

# VASARI'S FLORENCE

ARTISTS AND LITERATI AT THE MEDICEAN COURT



YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

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## FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

About a year ago Professor Philip Jacks proposed that the Art Gallery mount a small exhibition to accompany the international symposium he was planning around the life, art, and writings of Giorgio Vasari. Given the discovery of a portion of the Vasari family papers among those of the Spinelli Archives, just recently acquired by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, it was natural that Yale host a gathering of the world's most eminent Vasari scholars. It will be the first such event since the "Age of Vasari" exhibition at the University of Notre Dame in 1970. While the symposium, *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, will explore the enormously diverse impact of this "immensely knowable" Renaissance painter, architect, writer, and historian, our exhibition will provide a first viewing of fourteen of these new documents in the context of Vasari's artistic and literary practice.

For most of those who love the art of Italy, Vasari is known for his *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, the most informative and encyclopedic of Renaissance biographies. But even many within the discipline of art history are less aware how much the way we have thought about the history of art—until quite recently—owes to the chronological, geographical, and developmental models as well as personal judgments of Vasari. Our exhibition focuses more modestly on Vasari's own life and art as glimpsed through a handful of documents and drawings. The double-edged sword that was Vasari's pen allowed him, a native of Arezzo, access to Florentine and Roman patrons, introduction to almost all the artists of his time, as well as the means to plan the vast decorative schemes entrusted to him. Indeed, Vasari's metier was drawing and invention rather than painting. His drawings, seen here in the full range of their achievement, are typical of the

relatively sculptural, profoundly intellectual wave of Mannerism dominated by Michelangelo, whose legacy Vasari was at such pains to champion. We hope that the words and images we have assembled will evoke some notion of his immensely productive life.

To assemble this exhibition has required the help of a very large number of persons, many of whom (assistants, registrars, packers, and secretaries) will have to share silently in the appreciation bestowed on the curatorial few we have the space to name: at the Art Institute of Chicago, Suzanne Folds McCullagh, Curator of Earlier Prints and Drawings; at Yale's Beinecke Library, Ralph W. Franklin, Director, and George A. Miles, Acting Director and Curator of Western Americana; at The Detroit Institute of Arts, Ellen Sharp, Curator of Graphic Arts; at the Harvard University Art Museums, James M. Cuno, Director, and William Robinson, Ian Woodner Curator of Drawings; at the High Museum in Atlanta, Ronni Baer, Curator of European Painting; at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Helen B. Mules, Associate Curator of Drawings, and William Griswold, Assistant Curator of Drawings; at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Andrew Robison, Curator of Prints and Drawings, and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Curator of Old Master Drawings; at the National Gallery of Canada, Mimi Cazort, Curator of Prints and Drawings; at The Pierpont Morgan Library, Cara D. Denison, Curator of Drawings and Prints, Peter Dreyer, Curator of Prints and Drawings, and Stephanie Wiles, Associate Curator of Drawings and Prints; at The Art Museum, Princeton University, Barbara T. Ross, Curator of Prints and Drawings; at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, John Teahan, Librarian and Curator of Prints and Drawings; and at the Yale

Center for British Art, Duncan Robinson, Director, and Elisabeth Fairman, Associate Curator of Rare Books. Several private collectors have been particularly generous, and I would like to thank especially Alice F. Steiner, Edmund P. Pillsbury, and Rick Scorza. To all of our lenders the Gallery is immensely grateful.

There are those to whom the authors and I would like to extend a most special acknowledgment of the help they have given, including Dr. Alessandro Cecchi, Director of the Department of Medieval and Early Renaissance Painting, and Lucia Monaci-Moran, Assistant in the Gabinetto dei Disegni, in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence; Robert G. Babcock, Curator of Early Books and Manuscripts, Beinecke Library; Larry J. Feinberg, Associate Curator of European Painting, the Art Institute of Chicago; Professor Fredrika Jacobs; and Alvin L. Clark, Jr., a Yale graduate student presently working at the Fogg Art Museum. At the Yale Art Gallery we would like to thank Allison Leader, National Endowment for the Arts Intern for 1993–94; Lisa Hodermarsky, Assistant Curator; Rita Jackevicius, Conservation Assistant; Carolyn Padwa, Associate Registrar; and Mary C. Tobler, Class of 1995. To Mary Gardner Neill, The Henry J. Heinz II Director, goes our very deep appreciation for the backing she has afforded this undertaking from the very beginning. Such joint ventures—blending the skills of

professor, graduate student, and curator—are one of the hallmarks of her eight-year tenure as director. In turn, I know that she would wish to pass on our gratitude to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for its enlightened support of such collaborative endeavors.

Last, but hardly least, are those whose personal contributions have been most keenly felt and warmly received. Lesley K. Baier, our editor, gave this catalogue the benefit of her minutely attentive eye and knowledge. Sloan Wilson has spent many hours accommodating his carefully thought-out and beautifully restrained design to our evolving texts. Florence B. Selden has been an incredibly loyal and sympathetic adherent to the printroom's ongoing series of pedagogic exhibitions that are important elements in our training of graduate and undergraduates at Yale. Her understanding and financial support have pervaded so much of what the department has accomplished over the years. Finally, it is the greatest pleasure to record how much I have learned from and enjoyed working with Philip Jacks and Maia Wellington Gahtan. A graduate student in Renaissance Studies, Ms. Gahtan has been the exemplary collaborator: creative, diligent, and clear-minded, with a keen desire to learn. The authors would also like to thank their spouses, Jill Heisler and Leif Wellington Haase, for their expertise and warm support.

Richard S. Field  
Curator of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs

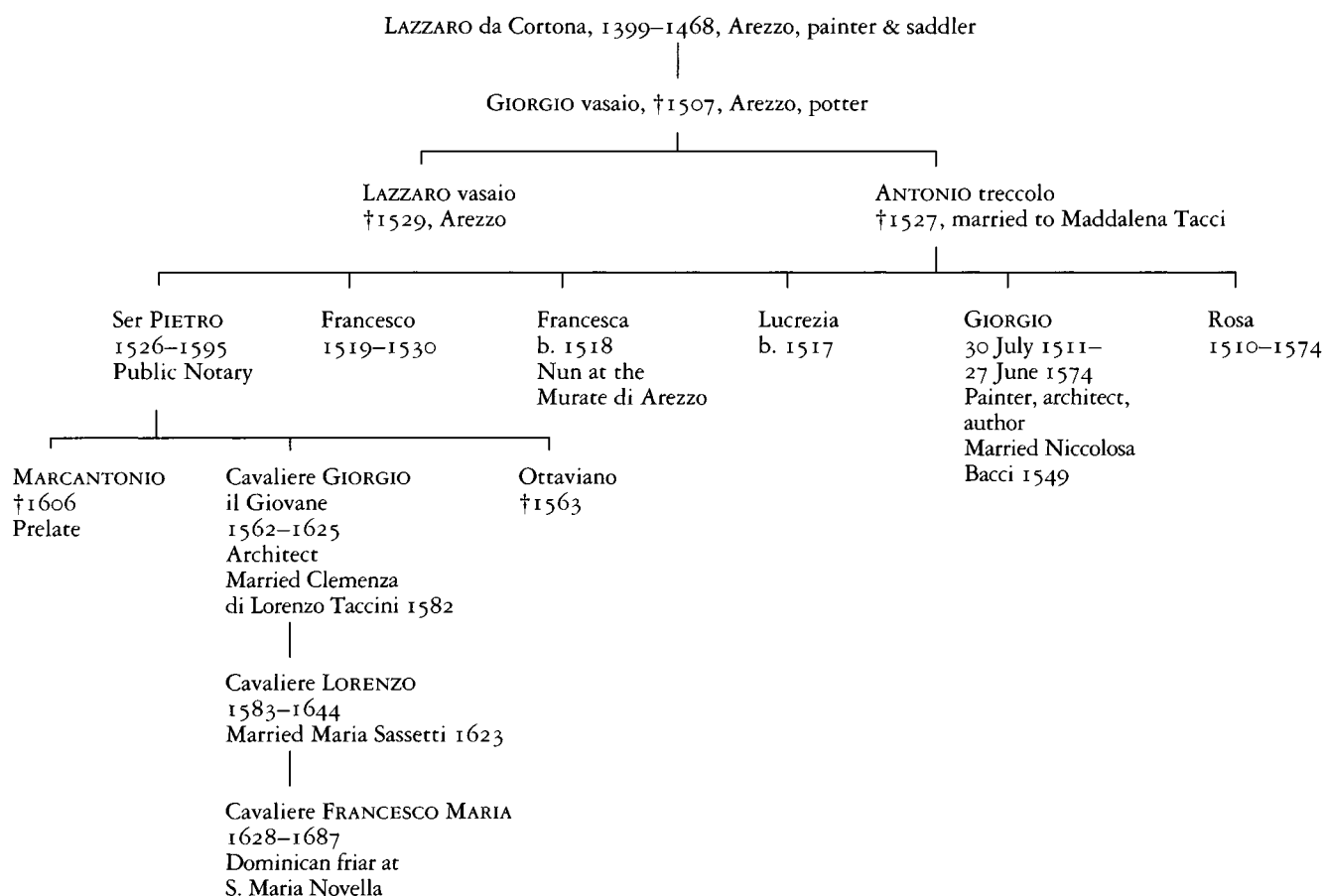
INTRODUCTION  
THE VASARI AND SPINELLI FAMILIES:  
PROVENANCE OF AN ARCHIVE

Francesco Maria Vasari, the great nephew of Giorgio and the last to carry on the Vasari name, prepared his testament on 4 December 1686, three months before his death. Having taken vows as a Dominican friar at S. Maria Novella, he left no natural heir. In this respect, at least, Francesco Maria found some affinity with his illustrious ancestor. Giorgio had died childless, dividing his substantial estate between his widow Niccolosa Bacci, his brother Pietro, and the Confraternità of S. Maria della Misericordia in Arezzo.<sup>1</sup> Francesco Maria instead appointed as his universal heir the “fanciulle artieri abitanti in Firenze,” an orphanage run by artisans, dispensing gifts of fifty *scudi* apiece to as many children as his small inheritance would allow.<sup>2</sup> The two executors of his will, Senator Bonsignore Spinelli and Reverendo Padre Giuseppe Gigliozzi, saw to the distribution of his possessions, which included a sizable collection of paintings, *cassoni*, armoires, and the Vasari family’s extensive archive.<sup>3</sup>

It may seem a curious fate that the Spinelli thus became the custodians of this extraordinary treasure. When Giorgio Vasari moved to Florence in 1554, he settled in a house next to the Palazzo Spinelli on the south side of Borgo Santa Croce. This building had once been owned by Niccolò Spinelli, who was indicted on charges of treason. As a result, Cosimo I de’ Medici confiscated the building and later rented the artist his lodgings on the *piano nobile*. In 1561 the Grand Duke deeded the entire property to Vasari, but relations with his neighbors remained somewhat strained.<sup>4</sup> To make matters worse, in 1566 Cosimo delegated to Vasari the task of refurbishing the Spinelli chapel in S. Croce.<sup>5</sup> Their chapel, immediately to the left of the choir, had been in the family over a century and boasted Giotto’s magnificent fresco cycle of the *Life of the Virgin*, most of which

evidently perished through the invasive restoration of Vasari.

The Spinelli, who typical of many Florentine families established their households in clusters, had occupied six separate residences along the Borgo S. Croce in the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Despite falling out of favor with Cosimo in the 1530s, they maintained ownership of the ancestral palace and even took advantage of Vasari’s frequent absences from Florence to rent out quarters in the house formerly in their possession. On one occasion, Costanza Spinelli negotiated with the artist’s agent for a year’s lease (“contentissima atteso che non ha a dar noia a detto Giorgio lo stare in detta casa un anno...”).<sup>7</sup> Vasari decorated the *piano nobile* with allegorical frescoes and even trained pupils from the Academy upstairs. In 1566, he willed the house to his brother Pietro (1526–1595), a public notary and the executor of his estate. After Giorgio’s death, Pietro came to live there for a brief time. His sons, Giorgio il Giovane (1562–1625) and Marcantonio (d. 1606), took a particular interest in foraging through their uncle’s papers and perpetuating his artistic legacy. It was the Cavaliere Giorgio who, in 1588, saw to the publication of Vasari’s *Ragionamenti*, a room by room guide to the pictorial *invenzioni* in the ducal apartments of the Palazzo Vecchio (cat. 27). That same year he dedicated his blueprint for an ideal city, the *Libro di diverse Piante, che possono occorrere nel fabbricare una Città*, to Grand Duke Ferdinando de’ Medici. In the preface to this work, he acknowledged the debt owed to his uncle (“e tanto più havendo io hereditato no le sue facultà solamente, ma etiandio il nome”).<sup>8</sup> As the eldest son (Ottaviano had died in infancy), he further assumed the responsibility of compiling the family *ricordanze*.<sup>9</sup> Both he and Marcantonio continued to gather biographical material with the intention of



fleshing out the short autobiography that Vasari had appended to the 1568 edition of the *Vite*.<sup>10</sup>

By the early seventeenth century, any ill feelings between the Vasari and Spinelli families had been laid to rest. In 1617, when the roof over the Spinelli chapel needed urgent repairs, it was the Cavaliere Giorgio, as *proveditore* of S. Croce, whom the Operai called on. Apparently this came at the bidding of Giovanni Battista Spinelli himself.<sup>11</sup> Giorgio's son, Lorenzo (1583–1644), later served as *proveditore* of S. Croce. In 1634, a few years before his death, the Cavaliere Lorenzo left a number of manuscripts to the Franciscan convent, including the well-known *Sepolturnario* recording the location of tombs in the basilica and cloister complex.<sup>12</sup>

By Lorenzo's generation, however, financial exigencies had gradually forced the family to begin selling their art collection. At Vasari's death, the house in Borgo S. Croce contained some dozen canvases by Flemish masters and two Madonnas painted by Vasari after Raphael and Andrea del Sarto, the former as a gift to Niccolosa, and two others after Parmigianino. There were countless drawings and cartoons by Vasari tacked to the walls, in addition to a *Cenacolo* on canvas.<sup>13</sup> His descendants do not appear to have been avid collectors. Yet an inventory entitled "Nota di Quadri," datable to the mid-seventeenth century, records a much larger household of paintings, many of whose attributions were no longer certain (cat. 72, illus.). Of Vasari's oeuvre,

there were wood panels of the *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, the *Cenacolo*, the copies after Raphael and del Sarto, a scene from the life of Jacob, three cartoons for the Salon dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio, and a painting on copper of the *Forge of Vulcan*. The list also includes canvases by Cosimo Rosselli, Veronese, and Il Viterbese, wood panel paintings by Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Francesco Salviati, and Santi Fiori, as well as works by several Flemish painters: Astredamo, Monsù Arrigo (Arrigo Fiammingo), Cavaliere de' Fiori (perhaps Jan Brueghel), Mau, and Grigiotti.<sup>14</sup> Two panels were putatively given to Albrecht Dürer (“un tondo d’una Madonna in legno” and “un Soldato armato”), and a moonlit landscape was ascribed to Leonardo (“una notte in lavagna...si dice mano di Leonardo”).

Many of these paintings were still hanging in the Vasari house in 1677, when Giovanni Cinelli published his amplified edition of Francesco Bocchi’s guidebook, *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze*. He admired Parmigianino’s *Madonna and Child* (“diligentissimamente fatta”) and the *Nativity* by Veronese. Cinelli found Leonardo’s picture “maravigliosa,” but Dürer’s figure of a soldier struck him as “bizzarrissimo.”<sup>15</sup> By the time of Francesco Maria’s death ten years later, most of these works were no longer in the family’s possession. Since he died intestate, Senator Spinelli and Rev. Padre Gigliozzi were obliged to declare his belongings to the Ufficiali de’ Pupilli. However, the executors, in their haste, did not bother to specify the artist’s names for each painting.<sup>16</sup> Only in a few cases do the earlier and later inventories correspond: a group of “modelli a guazzo del Salone di Palazzo Vecchio, adornamento d’albero tinto di nero,” are clearly Vasari’s work, as are two other predelle described as “il Sacrificio d’Abramo, e nell’altro quello di Caino e Abelle,” and a large canvas “entровi la Storia di Giacobbe.” Another picture, “...entровi la creazione degl’ animali,” can be identified with the painting of this same subject by Arrigo Fiammingo. Botticelli’s *Adoration of the Magi* reappears, as does the *Assunta* by Il Viterbese.

Evidently the Spinelli did not gain possession of any of these remaining pictures, though they did

provide safekeeping for the Vasari family papers. A century after Senator Bonsignore’s death, the Spinelli line also came to an end. In 1786, Leonardo Spinelli, the youngest son of Senator Spinello Gaetano, died, leaving his wife, Ottavia Ginori, and three children as beneficiaries. The last to survive was their daughter Spinella (d. 1833), who married Conte Gabriello Rasponi of Ravenna. The Spinelli palace in Borgo S. Croce and its contents passed on to his descendants, while the adjacent ex-Vasari house was acquired in 1842 by the Morrocchi family, who made a number of structural renovations to the staircase and ground floor *cortile*.<sup>17</sup> Though intact, Vasari’s manuscripts and correspondence were largely neglected until 1908, when the great German art historian Karl Frey received permission from Conte Luciano Rasponi to inspect the archive.<sup>18</sup> So began Frey’s lifelong collaboration with Alessandro del Vita, and the monumental publication of Vasari’s *carteggio*, the most voluminous of any Italian Renaissance artist. Del Vita eventually saw to the transfer of these papers to the Casa del Vasari in Arezzo. Giorgio had built this palace for Niccolosa, to whom he left it in his will. Inexplicably, however, several registers (*filze*) from the Vasari archive remained in the possession of the Spinelli-Rasponi, whose own archive eventually migrated to Spain and then Switzerland, before its acquisition by the Beinecke Library in 1988. A number of autograph letters, art inventories, and financial records (*ricordi*) selected for this exhibition have not been seen in three centuries.<sup>19</sup> PJJ

#### NOTES

1. According to Vasari’s original testament drafted by Ser Raffaello Eschini on 25 May 1568, and the codicil of 6 November 1572 notarized by Ser Vincenzo Forri, Niccolosa was to receive an annual stipend of 3,000 *scudi* for the remainder of her life, their house in the Borgo di S. Vito in Arezzo, provisions of grain, and a farm called Cappucciolo. To the Confraternità Vasari bequeathed *in perpetuo* 25 bushels of grain annually, 100 lire as dowries for four girls, 25 lire for 50 masses, 14 lire for the feastday of St. George, and various gifts to the canons, clerics, and sacristan. Four soldi were to be spent annually on the maintenance of the house in Borgo S. Vito, and ten for the deacon to officiate mass in the family’s funerary chapel at the Pieve. According to a legal deposition of 1592 (Spinelli Archive, Box 52, folder 1160), Vasari’s heirs had difficulty maintaining these obligations.



2. Spinelli Archive, Box 48, folder 1065. 4 December 1686. Not. Fl. Ser Celio Neri Ceracchini.

3. Gigliozzi's name is erroneously given as Don Lorenzo Figliocci by Alessandro del Vita, *Inventario e Regesto dei Manoscritti dell'Archivio Vasariano* (Rome, 1938), 1; repeated in Margaret Daly Davis, "Giorgio Vasari e la sua eredità," in *Giorgio Vasari. Principi, letterati e artisti*, 1981, 308.

4. This Niccolò is probably the eldest son of Guaspare di Niccodemo, the nephew and heir of Tommaso di Lionardo Spinelli, who inhabited the Palazzo Spinelli after his uncle's death in 1472. Mazzino Fossi, "Documenti inediti vasariani," *Antichità viva* 13 (1974): 63, publishes the ducal *privilegio*, which refers to "olim ex crimine perfidiae et perduellionis per Nicolaum de Spinellis..." The text is also recorded in the *Libro di tutt' i privilegi della famiglia Vasari*, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>, but with the date 1 October 1568 (Spinelli Archive, Box 53, folder 1163). Moreover, a marginal notation in the *Ricordanze* suggests Vasari already took possession of the house two years earlier: "A di primo di Maggio 1558 s'ebbe da S. E. la casa di borgo Santa Crocie" (Frey 1930, 873).

5. A *ricordo* in the Spinelli Archive, Box 27, folder 616, reads: "...per 13 luglio 1566 si rovinono quattro Cappelle che erano nel mezzo della Chiesa di S. Croce cosa antica e di gran devozione e i fondatori di dette erano i Zati, Covoni, Malegonnelli, e Spinelli, e questo fu fatto per ordine del Duca Cosimo...cavato da Libro di Spogli diversi a c. 305 del Archivio di S. A. R. in Palazzo Vecchio." Further, see Hall 1979, 22-23.

6. Charles Mack, "Building a Florentine Palace: the Palazzo Spinelli," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 27 (1983): 276-77, reconstructs the disposition of houses based on tax declarations (*catasti*) between 1427 and 1480.

7. Spinelli Archive, Box 47, folder 1027. Signed below by Vasari's procurator: "M. Giorgio a[s]s[ent]e vorrebbe et voi dovesti risolver[e] questa dona del si o del no[n] e liberalo di lei, a me parrebbe voi li domandasti tanti v[er]q[uan]ti vorresti ovvero dirla et siate resolut[o] di non la vender piu..."

8. See Giorgio Vasari il Giovane, *La Città*, ed. Stefanelli 1970, 57.

9. Spinelli Archive, Box 53, folder 1155 (Filza 66, filzetta 5): "Ricordo et memoria questo di primo di Marzo 1588 nel nome dell'omnipotente Dio, della Gloriosissima Madre Maria sempre Vergine di S. Pietro, Paolo et del Martire Glorioso S. Giorgio avvocato della Casa de' Vasari et di tutta la celestial corte del Paradiso, Io Cavaliere Giorgio ho creato questo presente libro, giornale, et ricordi, dove come si vedrà in principio, sarà notato debiti, et crediti, spettanti alla Heredità del Cavaliere Giorgio mio zio, per darne conto sempre a miei fratelli di quanto mi perverrà nelle mani per conto di detta heredità, per essersi creati due libri, uno intitolato debitori o creditori et l'altro entrata et uscita, quali saranno tenuti dal Reverendo M. Marcantonio mio fratello per dare conto di quanto sarà da lui amministrato per le cose di Arezzo, Frassineto, et S. Polo, et Cappucciolo..."

10. Cod. 2 of the Archivio Vasariano in Arezzo contains fragments of Marcantonio's notes on Vasari's oeuvre. See Del Vita 1938, 34. Frey 1930, 884-86, edits a "descrittione di certe opere" in Marcantonio's hand. Loredana Olivato, "Giorgio Vasari e Giorgio Vasari il Giovane: appunti e testimonianze," in *Il Vasari Storiografo et Artista* 1976, 330-

31, attributes another folio of biographical notes to Giorgio il Giovane. On Marcantonio's postille to an early draft of Vasari's *Ricordanze*, see Jacks 1992, 741.

11. Box 27, folder 624, contains two letters from the Florentine chancellor, Agostino Iorsone: the first, dated 3 August 1617, requesting that the Operai take expedient action; the second, addressed to Giovanni Battista Spinelli, 15 September 1617, reporting on the cost of work completed ("...come per far rassettare il tetto della loro capella...s'è speso lire 33, so. 19, d. 8, quali si devono pagare all'Ill. Sig. Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari Proveditore di detta Opera").

12. Box 53, folder 1158. This inventory of books from the Opera di S. Croce owned by Lorenzo's heirs and signed by Vincentio Bruni, *provveditore* in 1633, includes "uno libro bianco con carta pecora intitolato stratto delle sepolture di detta Chiesa."

13. Alessandro Cecchi, "La Casa del Vasari a Firenze," in *Giorgio Vasari. Principi, letterati e artisti* 1981, 42-43, transcribes an inventory taken the day after Vasari's death. A ground floor room contained "uno quadro di Nostra Dona che viene finito a m.a Cosina dar detta in questo da Raff.<sup>o</sup> da Urbino con ornamento di nocie." Also Frey 1930, 894-96.

14. Spinelli Archive, Box 47, folder 1022. Arrigo Fiammingo (Hendrick van den Broeck), according to C. van Mander, assisted Vasari on the frescoes of the Sala Regia. See Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanese 1892, 8:488.

15. Bocchi and Cinelli 1677, 305-6, notes of Vasari's oeuvre: "Nostra Donna in grande, un Giacob che beve al pozzo al vaso di Rachele al naturale, il Sacrificio d'Abel e Caino, e quel d'Abramo, ed un Cenacolo in piccolo." The other works match more or less the "Nota di Quadri," with the exception of a *Crucifixion* by Jan van der Straet (Stradanus).

16. Spinelli Archive, Box 49, folder 1071. 13 March 1687. A slightly variant copy of the inventory is found in Box 49, folder 1073.

17. On the later ownership of the Palazzo Spinelli, see Ginori Lisci 1972, 2:631. For Vasari's house, see F. Fantozzi, *Nuova guida ovvero descrizione storico-artistico-critica della città e contorni di Firenze* (Florence, 1842), 227. A descendant of the Morrocchi owned the house until the early 1980s; presently the *piano nobile* is the studio of the architect Enzo Sommigli.

18. Del Vita, *Inventario*, 1ff. Moise 1845, 501, publishes a document "cavata dall'originale che si conserva in Casa Spinelli, nel 1692 con permissione del Sen. Bonsignore Spinelli." Apparently Luigi Passerini in the nineteenth century also availed himself of the archive (BNF, Ms. Passerini, Collezione Genealogica, vol. 204.8).

19. See Babcock and Ducharme 1989, 300.

I  
VASARI'S ALLEGORICAL IMAGINATION

In 1554, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) moved to Florence in order to paint the interior walls and ceilings of the Palazzo Vecchio—the most significant cycle of his artistic career. Though retaining his Aretine citizenship and his house in that city, Vasari spent the greater part of his last twenty years in Florence. Duke Cosimo I rented a house near the church of Santa Croce to the artist, eventually giving it to him as an acknowledgment of his diligent service. This Florentine residence became the locus of Vasari's encounters with clients and students; it is also the site of a cycle of frescoes painted in the last years of his life (1569–74).

In many respects, the narrative and symbolic images of this cycle bear an emblematic relationship to his life's achievements, passions, and aspirations. As such, they provide an appropriate introduction to this exhibition of a small collection of Vasari's artistic and personal effects. This essay isolates three aspects of their composition, each illustrating a facet of Vasari's thought relevant to the drawings, documents, and printed materials on display. The theme of section I, *Di mano in mano* (From Hand to Hand) concerns his interest in the circulation of artistic knowledge among the educated and his desire for the transfer of technical expertise among artists of his and future generations. The second, *Names and Numina* (Gods), shows how Vasari's fascination with the names of the Gods informs the iconographic programs of his images. The third, *The Pictorial Gloss*, reviews Vasari's habits of constructing allegories.<sup>1</sup>

*I. Di mano in mano*

On the most basic thematic level, the narrative scenes of Vasari's Florentine cycle represent three necessary stages in the production of a picture: drawing, painting, and evaluation/correction. In the first

scene, *The Origin of Painting* (cat. 3, illus.), a bearded man draws his own shadow which has been cast against a wall by an oil lamp placed behind him. Vasari's literary source for the image was Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, which contained several chapters about ancient painting and sculpture. For Pliny, the action of tracing the outline of one's shadow constituted the origin of painting. Vasari may have found Pliny's interpretation naturally appealing for it placed that origin in the act of drawing, *disegnare*.

Vasari's understanding of *disegno* involved two interdependent meanings, one theoretical and one practical. *Disegno* referred to design in the abstract—the idea of an image in the artist's mind before he committed it to paper; as such, an artist's sense of *disegno* indicated his artistic ability.<sup>2</sup> *Disegno* also meant a drawing, a material entity, the necessary prelude to the execution of the final product, be it painting, sculpture, or architecture. Moreover, *disegnare* was the fundamental building block of the learning process. In the introduction to the second edition of *Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, e Architettori*, following a discussion of design as a theoretical principle, Vasari described various types of drawings and their use-value for the different visual arts, ending with a pedagogical exposition:

Therefore, he who would learn thoroughly to express in drawing the conceptions of the mind...must...exercise it in copying figures in relief either in marble or stone, or else plaster casts taken from the life, or from some beautiful antique statue...When he has trained his hand by steady practice in drawing such objects, let him begin to copy from nature...for the things studied from nature are really those which do honour to him who strives to master them, since they have in themselves, besides a certain grace and liveliness, that simple and easy sweetness which is nature's own, and which can only be learned perfectly from her, and

never to a sufficient degree from the things of art. Hold it moreover for certain, that the practice that is acquired by many years of study in drawing (*disegnando*), as has been said above, is the true light of design (*lume del disegno*) and that which makes men really proficient.<sup>3</sup>

Likewise, when Vasari detailed his formative years in his autobiographical essay at the close of *Le Vite*, he was at his most eloquent when describing the importance of drawing.<sup>4</sup>

The second wall (cat. 5, illus.) presents an elegantly dressed middle-aged man painting a female figure over his preparatory drawing, having benefited from the scrutiny of the many beautiful models surrounding him. As in *The Origin of Painting*, Vasari based his image on an anecdote in Pliny. The story concerns the painter Zeuxis and was often cited by artists and art theorists in the Renaissance (e.g., Alberti). Zeuxis chose five women to model for his painting of a goddess for the Temple of Juno so that he could draw from the most beautiful traits of each.<sup>5</sup> In his fresco, Vasari illustrated a moment in the narrative in which the ancient artist was engaged in the act of painting. Zeuxis holds one palette in his hand as his other hand holds a brush to the canvas; a second palette rests by his feet along with more brushes and other painting implements.

The third wall (cat. 4, illus.), based on Pliny's story of Apelles and the shoemaker, illustrates the importance of responding to just criticism while maintaining one's own critical judgment. In this narrative, the artist hides behind his painting, which has been placed in public view, so that he may listen to the comments of his fellow citizens. A shoemaker first criticizes Apelles' rendering of sandal straps, which the artist later corrects. But when he goes on to criticize aspects of the work outside his field of expertise, Apelles dismisses his opinion, stating, "Cobbler, stick to your last." Again Vasari chose a narrative moment that allows maximum differentiation from the other two scenes. The artist is not in physical contact with his image, but rather assesses the accuracy of its details while listening to the recommendations of others.

By depicting these three episodes from Pliny's history, Vasari not only emphasized the intellectual side of the art of painting but also represented its three most important technical aspects. Both currents—the intellectual and the technical—were vital to his thinking. The former raised the status of the artist from manual laborer to visual intellectual, and the latter insured the perpetuation of sound artistic practice for future generations.

Vasari's literary activities were equally guided by his regard for the future practice, technical advancement, and commensurate status of the arts. The *Vite*, his magnum opus and best-known work, a compendium of artists' biographies spanning almost three hundred years, is more than a series of historical narratives. It is a detailed account of the process by which knowledge of the arts is acquired and passed on: a reminder to the present about a past it should not lose (see section IV of catalogue). As he had embellished the walls of his Florentine home with classical anecdotes, Vasari here employed the past to evoke contemporary and future concerns. His use of classical topoi in the *Vite* also exalts the artists about whom he was writing by giving them historical precedents. In both the first edition of 1550 and the second amplified version of 1568, these usually occur at the closes of the individual lives in the form of fictive Latin epitaphs comparing the modern artist to one or more of his ancient predecessors.<sup>6</sup> For this type of praise, Vasari singled out artists who were most suited because of their classical and antiquarian interests. Sandro Botticelli and Andrea Mantegna, for example, both share the stage with Apelles.

In the second edition of 1568, the whole book received a Latin epigram which, according to an interpretive note left by Vasari or one of his literary friends, derived from a passage in Book 8 of Virgil's *Aeneid* (cat. 51, illus.).<sup>7</sup> As in the case of the frescoes, in which Vasari adapted the ancient stories to suit his own purposes, his version of Virgil transmuted the eternal spirit of Troy—embodied in the figure of Aeneas—into his own role in securing the perpetuation of art and artists through the recording of their lives' achievements. Just as the future blossoming of



CAT. 3: GIORGIO VASARI, *The Origin of Painting*. Fresco in the Casa Vasari, Florence.

Troy's descendant, Rome, depends upon the prowess of an individual agent, so too do the arts require the effort of an artist/writer guided by a strong sense of foresight. Both Vasari and the ancient hero herald the transmission of intellectual culture.<sup>8</sup>

Vasari made repeated references in the *Vite* to his *Libro de' Disegni* (cat. 52, illus.). This bound, multi-volumed, and chronologically organized book of drawings provided the illustrations for the author's descriptive points, replacing the fictive epitaphs of the first edition.<sup>9</sup> The *Libro*, like the *Vite*, acted on one level as a record of the visual avenues by which teaching and learning took place.<sup>10</sup> Once again, Vasari's foremost concern in this regard was that the young artists of his day draw from the past what could be of value to them, guaranteeing the future vitality of the discipline of art. In his dedication to all artists, including those learning their trade at the *Accademia del Disegno*, which he founded in 1563,<sup>11</sup> he commented:

And it may be, that these my words shall serve as a spur, moving each to continue laboring worthily, and to seek to advance himself perpetually from good to better; insomuch, that he who shall write the remainder of this history, may be able to treat his subject with increased grandeur and majesty, as having to enumerate those more rare and perfect works, which, in the lapse of time, inspired by the longing for immortality (*di mano in mano dal desiderio di eternità*), and worked out by the efforts of exalted minds, the future world shall behold, proceeding from your hands. Then the youth who pursue these studies, incited by the love of glory (when the love of gain has not so strong an influence) may perchance become inflamed by the example, and in their turn attain to excellence.<sup>12</sup>

It is in light of this “*di mano in mano dal desiderio di eternità*” that one should interpret another significant addition to Pliny's text: the three young men who can be seen studying in a brightly lit room behind the established painter, Zeuxis.

## II. Names and Numina

The largest of the three narratives—*Zeuxis and the Five Maidens* (cat. 5, illus.)—indicates and perhaps

even comments upon the kind of conceptual and literary training required of artists in the second half of the sixteenth century. Vasari depicts Zeuxis painting an allegorical female figure who leans on a spear, wearing a lunar diadem, a classical headdress, and little else. Pliny neglected to identify the subject matter of Zeuxis' painting, stating only that Zeuxis was creating an image of a beautiful woman for the Temple of Juno. The omission of this detail leaves her identity open for interpretation, though Juno would be the obvious choice. Vasari may have initially intended to depict Juno, for Cecchi points out that a preparatory drawing for that wall contains a bird, probably a peacock, Juno's usual attribute.<sup>13</sup> As no such peacock adorns the finished product, however, most scholars have identified the fresco's image—on the basis of the attributes depicted—as a representation of Diana, goddess of the Moon and the Hunt. In another context, the combination of arms and the symbol of the moon had suggested the figure of Diana to Vasari: when he needed to represent Fiesole, whose civic symbol was a blue moon, in the Sala dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio, he devised “the huntress Diana (who) holds the standard which reveals the ancient emblem of that community, half white and half red, on the divided shield.”<sup>14</sup>

Whether or not the creative scenario demanded this substitution, the question of Vasari's motivation in ultimately depicting Diana remains.<sup>15</sup> One possibility is that he had in mind Apelles' famous painting of Diana the huntress. After all, Vasari had been thinking about Apelles when he painted *Apelles and the Shoemaker* on an adjacent wall. A painting of Diana the huntress might have signaled for him the pinnacle of ancient art. Could his desire to give homage to this ancient work have been so great that he was willing to conflate Zeuxis with Apelles?<sup>16</sup> A more likely explanation is that Vasari had another “Diana” in mind. On the righthand side of the fresco behind the artist-protagonist is a moonless nocturnal landscape featuring a statue of Diana of Ephesus at its center. Fecund goddess of nature, source of the artist's raw materials, and symbol of the Florentine *Accademia del Disegno*,<sup>17</sup> this Diana points toward Zeuxis as he paints her namesake.



CAT. 4: GIORGIO VASARI, *Apelles and the Shoemaker*. Fresco in the Casa Vasari, Florence.



CAT. 5: GIORGIO VASARI, *Zeuxis and the Five Maidens of Croton*. Fresco in the Casa Vasari, Florence.

These two Dianas share only a name. Different genealogies and even different mythologies are associated with them. It might seem curious that Vasari would choose the Zeuxis image based only on a verbal parallel with a figure portrayed in the other portion of his composition. Yet it is worth entertaining the idea that the name provided Vasari with the image he made Zeuxis represent, for names played a significant role in Vasari's and his contemporaries' understanding and interpretation of the pagan gods.

This concern with names surfaces most clearly in Vasari's writings and preparatory notes for his mythological works on the second floor of the Palazzo Vecchio. His *Zibaldone* (literally, "miscellaneous jottings"), a collection of iconographic descriptions, programmatic suggestions, and historical information, contains several entries devoted to the decoration of various rooms in the Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>18</sup> An entry under the heading "Informationi di Giove," reads in its entirety as follows:

Amaltea et  
Melissa

Jovi Ataburio  
Jovi labriado  
Jovi Laprio  
Jovi meliorj  
Jovi cassio

fulmina con tre punte      corruscum scendit et urit  
la quercia      qua primevi homines eius fructu vescebantur  
laquila      bonum augurium

In pioggia d'oro  
In Aquila  
In toro  
In cigno  
In Amfitrione con Almena onde ne nacque Ercole  
farej che egli fulminassi i Giganti<sup>19</sup>

Compared with other pages detailing the conceptual program of the rooms in the Palazzo Vecchio—a program in most cases devised by Vasari's friend and iconographic advisor, Cosimo Bartoli—these notes appear sparse. They are not paragraphs of interconnected descriptions or stories, but rather the first notes taken on the given subject, Jupiter, who would later command the program of one of the rooms in

the Sala degli Elementi. Judging by the order of progression and the word choice, the notes were probably taken from Boccaccio's *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri* in its original Latin version.<sup>20</sup> In his subsequent description and interpretation of the frescoes, Vasari purports to have used Boccaccio's work as a mythographic guide whose structure may have provided the impetus for the genealogical orientation of all of the upstairs rooms.<sup>21</sup>

Vasari's notes record four types of information: 1) the circumstances of Jupiter's childhood, important for a cycle predicated on the transfer of power from one generation to the next; 2) Jupiter's various names associated with temples built to him; 3) Jupiter's most important attributes and their meanings; and 4) Jupiter's transformations and actions. Of the four categories, only the names resist easy translation into visual terms, raising the question of why they needed to be listed unless their writer felt a special attachment to this kind of information. In fact, the resulting program in the Sala di Giove incorporates all of the notes except the list of names. In their place, Vasari depicted allegories of virtues and scenes of sacrifice. Eventually, he even devoted an entire tapestry intended for that room to a scene of sacrifice to Jupiter (cat. 34, illus.). Nevertheless, in the *Ragionamenti* (see cat. 27), where the artist discusses the room in a fictive dialogue with Francesco de' Medici, there is a full account of the temples that Jupiter built—"some named after himself (*in nome suo*) and his friends, such as the temples of Jove Altabyrium, Jove Labraundos, Jove Laprius, Jove Molione, Jove Cassius"—and of the priests he ordained "for his glory."<sup>22</sup> The implication is that Jupiter's names and temples are embedded within his accompanying narrative scenes, so that such seemingly anonymous sacrifices as those represented on the ceiling could recall the god's self-aggrandizing actions and titles. That two of the virtues Vasari chose to associate with him are *Gloria* and *Onore* further suggests his manner of thinking and how it reached his brush.<sup>23</sup>

Many passages in the *Ragionamenti* underscore the power of names as receptacles of meaning. In reference to Ops, Jupiter's mother, for whom Vasari listed



many titles at the beginning of the dialogue, Francesco asks:

Do you know why this goddess is called Ops, Berecynthia, Rhea, Cybele, Pales, and Torrita? I've seen her variously named by the Greek authors, but I don't know what sense you attach to them.

Vasari responds, giving an account of the origin of each name:

She is called Ops which means "help" or "aid," almost as though, if she were not helped and aided and cultivated by the farmers, she would not yield in abundance her best fruits for their benefit. She derives the name Berecynthus from...a mountain in Phrygia...<sup>24</sup>

And again, regarding the figures surrounding the castration of Father Heaven, this exchange takes place:

Francesco: [the ten powers] I like them, but don't they have names? I see things around them and in their hands which surely must mean something.

Vasari: They have names (*nomi*) and meaning (*significato*), my lord. In fact, each one may have several names since someone may describe it one way and someone also may paint it another—perhaps more, perhaps less obscurely. But I have tried to make them more easily understood, preserving their doctrine.

Francesco: What is that circle or crown...?

Vasari: You have called it by name, Your Excellency.<sup>25</sup>

These ten figures are visual renditions of the Ten Names of God or Sephirot of Kabbalistic philosophy.<sup>26</sup> Although it was not his original idea to represent the Sephirot, if one compares Vasari's text above with that of his friend, Cosimo Bartoli, who supplied the invention (in lieu of Vasari's "Council of Olympian Gods" on the grounds of mythological accuracy), it is clear that Vasari highlighted the fact of their names more than his academic advisor had.<sup>27</sup>

Earlier in the same "Ragionamento," Vasari explained the relationship between the name, the image, and the ideas he expresses:

I partitioned my design in this fashion because I wished to represent the four Elements by describing myths, which is the manner permitted the brush in dealing with philosophical matters, considering that poetry and painting, like sisters, use the same means. Permit me in these rooms to explain my invention hidden under the names of mythical gods. In this I imitate the ancients, who allegorically concealed the ideas of philosophy under these names. As I said, I wished to deal here with the Elements, which, through the contents of the stories I painted, gave this room its name: *la Sala degli Elementi*.<sup>28</sup>

Thus the names of the gods hide the philosophical ideas present in the mythological cycles, crystallizing their meanings and suggesting their compositions. A similar psychological impact of pagan gods' names most likely occurs in other cycles (*e.g.*, cat. 25) for which this century lacks interpretive keys.<sup>29</sup>

The *Ragionamenti*, which provided the source for most of the above quotations, constituted a sustained attempt on Vasari's part to reveal and publicize the philosophical and ideological bases of the Palazzo Vecchio program. His choice of title likely derived from its common use as a name for philosophical and interpretive dialogues, the *Ragionamenti accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante* (1567) by Cosimo Bartoli being his closest model.<sup>30</sup> "Ragionamenti" derives from "ragione," or reason, and various forms of this root are used throughout the discourse, indicating to the reader that in this verbal exposition, as well as in his visual ones, Vasari chose the name with great care.<sup>31</sup>

### III. *The Pictorial Gloss*

The most salient additional feature of the frescoes in Vasari's house is his inclusion of allegorical figures occupying the fictive architectural niches that separate the three narrative scenes. Five of these figures represent Arts: the three arts of design—painting, sculpture, and architecture—in addition to the arts of poetry and music. A sixth figure, which resides between the two halves of the Zeuxis episode (the only one embedded within a narrative), is an allegory of *Disegno*. To construct this allegorical figure, Vasari adopted the three-headedness of Prudence and com-

bined it with the attributes of painting, sculpture, and architecture.<sup>32</sup> The sentiment implied is that the artist should be prudent in his practice of design. By superimposing this conceptual representation upon the narrative based on Pliny's "Zeuxis and the Five Maidens," Vasari created a dialectic between the two modes of imagery, the narrative and the allegorical. He emphasized the prudence of Zeuxis' decision to incorporate individual aspects of many figures, thus insuring the perfection of the single one the ancient artist was painting. The allegorical hybrid therefore functions as a gloss on the narrative image.

Vasari's technique of creating apt allegorical glosses for his narratives was both self-conscious and heavily practiced, especially in the frescoes of the Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>33</sup> His awareness that his allegories impose interpretations upon the stories is most apparent when he is describing the ceiling of the Sala di Clemente VII. This vault is composed of allegorical virtues whose concepts are to be applied to the more visually complicated scenes from the history of the Pope's life: "In each corner there are two triangular pictures, for a total of eight, in which I have put eight virtues, which you will hear *applied (apply)* to these stories, so worthy of the greatness of Clement..."<sup>34</sup>

In other cases, the allegorical figure inhabits the central narrative rather than influencing its meaning from the periphery. Taking another example from the Sala di Clemente VII, in which he represented Italia, Vasari clarified his allegory to Francesco thus:

[this large woman] stands for Italy. I represented her thus out of my imagination because I have never been able to see how she was personified by the ancients on any medal or in a bronze or marble statue. It struck me to represent her in honored triumph in this way with the idea that she, relying on the virtue of the emperor, is unwrapping herself from the annoyances and troubles suffered in times previous, with the hope that in the future, since His Majesty has received the sword from the pope, he will serve to defend and cherish her.<sup>35</sup>

Italia's presence specifically localizes the event while her actions reveal Vasari's view of the scene's princi-

pal message: the promise of an illustrious and peaceful future under the reign of Clement.

Allegories also may be paired with each other in much the same suggestive fashion. In the Sala degli Elementi, Vasari represented the allegory of Earth as the god Saturn in his capacity as cultivator, receiving gifts of the earth's fruits which he was responsible for producing (cat. 29). To our right, behind Saturn, a large woman holding a sail and standing upon the back of a tortoise rushes across the sea and into the foreground. According to Vasari in his *Ragionamenti*, she represents

His Excellency's Fortune, who in obedience to his planet Saturn gives him the sail and tortoise, His Excellency's emblem. This demonstrates that with the deliberate nature of this animal and the speed with which boats are driven by sail through the waters of the sea of difficulties, His Excellency, who is always moderate, will succeed with good fortune in all the ventures of his government. She offers them to Saturn, that is the father of time, who in keeping with this moderation will always bring a good beginning, middle, and end of the year. For just as the people present the first fruits of the earth to Saturn, so will our duke's subjects...<sup>36</sup>

The absence of this Medici allegory from Vasari's preparatory drawing (cat. 28, cover) suggests that she was created as an afterthought. Vasari, having hinted at Cosimo's astrological horoscope (Saturn in Capricorn) by seating Saturn next to a goat, then devised the Duke's Fortuna as a way of making that reference more specific and obvious.<sup>37</sup>

In another allegory of the Duke's destiny, that of the story of Ganymede (cat. 33, illus.), Vasari used the same layered approach to meaning. This time, however, his embellishments to the story and their accompanying interpretive orientation occurred after the completion of the final product, a tapestry for the Sala di Giove. Absent from the tapestry, the additions surface only in the *Ragionamenti*. In his conversation with Francesco, Vasari recounts far more of the Ganymede story than is actually presented in the tapestry and then interprets this lengthier version in terms of the Duke's abilities and actions.<sup>38</sup> In this

way, the Duke is likened to Ganymede, cupbearer to the gods, even though the image portrays only the boy's abduction.

Interpretations or "etimologie," to use Vasari's word,<sup>39</sup> involving the Medicean resonances of mythological narratives occur throughout the *Ragionamenti*. Many are afterthoughts bearing little relation to the original program.<sup>40</sup> Others developed from seeds sown early in the cycle's genesis. In all cases, Vasari's mind proceeded from the general to the particular. He achieved interpretive specificity by means of allegorical supplementation both in the creation of the images and in the creation of a text about those images. In this respect, the *Ragionamenti* may be read as a verbal extension of Vasari's greatest visual cycle.<sup>41</sup>

For Vasari, the representation of a mythological figure such as Ganymede or the portrait of an historical individual meant more than could be presented in a single image. It was an indication of his whole being whether or not Vasari had consciously attended to this in his depiction. When painting a seated portrait of Cosimo I studying strategies for the wars against Siena, Vasari backed the Duke with the virtues of Vigilance, Patience, Strength, and Prudence. These virtues belong to the mental work behind Cosimo's historic actions: they refer to the interior faculties that will allow him to succeed. Not by accident, immediately before addressing this episode in his *Ragionamenti*, Vasari vaunted his own study of writers of history as the basis for his historical frescoes. Likening his own intellectual prowess to that he attributed to his patron, the artist placed great value on the mental processes preceding the translation of his ideas into paint. Though many writers suggest the value of such deliberation, Vasari, through his writings and allegories, lets one see this process unfold. MWG

#### NOTES

1. Many of the meanings of the frescoes in Vasari's Florentine home have been elegantly discussed by scholars. See Jacobs 1984; Alessandro Cecchi, "Nuove ricerche sulla casa del Vasari a Firenze," in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica* 1985, 273-83; *Idem.*, "Vasari e le Case degli Artisti," in *Giorgio Vasari: Principi, letterati e artisti nelle carte di Giorgio Vasari* 1981, 35-43; Heikamp 1966; Cheney 1987; Leopold 1979; and Albrecht 1992.

2. On *disegno* as a theoretical term, see Jacobs 1984; Kemp 1974; LeMollé 1988; Feinberg 1991, esp. introductory essays; and David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), esp. 253-61.

3. "Chi dunque vuole bene imparare a esprimere disegnando i concetti dell'animo...si eserciti in ritrarre figure di rilievo, o di marmo o di sasso ovvero di quelli di gesso formate sul vivo ovvero sopra qualche bella statua antica...quando poi averà in disegnando simili cose fatto buona pratica et assicurata la mano, cominci a ritrarre cose naturali...perciò che le cose che vengono dal naturale sono veramente quelle che fanno onore a chi si è in quelle affaticato, avendo in sé, oltre a una certa grazia e vivezza, di quel semplice, facile e dolce che è proprio della natura e che dalle cose dell'arte abbastanza giamai. E tengasi per fermo che la pratica che si fa con lo studio di molti anni disegnando, come si è detto sopra, è il vero lume del disegno e quello che fa gli uomini eccellentissimi" (Vasari, ed. Bettarini/Barocchi 1966-, 1:112-13; trans. Maclehoose 1960, 207-8).

4. See section II of the catalogue of works in the exhibition: "Education and Imitation: Early Influences, Early Works."

5. Although Pliny narrates Zeuxis' story, Cinelli, writing his revised version of Bocchi's *Le Bellezze di Firenze* (which had left out Vasari's house) in the seventeenth century, refers to Apelles when describing all of the frescoes. This discrepancy, along with other iconographic difficulties, has led to a dispute in recent scholarship over the identity of the artist depicted in Vasari's fresco. Cecchi believes the representation to be Zeuxis; Jacobs recognizes a fusion of Apelles and Vasari himself.

6. These epitaphs and epigrams might have been composed not by Vasari, but rather by one of his *letterati* friends, such as Vincenzo Borghini.

7. On Borghini's role in interpreting the epigram, see Julian Kliemann's three articles: "Su alcuni concetti umanistici del pensiero e del mondo figurativo vasariani," in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica* 1985, 73-82; Section VII, entry 60h on the illustrations of the *Vite*, in *Giorgio Vasari: Principi, letterati e artisti* 1981, 238-42; and Kliemann 1978, esp. 168-70.

8. Vasari's final phrase used in the *Vite* is ambiguous. Virgil's lines as well as the abbreviated reference in the text relating the virgilian conceit to Vasari's project both use the word *quo*, which refers back to Aeneas. Vasari's *hac*, however, has no referent, leaving the reader guessing among the possibilities of artists' fame, artists' works, and Vasari's book. It is possible that Vasari intended such an ambiguity.

9. Collobi 1974 has tried to assemble the still extant bits and pieces of the *Libro de' Disegni*. See also Wohl 1986; Degenhart and Schmitt 1963; Kurz 1937/38; and Panofsky 1967.

10. Vasari used the word "relique" to describe the various drawing fragments.

11. On the Florentine Academy, see Wazbinski 1987; Hughes 1986; Barzman 1985; Dempsey 1980; Goldstein 1975; and Pevsner 1940.

12. “E potrà forse essere questo uno sprone che ciascun séguiti d’operare eccellentemente e d’avanzarsi sempre di bene in meglio, di sorte che chi scriverà il rimanente di questa istoria potrà farlo con più grandezza e maesta avendo occasione di contare quelle più rare e più perfette opere che di mano in mano dal desiderio di eternità incominciate e dallo studio di sì divini ingegni finite, vedrà per inanzi il mondo uscire delle vostre mani; et i giovani che vengono dietro studiando, incitati dalla gloria—quanto l’utile non avessi tanta forza—, s’accenderanno per avventura dall’esempio a divenire eccellenti” (Vasari, ed. Bettarini/Barocchi 1966–, 1:176; trans. Blashfield, Blashfield, and Hopkins 1896, 1:lxix).

13. Cecchi 1981, 41 believes that the image on Zeuxis’ canvas as well is a representation of Juno. In preparatory drawings for the Terrace of Juno in the Palazzo Vecchio, Vasari represented Juno with a similar lunar diadem, though other features of her costume differ. (Paola Barocchi 1964 has attributed these drawings to Cristofano Gherardi, but they still most likely represent Vasari’s original conception.) Cecchi further strengthens his point by noting that the preparatory oil sketch shows a bird, which he identifies as a peacock, by the woman’s leg.

In his Arezzo house, Vasari painted the same subject of “Zeuxis and the Five Maidens” in grisaille. In his Aretine rendition, however, he chose a different narrative moment, a moment prior to Zeuxis’ translation of the image into paint. The grisaille panel thus avoids the issue of the figure’s identity and consequently is of no aid in solving this iconographic problem.

14. “...una Diana cacciatrice, che tiene lo stendardo entrovi una luna di color celeste, insegna antica di quella città, e nello scudo diviso, mezzo bianco e mezzo rosso, e l’arme di quella comunità...” (Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, ed. Milanese 1892, 7:205; trans. Draper 1973).

15. Vasari had a precedent in the work of his compatriot Adriani for embellishing Pliny’s narrative in his Florentine fresco. In the 1568 *Vite*, Vasari included a short treatise by this Florentine historian documenting the history of ancient art such as it was known through ancient writings. Describing the Zeuxis episode, Adriani repeated Pliny’s detail that the painting was intended for the Temple of Juno, but then commented that the subject of the image was probably Helen of Troy. If Adriani’s main concern was the theme of the beauty of Zeuxis’ image, then his supposition seems logical for Helen’s fame derived from her legendary beauty.

16. For different interpretations along these lines, see Jacobs 1984 and Albrecht 1992.

17. Jacobs 1984, 408–9.

18. Appropriately, the *Zibaldone* was entitled “libri di invenzione” by Vasari’s nephew after the artist’s death. Little is known about the genre of “zibaldone.” There are other more famous *zibaldoni* in the period, notably that of Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai, but given the meaning of the word in everyday speech, it is not clear that the texts emerging under this rubric share anything more than do poems written as *syllvae*.

19. “Amaltea and/Melissa/Jove Ataburius/Jove Labriadus/Jove Laprius/Jove Meliorus/Jove Cassius/Thunderbolt with three points ? which comes down and burns/the oak tree by whose fruit primeval men were nourished/the eagle good fortune/into gold rain/into an eagle/into a bull/into a swan/into Amphitritus with Almena through

whom Hercules was born/I will make him throwing thunderbolts at the Giants” (Del Vita 1938, 233–34; trans. my own). The typography of the passage represents Vasari’s own page layout.

20. This information is found in Book XI, chapter I, “De tertio Jove X Saturni filio...” Most scholars believe that Vasari read an Italian version, as Boccaccio’s book had been recently translated. Other pages of the *Zibaldone* relating to the Palazzo Vecchio show Vasari to have taken notes from books; sometimes he even gives page numbers, e.g. “Avventure di Leone X e avvenimenti del suo tempo,” Del Vita 1938, 235–44, see esp. n.1.

21. Davis 1978.

22. “...fu quello che edificò tempj, ordinò sacerdoti per sua gloria, fecene edificare ancora in nome suo e delli amici, come fu il tempio di Giove Altaburio, Giove Labriando, Giove Laprio, Giove Molione, e Giove Cassio...” (Vasari, ed. Milanese 1892, 8:63; trans. Draper 1973, 165).

23. The concept of “honor” does not appear in these preliminary notes but is important to Boccaccio (XI, i) with respect to Jupiter and religion. Boccaccio describes how Jupiter honored himself with temples and by appointing priests.

24. “Ditemi, avete notizia per quello che se la chiamassino Opi, Bercintia, Rea, Cibebe, Pale, Torrita, che io l’ho vista nelle cose grece, ma io non so che senso gli date voi? Chiamavonla Opi...che significa aiuto, o soccorso, quasi che, se non fusse aiutata e soccorsa dalli agricoltori, e coltivata da essi, non renderia loro in abundansa i migliori frutti partoriti da lei per commodita loro; Bercintia, da quel monte di Frigia...” (Vasari, ed. Milanese 1892, 8:46; trans. Draper 1973, 137–38).

25. “(Francesco) (le dieci potenze) Mi piace; ma non hanno nomi? veggo pur loro intorno ed in mano cose che debbono avere significato. (Vasari) Hanno significato, signore, ed hanno nomi, e più nomi ha una cosa sola, e chi l’descritto in un modo e chi l’ha dipinto in un altro, e chi più e chi meno oscuro; ma io cerco farle per essere inteso piu facile, riservando la dottrina loro. (Francesco) ...La corona...che cosa è?... (Vasari) Eccellenza Vostra l’ha chiamata per nome...” (*Ibid.*, 20; trans. Draper 1973, 97 [slightly altered]).

26. On the Palazzo Vecchio and the Kabbala, see Lensi Orlandi 1991, 9–50, and Davis 1978. In general, it pleased Vasari to use nocturnal imagery when the concept of creative force is present, as in his *Castration of the Sky*, e.g., the frescoes in his Florence house, the *Fucina di Vulcano*, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, and *Cosimo Planning the Attack on Siena* in the Sala dei Cinquecento.

27. Bartoli’s suggestions are recorded in the *Zibaldone*, Del Vita 1938, 74–77, and in the texts edited by Frey 1923, 1:410–13. Bartoli is also interested in names, but Vasari accentuates that interest in his text.

28. “...questo mio disegno lo spartii in questa forma, perchè volendo trattare de’ quattro elementi, in quella maniera però che è lecito al penello trattare le cose della filosofia favoleggiando; atteso che la poesia ed la pittura usano come sorelle i medesimi termini; e se in questa sala ed in altre vo dichiarando queste mie invenzioni sotto nome di favolosi Dei, siami lecito in questo imitar gli antichi, i quali sotto questi nomi nascondevano allegoricamente i concetti della filosofia. Or volendo, come ho detto, qui trattare delli elementi, i quali, con le proprietà loro avevano a dare a questa sala, per le storie che ci ho dipinto, il nome, chiamandosi LA SALA DELLI ELEMENTI...” (Vasari, ed. Milanese 1892, 8:18; trans. Draper 1973, 95).

29. Vasari uses the word *etimologie* to mean interpretation: “per Adone cacciatore, e Venere, che si godono e contemplano, è fatto per le volontà e amori di loro Eccellenze illustrissime; che mai è stato signore che abbia amato più la consorte sua, che questo, che ne abbia cacciato via le fiere umane piene di vizj, che questo principe; e molte altre etimologie ci sono, che per brevità si lassano” [by the hunter Adonis and Venus, who contemplate and enjoy each other, we refer to the longing and love of their most illustrious Excellences, because never was there a lord who loved his lady more and who drove away more human beasts, full of vices, than this prince. And there are many other interpretations (*etimologie*) that I omit in the interest of time] (*Ibid.*, 29; trans. Draper 1973, 111). Vasari probably adopted this usage from Boccaccio, who in Book XI, chapter i, cited Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri*.

30. On Bartoli’s *Ragionamenti accademici* and his involvement with Vasari, see Bryce 1983, esp. 51-71 and 253-80. Bartoli was not only important for the development of the iconography of the Palazzo Vecchio program, but also engaged theoretical issues of art in his *Ragionamenti accademici*. For an art historian’s point of view, see Davis 1980, and by the same author, “Cosimo Bartoli and the Portal of Sant’Apollonia by Michelangelo,” in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 19 (1975): 251-76.

31. E.g., “...ogni cosa, che io ho fatto di sopra, a queste cose di sotto corresponda; che così è stata sempre l’intentione mia, perchè in ciò apparisca per tutto il mio disegno; e per non tener più Vostra Eccellenza in questo *ragionamento*, noi passeremo a questa sala grande, dove, avendo noi a vedere e *ragionare* delle imprese gloriose di Leone X...,” (Vasari, ed. Milanese 1893, 8:121-22). Furthermore, as Kliemann 1985; 1981 has demonstrated, Vasari was particularly attached to the passage in Ariosto in which Astolfo witnesses the safeguarding the memory of certain individuals by means of plucking named plaques out of the river of oblivion. Vasari adapted this conceit for an allegorical vault of a loggia in which the pinning of names to a column represents eternity (Kliemann 1981).

32. Giovanni Pierio Valeriano, whom Vasari mentions in his *Ragionamenti*, represents Prudence with three heads. On the subject of the three-headed Prudence, see *Tiziano*, exh. cat. (Venice: Marsilio, 1990), 347-49; and Erwin Panofsky, “Signum Triciput,” in *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1930), 1-36.

33. This kind of allegorical presentation was not new. Vasari had precedents in *apparati* and other temporary displays, whose techniques were adopted by Raphael and his students in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. See Davis 1978 and, more particularly, on the Sala di Costantino’s reliance on the iconography of temporary art, see Rolf Quednau, *Die Sala di Costantino im Vatikanischen Palast: zur Dekoration der beiden Medici Päpste Leo X und Clemens VII* (New York and Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1979).

34. “...ci resta in ogni canto due angoli, che sono otto fra tutti, dove vi ho posto otto virtù, come sentira Vostra Eccellenza, *applicare* a queste storie, degne della grandezza di Clemente...” (Vasari, ed. Milanese 1892, 8:166; trans. Draper 1973, 321-22).

35. “(questa femina grande) L’ho fatta per Italia e l’ho finto così da per me, perchè non ho mai in medaglia alcuna, nè in statue di metallo o di marmo, potuto vedere come dalli antichi sia stata figurata; e mi è parso in tal maniera rappresentarla in questo onorato trionfo; conciossiachè, sperando essa nella virtù di Cesare, si sviluppa dalle noie e travagli patiti per i tempi adietro, con speranza che in avvenire, poichè

Sua Maesta ha avuto la spada dal pontifice, sia per difenderla ed accarezzala” (*Ibid.*, 8:173; trans. Draper 1973, 332). Instead of Italia, Bartoli wanted to see Healthfulness and Prudence: “se voi potessi in alcun canto della historia accomodarvi dallun delatj una donna che versasse un vaso di acqua per la salute la farej et al ricontro farei una prudentia, perchè Clemente in questo atto prudentamente provedde alla salute di Jtalia et de cristianj” [if you can include in some corner of the narrative a woman representing Healthfulness who pours water from a jug and, at the other side, paint a Prudence because in this act, Clement prudently provided for the health of Italy and the Christians] as reproduced in Vasari’s *Zibaldone*, ed. Del Vita 1938, 113; trans. my own.

36. “la fortuna di Sua Eccellenza, quale per obbedire a Saturno, pianeta suo, gli presenta la vela e la testuggine, impresa di Sua Eccellenza, dimonstrando che con la natura e tardita del cammino di questo animale, e la velocità che fa andare le legni nelle acque, la vela, nel mare delle difficoltà, e l’essere Sua Eccellenza temperato sempre riuscire con buona fortuna in tutte le imprese del suo governo. E il porgerle a Saturno, cioè al padre del tempo, che seguendo questa temperanza sarà sempre buono il principio, il mezzo e il fine dell’anno: e i popoli così come a Saturno presentano le primizie della terra...” (Vasari, ed. Milanese 1892, 8:32; trans. Draper 1973, 115).

37. For a somewhat different approach to the role of allegory in the Palazzo Vecchio, see Jean Rouchette, “Niveaux de langages et niveaux de communication dans l’oeuvre peint de Vasari au Palais-Vieux,” *Il Vasari Storiografo e Artista* 1976, 815-55, esp. 833-837, in which the author discusses the relationship between the signifier and the signified.

38. The text can be found in Vasari, ed. Milanese 1892, 8:70-71.

39. *Ibid.*, 8: 29. See note 28 above.

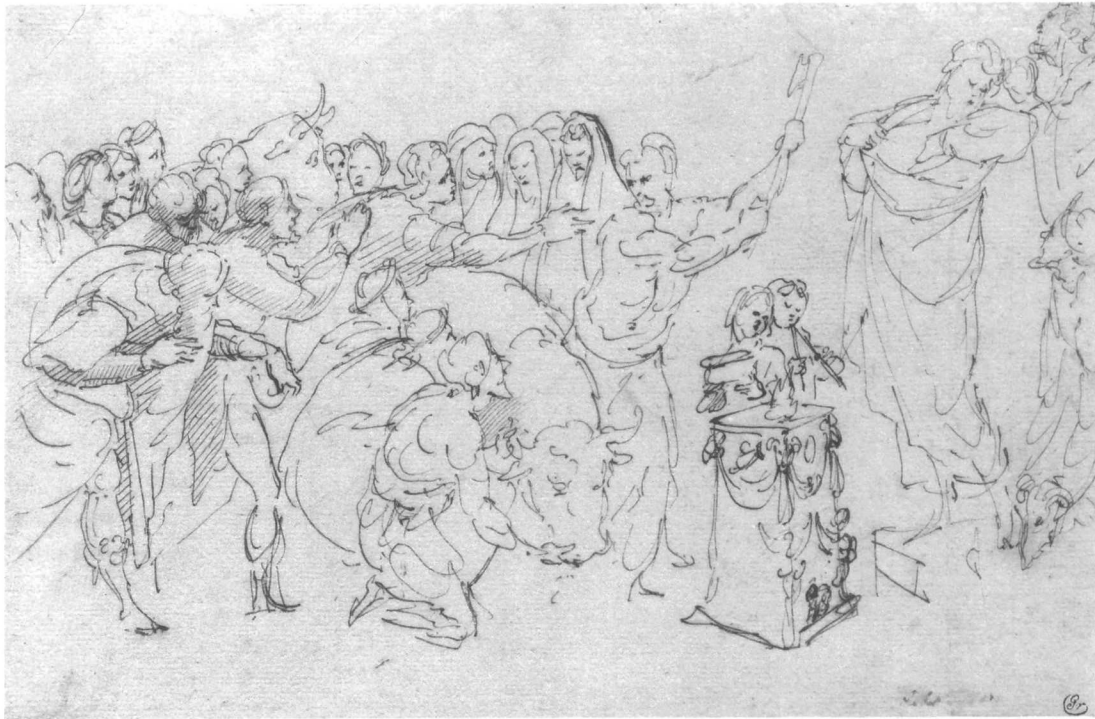
40. Elizabeth McGrath, “‘Il senso nostro’: The Medici Allegory Applied to Vasari’s Mythological Frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio,” in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica* 1985, 117-34.

41. For a somewhat different interpretation of the *Ragionamenti*, see Paola Tinagli Baxter, “Rileggendo i ‘Ragionamenti,’” in *Ibid.*, 83-93.

# CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

## I

- 1 Exterior of the Casa Vasari, Borgo Santa Croce 8, Florence, with the Palazzo Spinelli to its left. Color photograph
- 2 Wall Plan of the Casa Vasari, Florence. Adapted from Juerg Albrecht, "Le case di Giorgio Vasari ad Arezzo à Firenze," in *Case d'Artista dal Rinascimento à oggi* (Turin, 1992), 86
- 3 **GIORGIO VASARI (1511–1574)**  
*The Origin of Painting*. Interior fresco of the *piano nobile*, southwest wall of the Casa Vasari, Florence. Photograph courtesy Fredrika H. Jacobs
- 4 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Apelles and the Shoemaker*. Interior fresco of the *piano nobile*, southeast wall of the Casa Vasari, Florence. Photograph courtesy Fredrika H. Jacobs
- 5 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Zeuxis and the Five Maidens of Croton*. Interior fresco of the *piano nobile*, northeast wall of the Casa Vasari, Florence. Photograph courtesy Fredrika H. Jacobs
- 6 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Study for a Ceiling Decoration with Rachel and Jacob*. Possibly for the upper room of the Casa Vasari, Florence, ca. 1573  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over ruled lines in graphite and red chalk, 362 x 237 mm  
The Art Institute of Chicago, The Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection. 1922.42  
  
Recent Bibliography: Feinberg 1991, cat. 54; *Giorgio Vasari: Principi, letterati e artisti* 1981, Section II, cat. 4; Harold Joachim and Susanne Folds McCullagh, *Italian Drawings in the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1979), cat. 18; Monbeig-Goguel 1971; *The Age of Vasari* 1970, cat. D9



CAT. 16: RAPHAEL, *Sacrifice at Lystra*, ca. 1515. Tapestry. Pinacoteca, Vatican.

CAT. 15: GIORGIO VASARI, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, ca. 1550, after Raphael's Tapestry. Pen and brown ink. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of James E. Scripps.

II  
EDUCATION AND IMITATION:  
EARLY INFLUENCES, EARLY WORKS

For Vasari, the essentials involved in learning included: 1) working with an established master, 2) imitation of great works, 3) criticism by other artists, and 4) social intermingling with young fellow artists. Above all, a would-be artist must possess ardent desire. In the *Vite* and particularly in his autobiography, Vasari described his own desire and formative experiences at great length. His first introduction to the art of painting was through association with his distant relative, Luca Signorelli. In the *vita* of Signorelli, Vasari remembered being eight years old when the aged painter came to stay with his family:

I remember the worthy old man, so gracious and refined, and when he heard from my master who taught me my letters that I did nothing but draw figures in school, he turned to my father Antonio and said, "Antonio, in order that Giorgio may not grow worse, get him to learn to draw, because even with his other studies this (*il disegno*) cannot fail to be of assistance and honor to him as it is to all worthy men." Then turning to me as I stood before him, he said, "Learn, little kinsman..." Knowing also that I suffered severely from bleeding at the nose, which sometimes left me in a fainting condition, he very tenderly put a jasper on my neck. This memory of Luca will remain with me for ever.<sup>1</sup>

Vasari's most significant formative experiences, however, occurred in the context of drawing after the great masters of the High Renaissance. In the company of Francesco Salviati, he copied the works of Michelangelo, Raphael, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and Baldassarre Peruzzi:

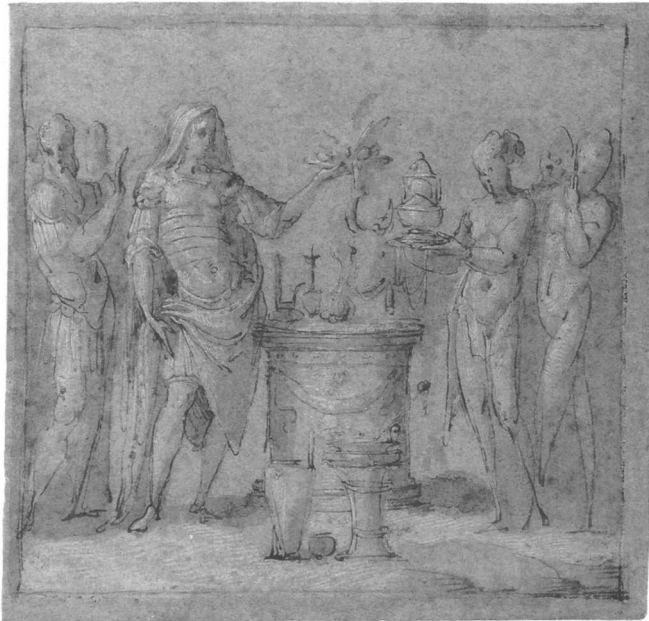
at Rome...Thanks to the consideration of the cardinal [Ipolito de' Medici] I had the opportunities to devote many months there to the study of design. I may truly say that this opportunity and my studies at that time were my principal teacher in the arts...I never ceased

to cherish the most ardent desire to learn and was drawing day and night, without relaxation. Another great help in those days was the competition with our other youths, my equals and companions, who have since, for the most part, become excellent in our arts. Another powerful stimulus was the desire for glory and the sight of so many who had become rare masters and attained to rank and honour. I sometimes asked myself, why should not I attain by toil and study to what so many others have achieved? They were made of flesh and blood like myself. Spurred by such thoughts and by the dependence of my family upon me, I resolved to spare no toil, discomfort or effort in order to attain my end. With this resolve I left nothing in Rome, Florence, or any other place where I stayed, that I did not draw; not only paintings but sculpture and architecture, both ancient and modern. In addition to the profit I gained by drawing Michelagnolo's [sic] vaulting and chapter-house, I drew everything of Raphael, Pulidoro [sic] and Baldassare [sic] of Siena, in company with Francesco Salviati...In order to have drawings of everything, we arranged always to draw different things, and at night each copied the other's work, to save time and to study more thoroughly...After this incredible labor, the first work to issue from my own forge was a life-size Venus with the Graces...<sup>2</sup>

On his own, he watched Bronzino and Pontormo at work in the Certosa and drew after their frescoes.<sup>3</sup> In addition to teaching Vasari good form, they provided the artist with a store of figural dispositions and solutions to artistic problems that could serve him at a later time. In his copy of Raphael's tapestry depicting the "Sacrifice at Lystra" (cat. 15, 16, illus.), Vasari was spare with his strokes, accurately representing only the most basic outlines and orientations of Raphael's figures. Vasari might have recalled the variety of gestures and directional movements contained in Raphael's tapestry when composing scenes such as *The First Fruits of the Earth Offered to Saturn*



(cat. 28, cover). Perino del Vaga's *Death of the 10,000 Martyrs* (cat. 18), with its varied techniques of figural drawing depending on the implied proximity to the beholder, similarly could have been useful to Vasari—though his copy (cat. 17) is far less fluid than Perino's original—as he composed his heavily populated battle scenes for the Palazzo Vecchio.  
MWG



#### NOTES

1. "Mi ricorda che quel buon vecchio, il quale era tutto grazioso e pulito, avendo inteso dal maestro che m'insegnava le prime lettere che io non attendeva ad altro iscuola che a far figure, mi ricorda, dico, che volendosi ad Antonio mio padre gli disse: 'Antonio, poi che Giorgino non traligna, fa' ch'egli impari a disegnare in ogni modo, perché quando anco attendesse alle lettere, non gli può essere il disegno, sì come è a tutti i galantuomini, se non d'utile, d'onore e di giovamento.' Poi rivolto a me che gli stava diritto inanzi, disse: 'Impara, parentino.' ...E perché egli intese, sì come era vero, che il sangue in sì gran copia m'usciva in quell'età dal naso che mi lasciava alcuna volta tramortito, mi pose di sua mano un diaspro al collo con infinita amorevolezza; la qual memoria di Luca mi starà in eterno fissa nell'animo" (Vasari, ed. Bettarini/Barocchi 1966–, 3:639; trans. Hinds 1980, 2:148).

2. "...a Roma...ebbi commodità, per cortesia di quel signore [Ipolito de' Medici], di attendere molti mesi allo studio del disegno. E potrei con verità questa commodità e lo studio di questo tempo essere stato il mio vero e principal maestro in questa arte...e non mi s'era mai partito del cuore un ardente desiderio d'imparare e uno infessato studio di sempre disegnare giorno e notte. Mi furono anco di grande aiuto in que' tempi le concorrenze de' giovani miei uguali e compagni, che poi sono stati per lo più eccellentissimi nella nostra arte. Non mi fu anco se non assai pungente stimolo il desiderio della gloria et il vedere molti esser riusciti rarissimi e venuti a gradi et onori. Onde diceva fra me stesso alcuna volta: 'Perché non è in mio potere, con assidua fatica e studio, procacciarmi delle grandezze e gradi che s'hanno acquistato tanti altri? Furono pure anch'essi di carne e d'ossa come sono io'... E così propostomi nell'animo, non rimase cosa notabile allora in Roma, né poi in Fiorenza, ed altri luoghi ove dimorai, la quale io in mia gioventù non disegnassi, e non solo di pitture, ma anche di sculture ed architetture antiche e moderne; ed oltre al frutto ch'io feci in disegnando la volta e capella di Michelangelo, non restò cosa di Raffaello, Pulidoro, e Baldassare da Siena, che similmente io non disegnassi, in compagnia di Francesco Salviati...Et acciò che avesse ciascuno di noi i disegni d'ogni cosa, non disegnava il giorno l'uno quello che l'altro, per avvanzar tempo e fare più studio...Dopo la quale incredibile fatica, la prima opera che m'uscisse di mano, come di mia propria fucina, fu un quadro grande, di figure quanto il vivo, d'una Venere con le Grazie..." (*Ibid.*, 6:371–72; trans. Hinds 1980, 259, with a slight alteration [I translated *fucina* as forge instead of foundry]). See Nova 1992. Vasari used the image of the forge to represent the locus of artistic creation again in his roughly contemporaneous painting, *La Fucina di Vulcano*.

3. Bettarini/Barocchi 1966–, 6:238.

CAT. 20: FRANCESCO DEI ROSSI, called SALVIATI, *An Antique Scene of Sacrifice*, ca. 1550. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Edmund P. Pillsbury, B.A. 1965.

CAT. 23: GIORGIO VASARI, *Aurora and Titbonius*, ca. 1542. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. Yale University Art Gallery, Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896, Fund.

# CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

I I

- 7 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Self-Portrait*  
 From *Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, e Architettori, scritte da M. Giorgio Vasari pittore et architetto Aretino, di nuovo dal Medesimo Riviste et Ampliate con i Ritratti Loro. Et con l'aggiunta delle Vite de' vivi, & de' morti. Dall' anno 1550 insino al 1567* (Florence: Filippo Giunti, 1568), part III, 2:980. Second of a three-volume set owned by John Evelyn  
 Woodcut, 126 x 109 mm  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. 1989.34
- 8 Vasari Family Tree. Adapted from Alessandro del Vita, "L'origine e l'albero genealogico della famiglia Vasari," *Il Vasari* 8 (1930), 51–75
- 9 Printed Papal Indulgence conferred on Lazzaro and Family, dated 1487  
 Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 48, folder 1056 (Filza 34, filzetta 32)  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- 10 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Portrait of Luca Signorelli*  
 From *Le Vite* (1568), part II, 3:526. Third of a three-volume set owned by John Evelyn  
 Woodcut, 126 x 107 mm  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. 1989.34
- 11 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Portrait of Guglielmo di Marcillat*  
 From *Le Vite* (1568), part III, 1:89. First of a three-volume set owned by John Evelyn  
 Woodcut, 128 x 105 mm  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. 1989.34
- 12 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Portrait of Rosso Fiorentino*  
 From *Le Vite* (1568), part III, 1:204  
 Woodcut, 128 x 105 mm  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Save 1777
- 13 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Study for the Deposition Altarpiece for S. Domenico, Arezzo, ca. 1536*  
 Pen and sepia ink with brown wash, 327 x 208 mm  
 Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, CT, Purchased through the gift of James Junius Goodwin.  
 1951.225
- Recent Bibliography: *The Age of Vasari* 1970, cat. D30; Barocchi 1964, cat. 2; *Anxiety and Elegance—The Human Figure in Italian Art 1520–1580* (Cambridge: Fogg Art Museum, 1962), cat. 43; *Master Drawings of the Italian Renaissance—A Detroit Adventure in the Arts* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960), cat. 9; Davidson 1954
- 14 **ROSSO FIORENTINO (1495–1540)**  
*The Deposition, 1521*. Oil on canvas. Museo Civico, Volterra. Photograph courtesy Art Resource, New York

- 15 GIORGIO VASARI  
*The Sacrifice at Lystra*, ca. 1550  
 After Raphael's Tapestry  
 Pen and brown ink on buff paper, 179 x 273 mm  
 The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of James E. Scripps. 1885.1  
  
 Recent Bibliography: Detroit Institute of Arts, *Italian, French, English and Spanish Drawings and Watercolors: Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1992), cat. 19
- 16 RAPHAEL (1483–1520)  
*Sacrifice at Lystra*, ca. 1515. Tapestry. Pinacoteca, Vatican. Photograph courtesy Art Resource, New York
- 17 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Copy after Perino del Vaga's compositional study for "The Death of the 10,000 Martyrs"*  
 Pen and bistre with white gouache on brown paper, 371 x 345  
 Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Bequest of Charles A. Loeser. 1932.265  
  
 Recent Bibliography: *The Age of Vasari* 1970, cat. D31
- 18 PERINO DEL VAGA (1501–1547)  
*Compositional Study for "The Death of the 10,000 Martyrs,"* 1522–23. Pen and brown ink with brown wash, heightened with white on brown paper, 364 x 339 mm. Photograph courtesy the Albertina, Vienna
- 19 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Portrait of Francesco Salviati*  
 From *Le Vite* (1568), part III, 2:625  
 Woodcut, 126 x 106  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Save 1777
- 20 FRANCESCO DEI ROSSI, called SALVIATI (1510–1563)  
*An Antique Scene of Sacrifice*, ca. 1550  
 Pen and brown ink with light brown wash, heightened with white opaque watercolor over traces of black chalk on blue paper, 131 x 137 mm  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Edmund P. Pillsbury, B.A. 1965. 1986.117.1  
  
 Recent Bibliography: Pillsbury and Caldwell 1974, cat. 14

- 21 FRANCESCO DEI ROSSI, called SALVIATI  
*Old Testament Prophet*, ca. 1550  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash,  
 heightened with white, over black chalk,  
 271 x 198 mm  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Maitland F. Griggs,  
 B.A. 1896, Fund. 1975.78
- 22 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Design for a Decorative Panel with an  
 Allegory of Music*, 1545–50  
 Pen and brown ink with brown washes,  
 heightened with white, over black chalk,  
 180 x 125 mm  
 Lent by Edmund P. Pillsbury, B.A. 1965  
 Recent Bibliography: Pillsbury and Caldwell  
 1974, cat. 16
- 23 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Aurora and Tithonius*, ca. 1542  
 Preparatory study for the stage set of Pietro  
 Aretino's *La Talenta*, performed by I Sempiterni  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash,  
 92 x 113 mm  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Maitland F. Griggs,  
 B.A. 1896, Fund. 1975.47  
 Recent Bibliography: *Giorgio Vasari: Principi,  
 letterati e artisti* 1981, Section V, cat. 11, 115;  
 Catherine Monbeig-Goguel, *Maestri toscani del  
 Cinquecento: Michelangelo, Sansovino, Bandinelli...*  
 (Florence: Istituto Alinari, 1979), cat. 28
- 24 GIORGIO VASARI  
*St. Luke*, ca. 1540–45  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over traces  
 of black chalk on blue paper, 165 x 87 mm  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Maitland F. Griggs,  
 B.A. 1896, Fund. 1974.31
- 25 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Six Drawings for a Vaulted Ceiling Decoration with  
 Mythological Figures*, ca. 1545  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash,  
 120 x 282 mm; 74 x 281 mm; Four Planets:  
 Luna 88 x 60 mm, Sol 91 x 60 mm, Mercury  
 87 x 60 mm, Saturn 86 x 60 mm  
 The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of Mr. Janos  
 Scholz. 1984.61:1-2; 1984.62:1-2; 1984.64:1-2  
 Recent Bibliography: Konrad Oberhuber,  
*Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings from the  
 Collection of Janos Scholz* (Washington, D.C.:  
 National Gallery of Art, 1973), cat. 36; *The Age  
 of Vasari* 1970, cat. D32–D37



CAT. 33: GIORGIO VASARI, *The Abduction of Ganymede*, 1556–58. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund.

III  
A FAMILIAR AT COURT:  
VASARI AND COSIMO I

In 1555, Vasari received his first architectural commission from the Medici family: the renovation of the interior of the Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>1</sup> (This commission was followed by Vasari's designing of the Uffizi, begun in 1560, and the Corridor across the Ponte Vecchio to the Pitti Palace.) Locus of the Florentine commune since 1302, the Palazzo Vecchio had undergone such substantial yet haphazard alterations and additions in the following two hundred and fifty years that by the mid-sixteenth century, the building lacked internal coherence. Making the Palazzo Vecchio habitable for the Medici family entailed tearing down walls and reorienting rooms but leaving the exterior facade and side walls unchanged so as to allow the appearance of continuity with Florence's republican past. As Vasari stated it, Cosimo I "did not want to alter the foundations and the mother-walls because in this old form they gave origin to his new government."<sup>2</sup> Vasari considered the entire building to be a material reflection of the historical circumstances that produced it, his renovations representing the ultimate revitalization of the city under Cosimo I de' Medici. In this respect, the Palazzo Vecchio becomes a huge architectural allegory:

...these strong walls: in their ugliness, without harmony or unity, they reflected the disorder of the changing past governments; but our duke now demonstrates precisely in this building his beautiful method for correcting architecture, just as he has done in the government...<sup>3</sup>

The reconstructions having been completed, Vasari, with the help of his academic friends Cosimo Bartoli and Vincenzo Borghini, planned the cycles of frescoes to adorn the Palace's interior. The largest room and the only one intended for public access was the Sala dei Cinquecento. It was to house narrative

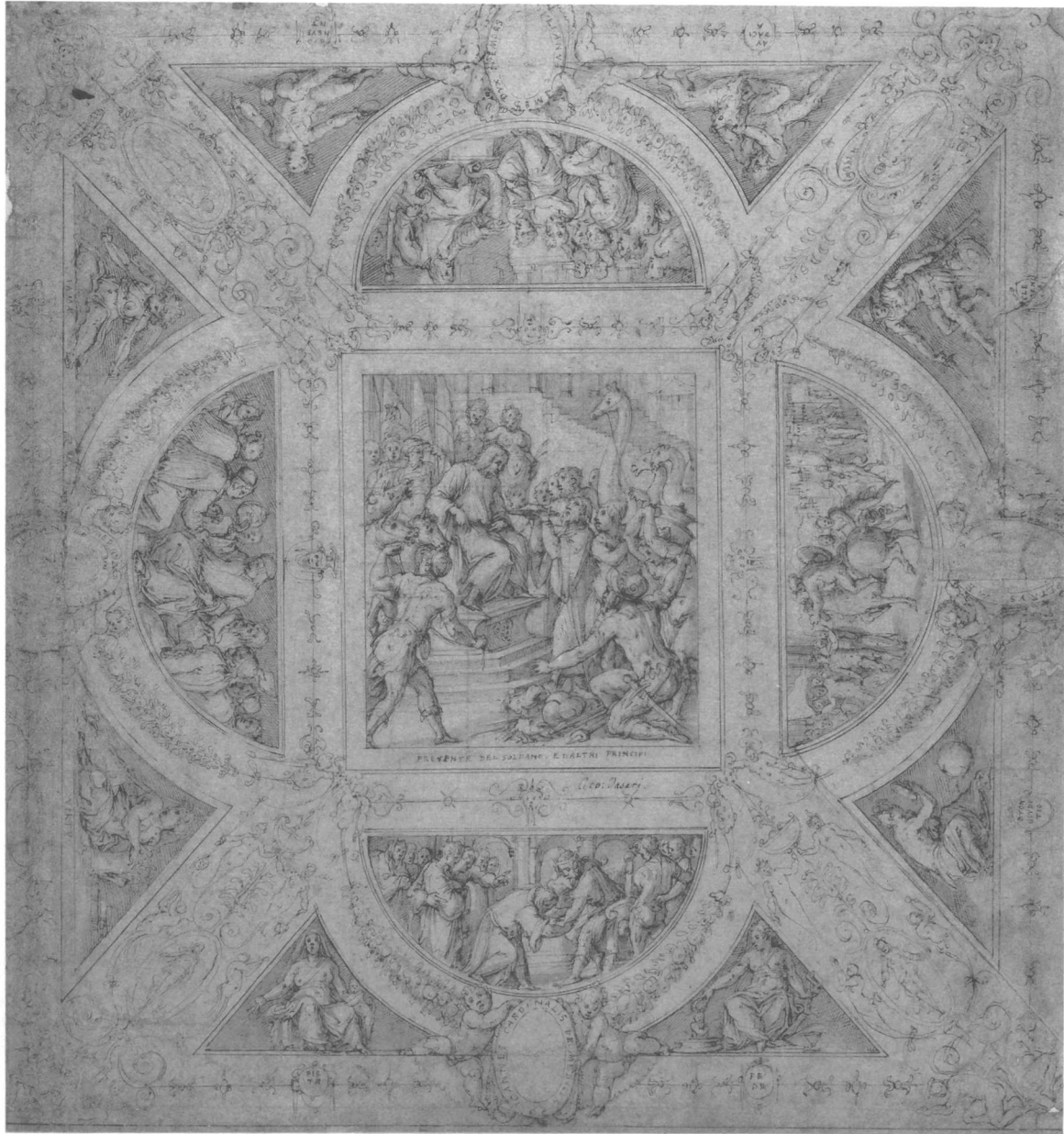
scenes from the history of Florence, beginning with the city's founding in the dark ages (cat. 38) and ending with the battles fought and won by Cosimo I. Vasari conceived the downstairs apartments as tributes to the great Medici dukes and Popes of recent history. The upstairs apartments belonged to pagan gods whose genealogy provided the controlling theme. The Medici were thus programmatically linked both to the temporal greatness of Florence and to the eternal greatness of the celestial deities. The arrangement of the program, moreover, complemented the architecture, enhancing its allegorical disposition: the terrestrial presences occupied the room closer to the earth while the celestial ones on the second floor conversed with the sky. The visitor presumably experiences this allegorical intention in his own person. As he climbs the stairs that Vasari paralleled to his performing good works, he passes from the earth to the realm of Heaven:

Do you mean by these stories, then, that the ancestors of our house also partook of the qualities of the celestial gods...the uppermost rooms, located near heaven and depicting today the origin of the celestial gods, represent (and, in fact, are) the ultimate heaven of this palace, meaning that our feet—that is, our works—when they carry us up, lift us from the earth in thought and deed. As we walk, we reach celestial heights by means of virtuous works, reflecting upon the effects of God Almighty and upon the seeds of virtue planted by Him in creatures here below. Those who through heavenly gifts have a great effect upon mortals on earth, are called Terrestrial Gods...<sup>4</sup>

In order to complete this rather daunting cycle, which included both frescoes and tapestries, Vasari employed a large workshop. Although he himself was responsible for all of the original drawings and most of the cartoons, many of the frescoes were executed by others, particularly Cristofano Gherardi,



CAT. 34: GIORGIO VASARI, *The Sacrifice of Jupiter on the Island of Naxos*, 1556–58. Pen and sepia ink with brown wash. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, Purchased through the gift of James Junius Goodwin.



CAT. 35: GIORGIO VASARI, *Design for the Ceiling of the Sala di Lorenzo Magnifico, Palazzo Vecchio, 1556–62*. Pen and sepia ink with brown wash. The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of George Hopper Fitch.



Jacopo Zucchi, Stradanus, and Giovanni Battista Naldini (drawings by the latter are included in section IV). Of these artists, Vasari was perhaps closest to Gherardi, who was his good friend and faithful assistant. As the two also shared many similarities in terms of artistic style, their drawings have frequently been misattributed, one to the other.<sup>5</sup> The drawing given to Gherardi by Monbeig-Goguel (cat. 41) differs from the preparatory drawing for the Sala degli Elementi of the Palazzo Vecchio (cat. 30), whose rhythmic lines and liberal application of depth-enhancing wash recall Vasari's drawing technique (as in the *modello* for the *Foundation of Florence*, cat. 38).

Not always pleased with his younger assistants' results, however, Vasari sometimes repainted entire scenes. In his Autobiography, he described his ameliorations in a paternal manner: "Although some of my young pupils helped me, it was not always an advantage, as I was occasionally obliged to do it all over again myself, as they know so that it should all be in the same style..."<sup>6</sup> Despite such criticism, Vasari honored Zucchi, Stradanus, and Naldini by including their portraits next to his own and those of his literary advisors on the ceiling of the Sala dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio. By the 1560s, when this series of portraits was being painted, Cristofano Gherardi had been dead for about ten years (he died while working on the Sala degli Elementi).

While Vasari was working on the Sala dei Cinquecento, the smaller rooms having already passed under the brush, Duke Cosimo I granted the artist many privileges. A book in Yale's Beinecke Library, entitled *Honors and Privileges* (unfortunately too damaged to display) includes a great many of these substantive accolades. These honors are also referenced in other documents such as Cosimo's letter of 1560 granting Vasari the villa at Montici (cat. 46). In general, the honors encompassed deeds of property including his Florentine home and eventually the use of the Medici family emblem. MWG

#### NOTES

1. Originally, Vasari was asked only to do the fresco work. When the house architect, Battista di Marco del Tasso, died, Vasari took over his position as well. On the building history see the introduction to Draper 1973; and Muccini and Cecchi 1991, 10-40.

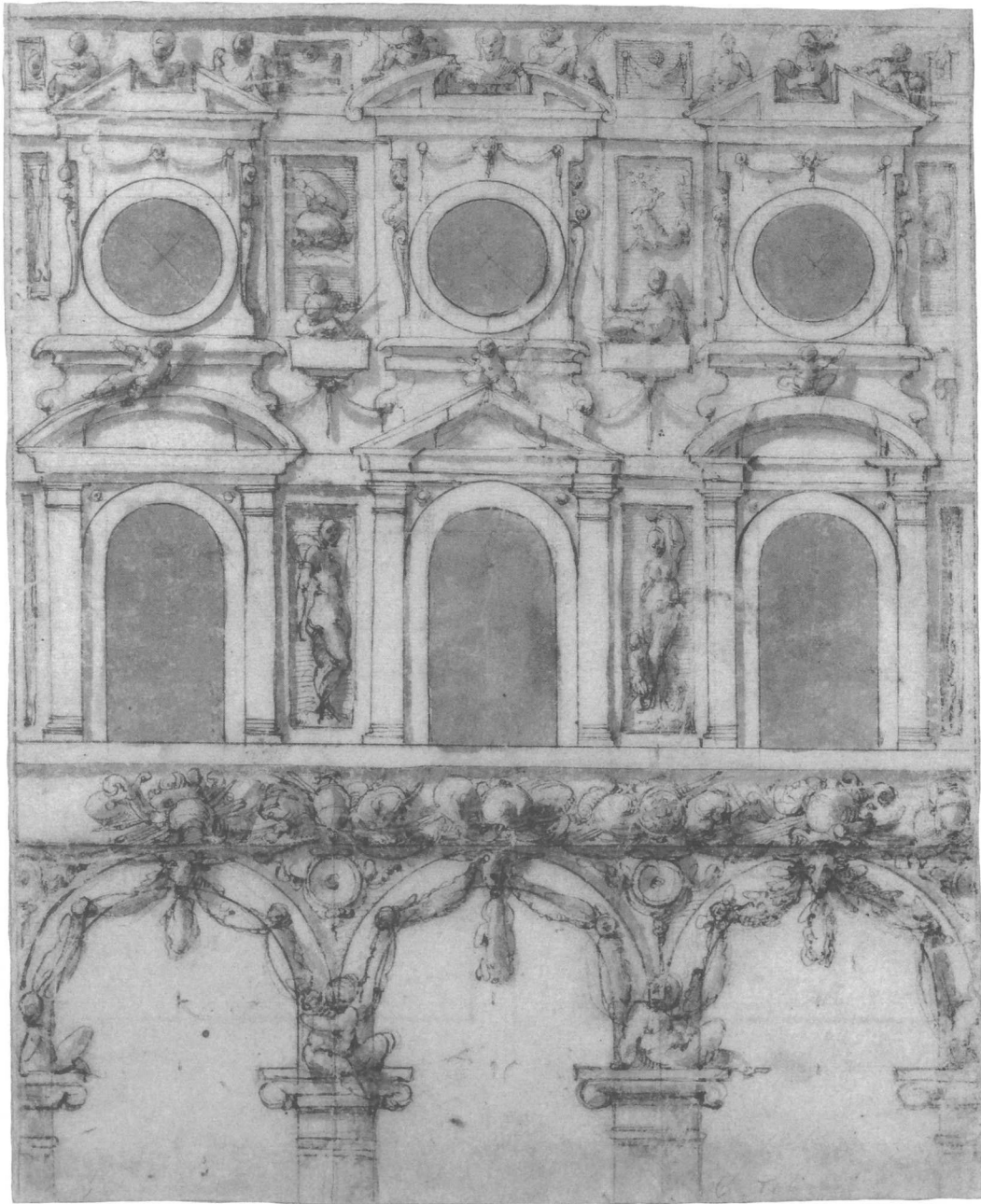
2. "...non volere alterare i fondamenti e le mura maternali di questo luogo, per avere esse, con questa forma vecchia, dato origine al suo governo..." (Vasari, ed. Milanesi 1892, 8:14; trans. Draper 1973, 89).

3. "...queste muraglie, le quale per esseri tante discordanze e brutezza di stanzacie vecchie ed in loro disunite, che mostranci il medesimo ordine che era in loro per la mutazione de' governi passati; dove il Duca nostro adesso mostra appunto in questa fabrica il bel modo che ha trovato di ricorreggerla, per far di lei, come ha fatto questo governo..." (*Ibid.*, 16; trans. Draper 1973, 92).

4. "Adunque queste storie di questi vecchi di casa nostra volete che ancora esse partecipino delle qualità delli Dei celesti...le stanze di sopra, che ora son poste vicino al cielo, che non ci ha ire sopra altra muraglia, nè pitture, e mostrono (ed in effetto sono) l'ultimo cielo di questo palazzo, dove in pittura oggi abitano le origini delli Dei celesti; dinotando che i nostri piedi, cioè l'opere, quando ci portano in altezza, ci lievano di terra col pensiero e con le operazioni, e camminando andiamo per mezzo delle fatiche virtuose a trovare le cose celesti, considerando alli effetti del grande Iddio, ed a' semi delle gran virtù poste da sua Maesta nelle creature quaggiù, le quali, quelle che per dono celeste fanno in terra fra i mortali effetti grandi, sono nominati Dei terrestri..." (*Ibid.*, 85-6; trans. Draper 1973, 199-200). This understanding of the Medici as *Dei terrestri* may be an afterthought, although it seems to have been referred to in contemporary discourse before the publication of the *Ragionamenti*.

5. Drawings attributed to Gherardi are rare in the United States, most being housed in the Uffizi and the Louvre.

6. "E se bene mi hanno alcuni de' giovani miei creati aiutato, mi hanno alcuna volta fatto comodo et alcuna no; perciò che ho avuto tallora rifare ogni cosa di mia mano e tutta ricoprire la tavola perché sia d'un medesima maniera..." (Vasari, ed. Bettarini/Barocchi 1966-, 6:402; trans. Hinds 1980, 4:285). On the curious requirement that the whole cycle be in the same style even if in different hands (and for another example), see Creighton E. Gilbert, *Italian Art 1400-1500: Sources and Documents* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 125-26.



CAT. 40: Attributed to VINCENZO BORGHINI, *Study for the Decoration of the East Wall of the Courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio*, ca. 1575. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. Yale University Art Gallery, Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund.

CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

III

- 26 Plans of the First and Second Floors of the Palazzo Vecchio adapted from Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: Guida Storica* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1980), plans II and IV
- 27 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Ragionamenti di Sig. Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari sopra le inventioni da lui dipinte in Firenze nel Palazzo di loro Altezze Serenissime...* (Florence: Filippo Giunti, 1588)  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. 1974.3486  
 Recent Bibliography: Paola Tinagli Baxter, "Rileggendo i 'Ragionamenti,'" and Elizabeth McGrath, "Il senso nostro': The Medici Allegory Applied to Vasari's Mythological Frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio," in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica* 1985, 83-93, 117-34; Bryce 1983, 51-71; *Giorgio Vasari: Principi, letterati e artisti* 1981, Section VII, cat. 27 (Paola Tinagli Baxter); Jean Rouchette, "Niveaux de langages et niveaux de communication dans l'oeuvre peint de Vasari au Palais-Vieux," in *Il Vasari Storiografo e Artista* 1976, 815-55; Draper 1973
- 28 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*The First Fruits of the Earth Offered to Saturn*, 1555-56  
 Study for *Element Earth*, Sala degli Elementi, Palazzo Vecchio  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over traces of red chalk, 170 x 392 mm  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund. 1971.273  
 Recent Bibliography: Feinberg 1991, cat. 52; Jacob Bean, *Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), cat. 262; Allegri and Cecchi 1980, 71
- 29 **CRISTOFANO GHERARDI (1508-1556)** and **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*The First Fruits of the Earth Offered to Saturn/ Allegory of the Element Earth*, 1556. Fresco in the Sala degli Elementi, Palazzo Vecchio.  
 Photograph courtesy Art Resource, New York
- 30 **CRISTOFANO GHERARDI**  
*Vulcan's Forge/Allegory of the Element of Fire*, 1555-56. Study for fresco in the Sala degli Elementi, Palazzo Vecchio. Pen and brown ink with brown wash, 230 x 417 mm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Dis. 760E. Color photograph
- 31 **GIORGIO VASARI** or **CRISTOFANO GHERARDI**  
*Vulcan's Forge/Allegory of the Element of Fire*, 1555-56. Study for fresco in the Sala degli Elementi, Palazzo Vecchio. Black chalk over red chalk on tinted sepia paper, 232 x 170 mm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Dis. 1653 Orn. Color photograph

- 32 CRISTOFANO GHERARDI  
*Vulcan's Forge/Allegory of the Element of Fire*, 1556. Fresco in the Sala degli Elementi, Palazzo Vecchio, 1556. Photograph courtesy Art Resource, New York
- 33 GIORGIO VASARI  
*The Abduction of Ganymede*, 1556–58  
Study for a lost tapestry for the Sala di Giove, Palazzo Vecchio  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk on blue paper squared in black chalk, 231 x 180 mm  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund. 1983.31  
  
Recent Bibliography: Cecchi 1992, 244; Muccini and Cecchi 1991, 184
- 34 GIORGIO VASARI  
*The Sacrifice of Jupiter on the Island of Naxos*, 1556–58  
Design for a lost tapestry for the Sala di Giove, Palazzo Vecchio  
Pen and sepia ink with brown wash, 300 x 189 mm  
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, CT, Purchased through the gift of James Junius Goodwin. 1948.126  
  
Recent Bibliography: Muccini and Cecchi 1991, 184; *The Age of Vasari* 1970, cat. D45
- 35 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Design for the Ceiling of the Sala di Lorenzo Magnifico, Palazzo Vecchio*, 1556–62  
Pen and sepia ink with brown wash, over black chalk, 393 x 362 mm  
Inscribed under central image: "Presente del Soldano e daltri Principi"; and inscribed with names of the historical figures and virtues depicted  
The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of George Hopper Fitch. 1967.25  
  
Recent Bibliography: *The Age of Vasari* 1970, cat. D39; Stampfle 1968
- 36 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Two Bishops in Conversation*, ca. 1562  
Study for *The Coronation of Charles V by Clement VII*, Sala di Clemente, Palazzo Vecchio  
Black chalk with touches of white chalk on blue paper, thinly washed in brown ink, 216 x 285 mm  
Lent by Rick Scorza, London  
  
Recent Bibliography: Rick Scorza, *Italian Old Master Drawings* (London: Disegno, 1993), cat. 10
- 37 GIORGIO VASARI  
*The Town of Borgo San Sepolcro Paying Tribute to Duke Cosimo I of Florence*, ca. 1558  
Study for the ceiling of the Sala di Cosimo I, Palazzo Vecchio  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, heightened with opaque white on blue laid paper, mounted on laid paper, squared in black chalk for transfer, 160 x 183 mm  
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. NGC 9838
- 38 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Six Scenes of the Foundation and Early History of Florence*, 1564  
Studies for decorations in the Sala dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, 219 x 110 mm (left half), 219 x 109 mm (right half)  
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Bequest of Charles A. Loeser. 1932.157a-b  
  
Recent Bibliography: Feinberg 1991, cat. 56; Agnes Mongan, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jonathan Bober, *The Famous Italian Drawings at the Fogg Museum in Cambridge* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1988), cat. 37; National Museum of Western Art, *European Master Drawings from the Fogg Art Museum* (Tokyo: 1979), cat. 18; Konrad Oberhuber, *Old Master Drawings: Selections from the Charles A. Loeser Bequest* (Cambridge: Fogg Art Museum, 1979), cat. 22a,b; *The Age of Vasari* 1970, cat. D42; Rubenstein 1967

- 39 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Colle Val d'Elsa and San Gimignano and The Siege of Porto Ercole*, both 1563  
 Two studies for the ceiling of the Sala dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash,  
 36 x 37 mm; 75 x 31 mm  
 Lent by Edmund P. Pillsbury, B.A. 1965  
 Recent Bibliography: Pillsbury and Caldwell 1974, cat. 18
- 40 Attributed to **VINCENZO BORGHINI**  
 (1515–1580)  
*Study for the Decoration of the East Wall of the Courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio* (recto); *Partial Diagram of a Ceiling with Circular, Square, and Rectangular Panels* (verso), ca. 1575  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over a preliminary drawing in black chalk, with the aid of a straightedge, stylus, and compass (recto); pen and brown ink, with the aid of a straightedge (verso): 242 x 193 mm  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund. 1964.9.64  
 Recent Bibliography: Pillsbury and Caldwell 1974, cat. 18; Pillsbury 1969–70
- 41 **CRISTOFANO GHERARDI** or **FRANCESCO SALVIATI**  
*The Holy Family with the Infant St. John and St. Elizabeth*, ca. 1545  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash, heightened with white over traces of black chalk, 243 x 173 mm  
 The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. 1947.13  
 Recent Bibliography: Felton Gibbons, *Catalogue of Italian Drawings in the Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), cat. 572; Catherine Monbeig-Goguel, "Gherardi senza Vasari," *Arte Illustrata* 5 (1972), 30–45
- 42 **JAN VAN DER STRAET**, called **STRADANUS**  
 (1523–1605)  
*Adoration of the Shepherds*, ca. 1570  
 Point of the brush and brown ink with ochre wash, over a preliminary drawing in black chalk, 412 x 287 mm  
 Lent by Edmund P. Pillsbury, B.A. 1965  
 Recent Bibliography: Pillsbury and Caldwell 1974, cat. 22
- 43 **JACOPO ZUCCHI** (1540–1596)  
*Allegory of Architecture*, ca. 1585  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over black chalk, 198 x 164 mm  
 Lent by Edmund P. Pillsbury, B.A. 1965  
 Recent Bibliography: *The Age of Vasari* 1970, cat. D28
- 44 Attributed to **JACOPO ZUCCHI**  
*Design for a Catafalque for Cosimo I de' Medici*, 1574  
 Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over a preliminary drawing in black chalk, 395 x 270 mm  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Edmund P. Pillsbury, B.A. 1965. 1986.117.2  
 Recent Bibliography: Edmund Pillsbury, "Drawings by Zucchi," *Master Drawings* 12 (1974): 3–33; Pillsbury and Caldwell 1974, cat. 33; Edmund Pillsbury, *Florence and the Arts* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1971), cat. 60; *The Age of Vasari* 1970, cat. D27; F. Adams, ed., *Fourteenth Annual Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1965 and 1966* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1967), 106–7; Eve Borsook, "The Funeral of Cosimo I," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz* 12 (1965–66), 53, fig. 10

- 45 DOMENICO MELLINI  
*Descrizione dell'entrata della sereniss. reina  
 Giovanna d'Austria: et dell'apparato, fatto in  
 Firenze nella venuta, & per le felicissime nozze...*  
 (Florence: Filippi Giunti, 1566)  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,  
 Yale University. 1992.465
- 46 Letter from Cosimo I to Antonio de' Nobili on  
 behalf of Giorgio Vasari granting him the *casa*  
 and *podere* at Montici (Montughi)  
 Copy of an original dated 23 March 1560  
 Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 48,  
 folder 1057 (Filza 34, filzetta 33)  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,  
 Yale University
- Recent Bibliography: Babcock and Ducharme  
 1989
- 47 Inventory of the Contents of the Villa at  
 Moccoli, ca. 1574  
 Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 47,  
 folder 1022 (Filza 34, filzetta 6)  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,  
 Yale University



CAT. 28: GIORGIO VASARI, *The First Fruits of the Earth Offered to Saturn*, 1555–56. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund.



CAT. 50: GIORGIO VASARI, *Fame Blows her Horn Waking Artists from their Graves*. Title page of part I, from *Le Vite* (1568). Woodcut. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE HISTORY OF ART:  
GIORGIO VASARI, THE VITE, AND THE FLORENTINE ACADEMY

When Giorgio Vasari first published *Le Vite de piu eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri* in 1550, his purpose was to fix in print the lives and works of his illustrious predecessors whose primary currency had hitherto been oral. The resulting volume, a series of compact lives arranged in quasi-chronological order according to the degree of perfection each artist supposedly achieved, was rigidly structured both in its entirety and on the level of each individual *vita*. Beginning with a moralizing introduction and ending with the names of a few students and summary statements about the perpetuation of the artist's fame (often in the form of a colorless Latin epigram of uncertain origin),<sup>1</sup> Vasari consistently employed literary mechanisms to provide the *vite* with narrative momentum.

In 1568, a revised edition went to press, addressing the new concerns that Vasari had developed in the eighteen years dividing the two publications. So great were the changes that Vasari would claim in his new preface, "thus, it is not enough to say that I have corrected these lives; since they have received such large additions that many of them may be said to be written anew; while many, even of the older masters, which were not before included, have now been added to the number."<sup>2</sup> His alterations and additions for the most part serve to emphasize the works over the biography and the intercommunication between artists over the fickle nature of their destinies. The result leaves the reader with an overwhelming sense of artists overlapping and coexisting within time and space.<sup>3</sup>

After the publication of the first *Vite*, Vasari's life changed in several respects. Perhaps in part because of the notoriety he achieved after writing the history of art, he became famous as an artist in his own right. Following important commissions from the Altoviti

family in Rome, he received the task of redesigning the interior of the Palazzo Vecchio and filling it with frescoes (see section III of catalogue). Along with the psychological satisfaction accompanying his position came a waning of his concern about Fortuna and a greater security in the informative value of visual media as evidence of artistic merit and avenues of artistic teaching. Thus Vasari not only made his second edition more visually stimulating by including artists' portraits and devising a new frontispiece dramatizing Fame waking artists from their graves;<sup>4</sup> but, more importantly, he illustrated his second edition with references to the drawings in his *Libro de' Disegni*. The sixteenth century lacked the technology for reproducing works of art or drawings; in this light, Vasari's solution of cross-referencing may be regarded as an ingenious step toward the creation of the modern illustrated art history book.

The other great impetus for emphasizing drawings was Vasari's founding of the *Accademia del Disegno* in 1563 with the support of Duke Cosimo I. Dedicated to the perpetuation of superior *disegno*, the Florentine Academy of Art encouraged drawing both after live models and after the "better-than-life" forms of good statues, Michelangelo's sculptures in the Medici Chapel being the most important example.<sup>5</sup> Given Vasari's interest in promoting that institution, it is not surprising that the 1568 edition of the *Vite* is dedicated to its members. It further contains a specific description of the progress of younger artists such as Giovanni Battista Naldini and Federico Zuccaro; and, within the framework of the artists' biographies, Vasari traces the Academy's institutional predecessors.

The first and most spiritually resonant of these early learning centers is Lorenzo de' Medici's famous Sculpture Garden at San Marco, Florence, which was





CAT. 53: AGOSTINO MUSI, called AGOSTINO VENEZIANO, *The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli*, after 1531. Engraving. Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Ralph Kirkpatrick.

responsible for nurturing Michelangelo's artistic talent. Vasari's lengthiest description of this Medici-sponsored art school occurs in the life of one of his own teachers, Baccio Bandinelli, for the school was founded by Baccio's father. Later, in 1531, Baccio carried on the family tradition by establishing an academy in the Belvedere courtyard of the Vatican. Like the back room represented in Vasari's fresco *Zeuxis and the Five Maidens* (cat. 5, illus.), Agostino Veneziano's print of Baccio's Academy (cat. 53, illus.) features shadowy effects and intensive study.

MWG

#### NOTES

1. Rosanna Bettarini, "Vasari Scrittore: come la Torrentiniana devengo Giuntina," in *Il Vasari: Storiografo e artista* 1976, 485-500.
2. "...non ho potuto correggere quanto accrescere allora tante cose, che molto Vite si possono dire essere quasi rifatte di' nuovo: come alcuna veramente delli antichi pure, che non ci era, si e di nuovo aggiunta..." (Vasari, ed. Bettarini/Barocchi 1966-, 1:175-76; trans. Blashfield, Blashfield, and Hopkins 1896, 1:lxviii).
3. About the two editions see Bettarini, "Vasari Scrittore"; Zygmunt Wazbinski, "L'idée de l'histoire dans la première et la seconde édition des *Vies* de Vasari," in *Il Vasari Storiografo e artista* 1976, 1-25; and Paola Barocchi, "L'antibiografia del secondo Vasari," in *Studi Vasariani* 1984, 157-70.
4. For relevant citations, see note 7 of my essay, "Vasari's Allegorical Imagination."
5. *Ibid.*, note 11.
6. See Jacobs 1984.



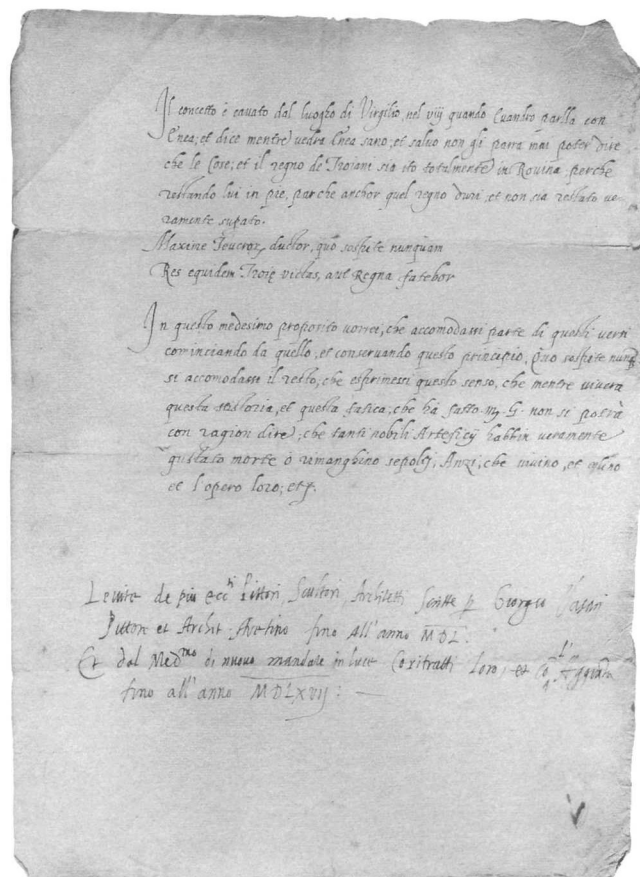
CAT. 52: GIORGIO VASARI, Album page from the *Libro de' Disegni*, with nine drawings by Filippino Lippi and one by Sandro Botticelli, 1480–1500. Pen and brown ink with brown and gray washes added by Vasari after 1524. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Woodner Family Collection, Patron's Permanent Fund.

CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

IV

- 48 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
 Title page of parts I and II, from *Le Vite de piu eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri...*, 2 vols. (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550)  
 Woodcut frame and type, 185 x 120 mm  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, JB.55  
  
 Recent Bibliography: LeMollé 1988; Vasari, ed. Bellosi 1986; *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica* 1985; Boase 1979; *Il Vasari Storiografo e artista* 1976; Vasari, ed. Bettarini/Barocchi 1966–; Reith aus Mannheim 1966
- 49 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*The Three Arts and Fame*, last page of part III, from *Le Vite* (1550)  
 Woodcut, 136 x 110 mm (oval)  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, JB.55
- 50 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Fame Blows her Horn Waking Artists from their Graves*, title page of part I, from *Le Vite* (1568)  
 Woodcut frame, image, and type, 195 x 134 mm  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Save 1777  
  
 Recent Bibliography: See cat. 48
- 51 Interpretive Note Regarding the Virgilian Provenance of the Epigram Used in the Frontispiece of the Second Edition of *Le Vite*, before 1568. Perhaps originally part of Vasari's *Zibaldone*  
 Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 48, folder 1057 (Filza 34, filzetta 33)  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University  
  
 Recent Bibliography: See "Vasari's Allegorical Imagination," note 7
- 52 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
 Album page from the *Libro de' Disegni*, with nine drawings by Filippino Lippi and one by Sandro Botticelli, 1480–1500. Vasari added the decorative framework in pen and brown ink with brown and gray wash after 1524; 567 x 457 mm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Woodner Family Collection, Patron's Permanent Fund. 1991.190.1. Color photograph courtesy the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.  
  
 Recent Bibliography: Ragghianti Collobi, *Il Libro de' Disegni del Vasari* 1974; see also "Vasari's Allegorical Imagination," note 9

- 53 AGOSTINO MUSI, called AGOSTINO VENEZIANO (1490–1536)  
After BACCIO BANDINELLI (1493–1560)  
*The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli*, after 1531  
Engraving, 312 x 189 mm  
Bartsch XV.305.49 (under Enea Vico),  
first state of two  
Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Ralph Kirkpatrick. 1966.118.1
- 54 GIOVANNI BATTISTA DI MATTEO NALDINI (1537–1591)  
*Study of a Youth*, ca. 1575  
Red chalk and red wash corrected with white,  
226 x 203 mm  
Yale University Art Gallery, Anonymous Gift.  
1972.38  
Recent Bibliography: Pillsbury and Caldwell 1974
- 55 GIOVANNI BATTISTA DI MATTEO NALDINI  
*Study after Michelangelo's Statue of Lorenzo de' Medici*, 1560s  
Black and white chalk, 437 x 291 mm  
The Art Museum, Princeton University, Bequest of Dan Fellows Platt. 1948.761  
Recent Bibliography: Feinberg 1991, cat. 29; Felton Gibbons, *Catalogue of Italian Drawings in the Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), cat. 453; Janos Scholz, "Italian Drawings in the Art Museum of Princeton University," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (1967): 290–99



CAT. 51: Interpretive Note Regarding the Virgilian Provenance of the Epigram Used in the Frontispiece of the Second Edition of *Le Vite*, before 1568. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



CAT. 63: FEDERICO ZUCCARO, *The Artist, Vincenzo Borghini, Niccolosa, and Giorgio Vasari before the model of the Cupola of Florence Cathedral*. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

VASARI'S FINAL CHALLENGE:  
THE CUPOLA OF FLORENCE CATHEDRAL

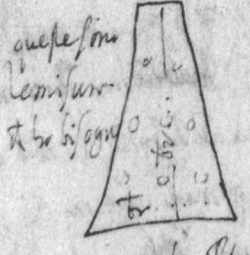
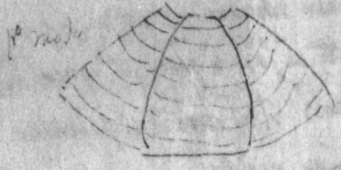
When in 1420 Brunelleschi completed his great dome for the cathedral, known proudly to Florentines as the “cupolone,” it represented one of the most remarkable technological achievements since classical antiquity. Nearly a century and a half later, Cosimo I called on Vasari to fresco the interior of the cupola. Despite his unwavering devotion to the Grand Duke, the aging artist faced the task with some trepidation. Brunelleschi had engineered the inner lantern to support a scaffolding; and his contemporary, Lorenzo Ghiberti, who executed the stained-glass windows in the octagonal drum, proposed decorating the vaults of the tribunes with mosaics on the model of the nearby Baptistry. Vasari too looked to Coppo di Marcovaldo's celebrated mosaic, not only in selecting his theme, the *Last Judgment*, but also in organizing the pictorial program around eight compartments, or *spicchi*. From the outset, however, Vasari envisioned the cupola as a vertiginous illusionistic conceit painted in fresco, as if seen from far below (*dal sotto in sù*), looking perhaps to the hemispherical domes of S. Giovanni Evangelista and the Duomo in Parma painted by Correggio or to Melozzo da Forlì's dome of SS. Apostoli in Rome.<sup>1</sup> Vasari, on the other hand, had to accommodate his composition to the eight facets of the cupola while still achieving a coherent visual effect. This difficulty posed a particular concern to the artist's iconographic advisors. Vincenzo Borghini, unable to sleep, wrote to Vasari in August 1570 pointing out that the orders of the angels, while an appropriate subject, were unfortunately nine in number.<sup>2</sup> He further cautioned that the eight corners would appear too conspicuous (“tanto vivi et tanto apparenti”) if Vasari did not take care to incorporate them into his design. Using keyed diagrams, Borghini demonstrated the disadvantage of horizon-

tal registers (“primo modo”) compared to a vertical disposition (“2<sup>o</sup> modo”) radiating from the central figure of Christ (cat. 58, illus.).<sup>3</sup> His solution balanced the descending movement of the *spicchi* with a concentric array of cherubim, seraphim, apostles, prophets, doctors, and patrons of the Church.

This hierarchical schema, which Vasari adopted with minor variations, obviously owed much to Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel. Like Michelangelo, Borghini borrowed heavily from Dante's *Divina Commedia* for his imagery. Vasari's colleagues were also wont to compare the challenge before him to that of the divine Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel. In September 1571, Cosimo Bartoli wrote from Venice, having seen the cartoons for the cupola, to reassure Vasari that despite the enormous travail still ahead, this commission would push the artist to new heights (“et non vi cresce lo animo tanto, che non coppia per la letitia nella cupola”). To spur his friend on further, Bartoli recalled with regret that Michelangelo had not carried through on his plan to decorate the *corridoio* beside the Palazzo Vecchio according to Cosimo's wishes.<sup>4</sup> Vasari himself, in January 1572, confided to Francesco de' Medici that Michelangelo's feat on the Sistine ceiling gave him guidance and inspiration (“la volta della capella di Michelagnolo mi sarà scorta”).<sup>5</sup>

The chronology of Vasari's progress on the cupola can be documented extensively from his correspondence.<sup>6</sup> Already in September 1568, Vasari listed “otto spicchi per S.<sup>ta</sup> M.<sup>a</sup> del Fiore” among several works in progress.<sup>7</sup> Cosimo granted the official commission in August 1571, and on 29 December Vasari sent a petition, or *supplica*, ordering the construction of scaffolding and determining the work schedule and salaries for his *bottega*. Meanwhile, Vasari had been called back to Rome, and several

Anzitutto par di gli altri in dimando: esopriamo in Dio, et no in uomini  
 mai mano in peccato, et co la sua gra, no la casualitate  
 Al modo di fare è doppio, o forse come fare un altro spig: il primo  
 è di dividere la cupola in cerchi da alto in basso, a 9° gradi  
 l'altro è, et me lo guastano gli spigoli come  
 se mi dicessi, et uno segno fuori il cerchio, et gli altri  
 uno intorno cerchio, et uno di ogni angolo, et  
 altri, spunt da alto in basso, ma il lungo in  
 questo modo et  
 dove so le facce  
 sono gli spigoli della  
 cupola et in loro saranno dove è il cerchio, ma questi et  
 si funzionano et la pittura artificiale, et si figurano in piano  
 con la cupola, si potrebbe con  
 considerate bene



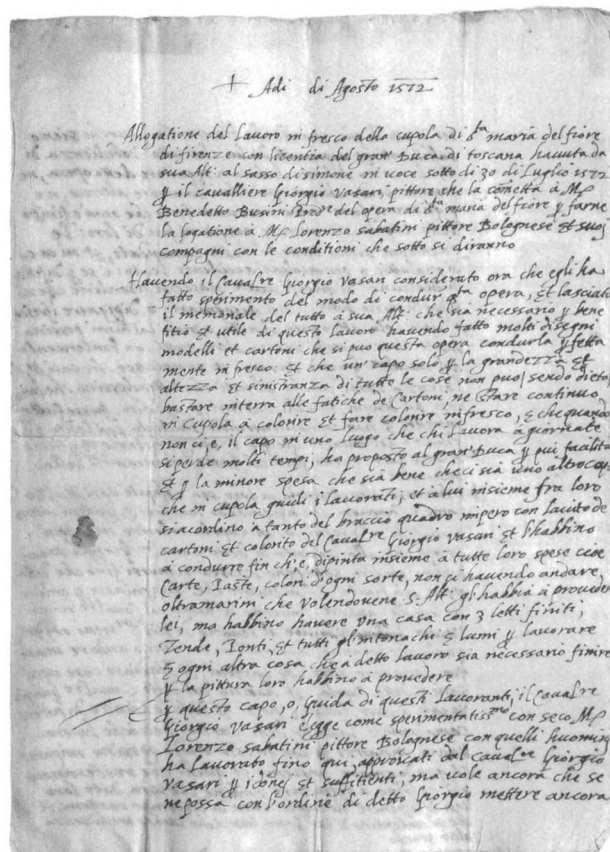
una cupola di  
 cupola di dentro

Almo nro et d'ora a 30 d'ag 1570  
 V. Borghini B.

CAT. 58: Letter from Vincenzo Borghini to Giorgio Vasari, dated 30 August 1570, concerning the composition of the fresco for the cupola of Florence Cathedral. Arezzo, Casa del Vasari, Archives.

months passed before the next stage of negotiations. In early February 1572, Borghini reported to him that there were great expectations for the cupola, if only the artist could return to Florence by May.<sup>8</sup> As fate would have it, Pius V died on 2 May 1572. Vasari mourned the loss of his patron (“gran perdita, per me infinita”). Busy at work on the *Battle of Lepanto* in the Sala Regia, he immediately turned his attention to the cupola. That same day he dispatched the first box of cartoons to Florence.<sup>9</sup> Two weeks later he was there to oversee the erection of the scaffolding. On 6 June 1572, Tommaso de’ Medici, as ducal *tesoriere*, officially confirmed the terms of the contract in a *Memoriale* addressed to Cosimo on behalf of Vasari and the procurator of S. Maria del Fiore, Benedetto Busini.<sup>10</sup> The job was to take five years at the cost of just over 8 lire for each square *braccia* frescoed. To insure that work proceeded on schedule, Vasari agreed to pay the *giovani* out of his own annual provision of 300 ducats and, if need be, to take over himself in seeing the execution to the end. Vasari’s team included three *maestri* for the finished fresco, three to prepare wax and clay models of the figures, and two to paint the ornamental borders and clouds and to transfer the cartoons to the wall. In addition, there was to be one “maestro d’importanza, pittore pratico” to supervise the project from up above, while Vasari busied himself with preparatory cartoons and tended to other commissions, in particular the Sala Regia at the Vatican.

On June 11 the *maestri* started the frescoes and within two months were lowering the scaffold to commence work on the second register (*pontata*). On the morning of August 13, Vasari wrote to Cosimo, who was then inspecting his fortifications at Sasso di Simone in the Apennines, to report that work had begun on the nine choirs of angels. Given the rapid progress to date, Vasari at this juncture realized that his services were becoming less and less necessary (“con manco mio sturbo”) and renegotiated the contract at the lower rate of 5 lire, 14 soldi, 8 denari.<sup>11</sup> This would leave him free to pursue the renovations in S. Maria Novella and S. Croce and the building of the Uffizi.



CAT. 56: Contract between Cosimo I and Giorgio Vasari for Completion of the Cupola of Florence Cathedral, dated August 1572. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Later in August, Vasari drafted a formal contract confirming the terms agreed to “in voce” during a meeting with the Duke on July 30. From the text of this *allogatione*, which came to light among the papers in the Beinecke archive, we get a glimpse of Vasari’s artistic practice in his final years (cat. 56, illus.). Of utmost concern was the physical strain of mounting the scaffold between each day’s portion of fresco (*giornata*). He pointed out to the Duke the time saved in having a *capomaestro* to supervise from above (“quando non ci è il capo in uno luogo che chi lavora a giornate si perde molti tempi”). Vasari would see to the furnishing of cartoons and materials such as paper, paste, and pigments: ultramarine, the most expensive, he would have to obtain expressly at the Duke’s behest (“non ci havendo andare oltramari-



ni che volendovene S. Alt. gl'habbia a provederlei"). The *giovani* were to be provided a house with three beds, scaffolds, and adequate supply of plaster and lanterns. Vasari, in his concern to expedite matters, reserved the option of hiring an additional six or eight assistants.

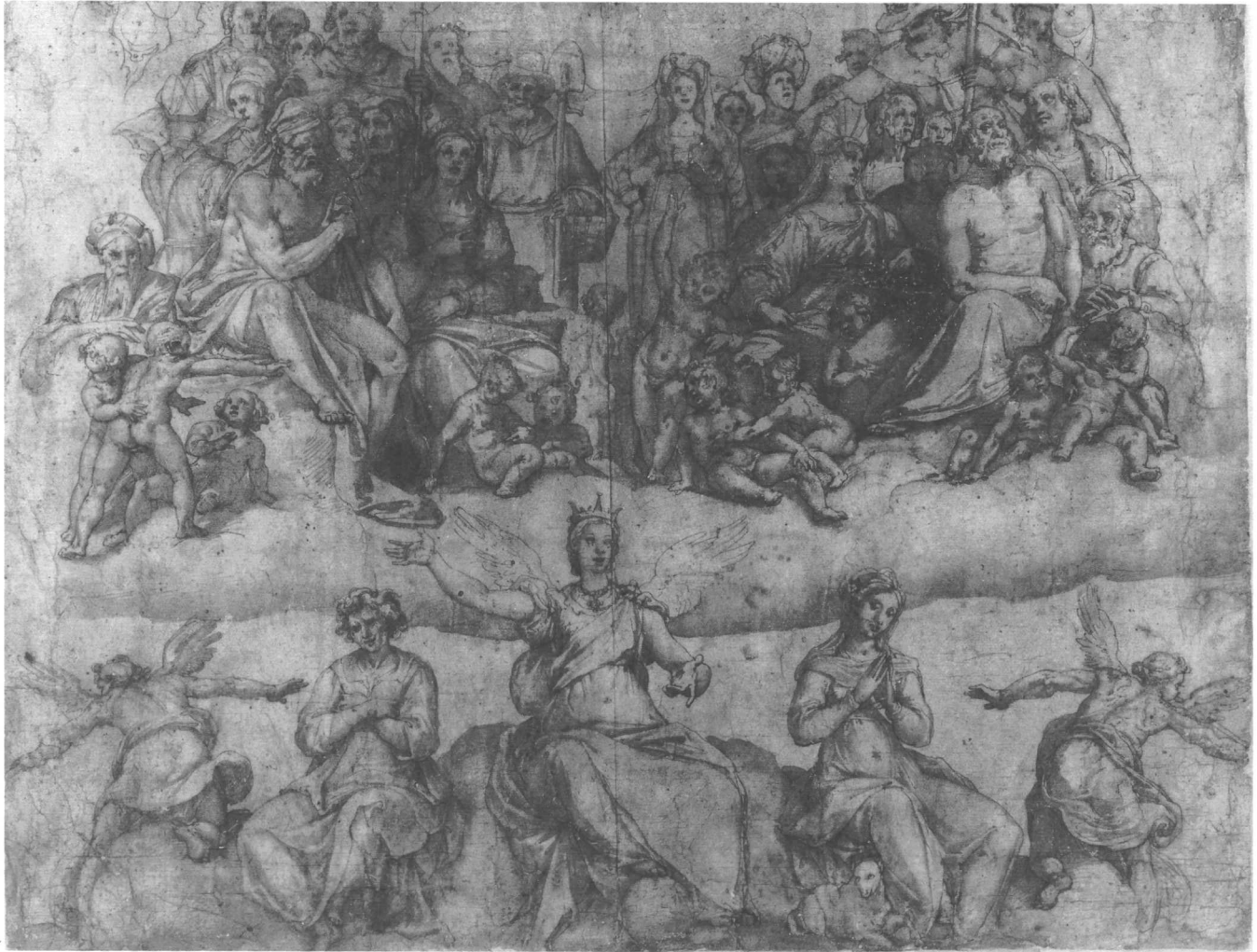
According to this *allogatione*, Vasari entrusted the daily operations of his *bottega* to Lorenzo Sabatini, a Bolognese painter born around 1530 who had trained under Parmigianino.<sup>12</sup> Vasari judged him highly experienced ("sperimentatissimo"), referring to the fact that he had employed Sabatini in a similar capacity on earlier projects.<sup>13</sup> Almost twenty years Vasari's junior, Sabatini had already established his reputation as an independent master before joining the workshop. In February 1562, he wrote to Vasari from Bologna apologizing for not having finished a drawing as promised, adding that the sculptor Giambologna would carry it with him shortly to Florence.<sup>14</sup> Apparently Vasari had heard of the artist's talents and wished to include an example of his oeuvre in the *Libro de' disegni*.<sup>15</sup> Four years later, Vasari enlisted the help of Borghini to acquire more drawings by Sabatini for his album.<sup>16</sup> In the *Vite*, he recorded Sabatini's participation in decorating the Palazzo Vecchio, in particular the vault of the *ricetto* between the Sala dei Cinquecento and Sala dei Dugento with its rich allegorical figures and grotesques celebrating the marriage of Giovanna and Francesco in 1565. Sabatini also took part in the ephemeral stagesets, or *apparato*, heralding their wedding.<sup>17</sup> Tommaso de' Medici, who had the honor of presenting the royal crown on that occasion, had probably already come into contact with Sabatini. Earlier that year he had administered the expenses to various artists of the Florentine Academy, including both Sabatini and Federico Zuccaro, for the *catafalque* of Michelangelo in San Lorenzo.<sup>18</sup>

Expected posthaste back in Rome, Vasari included contingencies in the event that neither he nor Sabatini could see the project through to its termination. The new pope, Gregory XIII Boncompagni, came from Bologna and not surprisingly employed a number of Bolognese painters at the Vatican. Shortly after his election in May 1572, he had summoned

Sabatini, though the painter did not arrive until April of the following year.<sup>19</sup> By this time Vasari sensed his own faculties waning and handed over responsibility for the decoration of the Sala Regia to Sabatini.<sup>20</sup> The pope's nephew, Filippo Boncompagni, cardinal of S. Sisto, then appointed Sabatini to complete the frescoes flanking Michelangelo's *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and *Conversion of St. Paul* in the Cappella Paolina according to the program conceived by Borghini and Vasari. The fate of this commission curiously parallels that of the cupola, as we will see; for it was Federico Zuccaro who finished the work in 1580, four years after Sabatini's premature death.<sup>21</sup>

Shortly before leaving Florence, Vasari addressed a second *supplica* to the Grand Duke effectively relieving him of any direct role in the execution of the cupola. This previously unknown document, dated 11 September 1572, also turned up among the Beinecke papers (cat. 57). It is an official copy of the missive drafted by Tommaso de' Medici, who added his signature and the words "C[opia] de m[anda]t[is]".<sup>22</sup> The entire budget was reassessed at 3,000 ducats. By this time, Vasari had spent nearly a year on preparatory sketches. Almost a thousand square *braccie*—the equivalent of one *spicchio*—had already been executed, and the artist owed salary in arrears to his assistants. Naturally Vasari wished for a speedy completion of the frescoes, not only for Cosimo's sake, but to offset his mounting debts. Moreover, having just turned sixty, he felt handicapped by his advancing age and the physical demands of working at such altitudes. At the end of the letter, Vasari enjoined God to keep him healthy long enough to enjoy the fruits of his labors.

Vasari had produced the bulk of drawings for the uppermost zone, including the twenty four *Seniori*, between the winter of 1571 and the following August.<sup>22</sup> In this first campaign, he may have applied finishing touches to the fresco. But as work progressed to the third and fourth registers, including the *Choir of Angels* and *Elevation of the Cross*, he distanced himself further and further from the project. On 14 November 1572, Vasari notified Borghini that he had arrived in Rome "sano et salvo," having been summoned by Cardinal



CAT. 61: FEDERICO ZUCCARO, *Details from the Last Judgment*, 1575–77. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. Yale University Art Gallery, Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, and Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., B.A. 1913, Funds.

Boncompagni.<sup>23</sup> Borghini collected Vasari's first installment of 100 ducats and held on to the *supplica* in case complications arose.<sup>24</sup> In January 1573, Vasari reassured Cosimo that he had not abandoned the project ("che mi comanda...che io torni a dar fine alla gran cupola"), but both the artist and his patron were rapidly failing in health.<sup>25</sup> Cosimo's death came in April 1574, and Vasari's two months later.

The frescoes remained roughly two-thirds unfinished; and Sabatini, who had less than two years to live, gradually lost the impetus to complete the cupola. After a hiatus of a year, Federico Zuccaro offered to Francesco II de' Medici to take over the project under the same terms and at the same salary as Vasari, while retaining Borghini's services as advisor. The completed ensemble was unveiled on 19 August 1579, and in October the last parts of the scaffolding came down. Zuccaro's famous drawing in the Uffizi shows the artist at far left consulting with Borghini before a model of the cupola (cat. 63, illus.).<sup>26</sup> The setting may be one of the rooms of the Palazzo Vecchio, to judge from the view of the Duomo enframed by a window in the right corner. Seated beside Borghini is Niccolosa Bacci, Vasari's widow; Giorgio himself has fallen asleep, presumably wearied by the deliberations. Federico inscribed his name at the bottom, identifying himself as "pittore da Urbino," not incidentally also the birthplace of Raphael. Clearly Federico wished to align himself in opposition to Vasari and his many adherents, who vaunted the superiority of Michelangelo. His depiction of the cupola as a blank slate is also significant, for recent restoration reveals that in several places he applied a fresh coat of *intonaco* over the preexisting frescoes and altered Vasari's figures. This would explain the sum of 686 ducats paid to Zuccaro in 1578 for having "disfatto" and "rifatto" 834 square *braccie* of Vasari's fresco.<sup>27</sup> In the final oil version of this scene now in the Bibliotheca Hertziana (originally the Zuccari palace in Rome), the right edge including the portrait of Vasari has been entirely cut away.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the inner surface of the model has been sketched in with the general outlines of the entire composition.<sup>29</sup>

Zuccaro had occasion to depict Vasari again on the southwest *spicchio* of the cupola among the host of Blessed Christians, who also include Vincenzo Borghini, the priest Don Benedetto Borghini, Giambologna, Federico himself, and his brother Taddeo. The original study for this composition is in the British Museum; from it the artist developed the *modello* recently acquired by the Yale Art Gallery (cat. 61, illus.).<sup>30</sup> The two drawings are almost identical, save for the partial figure at the upper left whose identity is unknown. On the bottom sit personifications of the Spiritual Gift of Timor Domini, the Beatitude of Poverty, and the Virtue of Humility.

Zuccaro was known for his defiant, often antagonistic stance toward fellow artists. On one occasion, he defended his reputation by conceiving an elaborate allegorical composition representing Minerva, goddess of the arts, standing under the Gate of Virtue, with the vanquished figures of Ignorance and Calumny at her feet (cat. 62, illus.).<sup>31</sup> Zuccaro displayed the finished cartoon of the *Porta Virtutis* across the facade of the church of San Luca, a frequent haunt of Roman painters, appropriately on the feastday of St. Luke, 18 October 1581. Apparently Federico had been motivated by several Bolognese artists who had spoken out against his painting of the *Procession of St. Gregory* commissioned by Paolo Ghiselli for the Bolognese church of S. Maria del Barraccano in 1580. Ghiselli was a member of Gregory XIII's curia, and the pope, himself Bolognese, took offense to Federico's satirical gesture. Federico was sued for libel and banned, by papal order, from Rome. Curiously during the trial Federico pleaded that no personal reference had been intended in his cartoon. The idea for the composition, he argued, had come to him in Florence, at a time when he was facing harsh criticism for his work on the cupola. Whether or not either allegation was true, Zuccaro later had the last word on the cupola in his treatise, *L'Idea dei Pittori*, where his artistic achievement took second place only to Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel.<sup>32</sup> PJJ

## NOTES

I owe a note of thanks to Florian Härb and Alessandro Cecchi for informative discussions during the writing of this essay.

1. Boase 1979, 330.
2. 30 August 1570. Frey 1930, 523: "ma per havere quegli otto spicchi, non mi accomoda punto questo numero ottonario, massime per gli ordini degli angeli che son nove, et alterarlo non so se si potrà."
3. The page is unpublished, though Frey reproduces three of the four sketches in facsimile. For other drawings putatively attributed to Borghini, see Pillsbury 1973, 6-11. This same author's attribution of a study for the decoration of the east wall in the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio is not convincing. See Pillsbury 1969, 57-66.
4. 8 September 1571. Frey 1930, 602: "Vi ricordo, che Michelagnolo hebbe una gran voglia un tratto, che seli porgesse occasione di dipigner la loggia di piazza; et era quel homo che sa V. S."
5. Vasari from Rome to the Gran Principe in Florence, 12 January 1572. Frey 1930, 634.
6. Summarized by J. Kliemann, in *Giorgio Vasari. Principi, letterati e artisti* 1981, 165-66.
7. Vasari jotted this list of works on the back of a letter from Stefano Veltroni dated 19 September 1568 and addressed to the artist's studio/home in Borgo S. Croce. Frey 1930, 407.
8. *Ibid.*, 641 ("questa cosa della cupola è in aspettatione et desiderio, che se al Maggio potessi esser qua, sarebbe bene").
9. Vasari in Rome to Borghini in Florence. *Ibid.*, 677.
10. Guasti 1857, 144-46. Descended from the branch of Francesco, Tommaso was a distant cousin of Cosimo. Pompeo Litte, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, tom. 6, Medici, tav. XIX. Tommaso was elected a *deputato* of the Ospedale degli Innocenti in 1579 and later made a knight of the Order of Christ; he died in 1583.
11. 13 August 1572. Frey 1930, 693. ASF, Guardaroba, Fz. 1084, Ins. I, fol. 13.
12. Spinelli Archive, Box 48, folder 1057. "A dì...di Agosto 1572. Allogatione del lavoro in fresco della cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore di Firenze con licentia del Gran Duca di Toscana havuta da sua Alt. al sasso di Simone in voce sotto dì 30 di luglio 1572 per il cavaliere Giorgio Vasari pittore che la commetta a M. Benedetto Busini procuratore del Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore per farne la logatione a M. Lorenzo Sabatini pittore Bolognese et suoi compagni con le conditioni che sotto si diranno."
13. For the fullest biography of Sabatini, see Jürgen Winkelmann, "Lorenzo Sabatini detto Lorenzino da Bologna (Bologna, ca. 1530–Roma, 1576)," in Pierantonio 1986, 2:595-605.
14. 3 February 1562. Frey 1923, 665. Further, cf. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Rome, 1933), vol. 9, part 6, 460.
15. Collobi 1974, I:153, 2:fig. 477, identifies a study for the *Last Supper* (Louvre, Inv. 9008).
16. Borghini in Poppiano to Vasari in Venice, 6 May 1566. Frey 1930, 237.
17. See Allegrì and Cecchi 1980, 284-85. The payments for "le tele che sono nel salone et nel riceto et tele nel l'archo della Dogana" executed between 16 July and 10 November 1565 are recorded in the *Giornale* of Giovanni Caccini. Frey 1940, 232. Domenico Mellini notes that Sabatini's decorative scenes stood out for their "buon disegno." *L'Apparato per le nozze di Francesco de' Medici e di Giovanna d'Austria nelle narrazioni del tempo e da lettere inedite di Vincenzio Borghini e di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Principe Piero Ginori Conti (Florence, 1936).
18. Frey 1940, 215. In August 1566, Tommaso de' Medici commissioned a Madonna from Vasari. See Jacks 1992, 766, 784. Frey 1930, 879. Exactly ten years later Tommaso served as *deputato* for the funeral of Cosimo. *Ibid.*, 908, note to p. 223.
19. Vasari in Rome to Borghini in Florence, 18 February 1573. *Ibid.*, 757.
20. Pillsbury 1976/77, 39-44, discusses a group of preparatory drawings for the north wall of the Sala Regia painted in the spring of 1573.
21. Baumgart and Biagetti 1934, 57ff.
22. For drawings in the Louvre relating to the cupola, see the essential study by Catherine Monbeig-Goguel 1965, 30-41. *Idem.*, "A Propos d'un dessin retrouvé: Vasari et Zuccaro à la Coupole de Dôme de Florence," *Il Vasari storiografo e artista* 1976, 684-89.
23. Frey 1930, 716.
24. See Vasari's letter to Borghini, 1 November, and Borghini's reply, 22 November (in *Ibid.*, 715, 721). The *supplica* in the Beinecke Library bears an inscription in Borghini's hand on the verso: "Copia dela supplica a S. Alt. per lo spartimento della cupola per M. L[orenz]o et sua allogatione. A me a[v]juto Vi[ncenzo] Borghini."
25. Vasari in Rome to Grand Duke Cosimo in Pisa, 30 January 1573. Frey 1930, 750.
26. Gere 1964, 44, no. 60. Richa 1754, 6:157.
27. For photographs before and after the restoration, see Luchinat and Danti 1992, 134ff.
28. See Heikamp 1967, 46-47.
29. Mundy 1989, 218, suggests that a number of Zuccaro's drawings may have been made to scale and attached to the inside of a working model of the cupola.
30. Gere and Pouncey 1983, no. 307, pl. 296, pp. 194-95, consider this drawing as probably in Federico's hand. The Yale *modello* was acquired from Hill-Stone, Inc., New York, in 1989 (see Christie's auction catalogue, 19 April 1988, no. 43). On the earlier provenance, see Mundy 1989, 216. Here the British Museum drawing is attributed instead to the Zuccari workshop. Smith 1978, 30, relates the British Museum sheet to a pen and ink study for the fifth zone at the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
31. The following discussion comes from Detlef Heikamp, "Vicende di Federigo Zuccari," *Rivista d'Arte* 32 (1957): 189-91. Further, Konrad Oberhuber and Dean Walker, *Sixteenth Century Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1974), 14.
32. *L'Idea dei Pittori...*: "le maggior figure, e di maggior numero, e quantità insieme sono quelle della gran Cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore in Fiorenza..."

CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

v

- 56 Contract between Cosimi I and Giorgio Vasari for Completion of the Cupola of Florence Cathedral ["Allogatione del lavoro in fresco della cupola di S. Maria del Fiore di Firenze"], dated August 1572  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 48, folder 1057 (Filza 34, filzetta 33)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- 57 Letter from Tommaso de' Medici to Cosimo I on Behalf of Vasari for the Painting of the Cupola of Florence Cathedral ["Supplica per conto della cupola alla remunerazione..."], 11 September 1572  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 48, folder 1057 (Filza 34, filzetta 33)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University  
  
Recent Bibliography: Babcock and Ducharme 1989
- 58 Letter from Vincenzo Borghini to Giorgio Vasari concerning the composition of the fresco for the cupola of Florence Cathedral, dated 30 August 1570. Arezzo, Casa del Vasari, Archives. Photograph
- 59 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Study for Drapery of a Seated Female Figure*, ca. 1572  
Possibly a study intended for the Cupola of Florence Cathedral  
Black chalk, 309 x 228 mm  
Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Malcolm W. Bick, B.A. 1936. 1974.66
- 60 GIORGIO VASARI  
*Study for an Octant of the Cupola of Florence Cathedral*, ca. 1572  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, squared in black chalk, 98 x 130 mm. Inscribed: "Giorgio Vasari per la cupola del duomo di Firenze" and "domin[us]." Galleria degli Uffizi, Dis. 1178E  
Color photograph
- 61 FEDERICO ZUCCARO (1540/41-1609)  
*Details from the Last Judgment*, 1575-77  
Study for the third and fourth zones of the southwest octant, Cupola of Florence Cathedral  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, 419 x 555 mm  
Yale University Art Gallery, Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, and Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., B.A. 1913, Funds. 1989.61.1  
  
Recent Bibliography: Alvin L. Clark, Jr., *Vision and Continuity* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1991), cat. 39; Mundy 1989, cat. 68
- 62 FEDERICO ZUCCARO  
*Porta Virtutis: Minerva Triumphant over Ignorance and Calumny*, ca. 1581  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over traces of black chalk, 391 x 285 mm  
The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of Mr. Janos Scholz. 1974.25  
  
Recent Bibliography: Mundy 1989, cat. 85; Charles Ryskamp, ed., *Twentieth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 1981-83 (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1989), 186; *Giorgio Vasari: Principi, letterati e artisti* 1981, Section VIII, 65; Konrad Oberhuber and Dean Walker, *Sixteenth Century Italian Drawings*



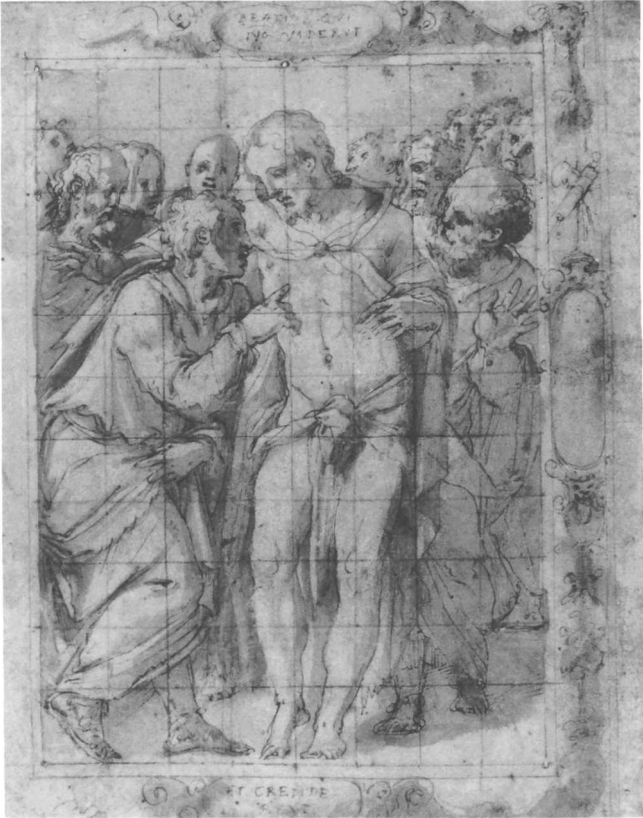
CAT. 62: FEDERICO ZUCCARO, *Porta Virtutis: Minerva Triumphant over Ignorance and Calumny*, ca. 1581. Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over traces of black chalk. The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of Mr. Janos Scholz.

from the Collection of Janos Scholz (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1974), cat. 10; Jacob Bean and Felice Stampfle, *New York Collections I: The Italian Renaissance* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1965), cat. 141

63 FEDERICO ZUCCARO

*The Artist, Vincenzo Borghini, Niccolosa, and Giorgio Vasari before the model of the Cupola of Florence Cathedral*. Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over black chalk, 250 x 287 mm. Inscribed: "Dio M<sup>o</sup> Federicho Zucheri pittore da urbino." Galleria degli Uffizi, Dis. 11043F. Color photograph

comune agnato nel 1562 di ...  
 1562 Ad 16 di Marzo 1562 ...  
 Ad 23 di Marzo 1562 ...  
 Ad 12 di Aprile 1562 ...  
 Ad 16 di Aprile 1562 ...  
 Ad 23 di Aprile 1562 ...  
 Ad 30 di Aprile 1562 ...  
 Ad 7 di Maggio 1562 ...  
 Ad 14 di Maggio 1562 ...  
 Ad 21 di Maggio 1562 ...  
 Ad 28 di Maggio 1562 ...  
 Ad 4 di Giugno 1562 ...  
 Ad 11 di Giugno 1562 ...  
 Ad 18 di Giugno 1562 ...  
 Ad 25 di Giugno 1562 ...  
 Ad 2 di Luglio 1562 ...  
 Ad 9 di Luglio 1562 ...  
 Ad 16 di Luglio 1562 ...  
 Ad 23 di Luglio 1562 ...  
 Ad 30 di Luglio 1562 ...  
 Ad 6 di Agosto 1562 ...  
 Ad 13 di Agosto 1562 ...  
 Ad 20 di Agosto 1562 ...  
 Ad 27 di Agosto 1562 ...  
 Ad 3 di Settembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 10 di Settembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 17 di Settembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 24 di Settembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 1 di Ottobre 1562 ...  
 Ad 8 di Ottobre 1562 ...  
 Ad 15 di Ottobre 1562 ...  
 Ad 22 di Ottobre 1562 ...  
 Ad 29 di Ottobre 1562 ...  
 Ad 5 di Novembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 12 di Novembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 19 di Novembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 26 di Novembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 3 di Dicembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 10 di Dicembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 17 di Dicembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 24 di Dicembre 1562 ...  
 Ad 31 di Dicembre 1562 ...



CAT. 65: Fragment of Giorgio Vasari's *Ricordanze* open to the year 1562. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

CAT. 66: GIORGIO VASARI, *Compositional Study for the Incredulity of St. Thomas*, 1562 (?). Pen and brown ink with brown wash. Collection Mrs. Alice F. Steiner.

VI  
VASARI'S DEATH:  
A TESTIMONY IN ART AND LETTERS

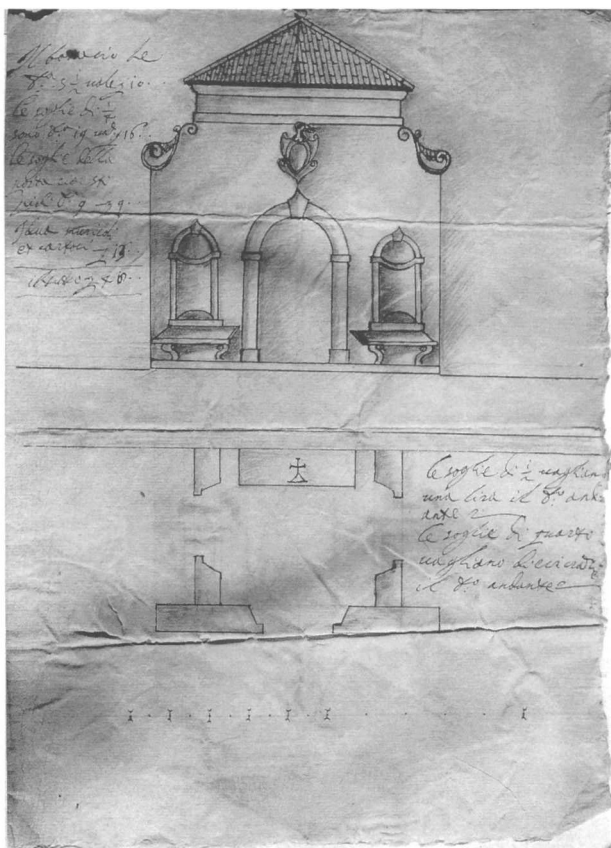
The Renaissance artist was both entrepreneur and self-promoter; and even a genius like Michelangelo, who dictated his life to Ascanio Condivi looking back over sixty years, was prone to distort a fact or two. The genre of autobiography came naturally to Vasari's generation, many of whom, like Bandinelli and Cellini, were determined to vaunt the professional status of artists by pursuing their literary aspirations. Vasari appended a short "descrizione" of his life at the end of the 1568 *Vite*, closing with a touch of feigned modesty: "E fin qui basti aver parlato di me, condotto con tante fatiche nella età d'anni 55." Like most Florentine merchants and many artists, Vasari had kept meticulous fiscal ledgers of his workshop, recording expenses for materials and the price fetched for each work. These *ricordi*, which began in the year of his father's death, 1527, provide a valuable source for questions of attribution and dating. An early draft of Vasari's *ricordanze* in the Beinecke Library covers the years from 1554 to 1566, though he continued to add and sift material until eighteen months before his death (cat. 65, illus.). The complete *ricordanze*, Codex 31 of the Archivio Vasariano in Arezzo, presents a tailored image of the artist as he wanted it left to posterity. Whether through lapses of memory or conscious design, Vasari omitted a number of entries recorded in the preliminary version. Of these, the most intriguing is the commission by Giovanbattista Chiavacci for a painting of the *Incredulity of St. Thomas*, entered 8 December 1562, for which Vasari received 12 *scudi*.<sup>1</sup> His nephew Marcantonio mentioned this same patron in a *ricordo* of 1573, though in connection with a painting of the *Noli me tangere*.<sup>2</sup> Vasari set to work on his monumental altarpiece of the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* for the Cappella de' Guidacci at Santa Croce in 1569, though it was not

installed until late 1572, and much to Borghini's displeasure. However, the Chiavacci commission may be related to Vasari's compositional study for the same subject in the collection of Alice Steiner (cat. 66, illus.). The superimposed grid and elaborately scrolled frame suggest a large-scale canvas, perhaps mounted as a processional standard, or *drappo*, such as those carried by the Gonfalonieri of Arezzo.<sup>3</sup>

Vasari's death came on Sunday, 27 June 1574. Already several days before, Pietro had begun making arrangements for the funeral. Since the death of Cosimo I in April, Giorgio had sunk spiritually as well as physically. His brother's copious accounts include the expenses for doctors and surgeons at the Ospedale di S. Maria Nuova, who treated him for a string of illnesses (cat. 67).<sup>4</sup> The artist's body had to be prepared for the long journey back to his native Arezzo. Pietro hired gravediggers, providing them sweet almonds and other victuals, and a Florentine named Niccolò, a stretcher-bearer from the mortuary at S. Pietro Martire, who would escort the hearse to its final resting place.

That very afternoon, Pietro wrote to Francesco II de' Medici expressing his grief ("in quella amaritudine che puo pensare l'Altezza Vostra per la morte"), while reaffirming his own servitude to the Grand Duke.<sup>5</sup> As news spread around Florence, Pietro sent notices to the maestro's patrons in Rome, in particular Guido Ferreri, Cardinal of Vercelli, and Filippo Boncompagni, Cardinal of S. Sisto. Meanwhile, he ordered a carriage festooned with fifty candles of yellow wax in wrought-iron torchholders: four were to remain lit for the solemn procession from the artist's house in Borgo S. Croce as far as the Porta di S. Niccolò just across the Arno. A woodworker by the name of Piero di Zanobi constructed the coffin, and Filippo Bruni supplied the twenty-five yards of

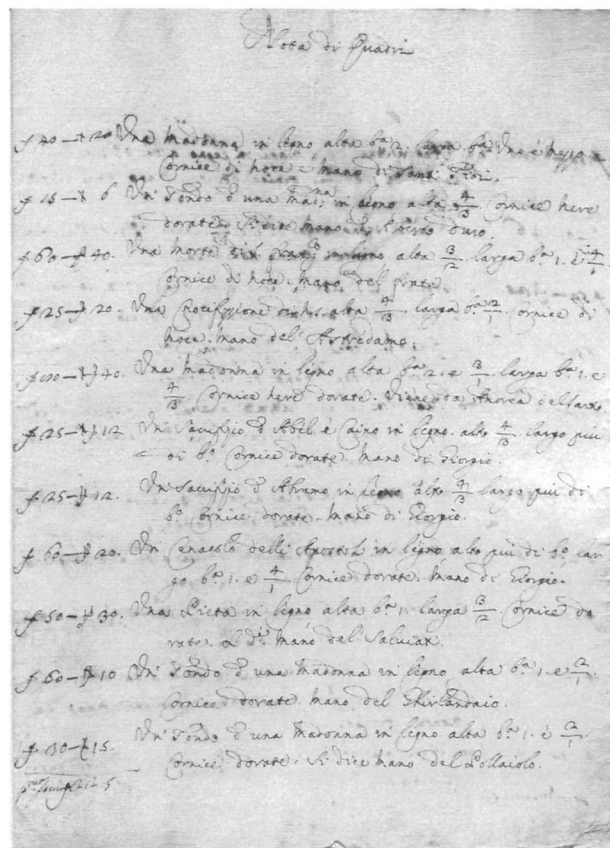




CAT. 68: Anonymous 17th-Century Hand, *Facade and Ground Plan of a Family Mausoleum*. Pen and brown ink and wash. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

woven material to cover the bars across the bier, over which was draped a black veil adorned with a golden cross. Several friars from S. Croce recited psalms and kept vigil over Vasari's body during the following week. His mortal remains left Florence toward mid-July, and by late September detailed preparations were underway for his burial in Arezzo, including a dozen black berets for the workers in the mortuary and candles for the Requiem.

Back in Florence, Vasari's death meant the suspension of a number of projects, most immediately the frescoes for the cupola of S. Maria del Fiore. He had made provisions for its completion in the event of his death, but the Grand Duke found it hard to console himself for the loss of the artist. Apparently it was for this reason that on 29 June, the feastday of St. Peter, Pietro and his two sons went to see



CAT. 72: Inventory of Paintings in Vasari's Household after his Death, "Nota di Quadri." Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Ferdinando. As Giorgio il Giovane would recall years later, "I went with my brothers Marcantonio and Francesco and our father to kiss the hands of the Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Gran Duca and to give condolences for the great loss of our uncle; our gift to him was the *Libro Grande in fogli reali* [the *Libro de' Disegni* (cat. 52, illus.)], to which were attached and pasted countless drawings, the majority of which came from the greatest artists of our time, beginning with Cimabue and including many important drawings in the Cavaliere's own hand." This album was more than just a token of their appreciation. Giorgio il Giovane described it as "una rara gioia" and it had been particularly admired by the Grand Duke, who earlier had sent his agents Bartolomeo Concini and Messer Tanai de' Medici to inquire about its contents. Pietro and his sons bore another offering, namely Vasari's work-

ing model for the cupola, on which the artist had affixed compositional drawings of the eight *spicchi*.

In accordance with Giorgio's will, he was to be buried in the Pieve, or Collegiata, dedicated to S. Maria Assunta. Vasari had been baptized in this Romanesque basilica, and as early as 1559 he had proposed to the Operai the erection of a family chapel along the right aisle beside the Porta dei Chiostri. Within a year, Vasari had fixed on a more ambitious scheme: to remove Pietro Lorenzetti's polyptych from the apse and redesign the high altar as a grand memorial to his own ancestors.<sup>6</sup> On 25 March 1564, his old friend Bernardetto Minerbetti, bishop of Arezzo, consecrated the new travertine altar to St. George, the artist's patron saint. Three years later, Vasari made a trip to Rome expressly to persuade Pius V to issue a *motu proprio* conferring the status of deaconate on the church.<sup>7</sup>

When the Pieve was restored to its original Romanesque interior in 1865, Vasari's high altar and the graves of his ancestors were moved to the Badia of SS. Fiore e Lucilla. In fact, the exact location of Vasari's own tomb, and that of Niccolosa, are still uncertain. Nor is it clear how the artist might have envisioned a separate wall chapel according to his original intention. An architectural drawing in the Beinecke archive does indeed record the plan and elevation of a family chapel, though its date and authorship cannot be determined (cat. 68, illus.). An eighteenth-century archivist inserted this drawing with a copy of Giorgio's testament and other documents relating to his bequest. However, the *stemma* of a *cavaliere* over the arch may refer to any number of family members: Giorgio himself, Giorgio il Giovane, or his son Lorenzo. The draughtsman does not indicate with any clarity whether the chapel was adorsed to the exterior or interior flank of the church. Whereas the placement of the mensa table against the wall suggests an aisle chapel, the vaulting overhead gives the appearance of an exterior roof. Unfortunately the marginal notes, relating the dimensions of the vault, the projection of the overdoor, and the height of the sockle and *stemma*, do not provide any further clue to the identity of the monument.<sup>8</sup>

PJJ

#### NOTES

1. Jacks 1992, 764, 781.

2. Frey 1930, 886: "A Gio. Bat.<sup>a</sup> Chiavacci, spetiale fiorentino, un' quadro di un Noli me tangere, di braccia tre per ogni verso."

3. See the entry by Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani, in *Giorgio Vasari. Artisti, Principi e Letterati*, 300, fig. 125. Further, Barocchi 1964, 144, nn. 96–7. C. R. Saumarez-Smith, *Renaissance and Baroque Drawings from the Collections of John and Alice Steiner* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), 95, n. 35.

4. Spinelli Archive, Box 53, folder 1157 (Filza 66, filzetta 5), "Nota di spese fatte dalla eredità del Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari nella sua ultima infirmità e morte..." This document is a seventeenth-century copy perhaps in the hand of Pietro's son, Marcantonio, after the original "Libro di Casa...intitolato Giornale e Ricordi delle Redi del Cav. re Giorgio Vasari segnato A." A marginal note reads: "Pier Vasari fratello di Giorgio come amministratore del eredita del Cav. Giorgio e fratello nipoti del fideicomittente in quel tempo di m[aggiore] età, come appare. 16 Giugno 1574." An almost identical list of expenses comes from a book of *ricordi* (1574–1686), Cod. LVI, fol. 188r (Archivio Vasariano, Arezzo), published in Frey 1930, 841.

5. Frey 1930, 840.

6. Isermeyer 1950, 139.

7. *Le Vite*, ed. 1568, part III, vol. II, 1007. See Frey 1940, 120. A document in the Beinecke Library (Box 53, folder 1160) records the confirmation of this pledge by Sixtus V, 22 June 1589 (Not. Ser Giovanni di Girolamo Lapoli) and the original *motu proprio* of 22 April 1566, notarized 22 May 1567 (Antonius q.m Hieronimi de Sancto Gaudentio). These terms included: "1) Che la cappella del altare maggiore deve essere uffiziata secondo la bolla di P. Pio V voglio, che al Decano che è al presente, o chi sarà successivamente, se gli dia la casa del Fondaccio che fa già di Filippo di Giovanni Tortelli per sua prebenda libera, con l'uso del pozzo etc... 2) Ser Pietro di Antonio Vasari fratello di detto testatore fa uno compromesso et obbligo con il Rev.<sup>do</sup> T. Cosimo Pistrini decano et rectore allora della cappella soprannominata di dargli del suo proprio so. dieci l'anno ogni tre mesi la rata a detto et sua successori."

8. Spinelli Archive, Box 47, folder 1020. "Il botte cio[è] le braccia 5 1/2 vole oz. 10; le soglie di 1/4 sono dig. 19, va oz. 16; le soglie della porta cioe stipichi di. 9, oz. 9; I due muricoli et cartoci oz. 15; il tutto oz. 48. Le soglie di 1/2 va[nno]... le soglie di quarto va[nno] dieci..."

CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

VI

- 64 Contract by Vasari's brother, Pietro Antonio Vasari, regarding his and his son's, Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari's ownership of the Casa Vasari, "dopo la morte di M. Giorgio," dated 1581  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 53, folder 1154 (Filza 66, filzetta 5)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- 65 Fragment of Giorgio Vasari's *Ricordanze* open to the year 1562  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 52, folder 1112 (Filza 35, filzetta 1)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- Recent Bibliography: Jacks 1992; Babcock and Ducharme 1989
- 66 **GIORGIO VASARI**  
*Compositional Study for the Incredulity of St. Thomas*, 1562 (?). Pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk, squared in black chalk, 215 x 176 mm. Inscribed above: "Beati qui no[n] videru[n]t" and below, "et crediderunt"  
Collection Mrs. Alice F. Steiner. Photograph courtesy High Museum of Art
- Recent Bibliography: Feinberg 1991, cat. 51
- 67 Account of the Death and Burial Expenses of Giorgio Vasari, early seventeenth-century copy of a document dated 16 June 1574  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 53, folder 1157 (Filza 66, filzetta 5)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- 68 Anonymous Seventeenth-Century Hand  
*Facade and Ground Plan of a Family Mausoleum*  
Possibly a study for the Vasari Family (included in a copy of Vasari's will)  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 47, folder 1020 (Filza 34, filzetta 4)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- 69 Original Copy of Vasari's Will, Bound in Vellum  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 47, folder 1035 (Filza 34, filzetta 17)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- 70 General Inventory of Possessions in Vasari Household, Including Art Works, entitled "Inventari dell'Eredità di Cavaliere Francesco Maria Vasari," dated 1686  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 49, folder 1071 (Filza 34, filzetta 35)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- 71 List of Valuable Items within the "Eredità di Cavaliere Francesco Maria Vasari," 1686–87  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 49, folder 1073 (Filza 34, filzetta 35)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
- 72 Inventory of Paintings in Vasari's Household after his Death, "Nota di Quadri," document from the seventeenth century  
Spinelli Archive General Manuscripts, Box 47, folder 1022 (Filza 34, filzetta 6)  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

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