Other drawings, also from the Loreto period, have been connected with Zuccari's project for the *Last Supper* which Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere wished to have painted in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in Urbino Cathedral.⁵⁴ These sheets, including one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 8),⁵⁵ are of special interest here as they contain specific architectural solutions in the background, with a pair of obliquely-placed staircases leading to a gallery set over a large arched niche. To a greater extent than the prototype usually invoked for this iconography—Veronese's *Last Supper* formerly in S. Giorgio Maggiore,

53. See Acidini Luchinat (as in n. 22), p. 140. A twin sheet of the *Garden of the Virtues* is housed in the New York, Morgan Library and Museum, The Janos Scholz Collection, inv. 1983.67; see Mundy (as in n. 27), pp. 236–39, no. 78.

54. See S. Eiche, 'Federico Zuccari and Federico Barocci at Loreto and Urbino', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, xxvi, 1982, pp. 398–400; and Acidini Luchinat (as in n. 22), pp. 140–42.

55. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1975.131.60, after Zuccari. For this drawing and two others at Christ Church, Oxford (J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church*, Oxford 1976, I, p. 154, no. 541, and II, pl. 298), probably by Zuccari's workshop, see M. Hochmann, 'Federico Zuccaro et Venise', in *Malarstwo Weneckie 1500–1750*, ed. Z. Ważbiński, Torun 2001, pp. 83–86, although he emphasises the marked differences between the two compositions; and M. Lorenzoni, "... e procurò alcuna memoria delle sue



8. Anon., probably after Federico Zuccari's *Last Supper* for the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in Urbino Cathedral. Drawing in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1975.131.60

Venice—Zuccari seems to cite the solution adopted by Giorgio Vasari in the *Marriage at Cana*, painted in 1566 for the abbey of S. Pietro in Perugia (Fig. 9).⁵⁶ The way the subject is framed between two lateral stairways is quite unusual and the citation of Vasari's work, a source both distinctive and peripheral, could be evidence of Zuccari's presence in Perugia before his Urbino commission of May 1583.

The most illuminating comparison, however, is provided by Zuccari's *Porta Virtutis*.⁵⁷ The lost cartoon—the motive for so much conflict—is reflected in the artist's autograph replica on canvas, probably sent to Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere and now in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino (Fig. 11).⁵⁸ We also have Zuccari's preparatory drawing, now preserved in Oxford (Fig. 10),

mani". Federico Zuccari e le copie di Paolo Veronese nei taccuini di viaggio', *Arte veneta*, LXXII, 2015, p. 109, fig. 4.

56. For the link with Veronese see Hochmann (as in n. 55), pp. 83–86, although he emphasises the marked differences between the two compositions. On Vasari's *Marriage at Cana* see L. Teza, 'Perugia commissariata. Riflessioni su Vasari, una mancata committenza e la politica delle arti cittadine', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, no. 64–65, s. III, anni xxxii–xxxiii, 2009–10, pp. 233–58 (248–50).

57. For the literature on this cartoon and the subsequent trial see above, n. 46.

58. See Acidini Luchinat (as in n. 22), pp. 129, 131, 149, no. 54; eadem, in *I Della Rovere. Piero della Francesca Raffaello Tiziano*, ed. P. Dal Poggetto, exhib. cat. (Senigallia, Urbino, Pesaro and Urbino 2004), Milan 2004, pp. 342–43; and eadem, in *Il Cinquecento a Firenze. 'Maniera moderna' e Controriforma*, ed. C. Falciani and A. Natali, exhib. cat. (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi), Florence 2017, p. 276, no. VI.7. On the sale of the original cartoon by Zuccari's son Ottaviano to an unknown purchaser, after 1614, see Sickel (as in n. 31), p. 103.



9. Giorgio Vasari, *Marriage at Cana*, 1566. Perugia, Abbey of S. Pietro



10. Federico Zuccari, *Porta Virtutis*, preliminary drawing for the lost cartoon, 1581. Oxford, Christ Church

BY PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNING BODY OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, JBS N. 0213



11. Federico Zuccari, *Porta Virtutis*, replica of the original cartoon.
Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, inv. D. 300

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12. Aliprando Caprioli, engraving, after Federico Zuccari, *Procession and Vision of St Gregory the Great*. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, inv. Ortali n. 591

and some further drawings derived from it, now in New York and Frankfurt.⁵⁹ We should also consider the painting associated with the *Porta Virtutis*, that is, Zuccari's lost *Procession of St Gregory*, reproduced in a faithful engraving by Aliprando Caprioli (Fig. 12).⁶⁰ Clearly visible here is the large archway with two bossed shields in the pendentives, a form of decoration that is repeated in the cartoon.

The *Porta Virtutis* is interesting not only for direct stylistic parallels with the Perugian *impresa*, but also for its novel presentation of cultural references and dense iconology, which appears to resonate with the theories underlying the composition of the *impresa*. An understanding of the deeper meaning of the *Porta Virtutis* is clarified in the direct description given by Zuccari himself and consigned to the judge on the occasion of his trial; written in the third person, it is entitled *Cartone di un pittore per rappresentar la virtù contra gl'ignoranti*.⁶¹ As he explains, an armed figure of Minerva, 'imperiosa ed immobile', stands before an archway leading to the Garden of the Virtues, her foot crushing a serpent-tailed monster. To the right and left of this central figure,

... in order to show the means necessary to acquire the sciences [Federico] has principally represented Effort and Diligence in prime view, and these are in two niches on either side of the portal of that Virtue. Near these, in two other niches within the arch of that portal, are depicted on one side Study and Love, and on the other, Intelligence, which is acquired from all the sciences through study and effort.⁶²

The preparatory drawing for the *Porta Virtutis* in Oxford (Fig. 10) calls the serpent-tailed monster 'Inscitia', that is, ignorance combined with incompetence. The Oxford drawing and the others derived from it represent the painter's true thoughts with respect to the allegory he devised in order to ridicule the Bolognese painters and their 'inscitia'. Initially, Zuccari sought to hide the subversive character of the cartoon, seeking to distance it from the specific, risky circumstances that had arisen in Bologna, but his three drawings speak for themselves, belying this.⁶³ Two roundels, positioned in front of the depictions of *Faticha* and *Diligenza* in the

59. Oxford, Christ Church, 0213, Bell F.26. See Byam Shaw (as in n. 56), I, p. 155, no. 544, and II, pl. 297; and R. Eitel-Porter and L. B. Zukerman, in *From Raphael to Carracci* (as in n. 51), pp. 346–47, no. 110; 467, with previous literature. For the sheet in New York (Morgan Library and Museum, The Janos Scholz collection, 1974.25), see Mundy (as in n. 27), no. 85, pp. 252–55: this is thought to have been created by Zuccari to be sent to those who took an interested in the dispute. See Zuccari (as in n. 22), p. 192 for the drawing in Frankfurt (Städel, 1319); and Luchinat (as in n. 22), pp. 129, 149.

60. For the engraving see Heikamp, 'Vicende' (as in n. 41), pp. 186–87.

61. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. lat. 7031, fol. 276; for a published edition see D. Heikamp, 'Ancora su Federico Zuccari', *Rivista d'arte*, xxxiii, 1958, III, vol. VIII, pp. 48–50. See also E. Capretti,

'L'"affare Ghiselli" e lo scandalo della *Porta Virtutis* (1580–1581)', in *Innocente e calunniato. Federico Zuccari (1539/40–1609) e le vendette d'artista*, ed. eadem and C. Acidini, exhib. cat. (Florence, Uffizi), Florence 2009, pp. 184–87.

62. '...per mostrare i mezzi che sono necessari in acquistare le scientie [Federico] ha figurato principalmente la fatigha et la diligentia in primo aspetto, et queste sono in dua nicchie, di là, et di qua da la porta di essa Virtù. Appresso di queste, in due altre nicchie nel intrata di essa porta vi sono figurati da una banda il studio, et amore et all'incontro la intelligentia che si acquista di tutte le scientie per il mezzo de li studii et fatighe.' See Heikamp, 'Ancora su Federico Zuccari' (as in n. 61), p. 48.

63. This point is made by Cavazzini (as in n. 46), pp. 167–77.

drawings, displayed views of Roman monuments, among them the obelisk, the Pantheon and the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. This easily recognisable architecture, additionally labelled 'Roma' in the Frankfurt drawing, defined the horizon towards which one should direct one's demanding and laborious study in order to attain—and, as we shall see, vanquish—the summit of Virtue.⁶⁴ The two 'tonni', as they are called in the trial transcript, are not simple *tondi* but shields, or arms made to protect *Fatica* and *Diligenza*, flanking the figure of Athena. She too is defended by a shield, standing guard over the realm she dominates, and in the backgrounds are painted 'palaces of Virtue' ('ci son depinti ... palazzi della Virtù').⁶⁵ Before the threshold to the realm of Virtue which she guards, painters are in the hands of 'crass ignorance' ('ignorantia crassa') and 'presumption' ('presontione').⁶⁶ In the prudent explanation of the cartoon which Zuccari wrote for the judge, the shields are mentioned, but described as empty.⁶⁷ Their presence in the drawings, however, reveals Zuccari's true polemic intent, alluding to something very precise, and poisonous: as has been noted before in the literature on the *Porta Virtutis*, they represented the impediments which blocked the path to Virtue for Bolognese artists, because they were not allowed to work in Rome.⁶⁸

From this moment on, Zuccari's oeuvre resonates with profound regard for the classical roots of culture, although this predilection had in reality taken shape during his Florentine years. If he had then insisted above all on the need for sculptors to make direct studies of sculpture and models,⁶⁹ the studio in his private residence, with its central plan and symmetrical arrangement of wall-niches, certainly intended to contain statues, recalled the models of the Medicean *antiquarium* in the Palazzo Pitti and, in particular, the Belvedere courtyard at the Vatican. Drawing from the statues in the Belvedere was expressly cited by Federico, in the drawings related to the life of his brother Taddeo, as a necessary step in a young artist's education.⁷⁰ In fact it is precisely in the pictorial *Bildungsroman* of the cycle of drawings dedicated to the young Taddeo that Rome, its milieu, and the laborious study of its antiquities acquire a fundamental formative value. This was an evolutionary journey in which

64. See Heikamp, 'Ancora su Federico Zuccari' (as in n. 61), pp. 47–48. M. Winner, *Die Quellen der Pictura-Allegorien in Gemalten Bildergalerien des 17. Jahrhunderts zu Antwerpen. Inaugural Dissertation*, Cologne 1959, pp. 83–84 argues that the idea of a 'Gate of Virtue' in this form derives from Filarete and his 'Porta Areti' with its 'Fatica con gaudio' of the city of Sforzinda (see Filarete, *Trattato di architettura*, ed. A. M. Finoli and L. Grassi, 2 vols, Milan 1972, II, p. 535).

65. Zuccari states this explicitly in his second deposition at the trial: see Aurigemma (as in n. 47), pp. 234–36. For the Vatican Belvedere interpreted as a palace of virtue see Widdigen (as in n. 46), pp. 222–23.

66. Cited in Heikamp, 'Ancora su Federico Zuccari' (as in n. 61), p. 50.

67. 'Lassai quelli doi tonni per haverci a far qualche cosa pertinente et proportionata all'opera, ma non mi risolvei altrimenti, de che cosa le lassai imperfette'. See Heikamp, 'Vicende' (as in n. 41), p. 193.

68. This point is made by Heikamp, 'Ancora su Federico Zuccari' (as in n. 61), p. 47; and by Weddigen (as in n. 46), pp. 215–25.

69. Heikamp, 'Vicende' (as in n. 41), pp. 216–18; Ważbiński, *L'Accademia* (as in n. 40), II, appx, pp. 320, 491.

70. Ważbiński, 'Lo studio' (as in n. 39), p. 320. That classical antiquity assumed a pedagogical-cultural value of primary importance is also attested to by the verso of a drawing in the British Museum showing half of the celebrated *Antiquarium* in the Palazzo Grimani in Venice, the sole known evidence for reconstructing this locus of emulation throughout the 1500s. See I. Favaretto and M. De Paoli, 'La Tribuna ritrovata: uno schizzo inedito di Federico Zuccari con l'"antiquario dell'III. patriarca Grimani"', *Eidola*, VII, 2010, pp. 97–135.



13. Federico Zuccari, allegories of *Study* and *Intelligence* flanking the Zuccaro emblem.
Los Angeles, The Getty Museum, inv. 99.GA.6.20

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the victory over difficulty and the tenacity of applying oneself continuously became the propulsive factors for the achievement of excellence. The concept is condensed perfectly in an allegorical drawing, now in the Getty Museum (Fig. 13), in which the figure of *Studio* is represented by the figure of an artist drawing, as he derives direct inspiration by touching the torso of an ancient, mutilated sculpture.⁷¹ Federico's arrival in Rome was thus felt as a crucial step, strictly connected with the pedagogical commitment at the heart of his life's true mission as painter and intellectual. It is through this lens that we should read the famous passage of the *Lettera a Prencipi* in which he encourages the creation of academies:

I do not have the wealth of a Prince or grand *signore*, and yet, given my affection for these most noble professions, I have in my house in Rome, ordered and made at my own expense (thank God), a place appropriate for making an Academy and accommodation for poor scholars of these professions.⁷²

The innovations outlined by Zuccari in 1593, in the *avvertimenti* of his new Roman academy, the Accademia di S. Luca, lie in a new approach to intellectual learning, which could be assimilated in its theoretical parts to that of a literary academy, and quite different from what was practised in an *accademia del disegno*. Sixteenth-century academies, including that of the *Insensati*, consisted of *gentil-uomini* whose path was defined by aspirations to a sociable, aristocratic conviviality, through the exercise of virtue as practiced in dialectical discussions, poetry and

71. On the cycle of drawings about the life of Taddeo Zuccari see J. Brooks, 'The Early Life of Taddeo Series', in idem et al., *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro. Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome*, exhib. cat. (Getty Museum), Los Angeles 2007, pp. 6–45, esp. 35, cat. 20 on the *Studio*; and N. E. Silver, 'The Zuccaro Brothers and Copying after the Antique in Sixteenth-Century Rome', *ibid.*, pp. 86–93.

72. 'Non ho ricchezze da Prencipe, o Signor grande, non dimeno per l'affetto, che tengo a queste nobilissime professioni, ho nella casa mia di Roma di già ordinato e fabricato del mio proprio (bontà di Dio) un luogo conveniente per farsi un'Accademia, et ospitio per poveri studiosi di queste professioni': Zuccari, *Lettera a Prencipi*, in his *Scritti d'arte* (as in n. 22), p. 116. On this passage see also Ważbiński, *L'Accademia* (as in n. 40), I, p. 306.

music.⁷³ Federico had made explicit statements in this regard, precisely underlining the noble social education of the new academy:

Virtuous conversation is the Mother of Studies and the living font of all knowledge and practical art. The wise ancient philosophers, like the learned and prudent moderns, became excellent in every field by means of Academic studies and particular exercises, which are useful and necessary for the attainment of every speculative and practical science.⁷⁴

The organisation of the Accademia di S. Luca, with its internal separation between the Academy, in the strict sense, and the Studio, implied a precise awareness of the different missions attributed to each of the two sections: the first concentrated on theoretical learning and intellectual dialectics, while the mission of the second was more practical, active and dedicated to the technical training of young artists. Within the Academy were given the so-called *Discorsi*, a series of lectures given by the academicians, held every two weeks and open to men of letters, students and *amatori*. In this way the Accademia di S. Luca mirrored the dialectical, scheduled structure of sessions in literary academies. The lessons of the Academy were, however, barely tolerated by artists, especially sculptors and architects: for them, the Studio was a more successful experience. Yet even the Studio prescribed that the daily practical session, devoted to the teaching of drawing and held by twelve academicians, was to be preceded by an hour of *theorica*.⁷⁵

Students were admitted to the Studio at different levels. *Principianti* or beginners had to present a drawing concerning some well-known work of art as an entrance exam and, on passing the test, could be admitted as *Accademici desiderosi* or aspiring Academicians.⁷⁶ These students were eager to learn the principles of the discipline but had not yet reached the level of registration in the Academy. The adjective which forms part of their title, *desiderosi*, and *desioso*, the title chosen by Federico for his device (Fig. 4), are the same word in alternative forms. The adjective occurs again in the subscript commentary to the *impresa*, where Federico explains its

73. See A. Quondam, *Forma del vivere. L'etica del gentiluomo e i moralisti italiani*, Bologna 2010, esp. pp. 521–59.

74. 'La conversatione virtuosa alli suoi tempi, è la Madre delli Studii, e fonte viva d'ogni scienza, et arte pratica. Li savi filosofi antichi, come li dotti et prudenti moderni in ogni facultà, vennero eccellenti con li mezzi delli Academici studij, e particularij essercitij, li quali sono utili, e necessarij all'acquisto d'ogni scienza speculativa, e pratica.' Zucceri, *Origine et progresso*, in his *Scritti d'arte* (as in n. 22), p. 4. This subject was directly influenced by fundamental treatises such as *La civil conversatione* by Stefano Guazzo, first published in Brescia in 1574; the importance of Guazzo for Zuccari has been noted by M. Moralejo Ortega, 'Federico Zuccari e la sua scuola in Umbria: il contributo pittorico manierista e il ruolo dell'Accademia degli Insensati di Perugia', *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, cxi, 2 vols, 2014, II, p. 791.

75. On the pedagogical method of the Accademia di S. Luca see P. Roccasecca, 'Teaching in the Studio of the Accademia del Disegno di Roma (1594–1636)', in *The Accademia Seminars* (as in n. 31), pp. 123–59, esp. 124–27; C. Robertson, 'Federico Zuccari's Accademia del Disegno and the Carracci Accademia degli Incamminati. Drawing in Theory and Practice', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, xxxix, 2009–10, pp. 187–223, esp. 191–92; P. M. Lukehart, 'Painting Virtuously. The Counter-Reform and the Reform of Artists' Education in Rome between Guild and Academy', in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, ed. M. B. Hall and T. E. Cooper, Cambridge 2013, pp. 161–86 (177–78).

76. Zuccari, *Origine et progresso*, in his *Scritti d'arte* (as in n. 22), pp. 4–5. See Roccasecca (as in n. 75), pp. 124–25; and R. George, 'Organisation et mise en place de l'atelier de l'Accademia de San Luca de Rome au primo Seicento', *Studiolo*, XIII, 2016, esp. 147–50.

conception: 'l'academicho *desioso* de honore' will, by making use of the prominent mattock or pickaxe, progress through study of 'fragments of doctrines' to more accomplished knowledge. The concluding words of the explanation of his *impresa* are telling in this respect: 'and all this can be applied to the common sense of academic precepts'.⁷⁷ This potently intellectual idea of an academy is the reason for Zuccari's proud and enduring loyalty to the *Insensati*. The Perugian Academy was a superior institution that guaranteed him the blessing of intellectual ennoblement and completed a path of upward social mobility that had begun with his membership of the renovated Accademia del Disegno in Florence, which had already ratified the remarkable cultural evolution of artists.⁷⁸

The Florentine Accademia del Disegno welcomed members of the city's nobility and guaranteed artists broader access to public office;⁷⁹ but for Zuccari, who fought all his life to build the social profile of a painter who was also a philosopher and *gentiluomo*, the status offered by the Florentine Academy was insufficient to foster his wider ambitions. The prospect of membership of an established academy for intellectuals was highly seductive. Moreover, the Accademia degli *Insensati* was an institution with a prestigious network of patronage in the Roman scene, where Federico intended to put down his roots. Evidence of this attraction lies in the change, sought by Zuccari himself, in the title to be given to the head of the new Accademia di S. Luca: no longer *Console* but *Principe*. From the very first meeting of the re-founded Accademia di S. Luca on 14 November 1593, the secretary Romano Alberti refers to Zuccari as 'Signor Principe'.⁸⁰ This appellation was unknown in the various *accademie del disegno*. The Roman Università dei Pittori called its leader *Console* (consul), while the head of the Academy in Florence was given the militaristic name of *Luogotenente* (lieutenant).⁸¹ The title *Principe*, which bears witness to the extraordinary social and cultural ambitions of Zuccari the *gentiluomo*, was, however, fairly common in literary academies from the end of the 1500s onwards. In particular, it was in current use in the Perugian Accademia degli *Insensati*.

Another reason could have prompted Federico Zuccari to proudly maintain his affiliation with the *Insensati*. He considered it his moral duty to foster the pedagogical training of young men, and it must not have escaped him how tenaciously the Perugian Academy had stuck to specifically educational goals between the end of the 1500s and the beginning of the new century. Indeed its leader Cesare Crispolti was the author of *L'Idea dello scolare* (Perugia 1604), one of the most closely-followed

77. See above, n. 28.

78. K. Barzman, 'Liberal Academicians and the New Social Elite in Grand Ducal Florence', in *World Art. Themes of Unity in Diversity*, ed. I. Lavin, 3 vols, University Park, PA and London 1989, II, pp. 459–63 (459).

79. *Ibid.*, p. 461.

80. See *Origine e progresso*, in *Scritti d'arte* (as in n. 22), pp. 13–14. S. Roettgen, 'Der Maler als Principe. Realität, Hintergrund und Wirkung von Zuccaris Akademischem Programm', in *Der Maler Federico*

Zuccari (as in n. 45), pp. 301–15, underlines Zuccari's role in choosing the title. It became immediately controversial at the end of Zuccari's mandate (Oct. 1594) and when Durante Alberti was head in 1598 it was changed to *Capo*. Then, in the Academy's statutes of 1609 the title of *Principe* was re-adopted; this form remained unquestioned until, in 1817, it was replaced by *Presidente*. See Roettgen, *ibid.*, pp. 301–02.

81. See I. Salvagni, *Da Universitas ad Accademia. La corporazione dei Pittori nella chiesa di san Luca a Roma. 1478–1588*, Rome 2012, p. 253, no. 117.

pedagogical treatises of the Counter-Reformation.⁸² Given the uncertain assessment of the figurative arts, which were usually still subordinated to the realm of literature, membership of such academies lent an authority to how the arts were taught, as seems to have been true of Agostino Carracci in the Bolognese Accademia dei Gelati (albeit the case is much debated).⁸³ This particular preoccupation could cast light on Federico's choice of *il Sonnacchioso* as his academic name—certainly not a fortuitous decision on the part of an artist who never lost an occasion for composing a manifesto or making a programmatic declaration.

The life of Convintino Castaldi, the earlier *Sonnacchioso* whose device (Fig. 3) is illustrated in the same manuscript as Zuccari's *Desioso impresa*,⁸⁴ seems to have been modelled on ideals of virtuous behaviour similar to those so often theorised by Zuccari, coinciding perfectly with the ideal path to intellectual development he imagined for younger people. The eulogy to Castaldi delivered by his colleague Salvucci outlines the stages of that challenging path and, as part of a revealing description of Convintino's youth, compares him to Hercules:

... he did not follow the common custom of our youngsters, who, complete enemies to studies of good letters and other useful and honourable activities, choose to attend to and spend their youth and the greater part of the rest of their lives pursuing games, amusements, jokes, bodily pleasures and every other delight: conversely, with great prudence, as if a new Hercules retired in solitude, he began to think by himself for long hours. And seeing two principal roads: one steep, narrow, and strewn with stones and thorns; the other flat, wide and easy, along which everyone born here had to walk, he could not decide which of the two it was better to take ... Finally considering diligently that he should consider not the natures of the two ways ... but the goodness and permanence of the ends to which they led, ... he understood well that whoever desires to lead a wise life should take the displeasing and difficult road, and leave aside the delectable and broad road.⁸⁵

Salvucci's account contains the same *topoi* of virtuous education which Zuccari reiterated, incessantly, in his writings and oeuvre: youth put to the test, strenuous renunciation of the typical distractions of immaturity, and a non-conformist choice of virtue. An example of one of the most complete expressions of this *leitmotif* is his cycle of drawings on the life of his brother, centred on Taddeo's early years and

82. For a modern edition see E. Patrizi, *La trattatistica educativa tra Rinascimento e Controriforma. L'idea dello scolare* di Cesare Crispolti, Pisa and Rome 2005.

83. See G. Perini, 'Ut pictura poesis: L'Accademia dei Gelati e le arti figurative', in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. D. S. Chambers and F. Quiviger, London 1995, pp. 113–26 (113–16); and Robertson (as in n. 75), pp. 191–223.

84. For Castaldi and his device see above, pp. 133–35.

85. 'Ma quantunque in questa guisa nella sua più verde, et tenera età rimanesse, tuttavia non seguì egli il comune costume de' nostri giovani, che negli studi delle buone lettere et di ogni altro utile et onorevole essercitio capitali nemici, i giuochi, gli spassi, le burle, il piacere del corpo, et ogni altro diletto si propongono i quali debbano seguire, a quali debbano

attendere, ne' quali debbano la giovinezza loro et tutto il rimanente della vita larghissima spendere: ma con grandissima prudenza, quasi un nuovo Hercole, in solitudine tiratosi, incominciò lunga hora seco medesimo a pensare. Et veggendo due strade principalissime: l'una erda stretta, piena di sassi et spine; l'altra piana, larga et agevolissima, per le quali ciascuno che ci nasce camminar dovea, non sapeva risolversi in quali delle due fosse meglio lo entrare ... Finalmente considerando diligentissimamente che non la qualità delle vie ... ma la bontà et permanenza de' fini, a quali conducevano, si dovevano attendere ... comprese benissimo che lasciatisi da parte la dilettevole et ampia strada, la via dispiacevole, et difficile prendere si dovea da ciascuno che saviamente disegnasse menar la vita.' PBCA MS 1717, *Oratione funebre del Sordo* (as in n. 33), fols 94^r–94^v.

usually considered as a reflection on the education of an artist, at once ethical and artistic, an *exemplum virtutis* that was *sui generis*.⁸⁶ In fact, Federico's 'exemplary life' of Taddeo was modelled on a more elevated prototype: the life of Michelangelo, as described by Benedetto Varchi in the funeral oration he gave in 1564 in the Florentine church of S. Lorenzo—an oration dedicated, not coincidentally, to the Accademia del Disegno.⁸⁷ Varchi found in Michelangelo the most complete realisation of a model of virtue, and, like Salvucci over a decade later, he compared his subject to Hercules:

...Michelangelo despised the comforts of evil genius; and leaning on the counsels of the good, he addressed himself—afraid neither of narrowness nor of steepness, nor of stones, nor of thorns, which might prick him, nor of ditches, or pits, which might cross his path and hold him back, he addressed himself I say, almost as a new Hercules despising the flatteries of pleasure, or a new Ulysses closing his eyes and blocking his ears with wax, and arming his chest even more, addressed himself I say the third time, to the path of virtue ...⁸⁸

The central role of Hercules, the hero who, in his continual aspiration to virtue, ideally personified the heroic impulse of the Florentine genius,⁸⁹ provides the key for an underlying interpretation of the uncommon academic name *il Sonnacchioso*. Castaldi, who died 'in the flower of his age',⁹⁰ had been progressing towards an ascending objective of virtue and wisdom, obtained through hard work and heroic renunciation of youthful seduction. For his moral rectitude and dismissal of life's superficialities, he was remembered in Salvucci's eulogy as a Hercoles 'retired in solitude', with words that echo the passage from Petrarch's *De vita solitaria* in which the demigod, while wandering through a wilderness, comes across a fork in the path that creates a dilemma.⁹¹ Castaldi was thus a young Hercules at the crossroads.

86. Ważbiński, 'Lo studio' (as in n. 39), p. 293; idem, *L'Accademia* (as in n. 40), I, p. 319. Both Ważbiński and D. Heikamp, 'Le case di Federico Zuccari a Firenze. Aggiornamento sulla loro storia e significato', *Dialoghi di storia dell'arte*, III, 1996, pp. 4–31 (9), thought that the drawings were for a cycle for the painter's studio or home in Florence. The general opinion is now in favour of their setting within the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome. For a complete study of their story see C. Strunck, 'The Original Setting of the Early Life of Taddeo Series: A New Reading of the Pictorial Program in the Palazzo Zuccari, Rome', in *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro* (as in n. 71), pp. 113–25; and J. Kliemann, 'Bilder für eine Akademie. Die malerische Ausstattung des Palastes unter Federico Zuccari', in *100 Jahre Bibliotheca Hertziana-Max Planck Institut für Kunstgeschichte. Der Palazzo Zuccari und die Institutgebäude 1590–2013*, ed. E. Kieven, Munich 2013, pp. 142–55.

87. Ważbiński, *L'Accademia* (as in n. 40), I, p. 320.

88. '... certe cose è che Michelangelo, sprezzati i conforti del genio cattivo; e appoggiatosi a consigli del buono s'indirizzò non ispaventato né da artezza né da ertezza, né da sassi, né da spine, che lo pungessero, né da fossati, o fosse, che se gl'attraversassero per

impedirlo, e ritenerlo, s'indirizzò dico, quasi un nuovo Ercole dispregiante le lusinghe della voluttà, o un nuovo Ulisse chiudendosi gl'occhi, e impeciandosi l'orecchie, e di più armandosi il petto, s'indirizzo dico la terza volta, per lo cammino della virtù; e vinte, non che scoperte l'insidie del nemico dell'humana generazione, seguitò sempre il custode da Dio nel suo nascimento mandatogli ...'. Benedetto Varchi, *Oratione funerale ... fatta e recitata da lui pubblicamente nell'esequie di Michelangelo Buonarroti in Firenze nella Chiesa di San Lorenzo*, Florence 1564, p. 33. See also M. Leuzzi Fubini, 'Le orazioni funebri di Benedetto Varchi nella loro cornice storica, politica e letteraria', in *Benedetto Varchi (1503–1565)*, ed. V. Bramanti, Rome 2007, pp. 185–230. On Zuccari's interpretation of this subject see K. Herrmann-Fiore, 'Die Fresken Federico Zuccaris in seinem Römischen Künstlerhaus', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XVIII, 1979, pp. 35–112 (51–56).

89. On the myth of Hercules in Florence see *La città di Ercole: mitologia e politica*, exhib. cat. (Florence, Uffizi, 2015–16), ed. W. A. Bulst, Bologna 2016.

90. For this phrase of Salvucci's see above, n. 36.

91. See T. E. Mommsen, 'Petrarch and the Story of the Choice of Hercules', this *Journal*, XVI, 1953,

Zuccari, too, was captivated by the theme. His fresco of *Mankind at the Crossroads*, executed between 1593 and 1603 in the family *palazzo* (Fig. 14), represents Hercules as the symbolic hero of human existence, and the mythical hero's difficult choice of virtue recurs in his drawings and frescoes throughout his life.⁹² The paths are twofold: the easy way is that of vice, while the steep, uncomfortable but ultimately heroic way is that of virtue.

Exactly the same existential choice was vividly summed up by the general device of the *Insensati* with its motto *Vel cum pondere* (Fig. 1), and declared in the official interpretation given by its founding academician Ottaviano Aureli. In his lecture on the meaning of the emblem, Aureli emphasised that the flight of cranes forms a 'Y'—the famous letter of Pythagoras:

These flying birds depict ... a letter by the Greeks called *upsilon*, and *fio* by our Tuscans ... Which, since it was found (as some say) by Pythagoras, ancient philosopher, the ancients called it the letter of Pythagoras. With its figure, it shows the shape of human life: and the two roads we can walk along in this life: the one of Virtue, the other of Vice.⁹³

Aureli's symbolic reading of the device, drawn from the memorable assimilation of the Y-shaped formation of cranes, in which the bifurcation alludes with the left branch to vice, and with the right to virtue, had previously been elaborated by Vincenzo Cartari in his *Imagini* (1566), who was in turn indebted to a tradition that went back to Virgil, and specifically the famous passage about the golden bough in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.⁹⁴ The *Insensati* saw themselves reflected in an emblem that depicted the difficult but ultimately triumphant combination of virtue and honour, which, as Cartari had underlined, led to a fame that was 'illustrious and clear' ('*illustre e chiara*') and which vanquished the obscurity of time.⁹⁵ Federico Zuccari, who chose to take the name *il Sonnacchioso* that had once been Convintino Castaldi's, was aligning himself with this triumphant combination, assuming the name of the young, virtuous Hercules, a member of a noble Academy which he believed stood for the very image of virtue, and the laborious but inspiring path to its conquest.

pp. 178–92; and E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst*, Leipzig and Berlin 1930. Salvucci's allusion to 'un nuovo Hercole, in solitudine tiratosi' is cited above at n. 85.

92. For the theme of Hercules in Zuccari's Roman palace see Herrmann-Fiore (as in n. 88), pp. 45–47; Ważbiński, 'Lo studio' (as in n. 39), pp. 309–17; and E. Leuschner, "'Il camin sovrano...': Zu Federico Zuccaros Tugendbegriff in den Fresken der Galleria und der Architektur seines römischen Künstlerhauses', in *Federico Zuccaro: Kunst zwischen Ideal und Reform* (as in n. 46), pp. 169–94, where he identifies Virgil, the golden bough of Aeneas in his hand, rising to the Temple of Virtue in the fresco. For Virgil see also the final paragraph in the present article.

93. 'Figurano questi uccelli volando... la lettera da i Greci chiamata Ipsilon, et da' nostri toscani Fio ... La quale per essere stata ritrovata (come alcuni

vogliono) da Pitagora antico filosofo, l'hanno chiamata gli antichi, lettera di Pitagora. Questa con la sua figura, ci mostra la forma dell'humana vita; et le due vie, per le quali noi sogliamo caminare in questa vita; l'una della Virtù, l'altra dei Vitij'. Aureli, *Discorso intorno al nome* (as in n. 10), fol. 6^{r-v}.

94. Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini con la spositione de i dei de gli antichi*, Venice 1556, p. 75; Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi.136. On the spread of this subject in the late antique and medieval eras see C. L. Joost-Gaugier, *Measuring Heaven. Pythagoras and His Influence on Thought and Art*, Ithaca and London 2006, pp. 215–19. In the Middle Ages, following Isidore of Seville, the phrase 'Ad Pythagoricae literae bivium pervenire' became proverbial for defining the boundary between infancy and youth; see Ważbiński, *L'Accademia* (as in n. 40), 1, p. 312.

95. Cartari (as in n. 94), p. 75.



14. Federico Zuccari, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, fresco, c. 1593–1603. Rome, Palazzo Zuccari, Bibliotheca Hertziana (corridor vault, ground floor)

Appendix
Perugia, Archivio Storico dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia MS P III
Codicological Description and Bibliography*

Description of the manuscript

16th century; paper, I, 86, I, 250 × 170 × 30 mm. Binding limp parchment, late 17th to early 18th century; two ties on the fore-edge. A partial title and shelfmark is written on the spine in 18th-century handwriting: 'I[MP]ese, III, 12.'

The manuscript is formed of 43 bifolia, with a bifolium for each emblem; the emblems now appear on the recto of the first leaf of each bifolium. Originally there were 44 bifolia: bifolium 12 was subsequently discarded, the related emblem having been cut out and pasted on the recto of bifolium 11.

There is no foliation. The emblems are numbered in sequence, although there are no numbers written on emblems 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 34.

The bifolia appear to have been folded originally, for the purpose of protecting the drawings, by keeping them on the insides. They were reversed when they were sewn together to form the codex but, before this was done, they appear to have been preserved by being stacked one on top of the other or one inside the other, and in some cases the outline of the emblem has transferred onto the following blank leaf. Because the bifolia were later reversed and rearranged, the offset of some emblems can now be found on the inner recto of the following bifolia: *l'Astratto* (37) bears the offset of *il Sonnacchioso* (18), which, in turn, has the offset of *lo Svogliato* (5); *il Confuso* (21) has the offset of *il Materiale* (33), which has that of *l'Estatico* (32); *lo Smarrito* (35) has the offset of *il Debole* (23); *l'Affamato* (22) has the offset of *il Forsemato* (28).

The emblems are listed below, with identifications of the Academicians they relate to, based on Vincioli, *Rime*, and on ongoing research (see the Bibliography):

- Dell'Intricato* = Gianfrancesco Crispolti (bifolium 2^a)
- L'Oppresso* = Pirro Arrigucci (bifolium 3^a)
- Del Furioso* = Leandro Boverini (bifolium 4^a)
- Dello Svogliato* = Ottaviano Aureli (bifolium 5^a)
- Dell'insensato* = Contolo Contoli (bifolium 6^a)
- Dello Spensierato* = Pier Antonio Ghiberti (bifolium 7^a)
- Dello Smemorato* = Ottaviano (Colombi) Platoni (bifolium 8^a)
- Del Rozo* = Alessandro Arcipreti della Penna (9^a)
- Il Mortificato* = Paololucio Mancini (bifolium 10^a; textual description missing)
- Dell'Ofuscato* = Angelo degli Oddi (bifolium 11^a)
- Del Traviato* = Alessandro Cibi (previously bifolium 12, now pasted onto bifolium 11^c)
- Dell'Immobile* = Luciano Pasini (bifolium 13^a)
- Dello Stupido* = Troilo Baglioni (bifolium 14^a)
- Lo Svanito* = Giovan Battista Cesarei (bifolium 15^a)
- Per Il Desioso si propone...* = Federico Zuccari (bifolium 16^a)
- Del Tramortito* = Fulvio Eugeni (bifolium 17^a)

* I thank Attilio Bartoli Langeli, Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni and Stephen Parkin for their scholarly and linguistic supervision.

- Del Sonnacchioso* = Convintino Castaldi (bifolium 18^a)
Del Balordo = Girolamo Ridolfi (bifolium 19^a; textual description missing)
Del Sordo = Rubino Salvucci (bifolium 20^a)
Del Confuso = Lattanzio Lattanzi (bifolium 21^a)
Dell’Affamato = Vincenzo Patrizi (bifolium 22^a)
Del Debole = Giuseppe Franceschini (bifolium 23^a, unnumbered)
Del Languido = Cesare Vitali (bifolium 24^a; textual description missing)
Lo Stracco = Filippo Alberti (bifolium 25^a, unnumbered; textual description missing)
Del Rapito = Marcantonio Masci (bifolium 26^a; textual description missing)
Dello Asetato = Francesco Torelli (bifolium 27^a)
Del Forsennato = Sforza Oddi (bifolium 28^a, unnumbered; textual description missing)
Del Ruvido = Sebastiano Rancanelli (bifolium 29^a; textual description missing)
Dell’Incantato = Angelo Maria Sermarini (bifolium 30^a, unnumbered; textual description missing)
Del Rugginoso = Ascanio Paolucci (bifolium 31^a, unnumbered; textual description missing)
Dell’Estatico = Filippo Massini (bifolium 32^a, unnumbered; textual description missing)
Del Materiale = Modesto Canari (bifolium 33^a)
L’Affascinato = Cesare Crispolti (bifolium 34^a, unnumbered)
Dello Smarrito = Paoluccio Paolucci (bifolium 35^a)
Del Cieco = Giovanni Tinnoli (bifolium 36^a)
Dello Astratto = Carlo Conti (bifolium 37^a)
Dello Stolido = Aurelio Caposanti (bifolium 38^a; textual description missing)
Del Vano = Giovan Battista Ghiberti (bifolium 39^a; textual description missing)
Dell’Assiderato = Paolo Emilio Santoro (bifolium 40^a)
Dello Ingordo = Jacopo Masci (bifolium 41^a)
Del Sospeso = Orazio Montesperelli (bifolium 42^a)
[Dell’Aggirato?]: Anselmo Setti? (bifolium 43^a; textual description missing)
Del Frenetico = Ascanio Formosa (bifolium 44^a).

Bibliography and further notes

See the thorough entry and commentary by M. A. Panzanelli Fratoni, who rediscovered the manuscript, in *Doctores excellentissimi. Giuristi, medici, filosofi e teologi dell’Università di Perugia (secc. XIV–XIX)*, ed. eadem, C. Frova and G. Giubbini, exhib. cat. (Perugia, Palazzo Lippi Alessandri), Città di Castello 2003, pp. 192–94; see also L. Sacchini, *Identità, lettere e virtù. Le lezioni accademiche degli Insensati di Perugia (1561–1608)*, Bologna 2016, pp. 192–94; L. Teza, ‘L’Accademia degli Insensati tra Roma e Perugia’, in *Intrecci virtuosi. Letterati artisti e Accademie nell’Italia centrale tra Cinque e Seicento: Roma e Firenze*, ed. C. Chiummo, A. Geremicca and P. Tosini, Rome 2017, pp. 153–67 (summary presentation; I plan to publish a complete edition of the manuscript in due course); and G. Vincioli, *Rime di Francesco Coppetta ed altri poeti perugini*, Perugia 1720. The manuscript belonged in the 19th century to the archaeologist Giovan Battista Vermiglioli, who mentioned it in his *Bibliografia storico-perugina*, Perugia 1823, pp. 80–81.