



THE DRAWINGS OF

Annibale Carracci

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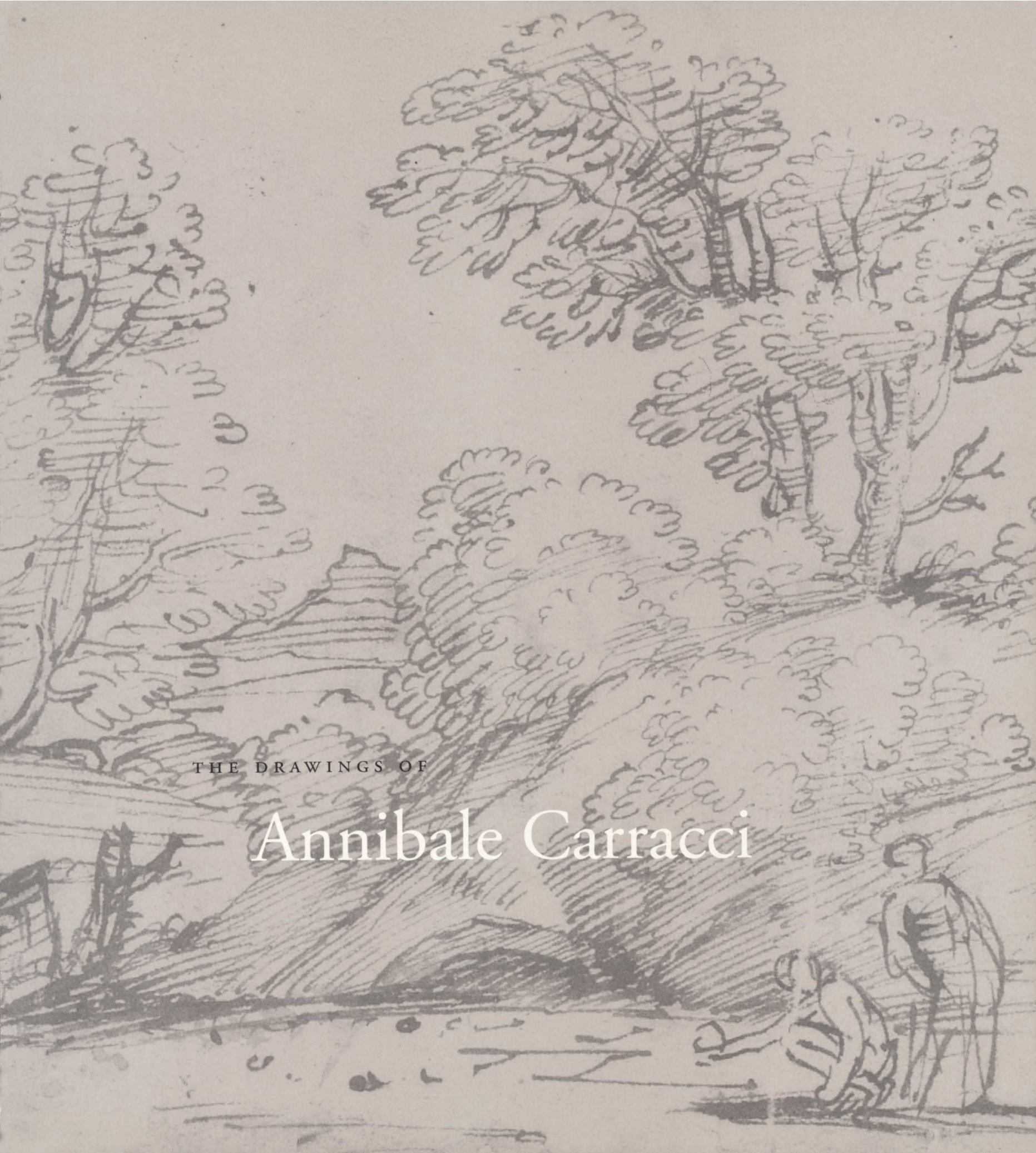
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National Gallery of Art, Washington





THE DRAWINGS OF

# Annibale Carracci

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In keeping with the National Gallery of Art's tradition of organizing exhibitions of the work of outstanding master draftsmen, we are proud to present the powerful and evocative drawings of the great Bolognese artist Annibale Carracci (1560–1609). Prized by collectors and connoisseurs even in his own time, Annibale's drawings are now well known only to a relatively small but highly appreciative audience. This first-ever exhibition devoted solely to the drawings of Annibale will introduce the artist to a wider public who, we believe, will recognize him as one of the world's finest draftsmen.

Born in a time when the elegant deformations and exaggerations of Italian mannerism were still in vogue, Annibale—together with his brother Agostino and cousin Ludovico—turned instead to nature and reality as his principal inspirations. In order to study the human form, the three Carracci founded an academy of drawing—perhaps the first and certainly the prototype for others that would appear throughout Europe—where, among other things, students could make drawings from the nude model. The fruit of this intensive study is abundantly evident in Annibale's magnificent drawings of the human figure—from those early Bolognese works executed in red chalk in the mid-1580s to those in black and white chalk on blue paper in the late 1590s made in preparation for his greatest commission, the decoration of the Farnese Gallery in Rome.

Annibale was a great master of grand mythological and religious painting, but he was also attuned to the everyday world around him, taking as much interest in studying a man bowling, a butcher weighing a piece of meat, a street entertainer with his monkey, a public hanging, or the surrounding landscape as he did in making preparatory studies of figures, draperies, gestures, or ornamental details for a grand altarpiece or the decoration of a room. For Annibale, as for Agostino and Ludovico, drawing was the means through which he developed his ideas and by which his designs became concrete. The process that they followed—beginning with rough compositional sketches and ending with

the full-scale cartoon—is well represented in the exhibition, especially in the spectacular series of studies for the decoration of the Farnese Gallery. This group culminates in a work never before seen outside of Italy, the huge (eleven foot by eleven foot) *Bacchic Procession with Silenus*, a cartoon for the right half of the central fresco in the Farnese Gallery ceiling, *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*.

The success of this exhibition has been due in large part to the hard work, enthusiasm, and remarkable collegiality of the members of the organizing committee: Daniele Benati, assistant professor at the University of Udine; Gail Feigenbaum, curator of paintings at the New Orleans Museum of Art; Kate Ganz, independent scholar, who first proposed the idea for this exhibition; Catherine Loisel Legrand, conservateur en chef in the département des arts graphiques at the Musée du Louvre; Carel van Tuyll, curator of drawings at the Teylers Museum; and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, curator of old master drawings at the National Gallery, who led the project and served as in-house coordinator. To them all and to two other early members of the committee, Diane De Grazia and Aidan Weston-Lewis, go our heartfelt thanks.

We are deeply indebted to the private collectors and to our many sister institutions in the United States and Europe who generously agreed to lend their best Annibale drawings to this exhibition. Françoise Viatte, le conservateur général chargé du département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, and Theresa-Mary Morton, The Honorable Jane Roberts, and Martin Clayton at the Royal Library, Windsor—at the two most important collections of Carracci drawings in the world—were especially helpful. Dr. Paolo Dal Poggetto and Dr. Maria Giannatiempo at the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, also earned our gratitude for their invaluable assistance in securing the loan of the great cartoon for the Farnese Gallery ceiling. In addition, we are grateful to conservator Sergio Boni of Florence for his work on the cartoon, thus ensuring that it could travel safely to the United States.

We are indebted also to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation for funding the conservation of the Urbino cartoon, which unfortunately could not be completed before the opening of the exhibition, but which will continue after the cartoon is returned to Italy next year. Also contributing to the conservation and transportation costs of bringing the cartoon to Washington was The Circle of the National Gallery of Art, for which we are most grateful. In addition, an indemnity for this exhibition was granted by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities.

Finally, we would like to express our great appreciation to Republic National Bank, which has supported National Gallery exhibitions for several years now, for making this landmark exhibition possible.

Earl A. Powell III  
*Director, National Gallery of Art*

Annibale was one of a trio of brilliant Carracci artists—together with his elder brother Agostino and their older cousin Ludovico—who for several years worked very closely together in the same studio, sharing ideas, commissions, subjects, and even drawings. At times their styles and works were so intermingled that their hands became virtually indistinguishable, and scholars have been struggling with the resulting attribution problems ever since. There will never be, in fact, any clear-cut answers to some of those attribution questions, especially for drawings made when all three Carracci were working together in Bologna, and scholars will continue to disagree on the authorship of many individual works. Nevertheless, because of recent progress in Carracci studies, it seems possible now, more than ever before, to present an exhibition of drawings that can be strongly defended as solely by Annibale. In past exhibitions, works by the three artists have always been presented together. Here—for the first time—Annibale is presented on his own in the hope that seeing his works in isolation will help clarify the true shape of his oeuvre.

The drawings in the exhibition were selected with an eye to both the inherent quality of each work and the broad representation of the subject matter and media embraced by Annibale throughout his career. Of foremost importance, however, was that each drawing be considered by every member of the organizing committee to be the work of Annibale himself. Thus, if opinion was divided about a particular study, it was necessarily excluded from consideration. The result is an exhibition that represents a touchstone for Annibale's draftsmanship, against which it will be possible to measure many of the drawings currently attributed to him.

On behalf of the members of the organizing committee, I would like to express our warmest appreciation to all the people who helped us in innumerable ways to bring to fruition this exhibition and catalogue of drawings by Annibale Carracci.

First, deserving of special recognition for their roles as founding members of the organizing committee are former National Gallery curator Diane De Grazia, now chief curator at the Cleveland Museum of Art, and Aidan Weston-Lewis, assistant keeper of Italian and Spanish painting at the National Gallery of Scotland. We were fortunate to have had the benefit of their expertise and counsel during the first stages of our work.

Too numerous to thank individually are the curators and print room assistants throughout Europe and the United States who cordially welcomed us to their museums and made it possible for us to study the Carracci drawings in their collections. These include not only the museums that are lenders to the exhibition, but also the many others we visited as we searched out new works, weighed our choices, and finalized our lists. We very much value everything these wonderful colleagues did to help us accomplish our work effectively and expeditiously. Their enthusiastic response to our visits and to our project was both heartwarming and encouraging. Equally welcoming and helpful to us were the private collectors who granted us access to their drawings with unfailing good humor and gratifying interest in our progress. We are especially grateful to those who kindly agreed to lend drawings to the exhibition, but who preferred to remain anonymous and cannot thus be thanked here by name.

Among the other scholars and colleagues to whom individual members of the committee would like to extend their thanks are: Babette Bohn, Alessandro Brogi, John Chvostal, Alvin L. Clark, Stephen Eddy, Verena Forcione, Ann Sutherland Harris, Andrea van Houtven, Françoise Joulie, Ann MacNary, Stéphanie Magalhaes, J. Richardson Massey, Sir Denis Mahon, Andrew McCormick, Sandra Persuy, Lina Propeck, Gusta Reichwein, Emmanuela Ricciadi, Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, Francis Russell, Julien Stock, Yvonne Tan Bunzl, Nicholas Turner, and Thomas Williams.

Within the National Gallery, our warm appreciation goes first to Andrew Robison, Andrew W. Mellon Senior Curator, for his firm support of this project from the very beginning, and to Stacey Sell, assistant curator of old master drawings, who arrived at the Gallery just in time to tackle a multitude of tasks associated with the exhibition and catalogue, including the compilation of the chronology and bibliography. Deserving of special mention for their individual roles in the realization of the exhibition are many other capable staff members from a variety of departments throughout the Gallery, including Gordon Anson, Susan Arensberg, Noriko Bové, Judith Brodie, Nancy Breuer, Jennifer Bumba-Kongo, Jeannette Canty, Jennifer Cipriano, Ruth Coggeshall, Susanne Cook, Elizabeth Croog, Ted Dalziel, Isabelle Dervaux, David Diaz, Rebecca Donnan, Shelley Fletcher, Michelle Fondas, Susan Higman, Barbara Keyes, Joe Krakora, Andrew Krieger, Mark Leithauser, Ann Leven, Pauline Maguire, Sandy Masur, Melissa McCracken, Thomas McGill, Jr., Virginia Merrill, Stephen Mize, Patricia O'Connell, John Olson, Hugh Phibbs, Ruth Philbrick, Meg Porta, Rusty Powell, Mervin Richard, Virginia Ritchie, Sara Sanders-Buell, Wendy Schleicher Smith, Marilyn Tebor Shaw, Daniel Shay, Mariah Shay, Alan Shestack, Frances Smyth, Jessica Stewart, Jamie Stout, Yoonjoo Strumfels, D. Dodge Thompson, Elaine Vamos, Kathleen McCleery Wagner, Judy Walsh, Gary Webber, Karen Weinberger, Nancy Yeide, Ana Maria Zavala, Deborah Ziska. When called upon, they and their associates all provided invaluable help toward the realization of this exhibition. We are indebted to them all.

Equally deserving of our appreciation and thanks are our spouses, partners, and families for their unflagging support throughout the long gestation of this exhibition. We could not have accomplished everything we needed to do without their constant understanding and encouragement.

Finally, on a personal note, I would like to express to the members of the organizing committee my sincerest gratitude for making this fascinating foray into Annibale's drawings and the mysteries of Carracci connoisseurship such an exciting and challenging adventure for me. I could not have asked for a more generous, knowledgeable, or committed group of colleagues to work with on this project. I hope they have found it to be as personally and professionally rewarding as I have.

Margaret Morgan Grasselli

*Curator of Old Master Drawings, National Gallery of Art*

All exhibited drawings are considered by the members of the organizing committee to be by Annibale Carracci. Within the essays and individual entries, however, newly proposed attributions, the attributions of drawings mentioned as comparisons, and the attributions of works reproduced as comparative illustrations are the responsibility of the individual authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the other members of the committee.

The drawings are presented in approximate chronological order, based on the dates established in the entries by the individual authors. (It should be noted, however, that drawings made in preparation for the Camerino Farnese and the Farnese Gallery form a section separate from other drawings made by Annibale during his years in Rome.) The opinions expressed in the entries and essays about the dating of the drawings are those of the individual authors, which are not necessarily shared by all members of the committee.

Dimensions are given in millimeters followed by inches in parentheses; height precedes width.

In the chronology, dated paintings and prints are identified by abbreviated references to the standard catalogues raisonnés by Posner and De Grazia. For the paintings, see Posner 1971, vol. 2; for the prints, see De Grazia Bohlin 1979, or the revised Italian edition, De Grazia 1984.

*The Inventive Genius  
of Annibale Carracci*



THE DAY AFTER HIS DEATH, ON 15 JULY 1609, AMID THE tears of his followers, Annibale Carracci's body was placed on a catafalque in the Pantheon. Members of the Academy of Saint Luke (the Roman painting academy) and of the Roman nobility (among whom numbered some of his patrons) assisted at the funeral mass.<sup>1</sup> His remains, worthy of burial in the great structure, lay near those of his spiritual mentor, Raphael. Annibale's epitaph praised his genius and the excellence of his art in all forms, indicating the importance of his contribution to the artistic life of contemporary Rome. Almost seventy years later his biographer, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, credited Annibale with revitalizing art, following the decline it had suffered after the death of Raphael.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Annibale came to be seen as Raphael reborn and as the guardian of the principles of tradition.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Annibale's art was admired for its classical and Renaissance elements and the correctness of its forms. By the nineteenth century and the age of romanticism, Annibale's reputation had fallen rapidly, until, by the late nineteenth century, he was dismissed as an eclectic and a copyist, devoid of originality and invention. The reevaluation of Italian baroque art in the mid-twentieth century has shown that both the seventeenth-century view of Annibale as a new Raphael and the nineteenth-century view of him as a mere eclectic failed to fully recognize



the true genius and originality of his art. From his early experiments with naturalism to his late, almost abstract, style, Annibale revolutionized our way of looking at the world around us and at the art of the past. Paintings that have come to be viewed as conventional were truly new and experimental in his time. Much of that experimentation and originality is found first in his drawings, where his primary ideas were set down.

Annibale thought rapidly and constantly on paper from his earliest youth in Bologna. Although the following story is likely apocryphal, it has the hint of truth. According to Bellori, while Annibale and his father were on a journey from Cremona, they were attacked by highway robbers. Annibale immediately sketched “the appearance of those rapacious ruffians so realistically and accurately that they were recognized by everyone with astonishment, and what had been stolen from his poor father was easily recovered.”<sup>3</sup>

Although Annibale was not self-taught, having learned the rudiments of art from a goldsmith and from his cousin Ludovico (1555–1619) and his brother Agostino (1557–1602), he first looked to nature to understand the human form. We can only imagine what this sketch of the ruffians looked like. His first known drawings, certainly somewhat later than this incident, such as *A Man Weighing Meat* (Cat. 1), are already mature, and they indicate that he had learned the fundamental basics about simple lines and hatching for shading.

*A Man Weighing Meat* is among the first extant sheets by Annibale, produced when he was almost twenty-five years old. We must assume that earlier drawings did not have the confidence so evident in such a sheet. This study shows, however, that Annibale (as he did with the ruffians) was looking directly at his subject to capture the essence of its shape, features, costume, and gesture. We immediately recognize that this is a butcher by his apron and his scale. We feel the concentration of the butcher as he measures the weight. And, because Annibale wanted the gesture to be correct, he repeated the movement of the arms at right. In

this study and in other drawings from models in the studio, such as the *Boy Taking off a Sock* (Cat. 6), Annibale considered his subjects from various angles and according to the light that hit them. His interest lay in making his drawings, and consequently, his paintings, as close to nature and as believable as possible. Indeed, at this time he looked to earlier artists—but not to Raphael—for inspiration. It was Antonio Allegri, called Correggio, who first awakened Annibale’s naturalistic tendencies and his early manner of draftsmanship.

In 1580 Annibale set out on a study trip, identified later as the *studioso corso*,<sup>4</sup> encouraged by his cousin Ludovico, who had earlier undertaken a similar study voyage to Florence and elsewhere. Annibale ventured first to Parma to study and copy Correggio’s frescoes, and then to Venice to join his brother Agostino to experience the paintings of Titian firsthand.<sup>5</sup> It was, and still is, important for an artist’s training to copy the works of the masters to understand their styles and methods. In addition, young artists often made a living by making copies of famous artists’ masterpieces either on commission or on speculation. While in Parma, Annibale copied parts of Correggio’s ceiling fresco in the cupola of the Duomo for a friend of the family.<sup>6</sup> At this age the young artist admired Correggio’s work over anything else, even Raphael’s, and his drawings and paintings of the mid-1580s attest to this devotion. It was not just the color, the grace, the tenderness, the clarity, the purity, the lack of artificiality, and the “reality” of Correggio’s forms that attracted Annibale (although he lovingly noted these characteristics), but that his “thoughts were his own, his conceptions as well, that one can see he got from his own head, and invented by himself, contenting himself only with original work: the others all rely on something not of their doing, either models, statues, or paper [drawings].”<sup>7</sup> If Annibale copied works by Correggio on commission and looked to his hero for inspiration, he certainly understood at this stage of his career that invention and originality



FIG. 1 Bean Eater, Galleria Colonna, Rome

were more important than reliance on another artist's ideas. In fact, both *A Man Weighing Meat* and the *Boy Taking off a Sock* depend on Correggio only for the manner of draftsmanship: the singular hatching, rubbing of the chalk, and the softly rendered contours that suggest a hazy atmosphere are based on Correggio's manner. The models themselves could not be farther from Correggio's vision. Instead of angelic, purified forms, these figures come from nature; they are solely Annibale's invention. His originality here lay in his portrayal of his subjects in everyday attitudes in the performance of everyday tasks.

The contribution of Annibale's earliest known works to the history of art comes directly from this portrayal of everyday life. At a time when the church was seeking institutional reform and attempting to bring its teachings to its wayward

and illiterate members, artists were seeking a way to make art more understandable to their audiences. Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, the Bolognese bishop who wrote the *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* as a guide for artists to educate the masses, may have had an influence on Annibale's interest in making his art credible.<sup>8</sup> The Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, a friend of Annibale's brother Agostino,<sup>9</sup> compiled an encyclopedia of natural history and believed in observation and experiment in the study of nature. In his direct imitation of nature, Annibale could not have been immune to Aldrovandi's studies nor to those of other scientists at the University of Bologna, one of the oldest and most active universities in Europe. One can imagine the lively discussions on nature and art that must have taken place in the rooms of the fledgling Accademia degli Incamminati, established by the Carracci in 1582.

Annibale's early paintings, such as the *Butcher Shop* (Oxford, Christ Church), the *Bean Eater* (fig. 1), and the *Crucifixion with Saints* (Bologna, Santa Maria della Carità), are uncompromising in their search for the natural and believable.<sup>10</sup> His drawings of these years reveal also the intense study Annibale made of his fellow man at work and at play either in preparation for his paintings or simply as experimentation and practice. The drawing of the *Boy Eating* (fig. 2) and the various painted versions of the *Boy Drinking* by Annibale and members of his academy<sup>11</sup> indicate the intense interest in experimentation of scientific principles to record nature in its true form. In the drawing of the *Boy Eating*, the artist played with different perspective views of his subject. The boy's face is seen convincingly from below as his head tilts back, and the plates, pitcher, and glass are seen slightly from above as if the viewer is seated across the table. These early genre drawings and pictures reflect Annibale's connection with the Bolognese and Cremonese artists who were experimenting with similar subject matter, which had originated in the Netherlands in the mid-sixteenth century. Vincenzo Campi in Cremona and Bartolommeo



FIG. 2 Boy Eating, *Uffizi, Florence*

Passarotti in Bologna were masters of the low-life genre scene, made popular in both northern and southern Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. (Annibale may even have trained under Passarotti.) Their purpose, however, differed from that of Annibale. Whereas they imposed a point of view on the content of their compositions, exaggerating the burlesque qualities of their subjects, Annibale presented people as he saw them, without any moralizing comment.<sup>12</sup> The boy eating from his bowl and the man stopping to stare as he eats his beans do so while engaging in normal, everyday activities with the artist as an objective

outside observer. If anything, Annibale used these figures as scientific subjects in his search for truth in nature. Drawings from the 1580s reproduced in *Le arti di Bologna* (the trades of Bologna), mostly lost, were also meant to be accurate records of the metier of the workmen of Bologna and not personal observations on their characters.<sup>13</sup>

There are no real portraits that can be ascribed to Annibale Carracci, if portraits can be assumed to relay more than objective observation. In the 1580s a number of drawn “portrait” busts survive. Several suggest a sympathetic perception of his subject, such as the *Head of a Boy* (Cat. 15) and the *Semi-Nude Youth* (Cat. 11), but they are actually very accurate renderings of a wide-eyed child whose mood is, in reality, imperceptible, and a deformed youth who merely stares at the artist who draws him. It is the viewer, not the artist, who reads something into the characters’ thoughts. In fact, the handwritten inscription *Non so se Dio m’aiuta* on the drawing of the *Semi-Nude Youth* may not be by the artist but an addition by another hand. The magnificently observed portrait of the lutenist Mascheroni (Cat. 25) is a mastery of observed light and shade. The face, with its intense stare, fills the sheet, and the sitter is thus perceived by the viewer as having a strong character. What can instead be construed as a detachment from his subjects may suggest that Annibale did not believe that accurate observation reflected mood and may have led to his later adoption of *affetti*, or demonstrative gestures, to describe inner emotion.<sup>14</sup>

Accurate observation of the natural world included drawings of the Emilian countryside that would be used as references when creating painted compositions. Unlike his careful and detailed rendering of the human figure, Annibale’s landscape drawings tend to be quick sketches that evoke the shape of the trees, branches, mountains, roads, and rivers. Because of the affinity with his brother Agostino’s landscape style, and the influence of his landscape method on followers and imitators, the attribution of these sheets continues to be controversial.<sup>15</sup> In spite of Annibale having painted the first

wholly independent landscape paintings in the history of western painting (another important invention for the artist), it appears that for him landscape was meant to support the story being told.<sup>16</sup> Biographers related that the Carracci drew landscapes out-of-doors for pleasure,<sup>17</sup> but Annibale used his observations to support a rationally conceived landscape painting style in which overlapping areas progressed in a zigzag fashion into depth, with figures placed in these receding zones to indicate diminishing spatial perspective. Landscape and architecture supported his main iconographical interest: the observation of the human figure in all its aspects of movement and attitude.

Already in the early 1580s Annibale had mastered drawing the human form, still life, and landscape under various conditions of light and perspective. He had taken a long study trip to copy and observe earlier masters. This training, whose innovative combination of the study of nature and art was espoused in the Accademia degli Incamminati, gave Annibale the basis for his compositional triumphs of the following years. As beautiful and complete as many of Annibale's drawings are, they were merely a means to an end, the necessity of thought on the way to the painted composition. No catalogue raisonné of Annibale's drawing oeuvre exists, but there are drawings attributed to him in every major (and minor) cabinet in the world, and several thousand sheets by the Carracci are extant. We can only guess how many were originally produced. Numerous sheets were necessary for Annibale's preparatory method, which began with a compositional sketch, was followed by a fairly final sketch, then by various studies from the model of the body, arms, legs, heads, and drapery (see Cats. 79–81). As Annibale matured, he made more careful studies for his paintings. Nature continued to keep its hold on him and he drew from the model; however, his working method became more complicated. After his arrival in Rome, in 1595, his preparatory method included the study of Renaissance artists as well as ancient sculpture, medals, and reliefs. All of these sources contributed

to what is now termed an “eclectic” style, one which every artist before and after the Carracci practiced. Even the radical Caravaggio looked to Michelangelo and Raphael to aid in his strict adherence to nature.

Bellori related that Annibale made extensive preparations for his frescoes in the Camerino and Gallery of the Farnese Palace. For example, to correctly place the globe in Hercules' arms, in the Camerino, he made at least twenty drawings (see Cat. 33).<sup>18</sup> Drawings exhibited here for the Farnese Palace indicate Annibale's interest in earlier artists' solutions for grand, decorative murals. He studied not only Michelangelo's Sistine chapel, as is well known, but also frescoes by his early Parmese idol Correggio, his Bolognese compatriot Pellegrino Tibaldi, and his Roman contemporary Cavaliere d'Arpino.<sup>19</sup> Ancient Roman, Renaissance, and mannerist artists and the natural world were studied assiduously to great effect. Most important to him in his Roman years was Raphael, whose figural and compositional style he emulated. The mature Annibale left nothing to chance in working out his compositions. His studies began with preliminary sketches, usually in ink, that incorporated his ideas for the layout of forms (Cats. 40, 43). After numerous compositional drawings, he made studies to understand the fall of light and to refine the composition, often in pen and ink or chalk heightened with white (Cat. 42). He continued this refinement by a careful study of each figure of the composition, often including further attention to limbs, faces, and drapery (Cat. 45). Perhaps it was at this time that he made the small papier-mâché models that Bellori indicated he used.<sup>20</sup> At this point, too, he integrated copies of ancient sculpture and paintings, where he felt the musculature or position of a form warranted it. Drawings for the Farnese Gallery ceiling included loose quotations of Michelangelo's *ignudi* (Cat. 60), and Roman sculpture always provided useful fodder (Cat. 34). Following these further studies of light and human form, Annibale integrated the entire concept in a full-scale cartoon to be transferred to the fresco (Cat. 47).



Concurrently, he would have made oil studies to correct color. If this process sounds much like that of Federico Barocci, whose working methods were also related by Bellori, it is.<sup>21</sup> On Annibale's *studioso corso* he saw Barocci's art first-hand and was influenced by his use of color. He certainly would have known Barocci's drawings, and may possibly have met the artist himself. In any case, only Barocci before him made equally elaborate preparations for his works, including his final and justly famous oil studies.

Annibale's working method has been described often to suggest his eclectic and rather monotonous linear progression to a final composition. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Throughout the process the artist was thinking of new forms and ideas, incorporating his study of earlier artists with his basic concept for the final work. In his mind, even a cartoon was not considered final. In the few cartoons that exist by the Carracci, we see the usual subtle changes and corrections.<sup>22</sup> In at least one case, however, that for the fresco of *Hercules Resting* in the Camerino Farnese, Annibale reversed and rethought the entire composition after the cartoon had been completed, and, possibly, after he had begun the fresco.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the view of Annibale as a draftsman whose ideas were worked out completely before he began to paint must be revised. His creative genius continued until the painted work was completed. What differed in Annibale's working method from his predecessors was his continuous incorporation of nature throughout the creative process. He may have looked at ancient sculpture and medals and at his Renaissance and mannerist predecessors, but he always considered his forms within a believable atmosphere. In a drawing of a man carrying a vase (Cat. 83), Annibale came the closest he could to both a Raphaellesque form and Raphael's graphic style, but it is evident that he also observed the action of the turning figure grasping the vase directly from a human model. Even in his mythological subjects, such as the studies for the *Tazza Farnese* (Cats. 65–67), the decorative elements of foliage and flowers, the landscape

backgrounds, and the fantastic satyrs are believable because they are based on a close study of nature. And the figures on the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery resemble ancient sculpture and medals on purpose because we are intended to believe that they are real sculpture.

In spite of Annibale's meticulous care in drawing realistically described and articulated forms, what sets him apart from other fine draftsmen and places him in the category of great graphic artists is his ability to set down a few strokes to imply an entire scene. Lines that are extraneous and decorative did not enter his vocabulary as they did in that of his brother Agostino.<sup>24</sup> In his landscape drawings, for example, such as the *Coastal Landscape* (Cat. 70), brief hatching strokes suggest, instead of fully describe, the branches of the trees, whole bushes, the background hills, the foreground grasses, the walking figures, and the moving sailboats on the lake. Yet we feel the atmosphere of a breezy spring or summer day and can imagine a real landscape before us. In his studies for the *ignudi* for the Farnese Gallery ceiling (Cat. 60), the figures were drawn quickly and assuredly with simple indications for hair and toes and surrounding foliate decoration. The interest here was not in fully describing the figure but on understanding the *di sotto in su* perspective and the fall of light on the form. In the study for the *Self-Portrait on an Easel* (Cat. 88), the gaze of the figure at top as he turns toward us, holding his cloak, comes alive even though composed of only a few strokes. Below the portrait Annibale suggested the depth of the room by minimum lines for the ceiling beams. At times this paring down to basics is meant to amuse as much as to suggest, as in *Landscape with Smiling Sunrise* (Cat. 89). No one before Annibale was as adept at insinuating draftsmanship, and only Rembrandt after him surpassed his genius for subtle suggestion.

One may need to credit Agostino Carracci and the camaraderie of learning in the Carracci academy for Annibale's ability to develop his natural talents to extraordinary lengths. In the academy the artists sought to perfect their art by

copying the works of other masters, as well as relief sculpture and antique heads, and live male and female models. They made their own clay models. To understand anatomy they dissected corpses and learned the working of the muscles, bones, and nerves of the human body. Of course, they went outside and sketched the countryside and the people they saw, both beautiful and deformed. They studied architecture and perspective as well as history, mythology, and literature. From Malvasia we learn that they sketched whatever they saw, even eating bread with one hand and drawing with the other.<sup>25</sup> They played visual games to increase their manual dexterity. One game entailed drawing several figures without lifting pen from paper.<sup>26</sup> Another consisted of drawing a few lines to suggest a scene while the participants guessed what was presented.<sup>27</sup> Exaggerating the features of a subject became a game in itself and the first true caricatures originated in the Carracci academy. The term “caricature” was first applied in the seventeenth century to works by the Carracci.<sup>28</sup> Whether Agostino, to whom almost all the extant caricatures can be attributed, or Annibale invented the genre is not important here:<sup>29</sup> the attitude was one embraced by the academy as suggestive of meaning beyond the forms depicted. The rigorous academy training obviously aided Annibale in his natural tendency to include observation of the everyday world in his work.

Annibale’s late Roman works are a culmination of his previous study and style. His powers of observation did not diminish in his drawings for the Farnese Gallery, which have been described as hyperidealized, classicizing works. They focus and consolidate the earlier works into a concentration of action and form. Hands are not fully described but have become appendages with powerful meaning, with expressive gesture paramount (Cat. 61). These drawings represent what the theorist Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi, Annibale’s admirer, termed *affetti*, actions that must be precisely rendered to suggest emotion.<sup>30</sup> Yet *affetti* could not be effective without direct observation of gestural move-

ment in living human beings, and Annibale’s art emphasized the inclusion of nature in both facial and gestural movement.

In Annibale’s pen and ink drawings, description is minimal but observation of the natural world still uppermost. In the drawing of an execution (Cat. 76), Annibale supplied only the simplest of forms, which are reduced to the basics. Figures peer over the wall at one man hanging and another being taken to his death as the monk performs the last rites. A horrendous event is presented in a matter-of-fact way, and the viewer is left to judge either the execution itself or the staring onlookers. In the study for *Danaë* (Cat. 90) the shower of gold consists of only dots on the paper surface, but the electricity of the event is expressed in the spiky trees and spreading curtain. This, along with Danaë’s open gesture and the coins on her thigh, suggests the eroticism of the unfolding scene. The very late abstract pen drawings, like the study for the *Conversion of Saint Paul* (Cat. 87) and the study for the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Cat. 94), express the power of movement in a mélange of messy lines, each of which adds to an understanding of the whole.

The problem of attribution has plagued the study of drawings by the Carracci. Some of the characteristics of Annibale’s draftsmanship outlined here can be of help in distinguishing his work from that of his brother and cousin, on the one hand, and his followers, on the other. Whereas Annibale always looked to nature, neither Agostino nor Ludovico depended heavily on its centrality to their art. In drawings by both Agostino and Ludovico, lines and forms have a decorative rather than realistic effect. Annibale’s followers, on the other hand, tended to copy his drawings exactly and harden his forms. The autograph sheets presented here reflect the diversity of Annibale’s technique, subject matter, and media, as well as his originality. He was one of the first artists to explore landscape and genre and portraiture as a reflection of the actual. The underlying characteristic of his draftsmanship throughout his career was his search for the convincing line and gesture, one that could


be seen in nature. If his Roman works appear based on classical and Renaissance forms, they are forms that have come alive to express a believable action. If Annibale looked to earlier artists, it was to extract from them what had the ring of verisimilitude. Annibale Carracci's preparation was complex, a combination of looking at art and at life, and the results were meant to convince the viewer that nature was always present in art.

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NOTES

1. Bellori 1968, 64 (1672, 77).
2. Bellori 1968, 6 (1672, 20–21).
3. Bellori 1968, 7 (1672, 21).
4. Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 268, first related this famous trip, which must have taken Annibale also to Florence and the Marches, where Federico Barocci's art made a deep impression.
5. Annibale's and Agostino's trips are documented by letters, first published by Malvasia in 1678 (1841), I: 268–270, later believed to be false (Voss 1924, 482–483), and now accepted by most critics as authentic. See Perini 1990, 150–154. For an English translation see De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 508–511.
6. As stated in his letter of 28 April 1580 to his cousin Ludovico (De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 510).
7. Letter of 28 April 1580 (De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 510).
8. On Paleotti, see Prodi 1959–1967. On the suggested influence and/or parallels of Paleotti's teachings and Annibale's art, see Boschloo 1974, 142–155. See also De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 28 and nn. 7–8.
9. For a portrait of Aldrovandi by Agostino, see De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, no. 207.
10. For reproductions, see Posner 1971, 2: pls. 4a, 6a.
11. On the *Boy Drinking*, see Christiansen 1990, 135–145.
12. This was already observed by Posner 1971, I: 13.
13. *Le arti di Bologna* is a collection of eighty prints by Simon Guillain published in 1646. Not all the drawings appear to have been made by Annibale, and recently these drawings have been questioned by Ann Sutherland Harris.
14. For a discussion on the *affetti*, see Mahon 1947, 148–151.
15. On a good analysis of the landscape styles of the Carracci, see Whitfield 1980, 50–58, and 1988, 73–95.
16. For reference to the six landscape paintings by Annibale and bibliography, see De Grazia in De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 45–49.
17. Mentioned by Lucio Faberio in his funeral oration for Agostino Carracci in 1603 (see Malvasia 1678 [1841], I: 308).
18. Bellori 1968, 67–68 (1672, 81).
19. Annibale made drawings that recall Tibaldi's work in the Palazzo Poggi, Bologna, and Cavaliere d'Arpino's ceiling in the Cappella Olgiate in Santa Prassede, Rome.
20. Bellori 1968, 33 (1672, 47). Bellori mentioned "figures in relief," which could also have preceded this stage as refinement of the whole composition.
21. See Bellori 1672, 194–196, on Barocci's working methods. Translated into English in Cleveland and New Haven 1978, 23–24.
22. See Agostino's cartoons for the Farnese Gallery in London 1995.
23. See De Grazia 1998b, 295.
24. On a comparison of the three Carracci's graphic styles see De Grazia 1998b, 294–295.
25. Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 307–308, 334.
26. No drawings by Annibale like this are extant, but many exist by Agostino. See De Grazia 1988, fig. 1.
27. Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 334–335, described and reproduced some of these games.
28. Mancini 1617 (1956–1957), 136–137, was the first to describe this new genre, in relation to the Carracci, calling the works "ritratti ridicoli." Giovanni Antonio Massini (as Giovanni Mosini) first introduced the term caricature ("ritratti carichi"). The word "carichi" indicated that the forms were "heavy" or "loaded" with meaning (see Mahon 1947, 259–265). See also De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 67, n. 83.
29. On this and on the present writer's attribution of the origin of caricature to Agostino see De Grazia 1988, 98–109. The drawing by Annibale from Windsor Castle exhibited here (Cat. 82) appears not to be a caricature but a depiction of an actual human being.
30. On Agucchi's description of the *affetti* in Annibale Carracci, see Mahon 1947, 148–151, and Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 360–368.





*The Fate of  
Annibale's Drawings*

EVEN AS ANNIBALE CARRACCI'S FUNERAL AT THE PANTHEON, on 16 July 1609, consecrated his renown after four years of illness and inactivity,<sup>1</sup> his drawings became the prey of enlightened and respectful collectors. Fortunately, it has been possible to reconstruct the fate of the contents of Annibale's studio almost from that date through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The inventory of 17 July 1609,<sup>2</sup> made after Annibale's death, bears no mention of any drawing portfolios, which is especially surprising for an artist who based his teaching and all his activity on the practice of drawing and who continued to draw during his long illness. But some years later, large groups of drawings from Annibale's Roman period can be traced to two collectors: Domenichino and Francesco Angeloni.

As far as Domenichino is concerned, this is not remarkable as his ties to Annibale remained close even after the completion of work on the Farnese Gallery. He benefited from Annibale's support in his duel with Guido Reni on the walls of the Oratorio of Sant'Andrea at San Gregorio al Celio and in obtaining commissions like that of the Badia of Grottaferrata, of which Odoardo Farnese was *abate commendatario*.<sup>3</sup> For the latter project Annibale executed the altarpiece, while Domenichino painted the frescoes using two drawings by Annibale for two of the evangelists in the compartments of the chapel's vault.<sup>4</sup>

The first mention of Annibale drawings in Domenichino's possession is in the inventory of the effects of his pupil Francesco Raspantino, drawn up in 1664. In April of 1641, Domenichino had bequeathed to him the contents of his studio, including his own drawings and preparatory cartoons, as well as his collection of drawings by the Carracci.<sup>5</sup> At the death of Raspantino, the collection was sold and the painter Carlo Maratti took possession of the largest part.<sup>6</sup> One can easily imagine the effect of this resource on the evolution of Maratti's art toward a form of classicism or idealized baroque that would influence Roman painting for a long time.

A close associate of Giovanni Pietro Bellori, author of the *Vite* and *Discorso* and himself a collector, as well as of Padre Sebastiano Resta, Maratti certainly consulted his portfolios of drawings in their company, comparing the sheets by Domenichino and the Carracci. When in 1703 Pope Clement XI Albani got wind of an agreement with an English *amateur* for the sale of a part of the collection, he used his authority to break the deal and seize the drawings, which, together with the Cassiano dal Pozzo holdings, enriched the Albani collection. Other sheets went to Spain with Andrea Procaccini, a pupil of Maratti's, and are now at the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid.<sup>7</sup>

A second campaign of acquisition took place after the artist's death in 1713, and thus the contents of the studios of Domenichino and Maratti were reunited, along with some of Annibale's Roman-period drawings, including a fair number of cartoons, such as *Hercules Resting*, now in the Uffizi,<sup>8</sup> and the right half of *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* with Silenus and his cortege in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino (Cat. 47).

When in 1762 financial difficulties and the intrigues of the Countess Cheroffini Gherardi constrained the cardinal Alessandro Albani to dispose of a part of his collection of drawings and prints—two hundred volumes—to King George III of England, the sale was considered a disaster by the archaeologist Winckelmann: “one can no longer

assemble such a collection in Rome.” Unfortunately, as Wittkower explained,<sup>9</sup> it is extremely difficult to identify the provenance of the drawings of the British royal collection, since those purchased in the eighteenth century have been integrated.

Indeed, other Bolognese drawings were included in the acquisition of the collection of Consul Smith in Venice in 1763, some of which had come from the Bonfiglioli collection in Bologna. Only the descriptions of the inventory of this collection drawn up in 1696<sup>10</sup> and the notes of Richardson<sup>11</sup> allow the identification of works with the Bonfiglioli provenance, which seems to concern mainly the drawings of Ludovico, but Wittkower was able to find two under Annibale's name: a very finished drawing, squared for transfer, maybe by a collaborator, for *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* (Wittkower no. 305A), as well as a rather problematic *Denial of Saint Peter* (inv. 531). Furthermore, since the time of Charles I, the British Royal Library has owned a collection of Italian drawings that is today difficult to identify<sup>12</sup> but whose reputation was sufficient for Malvasia to cite Carlo Stuardo as one of the collectors of Carracci drawings.

In spite of these reservations it can legitimately be supposed that Domenichino, the faithful pupil, had either received from Annibale or bought drawings relating to his Roman activity. A large part of Annibale's Roman oeuvre at Windsor probably came from this source.

In 1678, in *La Felsina Pittrice*, Malvasia recorded the fame of another collection, that of Francesco Angeloni, which had been dispersed after the death of its owner in 1652 and which is now somewhat better known thanks to recent research.<sup>13</sup> Scholar, numismatist, *amateur* of antiques and painting, Angeloni freely opened his “studio” to artists and travelers. It is thus that the British painter Richard Symonds had access to the collection that he described in his notebook,<sup>14</sup> where he recorded the presence of two folio volumes with drawings by Annibale Carracci for the Farnese Gallery as well as a collection of landscape drawings by Agostino, Annibale, and

Domenichino. Another important source is constituted by an *album factice* in the Louvre, which brings together the drawings of a pupil of François Perrier, the Frenchman François Bourlier, who copied numerous drawings in the Angeloni collection during his stay in Rome between 1642 and 1644.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, it contains copies after numerous drawings for the Camerino, the Gallery, and the Tazza Farnese (fig. 1).

If the reputation of the collection that Angeloni was so proud of has not paled, the mystery of how it was acquired still remains. It is difficult to imagine that Annibale himself would have sold the contents of his studio, especially since his total fortune, as calculated by Roberto Zapperi from indications in the death inventory, was quite small: twelve *luoghi di monti* (less than 1400 scudi).<sup>16</sup> The role of his nephew Antonio Carracci, accused of usurping the estate by Annibale's Bolognese heirs, may have been decisive in sheltering the drawings that were completely absent from the inventory drawn up only two days after the artist's death. We know that Annibale was attended in his last moments by Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi and that he was surrounded in his last months by the three pupils who signed the "contract" of 14 July 1608: Antonio, the son of Agostino; Giovanni Antonio Solari; and Sisto Badalocchio.<sup>17</sup> Angeloni, friend of Domenichino and Agucchi, had close ties to the young Bolognese artists and held passionate discussions with them about painting. Very possibly an underground transaction took place, before or after the death of the master, and by chance some entire sections of his studio, including studies executed in Rome and others that he had brought with him from Bologna, remained grouped in two principal collections. In addition, a considerable part of the Angeloni collection can be traced through the purchases of Mignard, followed by Coypel and Crozat. The dispersal of the Farnese drawings that appeared on the British market in the middle of the century—notably with Peter Lely, who owned, for example, the study of *Circe*, *Ulysses*, and *Mercury*, now in the Graphische Sammlung, Stuttgart,<sup>18</sup> as well as *A Woman*



FIG. 1 François Bourlier after Annibale Carracci, Album Perrier, folio 57, with copies after Cat. 66, Musée du Louvre

*Seated in a Gallery* in Chatsworth,<sup>19</sup> both from the Roman period—probably goes back to 1609–1641, between the deaths of Annibale and Domenichino. The drawings in a general way began to circulate intensively on the international art markets of Rome, Venice, London, Amsterdam, and Paris, and the great private collections that were avidly formed at this moment would give birth to the great princely collections of the Medici, the Este family, Louis XIV, and the British crown. These collectors absorbed drawings or formed quality

ensembles in such a way that their tracks can be followed more or less after their purchase by other *amateurs*, as is the case with the Arundel, De la Noue, and Coccapani collections, or that of the painter Peter Paul Rubens.<sup>20</sup>

Angeloni's protégé, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, who served as his secretary and was supposed to inherit his studio in order to preserve it as a veritable museum, was unable to gain possession of the collection in 1652; after bringing a successful suit against him, Angeloni's heirs put it up for sale. It is thus that Pierre Mignard had the good fortune to buy a portion of the drawings "by the Carracci," particularly those by Annibale. These appeared in his nuptial inventory of 2 August 1660 as three large volumes containing, respectively, 136, 75, and 121 sheets.<sup>21</sup> Although sometimes several draw-

ings were attached to individual pages, that adds up to at least 332 drawings, or half of the collection enumerated by Angeloni himself in his *Historia Augusta*.

What became of the others? In 1673, according to Bellori, two hundred Angeloni drawings were again on the market and were offered at an elevated price to Cardinal Leopoldo de Medici,<sup>22</sup> but it is not known if the transaction was completed. Curiously, one criterion that allows us to suspect an Angeloni provenance is the presence of manuscript annotations on the drawings, for the most part addresses—always incomplete—found on the sheets in the Louvre that came from Coypel (Agostino Carracci, inv. 7110) or from Crozat (on the verso of the *Atlas Herm* in the Biblioteca Reale in Turin; inv. 16073 D.C.), or drawings which were on the Roman market in the eighteenth century, such as the sheet in the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, from the Lambert Krahe collection, *Landscape with Three Studies of Men's Faces* (classed by mistake under Grimaldi but actually by Annibale, dating from his Roman period; fig. 2).

When Malvasia listed the great contemporary collections, he forgot to note that the Angeloni collection had been dissolved and seems not to have been aware of the existence of the Domenichino-Maratti group, or of the collection of drawings by Annibale brought together by Bellori,<sup>23</sup> of which a large part would be purchased by Padre Sebastiano Resta. It is thus, as Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò has noted, that the Bellori provenance for the Chatsworth *modello* for *Pan and Diana* (Cat. 48) and the *Bacchic Procession* (Cat. 42) in the Albertina can be identified.<sup>24</sup>

Thanks to recent research by Jeremy Wood,<sup>25</sup> it is now easier to realize the breadth of the collection that was brought together in albums by Padre Resta, probably with a commercial purpose. The greater part of this collection went to England in 1711, where it was then dispersed. These drawings can always be recognized by the numbers inscribed on them through the efforts of Lord Somers.



FIG. 2 Here attributed to Annibale Carracci, *Landscape with Three Studies of Men's Faces*, *Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf im Ehrenhof, Sammlung der Kunstakademie (NRW)*, inv. no. KA (FP) 4175

Of the Bolognese collections cited by Malvasia—Bonfiglioli, Negri, Pasinelli, Polazzi, and his own (three hundred pieces)—none bore marks that allow them to be identified. Following their sales, they were largely integrated into Pierre Crozat's collection, which was assembled from about 1690 until its dispersal at the 1741 sale, and into the British royal collection via Consul Smith.

There remain two more great collections to consider: those of the Este princes in Modena and Everard Jabach. The first was divided at the end of the eighteenth century as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, and one part is now in the Louvre, completing the nucleus that remained in Modena. At some point a few drawings passed onto the art market, and their provenance is attested by the marks of Alfonso III, Francesco II, or Alfonso IV. Research conducted by Jadranka Bentini<sup>26</sup> has allowed different stages of the building of the Este collection to be traced through successive inventories, work that has been corroborated by research conducted on that part of the Este drawing collection that is now in the Louvre.<sup>27</sup> It thus appears that the initial nucleus of the Este collection goes back to Cardinal Alessandro d'Este (1599–1624), who owned some works by Annibale, including *Un Disegno di chiaro e scuro con un Ercole...* Prince Alfonso III, according to an undated inventory published by Campori,<sup>28</sup> owned *La Circoncisione d'Annibale Carracci di penna e aquarella* and *Il Figliuol prodigo d'Annibale Carracci*, as well as *Due figure di penna in un paese*, unfortunately difficult to identify. But the most significant increase in the collection was due to the acquisition, at least in part, of the “studio” brought together by the bishop of Reggio, Paolo Coccapani, who died in 1650 and owned a collection of paintings and drawings of which an undated inventory was found and published by Campori.<sup>29</sup> From precise descriptions it is possible to identify certain pieces, and notably among the nine drawings by Annibale is *La Lupa con Romolo e Remo d'Annibal Carraccia* (Cat. 16). However, if one totals the drawings

by Annibale between Modena and the Louvre, in spite of their individual importance—Modena has, among others, a rare *Study of a Jester's Head* in sanguine,<sup>30</sup> probably preparatory for the portrait in the Galleria Borghese—it appears from the evidence that the Este owned mainly works by Ludovico. An essential contribution in the area that concerns us here was made through the systematic study of landscape drawings that had once been organized in three albums and are now actually dispersed in the Louvre's collection, where three preparatory drawings for *The Flight into Egypt* in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj were identified, all bearing the mark of Alfonso IV d'Este (1634–1662).<sup>31</sup>

In the area of landscape drawing, the reconstitution of the Jabach collection also provides valuable information. The stages of the formation of the collection assembled by the banker Everard Jabach on the European market are but poorly known, but it is fascinating to imagine his activity and his commercial network in the Low Countries, England, and Italy.<sup>32</sup> It is probably through his acquisition of the drawings of Rubens that he came into possession of *A Boy Taking off His Shirt* (Cat. 8), which was sold, in accordance with Colbert's decision, to Louis XIV with a large part of Jabach's collection in 1671. In the spirit of collecting of the seventeenth century, which was marked by knowledge of Vasari's *Libro de' Disegni*, the use of a gold band to frame the drawings—glued down to the pages of an album, as was the case with Resta, or conserved singly like those from the Este collection—resulted in the division of Jabach's collection into two groups: the “ordonnance” drawings mounted on a white *carton* and framed by a broad gold band<sup>33</sup>—these were often highly finished drawings—and the “rejects” on loose sheets. It is now known<sup>34</sup> that Jabach did not sell all his drawings to the king and that he sometimes even sold copies executed at his request by Michel Corneille so that he could keep the originals. The inventory drawn up at his death in 1696<sup>35</sup> mentioned numerous drawings by Annibale, of



FIG. 3 Travelers Seen from Behind in a Landscape, *Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, inv. 2190*

which some are clearly identifiable, such as the *Landscape with Bathers* in the Oppé collection;<sup>36</sup> *The Drunken Silenus* in the British Museum (Cat. 65); and *Landscape with a Group of Figures in a Boat*, formerly in the Ellesmere collection and now in Cleveland,<sup>37</sup> for example. It is relatively easy to follow most of these drawings, of which the majority had been bought by Crozat and dispersed at his sale in 1741 to the most important contemporary collections, including Pierre-Jean Mariette's,<sup>38</sup> thus allowing us to understand how such a large number of drawings brought together by Jabach were then found in the collections of Sir Thomas Lawrence,<sup>39</sup> the duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, and Albert of Sachsen-Teschen. The 1696 inventory notations are sometimes very precise, like the one for no. 23 (folio 93): *Notre seigneur portant sa croix rencontrant St Pierre à genoux à la plume lavé et haussé sur papier verd.*, which can be identified with the

drawing in the Staatsgraphische Sammlung in Munich of a study for the *Domine, Quo Vadis?* in the National Gallery of London,<sup>40</sup> which had passed through the Crozat collection. Other elements also allow this provenance to be reconstituted: the presence of copies by Corneille or their counterproofs in the Louvre, as with *Landscape with Smiling Sunrise* (Cat. 89), which exists in a counterproof;<sup>41</sup> and the prints in the *Recueil de 283 Estampes* that Jabach had made after the drawings in his collection by Michel and Jean Baptiste Corneille, Macé, Jean Pesne, and Jacques Rousseau.<sup>42</sup> The printmakers sometimes transformed the drawings by adding classicizing elements and combining motifs, but it is easy to recognize the sources. Thus the provenance of the *Landscape with Two Boatmen* in Chatsworth,<sup>43</sup> given to Agostino but seemingly the work of Annibale in Rome, the *Landscape with a Mill* in the Ellesmere collection,<sup>44</sup> now in the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, and *Travelers Seen from Behind in a Landscape* in the Albertina (fig. 3)<sup>45</sup> can be pinned down.

The question arises as to the origins of the Annibale drawings owned by Jabach—beyond his own taste—since their provenance must have seemed sufficiently prestigious for him to decide to devote a collection of prints to them. Hypothetically, considering his ties with Pierre Mignard, it can be suggested that Mignard had looked after Jabach's interests in Rome, thus allowing him to participate in the negotiations involving certain estates, such as that of Angeloni. Finally, it should be emphasized that not all the drawings sold by Jabach to the king were fakes, even if a drawing coming from the Jabach collection should at first be regarded with suspicion, as is the case with the recent discovery of a preparatory drawing for the landscape in the background of the *Saint Margaret* in Santa Caterina dei Funari (fig. 4).

The continuing history of Annibale's drawings at the beginning of the eighteenth century is well known, especially as it concerns the collection in the Louvre, the most important





one together with the one at Windsor. The three volumes of drawings brought from Rome by Mignard were sold by his heirs to the painter Antoine Coypel and to Pierre Crozat. By the will of Antoine's son, Charles-Antoine Coypel, that collection was bequeathed to the French king in 1752, and was nationalized at the Revolution with the entire royal collection. Recently, the specific mount of drawings that came through the Coypel collection has been identified. At the sale of the Crozat collection, which included more than three hundred drawings by Annibale, Pierre-Jean Mariette made some important acquisitions that then reappeared in his sale of 1775: sixty-two drawings and a portfolio of more than

one hundred studies for the Farnese Gallery. By chance the royal collection was able to come into possession of at least one part of this portfolio of unmounted drawings that do not bear the collector's mark, as well as other drawings glued down to the celebrated blue mount. During the French Revolution, through confiscations of the belongings of émigrés like the comte de Saint-Morys, other Crozat and Mariette drawings were added to the collection. The majority of drawings on the French art market in the eighteenth century came from the collection of Crozat, before being bought by Dezallier d'Argenville (*Study for Saint Catherine*, Louvre 7310), Nourri (Louvre 7210), or Lempereur (Cleveland 41605).

In conclusion, it is worth noting the testimony of Constantin Huygens,<sup>46</sup> who, in 1663, wrote to his brother Christian recommending that he visit the Jabach collection:

I would very much like this for one particular reason. There are among other things about fifty or so landscapes drawn in pen by Annibale Carracci and Uylenburg says that among them there is one in which there is a lot of water and little figures of people who are bathing. If you see it, I would like you quickly to make a small rough sketch, no matter how bad it may be, as long as one can discern somehow where the figures are and how many there are in order to know a little of the truth as to whether the one Rembrandt has in Amsterdam where there are just as many people who are swimming by the same master is not a copy, which I do not think anyway because of the boldness of the pen.

The question of attribution has clearly been at issue since the middle of the seventeenth century, and many of us would be very happy to be able to identify the Annibale drawing that was owned by Rembrandt.



FIG. 4 Landscape Study with Figures Walking Past a Building, *Musée du Louvre*, inv. 7645

NOTES

1. The description of Annibale's death comes from Giovanni Battista Agucchi in a famous letter published by Malvasia 1678 (1841), 319.
2. Zapperi 1979, 62–67.
3. Spear 1982, and, most recently, Almamaria Mignosi Tantillo in Rome 1996, 197 ff.
4. *Saint Mark and Saint John*, now at Windsor. The drawing for *Saint Mark* was identified by Wittkower 1952, no. 359, and the one for *Saint John* by Spear 1967, 57.
5. Rodinò 1993, 21 ff.
6. According to Passeri, Pier Francesco Mola also acquired some drawings.
7. For the study for *Venus and Adonis*, see Posner 1971, 2: no. 46b.
8. Rodinò 1993, fig. 26.
9. Wittkower 1952, 21–22 (introduction).
10. A copy is at Windsor.
11. Richardson 1722.
12. See Whistler in Oxford and London 1996–1997, 11 ff.
13. Rangoni 1991, 46–67.
14. *Notebook Egerton* MX. 1635, The British Library, London.
15. Boubli and Prat 1997, nos. 1040–1221. The list of copies after the Angeloni drawings is given in Loisel Legrand 1997a, 67–68, n. 20.
16. Zapperi 1979, 63.
17. This friendly contract that was intended to push Annibale back to work was exhibited in Bologna in 1956, no. 248, and was reproduced by Loisel Legrand 1997b, figs. 27–28.
18. Höper 1992, no. D10.
19. Jaffé 1994, no. 488.
20. Wood 1994, 333–351.
21. For the inventory published by Guiffrey, see Rangoni 1991, 46–67, n. 49.
22. Rangoni 1991, n. 55.
23. Rodinò 1996, 357–377.
24. Rodinò 1996.
25. Wood 1996, 3–71.
26. See Modena 1998, curated by Jadranka Bentini.
27. Sassuolo 1998.
28. Campori, cited by Bentini in Modena 1998, 37.
29. Campori 1870, no. XI, 143 ff. Among the paintings can be noted the presence of a *Self-Portrait* by Annibale (no. 104) and a *Portrait of Sisto Badalocchio* by Annibale (no. 130). The Coccapani collection was recently studied by Patrizia Curti and Lidia Righi Guerzoni in “Gentiluomini e collezionisti nella Modena ducale,” in Modena 1998, 262–274.
30. Galleria Estense, inv. 1134, *Portrait of a Young Man in Profile*, 325 x 240, marks of Alfonso 111 and Francesco 11; on the verso, red chalk sketches of an arm and a face.
31. Loisel Legrand in Sassuolo 1998, nos. 56–58.
32. See Paris 1978–1979.
33. It is possible that Jabach borrowed this idea from the collectors Desneux and De la Noue, who owned pages of Vasari's *Libro*.
34. Bacou 1978, 141–150; Monbeig-Goguel 1988, 821–836.
35. Bernadette Py has undertaken to reconstruct the collection through this inventory. I am grateful to her for providing me with a typed transcription of the copy in the Louvre.
36. Bologna 1956, no. 236.
37. Ellesmere sale, London, Sotheby's, 1972, no. 52.
38. Loisel Legrand 1997b, 41–51.
39. Catalogue of the Ellesmere sale, London, Sotheby's, 1972.
40. Inv. 2833: pen and brown ink, red chalk, and brown wash on paper washed green. The composition was reworked with a lacuna and an inclusion. The heightenings in white gouache are later and were probably added when the drawing was in Jabach's possession. At lower right a number in brown ink indicates Crozat's ownership. See Posner 1971, 2: no. 135b.
41. Inv. 7640.
42. Bailey 1993.
43. Jaffé 1994, no. 472.
44. Ellesmere sale, London, Sotheby's, 1972, no. 71.
45. Birke and Kertész 1994–1997, 2: no. 2190.
46. Mahon in Bologna 1956, 158–159.



- 1560 •  
3 NOVEMBER: Annibale Carracci is baptized in Bologna (Malvasia 1678 [1841], 326).
- 1580–1582 •  
Possible date of study trip to Parma and Venice with Agostino.  
  
18 APRIL AND 28 APRIL  
1580: Writes to Ludovico from Parma with his reactions to Correggio and Parmigianino (Perini 1990, 152–154). An undated note from Agostino confirms that the brothers are in Venice and describes Annibale's admiration for Veronese (Perini 1990, 168).<sup>1</sup>
- 1581 •  
Signed and dated print: *Crucifixion*, "Anj. in. Fe., 1581" (De Grazia 1).
- 1582 •  
Probable founding of the Accademia degli Desiderosi, later renamed "Accademia degli Incamminati," after Agostino's return to Bologna (Bellori 1672, 43).<sup>2</sup> In this year, Giovanni Paolo Bonconti entered the Accademia and contributed to the furnishings of the new school (Malvasia 1678 [1841], 404–405).  
  
Signed and dated print: *Holy Family with Saints John the Baptist and Michael*, "Ani: Cara: fe. 1582." (De Grazia 2).
- 1583 •  
First signed and dated painting: *Crucifixion with Saints*, for San Nicolò di San Felice, Bologna (Posner 6).  
  
OCTOBER: Receives commission for *The Baptism of Christ* (Boschloo 1974, 179, n. 6).
- C. 1583–1584 •  
Signed and dated fresco cycles: *The Story of Jason*, dated 1584, and *The Story of Europa* (see Cats. 4, 5) for the Palazzo Fava, Bologna, executed by the three Carracci.  
  
Later possible date, accepted by some scholars, for Annibale's trip to Parma and Venice (see above, 1580–1582).
- 1585 •  
Signed and dated paintings: *Baptism of Christ*, San Gregorio, Bologna (Posner 21) (see Cat. 7), and *Pietà with Saints* (Posner 24), Pinacoteca Nazionale, Parma.  
  
Signed and dated print: *Saint Francis of Assisi*, "1585, Ani. Ca. in. fe." (De Grazia 7).  
  
Latest possible date for the founding of the Accademia (see above, 1582).
- 1587 •  
Signed and dated paintings: *Assumption of the Virgin*, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (see Cat. 12); *Portrait of Claudio Merulo(?)*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Naples (Posner 35), dated M.D.L.X.X.X.V.I.I. (Posner 40).  
  
Signed and dated print: *Madonna of the Swallow*, "1587/ANI. CAR. BOL. F. IN." (De Grazia 9).
- 1588 •  
Signed and dated painting: *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints (Madonna of Saint Matthew)*, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, "HANNIBAL CARRAC- TIVS BON.F. MDLXXXVIII." (Posner 45).
- 1589 •  
19 JULY: Signs contract with the Collegio dei Notari for an altarpiece, in his own hand, of the Madonna and Child with Saints Luke and Catherine and the Four Evangelists, for their chapel in the cathedral in Reggio (Ferrari 1913, 3–11). *Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints* is dated 1592, the year of the final payment (on 3 August), and the painting was delivered soon afterward (Posner 67).
- C. 1589–1592? •  
Signed and dated fresco cycle: *Story of the Founding of Rome* for the Palazzo Magnani, Bologna, executed by the three Carracci (see Cats. 16, 17).<sup>3</sup>
- 1590 •  
Signed and dated print: *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, "Anni.Car. in. fe. 1590" (De Grazia 11).
- 1591 •  
Signed and dated print: *Mary Magdalene in the Wilderness*, "Carra. in.1591" (De Grazia 12).
- 1592 •  
Signed and dated paintings: *Assumption of the Virgin*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (Posner 69); *Venus and Cupid*, Galleria Estense, Modena (Posner 65); *Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints ("Madonna of Saint Luke")*, Louvre, Paris, "ANNIBAL CARACTIVS F MDXCII." (Posner 67; see 1589); *Death of Dido*, Palazzo Francia Zambeccari-Angelelli, Bologna (Posner 68).<sup>4</sup>  
  
Signed and dated print: *Venus and a Satyr*, "1592. A.C." (De Grazia 17).  
  
15 NOVEMBER: Letter from Cornelio Lambertini refers to *Venus and Cupid* (Posner 65) and one of its intended companion pieces, Agostino's *Pluto* (Posner 1971, 2: 28).
- 1593 •  
Signed and dated paintings: *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saint John the Baptist, Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, "ANNI CARR FE MDXCIII." (Posner 72); *Resurrection of Christ*, Louvre, Paris, "ANNIBAL CARRATIVS PINGEBAT MDXCIII." (Posner 73); *Self-Portrait*, Galleria Nazionale, Parma, "17 di Aprile 1593" (Posner 75).

Signed print: *Madonna and Child* (De Grazia 16). In 1593, Raphael Sadeler made a dated copy of this print, indicating that Annibale's version must have been finished by that time.

SUMMER: Cardinal Odoardo Farnese writes to his brother Ranuccio about hiring the Carracci to paint the Sala Grande of his palace with a cycle commemorating their father, Duke Alessandro Farnese (Uginet 1980, 7).

8 DECEMBER: Letter from Giasone Vizani to Onofrio Santacroce describes the current commitments of the Carracci (Zapperi 1986, 205).

• 1594 •

AUTUMN: With Agostino, visits Cardinal Odoardo Farnese in Rome (letter from Odoardo to Ranuccio, dated 21 February 1595, in Tietze 1906–1907, 54).

Signed and dated painting: *Crucifixion*, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, “ANNIBAL CARATIVS. MDXCIII.” (Posner 81).

• 1595 •

21 FEBRUARY: Letter from Odoardo Farnese to Ranuccio states that he plans to have the Sala Grande decorated by the “Carraccioli” (Tietze 1906–1907, 54).

8 JULY: Writes to Giulio Fossi that he will be unable to finish *The Alms of Saint Roch* because of commitments to the Farnese (Perini 1990, 155–156; Cat. 26).

AUGUST: Letters from Odoardo Farnese to Fulvio Orsini reveal that the Sala Grande project is being postponed and that Annibale is to work on the Camerino instead (Martin 1956, 112, and Martin 1965, 42–43).

AUTUMN: Returns to Rome (Zapperi 1986, 204) and is at work for the Cardinal by 8 November, when Ranuccio's letter to Odoardo recommends that the painter Ottavio Pincolini be put under Annibale's direction at the Palazzo Farnese (Tietze 1906–1907, 107).

• 1595–1597 •

At work on the Camerino (see Cats. 27–38).

• 1597 •

22 OCTOBER: Document listing a payment for his portrait of Ranuccio Farnese places Agostino in Parma (Bologna 1956 [Dipinti], 88; De Grazia 1988, 104); sometime after this date, he arrives in Rome to work with Annibale.

Signed and dated print: *Pietà (Christ of Caprarola)*, in succeeding states, “1597” “Caprarolae 1597,” and “Annibal Caracius fe. Caprarolae 1597” (De Grazia 18).

• 1597–1599 •

Probably at work on *Saint Margaret* and *Coronation of the Virgin* (see Cat. 64; Posner 106 and 107) for Santa Caterina dei Funari, Rome. Documents relating to the dedication of the altar indicate that negotiations were under way between January 1597 and December 1599 (Tietze 1906–1907, 133). According to Mancini, the paintings were in place after 1600 (Mancini 1617 [1956–1957], 2: 38).

• 1597/1598–1601 •

At work on the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery (see Cats. 39–61).<sup>5</sup>

• 1599 •

Agostino is in Rome working on the Gallery but leaves before 16 July, when another payment for a portrait of Ranuccio Farnese places him in Parma (Bologna 1956 [Dipinti], 88; De Grazia 1988, 104). An undated letter from Annibale to Ludovico, probably written soon after Agostino's departure, complains about the poor relationship of the brothers, citing in particular Agostino's “unbearable arrogance” (Perini 1990, 165).

2 AUGUST: Letter from Giovan Battista Bonconti to his father describes Annibale's underpayment and mistreatment at the hands of the Farnese: “...he labors and pulls the cart all day like a horse, and paints loggie, small rooms and large, pictures and altarpieces and works worth a thousand scudi, and he is exhausted, and cracking under this, and has little appetite for such servitude” (Malvasia 1678 [1841], 405; Briganti 1987, 42, interprets this letter to mean that Agostino has already departed).

An inscription marks the date of completion of the chapel of Benedetto Gelosi in the cathedral at Spoleto, for which Annibale and an assistant (probably Innocenzo Tacconi) painted the *Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints* (Posner 109). Although Malvasia read “1591” as the date of the painting's completion,

the inscription commemorates the death of Gelosi's son, to whom the chapel is dedicated (Posner 1971, 2: 48; Tietze 1906–1907, 136).

• 1600–1601 •

Probable dates of the *Assumption* (Posner 126) and vault (Posner 127[A]) in the Cerasi chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. July 1600 is the date of the chapel's consecration, and the work seems to have been finished by Tiberio Cerasi's death in May 1601 (Posner 1971, 2: 55, and Mahon 1951, 226–227; Cats. 77, 78).

• 1601 •

2 JUNE: An *avviso* preserved in the Biblioteca Casanatense announces the unveiling of the Farnese Gallery vault in the presence of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, who presented Annibale with a gold chain and medallion valued at two hundred scudi. He also commissioned a painting from him, *Christ Appearing to Saint Peter (Domine, Quo Vadis?)* (Zapperi 1981, 822).

• c. 1601–1602 •

Probable date of *Saint Gregory Praying for the Souls in Purgatory* (Posner 130) for the Salviati chapel in San Gregorio al Celio, Rome (see Cats. 79–81). According to Posner, the painting must have been commissioned before Salviati's death in 1602, and was probably finished well before October 1603, when the chapel was consecrated (Posner 1971, 2: 57; see also Smith O'Neil 1985, 165).

Probable date of *Rinaldo and Armida* (Posner 132[s]). According to Posner a studio work after

Annibale's design, this painting is mentioned in the opening paragraph of Agucchi's description of Annibale's *Sleeping Venus* (Posner 134), which was in the artist's studio being finished in 1602 (see below). Agucchi saw the recently completed *Rinaldo and Armida* at this time, so the painting is datable to 1601–1602.

• 1602 •

FEBRUARY 23: Agostino dies in Parma (Tietze 1906–1907, 130).

Returns to Bologna for a brief visit, probably until May. Several members of the Bolognese shop move to Rome to work with him in the same year: Domenico Lanfranco, Sisto Badalocchio, Antonio Carracci (Posner 1971, I: 140).

APRIL 17: Letter from Giovanni Battista Agucchi to Bartolomeo Dulcini in Bologna asks him to speak to Annibale about a commission for a *Saint John the Baptist* “if he has not yet left Bologna” (Malvasia 1678 [1841], 330).

29 MAY: Death of his mother in Bologna (Zapperi 1989, 143–145).

31 MAY – 13 JUNE: Ludovico visits Rome (Malvasia 1678 [1841], 297).

18 JULY: The mason Domenico da Corte is paid for removing scaffolding from the Farnese Gallery vault (Zapperi 1981, 821).

AUTUMN: At work on the *Sleeping Venus* (Posner 134; see Cat. 84). Agucchi wrote a long description of this painting after seeing it, nearly finished, in Annibale's studio in the Palazzo Farnese during the “vendemie,” or fall harvest, of 1602 (published in Malvasia 1678 [1841], 360–368).<sup>6</sup>

Probable date of *Christ Appearing to Saint Peter* (“*Domine, Quo Vadis?*”) (Posner 135). The inclusion of this painting in the 1603 Aldobrandini collection inventory provides a terminus ante quem, but Posner dates it after the Cerasi chapel version of the same subject (Posner 1971, 2: 60; for inventory, see D’Onofrio 1964, 203).

• 1603 •

13 JANUARY: Agostino's funeral is held in the Chiesa dell’Ospedale della Morte, Bologna.

10 MAY, 12 JULY, 19 JULY, AND 13 SEPTEMBER:

Testimony in Annibale's hand states that “mastro Giacomo” had been doing stucco work for the Farnese (Uginet 1980, 105).

1 JUNE – 27 SEPTEMBER: Cardinal Farnese's weekly books list payments to Annibale and three assistants (Uginet 1980, 103).

10 JULY: Testimony in Annibale's hand states that he has spent eight scudi and fifty baiocchi on paint in the service of Cardinal Farnese (Uginet 1980, 105).

13 SEPTEMBER: On trial for libel, Caravaggio lists Annibale among those he considers “valentuomini,” noting, “This word ‘valentuomo,’ in my use of it, means a man who knows how to practice his art well. Thus, a painter is a *valentuomo* if he knows how to paint well and to imitate well natural things.” He also names Annibale as one of the painters with whom he is currently on speaking terms (Friedlaender 1955, 277).

• 1604 •

Earns the commission to paint the Herrera chapel, San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli (Malvasia 1678 [1841], 296).

4 APRIL – 24 APRIL: Cardinal Farnese's weekly books list payments for Annibale and three assistants (Uginet 1980, 104).

NOVEMBER 25: With Roncalli, evaluates a painting by Baglione (Bertolotti 1885, 145, cited by Posner 1971, I: 177, n. 33).

Contributes to the Accademia di San Luca (Posner 1971, I: 177, n. 33)

Publication of Carel van Mander's *Het Schilderboek*, in Haarlem, which contains a brief entry on Annibale based on information from a correspondent in Rome. Van Mander praises Annibale's work for Cardinal Farnese, including “a beautiful gallery,” but does not mention other specific paintings. According to Posner, the information was probably supplied to Van Mander no later than 1601 (Posner 1971, I: 174, n. 12).

• c. 1604 •

Probable starting date of Aldobrandini lunettes (Posner 145–150[s]). Apparently mostly studio works designed by Annibale, these lunettes are dated on the basis of documents concerning the chapel where they once hung. Fresco and gilt work were finished by late October 1604, and Albani received a payment for six paintings done with other studio members on 22 January 1605 (Hibbard 1964, 183–184). Posner and Hibbard agree that this means that the commission was probably awarded in 1603 or 1604 (Posner 1971, 2: 67), and Posner suggests that Annibale

made sketches for all the lunettes and painted two of them in 1604, leaving the rest of the work in 1605 to be finished by Albani and others over the course of the next several years (Posner 1971, 2: 67).

• 1604–1605 •

Probable date of the *Madonna of Loreto* (Posner 151[s]), painted in Annibale's shop for the Madruzzi chapel in San Onofrio, Rome. The commission was probably awarded sometime in 1604 and finished by 1605, the date of the chapel's completion according to an inscription on the floor (Posner 1971, 2: 68).

Moves out of the Farnese Palace (see Bellori 1672, 93; Posner 1971, I: 147, and 2: 67; Martin 1965, 18).

• 1605 •

Falls ill with “... a deep depression, accompanied by emptiness of mind and lapses of memory. He neither spoke nor remembered and was in danger of sudden death” (Mancini 1617 [1956–1957], I: 218).

19 FEBRUARY: Letter from the duke of Modena to Odoardo Farnese requests a painting from Annibale (Tietze 1906–1907, 146).

12 MARCH: Letter from Odoardo Farnese to the duke of Modena describes Annibale's illness, which has prevented him from painting (Tietze 1906–1907, 147, n. 1).

27 MAY: Letter from Fabio Masetti, the duke of Modena's agent in Rome, notes that Annibale has not spoken with Odoardo Farnese in two months (Tietze 1906–1907, 147).

22 JUNE AND 30 JULY:

Further letters from Masetti document the progress of the commission for the duke, a *Nativity of the Virgin* (location unknown) (Tietze 1906–1907, 147–148).

6 AUGUST: Letter from Masetti says Annibale is living “behind the vineyards of the Riajij alla Lungara” (Tietze 1906–1907, 148).

AUGUST: Masetti’s letters document the progress of the *Nativity of the Virgin* (Tietze 1906–1907, 148).

• 1606 •

Signed and dated prints: *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, “Annib. Carracius in. et fecit. 1606.” (De Grazia 21; see Cat. 93); *Madonna della Scodella*, “Annib. Carracius in. et fecit. 1606.” (De Grazia 20).

12 APRIL: Letter from Odoardo Farnese to the duke of Modena describes Annibale’s poor condition, noting that it has been more than a year since the painter has produced so much as a brushstroke for him (Tietze 1906–1907, 150).

20 APRIL – 28 JUNE AND 30 NOVEMBER – 20 DECEMBER: Cardinal Farnese’s weekly books list payments to Annibale and three assistants (Uginet 1980, 104).

• 1607 •

The Herrera chapel, San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, Rome (Posner 154–172[s]), is finished, according to an inscription in the chapel. The commission was taken over by Albani after Annibale became ill (Posner 1971, 2: 69).

An entry for this year in the “state d’anime” for San Lorenzo in Lucina reveals that Annibale is living on the Via Condotti

in that parish in a house with Sisto Badalocchio, Giovanni Antonio Solari, and Antonio Carracci (Andrews 1974, 32–33).

12 MAY: Failure to produce the *Nativity of the Virgin* prompts a letter to Masetti, requesting the return of any money paid to the painter (Bologna 1956 [Dipinti], 99).

26 MAY: Masetti replies that Annibale was not paid anything in advance, because it had seemed doubtful that he would finish the painting (Tietze 1906–1907, 149).

4 JULY: Letter from Agucchi mentions an important work for Cardinal Farnese, which both Mahon and Posner assume is the *Pietà* (Posner 136). Although this establishes a completion date of 1607, stylistic evidence suggests that the painting was begun much earlier, probably around 1600–1601 (Posner 1971, 2: 61; Mahon 1947, 114–115).

Sisto Badalocchio and Giovanni Lanfranco dedicate their series of etchings after Raphael’s Loggia in the Vatican, “Historia del Testamento Vecchio,” to Annibale.

• 1608 •

14 JULY: Contract drawn up between Annibale and his students, apparently in an attempt to persuade him to return to work. They all agree to complete one painting, on canvas, of a head every five weeks and to work for two hours every day, beginning on that date. The contract is signed by Annibale, Antonio Carracci, Sisto Badalocchio, Giovanni Antonio Solari (Bologna 1956, no. 248, on verso of a drawing now in Turin, inv. 16096).

The Farnese books contain records of payments made to Annibale for the months of May (dated 14 June, picked up for Annibale by Sisto Badalocchio), September (dated 8 October, picked up for Annibale by Giovanni Lanfranco), and October (dated November, picked up for Annibale by Sisto Badalocchio) (Uginet 1980, 105–106). There are also records of payments made by Cardinal Farnese to Annibale and three assistants for the weeks of 20 April–28 June, and from 30 November–20 December (Uginet 1980, 104).

Annibale’s assistants finish painting the walls of the Farnese Gallery.

• 1609 •

Brief trip to Naples for his health (Mancini 1617 [1956–1957], 1: 219).

JULY 15: Dies in Rome (confirmed by parish records found by Zapperi 1979, 62). A letter of the same date, from Agucchi to Dolcini, describes Annibale’s death in detail (Malvasia 1678 [1841], 319). At the time, he was living on the Quirinal Hill, in the parish of San Girolamo al Quirinale (Zapperi 1979, 62).

JULY 16: Annibale’s burial in the Pantheon (confirmed by church records found by Zapperi 1979, 62).

JULY 17: An inventory is made of Annibale’s belongings (published by Zapperi 1979, 62–65).

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NOTES

1. Although some scholars have doubted the veracity of these letters, which first appear in Malvasia, and date the study trip to c. 1583–1584 (see Pepper 1987, 413; Mahon 1986, 794), many others now support the idea that the brothers took a study trip at this time (Cropper and Dempsey 1987, 502; De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 30).

2. Scholars who believe that the trip took place later assign a different date to the Accademia’s opening, with 1585 as the latest possible date (Bologna 1956 [Dipinti], 76).

3. Dated 1592 on the wall but probably finished before this time; see Posner 1971, 2: 23, and Dempsey 1986, 248.

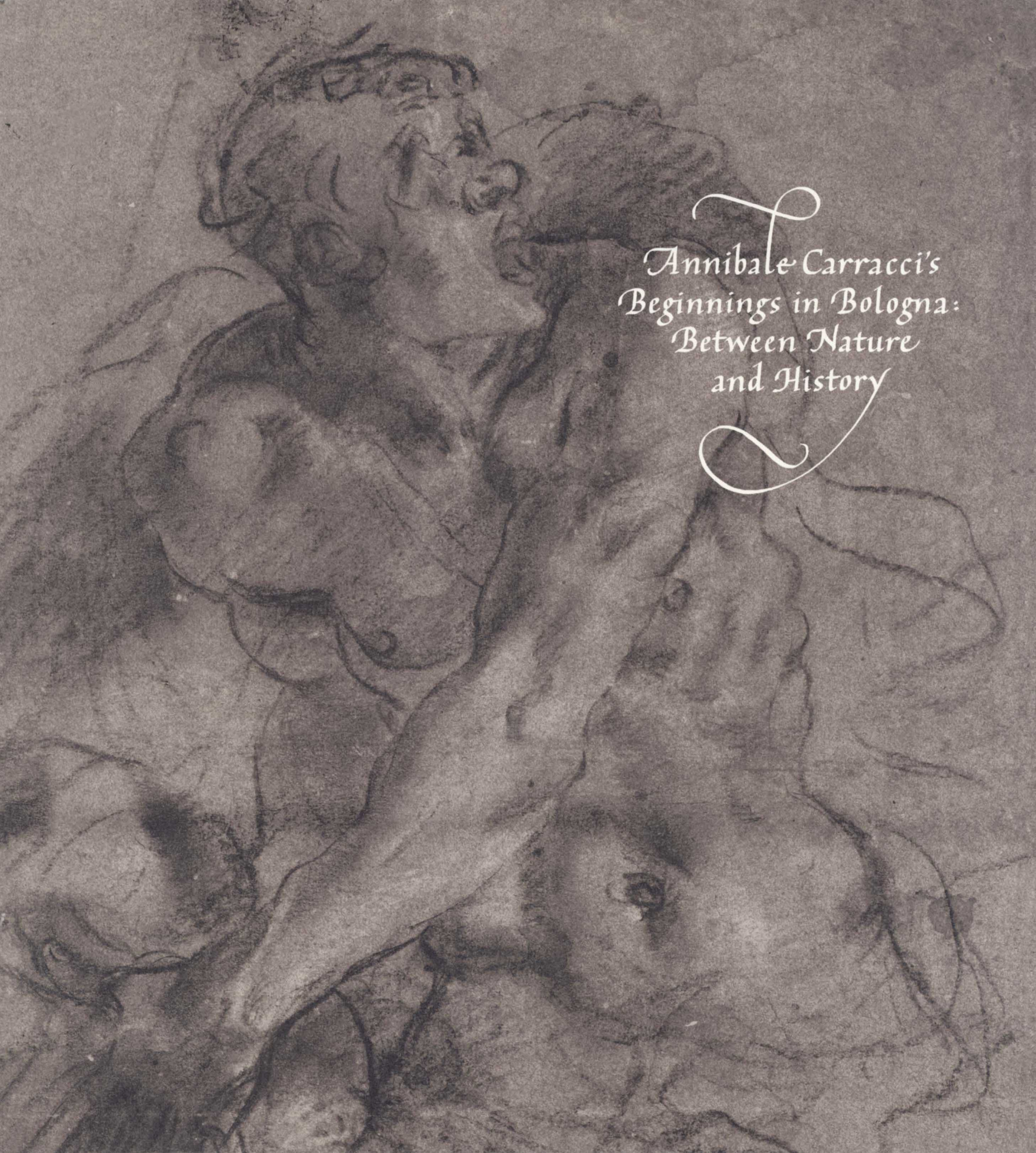
4. Bologna 1956 (Dipinti), 83, describes the last painting as signed and dated, but Posner 1971, 2: 29, disagrees.

5. The starting date of 1597, although generally accepted, may be too early (see, for instance, Martin 1956, 53; Posner 1971, 2: 49; and Dempsey 1995, 7). Briganti sets the starting date at 1598, based on his discovery of an inscription reading “1598” on the vault, in the white unpainted area under *Glauco and Scylla*. This date also agrees with reference to the dates of the Camerino: a year would have been a reasonable amount of time for preparations to paint the Gallery after finishing the Camerino (Briganti 1987, 32). The other dates found on the ceiling can be interpreted as follows: 1599 (in chalk, under *Glauco and Scylla*) marks the participation of Agostino (Briganti 1987, 35); “1600 16 [or 18] maggio” (in paint, under *Glauco and Scylla*) may be the date that work on the Gallery was resumed after a nine-month interruption while Farnese renewed his plans to decorate the Sala Grande in September 1599 (Briganti 1987, 34); MDC (under the figure of Galatea) was the intended date of completion. Others think this last date may refer to the wedding of Margherita Aldobrandini and Ranuccio Farnese (Tietze 1906–1907, 125) or the actual date of completion (Posner 1971, 2: 49; Gash 1990, 247), but documentary evidence shows that the ceiling was not unveiled until 1601.

6. Although this description is undated, one of Agucchi’s later letters, written by 23 April 1603, refers to the essay, providing a terminus ante quem for the painting. (See Posner 1971, 2: 60; Battisti 1962, 547–548.)







*Annibale Carracci's  
Beginnings in Bologna:  
Between Nature  
and History*

ANNIBALE'S GRAPHIC ACTIVITY WAS AT THE VERY CENTER of his inventive process, and on the basis of a number of preparatory drawings related to his "secure" paintings, the versatility and experimentation of his youthful period can be reconstructed. Given the collective character of the Carracci's early work, however, this "security" is highly relative. When asked which artist was responsible for a particular part of the *Story of Romulus*, for example, a cycle in the Palazzo Magnani, the collective answer was, "It is by the Carracci; we have all made it." If this response was valid for that project, executed around 1590 when the three cousins were already able to enumerate their individual achievements, it should be even more valid for the earlier collaboration at the Palazzo Fava, which the young Carracci decorated between 1583 and 1584. In these cycles, they forced themselves, in effect, to achieve a unified result, as the surviving drawings also indicate. That complies, first of all, with the patron's requirement that there be an overall uniformity. Second, it attests to the strong corporate mentality in force in Bologna, which, in an effort to eliminate competition, marginalized independent undertakings.<sup>1</sup> For the Carracci, therefore, it was essential that they convey a common front at the very moment they intended to impose a substantially new figurative language on art.

At the same time, this achievement underscores that the Carracci rejected the contemporary workshop practices by which one artist was responsible for the work of the others, and instead set up a different model, that of the *gara* or contest, in which the talents of the members of a joint project were placed in competition. At the end of the seventeenth century, Carlo Cesare Malvasia tended to credit the major responsibility for invention to the eldest, Ludovico, who in many cases would have furnished drawings to his two younger cousins, Agostino and Annibale. But some modern scholarship has questioned this notion, which finds no verification in extant documentation. More likely, the custom of working together closely in the same surroundings fostered a continuous and profitable exchange of ideas.

In spite of the problems mentioned above, the preparatory drawings for the frescos in the Palazzo Fava and the Palazzo Magnani, and for the paintings entrusted specifically to Annibale—first for churches in Bologna, and then in Parma and Reggio Emilia—furnish the only foundation on which to judge Annibale's early activity. From the examination of these drawings one then passes to other sheets that are unconnected with precise commissions, but which are attributed to Annibale by inventorial tradition or by recent scholarship.

This involves some very rich and varied material, among which can be singled out some thematic nuclei (heads, studies from the model, copies), all of which are characterized first and foremost by their attention to nature. Most of the drawings by the three young Carracci were, in fact, executed from life. This was certainly not a novelty vis-à-vis contemporary practice, which was dictated by the need to exercise the hand in preparation for more demanding undertakings. Seemingly peculiar to the Carracci, however, was their interest in depicting a range of banal, everyday activities, such as eating, drinking, undressing, sleeping, etc. The heads and the studies from the model have an unexpected numerical consistency within the graphic *corpus* of all the young Car-

racci, Annibale in particular. These are drawings that pose a number of problems.

Regarding the heads, a generous sampling of which is included in the exhibition, the question arises as to the ultimate purposes of these "portrait" studies, executed for the most part on large sheets of paper. Although one cannot exclude the possibility that these were sometimes given to the models, the modest means of these people, as indicated by their clothing, should be enough to eliminate any possibility that these were preparatory works for portraits on canvas. On the other hand, the impermanence of the paper suggests that such drawings would not have been commissioned by people who could not afford a proper portrait in oils. It is more likely, then, that through such a superb gallery of types and expressions, representing the range of their daily contacts, the three Carracci aimed to perfect their capacity to reproduce the characters in future pictorial undertakings. In the years of the Carraccesque revival, artists returned to this practice in Bologna and defined it—significantly—with the name of *testa di carattere*, character head.

The same type of interest is also valid for studies from the model, whether dressed or nude (for Annibale, almost never totally nude). Contrary to what has been averred for the painters of the next generation, like Faccini and Guercino, Annibale's drawings from the model were never true "academies," but were aimed principally at reproducing an action, no matter how banal or mundane. Such an attitude is justified by the thrust toward "history painting," the genre that represented for Annibale the humanistic theory, the highest level of artistic activity in its capacity to represent, through the rendering of expressions, not only a particular episode but also its moral significance. The professed intention of the Carracci to rid themselves of the repertory of mannerist figurative conventions and to address themselves directly to the study of nature in fact complies with an expressive code in which "history" painting, understood in the broadest sense, rediscovered its rapport with reality and the modern sensibility.

Drawing also became for the Carracci a way to enter the studios of earlier painters, an aspect that, after a certain point in their career, assumed ever greater importance in connection with their deeply felt need to recompose a different figurative system from the Tusco-Roman one recommended by Vasari and practiced rather indifferently by local mannerists. Sources can also serve us up to a point. According to Malvasia, who wrote at a time when certain academic procedures had been codified, the Carracci would have produced accurate painted copies after both Correggio and the Venetian painters. In reality, the elements in our possession lead us to conclude that within this process of technical-stylistic identification, the more important role was given to drawing. This almost never involved the servile exercise of copying as much as a more subtle reelaboration of themes and attitudes, in which the boundary between imitation and invention seems very fluid.<sup>2</sup> The drawings “*alla Correggio*” presented in this exhibition illuminate this aspect very well.

The difficulty in attributing drawings made in preparation for works that were actually completed becomes even greater for the types of drawings just listed. In connection with this, it must be said that the criteria used by specialists in arriving at sure distinctions can, in the end, appear arbitrary. If we, nevertheless, presume to present on this occasion a series of *fairly* secure sheets by Annibale, that is because the actual state of studies, at this moment, though still much disputed, seems to allow it. At the same time, however, we are conscious of presenting the best possible selection consistent with the current state of Carracci scholarship, but which is subject to future revision.

The reevaluation in a naturalistic “key” of the Carracci and their beginnings dates substantially from our century<sup>3</sup> and supports the previous interpretations of their art in the classical, eclectic, or academic “key.” In this perspective the strongly realistic charge found in works like the large *Butcher Shop* now in Oxford, about which seventeenth-century scholars were silent, has been singled out. Such a paint-

ing now constitutes a “manifesto” of Carraccesque painting, for which it now seems difficult to identify other painted precedents. Although Ludovico, older than Annibale by seven years, should have attained a certain prestige by that time, scholars have not figured out how to attribute to him a painting that shows such overwhelming power in comparison to earlier work. It is likely that only Annibale’s execution of this painting and of the *Crucifixion* of San Nicolò, which is chronologically connected to it and seems so free and antigraceful, clarified for Ludovico how he should proceed along a path he had already anticipated. To the youngest of the group it would be possible, however, to accomplish with less inhibition and conditioning this step that the other two relatives would already have seen as necessary. Only by framing the question in this way can the professed unanimity of the three Carracci—in the moment when the protagonist of their “reform” seems to have been only Annibale—be preserved. Besides, the sources record that the reproach of contemporary artists in confronting this manner of painting was directed chiefly at Annibale, but since Ludovico and Agostino stood firm on his positions it is evident that they shared them as their own.

The immediacy and the investigation into an “anti-pretiness” that mark the painting now in Oxford are also found in the preparatory drawing in Windsor Castle, which presents a rapid sketch of part of the scene on the verso (Cat. 1). Returning to an apt expression by Shearman<sup>4</sup> who, in respect to mannerism had spoken of a “stylish style,” we can say that in this drawing, as in the painting, Annibale returns polemically to one that is in the end too *antistylisch*, in which both power and restraint are evident. It would, however, be only after this “rupture” that Annibale, once again in agreement with his relatives, would decide that he would proceed to a new figurative order, one in which his expressive entreaties could be presented in a coherent style. The unique declaration of *poetica* left by Annibale consists of notes inscribed some years later in the margins of a copy

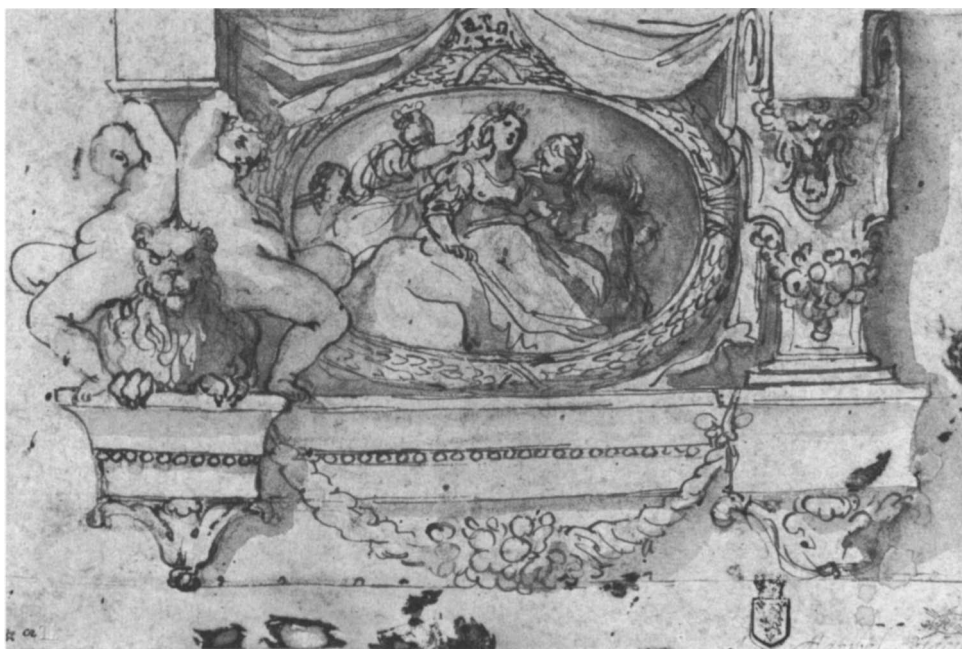


FIG. 1 Europa and the Bull, Yvonne Tan Bunzl, London

of the *Vite* of Vasari.<sup>5</sup> Here, the point around which his reflection seems to turn appears to be that of the correct reproduction of nature (rather, to use his expression, *vivo*, from the live model), which the formula of central Italian mannerism rejects. The decision to turn to Correggio and the Venetians did not aim only at replacing the authority of a figurative model, which had by then been exhausted, with another, but responded to the profound need for naturalness that he observed and which he could rediscover through these artists. It is as if the Carracci, who had significantly called the school they founded in Bologna the *Accademia degli Incamminati* (Academy of Travelers Making Their Way), were looking to meet older traveling companions on their path who would indicate the route to be followed.

As scholars have several times supposed, it is likely that after the commissions of the *Butcher Shop* and the *Crucifixion*, Annibale traveled to Parma to study the works of Cor-

reggio. In the meantime, interest in Venetian painting was developing, and Agostino, who had been in Venice in 1582, had direct knowledge of it. The results of these new interests are evident in the palazzo of Filippo Fava, where the Carracci decorated two rooms, one dedicated to the story of Europa and the other to Jason's expedition, both unusual subjects.<sup>6</sup>

The *Story of Europa*, designed for a small space, seems to be almost a test work in view of the more demanding reception hall. The decorative typology of the "frieze," a series of fictive easel paintings set along the upper part of the walls, was born in the Raphaelesque circle and had then been extensively practiced in Bologna.<sup>7</sup> In adopting it the Carracci imposed a series of modifications that moved increasingly toward greater illusionism. A highly synthetic sketch, of problematic attribution (Florence, Uffizi, inv. 1534 F.), frames the scenes with satyrs' heads, just as it was executed, but Annibale had previously proposed a freer solution, with the story contained in ovals (fig. 1), an idea, however, that apparently did not please the patron. A drawing in black chalk of *Europa Seated on the Bull*, traditionally ascribed to Annibale, has now been correctly attributed by some to Ludovico,<sup>8</sup> whose presence in this small room has heretofore been underestimated.

The date 1584 is inscribed at the bottom of one of the herms that partition the frieze of the *Story of Jason* in the reception hall, and it is likely that its execution began the previous year. Many scholars, beginning with Arcangeli,<sup>9</sup> have tried to distinguish the hands within the project. Currently, the balance seems to favor Ludovico, who is credited with half the panels, but the three cousins likely had preliminarily distributed the work among themselves before working in parallel, each one preparing his own drawings.

The present exhibition includes a fairly representative series of Annibale's drawings for this project, which are useful in clarifying how the three artists would have planned the work. According to traditional practice, these passed from a rapid sketch of the whole composition to individual

figures, which were then incorporated into a small cartoon (or *modello*). After receiving the patron's approval, they would then have moved on to the full-scale cartoon, no example of which currently remains, and finally to its transfer onto the wall. The order in which the sheets are presented in the exhibition is intended to evoke the manner in which the work on the project advanced and intersected closely with the study of nature, and to show how sensibly this practice, apparently unconnected with a specific purpose, penetrates the Carraccesque inventive process and therefore the character of the entire decoration.<sup>10</sup>

The same can be said for the material that was made in preparation for the large *Baptism of Christ*, executed in the course of 1585 for the Bolognese church of San Gregorio. In this case the didactic intent, linked to the dedication of the altar, combines with the search for identification in the evangelical story, which Annibale was able to derive from contemporary treatises but to which he added his personal need to adhere to nature. In order to induce the spectator to imagine the scene as it would truly have happened, Annibale placed it along the banks of a stream, complete with croaking frogs, and gave great prominence to the figures of the boys who are undressing before baptism. In this way the painting could benefit, almost without modifications, from what he had learned in his studies from nature.

The results of his study of Correggio are apparent in the treatment of light and in the softness conferred on the flesh, rendered in terms of a grand illusionism. A similar intention is also evident in the preparatory drawings: the use of red chalk, which is very sensitive to the pressure of the hand and tends to be quite crumbly, creates the effect of light in the youthfully ruddy fleshtones of the models and prepares the effects of soft sensuality that will appear in the painted image. In these same years Ludovico's drawings are characterized by a more austere hand, which takes rather less delight in the quality of the flesh and points, rather, in the direction of an essential rendering of the image's structure.<sup>11</sup> There has

been a tendency to declare that in general, while Annibale preferred red chalk, Ludovico chose black.<sup>12</sup> That is not always true, though it is true that the use of these chalks by the two cousins is different.

At this stage (and at this point in our knowledge), the artist who ventured closest in style to Annibale was his brother Agostino, by whom we know of no securely attributed studies from the model. By their nature, drawings exhibiting a systematic cross-hatching that recalls the same characteristic in his prints may be attributed to him.



FIG. 2 Here attributed to Agostino Carracci, *Semi-Nude Boy*, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

One such example is the *Semi-Nude Boy* in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 2), formerly attributed to Annibale but changed to Agostino because of the presence of this feature,<sup>13</sup> as well as a subtle but clearly evident propensity for emphasizing volumes in a Michelangelesque manner.

The selection of drawings for the exhibition did not include examples of studies for other paintings that occupied Annibale in these same years, such as the large *Deposition*, also painted in 1585 for the church of the Cappuccini and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale of Parma. This is a painting that explores more deeply and in a baroque key the premises that were already set out in the *Baptism of Christ*. Thus, the large study for the figure of the *Dead Christ*, now in the Uffizi (fig. 3), though not in good condition, reveals the same neo-Correggesque *poetica* found in the drawings examined above. This is, however, the only one that scholars have connected to this painting that can be given to Annibale. The *Study for a Deposition*, in the same collection (inv. 12398 F.), is from the school, and the *Saint Francis* in the Metropolitan (inv. 1972.137.1), to which a study for the head alone is related (formerly New York, private collection), has been identified as a preparatory study by Ludovico for the corresponding figure in the *Holy Family* in the Göteborgs Konstmuseum.<sup>14</sup>

Toward the end of the 1580s, Annibale obtained some important commissions in Reggio Emilia. Thus an area of activity defined itself in which the youngest of the Carracci reclaimed an autonomous role in the very years when the need to stand together was reduced and the Bolognese workshop seems to have been ever more dominated by the eldest, Ludovico. The study of Correggio (and perhaps also the example of Ludovico) now led Annibale to impress an expressive acceleration on his journey, which unfolds in the centrifugal plotting of the composition and the dramatic gestures of the figures in the *Assumption of the Virgin*, dated 1587, which Annibale executed for the church of the Con-

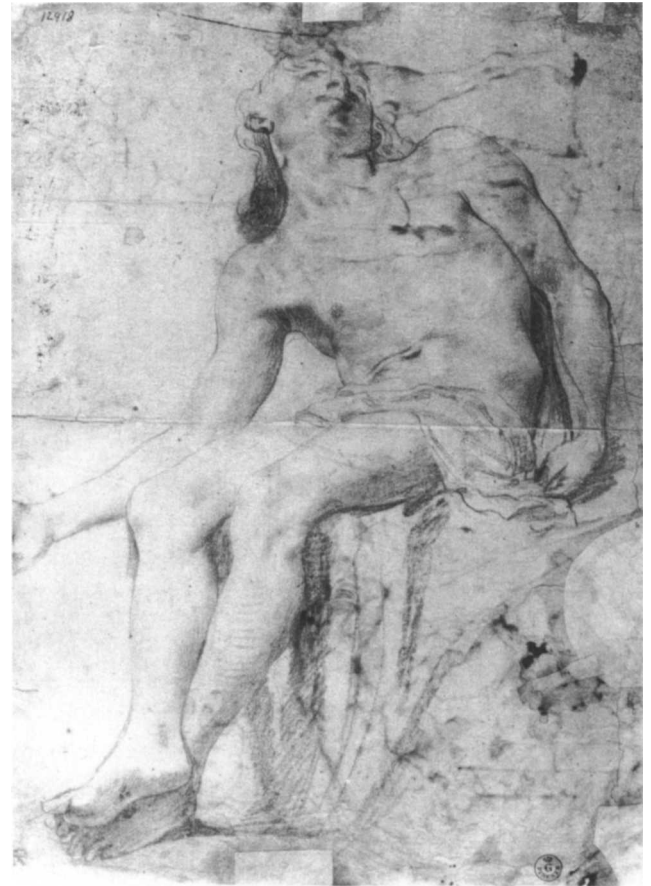


FIG. 3 Dead Christ, Uffizi, Florence

fraternita di San Rocco at Reggio Emilia, now in Dresden, as well as in the unfortunately lost *Deposition*, first in Reggio and thereafter in the Bridgewater collection in London, a canvas permeated by an abnormal sentimentality that is well ahead of Annibale's time. On the other hand, an impasse occurs, also documented in some small-scale paintings (*Holy Family with Saint Lucy*, New York, Feigen collection), which Annibale overcomes by studying Venetian painting, in particular Veronese and Tintoretto.

After the *cartonetto* for the *Assumption* (Cat. 12), which is rich in medium and color and is almost violent in its han-

dling, the studies for the frieze of the Palazzo Magnani seem to mark a newfound classicism. To this is added a remarkable opening onto the landscape, as if now Annibale's figures, having found interior peace, could finally look around and pluck from the surrounding landscape the same calm and serenity that animates their feelings. It was then that Annibale succeeded in conferring on his figures that sense of heroic monumentality that unfolded in the works from his Roman period and that constituted the point of reference for all successive paintings of a classical turn, from Poussin to David. The colossal *Polyphemus* in the Uffizi (Cat. 20), preparatory for a fresco executed in the Palazzo Fava at the beginning of the 1590s, already lays out the direction of the Roman Annibale, though the debts to Tintoretto there become more manifest. The same monumentality is found, on a completely different level, in the splendid *Portrait of a Boy* in Windsor (Cat. 18), in which, once again, the Tintorettesque execution is so superb that it argues for a rather later date than has been accepted.

Malvasia, on the basis of a letter from Annibale to Ludovico, has already emphasized the importance of a trip to Venice, perhaps around 1588, which led Annibale to change his expressive means in connection with a changed psychological attitude. The result of this, which fell upon a rediscovered expressive autonomy, is reaped in the *Story of Romulus and Remus*, in the Palazzo Magnani, which Annibale worked on with his two relatives between 1590 and 1592, the date inscribed on the chimney. This cycle does not present the same problems as the *Story of Jason*: by then the three Carracci had each emerged in possession of a personal language. It is significant, however, that the most modern fresco in the entire cycle, *Romulus and Remus Nursed by the She-Wolf*, continues to foment discussion among the supporters of Annibale and Ludovico, and that the study of the graphic activity related to the project still presents numerous unresolved critical problems.

#### NOTES

1. Zapperi 1989.
2. Feigenbaum 1993b.
3. Longhi 1935.
4. Shearman 1967.
5. Fanti 1979, 1980a; Perini 1990.
6. Emiliani in Bologna 1984; Robertson 1993.
7. Boschloo 1974.
8. Sutherland Harris 1994.
9. Arcangeli 1956.
10. Robertson 1997.
11. The appearance of Ludovico's drawings from the model is deduced from preparatory drawings for the youthful *Flagellation*, now in Douai; the *Executioner* at Chatsworth (inv. 410); and the sheet with a study for the loincloth of Christ in a European private collection, on the verso of which appears a *Male Nude*. This last work confirms the traditional attribution to Ludovico of the *Sleeping Nude Boy* in Oxford and allows us to attribute similar studies to him. Indeed, after long reflection and some residual division of opinion, some members of the Carracci committee believe that Ludovico (and not Annibale) should retain responsibility for the sheets of *An Artist Sketching* in Berlin (inv. Kdz 26364) and *Three Studies of Men and One of Saint John the Evangelist* at the Getty Museum (inv. 85.G.B.218), already restored to him by Turner; Benati et al. 1991.
12. Sutherland Harris 1994.
13. Sutherland Harris 1994.
14. These drawings are reproduced in Posner 1971, 2: pls. 24b, 24c; Florence 1973, no. 36, fig. 24. The relationship between the Metropolitan's *Saint Francis* and the Göteborg painting was kindly conveyed to me by Babette Bohn.





# I

## A Man Weighing Meat

c. 1582–1583; red chalk on beige  
paper, 278 x 170 (10 15/16 x 6 11/16)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

AMONG THE EARLIEST PAINTINGS BY Annibale Carracci that have come down to us is the large *Butcher Shop* in the Christ Church Museum, Oxford, datable on grounds of style to about 1582–1583 (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The original destination and precise significance of this painting remain unknown.

The present study is for the butcher at left, who is busy weighing a piece of meat. Compared to the figure in the final picture, this man has rather boyish features, which can be explained by the tradition of studying the poses of particular figures through casual models, usually chosen from among the workshop apprentices. The clothing—dark woolen cap, white shirt open to the chest, pure white knee-length apron covering the trousers, dark hose—is exactly the same in the painting and the drawing, but the shirtsleeves of the drawn figure are not rolled up above the elbows. In a detail sketch at right on the same sheet, Annibale studied the arm as it would appear in the final painting (and in this case it is already the arm of an adult). The knife and sharpening steel hanging from the belt of the painted figure are missing, although great care has already been taken in the study of the scales, more properly a *stadera*, on which the meat is hung

in such a way that the counterweight (*romano*), running the length of the horizontal pole, registers the weight. More summary, by contrast, is the rendering of the meat, which in the final painting will become a spot of intense realism.

From a technical viewpoint, the drawing is comparable to the one of a *Boy Eating* at the Uffizi (inv. 12393 F.),<sup>2</sup> which confirms that in his early years Annibale was attracted to depicting the more ordinary aspects of everyday life. Thus were born new subjects for paintings, such as the so-called *Bean Eater* (Rome, Galleria Colonna) or the *Boy Drinking*, known in several versions.

The Windsor sheet has been slightly cut on the right side. On the verso it bore a quick study for the entire composition, bordered by an indication of the frame.<sup>3</sup> The trimming of the page preserved only the right part, which illustrates the butcher hanging a side of veal, a carcass hung from the rafter, and, in the foreground, the back of the servant butchering a sheep (an incongruous detail, because the slaughtering took place off site). Compared to the final painting, the butcher at right in the sketch seems to have more mature features and wears a hat.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the rather hasty and almost careless handling, this sketch should also be considered autograph.

The drawing on the recto exhibits an admirable economy of means. Comparison with the drawings of contemporary Bolognese artists shows an astonishing lack of preciousness and elegance. Not only is the figure posed frontally, well planted on his legs—his concentration on his work makes it difficult to strike a harmonious pose—but also the large, starched apron falls heavily, almost unbroken by folds. At the same time, the stroke is secure, rough, and reluctant to round the contours. The shadows are tersely formed, with no virtuosic frills.

The questions of attribution that have surrounded the painting are reflected also in the history of the drawing, which was first published as the work of Agostino Carracci.<sup>5</sup>

### PROVENANCE

King George III (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 75, as Ludovico); Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 2215

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 84; Bologna 1984, no. 78; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 51

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, no. 93, fig. 9 (as Agostino); Arcangeli 1956, 25; Martin 1965, 264; Posner 1971, 2: under no. 4, fig. 4c; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 62; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, under no. 4, repr.; Fanti 1980b, repr. 53; Goldstein 1988, 185, fig. 142; Zapperi 1989, 64, fig. 10; Loisel Legrand 1995, 4; Whistler 1996, 11; Finaldi 1997, 58; Robertson 1997, 20, fig. 25; Turner 1997, 209; Weston-Lewis 1997, 455



FIG. 1 Butcher Shop, c. 1582–1583, *The Governing Body*, Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford



VERSO Butcher Hanging a Side of Meat, black chalk with pen and brown ink for the ornament study

In later drawings, Annibale would soften his own stroke and pursue a more illusionistic naturalism, while Ludovico, rather, adhered to a similar absence of frills in his execution. In any case, this coarse, essential drawing style is also found in the painting of the *Butcher Shop*, as well as the *Crucifixion with Saints*, now in the church of Santa Maria della Carità, dated 1583 and certainly by Annibale. Unfortunately, no preparatory drawings are known for the *Crucifixion with Saints*.<sup>6</sup>

Paintings depicting the trades were unusual in the Italian tradition. Even the Bassano family, active in Venice and known to Agostino, cus-

tomarily justified the subjects of daily life in their paintings (kitchens, marketplaces, etc.) by including episodes from sacred stories. This need was less strongly felt by northern European painters, in particular the Flemings. In contemporary noble collections in Parma and Cremona, paintings by Pieter Aertsen or Joachim Beuckelaer were certainly present, and were already being reinterpreted by the Bolognese Bartolommeo Passarotti. Annibale probably knew the work of Passarotti as well as he did the pictures of those northern painters, in which the shop is similarly treated from behind the counter. Compared to these models, however, the *Butcher Shop* now at Oxford is much larger and presents the figures full length. The scene is presented with great simplicity and truth, without any trace of comic-grotesque intentions or mocking allusions to confrontations with the working classes that characterize the paintings of Passarotti (such as the *Butcher Shop* now in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome).

Indeed, the seriousness that the painting conveys has led some scholars in the past to consider it an allegorical puzzle, and the picture has been thought to be connected with the program of naturalistic restoration introduced by the three Carracci. But this theory has since been set aside, and most prefer to read it as promotion for the powerful guild of butchers, of which Vincenzo Carracci, the father of Ludovico and the uncle of Annibale, was a member.<sup>7</sup> A connection has also been suggested with the Canobi family, owner of a chain of livestock shops in the city and the holder of a chapel in San Gregorio for whom, in the same years, Annibale executed an altarpiece of the *Baptism of Christ* (1583–1585; see Cats. 7–9). DB

#### NOTES

1. This appeared for the first time in the inventory of paintings in the Gonzaga collection in Mantua, acquired in 1627 from Charles I of England.
2. Posner 1971, 2: no. 8, fig. 8b. Unfortunately the drawing is not in good condition and so is not included in this exhibition.
3. Noted for the first time by Robertson in Oxford and London 1996–1997.
4. Contrary to Robertson's view (Oxford and London 1996–1997), it seems to me that the very existence of these variants between the drawings and the painting voids the theory that the butchers at work in the painting are the Carracci themselves and that the painting is an allegory of the Accademia degli Incamminati (Martin 1963).
5. Wittkower 1952.
6. Posner 1971, 2: no. 6.
7. Zapperi 1989, 45–69; Rossi 1997.

## 2

An Apostle  
Shielding Himself

1583–1584; red chalk with some black chalk at lower left, incised for transfer; 398 x 244 (15<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Inscribed at lower left in black chalk: Corregge

GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG  
ALBERTINA, VIENNA

LONG CONSIDERED THE WORK OF Correggio, this splendid sheet bears a study for a draped figure covering his face with his mantle, as if to protect himself from a fiery light or an unbearable vision. The pose and the strong foreshortening from below recall those of the apostles painted by Correggio at the base of the cupola of the Duomo in Parma, none of which, however, holds this particular position (figs. 1, 2). The other two details sketched on the sheet are related to the same figure, one studying the bare right arm (above) and the other draped (right of center). These facts lead to the proposition that the drawing was not made after a painting, but instead was studied from life, that is, from a posed model.

More than a preparatory study for a painting,<sup>1</sup> the sheet seems to be a free exercise *in the manner of* Correggio, as if the painter were trying to reinvent the compositions of Allegri by making his own Correggio-like study with the aid of a model. Such an exercise would seem to be significant for understanding the type of imitation that would be recommended

in the Accademia degli Incamminati. This would be an exercise of imitation/invention, as it were, and would be neither pedantic nor passive in nature, but would aim at recapturing the style of the imitated painter by reexamining it through the study of reality.

From the point of view of chronology, the drawing would seem to date to 1583–1584, during which time Annibale would have made one or more sojourns in the vicinity of Parma, recorded by the sources (Mancini, Bellori, Malvasia) but otherwise undocumented. There he would have seen the works of Correggio, and the effects of this study on Annibale are first noted in the frescoes of the Palazzo Fava, dated 1584; the *Baptism of Christ* for San Gregorio, of 1583–1585; and in a group of paintings destined for private collectors, such as the *Allegory of Truth and Time* (Hampton Court, Royal Collection), *Saint Francis Adoring the Crucifix* (Rome, Galleria Capitolina),<sup>2</sup> *Holy Family with Saints* (Tatton Park), and *Saint Jerome in Prayer* (Modena, Banca Popolare dell'Emilia Romagna).<sup>3</sup>

The earlier attribution of this drawing to Correggio constituted an indirect appreciation of Annibale's closeness to that master.<sup>4</sup> In his preparatory studies, Correggio had used red chalk in a similarly illusionistic way, but Annibale did not necessarily know his drawings firsthand, which would already have been very rare in his time and quite inaccessible. The sources, on the contrary, are in agreement in stating that Annibale's study of Correggio was focused on the paintings exhibited in public, such as the frescoes in San Giovanni Evangelista (1520–1522) and, above all, in the Duomo (1522–1530): "the grand cupola," as Annibale himself had written to Ludovico in a letter known through Malvasia's transcription.<sup>5</sup>

The surviving drawings also confirm this privileged interest. Critics have restored to Annibale some studies in red chalk of details of the cupola of the Duomo, but these are inconsistent in quality and are thus, in my

## PROVENANCE

Pierre Crozat (sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, no. 343); Julien de Parme; Prince de Ligne; Albert von Sachsen-Teschen; Albertina, Vienna (Lugt 174), inv. 2610

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1930, no. 626; Washington and Parma 1984, no. 33; Beijing and Vienna 1985–1986, no. 5

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bartsch 1794, 82, no. 6 (as Correggio); Wickhoff 1891–1892, CCLIV, s.l. 40 (as Correggio); Braun 1896, 298 (as Correggio); Ricci 1896, 269, fig. 227 (as Correggio); Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, no. 291 (as Correggio); Moore 1906, 264, n. 16, repr. (as Correggio); Meder and Stix 1923, pl. 21 (as Correggio); Venturi 1926, 307, 589, no. 94, pl. 126 (as Correggio); Ricci 1929, 157, pl. CCLXXA (as Correggio); Ricci 1930, 176, pl. CCLXXA (as Correggio); Venturi 1933, 9/6, 570 (as Correggio); Stix and Spitzmüller 1941, 32–33, no. 353 (as Correggio); Popham 1957, 194–195, no. A 124; Benesch 1964, under no. 31; Posner 1971, 2: under no. 40; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, 95; Fornari Schianchi 1990, 61, fig. 48; Bohn 1992a, 412, n. 27; Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, 66; Birke and Kertész 1994–1997, 3: 1467–1468, inv. 2610; Robertson 1997, 25, fig. 31



FIG. 1 Correggio, Detail of the Cupola in the Duomo, Parma, 1522–1530





FIG. 2 Correggio, Detail of the Cupola in the Duomo, Parma, 1522–1530

opinion, not all by him, most notably the *Apostle with an Angel* in the Galleria Estense in Modena (inv. 6944); the *Apostle* in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan; and the studies of angels in the British Museum (inv. 1895-9-15-724), the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest (inv. 109), and the Louvre (inv. 5984).<sup>6</sup>

It is likely that Annibale's interest in Correggio was expressed as much through exact copies made on the spot as through free recreations like the one in the drawing studied here.

At the same time, this sheet demonstrates the importance that drawing held in defining the stylistic instrumentation of Annibale and of the Carracci in general. The study of Correggio led to graphic exercises like this one, which reflected the style of the paintings.<sup>7</sup> A trip to Venice, where he would have studied Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, would have followed the one to Parma, but it did not produce, as far as we know, such precise reflections from the graphic point of view. Even if his interest in these artists emerges in the rather lively style of his painting, Annibale is not known to have made copies after or graphic recreations of these artists.<sup>8</sup> DB

#### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, 2: under no. 40, considered this a first idea for *The Assumption of the Virgin* now in Dresden.
2. Posner 1971, 2: nos. 19, 20.
3. Brogi 1984, figs. 45, 57. These are paintings for which attributions to Ludovico have been proposed.
4. De Grazia in Washington and Parma 1984, 132.
5. Malvasia 1678, 365; Perini 1990, 150.
6. See, respectively, Popham 1957, no. A 80; Robertson 1997, fig. 28; Popham 1967, no. 19; Bologna 1989, no. 10; Paris 1994, no. 41. Also attributed to Annibale (but to my mind not by him) is the study of an angel in the Uffizi (inv. 12021 F.).
7. Making himself the mouthpiece of an attitude that is now recognized as academic, Malvasia, on the contrary, gave primacy to painted copies, of which we currently do not have enough reliable examples. For a different opinion, see Feigenbaum 1992.
8. A separate case involves the drawing of *The Annunciation* at Windsor Castle (inv. 439r), which constitutes a parody of the celebrated canvas executed by Tintoretto for the Scuola di San Rocco, but which dates from Annibale's Roman years (see Posner 1971, 1: 84, fig. 78).

## 3

Half-Length Nude  
Man from Behind

c. 1583–1584; red chalk heightened  
with white chalk on ivory paper;  
252 x 229 (9 15/16 x 9)

Inscribed at lower left in pen and  
brown ink: A Caracci; and below  
the man's arm: an inverted script B  
with other indecipherable marks

GALLERIE DELL'ACCADEMIA,  
VENICE

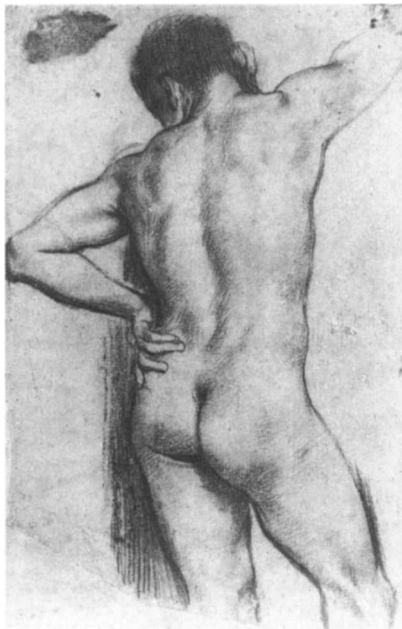


FIG. 1 Guercino, Half-Length Nude Man from Behind, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

THE DRAWING SHOWS A YOUNG NUDE man, waist-length, intent on maneuvering a long oar. The tense musculature of the arm and the back expresses the effort that affects the whole body.

This is an example of the nude “in movement,” which shows Annibale’s interest in the drawing of truth, always ending in the rendering of an action, even if, as in this case, it is anything but heroic. This attitude implies, even from the beginning and in a style that is not yet explicit, a personal adherence to the humanistic ideal, which attributed the highest excellence to “history” painting, or indeed to the ability to construct a story through the gestures and expressions of the participants. It was in this direction that Annibale’s entire career would move, intent, nevertheless, on revising this ideal in light of that pressure to imitate “life,” the real novelty of his painting.

Annibale’s drawings of the nude are never true and proper “academies” as much as studies of the human body in affected and difficult



FIG. 2 Here attributed to Annibale Carracci (formerly Bartolomeo Schedoni), Bust of a Boy, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille

poses, but refined in themselves. This was not the case for the painters of the next generation, such as Pietro Faccini<sup>1</sup> and Guercino. To the latter have been restored two drawings of nudes, properly defined as academies, formerly attributed to Annibale, one in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (fig. 1), and the other in the Institut Néerlandais, Paris (inv. 2536).<sup>2</sup>

The authorship of the Venice sheet is certified through comparisons with other accepted drawings in Annibale’s oeuvre. The drapery that covers the lower part of the torso, for example, is constructed in the same manner as the one in the *Semi-Nude Youth* in Chatsworth (Cat. 11). Analogous handling turns up in a *Bust of a Boy* in Lille (fig. 2), ascribed to Bartolomeo Schedoni,<sup>3</sup> but in my opinion attributable to Annibale Carracci from the period of the Palazzo Fava. (The profile recalls those of the children in the *False Funeral of Jason*.)

It is very difficult to date sheets of this type, particularly based on stylistic gestures that, though apparently contrasting, could actually be from the same phase of his career, which is marked by rapid evolution. As a kind of hypothesis, a link can be proposed between this relatively little known drawing and the study of *An Apostle Shielding Himself* discussed in the preceding entry (Cat. 2). That drawing presents a similarly spirited use of the chalk and an equally vigorous and schematic accenting of the shadows (for example under the chin, in the armpit, and on the right shoulder). Evident in both drawings—as well as in the parts of the Palazzo Fava frescoes attributable to Annibale—is how the knowledge of Correggio that Annibale had gleaned in 1583 and 1584 first induced him to force the anatomies in an expressive direction. (This can be seen here in the brutal deformation of the right hand, brought about by the unnatural position of the man’s grip.) Only in the next moment would he add to this the rounded and fluid form of the two drawings in the British Museum (Cats. 6, 7). DB

## PROVENANCE

Giuseppe Bossi; Abate Celotti; Accademia di Belle Arti; Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice, inv. 289

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Moschini 1931, 77; Di Giampaolo 1993, no. 33

## NOTES

1. Excellent academies by Faccini are presented in London 1992, nos. 25, 26.
2. The drawing in Oxford (Parker 1956, no. 860) was restored to Guercino by Mahon and Ekserdjian in Oxford and London 1986, no. 11; the one in Paris (Byam Shaw 1983, no. 326) by Weston-Lewis 1994. For other reasons the *Seated Nude Youth Facing Left* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. 11.66.6; Bean 1979, no. 107), can be removed from the Annibale canon, while the *Young Man Seen from the Back* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (inv. 1v.172; Bean and Stampfle in New York 1967, no. 1), should remain in Empoli’s oeuvre, contrary to Di Giampaolo (1993, 54). The term “academy” does not really apply to drawings like the three in the Uffizi (inv. 1549 F., of which there is a copy in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge [inv. 272.232], inv. 1241 F., and inv. 3656 s.), which were correctly returned to Annibale by Di Giampaolo (1993, 54).
3. Brejon de Lavergnée 1997, no. 610.







## 4

## Two Standing Men

1583–1584; red chalk on beige paper; 378 x 221 (14 7/8 x 8 11/16), the upper left corner cut

Inscribed at right in pen and brown ink: Fassini(?)

SZÉPMŰVÉSZETI MÚZEUM,  
BUDAPEST

THE TWO FIGURES ON THIS SHEET call to mind similar ones in the *Story of Jason*, the frieze in the Palazzo Fava. The pose of the turbaned figure in the foreground recalls the figure of the usurper Pelias in the fourth panel (*The Sacrifice of Pelias to Neptune*),<sup>1</sup> but the greater resemblance—in the handling of the drapery and in the position of the feet—is with the third panel (*Pelias Goes to Sacrifice*; fig. 1), where he is flanked by the high priest who speaks with him, a solution that is quite close to that described in the drawing.<sup>2</sup> Given that the changes in the pose are considerable, however, and that in neither of the two panels does Pelias wear a turban like this one, the connection between this drawing and the frieze in the Palazzo Fava is doubtful.

No less disputed is the authorship of the two related frescoes: the third panel has been considered a collaborative work between Annibale and Ludovico;<sup>3</sup> by Ludovico alone;<sup>4</sup> by Annibale alone;<sup>5</sup> by assistants based on a design by Annibale;<sup>6</sup> or even a collaboration between Annibale and Agostino.<sup>7</sup> The fourth is assigned with more or less agreement to Agostino, to whom should then belong also the compositional drawing now in the Louvre.<sup>8</sup> If indeed the Budapest drawing could be preparatory for Pelias going to sacrifice in the

third panel, the greater quality that it exhibits as compared to the corresponding detail of the fresco—which is marked by a rather generalized facture—could work in favor of the solution proposed by Posner, that is, that it was executed by unidentifiable assistants working from a design by Annibale. On the other hand, even taking into account the fresco's poor state of conservation, it includes among the remains wonderful passages—in the group of young men standing toward the back and in the elders who follow the two protagonists—which are worthy, to my mind, of Ludovico.

The different proposals regarding the attribution of this drawing stem from the various attributions of the Palazzo Fava panels.<sup>9</sup> But judging only on style, Annibale's authorship can hardly be doubted. The knowledge of Correggio's manner—in the smooth handling of the cloth and the illusionistic shading of the red chalk—points to the youngest Carracci, for whom the trip to Parma was an inspiring experience. A similar conclusion is reached by comparing the Uffizi drawing of *Two Boys with Cudgels*,<sup>10</sup> which probably bears the first idea for the *False Funeral of Jason*, also executed by Annibale.

Even with the doubts expressed above about the possibility of linking the drawing to the frescoes in the Palazzo Fava, this sheet constitutes the only basis for arguing the theory—quite believable nonetheless—that all three Carracci collaborated on the planning of the individual panels of the cycle. If, indeed, the sheet examined here is preparatory for the third episode, it would have to have been an early idea by Annibale for a panel that was entrusted to the eldest, Ludovico—to whom the sources (Malvasia) otherwise attribute the greatest responsibility for planning the entire cycle. This would thus confirm the substantial equality of the three cousins in respect to the work entrusted to them, while the numerous variants as compared to the final fresco would guarantee the degree of autonomy that each of the three would have maintained. DB

## PROVENANCE

Paul von Praun, Nuremberg (1584–1616) (sale, 1801); Miklós Esterházy (Lugt 1965); from 1871, in the Országos Képtár, Budapest (National Gallery; Lugt 2000); from 1906, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 1837

## EXHIBITIONS

Budapest 1963, no. 117 (as Cave-done); Bologna 1989, no. 9

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kurz 1955a, under no. 70 (as Cave-done); Boschloo 1974, 2: 189, n. 1, fig. 62; Emiliani in Bologna 1984, 100 (as Agostino); Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, under no. 40; Loisel Legrand 1995, 10–11; Robertson 1997, 28, fig. 33

## NOTES

1. This connection was indicated by Robertson 1997.
2. In favor of this connection are Boschloo 1974, Emiliani in Bologna 1984, Czére in Bologna 1989, and Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994.
3. Arcangeli 1956, 29.
4. Ottani 1966, 48, n. 86.
5. Mahon 1957, 271, n. 36.
6. Posner 1971, 2: no. 15, fig. 15f.
7. Emiliani in Bologna 1984, 100.
8. Inv. RF 607. See Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, no. 40, who opted for Annibale. Thereafter, the same scholar came out in favor of Agostino (Loisel Legrand 1995, 7, fig. 6).
9. The name of Agostino was advanced by Emiliani in Bologna 1984, who was also inclined to assign the third panel of the Palazzo Fava to him.
10. Inv. 17090 F.



FIG. 1 Pelias Goes to Sacrifice, 1583–1584, Palazzo Fava, Bologna

5

## The Meeting of Jason and King Aeëtes

c. 1584; pen and black ink with gray-brown wash over black chalk, squared twice in black and red chalk; 254 x 315 (10 x 12 3/8)

Inscribed at lower right in pen and brown ink: 3167; inscribed on the verso at upper center in graphite with the inventory number: 6823

STAATLICHE GRAPHISCHE  
SAMMLUNG, MUNICH

THE RECTO BEARS THE MODELLO — the quick study that would be shown to the patron and transferred to the cartoon—for the ninth panel of the Palazzo Fava frieze depicting the *Story of Jason* (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It represents the meeting between Jason and King Aeëtes, lord of Colchis and keeper of the Golden Fleece, which the hero had promised his uncle Pelias he would obtain. The old monarch goes to meet Jason, who embraces him. Around him stand the heroes who participated in the expedition: easily recognizable are the singer Orpheus, with his lyre (which in the fresco will be replaced by a violin), and Hercules, wearing the skin of the Nemean lion and holding his club on his shoulder. In the distance is their ship, the *Argo*.

A rather complete series of studies for this panel exists. The earliest is partially conserved on the verso of this same sheet and consists of a synthetic ensemble study for the entire scene, which is very rapid in its description of the individual figures and is aimed at defining the various perspective planes. The whole scene is studied there from a certain distance, in a way that includes the *termine*—that is, the fictive statue that flanks the composition on the left side (*Pluto* in the final painting). The pilaster against which this statue is placed is seen from above, rather than from below, as in the



VERSO The Meeting of Jason and King Aeëtes, black chalk

fresco. In this first phase of the project, the Carracci had not yet imbued the frieze with the illusionistic meaning that it would have later. A sheet in the National Gallery of Canada,<sup>2</sup> unfortunately not in good condition, is an excellent example of the studies made for single figures, in this case Orpheus (fig. 2) and on the verso the argonaut who points his finger upward and stands just behind Jason.<sup>3</sup>

Only at this point could the painter prepare the *modello*. The recourse to pen and the sober but effective washes result in a well-defined image. After being approved by the patron, the drawing was squared so that it could be copied on a larger scale on the cartoon, which would, in turn, be used to transfer the drawing onto the fresco plaster. None of the cartoons connected to this undertaking has survived, but the traces of incising still legible on the fresco indicate that they were indeed used.<sup>4</sup> In the case of this drawing, the presence of two sets of squaring lines—in black and red chalk—shows the care with which the painter approached this operation.

### PROVENANCE

In the Bavarian royal collections by the nineteenth century (Lugt 2674); Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, inv. 6823

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 87; Munich 1967, no. 21, pl. 56; Washington and Parma 1984, no. 125; Bologna 1984, no. 93

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lauke 1954, 66, 71, 98 (as Ludovico); Gernsheim and Lauke 1956, 9 (as Ludovico); Bacou in Paris 1961, under no. 23; Ostrow 1964, 87, figs. 3, 4; Ottani 1966, 54, pl. 30; Johnston 1971, no. viii; Posner 1971, 2: 8–9, under cat. 15j (as Ludovico); Boschloo 1974, 2: 189, n. 1, pl. 57 (as Ludovico); Cooney and Malafarina 1976, under no. 15 1, repr. (as Ludovico); Ottawa 1982, 67, under no. 25; Feigenbaum 1984, no. 3 (as Ludovico); Loisel Legrand 1995, 7, fig. 3; Robertson 1997, 28, fig. 43



FIG. 1 The Meeting of Jason and King Aeëtes, c. 1584, Palazzo Fava, Bologna



3167



FIG. 2 Orpheus, c. 1583–1584, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

The attribution of this sheet to Annibale has recently been questioned, thus underlining the paucity of our knowledge about the youthful years of the Carracci.<sup>5</sup> They all usually worked in a spirit of true collaboration and with a striking convergence of styles. However, two details must be considered: first, the panel to which this drawing is related is by Annibale Carracci; second, the Munich sheet is, as has already been mentioned, a *modello* or a type of drawing that requires a particular drawing technique and demands comparison with other drawings of analogous purpose and execution. In regard to the first point, it can be argued that, in theory at least, it cannot be excluded that the Carracci all worked on the same panels and exchanged drawings. But in terms of probability, the chances are doubtless greater that this sheet is by Annibale. On the second point, it can be argued that the known comparative material is currently very slight. The page in the Louvre with the *Sacrifice of Pelias*, executed by Agostino Carracci, shows a fluid use of pen—in the trees, for example—which may argue for a later date, but that drawing, in my view, is very different from this one.<sup>6</sup> As for the panels regarded as “securely” by Ludovico (within the limits of certainty that are possible for whatever works were executed by the Carracci in these years), neither a *modello* nor even a drawing for a single figure is known.<sup>7</sup> In this case—and with these doubts—it seems that the grace with which the figures are rendered and the sense of tender carnality that characterize them could well belong to the young Annibale Carracci. These same qualities led to the attribution to Annibale of the splendid preparatory drawing (formerly in the Ellesmere collection, now with Yvonne Tan Bunzl, London) for the frieze of the *Story of Europa* for the eponymous Camerino of the Palazzo Fava,<sup>8</sup> which is stylistically identical to this one and strengthens its claim to Annibale’s authorship. DB

#### NOTES

1. After the fundamental article by Arcangeli 1956, the more complete and convincing discussion of this cycle, as to which parts each of the three Carracci executed, was offered by Ottani 1966. See also Emiliani in Bologna 1984.
2. Inv. 9891; see Regina and Montreal 1970, no. 32; Ottawa 1982, no. 25.
3. In the final fresco, this figure—studied in its entirety, even though destined to be partially covered—will be moved further to the right, between Jason and Hercules.
4. According to Weston-Lewis 1997, 460, the marks on the plaster would have been traced free-hand “with remarkable gusto and spontaneity”; yet close inspection of the frescoes confirms the use of a cartoon, which softens the incision mark. It would not have been practical, on the other hand, to have used a stylus to trace marks that would have been more handily executed with a paintbrush. But the recent restoration (see Bologna 1984), in the course of which some panels were unfortunately pulled out, did not produce the technical indications that one would have expected to have gleaned from such an opportunity.

5. Babette Bohn, in a letter to the museum, has suggested that the drawing is the work of Ludovico. The same opinion had already been expressed by Feigenbaum 1984, no. 3, who now thinks it is by Annibale.

6. Inv. RF 607. Its attribution has been discussed in relation to all three Carracci (see Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, no. 40; Robertson 1997, 28, fig. 39). Unfortunately I have not seen the second study for this scene in person, which is almost identical to the final, squared version (Great Britain, private collection), and which, according to Aidan Weston-Lewis, was published as the work of Agostino by Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, 65, repr. (through a typographical error, the caption to the illustration gives Annibale’s name).

7. In this perspective, however, interesting results are yielded by the comparison made by Loisel Legrand 1995, 7, with some youthful compositional studies. She rightly observed that Ludovico, unlike Annibale, “was more attached to the structured organization of the groups than to the decorative effect of the ensemble.”

8. Posner 1971, 2: under no. 14, fig. 14a. Otherwise, I agree with Sutherland Harris 1994, 73, pl. 30, in retaining the attribution to Ludovico of the study in black chalk of *Europa Riding the Bull* (private collection; repr. Posner 1971, 2: fig. 14d).





## 6

A Boy Taking off  
His Sock

c. 1584; red chalk on buff paper,  
laid down; 292 x 371 (11½ x 14 ⅝),  
irregular, all four corners cut  
and upper left and top missing

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at  
lower right: Antonio da Correggio

THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
LONDON



FIG. 1 Saint Sebastian, c. 1583–  
1585, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden

IN THIS REMARKABLE DRAWING,  
which once belonged to Peter Paul Rubens,  
Annibale has drawn a half-nude boy who, prob-  
ably seated on the ground, is removing (rather  
than donning, as is usually thought) a patched  
sock from his right foot. After drawing the bust  
and the raised leg, Annibale then switched sub-  
jects to complete the sheet with a marine land-  
scape and, at bottom, a study of stony ground.  
Only the curved line that marks the waist seems  
part of the first drawing, while the others, which  
at first sight appear to belong to the boy's left  
leg, refer to the rugged terrain, which Annibale  
studied with particular attention.

Since 1940, when Popham first refuted the  
attribution of this sheet to Correggio and  
restored it to the Bolognese painter, the execu-  
tion has generally been connected to that of  
*The Baptism of Christ* (Bologna, San Gregorio;  
Cat. 7, fig. 1), made by Annibale between 1583  
and 1585. In that painting, two boys are disrob-  
ing in preparation for baptism by John.<sup>1</sup> How-  
ever, as the viewpoint in the drawing is much  
lower than that in the altarpiece,<sup>2</sup> the connec-  
tion should be disregarded. More likely, the  
drawing of the boy was simply a personal exer-  
cise, unconnected to a specific project. The  
sources agree in signaling the importance that  
the young Carracci placed on drawing as the  
indispensable means of capturing reality, and  
they continually drilled themselves on a wide  
variety of subjects from daily life, in this case,  
a boy undressing for a swim.

It has never before been noted that the  
seascape, which includes, somewhat surpris-  
ingly, a Roman trireme, and the study of the



FIG. 2 A Boy Lying on His Back, c. 1584–1585,  
location unknown

uneven terrain in the foreground correspond  
very closely to another early painting by Anni-  
bale, the *Saint Sebastian* formerly in the Estense  
collection, Modena, and now in the Gemälde-  
galerie, Dresden (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> The Roman ship that  
plows the seas in the distance is identical,  
though in reverse, to one in that painting, and  
the terrain scattered with stones can be com-  
pared with the one behind Sebastian.

That connection does not, however, alter  
the chronological limits within which the date  
of the drawing has been discussed up to now,  
since even for the painting in Dresden it seems  
to me possible to sustain a date of a little after  
1583, or in the very same years during which  
Annibale worked on *The Baptism of Christ*,  
which was finally delivered in 1585.

If one studies this drawing within the se-  
quence proposed here, it will be noted that,  
compared to the drawing for the *Butcher Shop*  
(Cat. 1) and to the drawings of the nude that  
follow it, the stroke has become softer and the  
contour lines are more rounded (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> This  
maturing process, which had its basis in a  
strong adhesion to Correggio, will culminate  
in the study for the *Dead Christ* in the Uffizi  
(inv. 12418 F.), preparatory for *The Deposition*  
in Parma (1585).<sup>5</sup> The old attribution of the  
exhibited sheet to Correggio is therefore richly  
significant. DB

## PROVENANCE

Sir Peter Paul Rubens; Johann  
Goll van Franckenstein; Samuel  
Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence;  
reacquired by Samuel Woodburn  
from Lawrence's estate; William II  
of Holland; Gerard Leembruggen  
(Lugt 2988) (sale, Haarlem, 20–22  
February 1866, no. 865); John  
Malcolm (Lugt 1489); acquired by  
the Trustees of the British  
Museum, 1895–9–15–739

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1836a, no. 60 (as Correg-  
gio); Washington and Parma 1984,  
no. 126; Canberra and Melbourne  
1992, no. 63; Oxford and London  
1996–1997, no. 57

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Robinson 1876, no. 299 (as Correg-  
gio); Jaffé 1956a, 398, n. 22; Jaffé  
1956b, 14, fig. 9; Popham 1957, no.  
A 70; Sutherland Harris 1994, 84,  
n. 49 (as Ludovico); Wood 1994,  
342, fig. 16; Robertson 1997, 7, fig.  
7; Weston-Lewis 1997, 460

## NOTES

1. Jaffé 1956a and 1956b. On *The Baptism of Christ*, dated 1585, see Posner 1971, 2: no. 21. Boschloo 1974, 2: 170, n. 6, indicated there-  
after that the commission was  
bestowed in 1583.
2. De Grazia in Washington and  
Parma 1984.
3. Formerly attributed in the old  
inventories to Annibale and then  
to Lotto, the painting was restored  
to the youthful period of the  
Bolognese artist's career in Benati  
1996. Related to this painting (and  
therefore also with the drawing  
considered here) is the study of  
*Saint Sebastian* in the Galleria  
Estense in Modena (inv. 1008; see  
Di Giampaolo 1989, 200, pl. lxxi).
4. Formerly in the Squire Collec-  
tion, London (Edinburgh 1972,  
no. 22, pl. 55; sale, London,  
Sotheby's, 28 June 1979, no. 21).
5. Posner 1971, 2: fig. 24b.



## 7

An Angel Playing  
a Violin

c. 1583–1585; red chalk on ivory  
paper, laid down; 164 x 201  
(6½ x 7⅞), the lower left side  
and corner irregularly cut

THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
LONDON



FIG. 1 The Baptism of Christ,  
1585, San Gregorio, Bologna

THE ANGEL IN THIS DRAWING IS identical to one at upper right in *The Baptism of Christ*, executed by Annibale for the church of San Gregorio in Bologna (fig. 1).

As far as is known, this was the second public commission obtained by the youngest of the Carracci, who in 1583 had already completed the altarpiece for the Bolognese church of San Nicolò, the *Crucifixion with Saints* (now in Santa Maria della Carità). *The Baptism of Christ* bears at the bottom the date 1585. From the act of transferring the patronage of the chapel to Giacomo Canobi in 1584, we now know that the commission for the altarpiece was given to Annibale in October 1583.<sup>1</sup> The altar was dedicated to the Trinity and the Baptist, and therefore the representation of the Baptism of Christ by John, in the course of which the Holy Spirit descends in the form of a dove and the voice of God the Father is heard (Matthew 3:16–17), seems very fitting indeed. Recent research has demonstrated that Canobi, professor of law at the University of Bologna and from 1584 an elected member of the Elders of the Commune, was the son of Pietro, who owned a succession of butcher shops in Bologna and with whom Antonio Carracci, the father of Annibale, was in close contact from 1578.<sup>2</sup> Having contracted the obligation in 1583, Annibale would have worked alone in 1584 and 1585, as demonstrated by the rather more evolved style compared to that exhibited in the San Nicolò *Crucifixion*. Also evident is the affinity with the parts of the Palazzo Fava frieze that he executed (in particular the resemblance between the figure of the Baptist and that of Hercules in *The Crossing of the Libyan Desert*). The style of the young Annibale seems oriented in the direction of Parma: it has been theorized that this came about through the intermediary of Barocci, but the celestial glory that occupies the upper part of the painting shows a direct knowledge of the works of Correggio. Of this painting

Malvasia said that the young painter was “supported here and helped by Ludovico,”<sup>3</sup> and this statement may be true given that the Carracci shared a workshop and usually collaborated at this time.

The finished *modello* for this painting does not survive, but some partial preparatory studies, all by the hand of Annibale, are known. (For the drawing of *A Boy Taking off His Shirt*, in the Louvre, see the next entry.) A first idea for the eternal father can be found on a sheet formerly in a Bolognese private collection.<sup>4</sup> For the hands of the music-making angels two drawings survive, one in the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto (Cat. 9), and the other in the Institut Néerlandais, Paris.<sup>5</sup> A drawing for the putto supporting the mantle of the eternal father was recently identified in the British Museum.<sup>6</sup> As discussed in Cat. 6, a relationship between this painting and the drawing of *A Boy Taking off His Sock* in the British Museum seems unlikely, even if one would expect that the planning of the altarpiece had taken advantage of studies from nature like that one.

It is possible that this drawing was also a study from nature, necessitated by the strong foreshortening imposed on the figure by the low viewpoint and the difficulty of rendering the hands that wield the bow and violin. The synthetic substitution of an unnatural distortion into which the handling of the instrument forces the player’s hands appears remarkably adept. The back of the youth then demanded particular attention, and the painter employed more strokes to better define the juncture of the strongly lowered right shoulder. Only at the point of finishing the drawing did Annibale add, with a few strokes of chalk, two tiny wings. DB

## PROVENANCE

W. Y. Ottley (sale, London, T. Philipe, 8 June 1814, no. 417); Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); Sir J. C. Robinson; John Malcolm; acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, London, inv. 1895-9-15-723

## EXHIBITIONS

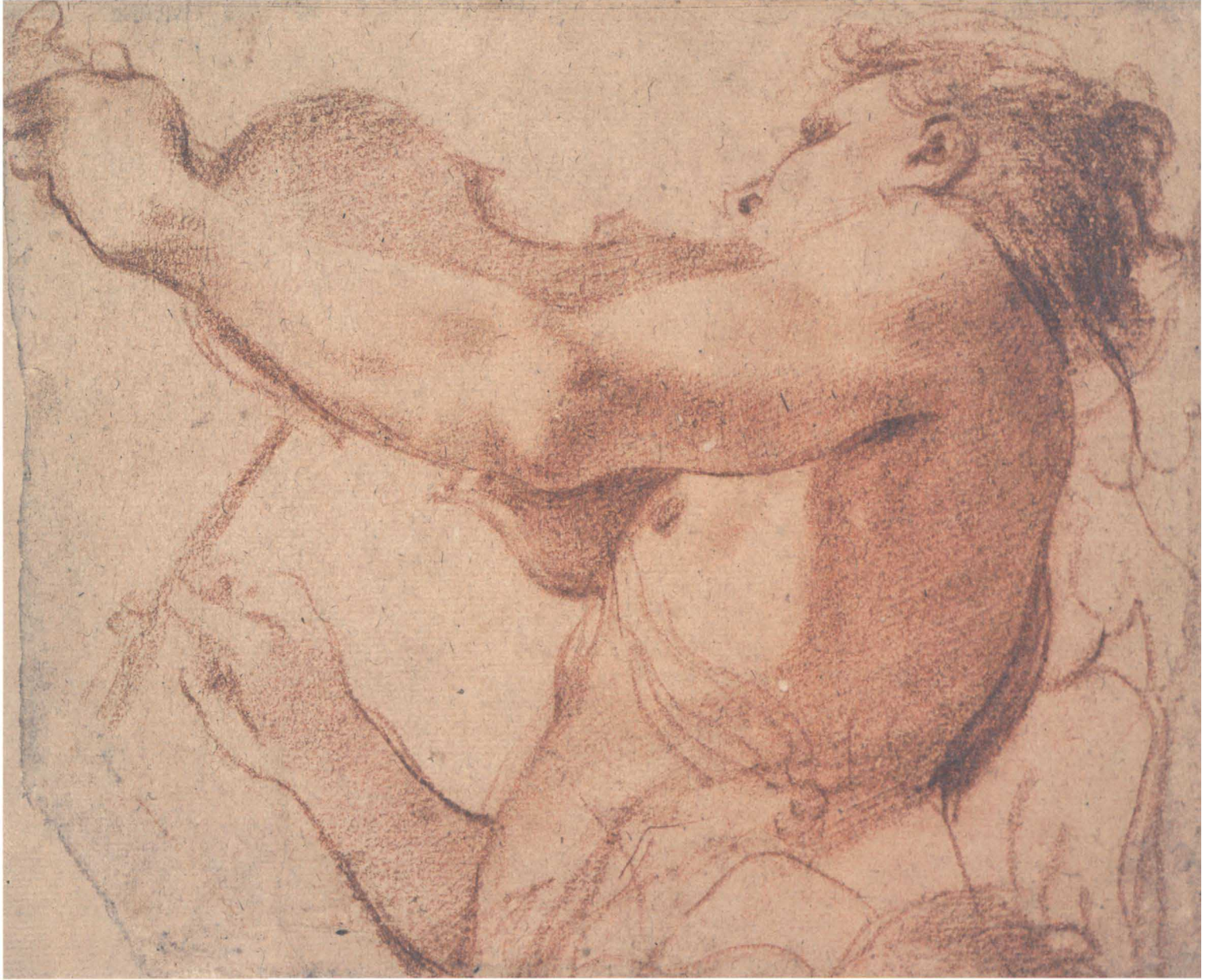
London 1836a, no. 98 (according to Popham 1957); London 1951, no. 8; Washington and Parma 1984, no. 34; London 1996, no. 45

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Robinson 1876, 104, no. 283 (as Correggio); Popham 1957, 76, fig. 31D, 182, no. A 56; Jaffé 1956a, 398, fig. 8; Posner 1971, 2: under no. 21, pl. 21c; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, under no. 22, repr.; Riccòmini 1980, 37–38; Turner 1980, no. 35; Riccòmini 1982, 43, fig. 45; Loisel Legrand 1995, 8; Turner 1995, 609; Robertson 1997, 27, fig. 33

## NOTES

1. Boschloo 1974, 2: 170, n. 6.
2. Fanti 1980b, 130; Zapperi 1989, 67, n. 23.
3. Malvasia 1686, 114.
4. Brogi in Benati et al. 1991, no. 9.1.
5. Byam Shaw 1983, no. 321 (as Ludovico).
6. Inv. 1901-4-17-29. See Turner 1995, 609, fig. 36. In the same collection the study of a putto (inv. Pp. 2–107) could also be connected to this altarpiece. A drawing representing *A Semi-Nude Boy* (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. Parker 143), which has been connected with both *The Baptism of Christ* and *The Story of Jason* in the Palazzo Fava (Ostrow 1970, 40–42, pl. 40), could more easily be the work of Agostino (Sutherland Harris 1994, 73, n. 10).





## 8

A Boy Taking off  
His Shirt

c. 1583–1585; red chalk; 359 x 221  
(14 1/8 x 8 11/16)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at  
lower left: Ant.<sup>o</sup> da Correggio

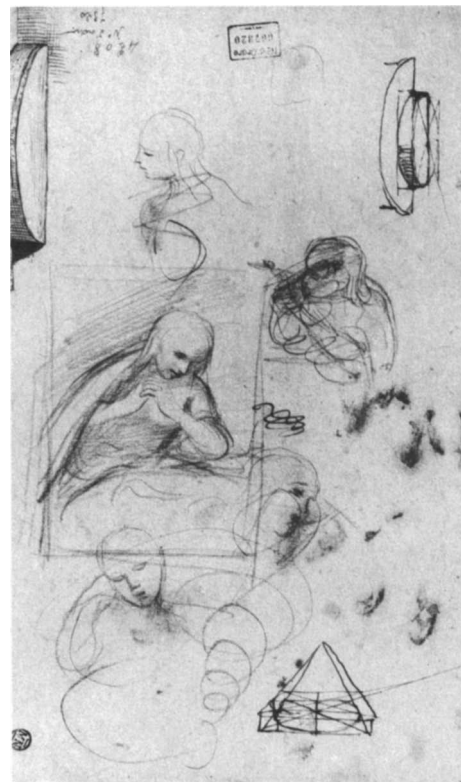
MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

EVEN IF THE CORRESPONDENCE IS not exact, there can be no doubt about the relationship between the recto of this sheet and the altarpiece of *The Baptism of Christ* executed by Annibale for the church of San Gregorio in Bologna between 1583 and 1585 (see Cat. 7, fig. 1). In the left foreground are three boys, one of whom is removing his shirt before his baptism in the River Jordan. The pose of his shadowed right leg is identical to that of the boy in the drawing, and the twist of the upper body is also very similar. In the finished painting, however, the youth seems to be indicating with his right hand the scene unfolding behind him in response to a questioning child. The physical features of the boy, probably an apprentice in the workshop, match those of the boy in the painting, who thus came to be inserted, perfectly recognizable, into the altarpiece.

A related drawing—a study of a half-length youth taking off his shirt—is in the Uffizi (inv. 16509 F.):<sup>1</sup> the pose of the upper body and the arm is quite close to the final painting, even though the inclination of the head is completely different.

In the Louvre drawing the fluid and softly rounded handling of the contours, as compared to the stiffer and more broken treatment in the study of *A Man Weighing Meat* (Cat. 1), indicates Annibale's complete maturation in terms of Correggio's influence. While the study seems quite finished in terms of the chiaroscuro, it also has a dappled effect that could, in some measure, indicate the ascendance of Ludovico Carracci: the effect of backlighting, here evidenced by abundant hatching (which is quite different from Agostino's systematic cross-hatching), and the monumentality of the figure also favor a comparison with the youthful *Saint Sebastian* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.<sup>2</sup>

The verso contains some studies for a half-length figure of the Penitent Magdalene. These consist of very different ideas, which show



VERSO Mary Magdalene and Geometrical Forms, black chalk (for the Magdalene) and pen and brown ink (for the geometrical studies)

how even a simple painting of a devotional subject destined for a private patron was the object of repeated studies by the Carracci as they searched out the most convincing solution. The saint appears by turns from behind or from the front, kissing the crucifix or contemplating it before her, or even with her head leaning on her hand in an attitude of meditation. Even if the preferred version had been the one in which the saint adores the crucifix while clasping her hands, which Annibale enclosed within a rectangular frame to better define the arrangement, it is possible that the drawing is related to the *Penitent Magdalene* now in the Lauro collection, Bologna, which presents yet another compositional choice.<sup>3</sup>

The handwriting of the inscription that attributes the drawing to Correggio belongs to Peter Paul Rubens. DB

## PROVENANCE

Sir Peter Paul Rubens; Everard Jabach (Lugt 2959); entered the king's collection in 1671 (paraph of Antoine Coypel, Lugt 478); Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7320

## EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 89, pl. 30; Paris 1961, no. 25, pl. 1v; Paris 1977–1978, no. 137; Bologna 1984, no. 107; Paris 1994, no. 42

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jaffé 1956a, 398; Ostrow 1964, 88, fig. 13; Ostrow 1970, 40, fig. 2; Johnston 1971, 82; Posner 1971, 2: 11, under no. 21, fig. 21d; De Grazia in Washington and Parma 1984, under no. 34; Ottani Cavina in Bologna–Washington–New York 1986–1987, 357; Goldstein 1988, 133, fig. 75, and 147, fig. 124; Czére in Bologna 1989, under no. 10; Brogi in Benati et al. 1991, no. 9.2; Weston-Lewis 1994, 713; Wood 1994, 342, fig. 13; Loisel Legrand 1995, 8; Robertson 1997, 27, fig. 34

## NOTES

1. Johnston 1971, pl. ix; Weston-Lewis 1994, 713, fig. 65; Robertson 1997, 21.
2. Inv. 194 B. Repr. Cat. 6, fig. 1.
3. Bologna 1984, no. 123. The connection was already noted by Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, 68.

## 9

Studies of a  
Hand Holding  
a Violin Bow

1583–1585; black and white  
chalk on gray-blue paper; 280 x 406  
(11 3/8 x 16 1/16), irregular

ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO,  
TORONTO, GIFT OF  
ARTHUR GELBER, 1988

THE HANDS OF THE MUSIC-MAKING angels in the altarpiece of *The Baptism of Christ*, executed for the church of San Gregorio in Bologna between 1583 and 1585, must have inspired the young Annibale to make his own detail studies. In this drawing, first identified by Kate Ganz, he studied with care—and evidently from life—the right hand of the angel-violinist in the upper left of the painting. Of the two positions on the page, he depicted the second, where the hand is seen more from the side. A sheet in the Institut Néerlandais, Paris (fig. 1),<sup>1</sup> executed with less liveliness but undoubtedly also autograph, bears other studies of this type: for the violin held by this same angel; for both hands of the one who is playing the lute, on the right; and also for the right hand of the angel at left, who plays the cello. The study of the correct positioning of musical instruments, especially the bow, also engaged Ludovico, who made a drawing (Windsor Castle, Royal Library) for an angel-violinist in the *Assumption*, now in Raleigh, North Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

The Toronto drawing stands out for the pictorial value that Annibale bestowed on it through the use of blue paper and spare but effective white highlighting.

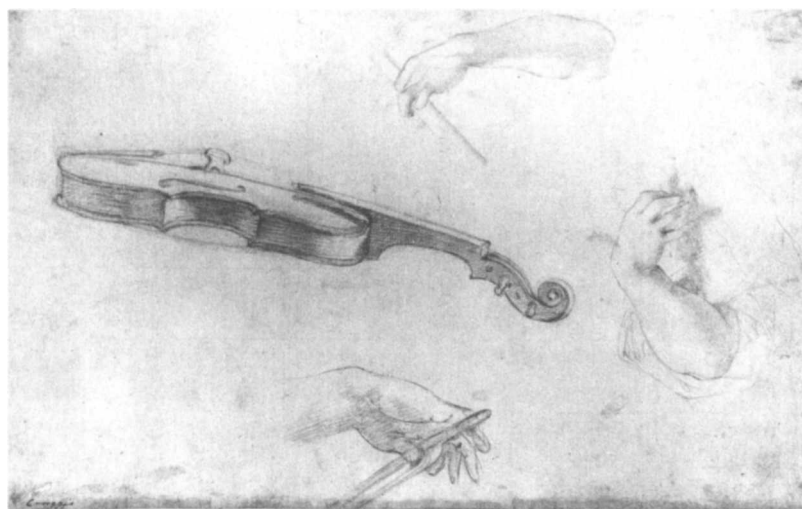


FIG. 1 Studies of a Hand Holding a Violin Bow, c. 1583–1585, Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris



VERSO Saint Jerome Reading, black chalk heightened with white

The study on the verso is for the *Saint Jerome in Prayer* that was formerly in the Heim Collection, London, and is now owned by the Banca Popolare dell'Emilia Romagna (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> Any reservations about the authorship of this painting, given alternately to Annibale<sup>4</sup> and to Ludovico Carracci,<sup>5</sup> can be happily resolved in favor of the former thanks to this drawing. In addition, the uncertainty about the date that is inscribed on the painting, the last digit of which is virtually illegible, can be resolved in favor of 1585, given that, as this sheet indicates, Annibale was involved with this painting at the same time as he was working on *The Baptism of Christ*. From the point of view of graphic technique, in the softness of the handling the drawing of Saint Jerome compares quite well with the studies for the figure of Orpheus and one of the argonauts for the Palazzo Fava on the sheet now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (inv. 9891).<sup>6</sup> DB



FIG. 2 Saint Jerome in Prayer, 1585, Banca Popolare dell'Emilia Romagna, Modena

## PROVENANCE

European private collection; Kate Ganz Ltd, London, 1987; Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Gift of Arthur Gelber, inv. 88/338

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1987, no. 14

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benati and Peruzzi 1987, 71, fig. 19; Bull 1987, 459; Brogi 1989, 18, n. 3; Benati in Warsaw 1990, 16–18; Brogi in Benati et al. 1991, no. 9.5; Loisel Legrand 1995, 8; Benati 1996, 108; Bohn 1996, 171; Benati and Peruzzi 1997, 56, fig. 21; Robertson 1997, 28, fig. 37

## NOTES

1. Inv. 4434. See Byam Shaw 1983, no. 321 (as Ludovico); Robertson 1997, 28, fig. 36.
2. Loisel Legrand 1995, 11, fig. 12.
3. Benati and Peruzzi 1997, no. 23.
4. Ottani 1966, 57, fig. 25; Volpe 1976, 119; Brogi 1984, 36 ff; Benati and Peruzzi 1987, no. 16; Bohn 1996, 171.
5. Posner 1971, 2: 77, no. 180[R.]; Dempsey in Bologna–Washington–New York 1986–1987, 249.
6. Ottawa 1982, no. 25.





# IO

## Profile Portrait of a Boy

1584–1585; red chalk on ivory paper;  
224 x 162 (8 13/16 x 6 3/8)

Inscribed on the verso across the top  
at center in red chalk (by the artist?):  
della...uola di Crisigliano... (?),  
and at lower right in pen and  
brown ink: Giorgione di Castelfra  
[the rest cut off]

GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI,  
GABINETTO DISEGNI  
E STAMPE, FLORENCE

ANNIBALE WAS THE AUTHOR OF several enchanting and extraordinarily tender images of children. In the freshness of the expressions and the poses they recall the youths in the *Story of Jason* in the Palazzo Fava in Bologna (a cycle that can actually be regarded in its totality as an exaltation of boyhood) and also the playful putti which, in the Farnese Gallery, interject a less dramatic note into the aulic and serious tone of the representation.

Other drawings of children are known, which are truly exceptional “because of the combination of psychological gravity and youthful appearance.”<sup>1</sup> In this sheet, Annibale has imposed on his very youthful model a fixedly unnatural pose, forcing him into strict profile. Nevertheless, the artist’s capacity for rendering the boy’s personality, which, in the fixity of his gaze and the tight contraction of the mouth, expresses one that is already formed.

Remarkably well paired are the purity and security of the line with which the profile is drawn, from which Annibale would then start

to work out the portrait. Other densely repeated strokes then serve, without generating any sense of pedantry, to fix the boy’s image, thickening it stroke by stroke so that the shadow grows on the cheek and in the hair, which, as is appropriate for a common boy, is cut very short for both practical and hygienic reasons. The interlacing of strokes on the cheek gives it a velvety texture, but without the insistence on a systematic accuracy found in Agostino.<sup>2</sup> As always in these drawings, the care with which the face is treated is contrasted with the more cursory handling in the description of the bust. A few vibrant strokes suffice for Annibale to jot down the collar that projects from the cloth jacket, attire that confirms the boy’s humble status.

The solid modeling and the stolid presentation indicate an early date. The clarity of the contour stroke can be compared with that in *A Boy Taking off His Sock* (Cat. 6), with which it could share a date of 1584–1585.<sup>3</sup> Although it is risky to date drawings like this one *ad annum*, these characteristics nevertheless seem to indicate a slightly earlier dating here than for *Head of a Boy* (Cat. 15). DB

### PROVENANCE

Houses of Medici and Lorraine;  
Galleria degli Uffizi (Lugt 930),  
inv. 1668 E.

### EXHIBITIONS

Florence 1922, 39

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ferri 1881, 83; Ferri 1890, 288;  
Posner 1971, I: 21, fig. 26; Cooney  
and Malafarina 1976, 132, no. XIV;  
Petrioli Tofani 1987, 689, no. 1668  
E.; Loisel Legrand 1997b, 45, fig. 87

### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, I: 21.
2. I therefore consider unjustified the suggestion that the attribution of the drawing be changed in favor of Agostino, as noted on the mount by Ann Sutherland Harris.
3. A date in the course of the next decade was proposed by Loisel Legrand 1997b.



## II

### A Semi-Nude Youth

mid-1580s; red chalk on cream paper; 264 x 225 (10 3/8 x 8 7/8)

Inscribed in different seventeenth-century hands: in pen and brown ink at upper left: disegno di Messer An: Carrazi and, hardly legible, paulo da Verona; in pen and brown ink at right: Non so se Dio m'aiuta

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
AND THE CHATSWORTH  
SETTLEMENT TRUSTEES

SCHOLARS FREQUENTLY IDENTIFY the pen inscription *Non so se Dio m'aiuta* ("I don't know whether God helps me"), written in beautiful calligraphy on the right of the sheet, as by Annibale,<sup>1</sup> but it is not likely the case. Rather, the inscription was added at a later date to give voice to the figure, who seems to shrug his shoulders sadly, lamenting his indigent condition. The curved line of the back, which seems to describe a spinal deformity, may also have induced such a reading.<sup>2</sup>

All the same, this drawing serves to confirm the strong narrative bent of Annibale's drawings, in which, even from his youth, the study of the nude (an exercise that would come to be called an "academy") is never the end in itself but is always aimed at capturing an action, no matter how banal and ordinary. In this case, the inclination of the face, supported on the pointed shoulder, is intended to express both reserve and bashfulness; the gaze turned directly to the observer implores understanding. Perceiving such expressive tension, the anonymous writer of the inscription wanted to make explicit what the drawing already suggested by itself.

Maximum attention is focused on the face and bust. The youth's thin body and the withered musculature, together with its contracted

position, results in an unusually acute shape. This is closed at the bottom by the few strokes to indicate the drapery, which, as always in this type of study by Annibale, hides the nudity of the model. The execution is neat and precise, though there is a noticeable correction to the position of the right arm.

Based on style, the drawing can be dated to the mid-1580s.<sup>3</sup> It is closely linked to the preparatory studies for *The Baptism of Christ*, which was completed in 1585 and is still in San Gregorio, Bologna (Cats. 7–9).<sup>4</sup> The pose of the figure is quite similar to that of the angel playing a flute to the right of the *gloria divina* (Cat. 7, fig. 1). Even though that figure is in reverse, the inclination of the back and the manner of looking at the observer over his shoulder are rather close; comparable also is the interruption of the figure with the drapery that covers the legs. The use of the same poses in both studies from nature, executed without a set purpose, and paintings demonstrates the importance that the study of life held in Annibale's inventive process.<sup>5</sup> DB

#### PROVENANCE

William, 2d duke of Devonshire (Lugt 718); Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, inv. 443

#### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 224; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 89; Washington and tour 1969–1970, no. 27; London 1973–1974, no. 27; Jerusalem 1977, no. 19; Berlin 1980, section 6, no. 19; London 1993–1994, no. 37; Washington and New York 1995–1996, no. 49; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 59

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Vasari Society*, 2d series, 7 (1926), no. 9; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, under no. 31; Jaffé 1994, no. 499; Loisel Legrand 1995, 13; Sutherland Harris 1996, 202 (as possibly Ludovico); Finaldi 1997, 58; Robertson 1997, 15, fig. 19

#### NOTES

1. The last was Jaffé 1994, 92.
2. From this comes the title *A Hunchbacked Youth*, by which the drawing has been known until now (Jaffé 1994; Loisel Legrand 1995).
3. Mahon in Bologna 1956.
4. I see no reason to assign an attribution to Ludovico, recently expressed by Sutherland Harris 1996.
5. Robertson 1997, in particular, stresses this point.

disegno di Messer An: Carracci

1611



Non so se Dio m'aiuta.



# I2

## The Assumption of the Virgin

c. 1587; pen and brown and black ink with brown wash over black chalk, heightened with white and squared in black chalk on paper washed gray-brown, laid down; 541 x 355 (21 3/16 x 14)

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
AND THE CHATSWORTH  
SETTLEMENT TRUSTEES

THIS DRAWING, WITH ITS EXTRAORDINARY pictorial effect, is the *modello* for the altarpiece, dated 1587, that Annibale executed for the church of the Confraternita di San Rocco in Reggio Emilia (fig. 1) and which, after being appropriated by the duke of Modena for his own collection (1660), eventually entered the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (1746).<sup>1</sup> This is the one surviving drawing for this fundamental painting, which constitutes an important stage in the Correggesque revival that was carried out by Annibale in a rather more coherent and modern way than by the other Carracci.<sup>2</sup> Together with *The Deposition* (c. 1586–1587), formerly in San Prospero in Reggio Emilia and the Bridgewater collection in London (now lost),<sup>3</sup> the Reggio altarpiece represents the moment in which Correggio's example, studied in Parma, led the artist to an exciting and openly anticlassical expression. This created an impasse that Annibale over-



FIG. 1 The Assumption of the Virgin, 1587, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden

came through the study of Venetian painting. Compared with the gathering of turbaned and almost angry apostles in this altarpiece, above whom the assumed Virgin hovers heavily like a boat adrift, the small *Assumption* of the Prado<sup>4</sup> would represent, a short time later, the arrival at the more Olympian and serenely expressive world of Paolo Veronese.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chatsworth *modello*, the authorship of which has been questioned, is marked by an abnormal expressive tension, which Annibale underlined by resorting to a highly chromatic finish. Over an unusually nervous drawing in pen, he laid in layers of color and white lead to confer on the image a strong pictorial impact. The result seems very convincing, as evidenced by the careful disposition of the planes into depth and the superb brilliance of the lighting effects.

In these same years, Ludovico, significantly, resorted to an identical technique for the *bozzetto* of the *Conversion of Saint Paul* of 1587 (British Museum, inv. 1895-9-15-748).<sup>5</sup> Around 1590, Agostino also used a similar technique for the *modello* for *The Battle between the Romans and the Sabines* in the Palazzo Magnani (Chatsworth, inv. 661A).<sup>6</sup> Using the same technique, Annibale produced the *modello* for the *Ludi Lupercali* in the Palazzo Magnani (see Cat. 17) and another for the *Coronation of the Virgin* (see Cat. 62) in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, although there the expressive intention seems quite different. Whichever of these cousins arrived first on this field, it is evident that it was their example that prepared the way for Pietro Facini who, after having departed polemically from the Accademia degli Incamminati, adopted this technique in a systematic way. DB

### PROVENANCE

Sir Peter Lely (Lugt 2092); William, 2d duke of Devonshire (Lugt 718); Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, inv. 420

### EXHIBITIONS

Pittsburgh and tour 1987–1988, no. 17; London 1992, no. 14; London 1993–1994, no. 30

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Richardson 1722, 343; Waagen 1854, 3: 358; *The Athenaeum*, no. 2447 (19 September 1874), 387; Posner 1971, 2: under no. 40 (as Carracci follower); Boschloo 1974, 1: 14, pl. 17; Jaffé 1994, no. 480; Loisel Legrand 1997b, 47, n. 3; Robertson 1997, 37, n. 26 (as Annibale, with doubts)

### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, 2: no. 40.
2. A copy of the present *modello* in nearly identical dimensions is in the Christ Church Museum, Oxford, inv. 1366 (see Byam Shaw 1976, no. 946).
3. Posner 1971, 2: no. 31. For the subsequent fortunes of this painting, which arrived in San Prospero only in 1616 following its donation by Turno Fontanella, see Pirondini and Monducci 1985, 192, 262–263.
4. Posner 1971, 2: no. 39, who placed it, in my opinion incorrectly, before the Dresden painting.
5. Reproduced in Benati et al. 1991, no. 2.1.
6. Jaffé 1994, no. 479, as Annibale. There is a copy after an analogous *bozzetto* by Annibale for the *Madonna of Saint Matthew*, once in Dresden, now lost, in the Uffizi, inv. 18684 F.

# I3

## Baldassare Aloisi, called “Galanino”

1589–1590; red chalk and touches  
of white on beige paper; 349 x 262  
(13  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 10  $\frac{5}{16}$ )

Inscribed in red chalk at upper left:  
Baldassar A[illeg.]isi.../Bolo-  
gnese/AEtatis Anno/12 and at upper  
right: Annibale Car/In Bol.../159  
(circled) (the 9 seems to have been  
altered or reinforced)

KUPFERSTICKKABINETT,  
STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU  
BERLIN

THE ANNOTATION, PROBABLY WRITTEN by Annibale himself, identifies the model as the painter Baldassare Aloisi Galanino, born on 12 October 1577 in Bologna.<sup>1</sup> He was a distant cousin of Annibale's and, according to Malvasia, his parents accepted his inclination for painting by sending him to serve an apprenticeship with the Carracci. Although the date inscribed on the sheet has been retouched, the young man was indeed twelve years old in 1589–1590.

The monumentality of the portrait and the care taken in finishing the clothing indicate that this drawing was likely a commission from his parents or a present from the artist. Against the hatched background, the face stands out in clear relief, and the textures of the hair and the eyelashes are carefully detailed through the handling of the red chalk. The model is visibly “posed,” and his look seems lost in the void.

In spite of surface abrasion, this drawing occupies a place in the forefront of Annibale's oeuvre, an outstanding work by an artist who evidently preferred to use red chalk for his portraits of the 1580s. This sheet shares a considerable kinship with the *Profile Portrait of a Boy* in the Uffizi (Cat. 10) as well as the drawing of the *Semi-Nude Youth* (Cat. 11) in Chatsworth. Later on the artist would vary his techniques, but there are no identified portraits by him in red and black chalk, as there is by Ludovico in the preparatory drawing for the *Portrait of Filippo Turrini* in Christ Church.<sup>2</sup> CLL

### PROVENANCE

Adolf von Beckerath; acquired in 1902 by the Kupferstichkabinett, inv. kdZ 5873

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 219

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnolds 1949, 62 ff, fig. 40; Posner 1971, 2: 13, under no. 25; Loisel Legrand 1997b, 45, fig. 86

### NOTES

1. Birth certificate published in Landolfi 1995, 75.
2. The drawing will be discussed in a forthcoming article by this author. The painting is reproduced in Posner 1971, 2: pl. 26.





# I4

## Man with a Monkey

c. 1589–1591; red chalk on beige paper, cut at upper left corner and left side, laid down; 176 x 179 (6<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

Inscribed on the mount in pen and brown ink at lower center: Hannibale Caratio; numbered in pen and black ink at lower right: 115-WVO, and below that in graphite: 64

THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
LONDON

THIS SHEET OF STUDIES IS DIRECTLY linked to the small painting in the Uffizi, *Man with a Monkey*, datable to 1590–1591<sup>1</sup> or slightly earlier (fig. 1). A comparison of the style of the drawing with the *Study of a Dog* in the British Museum, which seems to have been used, in reverse, for one of the dogs in the painting of *Venus and Adonis* in the Prado,<sup>2</sup> points up the particular care used by Annibale in the detailed treatment of the animals' fur.

Contrary to what has been written about this sheet, there is no humorous or caricatural intention on the part of the artist. The man and his pet are observed with equal attention, without hierarchy, and in a spirit of profound sympathy that seems to have marked Annibale's connection with the animal world. The monkey has long symbolized the vices, particularly luxury and folly, but it was often chosen also as a motif by artists familiar with princely menageries and by those interested in exoticism, such as Goltzius.<sup>3</sup> Here, however, it is not the oddness that interests Annibale, but rather the relationship between the man and the monkey, which is emphasized by the parallelism between the two heads, seen in profile. In choosing to present the man full face in the painting, the artist conformed to a more conventional allegorical schema.

The drawing was likely executed from nature, and this is probably a street scene showing an entertainer with his monkey. CLL

### PROVENANCE

Hans Sloane; purchased by the British government, 1753; British Museum, inv. Ff. 2–115

### EXHIBITIONS

Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 64

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Passavant 1836, 109; Hake 1922, 340; Mahon 1957, 278, fig. 9; Posner 1971, 2: 26, under no. 58, pl. no. 58b

### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, 2: no. 58.
2. Inv. Pp. 3–18; repr. Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 92.
3. See, for example, Goltzius' drawing of a monkey in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, inv. 188A 1510 (Reznicek 1993, fig. 60).



FIG. 1 Man with a Monkey, c. 1590–1591, Uffizi, Florence



# 15

## Head of a Boy

c. 1585–1590; black chalk on reddish brown paper, laid down; 316 x 252 (12 7/16 x 9 15/16), including a 2 cm horizontal strip added at the top

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

AMONG THE DRAWINGS THAT ANNIBALE Carracci devoted to the theme of childhood, this sheet stands out for its immediacy and truth. Judging from his clothing, this child appears to be from a wealthy family. He is captured as he curiously turns his head, as if, weary of posing, he suddenly directs his attention to something the viewer does not see. Through the intent gaze and the parted lips Annibale succeeds in expressing in truly affecting terms the boy's fleeting concentration and his eagerness to be absorbed by something new. Nothing identifies the model, but the frankness of the portrayal suggests he is someone known to the artist, perhaps the son of a friend.

In addition to the *Profile Portrait of a Boy* (Cat. 10), other drawings of children executed by Annibale in the course of the 1580s are recorded, including one in the Uffizi (inv. 1539 F.)<sup>1</sup> and another in the Louvre (inv. 7383). Based on these sheets, other portraits of children have been attributed, erroneously, to Annibale. Indeed, I believe that the *Two Children* in the Louvre (inv. 7378) belongs to Ludovico,<sup>2</sup> while *Two Studies of a Boy and Two of a Girl* in the Metropolitan Museum, New

York (inv. 1972.133.3), is very probably the work of a French artist of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to say if drawings like this one were anything more than private exercises. It is not very likely that they served as studies for portraits in oil or were commissioned by clients who wanted to record the likenesses of their children. In this drawing, the pose is certainly not canonical for a portrait; moreover, unlike an oil painting, a drawing on paper does not easily lend itself to being hung in one's house. Nevertheless, numerous sheets of this kind exist, all of large dimensions, in which Annibale composed an extraordinary gallery of types and physiognomies, always studied with compassion. The main aim of this set was probably as a touchstone for measuring the psychological reality of figures appearing in the paintings.

Though stated with some uncertainty, the exhibited drawing can be dated to the second half of the 1580s. DB

### PROVENANCE

Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 1852, twice, and Mariette's mount) (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, probably part of no. 291: "Quatre autres têtes, idem., de sa famille"); acquired by Lempereur for the king's collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7376

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1927, no. 13; Bologna 1956, no. 215; Paris 1961, no. 90; Paris 1967, no. 29; Tokyo 1991, no. 89

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bacou 1968, no. 75; Roli 1969, no. 10; Boschloo 1974, I: 33, 80, 197, n. 28, 214, n. 16, and 2: fig. 118; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, 132, no. XII

### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, 2: fig. 25.
2. Paris 1994, no. 43. Already in 1956, Mahon (in Bologna 1956, no. 214) called this Annibale "evidently under the influence of Ludovico," who is also referred to in an old French inscription.
3. Bean 1979, no. 97.





# 16

## Romulus and Remus Nursed by the She-Wolf

1589–1590; pen and brown ink with brown and gray-brown wash with retouches in pen and black ink, on beige paper; 238 x 340 (9 3/8 x 13 3/8)

Inscribed in graphite at lower right: anibal

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

THIS IS A MODELLO FOR THE FIRST panel of the *Story of Romulus*, the frieze executed by the Carracci in the Palazzo Magnani in Bologna around 1590 (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The episode is recounted in Plutarch's *Vitae parallelae* and tells of the twins Romulus and Remus, whom Amulius had ordered a shepherd to put to death. The shepherd, however, abandoned them in the woods, where they were nursed by a she-wolf and protected by a woodpecker. Saved in this way and having thus grown up, the two twins would kill Amulius, and Romulus would found the city of Rome.

Though rather close in total effect to the final painting, the Louvre drawing presents variants in all of the figures of the episode: the wolf, which in the fresco stands up, is here crouched over a large basket; the woodpecker flies down from the tree instead of beating his wings in the foreground; and the shepherd Faustulus is positioned closer to the principal group.

According to Malvasia, if anyone asked who was responsible for this undertaking, the Carracci would respond, *Ell'è de' Carracci*:

*l'abbiam fatta tutti noi* ("It is by the Carracci; we all made it").<sup>2</sup> Scholars then began rather quickly to question this response in order to distinguish the separate hands, starting with Malvasia himself who, while reporting their answer and leaving uncertain the authorship of the other panels, identifies Annibale as the author of *Romulus and Remus Nursed by the She-Wolf*. In recent years, distinguishing the hands has proceeded steadily and scholars are in general agreement about the various attributions. Major doubts, however, concern that same first panel, for which, rejecting Malvasia's opinion, Ludovico has also been proposed as the author.<sup>3</sup> This is, in effect, the most surprising panel of the entire cycle because of the predominance of the landscape, which becomes, for the first time, a protagonist in the story. That causes notable difficulty in making comparisons with the others, in which the characters of the individual Carracci emerge more explicitly.

On the other hand, Annibale's authorship of the Louvre *modello* has never been doubted.

### PROVENANCE

Unidentified collector (stamp in black ink: CFC surmounted by a crown, different from Lugt 1149); Cardinal Paolo Coccapani (d. 1650); Alfonso IV d'Este, Modena (1634–1662); seized in 1796 from the Este collection, Modena; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1886), inv. 7535

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 95; Paris 1961, no. 27; Paris 1965, no. 134; Rome 1972–1973, no. 149; Paris 1978–1979, no. 14; Paris 1994, no. 48

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jaffé 1956a, 394, fig. 6; Volpe 1962, 7–8; Posner 1971, 2: under no. 52, fig. 52k; Boschloo 1974, 27, fig. 84; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, under no. 49, repr.; Grassi 1984, 210–211; Brogi 1985, 242, fig. 5; Ottani Cavina 1988, 28 ff, fig. 6; Stanzani in Emiliani 1989, 177, fig. CXXIII; Weston-Lewis 1994, 714; Loisel Legrand 1997b, 44, fig. 82



FIG. 1 Romulus and Remus Nursed by the She-Wolf, c. 1590, Palazzo Magnani, Bologna

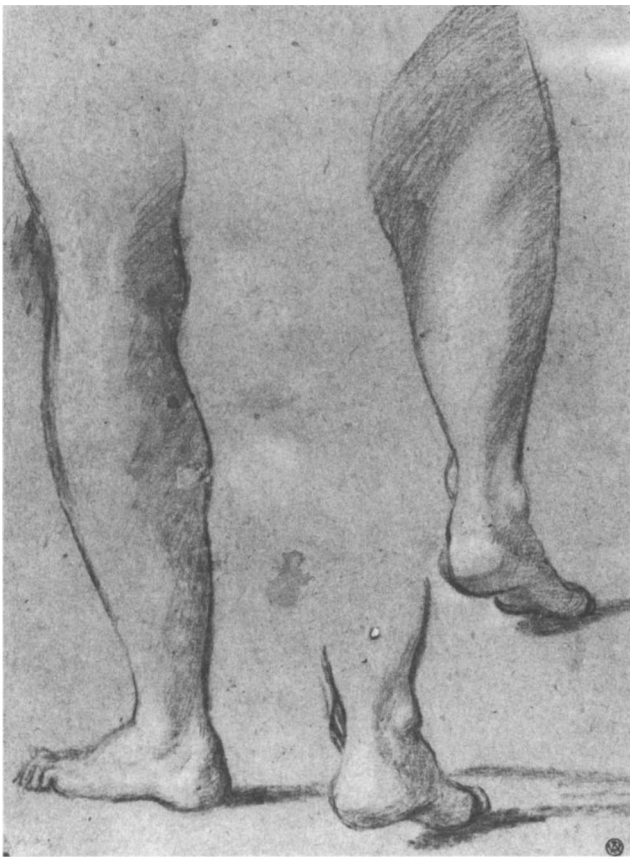


FIG. 2 Study of Legs, c. 1590, Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris

Even when the fresco was attributed to his cousin, it was thought that the first idea came from Annibale and that Ludovico then changed it according to his own taste, reducing the figure of Faustulus and studying the position of the wolf in a second drawing (Venice, Fondazione Cini).<sup>4</sup> The relationship between the Louvre drawing and the fresco, however, seems rather more direct and it is now perceived that the drawing in Venice is actually a later derivation (in my opinion by Filippo Pedrini), and that the change in scale of the shepherd was achieved directly in the course of the work (the outline of the original figure can be detected on the fresco, covered over by a layer of color).<sup>5</sup> The isolation of the wolf in the foreground, no less than her more monumental position, was preferable because it conferred on the scene a greater symbolic value.<sup>6</sup>

Other drawings that were unknown to scholars until now were instrumental in the evolution of the work: the twin hidden by the muzzle of the wolf appears in a drawing that was recently on the art market as the work of Faccini,<sup>7</sup> and the legs of Faustulus are on a sheet in the Institut Néerlandais in Paris (fig. 2).<sup>8</sup>

The attribution of the drawing should, however, be discussed as much in relation to the fresco as to this small nucleus of detail drawings. Even with the doubts that accompany all the early productions of the Carracci, one can still assign this work to Annibale. The affinities between the Louvre drawing and the *modelli* for the rooms of Europa and Jason in the Palazzo Fava, even though painted six or seven years earlier (Cat. 5), will be evident in this exhibition. The return to the pen and wash technique confers on the drawing an airy character that prepares the way for the vividness of the fresco, where the landscape is imbued with the same realism as that advanced by Annibale in a contemporary painting, the *River Landscape* in the National Gallery in Washington.<sup>9</sup> DB

#### NOTES

1. Volpe 1972/1976, n.p.
2. Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 287.
3. Arcangeli 1956, 45–46; Mahon in Bologna 1956 was the first to consider the fresco as a collaborative work between Annibale (author of the landscape) and Ludovico (author of the wolf).
4. Inv. 36.118. See Volpe 1962, 8; Brogi 1985, fig. 6.
5. Ottani Cavina 1988.
6. Stanzani in Emiliani 1989, 178.
7. Sale, London, Christie's, 2 July 1991, no. 103. See Negro and Roio 1997, fig. 14.
8. Inv. 4434. See Byam Shaw 1983, no. 325, who attributes the sheet to Annibale but without noting this relationship.
9. Posner 1971, 2: no. 50. The landscape of *Romulus and Remus Nursed by the She-Wolf* appears in effect rather more similar to the landscape inserts in the other panels by Annibale (*Remus Putting the Cattle Thieves to Flight*, *Romulus Marks the Boundaries of Rome*), but not to those of Ludovico, which are almost irrelevant.

# I7

## The Lupercalian Games

*c. 1590–1592; pen and brown ink with brown wash, heightened with white gouache over a few faint traces of black chalk on paper washed brown; 319 x 265 (12 5/16 x 10 7/16)*

*Illegibly inscribed at lower left in pen and brown ink, and inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right: 15*

THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
LONDON

THE DECORATION OF THE SALON OF the Palazzo Magnani, which contained the frieze of the *Story of Romulus*, ended at the chimney, which was inscribed with the date 1592.<sup>1</sup> There was depicted the scene of the *ludi lupercali* (Lupercalian Games; fig. 1), or the feast—described by Plutarch at the end of his *Life of Romulus*<sup>2</sup>—during which the Romans commemorated the abandonment of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf who nursed them. Compared to the fresco, this drawing proposes a different solution, but one that is closer to the passage in Plutarch. In the course of the festivities, after sacrificing some animals, including a dog, the priests, called *luperci*, touched the bloody knife to the foreheads of two noble youths, whom others quickly cleansed with woolen rags soaked in milk. The priests then ran through the city striking those who got in their way with belts of goat's hide. “Young married women, especially,” concludes Plutarch, “did not pull away from the lashes, believing that they promoted con-

ception and facilitated childbirth.” The drawing in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> shows a smiling woman who welcomes the fertilizing lash of the priest, who is covered only with a wolf-skin. At center is the altar for the sacrifice, on which a dog is easily distinguishable, and at right stands a youth whose brow has just been cleansed of blood by two friends, all of them nude.

In the final version, this last detail would be eliminated and, moved to the right of the altar, the whole scene would be occupied by the young married woman who happily receives the beneficent lash. The woman running with her arm raised and turning her head backwards is moved behind the altar. Another drawing in the Louvre (fig. 2) proposes a solution that is closer to the final version, except for the background, which is occupied by a wooded landscape, but these variants could also be attributed to the “restorer” who intervened on the page with ponderous little touches of lead white.<sup>4</sup>

### PROVENANCE

Pierre Crozat? (according to Turner 1995, the numbering at lower right appears to be characteristic of his collection); Richard Payne Knight; bequeathed by him to the British Museum, 1824; Trustees of the British Museum, London, inv. Pp. 4–53

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Turner 1995, 609–610, fig. 38;  
Loisel Legrand 1997b, 46, 48, n. 3



FIG. 1 Ludi Lupercali, c. 1592, Palazzo Magnani, Bologna





FIG. 2 Young Man and Woman Running in a Landscape (Ludi Lupercali), c. 1590–1592, Musée du Louvre

The authorship of the painting above the fireplace has almost always been doubted by scholars, who have preferred to attribute the execution to an apprentice of the Carracci working from the drawing by Annibale. It seems to me, however, that even considering the poor condition of the fresco, Annibale's authorship in 1592 still stands out very evidently.<sup>5</sup>

The British Museum drawing constitutes excellent evidence of the progressive elaboration to which the Carracci submitted their inventions, probably with the agreement of their patron, until in the end they achieved a plainly legible result. It is significant that in this case Annibale had eliminated the cleansing of blood from the youth's forehead, a detail that could appear to be too erudite and therefore incomprehensible to the visitors to the Magnani house, and had preferred to privilege the playful moment of the follow-up and the lashing inflicted on the young woman. The augural motto *Ut iucunda sic foecunda* ("as she is pleasing, so is she fertile"), marked on the base of the altar, acquires in this way a deeper meaning.

Here, as will be seen again in the Farnese Gallery, the pagan world is already revisited by Annibale, who paid particular attention to its more cheerful and natural aspects. In their emphasis on an innocent and natural sense of sensuality, these seem to argue with the repressive attitude of the contemporary Counter-Reformation church.

From the technical point of view, the drawing presented here is characterized by extraordinary speed and expression. The impetuous manner of conceiving the image directly in pen and emphasizing it through richly chromatic finishing touches with the brush calls to mind again the *modello* for the *Assumption* in Dresden (Cat. 12). DB

#### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, 2: no. 52, fig. 52p (as assistant of Annibale Carracci).
2. *Vitae parallelae*, Romolo, 21.
3. Formerly attributed to Simon Vouet, it was recognized as the work of Annibale Carracci by Nicholas Turner. See Turner 1995.
4. See Paris 1961, no. 28, pl. v; Brogi 1985, fig. 44; Turner 1995, fig. 40. On the insidious nature of the retouching, see Loisel Legrand 1997b, 48, n. 3.
5. The recent restoration (1989) removed the coarser repainting, but was not able to undo the old wearing of the surface. For a reproduction in its present state, see Emiliani 1989, pl. 11.



## 18

## Portrait of a Boy

c. 1590; black chalk heightened with white on blue-gray paper, laid down; 379 x 249 (14 15/16 x 9 13/16)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II



FIG. 1 Portrait of a Boy, c. 1590, Windsor, The Royal Collection © 1999 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

THIS EXTRAORDINARY PORTRAIT HAS a long history in which it is considered to be a youthful self-portrait by Annibale Carracci.<sup>1</sup> Even recently, as Annibale's authorship has been questioned in favor of Ludovico's, the sheet is still thought to represent Annibale at a very young age.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, it is precisely from this point—the sitter's identity—that we must depart. If this truly were Annibale, his apparent age of no more than sixteen or seventeen would exclude the self-portrait theory. At the same time, it is very difficult to believe that drawings executed by Ludovico around 1576–1577, none of which is actually known, would have such power. Indeed, nothing ensures that this melancholy boy with the light-colored eyes<sup>3</sup> is Annibale, as he is known through such later images as the *Self-Portrait* in the Pinacoteca in Parma, dated 1593, and the *Self-Portrait on an Easel* from the Roman years, now in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (see Cat. 88).<sup>4</sup> Without detailing other discrepancies that could be put down to differences in age, it is worth noting that the painter seems to have always portrayed himself with piercing dark eyes.

Once the idea that this sheet is a self-portrait is discounted, the drawing can then be inserted into that remarkable sequence of studies of the human countenance to which all three Carracci would give life as they attempted to master in an ever more attentive way psychological expressions and attitudes. These consist, for the most part, of faces without names (an exception being the sheet in Berlin, dated 1590, on which Annibale inscribed the name of his apprentice, Baldassare Aloisi; Cat. 13), that is, of men, women, and children who constitute, in effect, a tour through their friendships and their everyday milieu. The idea that such sheets had a function other than that of a personal exercise should be rejected, even if

the Carracci may now and then have given them to the people who had posed for them. Assigning these sheets to the individual Carracci constitutes a particularly difficult operation, given the requirement, proper to “portraiture,” that the artist adhere to the physiognomic features of the people portrayed. That is why conclusions reached by scholars from time to time vary greatly.

The predominant stylistic character that emerges from this drawing is strongly Tintorettesque, which is evident in the use of the dense chalk, in the modeling power of the gently undulating contour, in the very representation from above that obliges the boy to raise his eyes. Thanks to these characteristics the face exhibits a plastic force that seems to present the “Roman” ideal of the figures in the *Story of Romulus* in the Palazzo Magnani.

From these considerations a dating of around 1590 is deduced for the drawing, rather later than the date of 1583 or 1584 (or even earlier) that has been maintained until now. Thus also is confirmed the authorship of Annibale, to whose *Polyphemus* for the Palazzo Fava (Cat. 20), known for its especially vehement use of the black chalk, the drawing can be compared. To this same period belongs the *Portrait of a Boy*, also at Windsor (fig. 1), which is sometimes considered to be by Agostino. On the other hand, comparison with the study for the *Term* in the Palazzo Fava, correctly attributed to Ludovico (Windsor Castle, inv. 2082)<sup>5</sup> and recently used to confirm a common attribution to Ludovico,<sup>6</sup> appears significantly different in the greater firmness of the contour and in the rather less virtuoso and pleasing *ductus*. DB

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 77); Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 2254

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1950–1951, no. 449; Bologna 1956, no. 212; Cambridge 1959, no. 19; London 1964, no. 112; London 1974–1975, no. 56

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chamberlaine 1812, no. 18; Wittkower 1952, no. 360, pl. 43; Pepper 1973, 130, fig. 12; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, 83, repr.; Sutherland Harris 1994, 71–73, pl. 29 (as Ludovico); Loisel Legrand 1997b, 45; Robertson 1997, 7, fig. 9; Sassuolo 1998, under no. 54

## NOTES

1. Mahon in Bologna 1956 is the only one to have indicated some doubt about this identification.
2. Sutherland Harris 1994 believes that Annibale here is eighteen to twenty years old and consequently attributes the drawing to Ludovico around 1578.
3. I owe the observation of this detail, which is easily perceptible even though the drawing is executed in black chalk, to Alessandro Brogi.
4. Posner 1971, 2: nos. 75, 143.
5. Wittkower 1952, no. 3, fig. 1.
6. Sutherland Harris 1994, 72. The exhibited drawing has been described as having been executed in oiled black chalk, a medium that Sutherland Harris claims Annibale never used but which Ludovico did (thus, its use here would militate in favor of the attribution to Ludovico), but a recent examination in the conservation lab at Windsor Castle established that it was executed in ordinary black chalk that has *not* been oiled.





# I9

## Saint John the Evangelist

1590–1592; black chalk heightened  
with white gouache on cream paper  
(watermark: profile head in a circle,  
similar to Heawood 2605 and Briquet  
15658); 338 x 238 (13 5/16 x 9 3/8)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink  
at lower right: 44 altered to 419 by  
another hand using a lighter ink

STAATLICHE GRAPHISCHE  
SAMMLUNG, MUNICH

THIS IMPRESSIVE SHEET WAS LONG considered the work of Titian until its identification by Lauke, and comparison with the drawings by the Venetian, notably the *Study for Saint Bernardino* and *A Helmet* in the Uffizi,<sup>1</sup> clearly demonstrates a technical affiliation with this drawing. As much as to Titian's technique, it is to the spirit of his creations that Annibale refers in this search for monumentality in drapery sculpted by contrasts of light and shade. The artist's trips to Venice are attested to by Malvasia and Bellori, and by Annibale's manuscript notations in the *Vite* of Vasari.<sup>2</sup> If the two letters of April 1580, sent from Parma to Ludovico by Annibale and published by Malvasia, are to be believed, the first trip would have dated from this youthful period. However, the effects of the trip to Venice do not really become noticeable until 1588, when they are seen in the landscape in the background of *The Madonna of Saint Matthew* in Dresden and in the *Pastoral Landscape* drawing in Berlin, which is clearly inspired by the Arcadian landscapes of Titian and Campagnola.<sup>3</sup> But it is not until the early 1590s that the use of black chalk on blue paper appears on a grand scale in Annibale's oeuvre with the studies for the *Madonna of San Ludovico* (Cats. 21, 22). Agostino, who used this technique in the Windsor drawing made in preparation for the fresco of *The Triumph of Romulus*, in the Palazzo Magnani,<sup>4</sup> probably played a role as experimenter after his long stay in Venice in 1588–1589, during the course of which he made engravings after Tintoretto, notably the great *Crucifixion*.<sup>5</sup>



FIG. 1 Madonna of Saint Luke, 1592, Musée du Louvre

The drawing of *Saint John the Evangelist* is a direct study for the pose of the figure in the upper part of the painting of the *Madonna of Saint Luke*, now in the Louvre (fig. 1). In the final version of the painting, the sumptuous drapery that gives strength to the drawing would be hidden behind a cloud, probably to give preeminence to the ample drapery of the Virgin, who occupies the foreground.

The painting was commissioned in 1590 by the Collegio dei Notari for their chapel in the cathedral of Reggio Emilia and finished in 1592. According to Malvasia, the artist complained that he was badly treated by the financial arrangements of the notaries in Reggio, who agreed to reimburse him for the canvas and to give him a supplementary amount of twenty-five scudi. CLL

### PROVENANCE

Probably Pierre Crozat (his number at lower right?); in the old holdings of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. 2846 (old 419)

### EXHIBITIONS

Munich 1967, no. 22, pl. 57;  
Munich 1977, no. 23

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gernsheim and Lauke 1956, 7;  
Posner 1971, 2: 29, under no. 67,  
pl. 67b

### NOTES

1. Wethey 1987, nos. 14 and 10.
2. Perini 1990.
3. kdz 17599 recto; Loisel Legrand 1997b, fig. 70.
4. Wittkower 1952, no. 275.
5. De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, no. 147.

# 20

## Polyphemus

early 1590s; black chalk with traces of white heightening on blue-gray paper, laid down; 424 x 352 (16 11/16 x 13 7/8)

GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI,  
GABINETTO DISEGNI  
E STAMPE, FLORENCE

THE DRAWING IS RELATED TO THE mythical one-eyed giant in the fresco of *Polyphemus Attacking the Trojan Fleet* (fig. 1), the frieze that decorates the first of four rooms dedicated to the *Aeneid* in the Palazzo Fava in Bologna. In the third book of the poem, Virgil describes the encounter between the Trojan refugees and the Cyclops, who had earlier been blinded by Ulysses.

The decoration of this room took place in a stage of the work that clearly came after that executed for Filippo Fava in 1583–1584, to which belong the rooms of Europa and Jason (see Cats. 4, 5). Scholars have long discussed at which point in the chronology such new works could have been inserted, whether still in the 1580s or somewhat later. After they completed this room, the Carracci allowed the project to be entrusted to their own apprentices—prominent among them Francesco Albani—and to Bartolomeo Cesi, whose participation is securely documented to 1598, so it is likely that the start of the undertaking can be dated to the beginning of the 1590s.

Still, the presence of Annibale, recorded by Bellori and Malvasia, has sometimes been placed in doubt. However, even in the state of extreme ruin that marks the frescoes in this room, the authorship of the youngest Carracci can still be recognized in three compartments. That is confirmed in the account of Malvasia,

according to whom Annibale would have executed “three pieces” (*tre pezzi*) of the cycle. (It is unlikely that this would have been done without the knowledge of the patron, who had entrusted the entire job to Ludovico alone.)

The style of execution of the frescoes of *Polyphemus Attacking the Trojan Fleet*, *Harpies Defiling the Feast*, and *Arrival in Italy* approaches that of works executed by Annibale in the first years of the 1590s, such as, for example, the chimney of the Palazzo Magnani (1592) and the *Resurrection* that was formerly in the Casa Angelelli and is now in the Louvre. From this last, they repeat in particular the graceful *barocchetto* cadence, both in the neomannerist attenuation of the figures and in the expressive fluttering of the draperies.

As Johnston noted, the final indications in this direction indeed derived from the Uffizi drawing, which is marked by a strong *Tintoretismo* that returns again in the study from Budapest for *The Alms of Saint Roch* (Cat. 26). The power of the figure, caught in a violent torsion, and the relief established by light effects, imply a close study of Tintoretto’s Venetian works. In addition, the employment of black chalk, the use of colored paper, and the undulation of the contour line can also make one think that Annibale had direct knowledge of the drawings of the Venetian artist.

The presence of these characteristics excludes for this extraordinary sheet the authorship of Ludovico, whose name has recently been advanced: a marked interest in Tintoretto has never thus far been found in his drawings. Likewise, comparison with a drawing executed by Agostino in these years, the *Kneeling Shepherd* in the Louvre (inv. 7359), preparatory for the *Nativity* in the Bolognese church of Santa Maria della Pioggia, yields interesting results for understanding how the imagination of Annibale was marked, even in these years of shared infatuation with Venetian painting, by a greater freedom of outline and a greater degree of fantasy. DB

### PROVENANCE

Houses of Medici and Lorraine; Galleria degli Uffizi (Lugt 930), inv. 12316 F

### EXHIBITIONS

Florence 1922, 504; Bologna 1947; Bologna 1956, no. 88, pl. 29; Florence 1973, no. 37; Florence 1976, no. 84; Bologna 1984, no. 135

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bodmer 1939, 118; Wittkower 1952, 138; Ottani 1966, 67, pl. 61; Byam Shaw 1968, 256; Posner 1971, 2: under no. 30, fig. 30a; Petrioli Tofani 1972, no. 73; Sutherland Harris 1973, 161, no. 6; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, under no. 16 L, repr.; Loisel Legrand 1997b, 48, n. 3



FIG. 1 Polyphemus Attacking the Trojan Fleet, early 1590s, Palazzo Fava, Bologna





## 21

### A Kneeling Monk

c. 1590–1592; black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, laid down, cut diagonally along the bottom and made up; 387 x 232 (15 1/4 x 9 1/8)

Inscribed in black chalk at lower right: Anibal Carache; numbered in pen and black ink at lower right: 14

KUPFERSTICKKABINETT,  
STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU  
BERLIN

THIS AND THE FOLLOWING DRAWING (Cat. 22) are preparatory studies for the *Madonna and Child in Glory with Six Saints*, also known as the San Ludovico altarpiece, painted for the church of Santi Ludovico e Alessio in Bologna (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> This one is a study of the clothing worn by Saint Louis of Toulouse and shows Annibale exploring a different iconographic idea from the one he chose for the painting. There the alb he wears is placed in a more open position, allowing it to play a considerable role in the lighting of the scene.

The painting has been variously dated to 1587–1588, by Mahon and Posner, and about 1590, by Boschloo.<sup>2</sup> The marvelously Venetian character of the chromaticism and the importance of the landscape place it, in fact, between *The Madonna of Saint Matthew*, in Dresden, signed in 1588, and *The Assumption of the Virgin*, in San Francesco da Bologna, dated 1592. This drawing and Cat. 22, together with a study for the hands of Saint Alexis in Besançon (inv. D1482), suggest a date on the late side; all were executed in black chalk on blue paper, which Annibale began to use more intensively toward the beginning of the 1590s and quite significantly in preparatory studies of 1592 and 1593 for the *Virgin with Saints John and Catherine* and *The Alms of Saint Roch*. The crumbly quality of the black chalk and the material



FIG. 1 *Madonna and Child in Glory with Six Saints*, c. 1591–1592, *Pinacoteca Nazionale*, Bologna

effects correspond to this truly “Titianesque” moment in Annibale’s career, which culminates with the Munich sheet (Cat. 19), and clearly contrasts with the more precise definition of the contours and the rather overly refined red chalk drawing in the British Museum for Saint John the Baptist in *The Madonna of Saint Matthew*.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the *sfumato* in the shaded areas combined with the energy of the execution approach the *Polyphemus* in the Uffizi (Cat. 20), a study for a fresco in the Palazzo Fava of the 1590s. CLL

#### PROVENANCE

Pacetti collection (Lugt 2057);  
Königliches Kupferstichkabinett  
in the nineteenth century (Lugt  
1632); Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,  
Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupfer-  
stichkabinett, inv. 16321

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Posner 1971, 2: 20, under no. 41,  
pl. 41d; Bologna 1984, 184, under  
no. 127; Paris 1994, 73, under no. 45

#### NOTES

1. The painting has been in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna since 1797, when the convent was suppressed.
2. See Mahon in Bologna 1956, no. 206; Posner 1971, 2: no. 41; Boschloo 1974, 17–19; Ottani Cavina in Bologna-Washington-New York 1986–1987, no. 94.
3. Repr. in Boschloo 1974, fig. 20.



# 22

## Head of a Smiling Young Man

*c. 1590–1592; black chalk on gray-blue paper with added strips at top and bottom, laid down; 310 x 240 (12 3/16 x 9 1/16), with additions, 358 x 240 (14 1/16 x 9 7/16)*

*Inscribed in pen and brown ink at top: 76*

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

THIS DRAWING OF A SMILING YOUNG man, long considered a study for a faun in the Farnese Gallery, was brilliantly connected by Aidan Weston-Lewis with the youthful face of Saint John the Baptist in the San Ludovico altarpiece (see Cat. 21).<sup>1</sup> The young saint's face, without the beard, is represented in a preparatory drawing in the Louvre (inv. 7154), which is very worn and retouched but can nevertheless be considered an original work.

Like the preceding drawing, this one belongs to Annibale's most Venetian moment, when he began to use regularly black and white chalk on blue paper in a manner that reflected his intimate knowledge of the works of both Titian and Tintoretto. The style places this drawing and others of this type (see Cat. 19) in the early years of the 1590s, just before the *Assumption of the Virgin* in San Francesco da Bologna, dated 1592.

Quite apart from the question of date, the smile of the young man in the Louvre drawing and the radiance of his physiognomy place it among the happiest creations of the artist, who chose to take it to Rome with him and then kept it in his studio. CLL

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Antoine Coypel; Charles-Antoine Coypel; bequeathed to the French royal collection, 1752; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7384

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 206, pl. 69; Paris 1961, no. 92; Paris 1988c, no. 39

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boschloo 1974, I: 33, 197, n. 28, 215, n. 18, and 2: fig. 119; Weston-Lewis 1994, 713; Loisel Legrand 1997a, 62 and n. 43

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### NOTES

1. Weston-Lewis 1994, 713, under no. 45.





## 23

Madonna and Child  
above Bologna

*c. 1592–1593; pen and black ink  
with gray wash on brown paper;  
267 x 185 (10 1/2 x 7 1/4)*

GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG  
ALBERTINA, VIENNA

ANNIBALE MADE THIS COMPOSITIONAL sketch, together with at least three other similar studies (figs. 1–3), in connection with his painting of *The Madonna and Child in Glory above Bologna*, executed for the chapel of the Palazzo Caprari in Bologna and now at Christ Church, Oxford (fig. 4).<sup>1</sup> The four drawings are essentially variations on the same theme, and because Annibale does not seem to have moved in a steady direction toward the final composition, the order in which they were made is difficult to determine.<sup>2</sup> The basic elements remain constant throughout—the Madonna holding the Christ child, supported by clouds and surrounded by angels, all hovering above a view of the city of Bologna—and the drawings are so close in execution that they must have been made within a very short period of time. Furthest removed from the final composition in almost every detail is the version formerly at Chatsworth (fig. 1):<sup>3</sup> the music-making angels, the somewhat prim, rather compact arrangement of the Virgin and her draperies, and the relative lack of specificity in the city view at the bottom—with little indication that it is supposed to be Bologna—suggest that this was the earliest in the group. The exhibited drawing, with a more simplified heavenly host but a more monumental Madonna, presented in relative isolation and in a pose that is quite close to the one used in the painting, would have come next. The celestial vision in the last two drawings is essentially that of the painting, though the poses of the Madonna and child and the view of Bologna are still in flux. Since both drawings share different details with the painting and neither one is definitive, the order in which they were made remains something of a toss-up. In any case, they were undoubtedly followed by at least one other study—and perhaps even more—in which the composition of the picture was finally determined.



FIGS. 1–3 The Madonna and Child above Bologna, *c. 1592–1593*, (top) formerly Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; (middle) Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna; (bottom) Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth

## PROVENANCE

Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 2097) (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, no. 296); Philippe Campion de Tersan; Moriz von Fries (Lugt 2903); Albert von Sachsen-Teschen; Albertina, Vienna (Lugt 174), inv. 2136

## EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 98

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wickhoff 1891–1892, no. 182; Stix and Spitzmüller 1941, no. 102; Bologna 1956 (Dipinti), 192, under no. 74; Byam Shaw 1967, 102, under no. 183; Koschatzky, Oberhuber, and Knab 1971, 55; Posner 1971, 2: 34, under no. 80, fig. 80c; sale cat., London, Christie's, 3 July 1984, under no. 7; Birke and Kertész 1994–1997, 2: 1121, inv. 2136



FIG. 4 The Madonna and Child above Bologna, c. 1593–1594, *The Governing Body*, Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford

The Oxford painting has generally been dated to 1593–1594 because of coloristic and compositional similarities with such paintings as *The Madonna Enthroned with Saints John the Evangelist and Catherine* (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), completed in 1593.<sup>4</sup> As far as the drawings are concerned, similarities in the character of the quick, wiry line and the canny touches of wash that create substantial yet animated forms in this drawing and in *The Apostles at the Tomb of the Virgin*, a study in the Louvre for *The Assumption of the Virgin*,<sup>5</sup> dated 1592 (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), suggest that Annibale's initial work on *The Madonna and Child above Bologna* may be placed around 1592–1593.

One of the most delightful aspects of all four studies for *The Madonna and Child above Bologna* is the view of the city that fills the bottom of each page. These are drawn with considerable variety, from the admirably delicate dots and dashes of the exhibited sheet to the remarkably free and fluid jotting in the ex-Chatsworth (fig. 1) drawing to the somewhat richer, more detailed treatment in the second Albertina study (fig. 2). Together, the four drawings give an unusually broad hint of Annibale's versatility in his handling of landscape. M M C

#### NOTES

1. The painting is mentioned by Bellori 1672, 27: "... per la Cappella di Casa Caprara [Annibale] dipinse la Madonna in gloria d'Angeli sopra la Città di Bologna veduta in lontananza."
2. By the order in which he catalogued the drawings, Mahon, in Bologna 1956, nos. 98–101, implied that the exhibited drawing came first, followed by the one formerly at Chatsworth, a second version in the Albertina, and one other still at Chatsworth. Posner 1971, 2: under no. 80, on the other hand, placed the ex-Chatsworth drawing first, the exhibited sheet second, the other Albertina study third, and the other Chatsworth version last. Arguments can be made in favor of both orders, but I am inclined to favor that of Posner.
3. The drawing was sold in London, Christie's, 3 July 1984, no. 7. Its present location is not known.
4. See Posner 1971, 2: no. 80.
5. Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, no. 49, where both the drawing and the painting are reproduced.





# 24

## The Lutenist Mascheroni

*c. 1593–1594; pen and brown ink  
on cream paper, laid down, the  
lower left corner cut and made up;  
188 x 126 (7 7/16 x 4 15/16)*

*Inscribed in pen and faint brown  
ink at upper left: 15*

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II



FIG. 1 Portrait of the Lutenist Mascheroni,  
*c. 1593–1594, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden*

THIS AND THE FOLLOWING DRAWING are related to the *Portrait of the Lutenist Mascheroni*, identified as such by Malvasia when the painting was in the ducal gallery in Modena (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> When the painting was sold to the elector of Saxony, it was included among the masterpieces destined for the Gallery in Dresden, where it now resides.<sup>2</sup>

Annibale executed many such studies of heads. The two exhibited drawings, shown together here as they were by Sir Denis Mahon in Bologna in 1956, present the unique advantage of being related to a painting, the date of which, 1593–1594, is accepted by most scholars. The portrait in Windsor, drawn with unequalled brio with an assured, broad-reed?—pen, certainly came first in the chronology, but already presents the characteristic features of the model, including his rather unprepossessing frown. Through its synthetic character and its revolutionary placement on the page—which one could almost describe as “japonizing”—the drawing occupies a singular position in the history of portrait drawings at the end of the sixteenth century. CLL

### PROVENANCE

King George III (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 77); Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 2277

### EXHIBITIONS

London 1950–1951, no. 440;  
Bologna 1956, no. 102; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 88, fig. xxii

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 132–133, no. 279, fig. 27; Detroit 1965, under no. 74; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 62; Posner 1971, 2: 32, under no. 76; Birke and Kertész 1994–1997, 4: 2471, under inv. 25606; Loisel Legrand 1997b, fig. 91; Modena 1998, 356, under no. 126

### NOTES

1. Malvasia 1678 (1841), 1: 359. In the nineteenth century, an alternate identification for the sitter was proposed—Giovanni Gabrielli, the actor—but Mahon 1947, 266, n. 50, properly challenged that.
2. Modena 1998, no. 126.



# 25

## The Lutenist Mascheroni

*c. 1593–1594; red chalk heightened  
with white chalk on reddish brown  
paper, the lower left corner slightly  
cut; 411 x 284 (16 3/16 x 11 3/16)*

*Inscribed in chalk at lower left:  
nibal Carracci del*

GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG  
ALBERTINA, VIENNA

MORE CONVENTIONAL THAN THE PEN study at Windsor of the bearded Mascheroni is the highly finished chalk drawing in Vienna, the last stage before the execution of the painting, and probably intended to serve as a reference for the artist in the absence of the model. The technique in very fine red chalk, applied carefully in cross-hatchings to define the face and more broadly for the clothing, is found in other drawings of this period, such as the *Portrait of a Young Man in Profile* in the Louvre, which was formerly in the collection of the d'Este family.<sup>1</sup> A literal copy of the Vienna drawing in the same medium is in the Louvre,<sup>2</sup> and its provenance back to the Jabach collection informs us incontestably that the exhibited drawing must originally have been kept by Everard Jabach at the time of the sale of his collection to King Louis XIV. The king's collection received only the copy, while the good drawing, like so many others, passed into the hands of Pierre Crozat after Jabach's death in 1696. CLL

### PROVENANCE

Everard Jabach; Pierre Crozat; Jean-Denis Lempereur; Friedrich Amerling (sale, Vienna, Dorotheum, 3–6 May 1916, no. 90); acquired in 1916 by Archduke Friedrich von Hapsburg-Lothringen and deposited at the Albertina (inv. 22013); withdrawn in 1919; reacquired by the Albertina in 1929, inv. 25606

### EXHIBITIONS

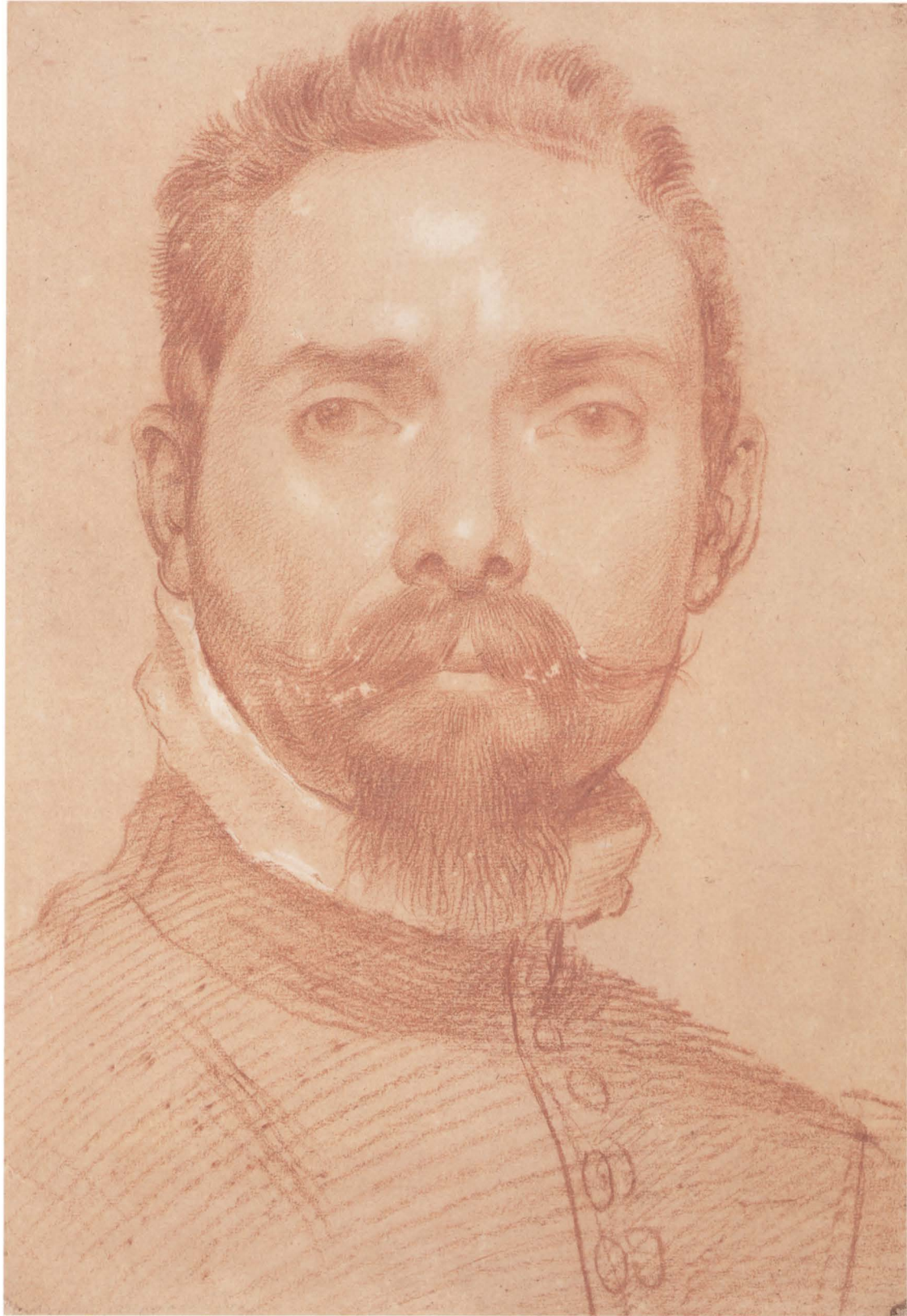
Vienna 1951, no. 141; Bologna 1956, no. 103; Paris and Vienna 1975, no. 64; Vienna and Dresden 1978, no. 31; Washington and New York 1984–1985, no. 57

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldass 1918, 1–2; Voss 1924, 490; Leporini 1925, 65; Stix and Spitzmüller 1941, no. 109; Wittkower 1952, 133, under no. 279; Benesch 1964, no. 46; Detroit 1965, under no. 74; Koschatzky, Oberhuber, and Knab 1971, no. 71; Posner 1971, 2: 32, under no. 76; Gealt in Bloomington and tour 1983–1984, 48, under no. 17, n. 6; Walther et al. 1987, 128, under inv. 308; Winkler 1989, 102; Birke and Kertész 1994–1997, 4: 2470–2471, inv. 25606; Modena 1998, 356, under no. 126

### NOTES

1. Sassuolo 1998, no. 54.
2. Inv. 7625. Another copy in red chalk heightened with white is in an American private collection. See Bloomington and tour 1983–1984, no. 17.





# 26

## Male Nude Seen from Behind

c. 1593–1594; charcoal heightened  
with white on gray-blue paper, cut  
and made up on the left; 365 x 208  
(14 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 8 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

SZÉPMŰVÉSZETI MÚZEUM,  
BUDAPEST

COMMISSIONED IN 1587–1588 BY THE Confraternita di San Rocco for the church of San Prospero in Reggio Emilia, the large painting of *The Alms of Saint Roch* (fig. 1) was not completed until 1595, at the moment of Annibale's final departure for Rome. Ludovico and Agostino may even have participated, if the letter from Annibale of 8 July 1595, which indicates that the work had not been completed, is to be believed.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt, however, that Annibale was the true author of this composition, which brings the Bolognese period to a close in authoritative fashion.

Few drawings have survived, which is surprising given the number of figures that the artist necessarily studied from studio models. It is probable that numerous studies were made before the definitive composition was worked out, a process that is attested to by drawings that exhibit a striking realism in the description of the attitudes and in certain



FIG. 1 The Alms of Saint Roch, 1587/1588–1595, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden

details of clothing and musculature combined with a manifest desire for synthetic simplification of the faces. Among these sheets, all executed in black chalk, are *Seated Man with a Child* and *A Man Leaning against a Wall*, both in the Uffizi,<sup>2</sup> *A Young Man Lying on a Bed* in Christ Church<sup>3</sup> — the last two are on blue paper — as well as the *Head of a Young Man in Profile* in Windsor.<sup>4</sup> Of all the identified drawings at Oxford, Rotterdam, Paris, and Oslo, it is the exhibited sheet that stands out as the most impressive in the energetic execution and the expression of the light. The effects studied by Annibale through the undulation of the contour line, which is both descriptive and dynamic, and the *sfumato* of the crumbly black chalk, combined with the heightening in white chalk to express the tension of the muscles, refer more to the drawings of Veronese and Tintoretto than to those of Titian. A remarkable similarity of spirit links this sheet to the study in the Louvre for Saint Catherine,<sup>5</sup> which is preparatory for the painting of 1593 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, *The Madonna and Child with Saints John the Evangelist and Catherine*, thus allowing the consideration of a date rather close to 1593–1594.

Quite apart from all the scholarly references, the quiver of life that is felt in even the slightest stroke shows to what heights the study of nature had led Annibale before his installation in Rome. With the slightly later drawings of the Camerino a palpable change would manifest itself, brought about by the daily confrontation with Raphael and antique sculpture. CLL

### PROVENANCE

A. C. Poggi (Lugt 617); Miklós Esterházy (Lugt 1965); Országos Képtár (National Picture Gallery), 1870 (Lugt 2000); Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 1906, inv. 1810

### EXHIBITIONS

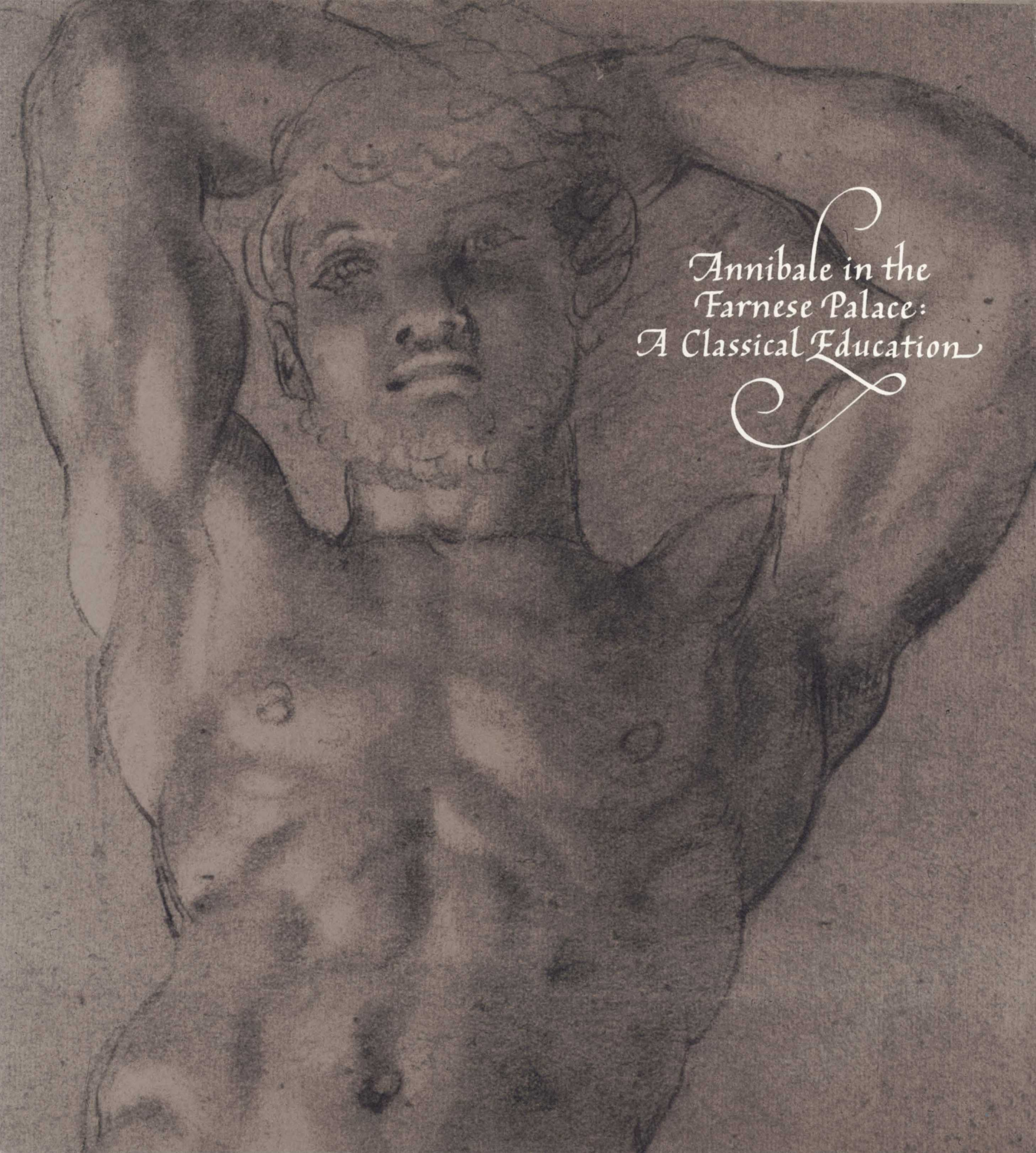
Budapest 1963, no. 100; Vienna 1967, no. 26; Washington and tour 1985, no. 20; Bologna 1989, no. 12

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hoffman 1927, 142, 145–147, fig. 32; Fenyő 1967, 255, no. 26; Johnston 1971, 82, pl. x; Posner 1971, 2: 37, under no. 86, pl. 86d

### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, 2: no. 86.
2. Inv. 762 E. (repr. Petrioli Tofani 1987, no. 762 E.); inv. 12370 F. (repr. Florence 1973, no. 39, fig. 29).
3. Inv. 0479. Repr. Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 61.
4. Inv. 2242. Wittkower 1952, no. 36, describes the paper as brown.
5. Inv. 7310. See Paris 1961, no. 29 (not repr.).



*Annibale in the  
Farnese Palace:  
A Classical Education*

IN 1593, ODOARDO FARNESE, NINETEEN YEARS OLD AND newly made a cardinal, opened negotiations to bring the Carracci to Rome. The following year, Annibale and Agostino traveled to the city to sign a contract, and then returned to Bologna to complete their many commissions already under way. Annibale was inundated with work and unable to commit before November 1595,<sup>1</sup> but the cardinal, who could have had any artist in Rome, was prepared to wait.

Cardinal Odoardo Farnese was the second son of Duke Alessandro Farnese, a brilliant *condottiere* who had captured Antwerp, thereby securing the southern Netherlands for Spain and the Roman church. In 1592 Odoardo's older brother Ranuccio had succeeded Alessandro as duke of Parma and Piacenza, and inherited the splendid Farnese Palace in Rome (fig. 1). Ranuccio, however, resided in Parma, and by the terms of Alessandro's will, Odoardo enjoyed the right to use, improve, and embellish the palace. With its facade by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Michelangelo, the structure has been called the most magnificent private palace built in Rome in the Cinquecento.

The cardinal's invitation put the three Carracci in a quandary.<sup>2</sup> Ludovico, the eldest, was head of the family's thriving studio and could not be persuaded to leave Bologna.<sup>3</sup> For Annibale and Agostino, however, Rome offered the opportunity to work for one of the greatest families in Italy, on commissions



FIG. 1 Antonio da Sangallo and Michelangelo, View of the Farnese Palace, 1517–1589, Rome

of the highest international visibility, and a position in the center of the grand tradition of Italian art.

On 21 February 1595, Odoardo wrote to Ranuccio, “I have decided to have the *sala grande* of this palace painted with the deeds of the duke, our father, of glorious memory, by the Carracci, Bolognese painters, whom I have for this reason conducted into my service, and have had them come to Rome some months ago.”<sup>4</sup> The Sala Grande was a large room on the *piano nobile*, or principal story, overlooking the piazza in front of the palace. In 1594 Simone Moschino was called to Rome to carve a huge marble statue of Duke Alessandro crowned by victory for the room.<sup>5</sup> There is no record of further work in the Sala Grande before September 1599, when its furnishings and pavement were removed and

stored in the Gallery, interrupting Annibale’s work on the frescoes for about nine months. The sudden revival of the project in 1599 appears to have been spurred by the impending marriage of Ranuccio and Margherita Aldobrandini, niece of Pope Clement VIII, which, after a couple of years of distinctly sour negotiations, was finally set to take place in Rome in 1600.<sup>6</sup> The Farnese brothers were eager to improve their chilly relations with the pope, for their ambition was great—they had aspirations to the English throne—and they needed papal support.<sup>7</sup> They hoped to receive the pope at the palace either for the engagement or the wedding, and there was no time to waste. The Sala Grande would be magnificently adorned for the reception with the deeds of Duke Alessandro, glorifying the power of the house of the Farnese in the service of the church. As soon as it became clear, however, that the pope had no intention of entering the palace, the project was abruptly halted, leaving the *arriccio*, or rough coat of plaster, exposed, waiting to receive its fresco decoration.<sup>8</sup> Drawings by Annibale have tentatively been connected with the project, including some usually associated with the Gallery, such as Cat. 74. The evidence remains rather confusing, perhaps a reflection of the different moments at which the decoration was projected, only to be dropped.<sup>9</sup>

In 1595, with his plans for the Sala Grande sputtering, Odoardo devised other projects for the Carracci, whose arrival in Rome was imminent. From Parma, where he spent the summer, he wrote to his librarian, Fulvio Orsini, who lived in the Farnese Palace, about a room to be decorated with stucco and painting.<sup>10</sup> He is presumed to have been referring to his study, a small room, or *camerino*, on the north flank of the palace. The comparatively modest nature of the Camerino would not necessarily have required the efforts of both Agostino and Annibale, which may be why Agostino postponed coming to Rome.<sup>11</sup>

The topography of the Camerino ceiling is rather complex, with a coved ceiling penetrated by six triangular spandrels,

and lunettes surmounting the four doors and two windows. It is organized into compartments of various sizes and shapes framed by real gilded stucco. Crowning the vault and set into the plaster was an oblong canvas of the *Choice of Hercules*.<sup>12</sup> Mythological scenes fill the lunettes and subsidiary compartments of the vault. The Farnese impresa of three lilies with a scroll appears in two roundels on the principal axis. Annibale filled the space between the compartments with grisaille grotesque decoration: rinceaux populated by putti, fauns, satyrs, and interspersed with masks, birds, and beasts. Oval niches with allegorical figures, also in grisaille and in the spirit of antique carved gems, are set amid this festive welter.

The theme of the Camerino is virtue, expressed allegorically through the mythological scenes, and intended to honor the young cardinal.<sup>13</sup> Though the early sources are equivocal, it is generally believed that the iconographic program was devised, as was customary, by a literary adviser, most likely Orsini.<sup>14</sup>



FIG. 2 Annibale Carracci and students, Farnese Gallery, 1597/1598–1608, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

Over the course of the sixteenth century the Farnese family had amassed a collection of antiquities that was among the greatest in the city.<sup>15</sup> Antiquities were the privileged measure of magnificence in Renaissance Rome, and the size and quality of the Farnese collection put Odoardo in an enviable position.<sup>16</sup> Discussion has naturally focused on Orsini's influence on the iconography of the Camerino, and while it is possible that his involvement went no further than handing the artist what he had written, it is worth considering that he played a more significant role in Annibale's self-education. Although the artist had the reputation of holding himself aloof from the erudite company that so attracted Agostino, it is tempting to think that Annibale found Orsini, who was nearly seventy, sympathetic, and that he was intently curious about the humanist's personal collection of drawings, medals, coins, gems, books, and manuscripts.<sup>17</sup> Orsini and Annibale shared an ambition: to educate themselves about the classical past through its artifacts. Annibale certainly knew objects in Orsini's collection, drew them, and drew upon them for his paintings. It is not difficult to imagine him listening to Orsini as he showed to him or to others the treasures in his care. Most importantly, Orsini had a vital role in organizing the systematic presentation of the antiquities within the palace, in designing a serial disposition that distinguished the simple accumulation of objects from a true collection.<sup>18</sup> Annibale had every reason to pay attention to this, for the decision to exhibit statues there was the Gallery's *raison d'être*, and the inception of Annibale's magnum opus.<sup>19</sup>

The Gallery occupies the center of a garden facade of the palace, its three large windows looking out toward the Tiber River. Like the Sala Grande and the Camerino, it is on the *piano nobile*. Its proportions are long and narrow (c. 66 x 21 feet), and it is crowned by a barrel vault just over thirty-two feet at its highest point (fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> The basic composition for the long walls was established before the vault was begun, though the stucco and painted decoration was carried out only after the vault was complete.





FIG. 3 Farnese Ceiling, 1597/1598–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

Annibale's principal charge was to fresco the vault (fig. 3), which is separated from the walls by a strong, uninterrupted cornice of gilded stucco. Above the cornice all is painted, but it is so skillfully illusionistic that a visitor is easily fooled into believing that parts of the vault are three-dimensional.

Running down the spine of the vault are three large scenes, a longitudinal compartment with the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, the central feature, flanked by two framed octagons of *Pan and the Wool* and *Paris and Mercury*. A second band of pictures intersects the first on the short axis of the vault. On the coving of the long walls is a frieze of rectangular compartments with mythological scenes alternating with feigned bronze medallions. Forming partitions between the units are atlas herms and caryatid figures painted to look like marble statues who hold up a cornice. At their feet *ignudi*, or nude youths, sit on the real cornice. In the center of each long wall is a *quadro riportato*, or framed picture that has been "transported," which feigns to be propped on the cornice in front of, and obscuring part of, the frieze. Upright *quadri riportati* with pendant scenes of Polyphemus are propped on the cornice of the end walls.

The geometry of the Gallery's vault is challenging because of the steep curvature. Annibale decided to treat the coving illusionistically as a continuation of the real walls rather than as a curved part of the vault. He extended the real pilasters with loadbearing atlas herms and caryatids in the same scale as the architectural elements and marble sculpture below.

For inspiration in designing the scheme Annibale called upon well-known models of Roman ceilings, such as Michelangelo's Sistine chapel and Raphael's loggia in the Vatican. The logic and clarity of Annibale's tectonic design, which are in contrast to mannerist ceilings of the previous decade, emulate the High Renaissance principles of the Sistine ceiling (fig. 4). Annibale proclaimed his sources proudly. He appropriated the bronze medallions from the Sistine chapel, although here they have the green patina of age. The nude youths lounging on the Gallery's cornice were a frank homage

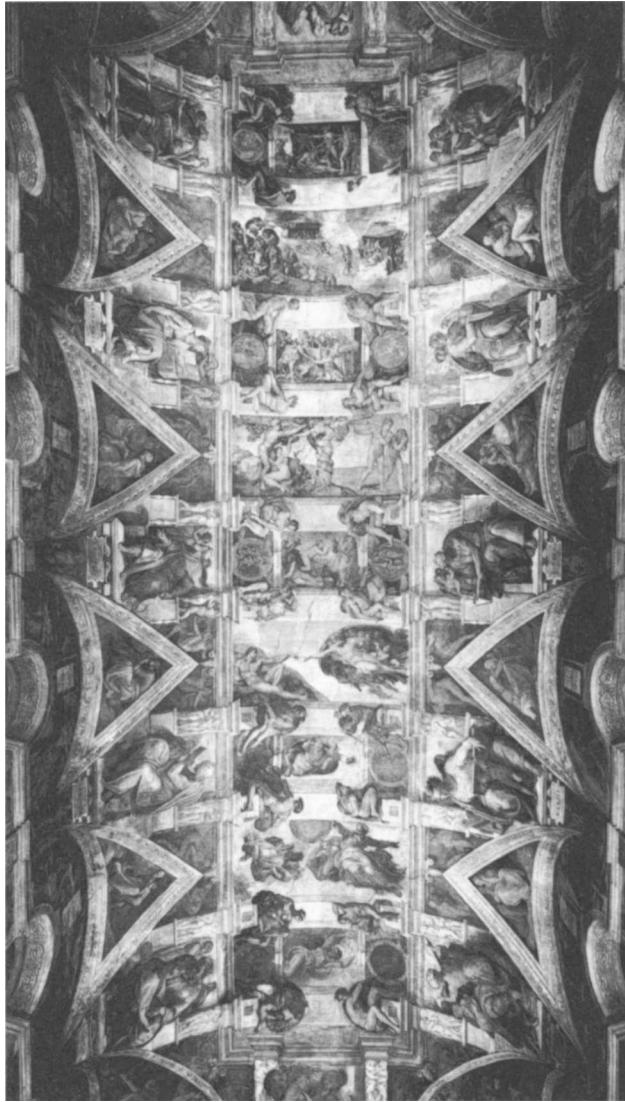


FIG. 4 *Michelangelo, Sistine Ceiling, 1508–1512, Vatican City*

(in a lighter vein, for they have no higher purpose than to hold up a garland of fruit) to Michelangelo.

For help with the vault's logistical challenges Annibale also turned to a Bolognese model he knew well, Pellegrino Tibaldi's Sala d'Ulisse in the Poggi Palace, to which his earliest ideas for the ceiling were distinctly indebted (fig. 5).<sup>21</sup> He adopted Tibaldi's basic framework of intersecting bands of scenes crossing the vault to create open corners. The Gallery's vault was much steeper than that in the Poggi Palace, however, and Annibale was inspired to combine the framework with a frieze in the coving. He turned again to a Bolognese model, the Palazzo Magnani, which the Carracci had frescoed a decade earlier with a traditional frieze in rectangular com-



FIG. 5 *Pellegrino Tibaldi, Ceiling of the Sala d'Ulisse, c. 1554, Palazzo Poggi, Bologna*

partments running around the upper zone of the walls and punctuated by fictive marble atlantes. He revised the type in the Gallery, where the ancillary figures are encouraged to proliferate and the ledge of the real cornice is made to seem deeper in order to support this lively population.

The open corners of Tibaldi's Sala d'Ulisse were more difficult to manage in the Gallery, as the steep curve of the coving created awkward junctures complicated by the assimilation of the system of intersecting bands with a longitudinal frieze. Annibale illusionistically punctured the masonry in these angles to permit a view to the open "sky," against which pairs of putti prance on balustrades. The level for the frieze and the perforation to the sky are consistent. Over the open corners, however, are fragments of the fictive cornice, above which Annibale permits a glimpse of masonry that feigns to be the real masonry of the vault, as if the painted shell were contained within an outer crust of a "real" vault. The levels of illusion are internally consistent, but contradict one another. No single one of them is "true."

Annibale's ability to create an irresistible illusion in the Gallery depended upon factors beyond the integration of the frescoed architecture of the vault with the real architecture

below. His unsurpassed ability to manipulate light and shade enabled him both to model forms that seemed three-dimensional and to generate habitable space between them. Control of a consistent lighting system was critical, and the drawings attest that he was preoccupied with the problem from the outset. Not only did the light and shade have to model figures and space, but they also had to create the illusion of natural sunlight emanating from the windows to illuminate the ceiling.

The *quadri riportati* and other painted scenes create a fictive picture gallery that complements the sculpture gallery enconced in the room below. Upon entering the room the visitor's eye is attracted everywhere and all at once. The vault has no narrative sequence. After responding to the immediate appeal of the crowning feature of the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, the viewer is invited to look where he pleases, in any order he chooses. The three scenes on the spine are oriented to the visitor entering from the corridor, but in order to see other parts of the ceiling properly, it is necessary to turn around, and something is always upside down. Annibale imposed no single or optimum viewpoint.<sup>22</sup> The brilliance and unity of the Gallery rely upon its ingenious aggregation of parts and details. Annibale allowed visitors the leisurely pleasures of merely circulating.

Beginning with the central compartment and working outward and downward, Annibale executed the vault frescoes in 227 *giornate*.<sup>23</sup> (A *giornata* is the area of fresh wet plaster to be covered in fresco in a day's working session; each fresh coat of plaster overlaps slightly the previous session's dried plaster, thus indicating the order and pattern of execution.) The *giornate* in the *Triumph*, which is thought to have been frescoed first, are proportionately more numerous than those in later scenes, as Annibale became more swift and sure in his execution. *Jupiter and Juno* was completed in two *giornate*.<sup>24</sup>

The project, of course, took considerably longer than 227 days, but precisely when it was begun or finished remains a

matter of debate.<sup>25</sup> Annibale completed the Camerino in 1597, and it has been assumed, though never incontrovertibly demonstrated, that he began work on the Gallery the same year.<sup>26</sup> A project as extensive as the Gallery would have taken time to plan, and it is unlikely that Annibale began painting until 1598.<sup>27</sup> Work in the Gallery was interrupted in September 1599 when the Sala Grande project was revived; the painters' scaffolding was dismantled and the Gallery used as a storage room for about nine months. Annibale's drawings for the Sala Grande, such as Cat. 74, were probably executed at this time. In the course of 1600 the scaffolding in the Gallery was erected again, and the date 18 (or 16) May 1600, written lightly with a brush then traced in a darker color, may refer to the resumption of the painting. Beneath the *Polyphemus and Galatea* is written MDC, which has sometimes been taken to mark the completion of the work, but if finished, the frescoes were not on view.<sup>28</sup> It should be remembered that work had been interrupted for the better part of a year, in 1599–1600, during which time Annibale was occupied with some of his most important religious paintings, including the *Three Maries at the Tomb* (Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum), meaning his attention to the Gallery could not have been undivided. Many questions remain, but the irrefutable evidence of completion is 2 June 1601, when Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of the pope, reported that he had seen the frescoes unveiled. He liked them so well that he ordered a painting from Annibale for himself, and rewarded the artist with a gold chain worth two hundred scudi.<sup>29</sup>

With the vault complete, the next phase, the execution of the stucco ornament of the walls, commenced. The author of the wall decoration is unknown. It was not Annibale, though he supervised its execution by one Giacomo da Parma to the extent that it was Annibale who signed the account book attesting to work done on the walls in May–September 1603.<sup>30</sup>

Only after the stucco on the walls was completed did Annibale begin work on the large frescoes of the end walls, *Perseus and Andromeda* and *Perseus and Phineus*. A stylistic and thematic gulf divides the side walls from the vault. The drawings confirm that neither their design nor their subjects evolved at the same time. The walls constituted a second and separate campaign. Beginning with Bellori in the seventeenth century, attempts were made to explain or reconcile the disjunction, but the very discordance reveals and even generates new valences of meaning in the Gallery.

The decoration dragged on in a desultory fashion until 1608 with the minor frescoes on the walls, which were executed by Annibale's assistants, most notably Domenichino.<sup>31</sup> Agostino, who designed and executed the two large scenes in the middle of the lateral friezes, does not seem to have contributed substantially to other parts of the project;<sup>32</sup> in any case Annibale had grown so annoyed with his brother that they broke with one another and at some point by 1600 Agostino left Rome to work for Ranuccio Farnese in Parma. The *giornate* indicate Agostino's frescoes were painted after the surrounding scenes, suggesting that the vault was nearly done when he left.

When the vault was complete or nearly so, Cardinal Farnese paid Annibale five hundred scudi. It was a miserly sum. According to the early biographers Odoardo had been persuaded to deduct from his payment room and board for the artist and his assistant, as well as his monthly salary for all the years of work. A payment of five hundred scudi might befit a major altarpiece, but not a masterpiece that had been three years in the making. Though Annibale, from all accounts, cared little for money, he must have been stung by such an insult. The episode was purported to have caused Annibale to suffer an emotional collapse from which he never fully recovered.<sup>33</sup> It has been blamed for his poor mental and physical health, his melancholy (a modern diagnosis of his symptoms might be severe depression), and his inability

to fulfill his later commissions. It is also part of the explanation given for the hardening of Annibale's style, and his increasing reliance on assistants.

"Omnia vincit amor," or love conquers all, has been accepted as the theme of the Gallery since Bellori published his life of Annibale in 1672.<sup>34</sup> Ever after scholars have debated the iconography of the frescoes and proposed widely divergent interpretations.<sup>35</sup> At the most literal level, the subjects of the ceiling frescoes are the loves of the gods based primarily, but not exclusively, on the writings of Ovid. Bellori interpreted the iconographic program of the ceiling, which is about the power of love, and the program of the walls, which is about heroic conduct and virtue, as all of one piece. He further insisted that the "entire meaning and allegory of the work" depended upon the pairs of cupids in the corners, whose struggles represented the contest of sacred and profane love. Bellori construed the walls as a moralizing comment in which sacred love triumphs over the profane love portrayed in the vault. By contrast, other early writers, such as the painter Salvator Rosa, were struck by the sheer profanity of the carnal pleasures of the vault and ignored any moralizing note sounded by the walls.<sup>36</sup> Both the hedonistic reception of the Gallery, which either ignores the walls or regards them as quite separate, and its antithesis, the moralizing interpretation rooted in Bellori, have had strong advocates in the twentieth century.<sup>37</sup>

The quarreling cupids raise troublesome questions. They now seem to represent not sacred and profane love, as Bellori believed, but rather Eros and Anteros, or love given and love returned.<sup>38</sup> Since the preparatory drawings demonstrate that Annibale did not introduce pairs of cupids until his plans for the vault were well advanced, an interpretation that did not depend so heavily upon them would be more likely.<sup>39</sup>

The tone of the ceiling frescoes is lyrical as love renders the gods by turns tender, ecstatic, foolish, jealous, and vulnerable—in short, human. Annibale nevertheless portrayed

them as ideal in their physical perfection, and ennobled precisely in that they appear to be antique statues come to life. In this spirit Annibale's Gallery pays its compliments and forms a pendant to Raphael's frescoes in the Villa Farnesina across the Tiber River.<sup>40</sup> The comic tone in the Gallery ceiling frescoes is plain to see, but this does not limit them to being "just what they seem."<sup>41</sup> Comedy in Renaissance thought could function as dissimulation, as a cloak for a truth or meaning that is different from the text itself, and in much the same way as love, that is erotic love, could signify sacred love. The rape of Ganymede by Jupiter, which appears in the Gallery, was a favorite episode of Renaissance Neoplatonic philosophers, for whom it symbolized the rise of the mortal soul to its union with the divine. This manner of amplification and explication of literal meaning was fundamental to text and image analysis in the Renaissance, and not confined to the most learned literary, philosophical, or theological minds. Iconographic content in the Gallery was not fixed or monolithic. Its interpretation depended upon context, upon tone, and upon the play of possible meanings of subjects, alone and in relation to one another.<sup>42</sup>

The severity of the Perseus scenes on the walls is in strong contrast to the sunny pleasures on the vault, but they have been shown to be brilliantly pertinent in their conception.<sup>43</sup> They constitute a painter's commentary on the *paragone*, a debate that flourished throughout the sixteenth century over which was the greater art, painting or sculpture: painting was conceded to be the more lifelike, and sculpture better able to achieve perfection of form.<sup>44</sup>

The *paragone* prompted Annibale to turn to Lucian rather than Ovid as his source for the scene of Perseus who challenges Phineus (Andromeda's former suitor) at the wedding banquet. In Lucian, Perseus conquers not with the sword (as in Ovid), but with the severed head of the Medusa, which turns to stone anyone who gazes upon it. Death by petrification enabled Annibale not only to flaunt his—that is the painter's—skill in portraying a body as it is transformed

from flesh to stone, but he had the wit to change the bodies of the soldiers back into the very ancient sculpture from which they derived.<sup>45</sup> The painter trumps the sculptor by recasting these ancient warriors, victims of Medusa, into variations on the Apollo Belvedere, the Borghese warrior, the Belvedere torso, and other famous antique marbles.<sup>46</sup> From the men he changed to stone, as Lucian told it, Perseus created a handsome sculpture gallery. Surely Annibale also exploited the metaphor for the sculpture gallery which he, as a painter, had created on the vault of the Farnese Gallery (which was itself a real sculpture gallery) by changing men into antique statues, not to mention antique statues that he changed into living men.

Lucian invoked the Medusa as well in his description of a splendidly decorated room, which he praised in its brilliance of illumination, luster of its gilding, and "the gaiety of its pictures . . . the frescoes on the walls, the beauty of their colors and the vividness, exactitude, and truth of each detail." This room, he continued, affects its spectators just as the "beauty of the Gorgons, being extremely powerful . . . stunned its beholders, and made them speechless, so that . . . they turned to stone in wonder."<sup>47</sup> A modern such splendid room is, of course, Annibale's Farnese Gallery.

Though the drawings prove that the walls were not planned until after the vault, once the walls have been shown to offer a profound commentary and a key to the aesthetic conceit of the entire Gallery, they can no longer be dismissed as projects about which Annibale was apathetic.<sup>48</sup> The question remains as to what the Farnese Gallery is about. One thing is certain: each of the leading iconographic interpretations to date works only by ignoring an important part of the scheme.<sup>49</sup>

If the essential project of the Renaissance was to bring to life the classical past, then Annibale's Farnese Gallery can be understood as a *summa* and a metaphor of precisely this endeavor. The culture of humanism and an interest in antiquities were not unknown in Bologna, but there the

occupation with the classical past had been peripheral, and not particularly compelling to the young Carracci.<sup>50</sup> Coming to Rome, Annibale found himself at the epicenter of the study of the ancient past, surrounded by monumental ruins, by a wealth of magnificent marble statuary. A world which from a distance had seemed exaggerated in praise and importance was now present and overwhelmingly impressive. It would transform his art.

Annibale was introduced, perhaps by Fulvio Orsini, to the methodology of the humanist, philologist, archaeologist, and antiquarian. The life's work of such men was to gather the surviving fragments of poetry and prose, of inscriptions, statuary, carved gems or coins, and to study them to try to recover a past that had been buried. Their original context had perished and the *disiecta membra*—scraps of texts, broken statuary—acquired a new totemic significance as the Renaissance collectors—led by the great cardinals of Rome—and their humanist advisers set about constructing a new context both for their meaning and for their presentation. This was the impulse behind the display of sculpture in the Farnese Gallery. It is here proposed that it was also the inspiration for the frescoes.

It was Annibale's genius to understand, perhaps better than any other artist, the great Renaissance endeavor to recover the classical past and to bring it to life. Annibale also recognized how, in so doing, new meanings were generated. He understood the method by which Ovid's pagan myths of carnal love were subjected to a bombardment of Christian meaning to emerge, transformed and justified, in Neoplatonic allegories wrested by Renaissance thinkers from the medieval *Ovid Moralisée*. This is one good way of explaining Annibale's brilliant iconographic retrofitting of the Perseus frescoes and the Virtues into the initial program of the Gallery. In Orsini's unsurpassed library Annibale could hold in his hand the treasured texts that preserved the voices of ancient writers. He met the texts of Philostratus, whose *ekphrasis*, or descriptions of paintings, sculpture, and

medals, in a real or imagined gallery, inspired his ideas for the Farnese vault.<sup>51</sup> Annibale made explicit use of Philostratus, as in the *Polyphemus* (Cat. 51), where the image is astonishingly close in detail to the description; the relationship is meant to be recognized.

Where High Renaissance artists like Michelangelo and Raphael were intent on reviving the principles of classical art in their own work, Annibale worked at a further remove. He was attuned not only to the actual remnants of the ancient world, but also to the process that his predecessors had already performed in transforming their own art through a study of antiquity. Although Annibale's insistent references to the paragons of High Renaissance art have at times been perceived as competitive, they are also tributes to the first artists of modern times to participate in the great project of reviving the classical tradition. He recognized that the contribution of artists to this endeavor was analogous to, and equal in stature to, that of poets and humanists.

Though it is never pedantic, the structure of Annibale's ceiling is one of argument, not narrative. It is not a pure vision of antiquity, like that of the High Renaissance artist, but rather self-conscious and displaced. Its ultimate subject is the process of assembling the detritus of antiquity—bits of theory, fragmentary statues, literary testimony—and constructing its new meaning. There are obvious clues, such as the broken-off arm of the marble herm or the bronze medallions that have acquired a verdigris patina. He is working at a historical remove. The disjunctions between visual levels—the vault that is and is not solid, the contradictory levels of illusion, an arrangement in which something is always upside down—are counterparts to the shifting interplay between levels of interpretation: hedonistic, dynastic, Neoplatonic. The theme is not antiquity itself, but history refracted through the mentality of the Renaissance. It is the operation of interpreting antiquity and constructing its context anew, the occupation with the disposition of its physical remains, the development of the gloss and the commentary.<sup>52</sup>



The province of the revival of antiquity, as Annibale demonstrates, was not limited to poets and writers. Though the status of the painter, his position in the hierarchy of culture, had risen in the course of the Renaissance, it lagged behind that of the practitioners of the liberal arts, the poets and humanists. Annibale, the least pretentious of artists, was also the most ambitious, for in the Farnese Gallery he demonstrated how it was the painter who could best fulfill the goals of the great cultural endeavor of the Renaissance. The Gallery is the project of Renaissance humanism incarnate. It was the painter who could make the classical past come alive.

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NOTES

1. The precise date of Agostino's arrival in Rome is not known.
2. The research of the last twenty years has called into question certain assumptions made in the older, by now standard, literature. A case in point is Malvasia's report that Farnese had called Ludovico to Rome, which had been dismissed as an example of that Bolognese author's preference for Ludovico. While in modern times Annibale's fame came to eclipse that of his brother Agostino and elder cousin Ludovico, there is no indication that in 1593 Annibale was more famous or sought after than Ludovico. The Carracci passed work around freely among themselves and proudly presented themselves as a collaborative concern, but in business affairs the Carracci would generally be approached through Ludovico, who, as eldest, was *caposcuola* or head of the studio. Malvasia's account is now considered accurate. See especially Zapperi 1986, 203–205.
3. Ludovico was not inclined to trade his stature and autonomy for life as a court painter; Annibale

and Agostino were in a different position, for professional regulations barred them from operating an independent studio as long as Ludovico was in practice.

4. For the letter see Zapperi 1986, 203–205, Uginet 1980, 104–107, and Martin 1965, 9; Odoardo went on to request that Ranuccio send him a “book of drawings of the deeds” of Duke Alessandro, which was still in Flanders. Zapperi 1994, 99, also notes that two years earlier, on 17 July 1593, he had written to his brother to request eight paintings dedicated to his father's deeds, which were among his things from Parma, and which Ranuccio seems to have procured for him and sent, but of which nothing is heard again. The Sala Grande was also called the Salone, or the Sala di Fasti di Alessandro Farnese.

5. Zapperi 1994, 96–99, reports that Moschino's project was also interrupted several times and completed in 1598 when the statue was installed. The room had earlier been fitted with a grand and expensive wooden coffered ceiling.

6. Zapperi 1994, 28–36 and 96–105, suggested this connection and characterized the marriage as a misalliance. The twelve-year-old bride, who cried at her wedding, would have preferred to be a nun, suffered from serious health problems, and was thought (wrongly) to be infertile. Scandal had been attached to her father, a parvenu who nevertheless had hoped for an even loftier match than Ranuccio. Odoardo was responsible for conducting the negotiations leading to the engagement. The proposal that the Gallery decoration was related to the marriage is discussed below.

7. Zapperi 1994, 85, argues that Odoardo was not a man of faith but became a cardinal because of dynastic exigency; that he harbored hopes that he or Ranuccio might gain the English throne, and in 1601 Pope Clement was writing to support the Farnese cause. If Ranuccio either became king of England or failed to produce an heir, then Odoardo would stand to inherit the dukedom.

8. Zapperi 1994, 104. Malvasia reports that the project was revived again after completion of the Gallery vault, and that Ludovico's help had been enlisted; he claims to have seen four drawings Ludovico had done earlier for the project at Annibale's request. His report has been dismissed as fiction (Martin 1965, 19, and Posner 1971, 1: 165, n. 15). Recent research attests to Malvasia's reliance on documents and credible informants, however, and in other cases where he claims to have seen a drawing, it has in fact turned up. Bernini 1968, 84–92, published a fragment of a large painting of the “Allegory of the Conquest of Flanders,” Galleria Nazionale di Sicilia, Palermo (also preserved in a Saint-Non engraving after a drawing by Fragonard said to be after Annibale), which he connected with the Sala Grande.

Among the many questions the painting raises is a stylistic one, for it is close in conception to the work of Ludovico.

9. For other drawings see Bernini 1968, and Posner 1: 165, n. 16, and Cat. 74.

10. Martin 1965, 42, transcribes the letter. His remains the most comprehensive treatment of the Camerino, including the preparatory drawings. See also Posner 1971, 2: no. 93, and Cats. 27–38 for further bibliography.

11. Agostino seems to have remained in Bologna until 1597, and does not appear to have had a hand in the Camerino decoration.

12. The original is now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Naples, having been replaced on the ceiling by a copy. See Cat. 31.

13. Martin 1965, 23, 24–38.

14. Martin 1965, 38–48. It was customary where a decoration was complex to supply the artist with a program invented by a literary adviser, such as the one prepared by Annibale Caro and Fulvio Orsini for the Farnese villa at Caprarola. Where such programs survive they are not uniform in their degree of detail or format, appearing variously as *libretti*, letters, or notes. Bellori was vague on the adviser in the Camerino, suggesting Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi. As Martin argued, this was unlikely, especially as Agucchi in his *Trattato* did not even mention the Camerino specifically, whereas Orsini corresponded with Odoardo about the Camerino and devised Odoardo's personal heraldic device of the lilies.

15. Their collection incorporated major collections already formed by such families as the Chigi and Del Bufalo, and in 1593 they acquired the Cesarini antiquities.



On the collection see Riebesell 1988, 373–414, and Falguières 1988, 215–333.

16. On the status conferred by collections of antiquities see Falguières 1988. Odoardo was envied for both his collection and palace, and this earned him considerable enmity, affecting adversely his relationship with the Aldobrandini family and others, for which see Zapperi 1994, 15–18.

17. According to his biographers, Annibale was mightily irritated by what he saw as Agostino's pretensions, his consorting with literati, intellectuals, etc. Agostino was not yet in Rome, however, and Annibale's attitude might not have had reason to harden toward his colleagues, such as Orsini, who also lived in the palace but of course held a much higher status in the hierarchy of service to the cardinal. Annibale enjoyed access to Orsini's collection, and while working on the Camerino had reason to consult with him. Orsini also oversaw the restoration of the statuary, an enterprise that would have attracted Annibale.

18. See especially Falguières 1988 on the development and disposition of the cardinal's collections of antiquities.

19. See Riebesell 1988 for the suggestion that Annibale was advising Odoardo on the redistribution of the antiquities in the palace.

20. The literature on the Gallery is of course extensive, and the following list of principal and recent bibliography, to which this writer's brief essay is deeply indebted, is not complete: Bellori 1672; Tietze 1906–1907, 49–182; Martin 1965; Dempsey 1968, 1981, 1995; Posner 1971; Marzik 1986; Briganti et al. 1987; Briganti 1988, 65–72; Fumarioli 1988, 163–182; Hughes 1988, 335–348; Morel 1988, 115–148;

Robertson 1990, 7–41; Reckermann 1991; Zapperi 1994.

21. Malvasia reported that Annibale requested drawings of Tibaldi's ceiling from Ludovico, who was in Bologna, and a few years ago three sketches after the Sala d'Ulisse were recognized as the ones Ludovico drew for Annibale, still bearing the creases from being folded up and sent to Rome. Feigenbaum 1992.

22. An anecdote said by Chantelou to have been told by the great sculptor Bernini related that Agostino had pressed for a unified illusion based on one-point perspective; Annibale responded that they should then install a beautiful chair on the one and only point in the room from which the ceiling could be correctly viewed. See also Posner 1971, 1: 96. (A pen drawing in Chatsworth in which a lone woman is seated on a chair, with the Gallery—the walls rather than the vault—sketched in around her is curiously evocative of this story.) Annibale's ridicule may not have been directed only at his brother, but also at the Alberti who were famous for their illusionistic perspectival ceilings and had been considered by Odoardo to decorate the Gallery. The jibe may also have been aimed at the competition.

23. Briganti 1988, 65–72, published and discussed the diagram of the *giornate*.

24. Briganti 1988, 65–72.

25. There is complicating evidence in drawings by one of the Alberti, which are clearly for the Farnese Gallery. See especially the drawing in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett published by Vitzthum (without specifying which of the brothers) and dated to c. 1594–1595, subsequently accepted by Martin and Dempsey who assigned it to Cherubino Alberti, the best known.

Hermann-Fiore in Rome 1983 argued persuasively for an attribution to Giovanni Alberti and a date of 1597. The drawings indicate that even while Annibale was working in the palace, Odoardo was considering having the Alberti, specialists in illusionistic perspectival ceilings, decorate the Gallery. Whether the Alberti declined because of their commitment to paint the Sala Clementina in the Vatican, or whether Odoardo was so pleased with Annibale's work in the Camerino that he chose not to offer the Alberti the project, is not known. Hermann-Fiore suggests there was a competition between the Alberti and Carracci for the commission.

26. See especially Briganti et al. 1987, 31. Dempsey 1968, following a suggestion by Tietze, crafted the hypothesis, which became widely accepted, that the Gallery constituted a kind of visual correlative to an epithalamium, a poem celebrating a marriage, for the wedding of Ranuccio and Margherita Aldobrandini. Dempsey 1987, 34–35, qualified his suggestion in light of new evidence presented by Zapperi and others regarding the chronology of the engagement and wedding. Zapperi 1994 demonstrated that in 1597 any anticipation of celebrating the marriage would have been unlikely, and the negotiations were desultory and sporadic until the contract was finalized in mid-1599, at which moment work in the Gallery was abruptly halted—hardly evidence for a decoration intended to celebrate the wedding. The engagement seems to have been the impetus instead for work on the Sala Grande.

27. This date is written below the scene of *Glaucus and Scylla* with a quick brush dipped in red earth. Briganti et al. 1987, 32.

28. See Briganti 1988; Zapperi 1981, 821–822; Zapperi 1994, 121–129.

29. Zapperi 1981, 821–822. If the vault was finished at that time, as seems to be the case, it is not clear why there were further payments made more than a year later, in July 1602, for the removal of the painters' scaffolding in the Gallery, as also noted in Zapperi.

30. Uginet 1980, 105–107.

31. Assistants figure in only a very minor role in the Gallery until the campaign of the end walls. The vault itself is thought to have been carried out with the minimum of assistance, although it is likely that toward the end of the project Annibale permitted a trusted assistant to execute minor parts of the frescoes. See especially Posner 1971, 1: 108–109. Briganti et al. 1987, 42, noted minor passages he believes were executed by assistants. Recorded in Malvasia 1678 (1841), 1: 405, Bonconti, a former pupil, complained that Annibale received only ten scudi a month and his portion (of bread and wine) and for this “labored and pulled the cart all day like a horse, and painted loggie, small rooms and large, pictures and altarpieces and works worth a thousand scudi, and he is exhausted, and cracking under this, and has little appetite for such servitude....”

32. The most recent study of Agostino's contribution is in London 1995. Annibale made some revisions to Agostino's designs.

33. This story, which has been so often repeated from Baglione 1642, 108, to Bellori, to the present day, raises many questions, not least of which why Annibale continued to work for Farnese for several more years and to live in the palace. Further research is warranted to verify the accuracy or completeness of this story, which has become a legend.

34. Bellori wrote a commentary (reprinted in Malvasia) to accompany a set of engravings of the Gallery by Carlo Cesio in 1657, but his account in the *Vite* is more exhaustive. Unlike the Camerino's tightly unified program, probably dictated by Orsini, the Gallery's iconography is open, its components more freely orchestrated. See especially Robertson 1990 and Hughes 1988. Though Orsini has been suggested as author (Martin), he was no longer living in the palace. It is likely that Annibale himself devised the program, consulting a literary adviser for help and critique.

35. See, in modern times, Tietze, Martin, Dempsey, Posner, Scott, Marzik, Robertson, Reckermann, as in note 20, above.

36. Cesario 1892, 1: 249, quoted in Martin 1965, 83, n. 2.

37. For the "hedonistic" tradition: Tietze 1906–1907 found Bellori's allegorical interpretation strained, arguing that the frescoes were purely about the power of love and the artist's opportunity to paint appealing love scenes with nude figures; Dempsey 1968 explained it as a "satire on the gods," and in 1995 invoked the "lyric sentiment of love." Posner 1971, 1: 94, stated, "Dempsey has shown that [the frescoes] mean just what they seem" without any "hidden religious or moralizing message." For the moralizing or "philosophical" tradition: Martin 1965 accepts, for the most part, Bellori's account; Marzik 1986 proposes that the Gallery functions as a "Repräsentationsraum" and that the decoration must therefore be a political panegyric to celebrate the Farnese. See especially Reckermann's (1991) perceptive chapter, "Die Galleria Farnese im Spiegel Ihrer Interpretationsgeschichte," 11–60, on the history of the interpretation, seriocomic, Neoplatonic, political, and otherwise.

38. Dempsey 1968.

39. The theme of reciprocal love is not altogether in accord with that of the loves of the gods or love conquers all, which also suggests that it was an afterthought or modification to the initial iconographical program. Dempsey's brilliantly argued case for the iconography of the frescoes does not reconcile or enter into the question of a disparity between the themes.

40. In recent research on Odoardo's Palazzetto, a pavilion behind the palace garden across the Via Giulia, it has emerged that the palace and especially the Gallery was to have been physically and conceptually connected to the Farnesina by a footbridge across the Via Giulia to the Palazzetto (which contained paintings by Annibale, notably the *Sleeping Venus*), and a second bridge across the Tiber River to gardens on the Trastevere bank and thence to the gardens of the Farnesina. See Whitfield 1981. An unpublished paper on this subject given by Stephen Pepper at the National Gallery, London, came to the author's attention too late to be considered here.

41. This point is made by Reckermann 1991, chap. 2, which deals with Renaissance interpretation of myth as concealed truth.

42. See Bellori, Dempsey 1968 and 1995, Robertson 1990, and Fumaroli 1988. For the most comprehensive and synthetic discussion see Reckermann 1991. Marzik 1986 argued that a palace gallery as a Repräsentationsraum or state room functioned traditionally as a locus for the political glorification of the dynasty of the proprietor. The Triumph of Bacchus was a traditional subject for such a panegyric, and Marzik places the Farnese Gallery in the same context. As

Dempsey and Reckermann pointed out, her closed interpretation fails to take context, tone, or the historical situation fully into account and is severely limited. Annibale must have been aware, however, of this tradition regarding the Triumph of Bacchus, which had been intended to occupy a major, though not the central, position of the ceiling from the outset.

43. Probably because they are less attractive and may have been carried out partly by assistants, scholarship has tended to treat them as less important. Scott 1988 has illuminated their remarkable content.

44. For a contemporary summation of the *paragone* see Varchi 1549. Scott 1988 provides further bibliography.

45. Scott 1988.

46. Scott 1988.

47. Lucian, *De Domo* (The Hall), 1: 9. Lucian's explicit association of the petrification of spectators of the Medusa with that of spectators in the beautiful hall is not noted in Scott, but it increases the specific relevance of Lucian's theme to Annibale's work.

48. Scott 1988 argues that the separation of walls and vault in modern analysis is artificial and invalid, suggesting a tightly planned integration. Nevertheless, the technical evidence of the drawing indicates that the artist came to the Perseus theme after his plans for the vault were realized. See also Robertson 1990, who offers an alternate interpretation of the Gallery's lack of an iconographic coherence, demonstrating that unity was not always crucial to Renaissance patrons.

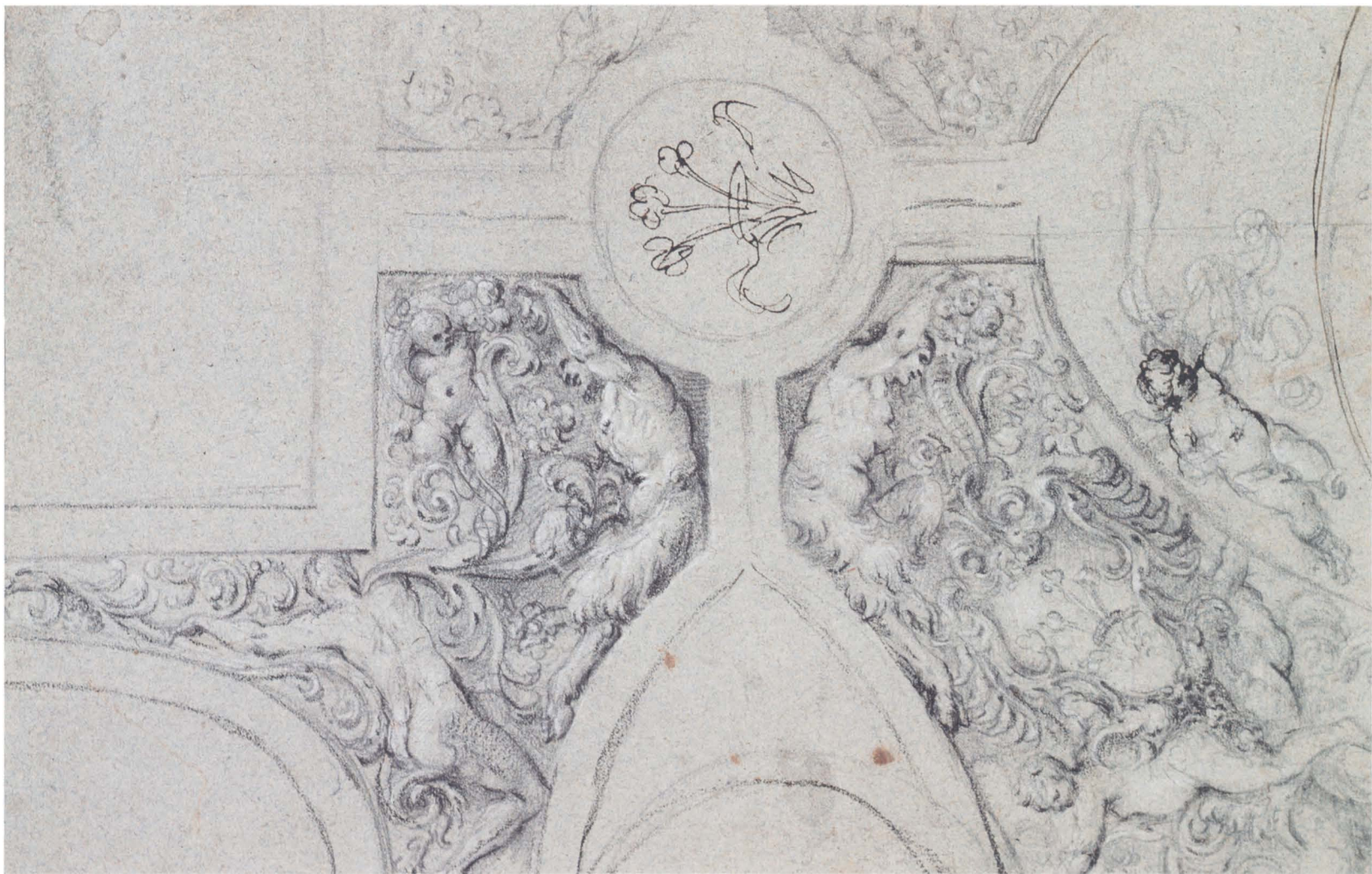
49. Hughes 1988 points this out in his astute piece on "reading" the Farnese Gallery. The present essay, owing to limitations of space, gives little attention to Marc Fumaroli's brilliant reading of the ceiling in

terms of poetics, as a "mine of epigrams and potential *ekphrasis*." Fumaroli 1988. His model of a more open view of the content and format of the ceiling has influenced this writer's conception of Annibale's achievement.

50. The Carracci's *postille* are at times derisive of artists' obsessions with antique statuary at the expense of nature. See Fanti 1979 and 1980a, and Perini 1990, 158–164.

51. Philostratus has long been recognized as a source for Annibale, in both the individual descriptions or "ekphrasis" of works, and in the description of a gallery of paintings. See especially the analysis of Fumaroli 1988.

52. In 1600 the Renaissance was at an end, and the Gallery reflects a historical consciousness of this late moment in which even the central metaphor of Renaissance painting as an open window to a view of nature or reality is given a new gloss. In the interplay of the *quadri riportati*, the fictive levels of frame and frieze, the bravura of the illusionism paradoxically emerges as a negation of depth. It is a new statement of painting as pure representation without thickness or objecthood. Morel 1988.



## Decorative Framework

1595–1596; two types of black chalk with pen and brown ink (in the central medallion and reinforcing the putto and part of the spandrel at right), heightened with white, on gray-green paper, laid down; 232 x 363 (9 1/8 x 14 1/4)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1595 ANNIBALE arrived in Rome, where he was given lodgings in the Palazzo Farnese and commissioned to decorate the ceiling of a room on the *piano nobile*, the Camerino Farnese. This may well have been the cardinal's private study; in any case, he was actively involved in planning its decoration, as shown by several letters he wrote to his librarian, the learned humanist Fulvio Orsini, during the summer of 1595.<sup>1</sup> Orsini conceived the iconographical scheme, which subtly flatters the young prelate by presenting him as a new Hercules, while holding up examples of virtuous behavior to him. No doubt it was also Orsini who supplied Annibale with the appropriate figurative models for the mythologies and personifications that the artist depicted there (see Cats. 28 and 34).<sup>2</sup>

The Camerino is a small room, almost twice as long as it is wide (about 15 x 30 feet). The coved ceiling, which flattens out in the center, has six triangular spandrels—two on each side and one at each end—over lunette-shaped fields above the doors and windows. To make a coherent decorative entity of this complex shape, Annibale devised an ingenious scheme. Molded, gilt-stucco bands rise from the corners to divide the ceiling into compartments of different shapes and at the same time

act as frames for the three main figurative scenes. The most important intersections in this network are distinguished by roundels with Cardinal Farnese's *impresa*—three purple lilies, which Annibale actually rendered as irises—accompanied by the Greek motto ΘΕΘΕΝ ΑΥΕΑ ΝΟΜΑΙ, “By God's aid I grow” (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

In the Windsor drawing, Annibale clarified his ideas for the decorative scheme for about one-fourth of the ceiling's surface. The flat bands are already in place, delineating the spandrels and roundels as well as the central rectangular compartment, where he painted the *Choice of Hercules* (see Cat. 31). Here the artist concentrates on the ornament that would fill the spaces within the stucco bands, an exuberant decoration of scroll-like foliage, which was to be painted in grisaille in imitation of stucco. As is often noted, this playful *stucco finto* has its roots in antique reliefs, but Annibale's immediate models were northern Italian, not Roman: Mantegna's Camera degli Sposi in Mantua was an important precedent, as was the nave decoration of Parma Cathedral.<sup>4</sup> Newly arrived in the papal city, Annibale evidently still had vivid recollections of Emilian art.

The main elements of the scheme are already in place in the Windsor drawing, yet many more studies must have intervened before Annibale was ready to tackle the final cartoon. In the end he drastically reduced the relative size of the figures within the *stucchi finti* and altered the foliage, making it more symmetrical and compact. Another change, documented by the drawing, concerns the placement of the cardinal's *impresa*. To judge from the three Farnese lilies in chalk within an oval cartouche at bottom right, Annibale initially intended to place his patron's emblem in each corner of the room. He then penned the *impresa* in the central medallion, however, where it would appear on the ceiling. With the same pen he also clarified the contours of the flying putto sketched within the lateral spandrel; this figure was not retained. CVT

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 76); Royal Library, Windsor, inv. 2065

## EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 144, pl. 70; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 75

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bodmer 1937, 146; Wittkower 1952, 133, no. 280, pl. 60; Martin 1956, 93, 103, fig. 29; Bacou in Paris 1961, 37, under no. 53; Martin 1965, 240, no. 2, fig. 102; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, 106, fig. 87(1)

## NOTES

1. Martin 1956, 112, appendices II and III.
2. Martin 1956, 109–111.
3. This *impresa* had been invented for Cardinal Farnese by Fulvio Orsini in 1592 (cf. Martin 1956, 106–107; Pastoureau 1981, 445–448).
4. Tietze 1906–1907, 70; Wittkower 1952, 133; Posner 1971, I: 80.



FIG. 1 Detail of the Camerino Ceiling, 1595–1597, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

# 28

## Standing Woman Leaning on a Column

1595–1596; black chalk heightened  
with white on gray-blue paper,  
laid down; 479 × 273 (18 7/8 × 10 3/4)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

SET AMONG THE GRISAILLE FOLIAGE of the Camerino ceiling are six medallions painted in gold to simulate bronze. They contain allegorical figures that clarify the moral lessons to be drawn from the mythological scenes in the lunettes below. This drawing is a study for the medallion above *Perseus Beheading Medusa*. It represents *Securitas*, the conviction and self-confidence of an individual acting with prudence and reason, unswayed by temptation. In Bellori's interpretation of the lunette, Perseus is such a man, and he therefore succeeds in defeating the gorgon of vice and terror.<sup>1</sup>

The image derives from a coin minted by the Roman emperor Macrinus (AD 217–218), which is inscribed “*Securitas*.” It was well known to sixteenth-century humanists, including Cesare Ripa, who described it in his *Iconologia* (first published in 1593), as well as the antiquarian Fulvio Orsini, Cardinal Farnese's librarian, who presumably brought it to Annibale's attention.<sup>2</sup>

Yet Annibale did not rely on this ancient Roman model alone. As Martin has pointed out, the woman's stance, particularly the legs crossed at the ankles, and the way she leans on the column, recall an early sixteenth-century engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi depicting Fortitude (Bartsch 389). One can well imagine that Annibale consulted prints in his search for models for the figures on the ceiling of the Camerino. After sketching the figure lightly with soft black chalk, the artist retouched his drawing with darker, more incisive lines, thickening the column and broadening the woman's right hip. He thus enhanced the solidity and monumentality of the figure, which appears almost identical on the painted ceiling. CVT

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, part of no. 311); French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7306

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 144; Paris 1961, no. 53; Paris 1994, no. 53

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Martin 1965, 241, no. 6, fig. 104; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 62; Dempsey 1981, 282

### NOTES

1. Bellori 1976, 54 (1672, 41–42).
2. Ripa 1593, 65; Martin 1965, 102, n. 69; Dempsey 1981, 280–281.





# 29

## A Putto with a Cornucopia

*c. 1596–1597; black chalk heightened with white on brown paper (three sheets of irregular size joined together), partly incised for transfer and laid down; 528 x 396 (20 3/4 x 15 5/16)*

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

THE TRIANGULAR SPANDRELS ABOVE the lunettes at either end of the Camerino Farnese contain allegorical figures in oval wreaths, painted in gold and set among the rich *stucco finto* ornament that Annibale sketched in Cat. 27. Two matching putti holding cornucopias are seated on the ovals, which are supported by armless sirens. This drawing and the next (Cat. 30) are fragments of a cartoon for these subsidiary figures. Both entered the Royal Library from the Albani collection in 1762, and had probably always been together. Yet only this drawing is listed in the inventory of Francesco Raspantino, from which most of the Carracci drawings later owned by Albani derive.<sup>1</sup>

As full-scale working drawings, cartoons represent the last stage in the preparation of a fresco. They were intended to help transfer the image to a ceiling or wall. The most common means of doing so were by pricking holes in the image's contours and dusting them lightly with chalk powder, or by using a stylus to indent the outlines into the freshly applied plaster. To make it easier to handle, the cartoon was often cut into smaller pieces, so the design could be transferred section by section.<sup>2</sup>

Incised lines in the present example are clearly visible by raking light, which proves it was used for transfer. Yet there are significant discrepancies between the painted figure and the cartoon. The painted putto does not hold his own cornucopia, as he does in the drawing; rather, he reaches over to grasp that of his twin, so that the two are intertwined. Moreover, the cartouchelike frame on which the putto sits becomes an oval wreath in the fresco. These discrepancies show that Annibale was open to other design possibilities up until the last moment, and was willing to make changes if need be even at the cartoon stage. Without examining the vault of the Camerino at close range, it cannot be determined whether he prepared a completely new cartoon or simply improvised with brush in hand. However, given that both Cats. 29 and 30 prepare subsidiary figures that were repeated at either end of the Camerino in mirror image, most likely Annibale executed new cartoons. If that was indeed the case, the incisions in this drawing were made while transferring the image not to plaster but to another cartoon. CVT

### PROVENANCE

Domenico Zampieri, called Il Domenichino; Francesco Raspantino; Carlo Maratti; Giovanni Francesco Albani, Pope Clement XI; purchased in 1762 by King George III of England (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 75); Royal Library, Windsor, inv. 2024

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 146

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vittoria 1703 (1841), 16; Wittkower 1952, 21, 133, no. 282, pl. 59; Martin 1956, 93; Bacou in Paris 1961, 37, under no. 53; Martin 1965, 240–241, no. 4, fig. 107; Robertson in Oxford and London 1996–1997, 127, under no. 78

### NOTES

1. “Chartone d'un Putto con fogliami” (Spear 1982, I: 341, fol. 29v). According to Vittoria 1703 (1841), both cartoons belonged to Carlo Maratti, who is known to have purchased the Raspantino collection.

2. For more technical information on cartoons, see London 1995, 5–6, and the relevant bibliography cited there.



# 30

## A Siren

c. 1596–1597; black chalk heightened with white on brown paper (three sheets of irregular size joined together), pricked for transfer in the lower left part and incised in the other two fragments, laid down; 523 x 385 (20 3/8 x 15 1/8)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

THIS DRAWING AND THE PREVIOUS one (Cat. 29) were apparently part of a single, larger cartoon made in preparation for the ornamental figures in the spandrels of the *stucco finto* decoration at either end of the Camerino. The bottom third of the present sheet, showing a putto's head and cornucopia, served another purpose, however: similar figures fill the tail ends of the spandrels on the room's long walls.<sup>1</sup> Not only the destination but also the technique is different. Whereas the siren's contours were incised for transfer, the putto's head and the cornucopia were pricked. Both methods were employed in the Carracci studio, but one would hardly expect to find them in the same small cartoon.<sup>2</sup> But if the cartoon as it has come down to us comprises unrelated fragments, it was undoubtedly Annibale himself who assembled them: the chalk lines of the siren's lower body are partly drawn on the bottom fragment. One can easily imagine that, as he was preparing the cartoon for the siren,

he discovered the sheet he was working on was too small, and by adding a piece of a used or discarded cartoon, he extended it. Be that as it may, the composite character of both Windsor fragments suggests that Annibale's cartoon for the *stucco finto* decoration was far less neat and complete than the one he prepared for the figurative scenes.

As in the case of Cat. 29, the artist did not follow the present fragment strictly in the fresco: the beribboned, foliate cartouche in the drawing was replaced with an oval wreath. The deft evocation of volume and weight is impressive. Using the color of the paper—a bright blue that has since faded to brown—to establish a middle tone, Annibale modulated the light and shadow on the siren's body with a fluency that is reminiscent of Venetian draftsmanship.

Wittkower was undoubtedly correct to identify this drawing with the “piece of cartoon of a siren from Ulysses' ship, and another one of a putto that is found among the decoration” that was described (if mistakenly interpreted) by Vincenzo Vittoria in the collection of the painter Carlo Maratti.<sup>3</sup> CVT

### PROVENANCE

Domenico Zampieri, called Il Domenichino; Francesco Raspanino; Carlo Maratti; Giovanni Francesco Albani, Pope Clement XI; purchased in 1762 by King George III of England; Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 2025

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 145; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 126; London 1995; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 78

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vittoria 1703 (1841), 16; Wittkower 1952, 133, no. 281, pl. 58, and under no. 282; Martin 1956, 93; Bacou in Paris 1961, 37, under no. 53; Martin 1965, 177, 241, no. 5, fig. 108

### NOTES

1. Martin 1956, figs. 4, 5.
2. London 1995, 6.
3. Vittoria 1703 (1841), 52.





# 31

## The Choice of Hercules

c. 1596–1597; pen and brown ink with brown and gray wash on beige paper, cut at left edge and laid down; 166 x 149 (6½ x 5¾)

Inscribed at bottom left in pen and brown ink with the Resta-Somers number: h. 108

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

THE CENTER OF THE CAMERINO'S vault was reserved for an oil painting on canvas depicting *The Choice of Hercules* (fig. 1). The original was removed in 1662, when the most important art works from the Palazzo Farnese were sent to Parma, and is now in the Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples. A copy was mounted in its place.

The canvas encapsulates the moral lesson of the entire ceiling. It illustrates a parable attributed to the Greek sophist Prodicus of Keos (fifth century BCE) about two women who visited the adolescent Hercules. One was lovely and voluptuous, the other sober and stern. The women confronted Hercules with a choice between two ways of life: selfish pleasure and luxury, on the one hand, and toil and strain leading to fame and eternal glory on the other.<sup>1</sup> Hercules, of course, opted for the second choice and, through his labors, eventually won immortality. The implications of the story for the room's occupant, the young Cardinal Farnese, are obvious.

To capture the fateful moment of decision, Annibale devised what would become the "canonical formulation" of the subject: Hercules is shown seated in the center of the

composition, flanked by the two rivals.<sup>2</sup> This allowed the artist to represent not only the young hero's momentary indecision, but also (in the background) the emblems of the rewards promised by Pleasure and Virtue: a lovely but impenetrable grove of trees, and a barren mountain on whose summit the winged horse Pegasus has landed.<sup>3</sup>

As far as is known, this beautifully fluid and freely drawn sketch is the artist's first formulation of his ideas for this iconographical scheme. Horizontal pen lines indicate the upper and lower limits of the composition. Regrettably, the figure of Virtue, on the left, has been cut away. Hercules, seen frontally, is seated before a palm tree. With his right leg drawn up and resting on a rocky ledge, he appears much the same as he does in the final canvas. Here the artist intimated the hero's choice by having him lean in the direction of Virtue, whereas in the painting, he opted for more subtle means.

The figure on the right is Voluptas or Pleasure, here accompanied by Cupid and seemingly conflated in the artist's mind with the goddess Venus. As she advances toward the viewer, her diaphanous garments fluttering about her, she gestures with her left hand toward the masks and musical instruments scattered on the ground, symbols of the frivolous life she offers.

Annibale apparently toyed with the idea of having Pleasure tug at Hercules' cloak; a curved band of wash connects the hero's shoulder with her right hand. Whether he wished to make her claim on Hercules' attention more insistent, or felt the gap between the two figures needed bridging, is impossible to say. To judge from a subsequent drawing for Pleasure and Cupid in Dijon, the artist did not pursue the idea; on that sheet the figure gestures toward the masks with both hands, much as she does in the final canvas, although there she is seen from the back.<sup>4</sup> Cupid was omitted in the end. CVT

### PROVENANCE

Henry Newton, 1712; Padre Sebastiano Resta; Lord Somers (sale, London, 6 May 1717) (Lugt 2981); A. C. His de La Salle (Lugt 1333); bequeathed to the Musée du Louvre, 1878; inv. RF 609

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1961, no. 43; Paris 1994, no. 51

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mahon in Bologna 1956 (Dipinti), 99, under no. 129; Bacou 1964, 40, 44, n. 7, pl. 36; Martin 1965, 242, no. 9, fig. 111; Posner 1971, 2: 40, under no. 93, fig. 93b; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 62; Macchioni 1981, 159, fig. 8; Weston-Lewis 1994, 714; Wood 1996, 18, 41, n. 96, 55

### NOTES

1. Xenophon, *Memorabilia Socratis*, ii, 1: 21–33. Dempsey 1981, 276, has pointed out that Annibale and Orsini knew the story through Cicero (*De officiis*, 1.32, 118 and 111.5, 25).
2. For the genesis of this compositional formula, see Panofsky 1930 and Posner 1971, 2: 40–41.
3. See Cat. 36.
4. Martin 1965, no. 10, fig. 112.



FIG. 1 The Choice of Hercules, 1595–1597, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples

## The Dying Hercules and Other Studies

c. 1596; pen and brown ink on  
beige paper, laid down; 230 x 379  
(9 1/16 x 14 15/16)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

RELATIVELY FEW SHEETS WITH CASUAL, unconnected sketches like this one survive from Annibale's hand, whereas they constitute a sizable and characteristic portion of his brother Agostino's oeuvre.<sup>1</sup> This is less likely a mere coincidence than a reflection of their divergent approaches to drawing. The Carracci had reputations as indefatigable draftsmen, who even drew during meals, "bread in one hand and chalk or charcoal in the other," in the words of Malvasia. Nor is there any doubt that drawing was the basis of their successful revitalization of art.<sup>2</sup> Yet apparently Annibale did not engage in casual, unpremeditated sketching as a stimulus to invention to the same extent as his brother. His approach to drawing is more purposeful and less capricious; one might almost call it utilitarian. A drawing like this one—random combinations of unrelated motifs not necessarily connected with paintings—is therefore something of a rarity, especially since it can be dated fairly precisely. The one motif that does relate directly to a painted work is the nude at bottom right. It has been pointed out that this is an early thought for the dying Hercules on his funeral pyre, painted

in grisaille on the lintel of one of the Camerino's windows, presumably in 1596. Hastily rendered in this sketch, the idea must have been followed by detailed chalk studies from the model that have since been lost, to establish the exact attitude and the lighting.

The approximate date is significant especially with regard to the landscape sketch opposite the figure. Securely dated landscape drawings by Annibale are few and far between; this one, therefore, serves as a benchmark for his landscape style at the beginning of his Roman period.

The perspective construction with a domed church must predate the other motifs on the sheet. The buildings were apparently rendered freehand before the artist decided to overlay them with a grid, which is itself quite free. This was followed by the landscape sketch, which overlaps the perspective lines at the left and in turn continues beneath the figure of Hercules, which must have been added last of all. The purpose of the diagram at bottom right is unclear; it may, as Martin suggested, be a representation from below of the window embrasure on which the *Death of Hercules* was to be painted. Equally equivocal are the studies of a grasshopper at top right. cvr

### PROVENANCE

P. Nourri; Ch. P. de Saint-Morys; confiscated during the French Revolution as émigré property, 1793; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 2207), inv. 7210

### EXHIBITIONS

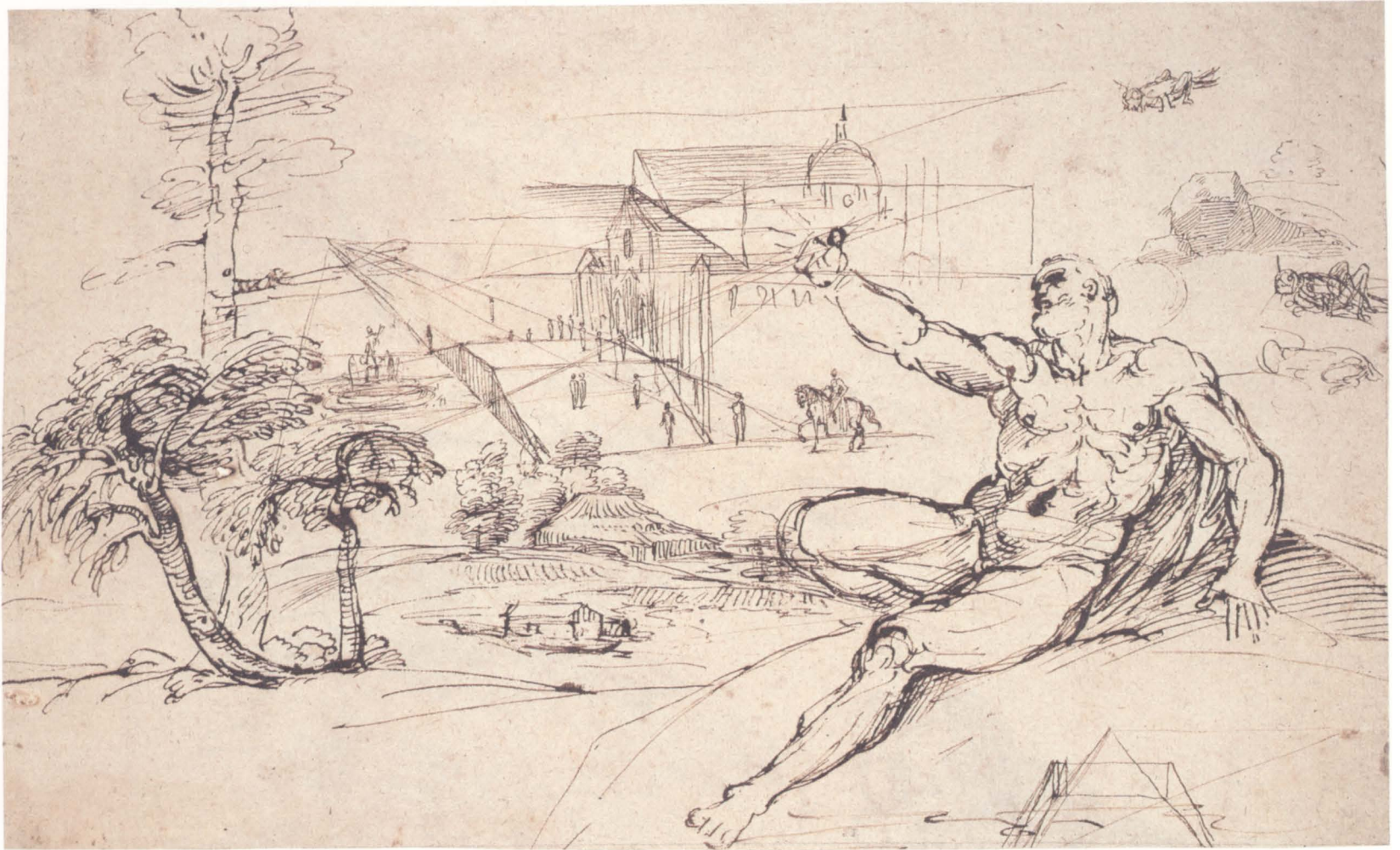
Paris 1961, no. 54, pl. x111; Chicago 1979–1980, no. 9; Paris 1987, no. 92; Paris 1995, 119–120, no. 28

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lumet and Rambosson 1911, 1: no. 22; Vitzthum 1962, 76, fig. 24; Bacou 1964, 44, n. 10; Martin 1965, 241, no. 7, fig. 106; Johnston 1969, 73, fig. 3; Arquié-Bruley, Labbé, and Bicart-Sée 1987, 2: 165; Goldstein 1988, 151, 153, fig. 126

### NOTES

1. See, for instance, several drawings at Windsor (Wittkower 1952, nos. 131–142).
2. Malvasia 1678 (1841), 1: 334.





## 33

Hercules Supporting  
the Sphere

c. 1596–1597; black chalk heightened  
with white on gray-blue paper;  
207 x 313 (8 1/8 x 12 1/16)

BIBLIOTECA REALE, TURIN

THE CENTRAL CANVAS ON THE CAMERINO ceiling, the *Choice of Hercules*, is flanked by two oval frescoes, the one depicting *Hercules Supporting the Sphere* (fig. 1), the other *Hercules Resting*. As Bellori explains, the image of Hercules upholding the heavens is a reference to the virtues of the contemplative life, whereas the second fresco, showing the hero resting after his labors, signifies the active life.<sup>1</sup> This explanation, however paradoxical it may seem, accords with the sixteenth-century interpretation of the myth of Hercules assuming the burden of Atlas: the hero was likened to a philosopher, one who seeks the divine wisdom symbolized by the celestial sphere.<sup>2</sup> Annibale's fresco of *Hercules Supporting the Sphere* embroiders on this interpretation by showing him kneeling between two seated men, whose attributes identify them as astronomers: Ptolemy on the left, perhaps, characterized by a small globe, and Euclid on the right, holding a pair of compasses.

Of the ten surviving drawings for the fresco, most concern the central figure of Hercules. In the seventeenth century, at least twenty

studies were known for this figure alone; Bellori saw them as characteristic of Annibale whenever he “was unable to realize at once in his work the perfect conception he had in mind.”<sup>3</sup> A Roman statue of Atlas, then in the Farnese collection, provided the artist with the basic model. But the globe supported by the statue is relatively small, easily supported with both hands, whereas from his earliest sketches it is clear that Annibale wanted a more monumental effect. His Hercules was to be bowed down under a much larger, more imposing sphere. This meant he had to alter the position of the hero's arms to give him a firm hold of a far greater load. The result is an impressive sequence of studies in which he looked for the pose that would best convey the strain and struggle involved.<sup>4</sup>

In the present drawing, from the live model, Annibale concentrates on Hercules' upper body. The attitude is close to the final conception, but the right arm is still unresolved and the head is set somewhat lower. More importantly, the study is a consummate example of foreshortening. CVT

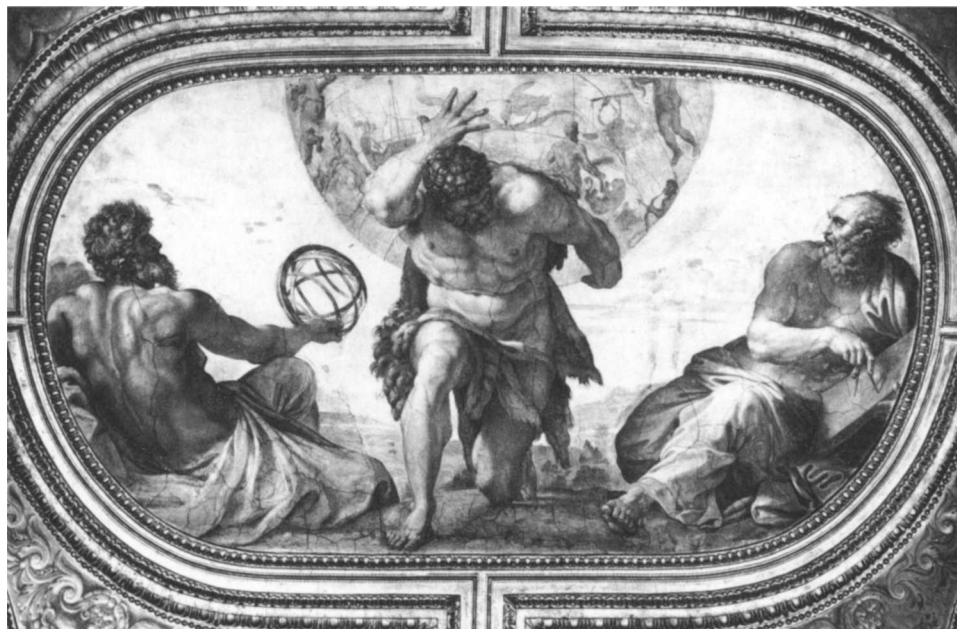


FIG. 1 Hercules Supporting the Sphere, 1595–1597, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

## PROVENANCE

Giovanni Volpato; acquired from him, with his entire collection of drawings, by King Carlo Alberto in 1845 for the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (Lugt 2724), inv. 16074 D.C.

## EXHIBITIONS

Turin 1950, no. 91; Bologna 1956 (Disegni), no. 132; Turin 1990, no. 98a

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bertini 1951, 40, pl. x, fig. 39; Bertini 1958, 22, no. 93; Bacou in Paris 1961, 34, under no. 45; Martin 1965, 174, 181, 182, 242–243, no. 13, fig. 114; Griseri 1978, fig. 40

## NOTES

1. Bellori 1976, 50 (1672, 36).
2. Martin 1956, 96.
3. Bellori 1976, 91–92 (1672, 81); the translation is Martin's, 1965, 180. Vittoria 1703 (1841), 15–16, refers to “over twenty studies of this Hercules” in the collection of Angeloni. In his day, the cartoon was owned by Carlo Maratti.
4. Martin 1965, nos. 12–19 and 36 verso, to which may be added the pen drawing offered at Monaco, Sotheby Parke Bernet, 5 March 1984, no. 909, repr.



# 34

## Hercules Resting

c. 1596–1597; black chalk heightened with white on brown paper, partially incised and laid down;<sup>1</sup> 354 x 517 (13 15/16 x 20 3/8)

THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART, LEONARD C. HANNA, JR. FUND

THE FRESCO ON THE CAMERINO ceiling of *Hercules Resting* shows the hero as a bearded, muscular man, a dagger in his hand, half-reclining on the rocky ground (fig. 1). His weapons are strewn everywhere, along with tokens of his labors: the hide of the Nemean lion, the Hesperides' golden apples, the head of the Cerynean stag, the three-headed dog Cerberus, and the head of the Erymanthian boar. The hero gazes at a sphinx seated opposite him on a block of stone inscribed, in Greek, with "Toil is the bringer of sweet rest."

According to Giovanni Pietro Bellori, this tranquil scene, with its allusions to the hero's toil and strife, paradoxically signifies the *vita activa*. Within the decorative context of the Camerino, *Hercules Resting* has been interpreted as an admonishment to exercise power and authority virtuously.<sup>2</sup>

It has long been recognized that Annibale's fresco is based on an engraved gem once owned by Fulvio Orsini, Cardinal Farnese's librarian and antiquarian. Orsini presumably brought it to the artist's attention as a possible model.<sup>3</sup> The gem shows a pensive Hercules seated on a rocky outcrop and surrounded by exactly the same attributes as in the fresco, including the sphinx and the Greek inscription.

Annibale adapted the gem's upright composition to the horizontal field of the fresco. In an early study, which recently came to light in a New York sale, he showed the hero semi-reclining on the lion's hide, holding his club against his left shoulder and the apples in his right hand as he regards the viewer (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> The pose is closely based on a classical prototype, the famous River Gods, which in Annibale's day were on display in the Vatican Belvedere.<sup>5</sup>

The Cleveland drawing, another recent and important rediscovery, is a subsequent study for the same figure of Hercules. Annibale altered the hero's pose, drawing up the left knee so that his left hand now supports his head, in an attitude that better evokes the hero's physical exhaustion. Like the previous study,

the Cleveland drawing depends closely on classical sources. The prime models in this case are two other River Gods, then in the Farnese collection and therefore well known to Annibale (fig. 3).<sup>6</sup>

In its grand but frankly unrealistic forms, the Cleveland drawing raises the issue of Annibale's handling of antique sources. It was during his first years in Rome that the artist gradually forged that combination of naturalism and classicism that has always been regarded as one of his greatest achievements. We know he deeply pondered the ancient scul-

### PROVENANCE

Bertrand Talabardon, Paris; Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund, inv. 1997.52

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Grazia 1998a; De Grazia 1998b, 296–297, figs. 2 and 3



FIG. 1 Hercules Resting, 1595–1597, Palazzo Farnese, Rome



FIG. 2 Hercules Reclining, and Separate Studies of His Head and Right Foot, 1595–1597, Thomas Williams, London



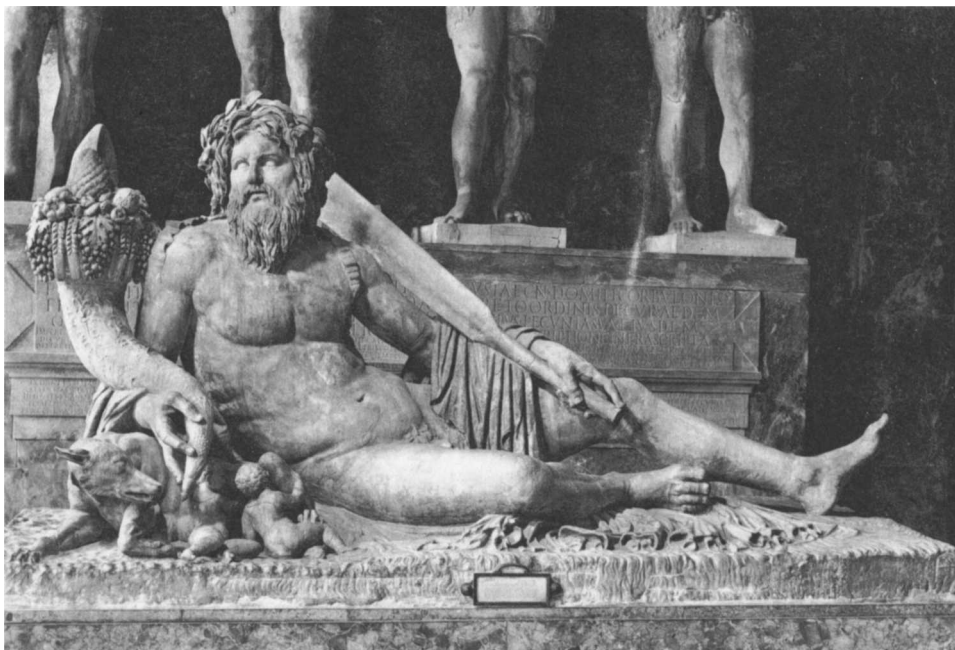


FIG. 3 *Greco-Roman, River God Tiber, Musée du Louvre*

ture in the Farnese collection and elsewhere. Bellori describes how Annibale, upon his arrival in Rome, “was overcome by the great knowledge of the ancients, and applied himself to the contemplation and the solitary silence of that art.”<sup>7</sup> Both Hercules drawings testify to that learning process. The fruit of Annibale’s early enthusiasm for ancient art, they seemingly owe more to classical sculpture than to observed reality. Given the twisted and artificial pose, the exaggerated musculature, and the lack of depth in the Cleveland study, it is unlikely that Annibale could have been working from the live model; instead, he seems to have relied on his profound knowledge of human anatomy to reinvent, or reanimate, a pose he had admired in marble. The few visible *pentimenti* have less to do with a more accurate rendering of the artist’s observations

than with a better adjustment of discrete shapes on the page. The figure appears to be an assemblage of separate body parts, arranged in a preconceived pattern.<sup>8</sup> In any event, it is clear that the fusion of nature and art is not yet as perfect and uncontrived as it would become when Annibale worked on the Farnese Gallery.

Based on the exhibited study, which is partly squared for transfer, the artist prepared a full-size cartoon that is preserved in the Uffizi in Florence.<sup>9</sup> Surprisingly, it was never used; the fresco on the Camerino ceiling reverses the cartoon, and differs from it in many respects. Clearly Annibale—or his patron—was dissatisfied with the design for some reason and decided to rethink the entire composition, almost from scratch. No studies have yet come to light for the revised composition of *Hercules Resting*. CVT

#### NOTES

1. On the verso, presently laid down and thus no longer visible, is a sketch in black chalk of a footed bowl with an ornamented handle. See De Grazia 1998b, 297, fig. 3.
2. Bellori 1976, 50 (1672, 36–37); Martin 1956, 97.
3. Nolhac 1884, 153. The gem, which seems to be a product of the Renaissance rather than an ancient original, now belongs to the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg.
4. New York, Sotheby’s, 28 January 1998, no. 18, repr. Black chalk heightened with white on brown paper, 258 x 396. From the collection of Mathias Polakovits.
5. Haskell and Penny 1981, nos. 65 (Nile) and 79 (Tiber).
6. Vincent 1981, 2, pls. 172c, 173c; De Grazia 1998b, 296–297. As Martin 1965, 184, pointed out, Annibale also seems to have drawn inspiration from Michelangelo’s Adam on the Sistine ceiling.
7. Bellori 1976, 43 (1672, 31); Weston-Lewis 1992, 287–288.
8. Compare the process described by Van den Akker 1991 in the work of Roman and Tuscan mannerist artists.
9. Inv. 96777. Posner 1971, 2: pl. 92e. In 1664, the cartoon was listed in the inventory of Domenichino’s pupil Francesco Raspantino (Spear 1982, 1: 341, fol. 29v: “Chartone d’Hercule, et il Cane Trifauce”). It later passed into the hands of the painter Carlo Maratti (Vittoria 1703 [1841]) and was not rediscovered until 1956 (Brugnoli 1956).

## 35

Ulysses, Mercury,  
and Circe

c. 1596–1597; black chalk heightened with white on gray-blue paper (watermark: M in an escutcheon); 375 x 525 (14 3/4 x 20 1/16)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right: 3

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

ONE OF THE PLACES WHERE ULYSSES and his companions dropped anchor on their quest for Ithaca, after the fall of Troy, was the fabulous island of Aëae, home of the sorceress Circe. In the tenth book of the *Odyssey*, Homer describes how Circe gave Ulysses' men a magic potion to drink that turned them into swine. Only the hero himself escaped, thanks to an antidote, the mythical herb moly, he had received from Mercury. Impervious to her magic, Ulysses forced Circe to restore his companions to their human shape.

One of the Camerino's lunettes depicts the moment when Circe hands Ulysses the magic potion (fig. 1). Unseen by either, Mercury reaches over the hero's shoulder to drop the antidote into his cup. As it happens, there is no such incident in the *Odyssey*, for there Mercury gives Ulysses the moly well before his encounter with the sorceress; in the fresco, Annibale conflated the two incidents. Bellori highly commended the scene, because it conveys "in mute

color" a chain of events that a poet could narrate at length.<sup>1</sup>

Like the other lunettes, the scene illustrates a moral lesson. Circe, her throne adorned with images of Venus and Cupid, personifies Lasciviousness; she has the power to reduce men to beasts. Helped by the god of Reason, Ulysses overcomes this vice. The moral is encapsulated in the painted medallion above the fresco, a representation of Chastity.

An unusually large number of drawings documents the evolution of Annibale's thoughts for the composition. A quickly drawn pen *conceito* in the Louvre shows that he settled on the basic scheme early in the creative process.<sup>2</sup> Circe is in profile on the left, seated on a raised throne. A few rapid pen lines suggest the setting of a pillared hall. The sorceress hands the potion to Ulysses, who stands before her, while Mercury reaches over the hero's right shoulder from behind to drop the antidote into the poisoned cup.

## PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat (sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, under no. 473); Pierre-Jean Mariette (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, part of no. 311); French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7203

## EXHIBITIONS

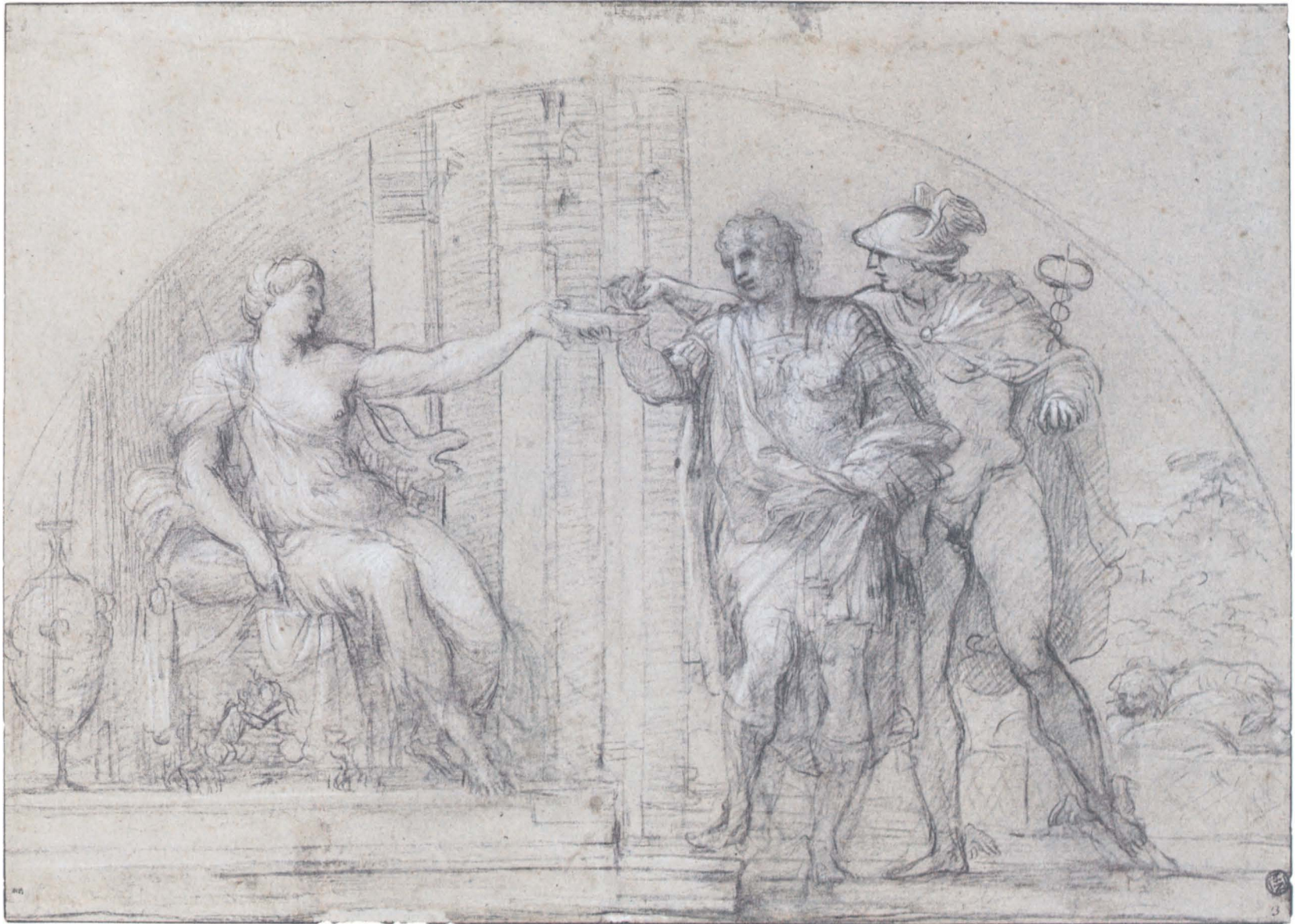
Paris 1866, no. 155

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 69; Wittkower 1952, 133, under no. 283; Martin 1956, 100, n. 56; Mahon in Bologna 1956, 102, under no. 136; Bacou in Paris 1961, 35, under no. 49; Martin 1965, 244, no. 21, fig. 123; Bacou in Paris 1967, 184–185, under no. 31; Posner 1971, 1: 82, 2: pl. 92g; Rosenberg 1981, 132; Goldstein 1988, 136, 139, 218, n. 72, fig. III; Rangoni 1991, no. 10



FIG. 1 Circe and Ulysses, 1595–1597, Palazzo Farnese, Rome



The cup is the fulcrum of the composition. Annibale's greatest challenge was apparently to find a satisfactory way to distribute the three figures across the lunette, while keeping the attention focused on the all-important cup. In the aforementioned *concetto*, the figures are gathered into one sculptural grouping, which leaves about half the available space

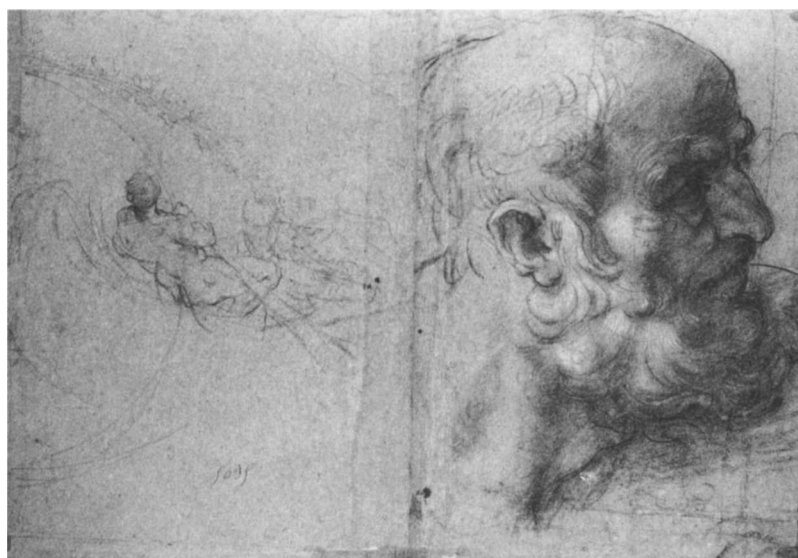
unoccupied. In the exhibited study, Annibale shifted the figures of Ulysses and Mercury to the lunette's right half, resolving the problem of the unoccupied space but creating another awkward gap in the middle of the composition. To bridge it, Circe's left arm had to be lengthened unnaturally. A subsequent study, again in the Louvre, illustrates the final solution.<sup>3</sup> Ulysses is brought back to the center, narrowing the gap between him and Circe, and the space at the right is filled with a subsidiary figure, one of Ulysses' hapless companions, cast as a nude male figure with a swine's head. In the present drawing the sailors are glimpsed in the right background, behind a low parapet. The last drawing in this unusually complete sequence is a privately owned design that approximates the final redaction and is squared for enlargement.<sup>4</sup>

The verso of the sheet bears sketches that relate to other scenes on the Camerino ceiling. The large head study to the right served for the father in the lunette of the *Catanian Brothers*. To the left is a sketch for the oarsmen in *Ulysses and the Sirens* (see Cat. 37).

The theme of Circe and Ulysses was taken up by Annibale's pupils and followers. Over time, these drawings were given to the master himself.<sup>5</sup> CVT

#### NOTES

1. Bellori 1976, 55 (1672, 42).
2. Musée du Louvre, inv. 7211; Martin 1965, no. 20.
3. Musée du Louvre, inv. 7201; Martin 1965, no. 22.
4. Rosenberg 1981, 132–136, fig. 2; formerly in the Mathias Polakovits collection, sold in Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 4 March 1988, no. 134, repr.
5. A pen drawing closely dependent on the exhibited sheet is in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (inv. C89/3608; Höper 1992, 85, no. D 10, repr.); it may be the work of Francesco Albani. An elaborate composition at Windsor Castle, developing ideas culled from the Camerino fresco, has been attributed to Ludovico Carracci in the past but is now generally thought to be by Albani as well (inv. 2122; Wittkower 1952, no. 35, pl. 5). What may be an early sketch for the Windsor drawing was exhibited in Edinburgh 1972, no. 23, repr., as by Annibale.



VERSO Two Oarsmen and a Head of a Bearded Man, black chalk heightened with white

# 36

## Bellerophon and the Chimera

c. 1596–1597; black and white chalk on gray-blue paper, laid down; 294 x 533 (11 7/16 x 21)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

IN GREEK MYTH, THE HERO BELLEROPHON was given the task of slaying the chimera—a fire-breathing monster with a lion's head, a dragon's tail, and a horned goat's head growing out of its back—that was devastating the land of Lycia. With the help of Minerva, who gave him the winged horse Pegasus to ride, Bellerophon succeeded in killing the monster.

This fine compositional drawing has been regarded since at least the eighteenth century as a design for the Camerino Farnese. In the sale of Crozat's collection (1741), it is listed together with three compositional studies for the Camerino, and Mariette's assumption that the *Bellerophon and the Chimera* was intended for the same room is perfectly understandable, even if the subject does not occur in the Camerino.<sup>1</sup> Its size, technique, and style correspond with secure designs for the Camerino, and sixteenth-century sources such as Ripa interpreted the subject as yet another example of Virtue triumphant over Vice—the overall theme of the room.<sup>2</sup> In modern times, Heinrich Bodmer was the first to draw attention to the sheet. His characterization of it as an

abandoned design for one of the lunettes has been endorsed by all subsequent authors, even if there is still some uncertainty as to which subject eventually came to replace it.<sup>3</sup>

The theme was doubly appropriate to the Camerino program in that Pegasus was a Farnese family emblem: the winged horse was a personal impresa of Cardinal Alessandro and was also applied to Odoardo's father, Duke Alessandro.<sup>4</sup> Pegasus reappears in *The Choice of Hercules* at the center of the Camerino's ceiling, standing on Mount Helikon.

The drawing is largely free of *pentimenti*, save for the figure of Bellerophon. Evidently Annibale had some difficulty deciding just how the hero should hold his lance so as to stab the monster in the mouth with sufficient force and conviction. The rapid evocation of the landscape is remarkable, as landscapes sketched in chalk are rare among Annibale's drawings. cvt

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat (sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, under no. 473); acquired by Pierre-Jean Mariette (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775); acquired by Lempereur for the French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7204

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1961, no. 55

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bodmer 1937, 147; Martin 1956, 103, fig. 28; Mahon in Bologna 1956, 105, under no. 142; Martin 1965, 248–249, no. 40, fig. 138; Bacou in Paris 1967, under no. 31; Dempsey 1981, 282, fig. 14; Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, 81, under nos. 51–53

### NOTES

1. Sale catalogue of the collection of Pierre Crozat, 1741, no. 473: "Quatre Desseins pour les tableaux du Cabinet Farnèse; savoir le Bellerophon, l'Atlas, & deux pensées différentes pour la Circé."
2. Ripa 1603, s.v. *Virtù*; Martin 1956, 103.
3. Martin 1956, 103, suggests it was conceived as a pendant to *Perseus and Medusa*, while Dempsey 1981, 282–283, thinks it more likely that the Perseus lunette replaced the projected one with Bellerophon, since they have the same symbolic meaning.
4. Martin 1956, 95, n. 26 and 103, n. 84.







# 37

## Two Oarsmen

*c. 1596–1597; black chalk heightened with white chalk on gray paper, laid down, the lower right corner cut and made up; 246 x 382 (9 1/16 x 15 1/16)*

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

ONE LUNETTE IN THE CAMERINO shows Ulysses bound to the mast of his ship, struggling to free himself from the ropes as he listens to the dangerously seductive song of the sirens (fig. 1). The goddess Minerva stands behind him, a further safeguard against temptation, while his companions, their ears plugged with wax, struggle to row the ship safely out of danger.

On the verso of another sheet in the Louvre, Annibale made a rapid initial sketch for the rowers in the ship's bow.<sup>1</sup> From it the exhibited drawing was developed. It represents an advanced stage in the fresco's preparation:

there is little difference between the poses of the figures on this sheet and in the final painting. Evidently Annibale had already decided just how much of the figures to include by the time he made this drawing from life, as there are no superfluous details—with the characteristic exception, as Martin noted, of a realistic touch: the right-hand rower's left foot braced against the bench in front.

The artist's main concern here is to fix the contours of the figures and to see how the light, which throws the muscles of the sailors into relief, can be used to enhance the sense of physical exertion. CVT

### PROVENANCE

Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, part of no. 311); French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7324

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1866, no. 166; Bologna 1956, no. 140, pl. 67; Paris 1961, no. 48; Chicago 1979–1980, no. 10

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 68; Bodmer 1937, 147; Popham 1939–1940, 7; Wittkower 1952, 134, under no. 285; Martin 1965, 245–246, no. 26, fig. 129; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 134

### NOTES

1. Cat. 35.



FIG. 1 Ulysses and the Sirens, 1595–1597, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

## 38

## A Helmsman

*c. 1596–1597; black chalk or charcoal with traces of white heightening on gray paper (four sheets of irregular size joined together), partly incised; 443 x 459 (17 7/16 x 18 1/16)*

THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
LONDON

THIS DRAWING IS A SECTION OF THE cartoon Annibale prepared for the lunette depicting *Ulysses and the Sirens* in the Camerino; it shows the helmsman steering the hero's ship. In the fresco, this figure wears a leather tunic—the neckline and sleeves are lightly indicated in the cartoon—and a helmet. Below the man's left elbow the figure of Neptune holds his trident—part of the boat's relief decoration that appears in a slightly different position in the fresco. Traces of incising, especially around the man's neck and arms, show that the design was transferred to the wet plaster by indenting the main outlines with a stylus or some other pointed instrument.

A drawing by Annibale in the Louvre is an earlier study from life for the helmsman, which was used with only a few adaptations in the cartoon.<sup>1</sup> Such changes as were made—altering the angle of the figure's head, raising his left elbow, and adding volume to his back

—compress the man's body into a tighter curve and heighten our awareness of the physical strain. Annibale had first sketched his head a little lower on the paper, then moved it higher up and further to the right.

This section of the cartoon consists of four irregular pieces of faded paper joined together. A fifth piece, which presently forms the top right corner of this section, derives from the original cartoon but does not belong in this position; it may have been added to make a rectangle when the cartoon was cut up into salable—or salvageable—pieces. The discoloration of the paper suggests the British Museum section was displayed for a long time, the prized possession of an early collector, perhaps. CVT

## PROVENANCE

Lord Spencer (Lugt 1531); Richard Payne Knight; bequeathed by him to the British Museum in 1824, inv. Oo. 3–6

## EXHIBITIONS

Manchester 1982, no. 121; London 1995; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 77

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Popham 1939–1940, 7–8, pl. 6; Wittkower 1952, 134, under no. 285; Mahon in Bologna 1956, 104, under no. 140; Bacou in Paris 1961, 35, under no. 48; Martin 1965, 246, no. 28, fig. 131; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, 107, fig. 87 N2; Turner 1980, no. 1

## NOTES

1. Musée du Louvre, inv. 7334; Martin 1965, no. 27, fig. 130.





## 39

## Decoration for a Coved Ceiling

1597–1598; pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk, heightened with white on blue paper, laid down; 278 x 352 (10 15/16 x 13 7/8), the upper right corner torn off and made up

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

IN DEVISING A DECORATIVE SCHEME for the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery, Annibale had to confront the technical challenges posed by its steeply curved coving. The geometry of the corners and short end walls created particularly awkward fields for fresco. Annibale's struggle with the stereography of the vault is documented in many of the preparatory drawings.

Here, a roughly triangular field with gently curved sides is defined by a curtain that has been pulled back, its border punctuated by circles or knots on the left, and hung with masks on the right (the upper right portion of the drawing has been torn away). In the center is a frame with tapered sides, surrounded by a great pileup of figures. A vegetal garland is summarily indicated at the upper left.

A generalized treatment of the mobile figures and their elongated proportions recalls the style of the Camerino drawings. The quirky ovoid heads with white heightening on the pates is also reminiscent of the earlier project. On the basis of style the drawing must be one of Annibale's first projects for the Gallery.

Facing the troublesome configuration of surfaces in the corners, Annibale explored here a solution treating the end walls as a separate and independent composition from the long walls. With the curtains marking the borders



FIG. 1 Study for the Decoration of a Ceiling, c. 1597–1598, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

and the massing of animated figures and decorative motifs, the awkward join would be masked rather than bridged. How Annibale intended to coordinate a continuous frieze on the long walls with this independent compartment on the ends is difficult to understand. Recognizing the problem, he discarded the scheme represented by this drawing.

A closely linked study in pen and wash, in Copenhagen, contains a pale chalk sketch for a similar triangular compartment with curved sides, and a lively population of decorative figures (fig. 1). The central feature of a framed scene with fanciful decoration is picked out in dark ink. Within it is a quick sketch of a kneeling supplicant and seated figure with arms outstretched, which is similar to the jotting within the frame in the present drawing. On the verso of the Copenhagen sheet is a similar arched compartment, its apex occupied by a profile bust of an emperor in a shell niche, and a cartouche in the center with an indication of an inscription.

The constellation of decorative motifs in the Louvre study and the explicitly linked recto and verso of the Copenhagen sheet is puzzling.<sup>1</sup> The imperial busts in niches, an inscribed cartouche in a rather heroic mode, and the supplication scenes are entirely absent from the further development of the vault. If these two sheets are so early as to precede all of the other studies for the project, then Annibale may have been considering an iconography at this initial stage that had little to do with the theme of the loves of the gods that emerged in the subsequent development. Scholars have long argued that a precise selection of scenes and their placement or relative importance had not been established at the outset. Not only do the Louvre and Copenhagen drawings lend weight to this notion, but they raise the possibility that not even the fundamental theme of the Farnese Gallery was established before Annibale started designing the decoration.<sup>2</sup> GF

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Antoine Coypel; Charles-Antoine Coypel; bequeathed by him to the French royal collection, 1752; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7418

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1927, no. 6

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 97ff; Bacou in Paris 1961, 39, under no. 56; Martin 1965, 249, no. 43; Posner 1971, I: 97

### NOTES

1. The so-called Perrier Album, actually by François Bourlier (Musée du Louvre, RF 879–1060), which contains copies of some of Annibale's drawings for the ceiling, includes several related compositions for the end wall with similar imperial busts in niches, curtains, *ignudi*, etc., for which see Bacou 1964, 41–43, figs. 1–4, and Posner 1971, 2: IIIA, IIIB.
2. Posner suggests, mainly on the basis of the copies in the Perrier Album, that similar spandrel-shaped compartments were planned to surmount the continuous frieze on the end wall. It seems more likely that this impression is an accident of the placement of the motifs on the page, and that the vignettes are actually independent.

# 40

## Project for the Decoration of the Farnese Gallery

1597–1598; red chalk with pen  
and brown ink on cream paper;  
388 x 264 (15 1/4 x 10 3/8)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink  
at top center: 88; and at left: alli  
(vertically); J Francesc (upside  
down); annn (upside down); on the  
verso, inscribed in pen and brown  
ink at left center (vertically): 89

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

THE ASSEMBLAGE OF STUDIES ON this sheet represents an advanced moment in the planning of the Farnese Gallery vault. Annibale began with several independent sketches in red chalk, over which he layered more definitive ideas in pen. In red chalk across the lower edge is a schematic rendering of a frieze with alternating oval and rectangular compartments divided by herms. To the left of center a sphinx is fitted into the lower left corner of a frame for an octagonal compartment, which corresponds to those for *Pan and Diana* and *Paris and Mercury* in the fresco. A smaller octagon may be coordinated with the frieze it surmounts at the bottom of the page. At the right is the initial rendering of a corner of the ceiling, which became the point of departure for the principal study in pen. It includes a herm towering over two putti, who hold an oval shield with Cardinal Farnese's impresa of lilies and a banderole.

Working in pen over the red chalk notations Annibale elaborated a comprehensive solution for one of the short ends of the vault (fig. 1). Anchored by the corner he had established, he drew a balustrade surmounted by a single putto holding a shield. An atlas herm supports the corner, and while no connection has been devised between him and his chalk counterpart, who leans sharply inward, the disconnected hand on his proper right shoulder foretells the ultimate solution of embracing herms bridging the corners. An *ignudo* perched on a block overlaps the herm, enhancing the illusion of depth and habitable space in this area. The central feature, a large vertical compartment, is indicated by its framing. With typical economy Annibale drew no more than was necessary, just the corners and the mask, to clarify the position and motifs. The framed compartment appears to overlap a roundel with a figural scene. Significantly, Annibale had first drawn the entire roundel in red chalk, which suggests that the idea of overlapping was born in the process of drawing, where the

transparency of layers is easily visualized. Here Annibale advanced his crucial concept for the Gallery of framed pictures, or *quadri riportati*, which feign to be propped in front of scenes that are integral with the wall behind.

In an oblong field above the central compartment appear Jupiter and Ganymede. Two other variations for the pair appear in the area below; none of the three variations is very close to the solution adopted in the fresco.

A satyr makes his first appearance in the Farnese project in this sheet perched on a bracket over the volute of the framed compartment. He is ensconced in the pocket formed by the meeting of the concave coving of the walls and area outside the apex of the triangle of the end wall, a field envisioned, for example, in Cat. 39. A fleur-de-lis pattern covers the background surface. The fleur-de-lis decoration was discarded in the fresco, and its rejection is significant. Annibale illusionistically defined the surface level, the skin of the ceiling itself, adorned with fictive engaged medallions and plaster moldings. He then established a space *in front* of this surface, in which exist the overlapping *quadri riportati* and the lively population of statues and *ignudi*. In the drawing with

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Antoine Coypel; Charles-Antoine Coypel; bequeathed by him to the French royal collection, 1752; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7416

### EXHIBITIONS

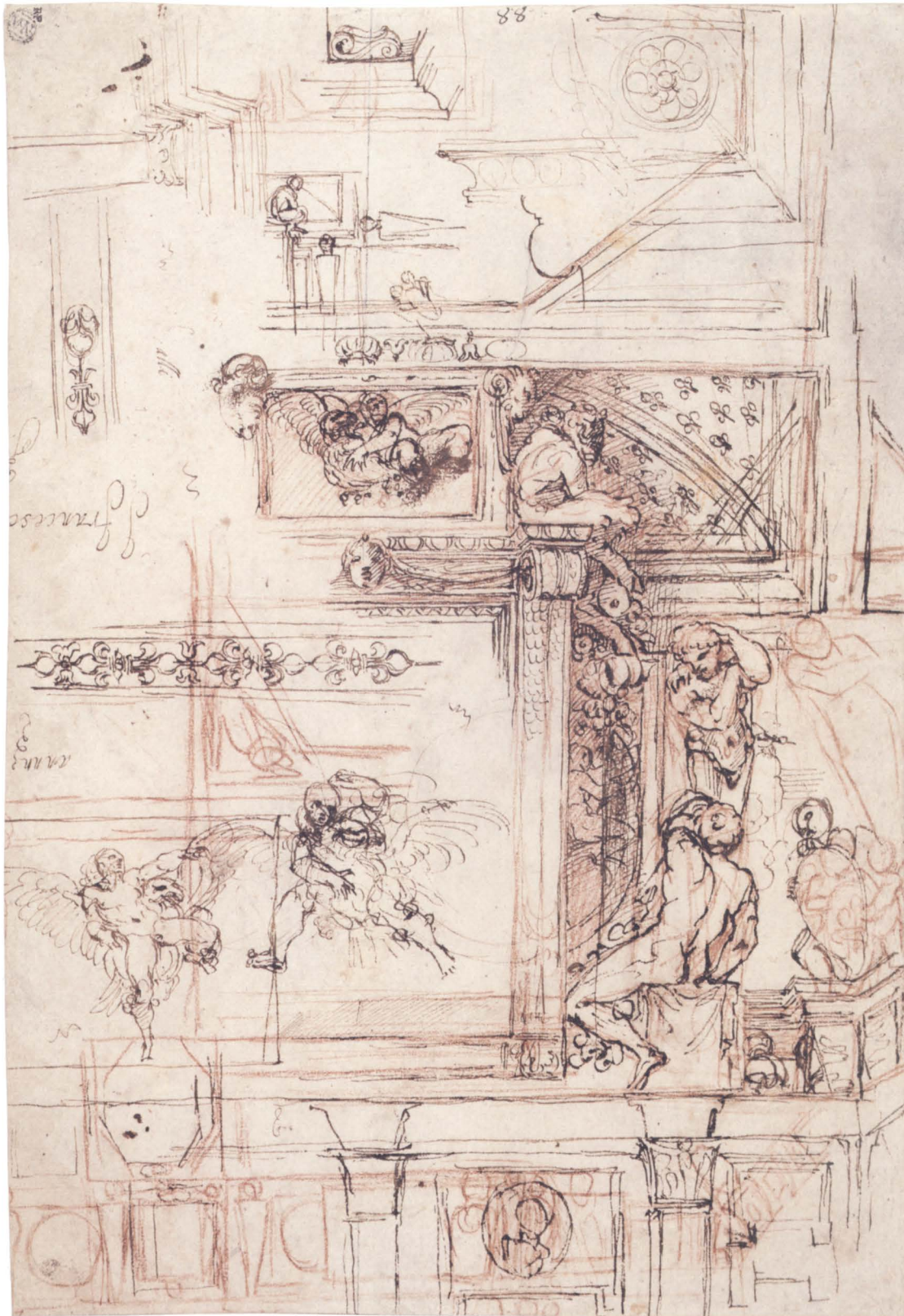
Bologna 1956, no. 147; Paris 1961, no. 57; Paris 1988c, no. 28; Vatican 1990, no. 41; Paris 1994, no. 56

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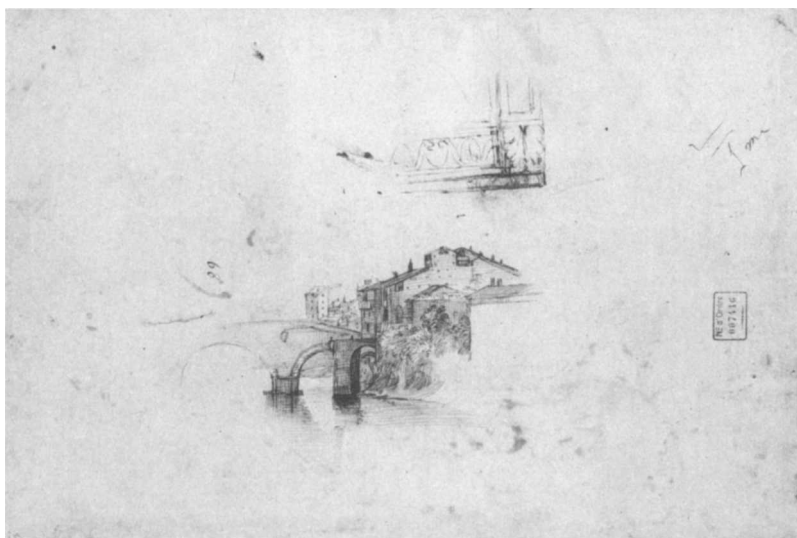
Tietze 1906–1907, 104–105, pl. IV; Weizsäcker 1936, I: pl. 147, fig. 167; Wittkower 1952, 137, under no. 294; Martin 1965, 195–196, 251, no. 50, fig. 155; Whitfield 1981, 325, n. 53; Rangoni 1991, 65, no. 3; Bologna 1998, under no. 28 a/b, 106, n. 9



FIG. 1 Farnese Ceiling, Detail of North Wall, c. 1597/1598–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome







VERSO View of the Isola Tiberina and an Ornamental Sketch, *pen and brown ink (for the view) and pen and gray-brown ink (for the ornament)*

the fleur-de-lis pattern, the space in which the satyr perches reads as part of the “surface” of the ceiling. In the fresco the effect is ambiguous as the background is treated as a penetration to a shadowy area that seems to be the actual masonry of the vault behind the decorated surface. It is as if the fresco decoration were a shell situated within the “real” vault of the Gallery, but the transition is complicated by the introduction of the satyrs in the angles. It is never entirely clear whether the shell is contiguous with the physical vault, or suspended within it. The opening of the corners to the sky, just below the glimpses of the “real masonry” vault, creates a contradiction between the physical vault and the more powerful illusionistic one. Annibale exploited this tension, always thwarting a pedantic or literal reading of the space.

In this drawing, so dense with information, Annibale has also outlined the system of decoration of the walls below. In just two bays Annibale posited the entire rhythmic sequence: Corinthian pilasters framing narrow bays surmounted by round niches with busts, alternating with rectangular compartments. In fact, this

solution, which was used on the longitudinal walls, would have been unworkable at the ends. The scheme he finally adopted for the end walls was entirely different, and this drawing shows that at this stage of development it was not even contemplated.<sup>1</sup>

Above the Ganymede compartment Annibale drew a miniature sketch of the same part of the vault as in the principal study. Among the other motifs practiced on the outer edges of the page are a rosette in a deep rectangular frame, probably a coffer design, a series of moldings and foliate decorations, and a volute. Fragments of writing scattered casually about the sheet, including the name *Francesco*, are not necessarily in Annibale’s hand.

The drawing is extraordinary in its rich, although partial and allusive, articulation of so much of the project in so compressed and abbreviated a form. Equally remarkable is the fact that this drawing represents the most advanced degree of development of the scheme in the planning stages. No final design by Annibale exists that sets out a complete solution for the entire vault of the Gallery, or even for any parts of the decoration in their conclusive form. There is no reason to believe that he ever made such a *modello*.<sup>2</sup> Annibale’s powers of conceptualization and memory were such that he was able to proceed from his brilliant, highly efficient visualizations of essential fragments directly to careful studies of the scenes, figures, and motifs.

The verso contains a pen sketch of part of a frame and a river scene with a bridge and buildings on the bank. The scene reappears in a drawing in Chatsworth.<sup>3</sup> GF

#### NOTES

1. Martin 1965, 197.
2. Martin 1965, 196.
3. Jaffé 1994, no. 476.

# 41

## Fragmentary Wall Decoration with a Herm

1597–1598; black chalk with  
white chalk on blue paper  
(watermark: *M* in a cartouche);  
270 x 200 (10 3/8 x 7 7/8)

Inscribed in pen and black ink  
at lower right: Annibale Carracci/  
98; inscribed in graphite on the  
verso: n. 1773

GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG,  
STAATSGALERIE STUTTGART

ANNIBALE USED BLACK CHALK FOR this quick, yet decisively conceived idea for the frieze.<sup>1</sup> Dominating the page is a herm, clad in drapery and engaged in a pilaster with the upper body of a seated *ignudo* superimposed on his base. To the right, a frame with a notched corner and a repeated foliate motif on its left member is surmounted by a roughly indicated reclining figure and the suggestion of a shell. The frame encloses two rapidly drawn figures, one of which has the legs of a faun.<sup>2</sup> Above it is the molding of a large, broad frame, presumably for one of the paintings on the vault, the edge of which lines up with the pilaster.

With typical, but nonetheless remarkable economy, Annibale focused on this fragment of the frieze to conceptualize the essential relationships between compartment and partition, between the decorative elements and the so-called *quadri riportati*. He extracted a section in which the crucial nexus of elements for the decorative units could be resolved, and from which fragment he could visualize the whole scheme. The sheet may have been cut down slightly below, but it probably did not extend significantly to the right.<sup>3</sup> No drawings exist to suggest that Annibale ever laboriously studied each section of the frieze. With the conceptual relationships resolved in rapid studies like this one, he had the basis upon which to improvise his variations on the theme.

A relatively dense network of chalk strokes interspersed with a liberal application of linear white chalk heightening suggests that the Stuttgart sketch was executed not long after the

Camerino drawings. Also similar to the Camerino style is the shorthand of the figures, especially the bulgy cranium and pointy features as in the *ignudo*. It probably followed on the heels of the more preliminary studies for the frieze in a drawing at Windsor, dated to 1597–1598,<sup>4</sup> in which the ensemble of decorative figures is not yet formulated. The present study is a unique document of the moment in which Annibale synthesized the system for the repeating units of the frieze.

### PROVENANCE

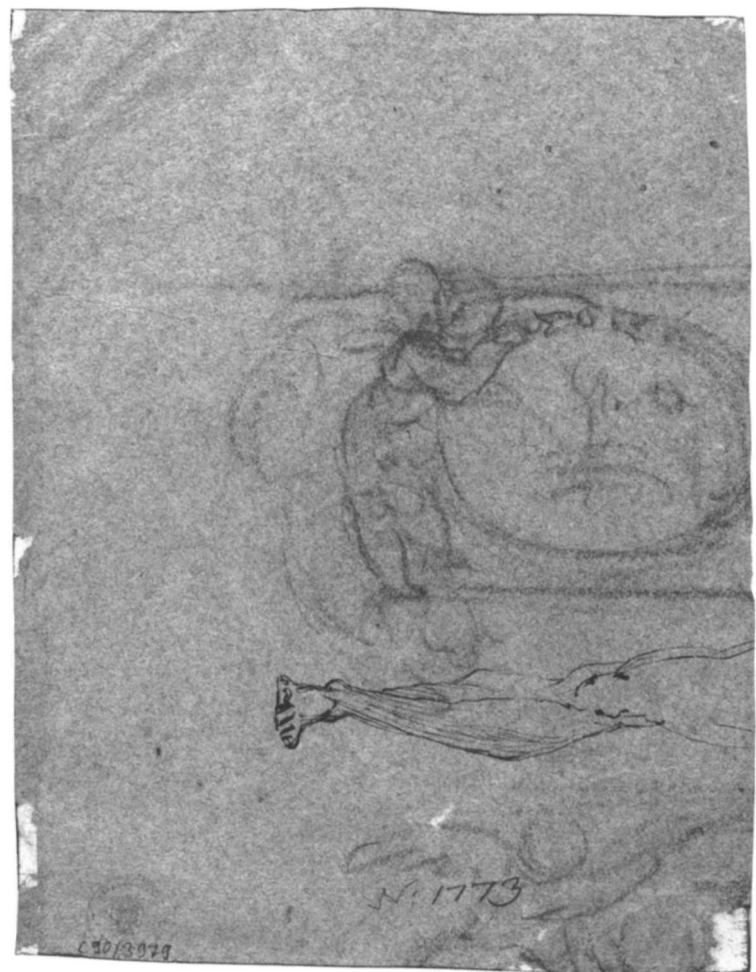
Francesco Angeloni; private collection (sale, 13 Auction Winterberg, Heidelberg 1976, no. 125); Professor Richard Jung, Freiburg im Breisgau; bequeathed to the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1989, inv. C90/3979

### EXHIBITIONS

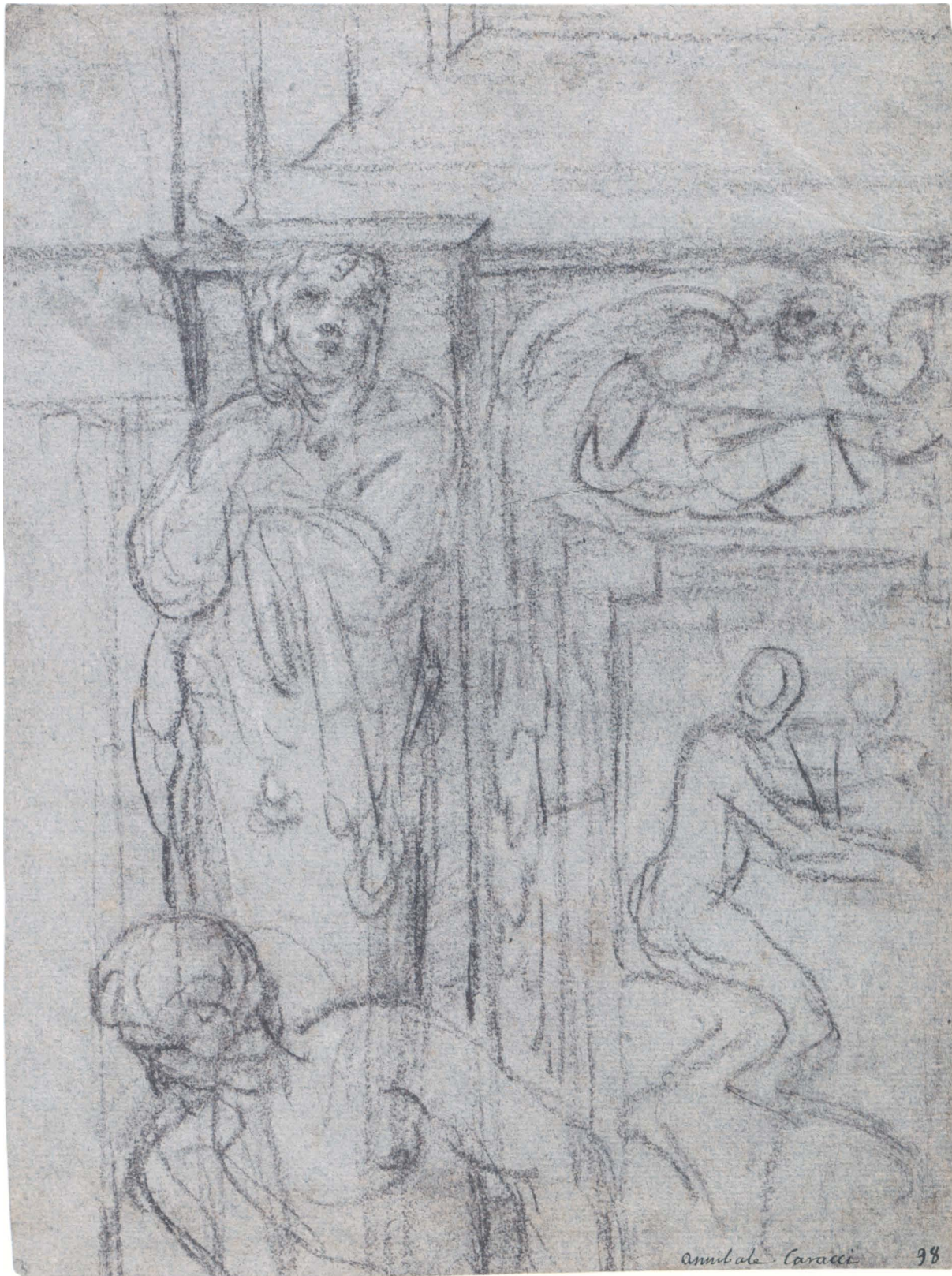
Stuttgart 1989–1990, no. 40

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Thiem 1985, 525–526; Höper 1992, Kat. E 47



VERSO Decorative Motif and a Study of a Leg, black chalk (for the decorative motif) and pen and brown ink (for the leg)



Drawn on the verso in black chalk is a standing putto who curls his upper body around an oval. Above and below are horizontal framing lines indicating they are part of a frieze. A second, clearly winged, putto appears to flank another oval medallion below. Quickly sketched inside the principal oval are three flowers with some curved lines suggesting a scroll: Cardinal Farnese's impresa, three purple lilies with the Greek motto "I grow with God's help."<sup>5</sup> In the course of Annibale's planning for the Gallery the impresa migrated from one place to another in the decoration, appearing, notably, in early solutions for the corners (as in Cat. 40), and finally settling in a lobed compartment set into the stucco ornament of the walls. The oval, which evidently preceded the idea of the roundel, corroborates the early placement of the drawing within the evolution of the scheme. A pen study of a leg is of uncertain relation to the Gallery.<sup>6</sup> GF

#### NOTES

1. This discussion is indebted to Thiem's incisive analysis of this sheet and its role in the development of the frieze (1985).

2. Thiem 1985 tentatively connected this with the figure of Juno in *Jupiter and Juno*, but even in this abbreviated notation the goat legs are unmistakable. She also connected the herm to the one at the left of *Hercules and Iole* in the fresco, but there are significant differences in the pose. This raises some questions regarding Thiem's argument that the present drawing represents a location on the west side, at the beginning of the execution of the fresco.

3. Thiem 1985, 525.

4. Thiem proposed this relative sequence. The Windsor sheet contains a chalk study for Annibale's *Nativity of the Virgin*, in the Louvre, which dates the sheet to 1597–1598. For the Windsor drawing, inv. 2131, see Martin 1965, no. 48, fig. 154. The chalk style, which is similar to and clearly contemporary with the Camerino drawings, is also close to that in the present sheet.

5. Martin 1965, 134; Thiem 1985, 525.

6. The recto bears the number 98, identifying it as part of the Angeloni collection. Although there was more than one Angeloni album, and thus more than one drawing may bear the same number, Thiem connected the present sheet with Louvre 7197, Angeloni no. 94, which is likewise on blue-gray paper and similar in manner, and dates both to c. 1597, which she correlates with the initial plans for the marriage of Ranuccio Farnese to Margherita Aldobrandini. While a date of 1597–1598 for the drawing is surely correct based on other evidence discussed above, the Angeloni number and the marriage (which recent scholarship has tended to discount as the motivation for the decoration of the Farnese) are not necessary to support the date.

## Bacchic Procession

1597–1598; pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk, heightened with white gouache on yellowish-brown prepared paper; 238 x 429 (9 3/8 x 16 7/8)

GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG  
ALBERTINA, VIENNA



FIG. 1 Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, 1597/1598–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

IN THIS DRAWING, THE COLORED ground, shallow space, planar composition, spare setting, and emphatic chiaroscuro conjure an effect of a low-relief sculptured frieze. Rarely did Annibale use such a coloristic technique or produce such an elaborate formal design with so few *pentimenti*. Certainly the drawing was intended for presentation, although it is not known to whom. Later it does seem to have found its way into the hands of the artist's biographer, Bellori: "In our album is kept the first idea with drunken Bacchus supported by fauns on the chariot amidst bacchanti." Bellori's drawing was described as executed in pen with white heightening on tinted paper.<sup>1</sup> The drawing represents an early stage in what would become the crowning feature of the Gallery (fig. 1). The scene would undergo extensive changes, which are charted in a series of compositional drawings, as well as more than a dozen surviving studies for individual figures.

Here Bacchus, who indeed appears intoxicated, requires two youths to prop him up in his chariot. A piping faun and satyr accompany him at the left. Nearby in the left foreground Ariadne sleeps unnoticed, except by one of the youths attending Bacchus. Silenus, at the right, is so drunk that he needs three

attendants to keep him from sliding off the back of a protesting donkey. A cymbal-clanging maenad twists around toward Bacchus to connect the two halves of the scene. A pair of shaggy, diminutive lions pull the chariot. Two *eroti*, one of whom plays the lyre, ride backward on the lions. At the far right, just behind the donkey's head, are two female attendants, one carrying a wine jug on her head, the other balancing a basket. Above the procession hovers a rather sizable cupid.

The *Triumph of Bacchus* had a complicated history. Annibale's preparatory drawings attest that, with the Finding of Ariadne, it was the only specific subject that was contemplated at the early planning stages of the Gallery. In a design for the ceiling, in the Louvre (fig. 2), a procession of Bacchus in his chariot with attendants appears in a compartment at the bottom.<sup>2</sup> A drawing in Windsor (Cat. 43) includes a portion of the decorative frieze enframing an oblong compartment in a continuation of the same procession including Silenus and the episode of the finding of Ariadne. A third drawing, in the Louvre, is a more fully articulated study of a section of the scene with a crowd of Bacchic attendants.<sup>3</sup> None of the three summary sketches depends specifically on the present compositional drawing.

## PROVENANCE

Giovanni Pietro Bellori (?); Duke of Marlborough (engraved by W. Ryland in 1765 while in the duke's collection); D. Guerauld from whom acquired by the Albertina in 1923, inv. 23370, B 105

## EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 149; Vienna 1991, no. 159

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bellori 1672, 74; Tietze 1906–1907, 109, III, n. 2, fig. 38; Stix 1930, 2: 180, nn. 1–3, pl. 121; Stix and Spitzmüller 1941, 105; Bacou in Paris 1961, under no. 58; Martin 1965, 253, no. 54, fig. 159; Posner 1971, I: 105, n. 55; 2: pl. 111w; Johnston 1976, no. 6; Reckermann 1991, 176, fig. 43; Weston-Lewis 1992, 298–299, 312, nn. 46, 52, fig. 21; Sciolla et al. 1991–1994, 44, fig. 38; Williamson 1992, 128, n. 53; Clayton in London and tour 1995–1996, 103, under no. 36, fig. 30; Birke and Kertész 1994–1997, 4: 2224–2225, inv. 23370



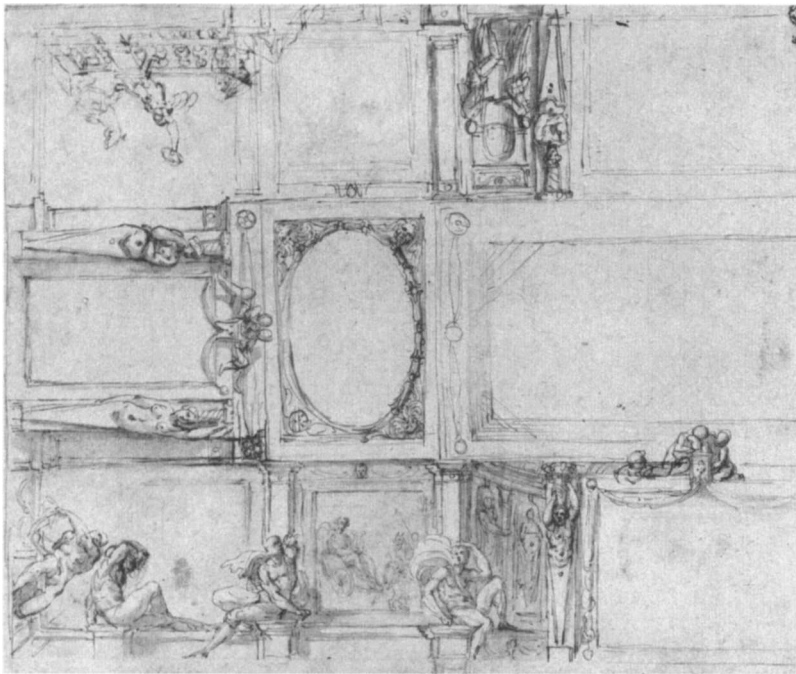


FIG. 2 Design for the Farnese Ceiling with a Procession of Bacchus, 1597/1598–1601,  
Musée du Louvre

The subject of a Triumph of Bacchus must have been decided at an early stage, but not its iconographic details or central position in the program. In the present drawing, the Triumph of Bacchus is combined with the Finding of Ariadne, although the latter is more suggestion than action. The oblong format and unified composition are a close fit with what Annibale ultimately designed for the vault. Yet its relative position in the planning process remains puzzling. If the Triumph of Bacchus was the only subject determined at the outset, a presentation drawing in the spirit of the antique would be a logical starting point. Annibale could have then explored the idea of breaking the scene into three segments as in the three studies in the Louvre and Windsor, mentioned above. The general project for the ceiling represented by fig. 2 already provided for a large, elongated central compartment that was left blank, while the Bacchic procession was relegated to the frieze. The Triumph was not, at this point, destined to be the principal subject in the Gallery.

For all the questions they raise, the group of studies for a Bacchic procession provides indispensable evidence for the interpretation of the Gallery. They suggest that the Triumph of Bacchus may have been a subject required or suggested by the patron or adviser, but that it was not intended as the linchpin of the decoration. Nor were the particulars of the iconography of the Triumph fixed or important at this early stage. It is important to keep the evidence of these drawings in mind in evaluating the arguments of a recent monograph on the Farnese Gallery, which construed the *Triumph of Bacchus* as an allegory of Alessandro Farnese's conquest of Flanders. According to this thesis, the Gallery as a *Repräsentationsraum*, a public or state room, was, by definition, dedicated to the glorification of the Farnese. Surrounded by other mythological events corresponding to the Neoplatonic concept of the ascent of the soul to heaven, the Triumph of Bacchus thus would signify here the ascent of the Farnese.<sup>4</sup> While in summary this concept may seem far-fetched, there are learned and compelling arguments to support a Neoplatonic gloss to the ceiling.<sup>5</sup> What the drawings demonstrate, however, is that the Triumph of Bacchus was not the central or controlling premise of the decoration from the beginning, but rather an obligatory component. While there is good reason to accept that mythology in the Gallery functions as a concealed representation of philosophical truth, and that there is reference in the Triumph to the dynastic glory of the Farnese,<sup>6</sup> in Annibale's frescoes political panegyric and metaphysics are overpowered by comic dissimulation and carnality.

Annibale had many examples of the Triumph of Bacchus to turn to for inspiration. Bellori



FIG. 3 Perino del Vaga, *Triumph of Bacchus*, Musée du Louvre



FIG. 4 *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, c. 1599–1600, *Graphische Sammlung Albertina*, Vienna

wrote that Annibale made drawings after antique marbles while working on the scene, and certainly the subject appeared on many an ancient sarcophagus. It also appeared on a carved crystal in the Farnese Casket, commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, for which Perino del Vaga had provided preparatory designs. Annibale's indebtedness to Perino's drawing (fig. 3), which was available to him in the Farnese collection, has long been recognized.<sup>7</sup> Even the memory of Perino's oval composition, intended for a gem, seems to govern the Albertina design. Perino offered models for the team of lions ridden by putti with lyres, the sprawling Silenus on the donkey supported by attendants, the maenad carrying a basket on her head, the faun playing the double flute, and numerous other details. Yet Annibale's debt to Perino increased in the final version of the fresco where the composition is built up at the left and modifications are made to the poses of Bacchus and Silenus. Above all, Annibale has changed the diagonal placement of the chariot, which drove the entire procession toward the foreground, creating a traffic jam. Following Perino he adopted a profile view of the chariot, which cleared the way for a genuine procession moving irresistibly across the vault of the Farnese Gallery. He also transformed the scene into a *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, perhaps in anticipation of Ranuccio's marriage, which was being negotiated at the time. This process can be followed in four subsequent preparatory drawings in the Louvre and Albertina,<sup>8</sup> which record the elimination of the *Finding of Ariadne* episode, Ariadne's installation in her own chariot (fig. 4), and the metamorphosis of her sleeping figure into the earthly *Venus*. GF

#### NOTES

1. Bellori 1672, 74 (author's trans.); Tietze 1906–1907, 110, identified this as Bellori's drawing. A later description of the media is in Vittoria 1703 (1841), 54. See also Martin 1965, 201; Weston-Lewis 1992, 299, 312 n. 52.
2. Inv. 8048. Bacchus holds a lyre, more usually an attribute of Apollo, but the procession including a faun or satyr is associated with Bacchus.
3. Inv. 7185; repr. Martin 1965, fig. 158.
4. Marzik 1986.
5. Reckermann 1991, especially chapter 1, 11–60, treats the history of the interpretation of the Gallery, including an astute critique of Marzik. In a review of Marzik, Dempsey (1986) appropriately characterized Marzik's argument as strained and he challenged her methodology of isolating iconographic analysis from considerations of genre, style, expressive content, and literary taste.
6. Reckermann 1991 provided the historical context for this in a magisterial analysis of how mythological narrative in the Gallery could function on multiple levels of argument, political, philosophical, exemplary, etc.
7. See Martin 1965, 118–121, for detailed discussion and further bibliography.
8. Louvre inv. 7183; Albertina invs. 2144, 2148, 2145. Repr. Martin 1965, figs. 160–163.





# 43

## Triumph of Bacchus

1597–1598; pen and brown ink on cream paper; 168 x 223 (6 5/8 x 8 3/4), the lower left corner cut and made up illegibly inscribed in pen at lower left (in the design): p. lorolog.o(?); Al molto/III(?)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

ANNIBALE DASHED OFF THIS SPLENDID idea for a section of the frieze, which at this stage of development included the Triumph of Bacchus as well as the related episode of the Finding of Ariadne. The rectangular compartment is enclosed in a heavily embellished frame with swags and a cartouche above, and a mask below. Immediately to the left is an atlas or caryatid, then a figure draped in a vaguely antique manner in a rectangular niche, and an engaged caryatid or atlas in profile at the extreme left. The top of a smaller scale, and apparently independent, sketch of the upper part of a figure in a helmet has been trimmed off.

Annibale's ability to articulate an ambitious composition in such a rapid, abbreviated notation is exceptional. With a minimum of scribbling strokes he conjures a fat Silenus insecure on the back of his donkey, an ecstatic dancing maenad whose motion propels the procession forward while twisting back to make the essential link between both halves of the composition, and the figure who points out the discovery of the alluring Ariadne ensconced in a leafy glade.

As the surviving preparatory drawings testify, Annibale originally conceived of the Bacchic procession as a sequence of scenes in framed compartments arrayed in a frieze along the coving of the walls. The Bacchic cortege was broken into vignettes, and in the present sheet the episode of the Finding of Ariadne is incorporated into the Bacchic procession.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear precisely when Annibale

changed the organization of the ceiling and decided to compress the Triumph of Bacchus into the unified scene and crowning feature of the vault. Nor can one pinpoint the moment when the Ariadne episode was deleted. A sleeping Ariadne is on the point of being discovered at the left of the Bacchic procession in the Albertina *modello* (Cat. 42). In three studies of the cortege, which seem to represent a more advanced phase in the development of the scheme, Ariadne is elevated to a position first in Bacchus' chariot, and then in one of her own.<sup>2</sup> A conspicuous allusion to the finding of Ariadne is incorporated in the fresco by substituting a reclining female nude in a pose traditionally associated with a famous antique statue known as the Sleeping Ariadne, but who, in the Farnese, assumes the identity of the earthly Venus. GF

### PROVENANCE

King George III; Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 2155

### EXHIBITIONS

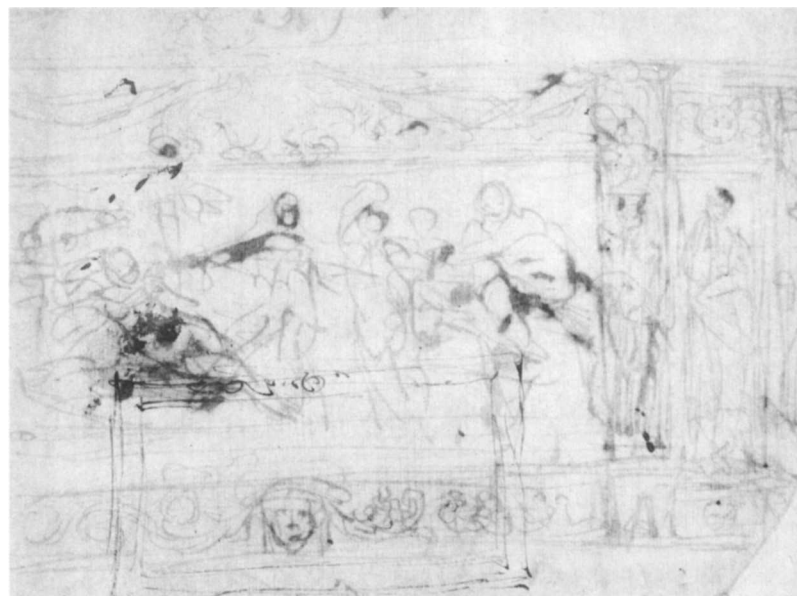
Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 129, pl. xxxii; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 80

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 103, 108, fig. 34; Wittkower 1952, 134, no. 287, fig. 29; Mahon in Bologna 1956, 111, under no. 147; Martin 1965, 194, 250, no. 47; Robertson 1990, 19 ff

### NOTES

1. Tietze 1906–1907, 101, and Martin 1965, 200–201.
2. Louvre inv. 7183, Albertina invs. 2144 and 2145; repr. Martin 1965, figs. 160, 161, 163.



VERSO Sketch of a Frame, pen and brown ink

# 44

## A Faun Blowing a Horn

1597–1598; black chalk heightened  
with white on gray paper, laid down;  
542 x 280 (21 3/8 x 11 1/16)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

THE STUDY IS FOR THE FAUN IN THE *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* who blows a horn while he strides alongside Silenus to support him on his donkey. The *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* is thought to be the first major part of the Farnese ceiling to be frescoed. Since it was Annibale's practice to refine the details as he went along rather than planning the whole decoration at once, the drawings for the *Triumph of Bacchus* can be counted among the earliest for the project.

Much admired, this drawing was exhibited for a long time in the Louvre and the original blue of the paper has faded to gray. It is easy to understand why it was held in such high esteem, for the life and energy of the figure is impressive. The pose, with its jaunty counterpoise, the twist of the body, and the bounce in the step, is one of the most memorable in the Gallery. Annibale played with the contours, having begun the study with both legs farther forward, and the multiple outlines enhance the sense of action in the drawing.

A precursor to this figure appears in the Albertina *modello* (Cat. 42) and in one of the hasty ideas for the *Triumph* presented in three parts; in both the pipes are double and held

with two hands.<sup>1</sup> A rather anonymous attendant supporting Silenus appears in the Albertina *modello* in the position that would be occupied by the faun in the final composition. No other preparatory study is known for the faun, who is so authoritatively realized in this sheet. The precise and definitive rendering, with the lighting carefully plotted and shadows meticulously hatched and crosshatched, was perfectly suited for translation to the full-scale cartoon (Cat. 47). Annibale was surely mindful of the final composition when he drew this for he sharply truncated the faun's shoulder, in the manner of a sculptured bust, where it would be obscured by Silenus' arm in the fresco.

It is interesting to note that compared to the powerful, monumental drawings for the nudes, which were done later in the cycle (Cats. 59, 60), this one is more conscientiously detailed, is articulated with shorter strokes, and conveys a tight-knit elasticity in the physique.

The taut, detailed musculature, almost knobby in the torso, is reminiscent of examples of antique sculpture that Annibale knew quite well. For example, the Farnese owned a faun with infant Bacchus on his shoulder, which was installed in one of the niches in the Gallery.<sup>2</sup> While the pose is not similar, the articulation of the anatomy is, and the Bacchic subject may have inspired Annibale's interest. GF

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Antoine Coypel; Charles-Antoine Coypel; bequeathed by him to the French royal collection, 1752; Musée du Louvre (marks partially trimmed; Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7316

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1797, no. 22; Paris 1802, no. 48; Paris 1838, 1841, 1845, no. 123; Paris 1866, no. 158; Bologna 1956, no. 154, pl. 51; Paris 1961, no. 61; Paris 1988c, no. 32 (repr. mislabeled 31)

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 118; Martin 1965, 206, 255–256, no. 65, fig. 172

### NOTES

1. Musée du Louvre, inv. 7185; repr. Martin 1965, fig. 158. The double pipes held with both hands appear also in Perino's drawing for the Farnese Casket.

2. Naples, Museo Nazionale; Riebesell 1989, fig. 16. The statues are recorded in engravings after the Gallery by Pietro Aquila.





## Woman Carrying a Basket on Her Head

1597–1598; black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, laid down; 428 x 287 (16<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

STUDIES OF THE FEMALE NUDE ARE comparatively rare in Annibale's oeuvre. This famous example was made for the nymph with a basket on her head, to the right of the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* (see Cat. 42). Flowing chalk outlines convey the graceful curves of hip, belly, and small of the back as the figure twists in and out of profile. The low viewpoint enhances the supple, winding lines of a figure turning slightly in space. Her powerfully muscled arm and shoulder are decidedly masculine, however, and the breast is rather conventionally drawn. It is doubtful that Annibale was working from a female model here.<sup>1</sup> The rendering of this figure is unusually generalized, with a minimum of interior modeling, and could easily have been drawn entirely from Annibale's imagination. If the woman seems thick in her proportions, this is only partly the residue of a training based on the male nude, and must also reflect Annibale's familiarity with ancient marbles such as the Medici Venus and Venus Felix, which have heavy, though not muscular, arms, shoulders, and torsos. Annibale chose not to emulate the comparatively dainty frame of the Farnese's celebrated Callipygian Venus, which was surely close at hand, evidently preferring the more monumental type.<sup>2</sup> In his drawing for a bacchante with a tambourine, in Budapest, a study for the same scene, Annibale created a

similarly generalized figure type, in which an understanding of the antique rather than living model is candidly expressed.<sup>3</sup>

In the present sheet, lightly indicated drapery whips around the waist and over the shoulder. Annibale drew more of the figure than would appear in the fresco, where it is overlapped at the ribs by the head of the donkey. The basket is casually indicated in outline with its foreshortened base roughly shaded.

Inspired, it seems, by the woman carrying a basket on her head in Perino del Vaga's drawing of the *Triumph of Bacchus* for the Farnese Casket, Annibale included the figure in the earliest inventions for the scene. She appears in a frontal pose in the rapidly sketched composition study in the Louvre (inv. 7185), and in the Albertina *modello* (Cat. 42) she looks much as she would in the fresco. Perino had drawn her in profile, weighed down by her burden. Annibale's solution was to turn her head toward the spectator, tilt it slightly, and create a swirling ascending flow of line around her. The result is a statuesque beauty with classically chiseled features, a sublime conception. In the fresco, Annibale subtly alters and warms the tone by lowering and leveling the head and enlarging the eyes, which seem to gaze, like those of Ariadne, directly at the spectator. GF

### PROVENANCE

Lord Spencer (Lugt 1531); A. C. His de La Salle (Lugt 1333); bequeathed by him in 1878 to the Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1886), inv. RF 610

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 156, pl. 53; Paris 1961, no. 60, pl. xx; Paris 1988c, no. 31 (repr. labeled 32)

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bodmer 1933–1934, 63, pl. 58; Martin 1965, 206, no. 67, 256, fig. 174; Bacou 1968, no. 76, repr.; Vitzthum 1971, pl. 2; Johnston 1976, no. 7, repr.; Goldstein 1988, 106–108

### NOTES

1. Martin 1965, 206, called it a "study from the nude model." Goldstein 1988, 108, argued that Annibale was not working from a female model, but rather that this is the creation of Annibale's imagination. He further contends that there is no female figure by any of the Carracci that can be said unequivocally to have been done from a live model. His assertion has justifiably been challenged, for which see reviews cited in Cat. 60, n. 2.
2. Haskell and Penny 1981, 316–318, 323–328, illustrate and provide capsule histories of the three Venus statues.
3. Budapest inv. 1812. Martin 1965, no. 64. Cat. 47, fig. 1.

## Head of a Woman

1597–1600; black chalk heightened with white on blue-gray paper, partially incised and laid down on canvas and a diagonal patch glued on at left; 360 x 260 (14 3/16 x 10 1/4)

Inscribed on the verso in pen and brown ink: And.<sup>a</sup> del Sarto and Annibale Carracci

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS



FIG. 1 Hellenistic, Niobe with Her Youngest Daughter, Uffizi, Florence

ANNIBALE'S INSPIRATION FOR THIS monumental head was probably a figure from the famous Niobid group of ancient marbles on display in the Villa Medici in Rome (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The similarities are striking: the strong jaw and heavy neck; tilted, upturned head; shallow features; small mouth and nose; heavy shadows under the brow; and, of course, the tragic expression. Yet it has been shown that Annibale's evocations of sculpture are rarely specific (the *Head of a Satyr*, Cat. 50, is exceptional), and indeed explicit correspondences with any individual figure in the Niobid group are elusive. The resemblance is strong, but the drawing is not in the strict sense a copy of a particular sculpture.<sup>2</sup>

Beyond his exploration of classical features and tragic expression in this study, Annibale was seeking the authentic character of marble statuary. His modeling of the face is unusually meticulous with subtly graded transitions suggesting the firm, precise texture of carved stone and the fall of light on an unyielding, but luminous surface. Usually Annibale was a master at conjuring effects with what he left out and by letting the blank page assume an active role in the illumination and modeling. Here, by contrast, he worked virtually the entire surface, depending heavily on the white chalk highlights, emulating the dense plasticity, the impenetrable reflective surfaces of marble.<sup>3</sup>

This study, and others like it, served as an exercise or a means of training in Annibale's transformation into an artist in the classical Roman tradition. Similarities in the pose, the inclination of the head, and the shallow, unexcavated features have been noted with the earthly Venus who reclines at the lower right of the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*.<sup>4</sup> Yet the connection is inexact. Rather than serving as a preparatory design for the fresco, it is more

likely that the drawing, and the exercise of studying the Niobids, were fixed in Annibale's memory. The metamorphosis in expression from the anguished Niobid to a rather besotted earthly Venus may have been intended as a comic touch. A scarf is draped over the hair and knotted at the throat, which does not appear in the Niobids. In contrast to the painstaking handling of the head, the scarf is sketched in a cursory fashion in long, free strokes, and its addition appears to have been an afterthought. It was suggestive enough in character to prompt the old identification of the drawing as a head of the Madonna.<sup>5</sup> The same type of loosely draped scarf fastened with a prominent knot is, in fact, worn by the Madonna in Annibale's *Pietà* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), which was probably a Farnese commission contemporary with the Gallery.<sup>6</sup> The Madonna's tragic expression and her narrow, classical features are, like those in the present drawing, reminiscent of ones Annibale remembered from the Niobid group. Multiple echoes of the present drawing in Annibale's subsequent work are testimony to the role of such an exercise—which was not, strictly speaking, a preparatory study—in Annibale's creative processes.

In Rome, especially in the Farnese Palace, Annibale was steeped in what was for him, an artist from Bologna, a new visual culture of antique statuary. For several years he took its measure and learned its principles. He observed it, drew it, and, as here, let it seep into his consciousness and inflect his style. Finally, in the Farnese Gallery, Annibale's response matured into an original invention, giving new life to old dead stone, a genuine renaissance. GF

## PROVENANCE

Comte Ch.-P. de Saint-Morys; confiscated during the French Revolution as émigré property, 1793; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 2207), inv. 7377

## EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1866, no. 176; Bologna 1956, no. 209

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 149, under no. 365; Bacou in Paris 1961, under no. 51; Weston-Lewis 1992, 295, 311, n. 37, fig. 14; Arquie-Bruley, Labbé, and Bicart-Sée 1987, 2: 166

## NOTES

1. Wittkower 1952, 149, no. 365, identified the source, linking the sheet to a similar head, Windsor inv. 2028; but see Weston-Lewis 1992, 293, and 311, n. 33. For the history of the Niobid group see Haskell and Penny 1981, 274–279.

2. For Annibale's complex relationship with antique sculpture see the perceptive analysis by Weston-Lewis 1992, who observed that Annibale "very rarely produced a completely faithful, unadulterated copy." Weston-Lewis 1992, 295, also connected a drawing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 50.56, with the Niobe group.

3. Weston-Lewis 1992, 295, characterized this technique as an idiom Annibale formulated to suit the subject matter of sculpture, and adduced several analogous examples.

4. Weston-Lewis 1992, 295.

5. Mahon in Bologna 1956, 144, no. 209.

6. Posner 1971, 2: no. 136, 60–61, fig. 136a.







## 47

A Bacchic Procession  
with Silenus

c. 1598; black chalk heightened with white on more than fifty joined sheets of brown paper (formerly gray-blue), partially pricked for transfer, cut at lower left and laid down; 3450 x 3320 (136 x 131)

GALLERIA NAZIONALE DELLE  
MARCHE, URBINO

THIS IMMENSE AND IMMENSELY imposing drawing is the full-scale cartoon for the right half of *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, the central ceiling decoration of the Farnese Gallery. As such, it belongs to the last stage of Annibale's preparations for the fresco, and was preceded by a large number of compositional and figure drawings, some of which are included in this exhibition (Cats. 42–46). In those earlier studies Annibale had worked out first the overall composition and then the poses of the individual revelers before presumably reassembling them into a final model drawing (now lost), which would have been presented to the patron for his approval. Only at that point would Annibale have proceeded to draw the full-scale cartoon, which would originally have measured about 3.5 by 6.7 meters, assuming that it was made as a single unit. The left half of the cartoon has been lost at least since the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Comparison between some of Annibale's individual figure studies for the Farnese ceiling with the corresponding figures in the Urbino cartoon suggests that, as one would expect, Annibale actually had the figure drawings under his eye when he drew the cartoon. That certainly seems to have been the case for the *Woman Carrying a Basket on Her Head* (Cat. 45), for example, which matches exactly the figure in the cartoon except in the amount of her body left visible. A *pentimento* in the cartoon version of that bacchante, however, shows that after Annibale copied her from the Louvre drawing onto the cartoon, he made a small change to the shape of her breast—giving it a slightly more upward tilt—a change that he then followed exactly in the painting. For other figures in the cartoon, for which only somewhat more generalized studies survive—as is the case with the dancing bacchante with a tambourine (fig. 1)—Annibale may have made other, more detailed studies, now lost. For the dancing bacchante, for example, Annibale would probably have made another

more detailed drawing of the figure—complete with the fluttering draperies and a more exact rendering of the hands and head—before he drew her in the cartoon.

As one would expect, the Urbino cartoon corresponds very closely to the final painting, diverging only in some rather insignificant details. Some of these occur in the draperies, which in a few instances were slightly expanded or lengthened (on Silenus' back, for example, and in the dancing maenad with a tambourine at left). Otherwise the most notable changes can be found in the tree trunk at far right, which is more vertical in the fresco; in the more upright position of the boy who can be seen just above the head of the reclining figure at lower right, and in the slight twist given to the head of the goat he is holding; in the addition of a wreath of grape leaves to the head of Silenus and in the wider arrangement of his beard, thus making his head larger and rounder; in the clarification of the leopard's skin on the donkey's withers (scarcely indicated in the cartoon); and in the addition of the calf's hooves (symbolic of the punishment of Pentheus) in the basket on the head of the bacchante at right. Other less obvious changes were also made to the head of the donkey, the basket of grapes borne by the putto at upper right, the hair of the dancing bacchante, and the spacing between her and the faun blowing the horn. Most of those changes could easily have been made directly in the fresco, though it is possible that the changes to the head of Silenus and to the child with a goat at right required some additional study and perhaps even auxiliary cartoons.

The demanding fresco technique required an artist to work on a fresh plaster preparation (*intonaco*) and to stop painting before the plaster dried each day. (These sections were called *giornate*, derived from the Italian word *giorno*, meaning "day.") For that reason, cartoons would normally be cut up into smaller pieces that corresponded to the areas that an

## PROVENANCE

Annibale's pupil, Domenico Zampieri, called Domenichino; his pupil, Francesco Raspantino; Carlo Maratti; sold by him to Pope Clement XI Albani; acquired in 1915 by the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, inv. N.1 – DIS

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bellori 1942, 122; Vittoria 1703 (1841), 54; Bertolotti 1885, 175; Serra 1930, 121 ff; Wittkower 1952, 134; Mahon in Bologna 1956, 114, under no. 151; Bacou in Paris 1961, 40, under no. 58; Martin 1965, 206–207, 257, no. 71, fig. 178

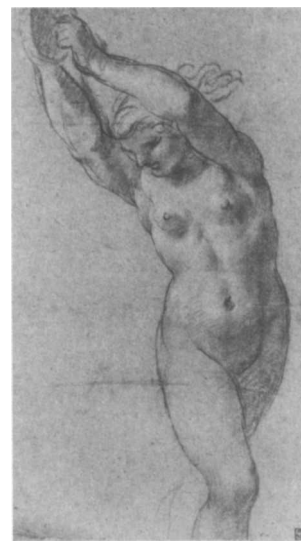


FIG. 1 Bacchante with a Tambourine, c. 1599–1600, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

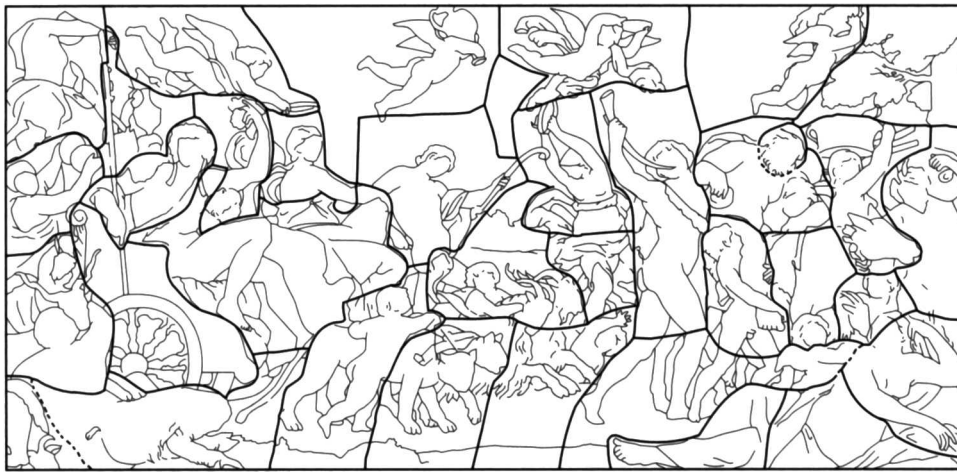


FIG. 2 *Diagram of the giornate in the Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, adapted from Briganti 1988*

artist thought he might be able to complete in a day. This explains why so few cartoons survive intact, and indeed why the other cartoons by Annibale exhibited here are all fragments (Cats. 29, 30, 38, 63). How then did the huge Urbino cartoon survive such a process? The answer must be that this particular drawing was not in fact used to transfer the image to the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery. In spite of the considerable damage it has suffered through the years, the Urbino cartoon shows no hint of having ever been cut into irregular shapes and pieced back together, as it would have to have been had it been used to transfer the design onto the eighteen *giornate* that make up the right half of the ceiling (fig. 2). Nevertheless, the cartoon still appears to have served its transfer purpose, for the contours have been pricked and the pricked lines seem to have been pounced with charcoal. Since it was not used on the ceiling, it is most logical to think that it was used instead to transfer the entire composition to a second cartoon, which would then have been cut up and presumably destroyed in connection with the work on the ceiling.

Two other complete, large-scale cartoons from the decoration of the Farnese Gallery survive in the collection of the National

Gallery of London, both for frescoes that were executed by Agostino: *Venus and Triton* (sometimes thought to represent *Glaucus and Scylla*) and *Aurora and Cephalus*, adjacent to Annibale's *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*.<sup>2</sup> These, too, were never cut into *giornate* and probably served the same intermediary purpose as the Urbino cartoon. The survival of three such large cartoons is rare in any case, but to have three from the same project suggests that Annibale and Agostino were encouraged to alter their normal workshop practices in response to particular demands made either by the Farnese Gallery project or by the patron who had commissioned it.

For the Urbino cartoon, it is perhaps surprising that a composition that had already been worked out in such detail in dozens of preparatory drawings could have been drawn with such remarkable spirit and spontaneity, with multiple strokes searching out just the right contour for many of the figures. Even the stains, losses, repairs, fading, surface wear, pricking, and pouncing that have considerably affected the condition of the work cannot impair the brilliance of the draftsmanship nor obliterate the rich graphic qualities that once made this work the treasured possession of a succession of seventeenth-century artists. MMG

#### NOTES

1. By the time the cartoon was in the collection of Carlo Maratti, the descriptions provided by Bellori and Vittoria refer only to the right half. See Martin 1965, 207, n. 35. Prior to that time, descriptions are not clear as to whether the cartoon is complete or not. An inventory of 1664, cited in Bertolotti 1885, 175, for example, mentions only "Un Chartone della Bacchiana di Farnese."
2. Repr. Martin 1965, pls. 190, 194. Both cartoons, recently restored, were the subject of an exhibition (see London 1995).





## Pan and Diana

1597–1598; pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk, heightened with white gouache on gray prepared paper; 286 x 400 (11 1/4 x 15 3/4)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink with the Resta-Somers number at lower right: h.135; inscribed by Jonathan Richardson Senior on the back of the mount made for Lord Somers: Agostino Carracci. S. 17

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
AND THE CHATSWORTH  
SETTLEMENT TRUSTEES



FIG. 2 Study for Pan and Diana, Windsor, The Royal Collection ©1999 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

ENSCONCED IN AN ELABORATE GOLD octagonal frame (fig. 1), the major scene of *Pan and Diana* is the counterpart to *Paris and Mercury* on the other side of the central frieze of the Farnese ceiling. The subject is from Virgil's *Georgics*: "with a snow-white gift of wool, Pan, the God of Arcady, charmed you, lady Moon, and then deceived you, calling you deep into the woods—and you did not refuse his invitation."<sup>1</sup> The subject is not common, but it was included in Zucchi's frescoes for the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, and the pose in the present drawing may be related to Zucchi's prototype.<sup>2</sup>

Comparatively few compositional studies for the individual scenes survive, but the character of this sheet is nearer to the lunette studies for the earlier Camerino, as in Cats. 35 and 36, than to the bold assurance of, for example, the study for *Jupiter and Juno* (ex-Ellesmere, sale 11 July 1972, no. 67) in the Gallery. The horizontal format, unusual degree of finish, and technique of the Chatsworth study suggest Pan and Diana was among the earliest subjects that Annibale contemplated for the ceiling.<sup>3</sup> Initially he may have considered it for one of the oblong compartments. It is also possible that he considered placing this subject and its pendant horizontally within the present fields flanking the central frieze; this would have necessitated their being read at right angles to the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, an uncomfortable arrangement.<sup>4</sup> There is no trace in the Chatsworth sheet of the octagonal frame that Annibale used so effectively in the fresco to insulate the scenes from discrepancies of scale with the central compartment, and which allowed them to stand out alongside the exuberant *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*.



FIG. 1 Pan and Diana, 1597/1598–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

Bellori owned an *invenzione* for the Farnese Gallery, which was said to be similar to another compositional drawing he owned for the Bacchanal. The latter was in pen and ink, heightened with white and on tinted paper, as is the Chatsworth sheet, and is generally believed to be the *modello* now in the Albertina (Cat. 42).<sup>5</sup> It has been proposed that Bellori's *invenzione* of an unspecified subject was the Chatsworth sheet, and that with their unusual technique and elaborate degree of detail and finish, both drawings were intended for presentation to a patron or adviser.<sup>6</sup>

In a second, far more swiftly executed pen and wash study for *Pan and Diana*, Annibale made the transition to a vertical format and established the octagonal frame (fig. 2). A standing pose, better adapted to the narrowed field, was introduced for Pan, and Diana was tipped to the diagonal, her bow replaced by a spear. Annibale would refine the characterizations of the central figures in later drawings, including the impressive chalk study of Pan (Cat. 49). GF

## PROVENANCE

Padre Sebastiano Resta (as Agostino Carracci); purchased in Rome by Henry Newton in 1712; John, Lord Somers (died 1716, his sale, London, 6 May 1717); William, 2d duke of Devonshire (Lugt 718); Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth

## EXHIBITIONS

Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 140, pl. xxxiii; Washington and tour 1969–1970; London 1973–1974, no. 22; Tokyo 1975, no. 47; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 82

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 138, under no. 304; Mahon in Bologna 1956, 118, under no. 160; Calvesi 1956, 274; Jaffé 1962, 26, fig. 32; Martin 1965, 257, no. 72, fig. 179; McGrath 1982, 52–65; Robertson 1990, 19, pl. 9; Jaffé 1994, 84, no. 487; Wood 1996, 18, 55, no. 90, fig. 15

## NOTES

1. Virgil, *Georgics*, bk. III, 384–393. For the iconography, see McGrath 1982.
2. Robertson 1990, 19.
3. The possibility that the highlights on the satyr were strengthened by a later hand, as has happened in the case of other drawings by the Carracci, cannot be ruled out.
4. Martin 1965, 210.
5. For Bellori's drawings see Martin 1965, 201, 210.
6. Martin 1965, 210, suggests that it was a *modello* intended for approval by the man he presumes to have been a principal adviser for the project, Fulvio Orsini. Subsequent scholarship has not supported such a role for Orsini.

# 49

## Pan

1597–1598; black chalk heightened  
with white on blue paper; 542 x 314  
(21 3/8 x 12 3/8)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at  
center top: 5

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

ONE OF ANNIBALE'S MOST ENERGETIC figures is the satyr Pan who, animated by lustful optimism, springs to offer his gift of snowy fleece to Diana. This large chalk study is executed with an absolute mastery of the body turning in space, capturing the torsion of the magnificently muscled human torso. The impression of virility and motion is irresistible. Annibale probably started with a live model, improving on the physique as he worked and drawing freely upon his ever-increasing store of knowledge of ancient sculpture. Remarkably the interior musculature is articulated almost entirely by means of smudged shading and areas of white chalk highlighting, using the now-faded blue as a middle tone. How much more brilliant the drawing must have been, and how vigorous the modeling, when the original blue of the paper was fresh.

The model may have maintained his pose by holding his arm in a sling. A cloud of wool obscures the hand, which in the fresco is partially visible. Rendered more loosely and with greater freedom are Pan's animal parts, his faunlike ears and features, furry legs and hooves, a flick of a tail added as an afterthought. Annibale followed this drawing with a separate chalk study of the head of Pan, in a private collection,<sup>1</sup> which clarifies with precision the foreshortening of the profile, tipped away from the front plane in the fresco. It also fixes the placement of the



FIG. 1 Study for Diana, *Musée du Louvre*

tight coils of beard, and streaks the outer rim of the pointy ear with a bright highlight to make it appear to project from the shadowy head.

It was Annibale's practice in the Gallery to work out as exactly as possible in the drawings the illumination of the figures as they would appear in the frescoes. This was a primary function of the large studies in black and white chalk on blue paper. They would translate effectively and efficiently to the working cartoons, and here the fresco is remarkably faithful in its correspondence to the lighting scheme established in the drawing.

Analogous to the chalk study for Pan is one for Diana (fig. 1),<sup>2</sup> where the plasticity and corporeal effect are as convincing as in the drawing for the brawny Pan. Yet Diana's body is plump and soft, the skin textures luminous and satiny. On the verso are various rough pen studies, including one for the standing figure of Pan; as the twist of the upper body that is so important in the final pose is absent, it probably precedes the present study for Pan. GF

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Antoine Coypel; Charles-Antoine Coypel; bequeathed by him to the French royal collection, 1752; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7190

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1866, no. 153; Bologna 1956, no. 160, pl. 54; Paris 1961, no. 64, pl. xvii; Paris 1988c, no. 33

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 120; Wittkower 1952, 138, under no. 304; Martin 1965, 211, no. 75, 258, fig. 182; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 63; Posner 1971, fig. 111y; Byam Shaw in London 1973–1974, under no. 22; Rangoni 1991, no. 11; Robertson in Oxford and London 1996–1997, under no. 83

### NOTES

1. *Palais Farnèse* 2: 299, fig. c.
2. Inv. 7360.







50

## Head of a Satyr

1597–1598; black chalk heightened with white chalk on gray-blue paper, laid down; 381 x 245 (15 x 9 5/8)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right: annibale, and numbered by Crozat: 162

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS



FIG. 1 Pan and Olympos, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples

FILLING THE PAGE IS THE PROFILE of a satyr, painstakingly rendered in black chalk. Strong, carefully plotted passages of white chalk magnify the impression of the relief and solid mass of the head. It has long been recognized that Annibale drew this satyr after an antique sculpture. His model was the head of Pan in the marble group of Pan and Olympos, then in the Farnese collection (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Annibale was faithful to the statue, capturing the goatlike muzzle in the protrusion of the nose and upper lip; the broad, flattened nose and slanting nostrils; sloping brow; and the parted lips, thick and sensual. Stout horns spring from the forehead. The virile curls of the satyr's hair and beard, particularly the coarse tufts of mustache, sprout in masses to evoke the carved marble and are remarkably faithful to the prototype.

Annibale surely knew the Pan and Olympos marble, and most likely had made this powerful study of the head before he finalized his designs for *Pan and Diana* in the Farnese ceiling. If the drawing does not correspond in every detail to the fresco, it is nevertheless close in type and in spirit. Annibale also made a drawing of the entire group.<sup>2</sup>

Annibale's attraction to the antique was, of course, central to his experience in Rome and crucial to his evolution as an artist. Ancient statuary was readily available for him to study in Rome. He was surrounded by the Farnese's collection of antiquities, one of the best in the city, and artists had easy access to the Vatican collections. By the time he was working on the Gallery, he was steeped in the aesthetics of ancient marbles, and the experience had transformed his style. Yet only a few drawings directly after the antique are known. If this one has long been recognized for what it is, only recently have other examples of such study

been proposed, including the Louvre's *Head of a Woman* (Cat. 46).<sup>3</sup> Even with a heightened consciousness of the category, it is doubtful that numerous Annibale drawings after ancient statues will emerge. As was the case with his other sources, such as Michelangelo, Annibale tended to privilege the live model over the artistic one. Even while in Bologna he posed models after Michelangelo and the antique rather than working directly from a painting or statue, or he worked from memory, having studied the prototype with his legendary attention.<sup>4</sup> He explicitly stated the reasons for this practice, for when he worked directly from other art Annibale was conscious of working at a remove from nature, his true teacher.<sup>5</sup>

With this in mind, the fidelity to the sculpture in the present sheet seems to ebb slightly. The wavy locks of the beard do not seem so stony, the features appear more mobile and pliant, the expression and general effect are more human than in the statue.

Annibale's ability to pull a solid form out from the plane of the page is unrivaled, and here it emerges with an almost self-conscious force. Throughout the sixteenth century, painters and sculptors had carried on a rivalry as to which practiced the better art. In this long-running argument, known as the *paragone* or comparison, painters claimed the monopoly on color, sculptors on three dimensions, and so forth. In his ability to render so convincing an illusion of the three-dimensionality of an actual sculpture, Annibale emerges the winner: his virtuosity is the greater for he succeeds as a draftsman without even resorting to the use of color. Notable here is the way Annibale plays with the profile, shifting the outline. Where a profile in a drawing would conventionally call for a line, Annibale created an ambiguous zone, a small area where the profile seems to turn the corner in space. Rather than reading as a line, a border, or an ending, this profile leads to the area beyond, mimicking the way the eye perceives an object in three dimensions. GF

## PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat (sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, part of nos. 477–484); Ch.-P. de Saint-Morys; confiscated during the French Revolution as émigré property in 1793; placed in the museum in 1796–1797; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1955), inv. 7193

## EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1961, no. 39; Paris 1994, no. 58

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bologna 1956, 223; Jaffé 1956a, 398; Muller Hofstede 1962, 87–88, fig. 3; Martin 1965, 210; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 65; Arquié-Bruley, Labbé, and Bicart-Sée 1987, 2: 165

## NOTES

1. Martin 1965, 210; Loisel Legrand in Paris 1994, 91–92. On the history of the group see Haskell and Penny 1981, 286.
2. Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, inv. 1784.
3. Weston-Lewis 1992 perceptively treated this subject and suggested several other drawings that are related to antique statuary.
4. An anecdote in which Annibale drew from memory the Laocoön group as his brother expounded on its aesthetic merits is related by Agucchi in his *Trattato* (reprinted in Mahon 1947, 253–254).
5. See Feigenbaum 1990, 1993b, and Weston-Lewis 1992.

# 51

## Polyphemus

1598–1599; pen and brown ink on cream paper, laid down; 258 x 185 (10 3/16 x 7 1/4)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

IN THE CENTER OF EACH OF THE end walls of the vault are fictive framed paintings of giant Polyphemus, the most famous of the Cyclops. One of the scenes represents Polyphemus in love with the nymph Galatea (fig. 1); its counterpart shows the monster's fury when Galatea scorns his affections. This vigorous pen sketch is a study for *Polyphemus and Galatea* or *Polyphemus Innamorato*.

Of the several preparatory drawings known for this scene, this rapidly executed and dynamic figure study seems to be the earliest.<sup>1</sup> Polyphemus, a son of Poseidon, half-beast, half-god, is perched on a rock. The memory of the Laocoön, the famous ancient marble group known to Annibale from the Vatican collection (fig. 2),<sup>2</sup> is detectable in the pose, especially in the counterbalance of raised and lowered arms, braced legs, and tipped-back head. The shepherd's crook rests against the right side of the body, while the left hand holds the panpipes or syrinx. All of these details would be altered as Annibale refined the pose for the fresco. At the lower right, quickly drawn in a smaller scale, are two abbreviated figures, one of whom appears to be a satyr. Their relationship to the episode is not clear and in the fresco this

area is occupied by the object of Polyphemus' affections, Galatea with her attendants.

The sturdy pen work is swift and confident. Annibale's virtuoso shorthand enabled him to indicate the features from chin to nose in a stack of six congruent flicks of the pen. Broken contour strokes are strengthened and darkened in the shadows on the right side of the figure. Quick, comma-shaped strokes articulate the bulging musculature of the torso, while bold hatching establishes the shadows across the body.

Polyphemus' story was told in several ancient sources, most famously Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>3</sup> Annibale, however, followed the description by Philostratus of an ancient picture<sup>4</sup>:

[Polyphemus] has a single eyebrow extending above his single eye, and a broad nose astride his upper lip, and he feeds upon men after the manner of savage lions. He loves Galatea... and he watches her from the mountainside.... Polyphemus thinks, because he is in love, that his glance is gentle, but it is wild and stealthy still.... Galatea sports on the peaceful sea, driving a team of dolphins... and the maiden daughters of Triton, Galatea's servants, guide them.... She holds over her head against the wind a light scarf of sea-purple to provide a shade for herself and a sail for her chariot.... her hair is not tossed by the breeze, for it is so moist that it is proof against the wind....<sup>5</sup>

A person of learning and cultivation—and surely it was for such an audience that Annibale was working—would have recognized the source as an *ekphrasis*, a description of a work of art, from Philostratus. The alert viewer would have recognized as well how Annibale had made such fitting use of a description of an ancient painting to recreate what would be framed and presented as an independent painting, or *quadro riportato*, in the illusionistic Gallery of the frescoed ceiling. GF

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Antoine Coypel; Charles-Antoine Coypel; bequeathed by him to the French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7196

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 166, pl. 79;  
Paris 1961, no. 71

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 138, under 302;  
Martin 1965, no. 84; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 63

### NOTES

1. The other studies include Besançon inv. D2293; Windsor inv. 2106 verso; and Louvre invs. 7197, 7319 (Cat. 52), and 7303bis. Repr. Martin 1965, figs. 201, 200, 196, 199.
2. For Annibale and the Laocoön, see Cat. 50, n. 4.
3. *Metamorphoses* XIII, 738–897.
4. Forster 1880, 51, was the first to recognize the source.
5. Philostratus, *Imagines*, 2: 18.



FIG. 1 Polyphemus and Galatea (Polyphemus Innamorato), 1597/1598–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome



FIG. 2 Roman Copy of Hellenistic Original, Laocoön, Vatican Museums, Vatican City





## Polyphemus

1598–1599; black chalk heightened with white on gray-blue paper; 521 x 387 (20 1/2 x 15 1/4)

Inscribed in pen and dark brown ink at lower right: 27; annotated by Mariette in pen and brown ink across the bottom: figures du Polyphème du tableau de Poliphème et de Galatée

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS



VERSO Studies of a Man's Head, a Man's Bust, and Two Hands, black chalk heightened with white on paper to which a strip has been added at center

THIS LARGE CHALK STUDY REFINES the pose of Polyphemus in love, which Annibale had already established in the pen study (Cat. 51). There he had succeeded in conveying the impression of a giant in a small format. Here, working on a large sheet, the figure bursts from the page. The pose has been changed and the figure injected with centrifugal force. The legs kick at the margin and front plane, and the tightly bent elbows threaten a release of tremendous force. The torso is canted farther to the right. What astonishes is the illusion of space excavated, as the hips and torso move back into depth, and projected, as the knees and toes jut outward. Polyphemus' yearning tugs him toward the object of his love, so much so that he risks toppling out of balance. Alternate placements for the arms create the effect of a figure in motion, an impression augmented by the long, sweeping hatching strokes at the left, which may be a preliminary indication of the violet cloak Polyphemus wears in the fresco.

As in the fresco Polyphemus has raised the pipes, instrument of the hoped-for seduction of Galatea, to his lips. Annibale left out the right hand of the figure. He then studied it separately, conspicuously delicate as the fingertips barely touch the pipes, at the lower right. The staff has also found its final position, nestled in the crook of Polyphemus' left arm. An indication of the fleece, an allusion to the sheepskin with which Ulysses had tricked the Cyclops, is tucked behind his hip.



FIG. 1 Polyphemus, Musée du Louvre

In love Polyphemus is at his most gentle, but Annibale shows that his violent and bestial nature is only in check. In the fresco of *Polyphemus and Acis* or *Polyphemus Furioso*, on the opposite wall of the Farnese vault, the giant erupts in a deadly rage when his love is scorned.

The two pen and chalk sketches for Polyphemus were associated with other studies for the composition. One of the entire composition in black chalk on blue paper (fig. 1) may have preceded the monumental chalk figure study, for it anticipates most of the alterations in pose.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the decisive power of the same medium in the figure study, the compositional drawing employs a blunt chalk style—soft, atmospheric, and pictorial. It is the first hint of the pastoral setting and mood that suffuses the fresco.<sup>2</sup>

The verso of this sheet has preserved a brighter blue hue. It contains a partial figure, left arm outstretched, with a light indication of drapery. At the top is a sketch of a head and two hands, one emerging from the thick sleeve of a cloak, the other reaching out. A strip of old blue paper was added to reinforce the fold. GF

## PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, no. 311); French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7319

## EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1797, no. 19; Paris 1802, no. 45; Paris 1866, no. 161; Paris 1927, 15, no. 7; Bologna 1956, no. 167, pl. 57; Paris 1961, no. 72; Paris 1967, no. 33; Paris 1988c, no. 35; Paris 1990–1991, 88, 131, no. 49 (exh. no. 30)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 38, under no. 302; Martin 1965, 215, 260, no. 85, fig. 197; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 63; Bacou 1981, pl. 40; Rangoni 1991, no. 16

## NOTES

1. The proper right arm in the compositional study does not seem to conform to the solution in the figure study, where the position was, in fact, adjusted several times.
2. For the drawings associated with this composition see Cat. 51, n. 1.

1597–1598; black chalk heightened with white chalk on gray paper (watermark: M in an escutcheon surmounted by a star); 505 x 363 (19 7/8 x 14 5/16)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS



FIG. 1 Paris and Mercury, 1597/1598–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

THIS LARGE AND RADIANT BLACK chalk study is for the figure of Paris in the scene of *Paris and Mercury* (fig. 1). The scene is paired with *Pan and Diana*, and together they flank the central scene of the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*. Both are vertical compositions with landscape backgrounds and low horizons set into heavy gold octagonal “frames,” ornamented with sphinxes in the corners.

Paris is seated and extends his hand to receive the apple of discord, which is about to be delivered by Mercury. Drapery covers his lap and falls between his knees much as it does in the fresco. His pose is complicated, with the body turned to present views ranging from frontal to profile. The forward arm is raised, the model probably holding a sling to maintain the position.<sup>1</sup> In the fresco Paris holds his shepherd's crook in this hand and on the upper left of the sheet Annibale made a separate study of the hand gripping the staff. Paris' outstretched right hand is not fully resolved in the study.<sup>2</sup>

Most notable are the differences in placement of the legs from drawing to fresco. As he began the drawing Annibale sketched the outline of the right side of the octagonal frame and tried out a second wider angle in the corner. He drew the figure just to the border with the exception of Paris' leg, which hangs over it. In the fresco Annibale retracted the leg so that most of the foot remains within the frame. The other leg was raised slightly from its position in the drawing by propping the foot up on a rock to strengthen the echoing diagonals from the corner through Mercury's outstretched arm and winged helmet.

Idealized though he may be, Paris retains the spontaneity of a living model. There is a trace of awkwardness in the pose as if he had just pivoted slightly to receive the apple, his right foot rolling to take the weight. Not only does Paris dominate the page with the reach

of his limbs, but also with this implication of action and energy.

With its liberal white heightening and soft, smudged shadows, the figure seems almost to glow from within. The sunlit effect was meticulously planned in the drawing. A remarkable match between fresco and study is evident in the supple patterns of white chalk against the blue paper and the delicately modulated hatched and rubbed shadows of black chalk.

In several traits the study is reminiscent of drawings for the Camerino. It recalls the earlier style both in the thready character of the black chalk outlines and in the tendency toward faceting of the musculature as luminous highlights are laid within the thin emphatic contours. It is also closer to the Camerino in the body type, which in the drawing has not acquired quite the full mass and bulk of the heroic Farnese physiques. In the fresco Annibale broadened the limbs. Even the drapery billows up to amplify the figure.

In the fresco Mercury flies down from Olympus and stretches out his hand to offer Paris the golden apple. A splendid dog seated at Paris' feet watches with intense interest. The delivery of the apple of discord is described by Apuleius in *The Golden Ass*, but it is rarely singled out as an episode for representation.<sup>3</sup> Annibale's motive for choosing this unusual moment in the legend has not been entirely clarified.<sup>4</sup>

While no compositional sketches for the scene survive, there is a black chalk study from life for Mercury (Besançon inv. D1492), which depends for its modeling on a network of thin sharp hatching rather than the smudged shadows and liberal white chalk highlights in this drawing; a chalk study for the dog on the verso of a study for a seated *ignudo* (Besançon inv. D1538); and a black chalk study for a sphinx of the type that adorns the angles of the octagonal frame around Paris and Mercury, as well as its counterpart, Pan and Diana (Louvre inv. 7414).<sup>5</sup> GF

#### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, under no. 311); French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7318

#### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1797, no. 20; Paris 1802, no. 46; Paris 1866, no. 160; Bologna 1956, no. 163; Paris 1961, no. 66; Paris 1988a, no. 5; Paris 1994, no. 59

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Martin 1965, 258, no. 76, fig. 185

#### NOTES

1. Martin 1965, 211.
2. A curiously unclear passage is the roll hooked over Paris' left arm, a variation of which appears in the fresco as well. In the fresco it may be partly the shadow cast by the crook, but it also corresponds with what may be a flap of drapery over the shoulder.
3. *The Golden Ass* x, 30.
4. Beyond Martin 1965 and Dempsey 1968, see the chapter on Paris in Gilbert 1994.
5. Repr. Martin 1965, figs. 184, 187, 186.







## 54

Two Cupids  
Carrying a Third

1597–1598; orange-red chalk on  
cream paper, laid down; 222 x 159  
(8¾ x 6¼)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink  
at lower left: annibale caracci

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM  
OF ART, NEW YORK, PURCHASE,  
PFEIFFER FUND, 1962



FIG. 1 Putti Fighting over a Palm,  
1598–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

THIS RED CHALK STUDY OF TWO cupids who link arms to form a chair for a third is an early idea for a corner of the Farnese Gallery (fig. 1). As was his usual practice, Annibale began by framing the field for his composition, here drawing a rough ground-line and the tapered sides of an arch. The sheet has been trimmed at the top, truncating the tip of the arch and part of the cupid's palm frond. The actual corner of the Gallery's vault is an awkward shape, created by the intersection of two steeply curved parts of the coving. In the drawing a light indication of an inner contour for the arch, especially evident at the right, suggests the narrowing of the compartment toward the actual junction of the side and end walls. Otherwise Annibale projected the field in simple section on the flat page and allowed the figures to move in and out of the space by means of their lighting, poses, and relationship to the frame.

Annibale used red chalk only rarely in his drawings for the Gallery. Here the multiple, feathery strokes softly define the forms with blunt, discontinuous accents in the contours. The fall of light from the upper left and slightly in front is worked out with care and Annibale's deft manipulation of delicate hatching creates translucent shadows over the figures. Annibale's recollection of Correggio, so important in the Camerino, persists here in the atmospheric red chalk style.

As the preparatory drawings show, the open corners in the Gallery were inspired by Pellegrino Tibaldi's Sala d'Ulisse in the Palazzo Poggi.<sup>1</sup> The idea of populating the corners with putti seems to have emerged only late in the design process. They first appeared in a highly developed scheme where Annibale had first sketched, in red chalk, a pair of putti holding a shield with Cardinal Farnese's impresa, and over it drew, in pen, a single putto holding a shield (Cat. 40). In the fresco there are pairs of putti in each corner. The present sheet must be the earliest of the seven surviving studies for

the corner ensembles, as it is the only one to experiment with three putti.

A subsequent stage in the development of the same scene is represented in a drawing in the Louvre (inv. 7305), where the trio has been reduced to a pair whose poses are essentially those of their original counterparts. The action of enthroning and holding aloft the third cupid has been transformed into a tussle over which one of the two cupids will hold his palm aloft in triumph. Ever alert to the dynamics of the body, Annibale conveys how the putti in the Metropolitan sketch are weighed down by their burden; the one on the right staggers under the awkward load. In the Louvre study, the putti, freed from their burden, become buoyant and seem to spring upward, as they do in the fresco. Both the single cupid projected in the early decorative scheme and the trio of cupids in the Metropolitan sketch presented the logistical problem of the corner seam cutting through a central figure. Annibale soon realized that paired cupids, deployed one on each wall, could fraternize easily across the seam.

The *eroti* in the corners have long borne a disproportionate share of the weight of interpretation of the Gallery's iconography. According to Bellori, "the entire meaning and allegory of the work" depends upon the cupids in the corners.<sup>2</sup> Yet the series of preparatory drawings demonstrates conclusively that the cupids were not part of Annibale's initial conception. Neither is there a trace of any contest of heavenly and earthly love, as in Bellori's exegesis, nor a hint of battle between Eros and Anteros, as in other more recent interpretations,<sup>3</sup> to be found prior to the present sheet. In order to accept Bellori's thesis that the cupids' struggle constitutes the "foundation of the entire work" it would be necessary to come to terms with the fact that this foundation was conceived only after the decorative program had been quite thoroughly worked out.<sup>4</sup> GF

## PROVENANCE

Lionel Lucas (Lugt 1733a); Claude Lucas (sale, London, Christie's, 9 December 1949, part of no. 67, as L. Carracci); P. & D. Colnaghi, London; Hugh N. Squire; purchased in 1962 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gustavus A. Pfeiffer Fund, 62.120.2

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1950, no. 10; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 136, pl. xxvi; New York 1967, no. 11; New York 1973, no. 16 (not repr.); Amherst 1974, no. 7; New York 1976, n.p. (not repr.)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jaffé 1962, 26, fig. 29; Bean 1963, 231; Bean 1964, no. 27; Martin 1965, 270–271, no. 125; Vitzthum 1966, 48, pl. 35; Vitzthum 1967, 253 cit.; Bean 1979, no. 101

## NOTES

1. Malvasia reported that Ludovico Carracci sent drawings of Tibaldi's ceiling to Rome at Annibale's request. Some of these drawings have been identified. See Feigenbaum 1992, 297–309.
2. Bellori 1672, 65. Translation in Martin 1965, 86.
3. For the history of the Eros and Anteros interpretation, see especially Martin 1965, 87–89. Dempsey 1968 argued for the "Amor Reciproco" theme in the Gallery.
4. Tietze 1906–1907, 89–90, 104, rejected Bellori's thesis of the cupids' central importance because they do not appear in the preliminary drawings. Martin 1965, 196, countered Tietze's argument, reasoning that "the fact that [the cupids] were introduced [into an already planned scheme] is proof of their significance in the cycle."

## 55

## Pair of Atlas Herms

1598–1599; black chalk heightened with white on blue paper (watermark: *M* surmounted by a star [?] in an escutcheon, repr. in *Turin 1990*, 384, no. 27); 415 x 347 (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 13<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

Inscribed on the verso in pen and brown ink at right: *Al molto M[agnifico] Sig and below that di Roma*

BIBLIOTECA REALE, TURIN

IN THE FARNESE GALLERY, EMBRACING herms frame each corner of the vault. This study is for the pair to the right of Polyphemus and Galatea (fig. 1). Between the herms the corners open to an illusionistic view of the sky, where pairs of cupids perch on balustrades quarreling over love.

In this study Annibale grappled with the problem of positioning the herms. They had to bridge the awkward space created by the real curving geometry of the coving as it intersected with a fictive decorative program governed by a rectilinear framework. The coving curves steeply on each side, and where the walls join they form a seam that arches inward as it rises to the vault proper. When Annibale made this drawing he had not yet arrived at a viable stereographic solution. He was still experimenting with how to project the figures, which stand in two entirely different planes, one on each wall, onto the concave surfaces, and, at this point, how to visualize this on the flat page. In the study the upper bodies are still too far apart and Annibale's hesitation is evident in the alternate positions indicated for the interlaced arms. He realized that in the fresco the heads of the herms had to meet at the apex of the angle in order to frame the corner aperture, while maintaining a plausible position for the figures.

While the present study for the south end must be one of the first to tackle the projection of the paired herms, all four corners were most likely worked out at about the same time. On the verso of another chalk drawing at Windsor for a pair of herms on the opposite end is a study for what is probably the hand

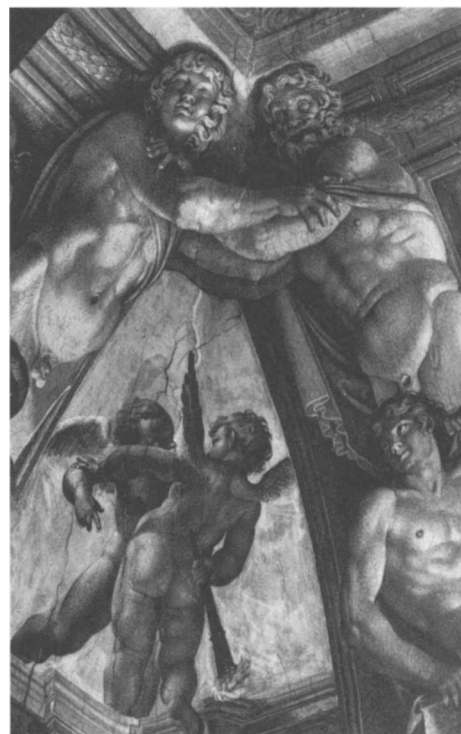


FIG. 1 Embracing Herms, 1598–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

of the herm on the right.<sup>1</sup> The placement of the hand is logical as a further exploration of the pose in the Turin drawing, however the position is quite different from the one adopted in the fresco.

The earliest evidence for the idea of paired herms in the corners is in Cat. 40, where, at the right, a slanting herm on the corner was drawn in red chalk. Annibale elaborated part of the scheme in pen, adding a herm on the end wall, in an upright and frontal view, on the opposite side of the corner. On his shoulders is a disembodied hand that presumably belongs to his companion, but there is no link between them yet. In the Turin sheet Annibale had already conceived of the herms as contrasting pairs of handsome beardless youths and luxuriantly bearded older men.

On the verso are pen sketches by another hand of several figures who are bathing at the water's edge, as well as a profile of an old man. GF

## PROVENANCE

Giovanni Volpato; purchased with his entire collection of drawings by King Carlo Alberto in 1845 for the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (Lugt 2724), inv. 16075 D.C.

## EXHIBITIONS

Turin 1950, no. 96; Bologna 1956, no. 172; Turin 1990, no. 98c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bertini 1951, 40 ff, pl. xi, fig. 46; Wittkower 1952, 139, under no. 308; Bertini 1958, 23, no. 97; Martin 1965, 226–227, no. 117; Griseri 1978, no. 61

## NOTES

1. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 2087; repr. Martin 1965, fig. 232, 233.





## 56

## Atlas Herm

1598–1599; black chalk heightened with white on blue paper (watermark: M in an escutcheon surmounted by a star; repr. in Turin 1990, 384, no. 28); 418 x 238 (16<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

BIBLIOTECA REALE, TURIN

TO LINK THE REAL ARCHITECTURE of the Gallery's walls to the fictive architecture of the vault, Annibale continued the loadbearing theme of the actual pilasters with painted atlases who prop up the feigned entablature of the ceiling. They are frescoed in grisaille to imitate stone and take the form of herms whose extremities below the hip are replaced by a tapered pillar.

In this study for the herm at the right of the medallion of *Salamacis and Hermaphrodite*, Annibale defined the muscular contours and bulk of the body with long, loose strokes. He began with a soft sketch and left the head indistinct. In the fresco the figure is lit sharply from the left, leaving the right side in heavy shadow. Soft hatching, much of it smudged, creates such a mobile, pliant skin that the figure almost seems to breathe. Using a gritty chalk or charcoal Annibale reinforced the contours on the shadowed side. With a thin dark

line he cut out the curves of the shoulder of the arm held behind the head to emphasize its silhouette against the brightly lit body.

From waist to thigh run thready contour lines indicating as many as half a dozen alternate outlines of the hips. Having created such a vital human form, Annibale then began the process of changing it into stone. He carved away the hips to the narrow silhouette of the tapered plinth of a herm, adjusting the *contrapposto* in the process. The drawing offers a glimpse of the extraordinary process of petrification in the Farnese, revealing how Annibale's fictive statues could appear so alive.

In the fresco, the herm was given a more hieratic pose. His shoulders were squared and the head turned frontally. Leonine hair and strong regular features were also introduced.<sup>1</sup> GF

## PROVENANCE

Giovanni Volpato; purchased from him with his entire collection of drawings by King Carlo Alberto in 1845 for the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (Lugt 2724), inv. 16071 D.C.

## EXHIBITIONS

Turin 1950, no. 95; Bologna 1956, no. 177; Turin 1990, no. 98d

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bertini 1951, 41, pl. x, fig. 40; Wittkower 1952, 139, under no. 308; Bertini 1958, 22–23, no. 96; Martin 1965, 225, no. 226; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, 118; Griseri 1978, fig. 4; Sciolla and Griseri 1985, 72

## NOTES

1. These changes are recorded in a black chalk drawing in Windsor (inv. 2083), which is markedly close to the fresco and whose autograph status has been questioned. See Wittkower 1952, 139, under no. 310, and 144, no. 344, fig. 44; Martin 1965, 225.

## Atlas Herm with Arms Raised

1598–1599; black chalk heightened with white on gray-blue paper (watermark: M surmounted by a star in an escutcheon; repr. in *Turin 1990*, 383, no. 26); 472 x 363 (18 1/16 x 14 1/4)

BIBLIOTECA REALE, TURIN

REMARKABLE IN THIS SHEET, WHICH bears a study for the atlas herm to the right of the *Diana and Endymion*, is the sense of its origins in a life-drawing session. More than likely a drawing from a nude youth would have preceded this study. The model has been subsumed in the amplified physique, and his flesh turned to stone. The impression of life and movement remain, especially in the exaggerated *contrapposto*, rather unexpected in a herm, and in the frankly human gaze confronting the spectator.<sup>1</sup> The result seems a piece of sculpture come to life with superb proportions precisely defined in a taut skin of marble. Highlights of white chalk glide over the surface, rhythmically paired with small, sharply defined shadows illuminating the figure from the left and below. The technique is tight with small, sharp transitions in the modeling, quite unlike the comparatively generalized handling of Cat. 58. The texture and behavior of light on marble was of central concern here, and in this drawing Annibale exhibits his astonishing ability to simulate the luminous surfaces of antique statuary.

Annibale explored the conceit and the process of petrification throughout the Farnese Gallery, both in the iconography and in the execution. In another study for a herm in Turin,<sup>2</sup> he drew a figure of soft pneumatic volumes, which remains human in form to the mid-thigh, where a swath of drapery obscures the legs. A lightly sketched line, a slightly sharpened angle at the joint of the hip, foretells the operation that would transform the living figure into a herm. In the present drawing the arms have been carefully studied and their position elegantly resolved. In the fresco, however, Annibale introduced a break, or *rottura*, just past the shoulder of the proper right arm. In doing so Annibale interjected a “naturalistic” detail, for antique sculpture that survived in the Renaissance was, more often than not, fragmentary. Although there is no indication

in the present study that he was contemplating the *rottura*, other studies show him playing with the idea, as in a study in Windsor, where a break appears to be indicated in the left forearm.<sup>3</sup> It is tempting to speculate that Annibale was inspired to introduce the *rottura* through his acquaintance with the Della Valle Satyrs, a pair of antique atlantes affixed to pilasters in the loggia of a Della Valle palace. The position of the breaks in the satyrs’ arms correspond almost exactly (the arms were restored at a later time).<sup>4</sup>

It has been proposed that the Windsor sheet is linked to the same motif as that in the present drawing.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the articulation of the musculature, the proportions, and *contrapposto* are so similar, and so evocative of antique sculpture, as to suggest that Annibale was employing the same ancient prototype in each. In the Windsor sheet, however, the right wrist and hand rest over the front of the head, and the left arm is held down alongside the body.

A connection proposed between the Turin drawing (inv. 16072 D.C.) and the present sheet is also possible, but by no means certain. The lack of *contrapposto*, the conspicuous drapery, and the position of the right hand do not conform to the idea developed in the present sheet. An alternative study for the head at the lower left shows it turned three-quarters to the left. In the fresco, the head is turned only slightly to the left and covered with a turban, while the beard becomes more luxuriant than in the principal figure study. The torso and the base are slightly thickened to create the heavier proportions assumed by the herms throughout the program.

Paradoxically, among the spirited population of the frescoes it is the inanimate herms who most enliven the decoration.<sup>6</sup> They are vigorously posed, interested in their surroundings, alert and responsive. In comparison to their flesh-and-blood companion *ignudi*, whose ethos is more detached, the atlas herms convey a more mundane, human sentience. GF

## PROVENANCE

Giovanni Volpato; purchased with his entire collection of drawings by King Carlo Alberto in 1845 for the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (Lugt 2724), inv. 16076 D.C.

## EXHIBITIONS

Turin 1950, no. 93; Bologna 1956, no. 197, pl. 91; Turin 1990, no. 98b

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bertini 1951, 41, pl. xi, fig. 45; Mahon 1957, 285, n. 68; Bertini 1958, 22, no. 94; Martin 1965, no. III; Griseri 1978, no. 59; Sciolla and Griseri 1985, 63; Ottani Cavina in Bologna-Washington-New York 1986–1987, 292

## NOTES

1. An instructive insight into this process of transformation can be seen in Louvre inv. 7354 (repr. Martin 1965, fig. 228), in which the figure was drawn in human form down to the silhouette of the thighs and right leg. Superimposed is the outline of the tapered base slicing through the curves of the flanks.
2. Inv. 16072 D.C.; repr. Martin 1965, fig. 222.
3. Inv. 2366 verso; repr. Martin 1965, fig. 224.
4. Haskell and Penny 1981, 301–303.
5. Mahon in Bologna 1956, 137, no. 197.
6. Martin 1965, 89.







58

## Atlas Herm

1598–1599; red chalk on cream paper,  
laid down; 345 x 198 (13 5/8 x 7 13/16)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink by  
Marianne at lower right: gravé n° 15;  
and numbered in pen and black  
ink: 46

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

THIS RED CHALK STUDY IS FOR THE right-hand herm in the pair to the right of *Polyphemus and Acis*. His arm is entwined with another, truncated by the left margin, which belongs to his counterpart across the corner. A separate, light sketch of an arm is visible across the base of the herm near the bottom of the sheet. Drapery falling over his shoulder extends behind the herm at the right. At his eye level is a line indicating the entablature behind him. It breaks just to the left of his head, the spot that corresponds precisely in the fresco to the junction of the side and end walls of the vault.

Annibale's use of red chalk on cream paper in a figure study for the Farnese Gallery is exceptional, for he consistently preferred black and white chalk on blue paper. Red chalk had been a frequent choice in earlier projects in Bologna, however, and Annibale's mastery of the medium was unparalleled. Here the shadows are laid in with swift zigzags of hatching on the torso and drapery, accented with shorter strokes of hatching on the arms and face. Annibale's ability to coax highlights out of the cream paper is uncanny, as witness the surface sheen on the arms and the bright patches on the nose and chin. His swift contour lines have an astonishing capacity to capture

silhouette, volume, foreshortening, and the behavior of light all at the same time, and without apparent effort. His concern here was to create a solid, weighty, planted form. The summary modeling stands in contrast to the meticulous treatment of the body in Cat. 57.

In this study he worked out the definitive figure, and very little would change in translation to fresco. If the study for two herms in Turin (Cat. 55) documented an early moment in the conceptualization of the interlocked pairs at each corner of the Gallery, this study radiates Annibale's easy mastery of the difficult problem posed by the space and must represent the end of this sequence. Supporting this conclusion is the gradually tapering base of the Louvre herm, which is of the type adopted in the fresco; the other preparatory sheets, including both of the Turin studies, employ a sharply tapered base. In addition, the shadowed break in the entablature at the left of the face of the Louvre herm indicates that at this stage Annibale knew precisely where the head of the painted figure would fall in relation to the actual convergence of curved surfaces in the corners.

In the fresco, the handsome, almost arrogant face in the drawing was made pudgier and given a sweet expression. The drapery that emerges over the shoulder is seen in the painting to cover part of the proper right torso. GF

## PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, part of no. 311); French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7363

## EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 187, pl. 62; Paris 1961, no. 79, pl. XXI; Paris 1967, no. 34; Paris 1988c, no. 37

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 139, under no. 308; Martin 1965, 227, 269, no. 120, fig. 235; Bacou 1968, no. 78, repr.; Bacou 1981, 250; Goldstein 1988, 115, 183, 217, n. 42, fig. 80; Rangoni 1991, no. 31; Weston-Lewis 1992, 299 and n. 51, fig. 25

# 59

## A Seated Ignudo with a Garland

1598–1599; black chalk heightened with white chalk on gray paper (watermark: *M* in an escutcheon surmounted by a star); 412 x 410 (16 1/4 x 16 1/8)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right with Crozat's number: 32

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS

ANNIBALE'S DECISION TO POPULATE the vault with idealized, seated male nudes flanking fictive bronze medallions, an arrangement of motifs taken directly from the Sistine chapel ceiling, was an outspoken homage to Michelangelo (fig. 1). In this large study Annibale developed the nude figure seated to the left of the bronze medallion of *Apollo and Marsyas*. With his emotional gaze, he would not be out of place as a witness to the Creation, although in the Gallery his only task is to hold up a garland of fruit.

The large-format chalk studies for the Farnese nudes have long been regarded as the pinnacle of Annibale's legendary draftsmanship. Their very size allowed the artist a sweep of execution and a possibility of expanding form that even the greatest Renaissance drawings of the nude, such as those by Michelangelo and Raphael, could not equal. At this scale Annibale could draw with his whole arm, not just his hand, and this translated into a new dynamism in the execution.

In aggregate, Annibale's large drawings from the nude have many similarities, but in the subtle distinctions of technique and emphasis can be discerned the particular aims of each example. In the chalk study of *Polyphemus* (Cat. 52), for example, Annibale sought primarily to capture the position of the body in space. With this *ignudo* he was more concerned with clarity of contour, the topography of the musculature, and the behavior of light on the specific texture of the surface. Beginning with a light chalk sketch of the figure, which remains visible mainly where contours were afterward revised, Annibale strengthened the contours, in several cases changing their position. The foremost leg and foot had already been accentuated when Annibale decided to pull it tighter to the body. Shadows were laid down with precise chains of hatching and cross-hatching. In some areas, especially the foremost arm, the chalk was rubbed or stumped for a smudged effect. Highlights were

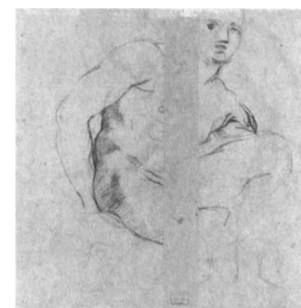


FIG. 1 Michelangelo, *Ignudo*, 1508–1512, Sistine Chapel, Vatican City

accented with broad areas of white chalk. Overall the effect is silvery and hard, conveying a solid and polished surface.

Annibale seems to have begun his construction of this *ignudo* with the study on the verso, a preliminary effort to devise a pose. The effect is slightly contorted, and more in the uneasy mood of Michelangelo's *ignudi*. In fact the pose may have been inspired by the *ignudo* above Ezekiel in the Sistine chapel. Annibale reduced the Michelangelesque tension as he refined the pose. He turned the torso to present a clearer view, adjusted the line of the upper leg to make it parallel with the ground, and extended the left arm to create a strong, continuous diagonal. Turning the head into a downward-gazing profile reiterated the dominant diagonal. The right arm was inched forward to establish a continuous plane with the hip and leg. This process of revision reveals Annibale's method of ennobling the raw materials of nature and instilling the breath of life into his artistic sources.

While the figure appears fully resolved in the study, Annibale changed it further in the fresco. The left arm was extended almost directly downward and the hand was hidden behind the leg. He also pulled the right thigh down more sharply, and leaned the torso slightly further to the right. GF



VERSO A Seated *Ignudo*, black chalk on paper reinforced with a vertical strip of gray-blue

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat (sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, part of nos. 462–472); acquired by Pierre-Jean Mariette (according to the annotated sale catalogue in the Victoria and Albert Museum); French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7322

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1866, no. 164; Bologna 1956, no. 190; Paris 1961, no. 80; Paris 1991, no. 3; Paris 1994, no. 61

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bacou 1961, 58–63; Martin 1965, 190, 221–222, 264, no. 98, figs. 210, 212; Rangoni 1991, 66, no. 25





## 60

Seated Ignudo  
Looking Upward

1598–1599; black chalk heightened  
with white on gray-blue paper,  
laid down; 495 x 384 (19 1/2 x 15 1/8)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at  
lower right with Crozat's number: 33

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS



FIG. 2 Dying Alexander,  
© Rijksmuseum-Stichting, Amsterdam

ONE OF THE MOST CELEBRATED examples of Annibale's draftsmanship is this large study for the *ignudo* at the right of the *Apollo and Marsyas* medallion (fig. 1). It glows with a light that glides over the surface so that the patches of hatching seem to float in response to changing light conditions. Annibale worked out the problem of modeling and shading this area with particular care, and strengthened the silhouette of the figure with heavier chalk lines to enhance the sense of projection from the background.

Annibale's point of departure seems to have been the living model seated on a draped bench in the studio. Posing the model above eye level, Annibale clarified the articulation of the interior musculature as well as the contours of a difficult foreshortening. It has been argued that Annibale dispensed entirely with the model in this drawing and others like it, for he has articulated the musculature of the rib cage and upper body as if the figure were in tension.<sup>1</sup> Yet in studying the drawings that can be ascribed to Annibale with certainty, it appears that in those for the Farnese Gallery he consistently had recourse to the flesh-and-blood model,<sup>2</sup> however much that contact with nature would be transformed in the evolution of his concept. His profound and reflective powers of conceptualization enabled him to assimilate a living model to the classical ideal. An ordinary figure is thereby endowed with a clarity and authority that transcends an imperfect model, yet the breath of life, the feeling for a warm, pliant, moving being remains. This perfect equilibrium of nature and idealization was, it is important to recognize, an artificial construction, and one that was fleeting. By the time he put the last strokes on the ceiling frescoes, the balance had shifted toward a new and austere purity and abstraction.

Several differences between the drawing and the fresco can be noted. The most obvious one is the lowering of the left arm, which in the fresco hugs the body with the hand resting on the shoulder. The right leg in the drawing



FIG. 1 Seated Ignudo, 1599–1601, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

is extended, but bent sharply in the fresco so that only the knee is visible. In the drawing the face appears to bear the stamp of an individual model with strong features and thick lips, but in the fresco Annibale broadened the face, idealized the features, and added abundant curls. A drawing ascribed to Annibale in Amsterdam after the ancient bust of the Dying Alexander has been proposed as the model for these modifications (fig. 2). The thick curls and tendrils caressing the ears in the statue are quite similar to those in the fresco.<sup>3</sup> There, Annibale also raised the position of the proper right eyebrow, and possibly the left as well, creating a heavier, bolder eye socket that also recalls the jutting, troubled brow of the Alexander.

The elements of naturalism that survive from the model, the graceful assimilation of human physique to a heroic antique ideal, the astonishing command of a figure rendered in space, and the rhythmic coordination of modeling with the fall of light and shade impart a bold life and force to this drawing that had not been achieved by any of Annibale's predecessors. GF

## PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat (sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, part of nos. 462–472); Pierre-Jean Mariette; French royal collection; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7325

## EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1866, no. 167; Paris 1927, 15, no. 9; Bologna 1956, no. 191, pl. 88; Paris 1961, no. 83; Vatican 1990, no. 42

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Meder and Stix 1923, 410, pl. 168; Bodmer 1933–1934, 63–64, pl. 59; Wittkower 1952, 139, under no. 310; Martin 1965, no. 99, 264; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 64; De Tolnay 1972, no. 103, pl. 103; Goldstein 1988, 108–109, 182–183, 185, 216, n. 33; Rangoni 1991, no. 26; Weston-Lewis 1992, 299 and n. 56, fig. 29

## NOTES

1. Goldstein 1988, 108.
2. Goldstein argues that Annibale dispensed with the model in many of the Farnese studies. While he is right to point out the error of assuming that virtually all Carracci nudes are life studies, his attributions (particularly of the earlier drawings) and the principles about Carracci methodology that he extrapolates from his examples have been challenged. See, especially, reviews by De Grazia 1989, 866–868, Dempsey 1989b, and Perini 1991, 203–204; also Weston-Lewis 1992, 310, n. 31, and Feigenbaum 1993b, especially 66.
3. Weston-Lewis 1992, 299. The Dying Alexander, now in the Uffizi, Florence, was at the time in the Medici collection, for which see Haskell and Penny 1981, 134–136, and would have been available for Annibale to study if he visited the city, which is more than likely.

# 61

## Perseus' Warriors

1603–1604; black chalk heightened  
with white chalk on blue paper;  
335 x 237 (13 3/16 x 9 5/16)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

ON THE END WALLS OF THE GALLERY are large rectangular frescoes of *Perseus and Andromeda* and the *Combat of Perseus and Phineus* (fig. 1). In the latter scene Perseus holds out the severed head of the Medusa, which will turn any man who gazes upon it to stone. Behind him are three of Perseus' companions, who cover their eyes to protect themselves from this horrifying weapon. In this drawing, the second of these three men is studied with care. Part of the third companion, in the rear, who is largely overlapped by the second, is more summarily drawn, his head bent sharply downward.

Annibale was primarily concerned here with the position and shading of the arms and the arrangement of drapery in the sleeve. He changed the contours of the proper left arm and pulled it in more tightly to the body. The outlines of the other arm are strengthened and corrected with thin dark strokes of brittle chalk. The proper right arm, so carefully studied in

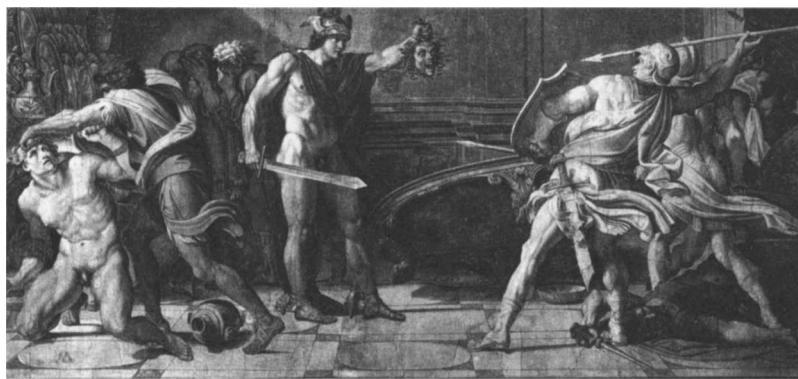


FIG. 1 Combat of Perseus and Phineus, c. 1604–1606, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

this sheet, is nearly hidden in the fresco. The hands, with long, spatulate fingers, are typical of Annibale's later work. A second chalk study at Windsor for the foremost of the companions is extremely close in technique and manner of execution (fig. 2). The present drawing offers no indication that in the fresco the middle figure will be largely obscured by his companion, nor that the foremost figure will obscure much of the second figure.

Compared to the drawings for the earlier phases of the Farnese Gallery, the preparatory studies for the walls are subdued and austere. Annibale's command of form is effortless, yet there is little impression of his pleasure in rhythmic design, no flourish in the execution. He has reduced his expression to the essentials, to the sure delineation of the skull or the few strokes that conjure the terrified self-defense of the rear figure in this sheet. The white heightening is deployed to a sculptural effect lending dimension only in selected areas.

The dating of the Perseus frescoes is uncertain, although Annibale seems to have been involved in the designs in 1603–1604. It is likely that the present sheet dates to this moment even if the completion of the frescoes may have been delayed. After this time his psychological condition prevented him from working with the same energy as before, and his trusted pupil and assistant Domenichino assumed a greater role in the execution of the frescoes. The severity of the style of the frescoes and Domenichino's role in their execution led to the erroneous conclusion that Domenichino was also responsible for the preparatory drawings.<sup>1</sup> As Annibale's later work has become better understood, these drawings have been recognized as being in accord with Annibale's austere late manner. Certainly the skill and rigorous clarity in the rendering of this figure is that of the master, not the pupil. In fact, it can be argued that Domenichino's own drawing style was founded on Annibale's studies for the Perseus frescoes. GF

### PROVENANCE

King George III (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 76); Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 2072

### EXHIBITIONS

London 1950–1951, no. 448;  
Bologna 1956, no. 201; London  
1964, no. 117

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 152 (as Domenichino); Pope-Hennessy 1948, 14, n. 33; Wittkower 1952, 137, no. 297, pl. 65; Bacou in Paris 1961, 48, under no. 84; Martin 1965, 274, no. 138

### NOTES


1. Tietze 1906–1907, 152, ascribed the Perseus drawings in Windsor to Domenichino, an attribution rejected by Pope-Hennessy 1948, 14, n. 33; Wittkower 1952, 137, restored the drawings to Annibale.



FIG. 2 Study for one of Perseus' Warriors, Windsor, The Royal Collection © 1999 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II







*Annibale's Rome:  
Art and Life  
in the Eternal City*

FROM THE TIME OF HIS ARRIVAL IN 1595, TO LIVE IN A tiny room under the roof of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's vast palace, until his death fourteen years later, in simple lodgings on the Quirinal Hill,<sup>1</sup> two threads are woven through Annibale's life in Rome. The first is his rich, creative output: work inspired by the history, art, and life of the city, once capital of the ancient world and, in Annibale's time, center of the powerful papal court. The other is his tragic personal history: the paranoia that isolated him from his patrons, the melancholy that led to his diminishing activities as a painter, and the illness that resulted in his early death in the summer of 1609.

Although Annibale arrived in Rome as a thirty-five-year-old painter with a well-established career, his years in that city produced a far greater historical contribution to painting than his achievement in his native Bologna. As he left his teaching, his family, and his studio in response to the summons of the cardinal, and in anticipation of all "the great good fortune that awaits me there," as he wrote in a letter on the eve of his departure,<sup>2</sup> Annibale could hardly have imagined that his ascendancy in Rome would be so glorious, nor that the light he kindled there would leave such a lasting glow.

He had gone there seeking to be "overwhelmed by the great knowledge of the ancients,"<sup>3</sup> and indeed the monuments of the capital infused his art and changed the way he drew and painted within a short period of time. Not only

did he learn from the treasures of Roman antiquity—the altars, tombs, sculpture, and other artifacts being excavated—but also from the stupendous works of two great Renaissance masters, Michelangelo and Raphael.

The daily task of frescoing the Farnese Palace ceilings dominated Annibale's first five years in Rome, but almost immediately upon his arrival his services as a painter were in demand by princes of both the church and state. His career at this time was fertile, demanding, and successful. Between 1595 and 1600 he undertook commissions from the powerful Aldobrandini, Mattei, and Borghese,<sup>4</sup> as well as the heads of other noble families, among them Marchese Salviati and Prince Ludovisi.<sup>5</sup> Annibale also worked for Cardinal Farnese outside of the Gallery, and he completed a large number of secular, religious, and intimate genre pictures.

In addition to painting, he made a dozen delicate and widely praised prints, designed at least two important pieces of silver, and made many hundreds of drawings,<sup>6</sup> which are among the most remarkable graphic achievements of the sixteenth century. Whether small pen and ink sketches with delicate washes (Cat. 66) or large studies for entire compositions (Cats. 62 and 79), his drawings were unsurpassed in their perfect reflection of what he saw before him in nature or idealized in his imagination.

Annibale devoted his life to his art. Having never married, he had only his brother Agostino's children and, latterly, his pupils as his family. His consuming desire to paint, and the reverence and respect his contemporaries accorded him for this, is reflected in many observations about his habits, both personal and professional. Bellori speaks of "his constant application to art and the relaxation that he sought from his labors..." and observes that "he used to live shut up in his rooms with his pupils, spending hours at his painting, which he was wont to call his lady."<sup>7</sup>

Unlike his sociable and outgoing older brother Agostino, who loved the finery of noblemen and the company of courtiers, and who discussed poetry and philosophy with

ease, Annibale "...despised ostentation in people as well as in painting, seeking the company of plain, ambitionless men. He fled the haughtiness of the courtiers and the Court."<sup>8</sup> Although he could be witty and amusing, telling sarcastic stories that delighted his pupils, the stronger side of his personality was melancholic and taciturn. He is most often described by his biographers as introspective and a loner, an unusual, if not eccentric, personality.

Annibale undoubtedly suffered professionally from his eccentricities. His disheveled appearance and ungainly manner clashed with the sophisticated court surrounding the cardinal and his advisers. As Bellori wrote, "he was not sufficiently aware that those who usually judge by appearances did not hold him in esteem."<sup>9</sup> His feelings about his patron were so conflicted that he once allowed himself to be taken to prison rather than explain that he was in the service of the Farnese family. On another occasion Annibale ducked out the back door of his house when he heard that Cardinal Borghese, a nephew of the pope, was approaching to pay him a visit.<sup>10</sup> In some sense, because he was an artist, he could get away with this behavior, but his shyness and paranoia affected his relations with powerful Roman patrons who could have commissioned him for more work.

Annibale seems to have been little influenced by the artists who were most favored by the pope and other patrons when he first arrived in the city, such as Federico Zuccaro and Cherubino Alberti,<sup>11</sup> perhaps because their mannered style was of little interest to him, or because Cardinal Farnese expected him to paint in the natural style he had developed in Bologna. As an independent painter under the protection of the Farnese, he was somewhat removed from these artists. But his achievements did not go unnoticed, and with the completion of each project, his reputation as Rome's most important artist gradually became assured.

When the scaffolding in the Farnese Gallery was removed and the marvels Annibale had created were revealed for all to see, his fame spread throughout Europe. One Dutch

visitor, writing from Rome in 1601, described the “beautiful gallery . . . so marvellously painted in fresco that one says that its manner surpasses that of all other masters, and that its beauty is indescribable.”<sup>12</sup>

In the summer of 1600, Annibale was hired by a new and enlightened patron, Count Tiberio Cerasi, to execute paintings in the same funerary chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo as another painter just beginning to be recognized in Rome. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, thirteen years Carracci’s junior, was an artist of rare but different talents, whose radical new style was beginning to create a sensation in the capital. Caravaggio’s paintings of the *Life of Saint Matthew* in the Contarelli chapel, in San Luigi dei Francesi, not far from the Farnese Palace, had been unveiled that very summer to tremendous public acclaim.<sup>13</sup>

Lack of documentation that would establish a chronology for all of the Cerasi chapel paintings hinders our understanding of the nature of the rivalry that began between the two artists at that moment.<sup>14</sup> Within a few square meters, three large pictures, Annibale’s altarpiece and Caravaggio’s lateral images, address the most fundamental questions about the nature of painting in seemingly irreconcilable ways (fig. 1). Each artist seems to have subtly altered his style of painting as a result of his direct confrontation with the other (see Cat. 78).

It is possible that Annibale’s monumental saints, whose hands and feet seem to pierce the picture plane, influenced Caravaggio’s astonishing naturalistic figures on the chapel walls. Annibale, too, may have been forced to rethink problems of intimacy, scale, and proportion as a result of Caravaggio’s work in Rome. Whatever Caravaggio learned from the older master, there can be no doubt that Annibale, who criticized Caravaggio as being “troppo naturale,” was forced to respond to religious painting in a new way.<sup>15</sup>

Around this moment both Annibale’s painting and drawing styles began to change dramatically. In general, his painted compositions became darker, the figures larger, and their poses more monumental. He seemed to abandon



FIG. 1 Cerasi Chapel, *Santa Maria del Popolo*, Rome

the airy grace and luminosity of the Farnese Gallery frescoes in favor of compositions that paid homage to late Raphael, Michelangelo’s Sistine chapel, and the antique.<sup>16</sup> Even in the magnificent Naples *Pietà* (see Cat. 73) and the lush and dramatic landscapes of the Aldobrandini lunettes, a darker palette and more somber atmosphere invade the space. In many of Annibale’s drawings an equivalent change toward a starker, more expressive style develops, beginning with the first rough sketch for *Two Fighting Putti*, probably drawn

around 1599–1600 (Cat. 66), and continuing in many later drawings, especially those executed in the artist's increasingly favored medium of thick reed pen and dark ink (Cats. 90, 91).

After his experience in the Cerasi chapel, Annibale's melancholic state began to interrupt his career more frequently. Whether or not his mental decline was directly connected to each new triumph of Caravaggio's, as some scholars have speculated, is difficult to say.<sup>17</sup> It is perhaps an indication of his dwindling self-esteem, however, that after 1600, Annibale never again signed a painting.

Early in 1602 Agostino died and Annibale returned to his native city, probably for the first time since his departure seven years earlier. On his return to Rome that spring he was accompanied by a small group of young painters, including Agostino's son Antonio, whom Agostino had specifically requested be sent to Rome to study with his uncle. A great deal of work awaited Annibale there. Perhaps realizing that he was becoming too ill to carry out his commissions alone, Annibale formed a working studio whose members included Sisto Badalocchio, Giovanni Lanfranco, Domenichino, Francesco Albani, and one or two others whose work cannot be traced.<sup>18</sup> All were trained to help Annibale in his daily tasks as a painter, and there can be no question that their presence enabled him to continue his commissions without interruption.

Between 1602 and the spring of 1605, Annibale prospered professionally. The walls of the Farnese Gallery were finished and stuccoed, mostly by Annibale's pupils to his designs, and several major painting projects were undertaken. Both the frescoes for the Herrera chapel in San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli (1604–1607) and the famous landscape lunettes for the chapel of the Aldobrandini family in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj (1604/1605–1610?)<sup>19</sup> were begun in these years. The chapel frescoes for Herrera were executed mainly by Albani, but Annibale provided him with detailed drawings and large-scale cartoons. Similarly, the Aldobrandini lunettes

were completed with the help of Albani and Badalocchio. He allowed Domenichino to paint the figures of the Virgin and child in the foreground of *The Flight into Egypt*, the most prominent part of the painting.<sup>20</sup> Some of the work Annibale agreed to undertake seems to have been accepted expressly in order to gain commissions for the assistants in his shop.<sup>21</sup>

Annibale was famously generous with his pupils. "The love with which he instructed his pupils was very great. He taught them not so much with words as with examples and demonstrations, and he treated them with so much kindness that he often neglected his own works."<sup>22</sup>

During the painting of the frescoes for Herrera, Annibale's health broke down and Albani had to finish most of the work.<sup>23</sup> Mancini, a friend of Carracci and a doctor, described his illness at this time as "an extreme melancholy accompanied by a loss of memory and speech."<sup>24</sup> In a letter dated 12 March 1605, Cardinal Farnese wrote to the duke of Modena that Annibale had suffered "a mortal sickness in the past days...."<sup>25</sup> The collapse forced his pupils to become more independent. The depth of their grounding under their master's care enabled them to begin separate and successful careers that would carry Annibale's inventions firmly through the seventeenth century in Rome, and beyond.

In August of 1605 Annibale left the Farnese Palace and moved behind the vineyards near the Farnesina, across the Tiber, where an agent to the duke of Modena found him living in seclusion.<sup>26</sup> He moved again to the Quirinal Hill,<sup>27</sup> and later, in 1606, records show him living near the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina.<sup>28</sup> His spirit was restless, and the output from his studio was unpredictable. "For at least the last five years, he was hardly able to work at all," his friend Agucchi wrote,<sup>29</sup> and indeed, after 1605 there is no single work we know of, apart from three small prints, that was executed entirely by his own hand.

It is tempting to see the dramatic change in Annibale's drawing style during the last decade of his life as reflecting his personal history, and there may be some connection.

Certainly the drawings change from sheets of delicacy and grace (Cat. 73) to pages of boldly drawn rapid and expressive lines (Cat. 91), from detailed drawings using a fine pen and subtle washes, to those drawn with a thick reed instrument with no wash and much of the paper left bare (Cats. 89, 94). But one must be careful in labeling this evolution of drawings an “old-age style,” as some art historians have done.<sup>30</sup> For one thing, Annibale was forty in 1600, which, at that time, was not considered old, but rather full middle age.<sup>31</sup> It is true that as his illness progressed the artist may well have felt an increasing urgency in working quickly, but even in these last years he had periods of drawing with great clarity and precision and, as the drawing for one of his last prints, *Christ Crowned with Thorns* of 1606 (Cat. 93), shows, he was able to render even the tiniest detail of a drawing with delicacy and total control of the pen and ink and gouache.

As the threads of his life unraveled, the melancholy of Annibale’s last years was punctuated by a few rays of light provided not by his art but by his pupils. In the summer of 1607 two of his students, Sisto Badalocchio and Giovanni Lanfranco, dedicated a group of prints to Annibale. He had instructed them to copy Raphael’s frescoes in the Vatican, as he had often made his students copy after the antique and works of the Renaissance. In the preface to their book of prints, they wrote: “. . . even though nothing of ours is worthy of you except perhaps an immense affection and an infinite desire to be worthy of your merit, at least some light of your art may be recognized scattered amid the shadows of our works.”<sup>32</sup> And later, the year before he died, in July 1608, a group of his pupils rallied around him and created a valiant document that Annibale also signed, promising to paint at least one head every five weeks and to work together in the studio for at least two hours every day.<sup>33</sup>

Annibale seems to have become more and more isolated, and his loneliness was often remarked upon. Annibale’s sexuality has never been fully investigated, and Bellori’s statement that Annibale’s death was hastened by his “amorous

maladies,” a common reference to syphilis, has hardly been referred to in modern biographies, and never fully explained.<sup>34</sup> No mention is made in the various biographies of any companions in his personal life other than his nephew Antonio, who shared his house and cared for him there for the last seven months that he lived.<sup>35</sup>

On 15 July 1609 Annibale died at the age of forty-eight.<sup>36</sup> Antonio was named executor of his small estate and his list of his uncle’s household effects, made two days after his death, is a pitiful testament to Annibale’s simple life. Although Annibale had had a successful career, along with a number of paintings, mostly unfinished, he left only a few broken bits of silver and furniture, some torn shirts, and some mattresses in his humble house and even those, according to the documents, may have been on loan to him from the Farnese household nearby.<sup>37</sup> What had become of his earnings is a mystery.

Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi was with Annibale when he died. In a moving letter about the last hours of the artist’s life, as notable for its universal concerns as it is for the simplicity of its expression, Agucchi created one of the greatest documents about the artist to have survived:

I have just come . . . from watching Annibale Carracci . . . pass on to another life. Recently he went . . . to seek death in Naples and, not having found it there, he returned . . . to meet it here in Rome. He arrived . . . and instead of being cured, he became seriously sick and . . . this evening he died . . . this morning . . . he was in good spirits . . . but toward evening, when I went to see him again, he was desperately ill, and I urged him to take communion . . . the parish priest arrived and gave him extreme unction; a little later he died . . . He wanted to make a will, . . . but he didn’t have time . . . His nephew Antonio, Agostino’s son, is here and will take care of everything, and he will arrange for burial in the Rotunda, next to the tomb of Raphael . . . in the judgment of the leading painters of Rome, when he lived he was the greatest man in the world in his profession . . . his loss is a sorrow not only to relatives and friends, but to our city, and to all students of a most noble art . . .<sup>38</sup>

Annibale's death deeply affected those who esteemed art in Rome. They recognized his achievements as a painter, his influence as a teacher, and his uniqueness as a man. His friend Mancini described him thus: "He was a universal painter, sacred, profane, ridiculous, serious. . . . Since his mind contained everything, he did not need to see things in order to paint them. His compositions were perfect; they captured emotions and were filled with graceful decorum."<sup>39</sup> For his contemporaries, he had revitalized the great Renaissance achievements in painting, bringing graceful proportions and the grandeur of the antique into harmony with nature, fusing light, color, and an observation of the beauty in God's world with the humility and humanity of man.

#### NOTES

1. According to a letter written by a Bolognese compatriot, G. B. Bonconti, dated 2 August 1599, Annibale was given "una stanzietta alli tetti" (a little room under the eaves) in the Farnese Palace for accommodation. Quoted in Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 405. Annibale was living on the Quirinal Hill, on the present site of the Borromini church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, at the time of his death; Bellori 1672, 67, had reported that Annibale had moved there. Zapperi's relatively recent discovery of the inventory of the artist's belongings (see Zapperi 1979, 62–67), which had been submitted to the local notary two days after the artist's death, confirms that Annibale was still living on this site when he died (he is referred to as "Anibals ad quator fontes"). Annibale's death was registered in the records of the parish of San Girolamo al Quirinale.
2. The letter was written on 8 July 1595 to the priors of the Confraternita di San Rocco, to whom he owed an unfinished painting. For the text of the letter, see Perini 1990, 155–156.
3. See Bellori 1672, 31.
4. For the Aldobrandini family he painted *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Cooney and Malafarina 1976, no. 88); for the Mattei family, a *Death of the Virgin* for their family chapel in San Francesco a Ripa (Cooney and Malafarina 1976, no. 128, pl. 56); for the Borghese family, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Cooney and Malafarina 1976, no. 98).
5. For the Marchese Salviati, Annibale painted the *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist* (Cooney and Malafarina 1976, no. 93a) and *The Vision of Saint Francis* (Cooney and Malafarina 1976, no. 92); for Prince Ludovisi, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Cooney and Malafarina 1976, no. 95). Wittkower 1952, 16, n. 26, lists genre pictures of the period.
6. Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 334, tells us that Francesco Angeloni owned fully six hundred drawings by Annibale, and Wittkower 1952, 16 and n. 24, surmised that the number of drawings for the Farnese Gallery ceiling alone was probably more than a thousand.
7. Translation by Enggass in Bellori 1968, 58.
8. Bellori 1968, 58.
9. Bellori 1968, 58.
10. Bellori 1968, 59.
11. Posner 1971, I: 134–135.
12. The letter, written by an anonymous correspondent to the Dutch painter Carel van Mander, is quoted in Posner 1971, I: 135, and its date is discussed on p. 174, n. 12. For Annibale's fame in Rome immediately upon completion of the Gallery, see Posner 1971, I: 135.
13. See Rottgen 1965, 49–51, for the chronology of the unveiling of the paintings. For Caravaggio's rising popularity after 1600, see Posner 1971, I: 137–138, and nn. on 174–175.
14. No documents for Annibale's contract with Cerasi have been found. For the documents concerning Caravaggio's contract with Cerasi, see Friedlaender 1955, 277.
15. Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 344. See Posner 1971, I: 136–138 and nn. on 174–175, for a discussion of how each artist was aware of, and influenced by, the other. See also Dempsey 1977, 86, n. 59; Hibbard 1983, 131–132.
16. After 1601, what Posner has called "an implacable rigidity and iconic frontality" took over. Others, notably Pepper and Mahon (oral communication 1999), see this later style as Annibale's greatest painting.
17. Posner 1971, I: 138, says, ". . . if one is to judge by the sad transformation in Annibale's art that took place between the painting of the vault and the walls of the Farnese Gallery [that is between 1601 and 1604], then the competition, to the extent that it was responsible, cost Annibale dear."
18. See Negro and Pirondini 1995, 10, for the Bolognese artists who began to work with Annibale at that time. See Posner 1962, 130–131, for minor artists we cannot now identify.
19. See Posner 1971, 2: nos. 145–150.
20. See Spear 1982, 142 and nn. 5–8.
21. Domenichino's commission to paint the Farnese-sponsored chapel at Grottaferrata was obtained through Annibale's intervention and is an often-quoted example of this. See Spear 1982, 159, no. 35.
22. Bellori 1968, 61.
23. Bellori 1968, 56, says that Annibale began painting *The Assumption* in the Herrera chapel but that ". . . after twelve days he stopped working here and stayed his hand and brush. His illness suddenly redoubled as he was struck by apoplexy which impeded his speech and disturbed his intellect for some time."
24. Translation in Posner 1962, 98–99.
25. Quoted in Mahon 1957, 196.
26. Letter from an agent to the duke of Modena, Archivio di Stato, cited by Tietze 1906–1907, 148, n. 1.
27. Bellori 1672, 67.
28. Posner 1971, I: 147–148, and n. 61, reports this move, on the basis of a reference in Bousquet 1952, 289, n. 3.

29. Malvasia 1678 (1841), 1: 319.
30. Posner 1962, III.
31. Soussloff 1987, 116 and n. 9.
32. Bellori 1968, 84.
33. “Io Annibale Afermo,” Annibale wrote. The “contract” is on the verso of a drawing now in Turin, inv. 16096 D.C.
34. Posner refers to this in a note (1971, 1: 179, n. 68), but does not pursue it. Martin 1965, 19, mentions it briefly. Wittkower (1963, 115 and n. 70) discusses the comment made by a seventeenth-century biographer, Joachim von Sandrart, about Annibale’s reckless lifestyle. He led “a wicked life devoid of virtue, though before his end he redeemed himself from this slough of iniquity.”
35. Zapperi 1979, 62. Zapperi also conjectures that another pupil, a certain Giovanni Antonio Solari, one of whose paintings was recorded in the inventory of Annibale’s house after his death, lived together with his master “at least since 1607” (p. 63).
36. Bellori 1672, 76–77, mistakenly noted Annibale’s age as forty-nine in his account of the artist’s death, and it has been repeated in this incorrect form ever since. In fact, Annibale was born in early November, so that in July of 1609 he was forty-eight, not yet forty-nine. See Posner 1971, 1: 149.
37. Zapperi 1979, 63, calculated Annibale’s net worth at the time of his death to be 1,380 scudi, a paltry amount for so successful a painter. He left fourteen paintings, one of which was by Domenichino and one by another pupil. *The Birth of the Virgin* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) was found in the studio after his death.
38. The letter was not written until 12 September 1609, but it describes the night of 14–15 July. It was addressed to Agucchi’s friend in Bologna, Canon Bartolomeo Dulcini. Translation in Posner 1971, 1: 149. Quoted in Malvasia 1678 (1841), 1: 319–320.
39. Mancini 1617 (1956–1957), 1: 219. “Fu pittore universale, sacro, profano, ridicolo, grave e vero pittore poiche faceva di sua fantasia senza tener il naturale davanti; bonissimo compositore, espresse gl’affetti et hebbe gran decoro.”





## The Coronation of the Virgin

*c. 1597–1598; pen and two shades  
of brown ink with brown wash,  
heightened with white oil pigment  
on two joined sheets of paper washed  
reddish brown, varnished and laid  
down; 462 x 481 (18 3/16 x 18 1/16)*

MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS  
DE DIJON

THIS IMPORTANT SKETCH IS DIRECTLY preparatory for the painting of the same subject executed for the nephew of Pope Clement VIII, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, which is mentioned in the inventory of his collection drawn up by his secretary, Giovanni Battista Agucchi, in 1603. The somewhat stormy relations between the Farnese and Aldobrandini families were calmed by the marriage of Ranuccio Farnese and Margherita Aldobrandini, the pope's niece, but commissions made directly to Annibale by Pietro Aldobrandini are documented only for the *Domine, Quo Vadis?*, now in the National Gallery, London, and for the series of landscape lunettes made for the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome. The technique of painting *chiaroscuro bozzetti* like this one was used regularly by the Carracci in the course of their careers, but no other example of this type from Annibale's activity in Rome is currently known. The profoundly Correggesque character of the iconography and the utilization of the space actually approaches the compositions of its Bolognese antecedents, but there is currently no reason to imagine a major lapse of time between the drawing and the painting now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 1).

By the elegance and purity of the forms the painting manifests the radiance of Hellenistic sculpture associated with a thorough knowledge of the frescoes in the Farnesina, which visibly influenced Annibale in his decision to present Christ semi-nude, though in the Dijon sketch he is more covered up. A date contemporary with Annibale's first work in the Farnese Gallery seems therefore probable, c. 1597–1598, and it would not be inconceivable that the painting could have been intended as a diplomatic gift in view of a delicate negotiation at the time when the pope occupied Ferrara and attained the height of his temporal power in northern Italy. CLL

### PROVENANCE

Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 1852, twice) (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, no. 303); A. C. His de La Salle (Lugt 1332); given by him to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, in 1863, inv. CA 785

### EXHIBITIONS

Dijon 1965, no. 32; Paris 1967, no. 30; Paris 1976, no. 72

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dijon coll. cat. 1869, no. 1259; Dijon coll. cat. 1883, no. 785; Jaffé 1960, 27–28; Andrews 1961, 462; Johnston 1971, 82, pl. XI; Posner 1971, 1: 83–84, 2: under no. 94, pl. 94b; Ottani Cavina in Bologna-Washington-New York 1986–1987, 287, under no. 95



FIG. 1 Coronation of the Virgin, c. 1597, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Bequest of Adelaide Milton de Groot (1876–1967), by exchange, and Dr. and Mrs. Manuel Porter and Sons, gift in honor of Mrs. Sarah Porter, 1971*

## Bust of the Virgin with Hands Joined

1597–1599; black chalk heightened  
with white on two joined sheets  
of gray-blue paper, slightly trimmed  
at left and top and laid down;  
500 x 374 (19 <sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 14 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS



FIG. 1 after Annibale Carracci, Coronation of the Virgin, c. 1597–1599, Santa Caterina dei Funari, Rome

THIS IS THE PREPARATORY CARTOON for the left part of the lunette of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, copied by Annibale after the fresco by Correggio in Parma. The painting was placed above that of *Saint Margaret* in the Bombasi chapel in the church of Santa Caterina dei Funari in Rome. According to Mancini, the earliest source, Annibale was the author of the *Coronation*<sup>1</sup> and executed *Saint Margaret*, below, following the figure of Saint Catherine in the *Madonna of Saint Luke*, now in the Louvre.<sup>2</sup> Later sources disagree about the extent of Annibale's participation in the work, but there is no doubt that the cartoon, from which the right part with Christ has disappeared, is by him and was used by a student, probably Innocenzo Tacconi, to transcribe the composition into paint (fig. 1).

The patron, Gabriele Bombasi, who came from Reggio, was the preceptor of the young Odoardo Farnese and seems to have played a role in the Farnese court. He even bequeathed several paintings by Annibale to the Farnese family: *The Angel Gabriel*, now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, and four copies after Correggio, including *The Coronation of the Virgin*,

now in Naples, which directly inspired the exhibited drawing.<sup>3</sup> Certainly a connoisseur and an informed patron, Bombasi doubtless intervened in the aesthetic choices that presided at the creation of the altarpiece for his chapel, which still today is striking in the bare elegance of the framework—perhaps designed by Annibale—beside the neomanierist stucco work of the other chapels. By resolutely affirming the Emilian and Venetian sources of his art in the first years of his stay in Rome, between 1597 and 1599, the Bolognese painter clearly manifested his personality and his individuality.

The cartoon, which belonged to Francesco Angeloni, was known to historiographers of painting and notably to Giovanni Pietro Bellori, who could examine it at his leisure and remember it when he evoked Annibale's formation. However, it is not an exact copy of Correggio's composition, as differences with the fresco in Parma prove, but rather a free recreation with numerous *pentimenti* that was inspired by the sinuosity of Correggio's motif, but treated with an energy that is close to Titian in the modeling. CLL

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Antoine Coypel; Charles-Antoine Coypel; bequeathed by him to the French royal collection in 1752; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1899 and 2207), inv. 7144

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1866, no. 147; Bologna 1956, no. 109; Paris 1961, no. 35; Paris 1974, no. 15; Paris 1994, no. 54

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jaffé 1956a, 398; Posner 1971, 2: 44–45, 47; Volle in Paris 1988a, 155; Giardini 1995, 261

### NOTES

1. Mancini 1617 (1956–1957), 1: 219.
2. In regard to the *Saint Margaret*, Bellori's statement that the copy of the painting in Reggio is by Lucio Massari and that Annibale only intervened to change the iconography is put in question by direct examination of the canvas, which shows sumptuous Venetian tonalities and many differences in the placement of figures and contrasting details in the two canvases. An original drawing by Annibale for the landscape in the background is in the Louvre (inv. 7645).
3. Van Tuyl 1988, 50–51.





## 64

## The Nativity

c. 1597–1598; pen and brown ink  
on cream paper, the upper left corner  
torn off; 514 x 378 (20 1/4 x 14 7/8)

THE SYNDICS OF THE  
FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE

THE RECENT ATTRIBUTION OF THIS drawing to Agostino by Aidan Weston-Lewis<sup>1</sup> raises once again the question of the proximity of style between the two brothers at the end of the 1590s. It is enough to recall the problem of the lost painting *The Return of the Prodigal Son*—attested by the oldest sources as a work of Annibale,<sup>2</sup> and reattributed to Agostino by Wittkower and Mahon based on the style of the three preparatory drawings at Windsor and the Louvre<sup>3</sup>—to understand the difficulty of separating the hands of the two brothers in certain drawings in pen and even in black chalk. In fact, the recto of the composition drawing in Windsor for *The Prodigal Son*,<sup>4</sup> with the monumental amplitude of the draped figures defined by a concise pen line broadly heightened with wash, would constitute the culmination of Annibale's studies before his definitive installation in Rome. As for the exhibited sheet,

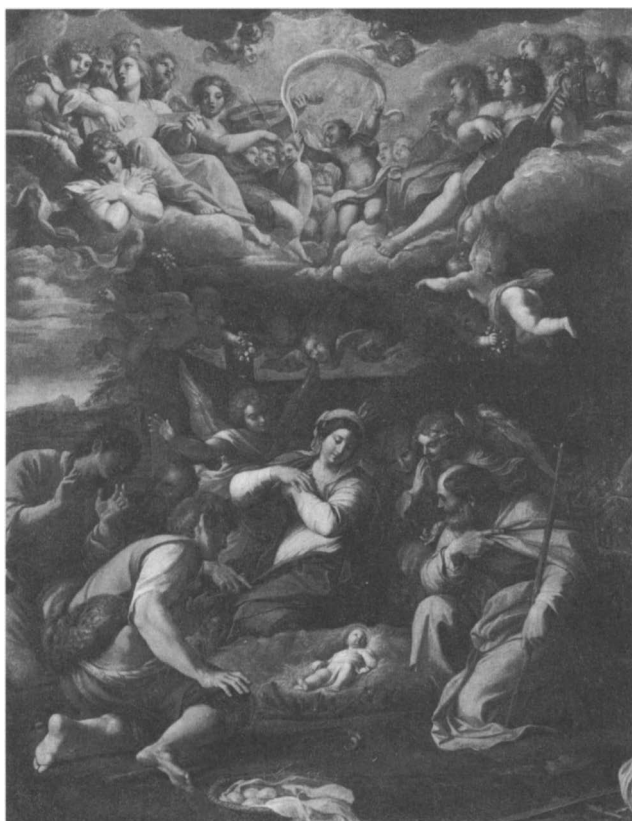


FIG. 1 Adoration of the Shepherds, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans

which is preparatory for Annibale's *Adoration of the Shepherds* from the Ludovisi collection (fig. 1), despite superficial resemblances with the work of Agostino in the handling of the faces, this sketch can be considered a rare surviving example of its type by Annibale. From this dynamic and airy composition only the central figure of the Virgin, a souvenir of Correggio (see Cat. 63), will remain in the painting, while the idea—both Venetian and Florentine—of the shepherds watching from a wall will disappear and be replaced by an opaque background. The motif of the figure cut by the column at left, an invention that is typical of Annibale, will be reused with variants in two later compositions, a painting and a print of the Adoration of the Shepherds.<sup>5</sup>

The many stylistic similarities with the series of preparatory drawings for the painting of *The Madonna and Child in Glory over Bologna* in Christ Church, Oxford (see Cat. 23), and more notably the correspondence between this drawing and the bust of the Virgin in the lunette of Santa Caterina dei Funari (Cat. 63) allow this drawing to be placed in the transition period between the athletic sinuosities of the Palazzo Sampieri frescoes and *The Alms of Saint Roch*—which are strongly influenced by such contemporary paintings by Ludovico as the *Saint Jerome* in San Martino<sup>6</sup>—and the more serene monumentality of the Camerino. The dating proposed by Posner, 1597–1598, seems to comply with the characteristics of the Fitzwilliam drawing. The harmonious introduction of the profile figure of Joseph in the definitive version, completely different from the man seated on his heels at the left of the drawing, could be explained as a transcription of the pose of the Crouching Venus sculpture in the Farnese collection. CLL

## PROVENANCE

G. T. Clough; given by him to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1913, inv. 2911

## EXHIBITIONS

Cambridge 1959, no. 20; New York and tour 1976, no. 14; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 90

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mahon in Bologna 1956, under no. 109; Jaffé 1956a, 398, fig. 2; Posner 1971, 2: 45, under no. 102, pl. 102b; De Grazia Bohlin 1983, 38–39; Moinet in Tours-Orléans-Chartres 1996–1997, under no. 41; Weston-Lewis 1997, 461; De Grazia 1998b, 300–301

## NOTES

1. Weston-Lewis 1997, 461.
2. Brogi 1996.
3. Wittkower 1952, nos. 95–96; Mahon in Bologna 1956, 48–50, under nos. 50, 51.
4. Wittkower 1952, no. 95.
5. Posner 1971, 2: pls. 108 a, 175 a.
6. Repr. Bologna and Fort Worth 1993, no. 51.

## 65

The Drunken  
Silenus

1599–1601; pen and two shades of brown ink with brown and gray-brown wash over traces of black and red chalk on beige paper, cut in several places and pieced together, with additional overlapping strips of paper, laid down; 286 x 275 (11 1/4 x 10 13/16)

THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
LONDON



FIG. 1 Head of Silenus,  
c. 1599–1600, Musée du Louvre

WHILE THE GALLERY CEILING WAS being frescoed, Cardinal Farnese commissioned Annibale to design two ornate table ornaments of silver and gold. The objects, known from seventeenth-century inventories,<sup>1</sup> no longer survive, but a number of masterful and sensuous studies for each piece are extant, and various attempts have been made to reconstruct their forms and histories.<sup>2</sup>

One piece, the more famous, was a cup or salver rimmed in gold, known as the Tazza Farnese; the other, a silver bread basket with golden feet, is referred to as the Paniere Farnese (see Cat. 68). The bowls of these unusual objects had been incised with a burin, resulting in beautifully worked surfaces that caught and reflected light. It is not surprising that Annibale, an accomplished printmaker, was requested to use his skill in engraving for the decorative design.

The fate of the two objects is not known. A round, flat circle of engraved silver, found in Naples among the Farnese treasures, was identified by Kurz as one surviving piece of the original Tazza.<sup>3</sup> It is more likely, however, that it is a copy of the bowl of the Tazza and that the cup is lost (see Cat. 67). The importance of the commission can be surmised by the survival of many remarkable drawings, three of which are in the current exhibition (Cats. 65–67), and by the large number of prints after Annibale's design.<sup>4</sup>

The British Museum sheet is the first for the Tazza's interior in its final design. Among the drawings that preceded it is a design in the Louvre (fig. 1) showing the head of Silenus in the center of the dish, grapevines in his hair. A companion to this drawing is the sheet by Agostino at Windsor,<sup>5</sup> which may illustrate an early project for a twin dish that was never executed.

With each study Annibale worked out the positions of the figures and the ornamental border. For the center of the cup, he sketched

a group of revelers. Fat Silenus, the oldest satyr and companion of Bacchus, is seated on the ground holding a tipped goblet. Already drunk, he is propped up by a younger satyr and a faun who pour wine into his mouth from a goatskin bag. Cardinal Farnese's strong identification with Bacchus has been noted before,<sup>6</sup> and these characters are familiar from their appearance in the Bacchic procession on the Gallery ceiling (see Cats. 43, 44, 47).

The elaborate border evolved with evident care, as its complex manufacture suggests. Not satisfied with his first attempt at the vine-leaf wreath, Annibale cut three irregularly shaped pieces of paper and laid them around the edges over the original design, leaving the right side of the drawing intact. He washed the corners of the sheet with pale brown before drawing the rim of vines, the effect of which projects the center of the cup more deeply into space.

The decorative border, then, acts as a porthole onto a separate scene. He may have intended the rim to be made from a separate piece of silver, either engraved or perhaps cast in relief.

Annibale's drawing shows a richly ornamented, intricate wreath of grapes, the tendrils and leaves of which intertwine with eight animals' heads—four horned and bearded rams, and four lions.<sup>7</sup> Two sweeping strokes of wash around the inside of the circle cast the entire border into even higher relief.

The fat baby satyr clinging to the wreath and reaching toward Silenus seems to have been added later, perhaps to unify the two elements of the design. Here the artist is beginning to change his concept, as the wreath will eventually become part of the Tazza's bowl, rather than its rim.

The landscape background was sketched in last and is clearly drawn over the new borders. On this drawing it appears as an afterthought, and on the engraved plate it is absent entirely. κG

## PROVENANCE

Richard Payne Knight; bequeathed by him to the British Museum, 1824, inv. Pp. 3–20

## EXHIBITIONS

Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 124; Washington 1979, 456, 458, fig. 19f; Oxford and London 1996–1997, 138, no. 87

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Campori 1870, 489; Ellesmere 1898; Wittkower 1952, 113; Kurz 1955b, 282–287; Mahon in Bologna 1956, 89, under no. 113, Posner 1971, 2: 50, no. 113 under pl. 113b; Turner 1980, 22–23, no. 2; De Grazia 1984, 240–243, under no. 19, fig. 339f; Bohn 1996, 236, 238; Colorno-Munich-Naples 1995, 382–384, under no. 168; De Castris, Martino, and Muzii 1996, chap. 4, 136–140

## NOTES

1. See Muzii in De Castris, Martino, and Muzii 1996, 136, for a complete list of the inventories in which the Tazza appears.
2. See especially De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 456–465, no. 19, and again in De Grazia 1984, 240–243, no. 19. See also Bohn 1996, 235–244, under no. .018.
3. See Kurz 1955b, 282–287.
4. See Bohn 1996, 235–244, no. .018, who records seventeen impressions of the print.
5. Inv. 1986. Repr. Wittkower 1952, 113, fig. 13.
6. See Zapperi 1988, 347.
7. For a discussion of the Bacchic symbolism and its relation to the Farnese Gallery vault, see De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 464, n. 11.





# 66

## Drunken Silenus and Decorative Border

## Two Putti Fighting (*verso*)

1599–1601; pen and brown ink  
with brown wash on cream  
paper (watermark: small bird  
in a circle); 277 x 168 (10 7/8 x 6 3/8);  
verso, pen and brown ink, 282 x 175  
(11 1/8 x 6 7/8)

THE ART INSTITUTE OF  
CHICAGO, RESTRICTED  
GIFT OF THE REGENSTEIN  
FOUNDATION

THE DRAWING ON THE RECTO OF this sheet is the second of three closely related studies for the Tazza Farnese (see Cats. 65 and 67). Annibale began this drawing, which is far sketchier than the one in the British Museum (Cat. 65), by experimenting with a new conceit for the vine leaves. The wreath, which in the British Museum sheet had been purely decorative until, as an afterthought, the artist added a twisted tree trunk, here becomes more organic still, growing out of a mound of earth. The same vine is drawn a second time at the bottom, on the left, with its branches twisting in the opposite direction, a modification that appeared on the engraved silver cup. Annibale also set down in greater detail individual studies of the ram and lions' heads, giving them lively facial expressions and lavishing particular attention on the surrounding ribbons and fruits. Later he used only grapes and leaves in the border, as in the next drawing, and on the prints based on the salver, no animal heads appear.

Annibale made two important changes to the group of figures in the Chicago drawing, which create a greater sense of revelry. Silenus, ever more drunk, slumps forward and rests his right arm on his cup for support. The faun, shifted from behind Silenus to his side, squirts the wine directly into his mouth. The horned satyr supporting Silenus is drawn twice, but even so, his position was not yet finalized.

The bodies of the figures twist perfectly into a compact group. Each is dependent on the others for support and for sustenance. The har-

mony of the three and the humor of their activity is deftly drawn, and a few strokes of carefully applied wash enliven the figures and anchor them to the ground. There are also delicate notations for the grassy foreground and details of delicate grape leaves on this sheet.

A very different kind of drawing is on the verso, which shows a fragment of a study for *Two Putti Fighting* and is preparatory to the fresco in the southwest corner of the Farnese Gallery ceiling (fig. 1). The final decision as to how to paint the corner frescoes was not made until the winter of 1600–1601.<sup>1</sup> The chronology of the ceiling corners, based on the recent study of the *giornate*<sup>2</sup> and new discoveries to changes in the overall program,<sup>3</sup> confirm the late evolution in the designs for the four pairs of fighting putti, so their late dating seems virtually certain.



FIG. 1 Putti Fighting over a Crown, 1600–1601,  
*Palazzo Farnese, Rome*

### PROVENANCE

Pierre Crozat, Paris (sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, no. 441); Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 1852); Count Moriz von Fries (Lugt 2903); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); repurchased by Samuel Woodburn from Lawrence's estate; Sir Francis Egerton, 1st earl of Ellesmere; by descent in the earl's family (sale, London, Sotheby's, 11 July 1972, no. 68, repr.); British Rail Pension Fund, London; purchased by the Art Institute of Chicago, restricted gift of the Regenstein Foundation, 1989.188

### EXHIBITIONS

London 1836b, no. 59; London 1955, no. 12; Bologna 1956, no. 112, recto repr. pl. 58; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 123; Washington 1979, 458, 460, fig. 19g (recto)

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mariette 1851–1862, I: 319; Ellesmere 1898, no. 70; Tomory 1954, no. 47, pl. x11; Kurz 1955b, 282–287, repr. pl. 22 (recto); Bacou in Paris 1961, under no. 81; Martin 1965, 229, 271, repr. pl. 241 (verso); Posner 1971, 2: under no. 113; Schilling and Blunt 1971, under Wittkower 100; De Grazia 1984, 240–243, under no. 19, fig. 339g; Bohn 1996, 236, under no. .018, repr. 239 (recto); Robertson in Oxford and London 1996–1997, 138, under no. 87





The drawing, although not complete, is one of the most important in Annibale's oeuvre. First, its connection with the vault of the Gallery provides a terminus ante quem for the Tazza Farnese studies to the winter of 1600–1601. Second, the dramatic change in style between the recto and the verso marks a turning point in Annibale's graphic development, one that heralds a new way of drawing that he will use increasingly over the next years.

The technical as well as stylistic changes are startling. Both sides of the sheet show rapidly sketched compositions. In the drawing for the Tazza Farnese Annibale used a fine-nibbed pen for the outlines and a delicate sepia-colored ink, washed on with a brush, to show volume; in the study for the Farnese ceiling corner he used darker ink and no wash, and a pen with a broader nib for drawing. The sketch on the recto is made with the pen twisting and turn-

ing fluidly around the exterior volumes, hardly being lifted from the sheet. The drawing on the verso uses coarser, rougher strokes, with parallel hatching and heavy outlines to indicate shading and mass.

The verso is Annibale's first study in which he appears to be applying a basic fresco technique to a pen and ink drawing. In fresco, color must be applied with denser or lighter patches of single strokes and parallel lines; it cannot be blended into wet plaster the way wash can be applied to a sheet of paper. In his later years, Annibale would apply this technique to his drawing almost exclusively.

Mariette was evidently pleased to have two drawings by Annibale on the same sheet. Not only did he draw the decorative oval border, complete with ribbon and bow around the two putti on the verso, he annotated the recto with a note to the viewer: "tournez, s'il vous plaît." K

#### NOTES

1. Martin 1965, 228–230. He discusses the seven known studies for the four corners and their probable date. See also Gail Feigenbaum's essay, this volume.
2. For a map of the daily sections, see Briganti et al. 1987, in the section "Carte delle Giornate."
3. Steven Pepper, in a paper presented at the German Institute of Florence, spring 1998.

## 67

The Drunken  
Silenus

1599–1601; pen and brown ink  
with brown wash over traces  
of black chalk, partly incised for  
transfer; diameter: 257 (10 1/8)

Signed (?) in pen and brown ink  
at bottom: Annibale Carracci

THE METROPOLITAN  
MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK,  
HARRIS BRISBANE DICK  
FUND AND ROGERS FUND

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM DRAWING was Annibale's final design for Cardinal Farnese's silver salver. Several elements make its importance to the artist clear. For one, he used a compass to draw the two outer circles for the rim, and traces of the instrument on the sheet, such as the hole at center filled with chalk dustings and the two concentric circles at its edge, one in black chalk and one in ink, can be discerned. In addition, it seems that Annibale signed the drawing, which would make it almost unique among his surviving sheets. Comparisons with known signatures on documents allow us to identify the handwriting on the bottom of the sheet as the artist's own<sup>1</sup> (see fig. 1). The drawing is also incised with the sharp point of an engraving tool, indicating that Annibale used this method to transfer his design onto the silver bowl of the Tazza.

The figures that occupy the center of the cup, now so familiar to the artist, have been drawn directly onto the paper in pen and ink. In this final drawing the group of revelers is placed on a flat, rocky platform, bathed in

light against an empty sky. The original background, with trees, bushes, and a distant horizon, has been eliminated. A second baby faun has been added to the rim, mirroring his twin and pushing the figures more firmly into the center of the space. The animal heads have been eliminated from the border, and the clumps of earth in the foreground and the leaves and grapes around the border are all drawn in a freer and more open manner than in the British Museum sheet, and a more painterly use of wash highlights pockets of light and shade. The central design, too, is depicted in sharper relief, its volumes enhanced by strokes of dark ink and wash.

In the Metropolitan drawing it is clear for the first time that the raised rim of the cup is outside of Annibale's drawn border, and that the circle of vines and grapes will decorate the curving sides of the plate. Deft brushstrokes of wash around the left edge help to indicate where light and shadow will fall on the slanted sides. This records a change from the British Museum drawing, in which Annibale planned

## PROVENANCE

Possibly Gonzaga di Novarelli (described in an inventory by Carlo Bianconi of c. 1770: "Annibale Carracci. Sileno, a cui due Satiri porgono da bere, e puttini sopra arabori d'uva: disegno a penna ed acquerellato."); Bontin (according to the manuscript inventory of the Lagoy collection); Marquis de Lagoy (Lugt 1710); Thomas Dimsdale (Lugt 2426); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); repurchased by Samuel Woodburn from Lawrence's estate; Lord Francis Egerton, 1st earl of Ellesmere (Lugt 2710b); by descent in the earl's family (sale, London, Sotheby's, 11 July 1972, no. 69, repr.); purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Rogers Fund, 1972.133.4

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1836b, 25, no. 74; London 1955, no. 14; Bologna 1956, no. 113; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 124; Washington 1979, 456–464, under no. 19

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Campori 1870, 665; Ellesmere 1898, no. 60; Tomory 1954, 21, no. 48, repr. as frontispiece; Kurz 1955b, 285–286 and fig. 15; Posner 1971, 2: 50, under no. 113; Schilling and Blunt 1971, under Wittkower 100; Bean 1979, 76–77, no. 104; Turner 1980, 22–23, under no. 2; De Grazia 1984, 242, under no. 19 and fig. 339h; Colorno-Munich-Naples 1995, 382–384, under no. 168; De Castris, Martino, and Muzii 1996, 136–140, under no. 4.5; Bohn 1996, 236, repr. 240, under no. .018; Robertson in Oxford and London 1996–1997, 138, under no. 87

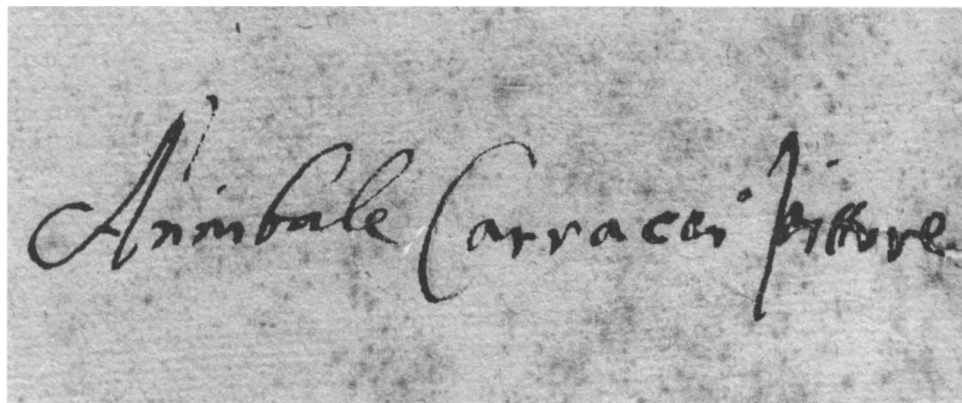


FIG. 1 Annibale Carracci's signature, from his letter to Giulio Fossi, 1595, *Archivio di Stato di Reggio Emilia, Bologna*







FIG. 2 after Annibale Carracci, *Drunken Silenus* (The Tazza Farnese), *National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection*

to have the wreath decorate the flat edge of the salver, perhaps in relief.

Annibale was a master of the engraving technique, and his silver plate must have been radiant once completed. It has been suggested that among the surviving examples of prints after this design (fig. 2), several were made from the bottom of the salver after it had been detached from its base and rim.<sup>2</sup> This explanation is a way of linking the silver plate found in Naples with some prints apparently pulled from it.

There is compelling evidence that some of the earlier prints of this subject were made from the Naples plate. But there is no real proof that the worn, damaged silver circle, on which the engraving is of poor quality, was the base of the Tazza Farnese. Aside from the difficulty in imagining that Annibale's cup would be destroyed in order to use one section of it for printing, the existing prints do not match Annibale's details in the exhibited drawing, nor do the incised lines correspond to the composition on the silver plate. More important is the fact that neither the piece of silver in Naples nor any of the known prints pulled from it have the life and richness of Annibale's other prints. It seems far more likely that, like the silver plate surviving for the *Paniera* (see Cat. 68), the plate of engraved silver in Naples is a copy after the original bowl of the magnificent cup, now lost.<sup>3</sup> KG

#### NOTES

1. The subject of Annibale's signature has not been studied systematically. Six autograph letters by Annibale survive, but one is a fragment from the middle of the letter and does not contain his signature, and five are to Ludovico and are not signed with his name. The sixth is a letter dating from 6 July 1595, to Giulio Fossi of the Confraternita di San Rocco, concerning Annibale's commission for the painting *The Alms of Saint Roch* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) and is signed in full (fig. 1). Two pages of the letter are reproduced in Boschloo 1974, 2: 346–347. It is on the basis of the handwriting in this letter that the majority of the *postille* in the annotated volume of Vasari preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale in Bologna can be assigned to Annibale, rather than to Agostino, as was previously thought. Annibale signed another drawing, see Cat. 84. Annibale's full signature also appears on four documents related to payments for work in the Farnese Gallery. See Uginet 1980, pls. 1a and b, 2a and b. Only one other example of Annibale's written name, in this case only his first name, is known. This is the contract drawn up with his pupils on 14 July 1608, to which Annibale added: "Io Annibale Afermo quanto di sopra." See Mahon in Bologna 1956, 167, under no. 248. The contract is on the back of a drawing in Turin (Biblioteca Reale, inv. 16096 D.C.).

2. For the idea that the stem of the dish and its decorative border were removed from the Naples silver object so that prints could be pulled from the remaining plate, see Kurz 1955b, 285: "Already at an early date impressions were taken from Annibale's salver." All subsequent authors have accepted that the prints were pulled from the Naples plate.

3. Kurz's observation that there are traces of solder on the base of the Naples plate does not prove that it belonged to the cup, only that it may have once been attached to another piece of silver. One of the earliest examples of the print, the so-called first state at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, with a velvety brown/black ink on an oily piece of paper, in which the impression has slightly double registered, seems indeed to have been pulled from the Naples plate. But neither appears to be by Annibale himself. Wittkower 1952, 113, writing before Kurz, states that the engraving "probably reproduces Annibale's design for his Farnese salver," even though he knew that early collectors of the print called the early engravings "la tazza di Annibale."



## Studies for a Decorative Framework

1599–1601; pen and brown ink  
with brown wash over black chalk  
(in the studies at bottom and  
right) and touches of orange-red  
chalk (in the study at right,  
the central mask, and the tassel)  
on cream paper; 259 x 383  
(10 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 15 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

THE WINDSOR DRAWING IS ONE OF three surviving studies for an elaborate silver bread basket, or *paniere*, known from an early inventory of the treasures of the Farnese family.<sup>1</sup> The basket is lost but a silver plate recording its central motif, engraved by Francesco Villamena after Annibale's designs, survives in Naples<sup>2</sup> and it is from the prints pulled from this plate (fig. 1)<sup>3</sup> that Annibale's drawings for the basket have been identified and their sequence reconstructed.

The basket, like the cup it was designed to accompany (see Cats. 65–67), was to be composed of two distinct elements. An exquisite drawing in Florence depicts the original idea for the center, with the composition reversed.<sup>4</sup>

The Windsor sheet is a study for details of the surrounding decorative frame, in which Annibale combined a rich variety of motifs based on antique sources. Two satyr herms with garlands stand like pilasters at either side, with goats nibbling at the grapes that partially cover their nude bodies. Heavy swags of leaves and ribbons, two fat putti, and a fierce recumbent lion become the lower border, with the classicizing head of Bacchus crowning the top of the frame.

Unusually, Annibale began to draw on the right side of the sheet. Perhaps he was intending to sketch the entire frame, but stopped to work out several details. He began with a chalk underdrawing of the border, followed by a more complete drawing in pen and dark brown ink. The first satyr-herm he drew has a head that is half-human, half-ram. A goat stands quietly by his side, a refinement from the one Annibale had experimented with on an earlier drawing at Windsor.<sup>5</sup>

In the studies to the left, which are drawn with a lighter color ink and no underdrawing, the satyr-herm and Bacchus are redrawn with minor changes that Annibale evidently preferred. The satyr now has an older, less human, face, and his shoulders have developed into decorative volutes. Bacchus, too, has lost

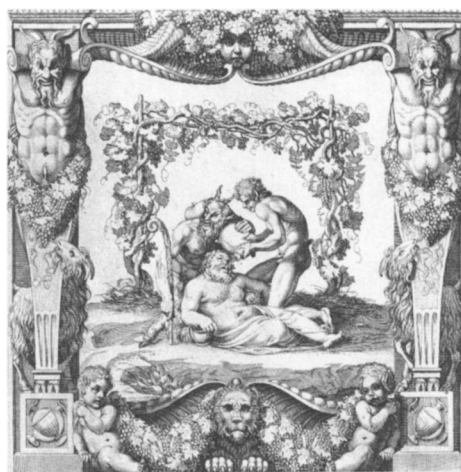


FIG. 1 Francesco Villamena after Annibale Carracci, Drunken Silenus, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.931)*

his human features and has become a more decorative element, almost like a rosette amid the grape-laden frame. These new studies are transferred without adjustments onto the silver plate. As in his drawings for the Tazza, Annibale is particularly concerned with light and shadow, and the extra push of his pen in places, and the deposit of wash in others, serves to control light values throughout the composition.

In the upper left corner of the sheet, drawn in almost pure wash and seen from below, is a beautifully sketched head. Wittkower identified this drawing as the head of the nude figure to the right of *Apollo and Marsyas* in the Farnese ceiling. As Wittkower had incorrectly connected other studies on the present drawing to Annibale's designs for the Farnese ceiling, the appearance of another sketch for the same project on the sheet was logical.<sup>6</sup> The resemblance to Annibale's fresco, surely finished by the time this drawing was executed, may be coincidental. Ultimately, this head depends on Annibale's study of similar figures on the Sistine ceiling, such as Michelangelo's powerful view of the prophet Jonah. Annibale must have made many drawings in the chapel when he first arrived in Rome, such as the two examples that survive at Windsor.<sup>7</sup> KG

### PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201) (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 76); Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 2165

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 115; Washington 1979, 462, repr. 463, fig. 19k; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 88

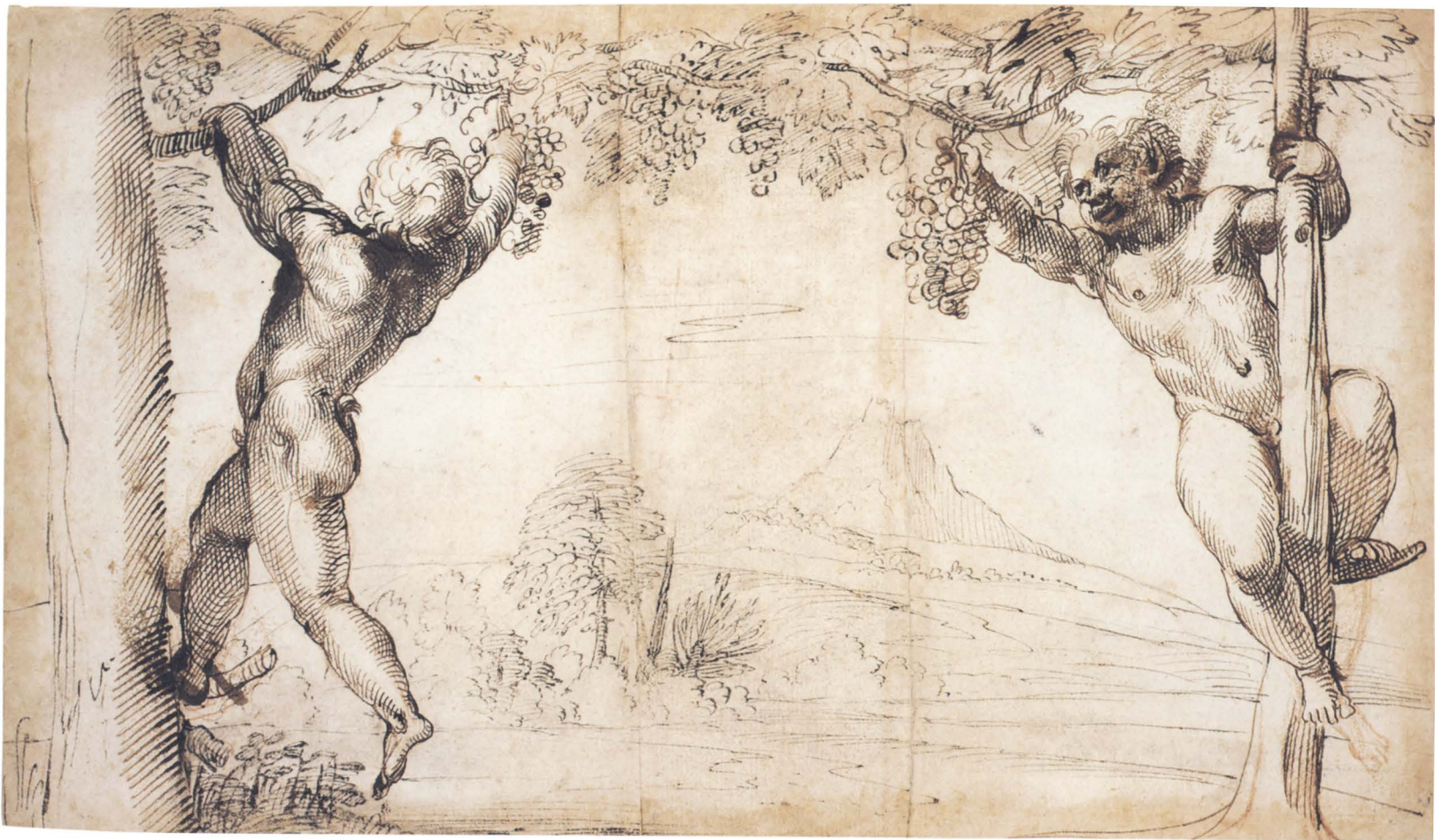
### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 135, no. 289, fig. 30; Kurz 1955b, 286, fig. 19; Posner 1971, 2: 50–51, under 114[s]; De Grazia 1984, 243–244, under no. 19, fig. 339k; Bohn 1996, 241, under no. .018 CI 51

### NOTES

1. Campori 1870, 489. According to Kurz 1955b, 286, n. 14, the description reads "Una panattiera d'argento con cornice dorata, pure d'argent in quadro, intagliatovi sopra un Baccanale, di Annibale Carazzi."
2. See De Castris, Martino, and Muzii 1996, 141, no. 4.6, repr. 140, for the extant silver plate, its history, bibliography, and Farnese inventory numbers.
3. Bohn 1996, under no. .018 CI 51, reproduces Villamena's engraving, and discusses all known versions.
4. Repr. Posner 1971, 2: pl. 114b. De Grazia, following Kurz, states that because the composition is reversed, the Uffizi drawing must be a copy after an impression of the print pulled from the Tazza. The freedom of execution, the *pentimenti*, and small changes in the composition would seem to refute this argument.
5. Wittkower 1952, 136, no. 290, inv. 1967.
6. Wittkower 1952, 136. Kurz was the first to connect the drawing with the Paniera.
7. Wittkower 1952, nos. 419 and 420.





## 69

Two Satyr Children  
Picking Grapes

1599–1600; pen and brown and black ink over red chalk, on three joined sheets of paper with the versos of the left and right portions (which originally formed a single sheet) rubbed with black chalk; 230 x 400 (9 1/16 x 15 3/4)

GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG IM  
STÄDELSCHEN KUNSTINSTITUT,  
FRANKFURT AM MAIN

THIS POWERFUL BUT RATHER IDIOSyncratic drawing is a study for the right half of a two-part painting, *Silenus Gathering Grapes*, that Annibale executed in tempera on panel around 1600, as De Grazia was the first to recognize.<sup>1</sup> Now in the National Gallery, London (fig. 1), the picture was recorded by Bellori in 1664, who had seen it in the Palazzo Lancellotti in Rome and identified it as a section of a harpsichord lid.<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that Annibale had been commissioned to decorate the harpsichord for the celebrations of the marriage of Duke Ranuccio Farnese to Margherita Aldobrandini in Rome, in 1600,<sup>3</sup> although there is no record that the Farnese family owned the instrument. A more likely proposal is that Annibale designed the decorations for a harpsichord owned by Fulvio Orsini, the classical scholar and collector who lived in the Palazzo Farnese and worked for the duke. A description of such an instrument appears in the inventory of Orsini's collection after his death, on 18 May 1600,<sup>4</sup> and if, as Levey believes, he owned the panels painted by Annibale, this establishes a terminus ante quem for the drawing of 21 January 1600, when Orsini dated his will.

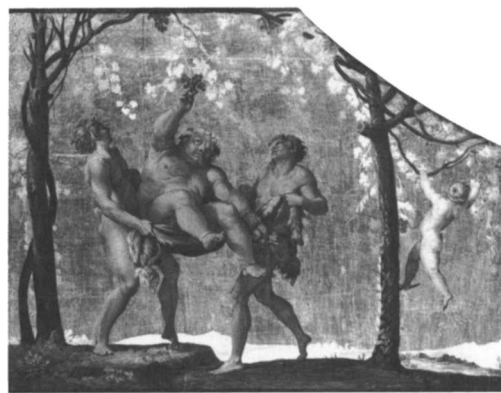
The design for the harpsichord relates to the theme of the Drunken Silenus, already given pride of place on the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery, and treated again so exuberantly in the series of drawings for the cardinal's silver pieces (see Cats. 65–67). The drawing is a study for the two satyr children who swing from the arbor to pick grapes. These satyrs are enlarged—and almost identical—versions of those in the Tazza Farnese, and Annibale seems to have more or less copied them from one of the prints he had engraved after its design, as De Grazia was the first to suggest.<sup>5</sup>

The drawing of the satyr children, with its emphasis on precise ink outlines and even cross-hatching, is unusually rigid for Annibale, and when it entered the Städelisches Kunstinstitut in 1852, it was catalogued as a work by

Bartolommeo Passarotti. Both the drawing and the painted panels display a curious hardness. The panels are backed with gold leaf, and the unusually sculptural figures are painted in layers, built up within crisp, dark outlines. The entire lid is treated as if it were a sculptured frieze, an object that could be read clearly as if it were in relief. As the painting could only be seen when the instrument was open, the decorations for the interior had to be legible from a distance.

At some point Annibale cut his drawing into two pieces, probably when the panel was divided for mounting into the lid. On the instrument, the left-hand satyr is much higher than its twin. As Finaldi has observed, the size of the figures in the drawing match those in the painting, and the drawing, rubbed on the back with chalk as if prepared for transfer, may well have served as a cartoon.<sup>6</sup>

To preserve the separated sheets, Annibale reunited the two halves of the drawing by inserting a strip of paper between the pieces, which corresponds precisely in scale to the cut in the panel. In the new section, using a pen with a different color ink, he drew an exquisite landscape, connecting the vine leaves at the top with more branches and grapes. The distant trees, roads, and mountain in the landscape are not present in the painting, but the study provides a valuable example of the artist's way of rendering nature around 1600 in a manner that is fluid and exceptionally free. KG



## PROVENANCE

In the Städelisches Kunstinstitut before 1862, inv. 4272

## EXHIBITIONS

Frankfurt 1980, no. 35; Frankfurt 1994, no. 232

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 460, 462, 464, n. 17, fig. 190; De Grazia 1984, 243–244, fig. 3390

## NOTES

1. De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 460, n. 17, where the description of the medium incorrectly includes wash and the sheet is described as having been cut and repaired.

2. See Posner 1971, 2: 51, under no. 115.

3. De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 462, first made the suggestion.

4. See Levey 1971, 65.

5. De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 460, suggests that Annibale copied these figures from a print pulled from the inked bottom of the Tazza. I believe the prints are not by Annibale. In any case, the differences are too numerous to sustain this view.

6. Oral communication, 1999. The paper is not incised for transfer, but the correspondence is exact.

FIG. 1 *Silenus Gathering Grapes*, c. 1600, ©National Gallery, London

## 70

## Coastal Landscape

c. 1599; pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk, with horizontal and vertical construction lines in black chalk on beige paper; 149 x 376 (5 7/8 x 14 13/16)

TEYLERS MUSEUM, HAARLEM

MICHELANGELO MAY HAVE LOOKED down on landscape painting as suitable only for “young women, monks and nuns, or such noblemen as lack an ear for true harmony,” but many of his colleagues were less dismissive. Landscape drawing was assiduously practiced by several Renaissance artists, from Fra Bartolommeo to Girolamo Muziano and Federico Zuccaro; if few specialized in the genre, many clearly took pleasure in drawing landscapes as a form of training or relaxation. For the Carracci, too, landscape drawing was part of their routine.<sup>1</sup> In his funeral oration for Agostino (1603), Luca Faberio recalled the fondness of the Carracci academy members for excursions into the Bolognese countryside, where they drew “hills, fields, lakes, rivers and everything else that was beautiful, and notable and striking.”<sup>2</sup> Their enjoyment is reflected by the vast number of landscape drawings from the Carracci circle, most of them carrying old attributions to Annibale or Agostino.

It is only in recent decades that scholars have begun to take a more critical look at these old attributions. Distinguishing Annibale’s landscape drawings from those of his brother Agostino, the presumed specialist in the field,<sup>3</sup> or from those of their followers and later imitators is proving no easy task. Few are signed or otherwise reliably documented, and even on those rare occasions when a link can be established with a known painting, scholars cannot agree on the attribution.<sup>4</sup>

Hence the need to take a fresh, unbiased look at the evidence.<sup>5</sup> The most reliable basis for a reconstruction of Annibale’s landscape style is the landscape elements incorporated

in undisputed studies related to other projects. Examples in the exhibition are Cats. 32 and 69, both from the last years of the sixteenth century. The present drawing compares especially well with the landscape segment in the Frankfurt study, and indeed its attribution to Annibale has not been contested. In both, the landscape is constructed along a simple diagonal recession, from the clump of grass in the left foreground across open fields to the main motif—a thicket of trees in the middle ground—and then on toward a mountain rising on the horizon at the right. As in the Frankfurt sheet, the gently rolling fields are indicated simply but suggestively by freely drawn, slightly curved lines and parallel hatching. The graphic shorthand for bushes and trees is the same, as is the ascending contour of the mountain. The two drawings employ the white of the paper to suggest light-filled space with similar mastery. The Frankfurt drawing is generally dated c. 1599, and the same could be said of this sheet.

Whether Annibale had a specific purpose in mind when he drew this landscape, or whether it records a particular spot or is the fruit of the artist’s invention cannot be determined. The apparent spontaneity is belied by the construction lines the artist drew in laying out the landscape, a horizontal line marking the horizon and a perpendicular one at the right, intended perhaps as the edge of the composition. Although the sheet was evidently trimmed on all sides at a later date, traces of old framing lines in brown ink at the top and the bottom indicate that the image did not extend much beyond the present confines. CVT

## PROVENANCE

[possibly Queen Christina of Sweden; Cardinal Decio Azzolini; Marchese Pompeo Azzolini]; Don Livio Odescalchi; acquired as part of the Odescalchi collection in 1790 by the Teyler Foundation, inv. K VII 15

## EXHIBITIONS

Florence and Rome 1983–1984, no. 48

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Meijer 1984, pl. 49; Pignatti and Pedrocchi 1991, pl. 113; Loisel Legrand in Sassuolo 1998, 144, under no. 55

## NOTES

1. Posner 1971, I: 113, aptly characterized landscape painting as “something of a peripheral activity for Annibale Carracci.” Sutherland Harris in Poughkeepsie and tour 1995–1996, 82, extends this to cover landscape drawing as well, though her statement that “surviving landscape drawings by Annibale himself are rare” is perhaps overly pessimistic.
2. Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 308.
3. See Whitfield 1988, 73–95.
4. For instance, Louvre inv. 7126 (see Paris 1994, no. 46), connected with the Marseilles *Fête champêtre*. That painting is now usually given to Agostino, whereas the drawing is traditionally, and probably correctly, attributed to Annibale.
5. An invaluable starting point for such a reassessment is provided by Ann Sutherland Harris in various recent publications, including the review of the catalogue of Italian drawings at Chatsworth (1996, 195–205) and her discussion of Cat. 71 in Poughkeepsie and tour 1995–1996, no. 34.





## 71

Landscape with  
Men Bowling

c. 1600; pen and brown ink on beige  
paper, 100 x 268 (3 15/16 x 10 9/16)

PRIVATE COLLECTION,  
NEW YORK

THIS BEAUTIFUL LITTLE DRAWING IS a recent addition to Annibale's oeuvre. Formerly attributed to Domenichino, it was given to Annibale by Ann Sutherland Harris.<sup>1</sup> It exhibits all the characteristic traits of the artist's mature landscape style: the uncluttered handling; the lucid construction along intersecting diagonals that lead the eye into the distance, with vertical accents to change direction; the superb evocation of light and space. Its small scale notwithstanding, the *Landscape with Men Bowling* exemplifies Annibale's vision of a serene, civilized world where man has a rightful place in nature. This vision, embodied in the so-called ideal or classical landscape, is Annibale's greatest contribution to landscape painting.

Among Annibale's landscape drawings, this is one of the more painstakingly finished examples. The handling of the foliage, rendered with multiple, deeply indented loops, is more regular and more uniform than usual. Sutherland Harris compared the *Landscape*

*with Men Bowling* to two securely attributed landscape drawings in Frankfurt<sup>2</sup> and London (Cat. 95), noting the similarities in the handling of the foreground, the silhouetted mountain, and the "slopes shaded with parallel hatching that sweep the eye across the intersecting planes of land." The sheet also invites comparison with a recently published fragmentary landscape in the Louvre, which is more summary in execution but not dissimilar in graphic manner.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the treatment of the foliage is likewise found in the sketch of *Mercury Handing Apollo the Lyre*, a design for one of the small mythological frescoes on the walls of the Farnese Gallery.<sup>4</sup>

It would be rash to impose a strict chronological arrangement on Annibale's landscape drawings, given all the uncertainties that still surround them. That the comparative material cited here ranges from about 1597 to about 1606 suggests that the *Landscape with Men Bowling* was executed around 1600. CVT

## PROVENANCE

W. Mayor (Lugt 2799); P. & D. Colnaghi, London, 1949; private collection (sale, New York, Christie's, 10 January 1990, no. 44, as attributed to Domenichino); private collection, New York

## EXHIBITIONS

Poughkeepsie and tour 1995–1996, no. 34, repr.

## NOTES

1. Poughkeepsie and tour 1995–1996, no. 34.
2. The Frankfurt drawing is *Amor and Silenus*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. 462, datable to c. 1599–1600 (repr. Cat. 72, fig. 1).
3. Louvre inv. 7869 recto; Loisel Legrand in Sassuolo 1998, 146, no. 58. The sheet is to be dated c. 1596–1597, as Loisel Legrand suggests. Whether the subject of this little sketch is indeed the Flight into Egypt is uncertain; the alleged connection with the lunette in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj is not compelling.
4. Louvre inv. 7178; Martin 1965, 275, no. 142, fig. 261.



## Mars and Venus in a Landscape

*c. 1600; pen and brown ink with light brown and dark brown washes on beige paper, laid down and the lower right corner slightly trimmed; 189 x 389 (7 7/16 x 15 3/16)*

*Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower center: n°56 (partially cut off)*

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

THIS DELICATE STUDY OF PASSION-ate love is one of the most ravishing of all of Annibale's later drawings. Mars pleasures Venus on a bed, observed by a cupid who pulls back a curtain to watch. The flickering light on the amorous couple shows Annibale's controlled and brilliant use of two densities of wash. The right side of this sheet is drawn largely in pen and ink, with rapid, expressive lines, and seems stark and raw compared with the delicacy of the drawing of Mars and Venus. A few strokes of wash in the foreground serve to link the scene.

In his brief catalogue entry, Wittkower states that this drawing belongs to a series of lascivious depictions of the loves of the gods, but that no other version of this composition, whether printed or painted, is known.<sup>1</sup> Annibale had invented his own pairs of embracing couples for the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery—Juno and Jupiter, and Venus and Anchises, among them—but here the erotic content of the lovers' embrace is more fully charged. The pictorial device of lovers before a window or at the edge of a parapet, beyond which a vast and inviting landscape beckons, was common in the Renaissance, and Titian's masterful

examples of this, his *Venus* of 1545–1546 (location unknown) and his *Danaë* of the same period (Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte),<sup>2</sup> both owned by the Farnese family and housed in the palace, certainly inspired a number of Annibale's works (see Cat. 90). In this drawing the inside of the palace is dispensed with, the only evidence of domesticity being the huge drape, behind which the cupid hides. Annibale's daring in placing the bed outside extends to his turning the end of it into a rock, an invention the copyist of the Albertina version of this drawing did not dare to imitate.<sup>3</sup>

The style is like that of *Amor and Silenus in a Landscape* (fig. 1), which, because of its relationship with Annibale's harpsichord lid (see Cat. 69), gives a terminus ante quem of the spring of 1600. Annibale's brilliant touches of wash and his ability to control light and shadow in the smallest details are similar in these two studies, and call to mind his drawings for the Tazza Farnese of the same approximate date (Cats. 65–67). The summary treatment of the landscape background, in pen and ink with no wash, also makes the two drawings roughly contemporary. KG

### PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201)  
(Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 75); Royal  
Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 1987

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 156, no. 422;  
Birke and Kertész 1994–1997, 2:  
1110, under inv. 2112 (as a copy  
or second version of the drawing  
in the Albertina attributed to  
Agostino)

### NOTES

1. Wittkower 1952, 156, no. 422.
2. See Wethey 1969–1975, 3:  
nos. 58–59, 65.
3. See Birke and Kertész 1994–  
1997, 2: 1110, inv. 2112.



FIG. 1 Amor and Silenus in a Landscape, c. 1599–1600, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt





## 73

## Pietà (recto and verso)

1600–1602; pen and brown ink with brown wash over red chalk on light beige paper (watermark: *M* in an escutcheon surmounted by a star); verso, pen and brown ink with some random chalk strokes at lower right; 259 x 205 (10 3/16 x 8 1/16)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

IN THE MOVING SKETCHES ON EACH side of this small sheet Annibale planted the seeds of what was to become “one of the greatest masterpieces of European art around 1600,” the Naples *Pietà* (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It is characteristic of Annibale as a draftsman that in these abbreviated beginnings the essential emotional and compositional elements of the monumental canvas are present. The themes of death, sorrow, and resurrection, symbolized by Christ’s open tomb, are already recorded. Annibale treated the subject in numerous paintings, drawings, and prints throughout his career. He probably painted the Naples *Pietà* for Cardinal Farnese as the vault of the Gallery was nearing completion or was finished, sometime between 1600 and 1602.<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 1 *Pietà*, c. 1600–1602, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples

Annibale began the drawing on the verso with a sketch of the Virgin standing over the crumpled body of her son. Her eyes stare and her mouth is open, as if screaming in pain. The pose of Christ is modeled on Michelangelo’s Roman *Pietà*, as Wittkower was the first to note.<sup>3</sup> Annibale’s debt to this sculpture is one of numerous examples of his reverence for, and continued study of, the older artist’s inventions.

The Virgin’s rounded back may have inspired Annibale to set the *Pietà* within an arch when he drew the calmer version on the recto. The gentle expression of the Virgin transforms the scene from one of panic to tender despair. Christ is twisted toward the viewer, his torso and head more visible. Annibale has placed his limp body on the rocky ground against the open tomb in a bleak and desolate landscape. Mary kneels over him, her hands clasped in prayer and her mouth closed.

Annibale sketched the figures on the recto in red chalk, which he then worked over in pen and ink before adding a warm caramel-colored wash. The technique of using red chalk for underdrawing was abandoned around this time. The *pentimenti* between the chalk and ink compositions intensify the poignancy of the scene. The Virgin’s head bends slightly forward and down, which acts to unify her with her son. Along with strengthened ink lines, clusters of parallel strokes, and pockets of cross-hatching, Annibale added light and then darker densities of wash to build up areas of shadow. The sharp outcropping of rock against the sky recalls the public scene of the Crucifixion, while emphasizing the private tragedy of Christ’s death for the Virgin.

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201) (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 76); Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 2169

## EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 123; Cambridge 1959, no. 23

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chamberlaine 1812, pl. 30; Wittkower 1952, 147, no. 357, pl. 75; Schilling and Blunt 1971, 65; Posner 1971, I: 110 and 2: 52, no. 119, repr.



FIG. 2 Pietà, location unknown

Only one other sketch is recorded for the painting (fig. 2). It represents an intermediate stage between the Windsor drawing and the *Pietà*, but it is difficult to judge its authorship from photographs, and it may be a copy of another lost sheet. In this rough and expressive drawing the Virgin supports the enormous weight of her son on her lap, and two anguished putti have been added, one holding Christ's limp hand, the other seated, examining the Crown of Thorns.<sup>4</sup> The new pose of Christ, leaning against the Virgin and now facing almost fully toward the viewer, recalls Correggio's *Pietà* in Parma.<sup>5</sup>

Annibale drew the entire composition onto the canvas before beginning to paint, a fact that has not been noted before. His extensive chalk underdrawing, visible in many places where the paint is thin, must have functioned as a kind of cartoon.<sup>6</sup>

Annibale's painting was instantly recognized as a masterpiece and copied extensively, even during his life.<sup>7</sup> In the translation of Annibale's initial idea, from the precious studies on this small sheet to the huge canvas now in Naples, the simplicity of the monumental composition and its almost unbearable emotional component has not been lost. **KG**

#### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, 1: 110. For the history of the painting and its seventeenth-century sources, see Posner 1971, 2: 52, no. 119. See also Spinosa and De Castris 1994, 131–133.

2. The painting is not signed or dated. Posner 1971, 1: 52, discusses the date as "about 1599–1600." Mahon 1957, 288, no. 75, argues for a date not after 1600. For the dating of the drawing, see Mahon in Bologna 1956, 94, who gives a date of 1599–1600. Our dating, on stylistic grounds, is slightly later.

3. Wittkower 1952, 147.

4. The lost drawing was originally attributed to Agostino. Wittkower 1952, 147, who only knew the drawing from a reproduction, corrected this.

5. See Posner 1971, 1: 110.

6. The use of underdrawing on canvas has not been mentioned in the literature. It is an obvious technique, particularly for an artist for whom drawing was an indispensable mode of preparation, and for whom making a full-scale cartoon was not always possible. For Annibale's technique of painting directly onto the canvas, with no preparatory drawing, see Weston-Lewis 1997, 456.

7. Eight painted copies of the Farnese *Pietà* are still extant and at least the same number of prints are also known. For the paintings, see Cooney and Malafarina 1976, under no. 111; for the prints, see Borea in Rome 1986, 205–208, under no. XLV. The earliest reproductive print dates to 1639.





## A Decorative Frieze with Two Ignudi

*c. 1600; pen and brown ink with touches of brown wash; 270 x 243 (10 3/8 x 9 7/16)*

*Inscribed on verso in pen and brown ink at lower right (all inscriptions follow the orientation of the recto, and are therefore upside down in respect to the verso): An: CarraZio . 2 . 3 .; inscribed by Esdaile in pen and brown ink across the top of the mount: Lord Spencer's coll. 1811 WE P28 N494. Formerly in the coll. of Sr Peter Lily [sic]*

ÉCOLE NATIONALE  
SUPÉRIEURE DES  
BEAUX-ARTS, PARIS

THIS VIGOROUS STUDY FOR A SECTION of wall decoration has been associated with the Farnese Gallery,<sup>1</sup> but it may have been drawn in view of a completely different decorative project. In the center, a statue of the Farnese Hercules is enclosed in a niche flanked by pilasters. Directly below is a ledge adorned with an acanthus leaf or shell and two consoles. Paired *ignudi* with their arms bound behind them are seated on the ledge. The head of the right-hand captive is drawn in two variations, one looking up toward the center, the other looking down toward the right. A low, open balustrade extends from the ledge. Annibale added more detail to the right side of the drawing, including a carved segment enclosing a foliate motif beside the captive. Inscribed in a rectangular compartment is an ornamental oval frame cut off by the margin. Its counterpart is summarily noted on the left side of the sheet. Annibale drew the comparatively static decorative elements and the Hercules first, and then superimposed the *ignudi* over the initial design. Executed with greater energy and on a larger scale, the captives dominate their surroundings. Their transparency to the decorative elements imparts a tension and excitement to the study.

A closely related pen drawing for the same decorative project is in the Prado (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> In it Annibale substituted the Three Graces for Hercules in the niche, but the ledge with consoles, balustrade, curved segments filled with foliate motifs, and flanking rectangular compartments containing oval, framed scenes all correspond to the present sheet. Sprawling on the ledge of the Prado sheet, instead of the bound captives, is an allegorical nude figure

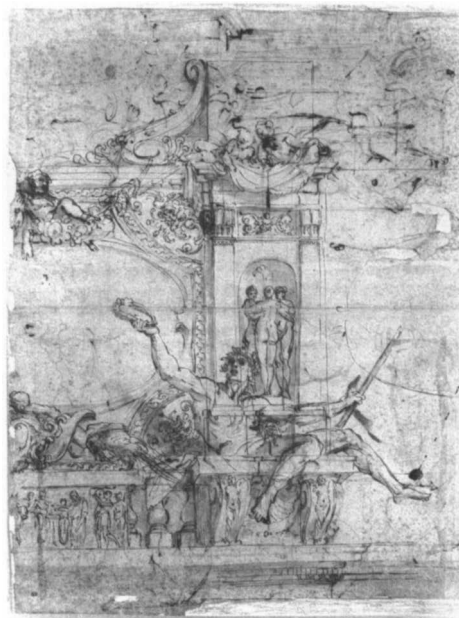


FIG. 1 Study for a Decorative Frieze, *c. 1600*, Museo del Prado

holding out a staff, wearing one garland and offering another in his extended right hand. The balustrade contains a low relief of a sacrificial scene in an antique style. Annibale has further elaborated the details in the Prado sheet, which include putti holding cartouches, a bird perched on the balustrade, and, above, an indication of volutes and other decorative figures.

The present sheet and its close relative in the Prado have long been considered early, rejected concepts for the Gallery, but the iconography in the drawings—bound captives, Hercules with his club (who is a type of heroic virtue), scenes of sacrifice, an allegorical figure probably representing Honor—are not in harmony with the Gallery's theme of the Loves of the Gods.<sup>3</sup> Thirty years ago it was suggested that both drawings were ideas for a different

### PROVENANCE

Sir Peter Lely (Lugt 2092); Lord Spencer (Lugt 1531); William Esdaile, by 1811 (Lugt 2617); Jean Masson (Lugt 1494a); bequeathed to the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Lugt 829), inv. Masson 2287

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bacou in Paris 1961, 39, under no. 56; Bacou 1964, 41, 44, pls. 37, 38; Vitzthum 1964, 45–46; Martin 1965, 191, 249, no. 42; Posner 1971, 95; Weston-Lewis 1992, 291, 310, n. 26



project in the Farnese Palace, the Sala di Fasti di Alessandro Farnese, but the notion has tended to be overlooked in subsequent literature.<sup>4</sup> If true, the similarities in the drawing styles are to be expected as the projects for the Gallery and the Sala di Fasti were contemporaneous and presented many of the same design requirements.

Odoardo Farnese, from the moment he entered negotiations to bring the Carracci to Rome in 1593, had intended that they would decorate the great Sala in the front of the palace, which would celebrate the conquest of Flanders by his father. Work on the project was postponed, begun, and delayed again several times over the next few years. Few details about Annibale's work in the Salone have been uncovered,<sup>5</sup> but important clues to his participation may be furnished by the present drawing and the related Prado sheet, with their references to heroic virtue, military might, conquest, honor, and concord.

On the verso of the present sheet is an antique torso installed in a niche, a figure which appears to be airborne holding a globe, and sketches of capitals and other moldings. It may be related to the Gallery, where the Farnese's antique sculpture was to be installed in similar niches. GF



VERSO Architectural and Sculptural Motifs and a Nude Figure, pen and two shades of brown ink with smudges of red chalk

#### NOTES

1. Bacou 1964; Vitzthum 1964; Martin 1965; Posner 1971, 95.
2. Prado inv. 138. See Vitzthum 1964, 45–46, pl. 39.
3. Bernini 1968 identified the male allegorical figure as Honor. He also suggested that the graces may represent Peace or Concordia.
4. Bernini 1968, 84–92. Only Weston-Lewis 1992, 310 n. 26, seems to take up the matter. He argues that the Prado sheet should not be connected to the Sala because of the indication of a cornice for wall architecture below; the design must therefore be for a vault. He correctly points out that the Sala had been fitted with a splendid flat coffered ceiling by mid-century. Bernini's argument is likewise complicated by this quite obvious contradiction. (This is especially true regarding the large lobed compartment painted with the *Allegory of the Conquest of Flanders*, a fragment of which is now in the Galleria Nazionale della Sicilia, Palermo, which design he accepts as Annibale's for the Sala. Where, precisely, would such a piece have been installed?) Unlike the Gallery, however, the Sala is quite large and high. The upper part of the walls, as in the area above the huge mantle, might easily accommodate abundant fresco decoration of the type proposed in the present drawing and the one in the Prado.
5. Bernini 1968, 84–92; Briganti 1988; Zapperi 1994, especially 99–105. Further examination is warranted of the so-called Perrier Album in the Louvre (inv. RF 879–1060), which offers many clues to the interconnections of the autograph drawings.





# 75

## Self-Portrait

*c. 1600; pen and brown ink on buff paper, laid down on another sheet on which is drawn a decorative border in pen and black ink with gray wash over graphite, 133 x 102 (5 1/4 x 4)*

*Inscribed in pen and brown ink on a small rectangle of paper pasted at the bottom of the decorated mount: Caracci*

THE J. PAUL GETTY  
MUSEUM, LOS ANGELES

IN THIS EXQUISITE, SMALL SELF-portrait, drawn by Annibale about 1600, the artist's melancholy aspect inadvertently becomes the subject, illustrating the leitmotif of his biographers with heartbreaking clarity.

Annibale stares out with sad eyes, half in shadow, over an oval frame. He appears small in the convex space. He wears informal artist's clothes, with a cape roughly draped over his shoulders. The collar is messy, his hair tousled, and his arms are folded with one hand resting on the frame, the other drawn in two positions, both above and tucked under his arm. Surrounding him is a bizarre cartouche, decorated with skeletal animals resembling dragons or seahorses, the corkscrew bodies of which fill the squinches above. Below, also in the corners, are dolphins with curling tails.

Other ornaments in the decorative surround are difficult to identify. In the center of the oval above him, a winged animal, resembling a death's head, holds what appears to be a string of rosary beads in its jaw.<sup>1</sup> The small drawing has been pasted into a decorated border, added by a later collector,<sup>2</sup> and its geometric lines compete with the soft swelling of Annibale's forms.

Judging by face and demeanor, the sitter could be anywhere from twenty-five to forty-five, but the style of the drawing suggests a date around 1600, when Annibale would have been forty years old. The swiftly drawn hands,

the large, soft Correggesque eyes, the small strokes of shading, all find their counterpart in the *Pietà* drawing of around the same date (see Cat. 73).

Annibale's face and general appearance were accurately described by Bellori, who must have had a careful, detailed description from his adopted father, Angeloni, who knew Annibale well: "Annibale's face was marked by earnest melancholy. His coloring was rather olive. He had intense eyes, a magnificent forehead, and a broad nose. His beard, which he allowed to grow naturally, tended toward blond and was not shaven but rounded off."<sup>3</sup>

It is not possible to know what purpose this drawing served, but each of its associations is with death. In format it resembles an epitaph to be used for a tomb or sculptural monument. The small angel's head or death's head in the center, above the image, coupled with the skeletal monsters in the upper corners of the design, are found in other engraved mementi mori of the period. The size of the drawing conforms to that of some smaller prints, and this study may have been preparatory to an engraved self-portrait that was never made. Such a print may have been intended as a frontispiece to a biography of the artist,<sup>4</sup> or a gift to Annibale's pupils for a publication of his works. κϞ

### PROVENANCE

Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri, Florence; William Kent, London; Charles Rogers, London (Lugt 624; sale, London, T. Philipe, 23 April 1799, no. 171); private collection, Oxfordshire; Richard Day, London; Katrin Bellinger, Munich; purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 96.GA.323

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Turner 1993, 184, 204–206 (appendix II, no. 17), 208, fig. 23; Turner 1997, 210, under no. 4, and fig. 67; Turner 1999, no. 9

### NOTES

1. The Farnese owned multiple strands of rosary beads of the type shown here, large and evenly rounded, with examples in amber and other semiprecious material preserved in the Farnese collection in Naples. See De Castris, Martino, and Muzii 1996, 192, where fourteen examples are illustrated in color.
2. I am grateful to Nicholas Turner for sharing his extensive research on the Florentine collector and diplomat Gabburri, who owned this drawing, and on the presumed provenance of the decorated border.
3. Bellori 1968, 66.
4. Annibale's biographers relied on engravings after the few self-portraits made by the artist. See Cat. 88, n. 2.

## An Execution

1600–1603; pen and brown ink  
on dark cream paper, laid down;  
190 x 293 (7 1/2 x 11 5/16)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

THE DISTURBING THEME OF HANGINGS appears in several drawings by Annibale, which all seem to have been created at the same period, in Rome, at a moment of great melancholy. What Wittkower characterized as a “transitional style” encompasses, in effect, a number of drawings in pen alone, executed with a deliberate economy of means and apparent detachment. To this series belongs the *Woman Seated in a Gallery*, at Chatsworth, and the two *Views of the Isola Tiberina*, in Chatsworth and the Louvre (Cat. 40 verso),<sup>1</sup> which are near contemporary with the *Self-Portrait* at the J. Paul Getty Museum (Cat. 75), and the *Andromeda* in the Louvre,<sup>2</sup> as well as some drawings for the small mythological compartments of the top part of the walls of the Farnese Gallery.<sup>3</sup>

Executions by hanging were not uncommon in the seventeenth century, yet the choice of such a subject by the artist is an indication of his own mood, as he seems to have adapted uneasily to the courtier atmosphere of the entourage of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese. The caricatures produced at this time might have played a derivative role through their humor, but it is also likely that the series of genre portraits in *Le arti a Bologna* was a statement



FIG. 1 after Annibale Carracci, *The Death of Judas*, c. 1600–1603, Musée du Louvre

of the artist's feelings, even if the origin of this type of scene can be dated back to the years in Bologna. In the exhibited drawing, the monumentality of the treatment of this utterly profane scene constitutes an undeniable stand for human sympathy above and beyond any desire to moralize, as the artist essentially expresses the solitude and despair of the condemned. In the Louvre drawing of *The Death of Judas* (fig. 1),<sup>4</sup> which is probably contemporary—c. 1600–1603—the religious theme eliminates this dramatic dimension, while another version, known through a studio copy in the Louvre,<sup>5</sup> presents the terrifying vision of a hanging in a hostile forest. CLL

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 75); Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 1955

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1950–1951, no. 446;  
Bologna 1956, no. 234; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 80; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 65

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, no. 411; Posner 1971, I: 18, fig. 20; Edgerton 1985, 142, fig. 33; Fineschi 1995, 58, fig. 1; Turner 1997, 211 (as “perhaps Agostino?”); De Grazia 1998b, 299–300

## NOTES

1. For the Chatsworth drawings, see Jaffé 1994, nos. 488, 476. Turner 1997, 211, expresses doubt about the attribution of the exhibited drawing, suggesting with some hesitancy that it might be by Agostino.
2. Inv. 7303. Repr. Martin 1965, no. 141.
3. See Wittkower 1952, no. 312.
4. Inv. 7346.
5. Inv. 7296.





## Kneeling Apostle

1600; black chalk over charcoal, the chalk wetted in places, heightened with white gouache on blue paper, laid down; 357 x 265 (14 1/16 x 10 7/16)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II



FIG. 1 Assumption of the Virgin, c. 1600–1601, Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome

THE DRAWING IS ONE OF FIVE SURVIVING preparatory studies for Annibale's *Assumption of the Virgin* altarpiece in Count Tiberio Cerasi's funeral chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo (see fig. 1 and Cat. 78).<sup>1</sup> The commission was given to Annibale in the summer of the Jubilee year 1600, and the painting was certainly finished and *in situ* by the time of the count's death in May of the following year,<sup>2</sup> and possibly significantly earlier.

The chapel was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, and in Annibale's complex altarpiece these two saints are given pride of place in front of the Virgin's empty tomb. Their huge bodies, curving around the base of the stone sepulcher, link the viewer's space in the chapel with the vision of the Virgin being transported to heaven. Other apostles crowd around the tomb.

The study for the kneeling Saint Peter shows the ghost of a model posing in the position that the saint would have in the altarpiece. There can be little question that Annibale set up his model in the studio, carefully folded cloth in the way he wished it to appear, lit the ensemble purposefully from above and to the left, and drew the model and the drapery from life. It is unusual in Annibale's oeuvre that the figure is barely indicated but that the drapery is drawn with precision. This sheet is the closest example of a "pure" drapery study by Annibale to have survived.

The drapery falls in broad, flat planes, echoing the drapery on classical monuments that Annibale knew and studied in Rome. The folds in this drawing recall particularly the thick, rough cloth depicted on the colossal

Roman statue of *Jupiter Enthroned*, an antique sculpture that was one of the prize possessions of the Farnese family (Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte).<sup>3</sup>

Wittkower comments on the care with which Annibale's last *Assumption of the Virgin* was prepared, and on the painterly black and white effect of these late sheets, broadly executed with a grainy effect as compared with the smoothness of drapery studies of earlier years.<sup>4</sup> Annibale's use of soft, rich chalks, their *sfumato* quality accentuated by the deep blue paper, recalls the drawings of Titian, and it seems certain that Annibale had seen some of Titian's drawings on his trip to Venice in 1587/1588.<sup>5</sup> There can be no doubt that Titian's *Assumption* in the church of the Frari was in Annibale's mind as he painted the heads of some of the apostles in deep shadow and in *profil perdu*.

The drapery on this small sheet is translated almost exactly onto the huge panel in the church. Saint Peter's magnificent robes of yellow and blue also connect the figure directly with the scene on the vault above, in which he appears with Christ (see Cat. 78). Such is Annibale's skill with chalk that the differentiation in textures of cloth is clear even on the drawing, as are gradations in color on the folds. An interest in the effects of bright light and deep shadow is also evident, as is Annibale's growing interest in the defining quality of light.

It is significant that only the drapery is fully worked up on this sheet. When Annibale was satisfied with this element, he stopped drawing. This kind of study greatly influenced the pure drapery studies of Domenichino, Albani, Guercino, and Lanfranco, and continued to inspire artists for a long time thereafter. KG

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201)  
(Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 76); Royal  
Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 2098

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1950–1951, no. 450;  
Bologna 1956, no. 119; London  
1964, 32, no. 120

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 145, no. 349, repr.  
pl. 73

## NOTES

1. See also Windsor, invs. 2108, 2114, 2090r, 2090v.
2. The altarpiece is discussed by Baglione 1642, 107; Bellori 1672, 82; Malvasia 1678 (1841), 1: 297; Tietze 1906–1907, 134; Mahon 1947, 79, n. 129; and Posner 1971, 2: 55, no. 126. No documents have been found for the commission. *The Assumption* is almost universally considered to be the first of the paintings to be executed and installed.
3. See Bober and Rubinstein 1986, 51–52, no. 1, repr. The statue was housed at the Villa Madama, outside of Rome, a Farnese property at the time.
4. Wittkower 1952, 144–145.
5. For Annibale's trip to Venice, see Posner 1971, 1: 44–48, and notes. Annibale probably went to Venice several times between 1587 and 1595. He knew Veronese, Tintoretto, and Bassano personally, and is recorded as having made copies after Titian and Tintoretto. Many of Annibale's drawings, both those in pen and ink as well as those in black and white chalk, indicate his knowledge of Venetian examples. For more on the influence of Venetian drawings on early Annibale, see Benati essay in this volume and Cats. 18–22, 26.



Studies for  
“Domine,  
Quo Vadis?”

1600–1601; pen and brown ink  
on cream paper; 214 x 271  
(8 7/16 x 10 11/16)

GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG  
ALBERTINA, VIENNA

IN 1600, THE JUBILEE YEAR, A ROMAN count, Tiberio Cerasi, acquired space to build his funerary chapel, dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, just within the gates of Rome. He commissioned Annibale to paint the high altar and fresco the vault, and Caravaggio was given space for two large pictures on the lateral walls (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

The Albertina drawing is a study for the fresco of *Domine, Quo Vadis?*, on the north side of the vault above *The Crucifixion of Saint Peter*. According to the apocryphal story, many years after the Crucifixion Peter was surprised to meet Christ on the Via Appia and asked,



FIG. 1 View of the Cerasi Chapel, showing Annibale Carracci and Innocenzo Tacconi, *Domine, Quo Vadis?* and Caravaggio, *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, c. 1600–1601, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome

“Lord, where are you going?” “I go to Rome to be crucified a second time,” answers Christ, pointing to the city’s gates.<sup>2</sup> The symbolism of this meeting cannot have been lost on the pilgrims who entered the papal city in that holy year. As with Saint Peter, each visitor would find redemption within the walls of Rome.

Three sketches of Peter and Christ document Annibale’s development of the composition. What first appears to be part of the study of the two main figures is, in fact, a drawing for the entire scene. It shows a tiny perspective study and small figure groups, including a rudimentary kneeling figure that must have been the first idea for Peter. The perspective diagram, repeated in the center, studies the vanishing point through the gate to the city and Christ’s position on its axis. The two protagonists are drawn again, larger in scale, on the lower right side of the page, showing Christ approaching Peter as he strides toward Rome, carrying his cross and pointing toward the gates of the city. The figure of the saint, who drops to his knees in surprise, was apparently drawn from life, using a studio model. Annibale added a drawing of the Roman gate, the Porta Appia, to the background, indicating his familiarity with the text.<sup>3</sup>

In the final drawing of the two figures, on the far left side of the sheet, Annibale added details that would illustrate the story more appropriately—Peter appears as an old man with a bald head and thick beard, and Christ wears the Crown of Thorns. In this last study, Peter faces Christ, who bends toward him. By twisting Christ’s body slightly downward, Annibale suggests that he is reassuring the saint, and the meaning of the meeting is thus subtly transformed.

PROVENANCE

Pierre Crozat (probably his sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, under nos. 442–451); Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 2097; probably his sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, under nos. 1399–1402); Julien de Parme; Prince Charles de Ligne; Albert von Sachsen-Teschen; Graphische Sammlung Albertina (Lugt 174), inv. 2160

EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 118, pl. 60

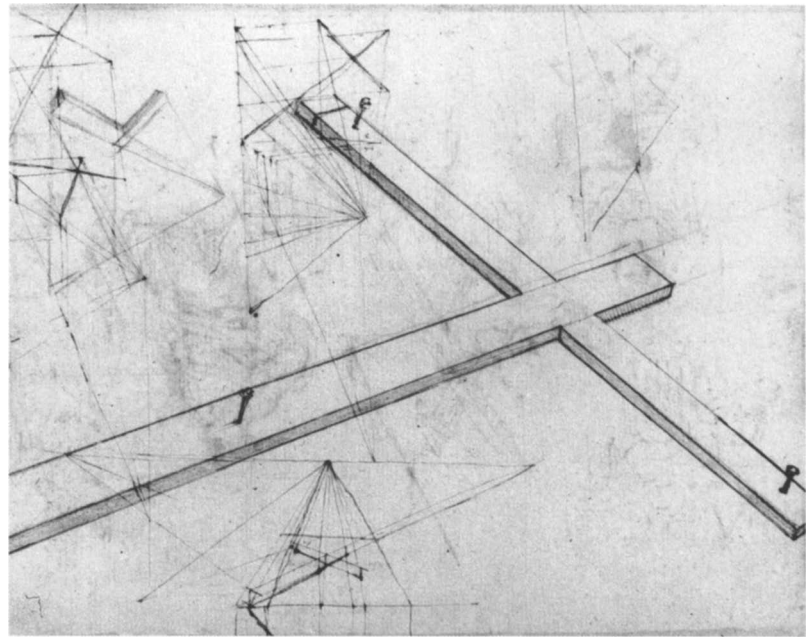
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Bartsch 1794, 91, no. 2; Braun 1896, 405; Tietze 1906–1907, 133–136, pl. ix; Gnudi in Bologna 1956 (*Dipinti*), 237–240; Levey 1971, 63 and n. 2; Posner 1971, 1: 139–140, 176, n. 4, and 2: 56, under no. 127, pl. 127c; Cooney and Malafarina 1976, no. 119.1; Goldstein 1988, 154–155; Birke and Kertész 1994–1997, 2: 1133, inv. 2160



On the verso is a precise drawing, made with ruled lines, of a large cross, and seven small drawings of the cross in relation to the picture plane.<sup>4</sup> The drawing seems to have been made to help Annibale with this awkward, large shape, which, even in the small studies on the recto, appears unresolved. The extraordinary size and bold angle of the cross in Caravaggio's painting appears to have caused Annibale concern. Even on the recto of the sheet the cross is drawn and redrawn several times, and has changed again in the fresco. The proximity of the paintings created a situation of inevitable competition, and a comparison of the two artists' works shows that Annibale's composition was hopelessly *retardataire*.<sup>5</sup>

Baglione stated that Annibale assigned the vault paintings to his then most trusted pupil, the weak and ineffectual artist Innocenzo Tacconi.<sup>6</sup> The stiffness of the fresco in relation to the drawing would seem to confirm this statement. Even if Tacconi aided Annibale in the Cerasi chapel,<sup>7</sup> Bellori's assertion, almost wholly overlooked in the literature, that the frescoes were "retouched by Annibale,"<sup>8</sup> should be given renewed consideration. The recent cleaning of the vault frescoes has allowed careful examination of the quality of the painting. The oval fresco in the center of the vault, *Christ Crowning the Virgin*, appears to be by Annibale, as do the heads of Christ and Saint Peter on the north side of the vault.<sup>9</sup> κϞ



VERSO Studies of a Cross in Perspective, pen and brown ink with red chalk

#### NOTES

1. Annibale's commission, considered the more important, was probably received first. Caravaggio's contract with the count was signed on 24 September 1600. See Friedlaender 1955, 183–186. For Carracci's role, see Posner 1971, 2: 126–127.

2. The story is described in *The Golden Legend*. See Granger Ryan 1993, 1: 345.

3. The gate leading into Rome at the end of the Via Appia is still extant. Since medieval times it has been called the Porta San Sebastiano.

4. The small perspective studies may or may not be related to the fresco. For a discussion of the verso of this drawing and Annibale's interest in and notations about perspective, see Goldstein 1988, 154–155.

5. For the rivalry between Caracci and Caravaggio, see Posner 1971, 1: 136–138.

6. Baglione 1642, 107, was followed by Bellori 1672, 83 and 93, in this statement. All modern historians repeat this assertion, beginning with Tietze 1906–1907, 133–136. Tacconi was distantly related to Annibale (he was Ludovico's sister's stepson), and had come to Rome to work with Annibale in about 1598. For Tacconi's role in Annibale's studio and his break with his master in 1602, see Posner 1971, 1: 139–140, and nn. 2–5. See also Schleier 1971, 669.

7. Tietze 1906–1907, 133, says that Annibale was exhausted by his labors on the Farnese Gallery and unable to paint the frescoes as well as the large altarpiece required, and for this reason assigned the ceiling to Tacconi.

8. Bellori 1976, 82–83.

9. Sir Denis Mahon has independently reassessed these frescoes and agrees that the central oval is not by Tacconi but by Annibale (oral communication, 1999).

# 79

## Saint Gregory Praying for Souls in Purgatory

1599–1602; pen and brown ink  
with brown wash, heightened with  
white on brown paper, 393 x 263  
(15½ x 10¾)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at  
lower right with the Resta-Somers  
number: f.77, and inscribed on the  
mount made for Lord Somers in  
pen and brown ink by Jonathan  
Richardson Senior: Annibale Car-  
racci; inscribed on the verso: Q.21

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
AND THE CHATSWORTH  
SETTLEMENT TRUSTEES

THIS AND THE FOLLOWING TWO drawings were made in preparation for the painting *Saint Gregory Praying for the Souls in Purgatory* (now destroyed; fig. 1), originally placed on the altar of the Salviati chapel in San Gregorio Magno. The chapel was consecrated in October 1603 after the death of the patron, Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati, in March or April 1602.<sup>1</sup> The date of the commission is not known, nor are the circumstances that



FIG. 1 *Jacob Frey after Annibale Carracci, Saint Gregory Praying for the Souls in Purgatory, British Museum*

led the prelate to choose a Bolognese artist in the service of Cardinal Farnese for a profoundly devotional work that was clearly incompatible with the iconographic program of the Farnese Gallery ceiling.

An examination of the Chatsworth drawing, a true *bozzetto* that includes the frame, reveals that an important change in the iconography took place after it was made. According to the medieval legend, Saint Gregory prayed for the souls in purgatory in order to deliver Emperor Trajan, who had shown compassion to a poor widow. The Chatsworth sheet depicts a small nude figure lifted up to heaven by angels, a treatment that is also found in a drawing, unfortunately somewhat worn, in pen and brown wash from the collection of Baron Dominique Vivant Denon, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> In the end, the patron chose to eliminate this archaicizing vision, and the saint instead bows before the miraculous image of the Virgin on the side wall of the chapel.

It is worth noting that the successor to Antonio Maria Salviati, Cardinal Cesare Baronio, elevated on 21 April 1602,<sup>3</sup> presided over the placement of Annibale's painting and the statue by Cordier representing Saint Gregory seated in the triclinium. Contrary to medieval iconography, the saint is represented without a beard as he is in Raphael's fresco of *La Disputa*, probably in accordance with the criteria of historical accuracy that were linked to the religious reform movement of which Baronio was one of the principal players. However, by

### PROVENANCE

Padre Sebastiano Resta; purchased in Rome by Henry Newton in 1712; John, Lord Somers (died 1716; his sale, London, 6 May 1717); William, 2d duke of Devonshire, by 1722; Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, inv. 435

### EXHIBITIONS

London 1938a, no. 391; Bologna 1956, no. 120; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 153; Washington and tour 1962–1963, no. 13; London 1969, no. 13; London 1993–1994, no. 35; Washington and New York 1995–1996, no. 51; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 95

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Richardson 1722, 190; Tietze 1906–1907, 162–163, n. 5; Voss 1924, 499, n. 1; Wittkower 1952, under no. 351; Jaffé 1962, 26; Posner 1971, 2: under no. 130, fig. 13ob; Jaffé 1994, no. 485; Wood 1996, 21, 53, no. 65, fig. 18



reason of the style of this and the following two drawings—imbued with a perfect serenity and monumentality that link them to the group of studies for the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery—this “revolutionary” option should be credited to Cardinal Salviati. By the movement that animates it and the dynamic of the trompe l’oeil, the Chatsworth drawing stands out as one of the essential pieces in the reform led by Annibale at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. This sacred scene, pared down in its composition but taut in the movement that overflows the frame, constitutes the point of departure for all religious painting of the century up to Carlo Maratti. Indeed, Maratti probably knew this drawing, which could well have belonged to Bellori before entering the collection of Padre Resta. CLL



FIG. 2 Saint Gregory in Prayer, c. 1600–1602,  
*Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon*

NOTES

1. Smith O’Neil 1985, 165; Posner 1971, 2: no. 130.
2. Inv. 13982.
3. Smith O’Neil 1985.

Studies for  
 “Saint Gregory  
 Praying for  
 Souls in Purgatory”

1599–1602; pen and brown ink on  
 cream paper, cut and made up  
 at lower right and the image com-  
 pleted by another hand, laid down;  
 272 x 201 (10 1/16 x 7 15/16)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
 ELIZABETH II

AFTER COMPLETING THE MODELLO in Chatsworth of *Saint Gregory Praying for the Souls in Purgatory* (Cat. 79), whether because it was rejected by the patron, Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati, or because Annibale himself was dissatisfied with it, Annibale began to rethink almost every detail of the composition: the pose of Saint Gregory and the two angels accompanying him, the celestial vision above, the setting, and even the angle of view from which the figures are seen. The study sheet at Windsor Castle, which overflows with a fluid succession of ideas, played an important role in helping Annibale to work out a more satisfactory arrangement. He seems at first to have been thinking in terms of jotting down a rather complete composition, probably beginning with the figure of Saint Gregory at center, the two angels who accompany him—one hardly indicated at the saint’s shoulder—and the angelic host above. He seems then to have drawn the quick sketch of the saint and the right-hand angel at the left of the page, repeating exactly the pose of the angel but altering the positions of Gregory’s head and arms. (The truncation of that sketch suggests that the sheet has been trimmed at the left, though there is no way of knowing how much

was cut.) In another small sketch of the angel at right, this time just above the original, Annibale made subtle changes to the pose by tilting the head downward toward the left shoulder and lifting the right shoulder. In yet another sketch at the bottom of the page, Annibale moved closer to the final solution for Gregory’s pose by bowing the head slightly and tilting it to the right while opening the arms and hands into a gesture of humble beseeching. Other drawings clearly intervened between this sheet and the painting, not only more studies of the composition as a whole, but also studies for the individual figures once Annibale had determined their poses, gestures, and costumes (see Cat. 81). The seeds were planted here, however, for the final evolution of the painting.

The rather scratchy, choppy pen style of the Windsor drawing conforms to Annibale’s drawing style of about 1600–1602. (The painting was completed by 1603.) Comparisons can be made, for example, with other drawings of about that time in this exhibition, including *Studies for “Domine, Quo Vadis?”* (Cat. 77) and *A Man Carrying a Vase* (Cat. 83), and with such slightly later sketches as *Self-Portrait on an Easel and Other Studies* (Cat. 88) and *Saint Catherine* (Cat. 91). MMG

PROVENANCE

King George III; Royal Library,  
 Windsor Castle, inv. 2335

EXHIBITIONS

London 1938a, no. 394

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 161, fig. 68;  
 Wittkower 1952, no. 351; Mahon  
 in Bologna 1956, under no. 120;  
 Schilling and Blunt 1971, 65;  
 Robertson in Oxford and London  
 1996–1997, 146, under no. 95







## 81

## An Angel

1600–1602; black and white chalk  
on blue paper: 372 x 248 (14 3/8 x 9 3/4)

Inscribed in pen and black ink at  
lower right: 8

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM  
OF ART, NEW YORK, PURCHASE,  
PFEIFFER FUND, 1962

A NUMBER OF ANNIBALE'S CHALK figure studies for the Farnese Gallery survive, but relatively few are known for other paintings made after 1600. The drawing of *An Angel* in the Metropolitan Museum, a study for *Saint Gregory Praying for the Souls in Purgatory* of about 1600–1602 (now destroyed), is one of the most enchanting of these surviving studies. After the Herculean musculature of the atlas herms and *ignudi* of the Farnese Gallery, the more boyish proportions, graceful gesture, and sweet expression of the angel come as a delightful change.

Annibale had included three quick sketches of the same angel in a slightly different pose in a sheet of studies for the *Saint Gregory* at Windsor (Cat. 80), but here the pose matches almost exactly that of the angel in the painting. The arrangement of the draperies, how-

ever, is quite different in the picture, covering and thus softening the musculature of the left shoulder and upper arm completely and more modestly revealing less of the legs. *Pentimenti* show that when he began the drawing, Annibale had started out with a different position for the angel's right arm and hand, but that he moved the elbow twice and the hand once and then reprised the contour of the forearm several times before he was satisfied. (He still made very slight changes to the position of the index and middle fingers in the painting.) He seems also to have been unsure of the angle of the right leg, which is only broadly indicated, though resolving its position does not seem to have concerned him in this study.

The execution of the Metropolitan drawing can be compared most profitably to some of Annibale's studies for cupids for the Farnese Gallery, most notably two in Windsor,<sup>1</sup> both of which probably date from around 1600. The sense of supple flesh, fully rounded forms, and soft, enveloping light in all three drawings is nearly identical. Adding extra energy to the Metropolitan sheet, however, is the broader treatment of the drapery, which contrasts with the finer modeling of the body and adds a spark of spontaneity to his pose and gesture.

On the verso is a delightful study for the cushion that supports the knees of the praying saint in the painting. Drawn without any indication of the figure, it nevertheless suggests the saint's presence through the lumpy depressions along the upper contour and in the way its left corner is lifted. Although Annibale used the same kind of tasseled pillow in the final painting and showed it from the same point of view, its shape there is quite different. MMG

## PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni; Pierre Mignard; Pierre Crozat; Hugh N. Squire, London; purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gustavus A. Pfeiffer Fund, inv. 62.120.1

## EXHIBITIONS

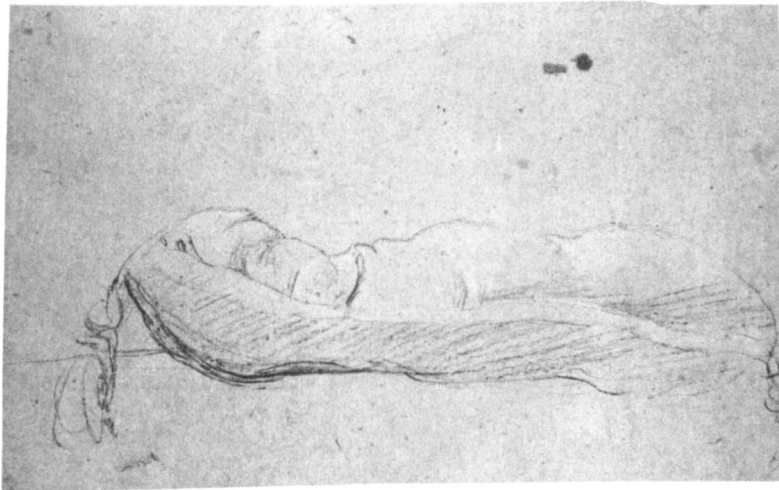
Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 154, pl. XLI; New York 1967, no. 13; New York 1973, no. 20

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

McTavish 1975, 373; Bean 1979, no. 103

## NOTES

1. Invs. 2067, 2089; repr. Martin 1965, figs. 245, 246. For the dating of the drawings of cupids, see also Cat. 66.



VERSO A Cushion, black and white chalk

## Study Sheet with a Man Bowling and the Head of Saint Gregory

1599–1602; pen and two shades of brown ink over black chalk (in the study at upper left only) on beige paper; 173 x 118 (6 13/16 x 4 5/8)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

THIS SHEET HAS BEEN ATTRIBUTED to Agostino since 1952, when Wittkower noted the connection between the caricature profile of the sparsely bearded old man and several other pen drawings—in Turin (Bertini 1958, no. 84), Paris (inv. 7993), the British Museum (inv. Pp. 3–12), Darmstadt (inv. AE 1348), Cleveland (inv. 41603), and the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 1)—all unanimously attributed to Agostino despite indisputable connections between two of the drawings and paintings by Annibale. The face of the man at left in this sheet, in fact, corresponds to that of Saint Gregory in the lost altarpiece of *Saint Gregory Praying for Souls in Purgatory* (Cats. 79, 80). Although this group has been given to Agostino on the basis of the inscription on a drawing in the Oppé collection,<sup>1</sup> which could not be verified recently, the attribution to Annibale is based on stylistic similarities with a group of drawings, contemporary with both the altarpiece and another painting,<sup>2</sup> executed during final work on the Farnese Gallery. An equally concise and measured control of the pen appears in drawings for the Tazza Farnese, the Paniere Farnese, and the harpsichord cover in the National Gallery of London, such as the *Head of a Satyr* in the Louvre (inv. 7192) and the *Two Satyr Children Picking Grapes* in Frankfurt (Cat. 69), or the verso of the drawing with *Two Putti* (Cat. 66 verso) for one of the corners of the Gallery.

It is certainly troubling to mark such a close style of drawing between the brothers at the time of the Farnese Gallery decoration. However, Agostino's preparatory drawings for the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma (1600–1602) show that thereafter his style evolved differently from that of Annibale, toward a neomannerist calligraphy that is particularly evident in the *Studies for Thetis* in the Metropolitan Museum



FIG. 1 Here attributed to Annibale Carracci, Group of Figures from an Adoration of the Shepherds and Other Studies, pen and brown ink, 15 15/16 x 12 1/8, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

of Art.<sup>3</sup> This is in complete opposition to the solidity—both classicizing and brutal—of the exhibited drawing and the one from the Getty (fig. 1).

Beyond the question of attribution is that of the birth of caricature. According to Bellori, who knew the album of caricatures by Annibale that belonged to Prince de Nerola, D. Livio Orsini, the artist frequently drew visual jokes, “giving a human likeness to animals.”<sup>4</sup> This remark applies literally to a drawing in the British Museum, which depicts the same profile of an old man as the one in the exhibited drawing, this time facing a transformation of a man's profile into a ram's head (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Certainly Agostino also executed caricatures, as did all the artists of the Carracci academy, but Annibale's contribution had more important repercussions and direct influence on the genre in Rome. His insistence on this particular physiognomy and the different variations he offered of it encourages the supposition that he was inspired by a familiar model, indeed by certain traits of his own face. CLL

### PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201); Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 1928

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, no. 157 (as Agostino); Schilling and Blunt 1971, 61

### NOTES

1. Wittkower 1952, 17, fig. v.
2. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, formerly in the Ellesmere collection and now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, constitutes an autograph first thought for Annibale's *Nativity*, rather than a derivation from it. The painting was already lost in Bellori's time and is known through the copy by Domenichino in Edinburgh (Posner 1971, 1: no. 108). On the Getty sheet is seen the same bearded old man from the front, probably a shepherd, whose features will be changed in the painting.
3. Bean 1979, no. 93.
4. Bellori 1968, 62.
5. Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 38, as Agostino. This drawing foreshadows the physiognomy studies of Charles Le Brun.



FIG. 2 Here attributed to Annibale Carracci, Caricatures, British Museum





A Man Carrying  
a Vase

c. 1602; pen and brown ink on  
cream paper, laid down; 255 x 133  
(10 1/16 x 5 1/4)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

WITH ITS HARMONY OF LINES, striking *contrapposto*, and balance between the swiftly sketched torso and elegant jar, *A Man Carrying a Vase* recalls the perfection of the Renaissance master Raphael. Its simplicity has led it to be overlooked in the literature.

More than a generic connection can be claimed for this sheet. The figure is quite clearly based on Raphael's Saint Paul rending his garments in the tapestry of *The Sacrifice at Lystra* (fig. 1). By the time Annibale arrived in Rome the tapestries were already *in situ* in the Sistine chapel. From Raphael Annibale has taken the figure's stance, the distribution of his weight, the positions of his legs, the twist of his upper torso, and the tilt of his head. One *pentimento* indicates that Annibale altered the posture of the head from that in the Raphael prototype and lowered the arm that holds the vase. Raphael's tapestries influenced a number of Annibale's later compositions, particularly narrative religious paintings, such as the *Three Maries at the Tomb* (Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum) and the *Domine, Quo Vadis?* (London, National Gallery), an idea elaborated by Posner, among others.<sup>1</sup>

The treatment of the drapery in *A Man Carrying a Vase* parallels the drawing style in Annibale's study for the *Saint Gregory Altarpiece* of 1602–1603 (see Cat. 80) and helps in



FIG. 1 after Raphael, Sacrifice at Lystra, Pinacoteca, Vatican Museums, Vatican City

dating this sheet. With its open, loopy lines, such as in the drapery under the right knee, and its tangled skein of strokes, the figure can be compared with that of the angel on the steps at the far right of the sheet. In both drawings shadow is created with swift, parallel lines, the pen remaining close to the paper and simply curling into the next stroke.

*A Man Carrying a Vase* is one of a number of studies from Annibale's Roman period, mostly executed in the same medium, that cannot be connected with specific projects. Wittkower lists twenty-five such drawings in his Windsor catalogue.<sup>2</sup> κϞ

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201)  
(Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 74); Windsor  
Castle, Royal Library, inv. 1851

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, no. 416, fig. 58

## NOTES

1. Posner 1971, I: 130–133.
2. Wittkower 1952, 155–158, nos. 415–440.

## 84

## Sleeping Venus

c. 1602; pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk, heightened with white chalk on blue paper, laid down; 279 x 379 (11 x 14 7/8)

Inscribed, or signed (?), in pen and brown ink at left: Annib/Caracci, and at upper right: An. Caracci; numbered in pen and black ink at lower right: 30

GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG IM  
STÄDELSCHEN KUNSTINSTITUT,  
FRANKFURT AM MAIN

ANNIBALE UNDERTOOK THE LARGE and ambitious painting of Venus asleep (fig. 1) sometime in 1602. The Frankfurt sheet is the most complete of three surviving studies for this picture.<sup>1</sup> Made for his ever-demanding patron Cardinal Farnese, the painting was seen by Annibale's friend Agucchi in the artist's studio in the palace while he was still working on the canvas. Agucchi's description of the picture is an important document, as it underscores that Annibale was still living and working in the Farnese Palace in the autumn of 1602, and that he was undertaking a major commission for the cardinal at a date after his supposed rift with his patron over payment for the Farnese Gallery. It is also of interest for what Agucchi singles out to praise in the painting: its literary content and "the variety and richness of its symbolic display of human passions and interaction."<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 1 Sleeping Venus and Putti in a Landscape, c. 1602, Musée Conde, Chantilly

The picture, designed for a room in the Palazzetto Farnese, across from the palace, was inspired by two of Titian's canvases, the *Danaë*, already in the Farnese collection, and *The Feast of Venus*, brought to Rome by the Aldobrandini family in 1598. Between 1602 and 1604 Annibale designed a series of titillating mythological scenes, some of which he executed and some of which were painted by his pupils,<sup>3</sup> for the ceilings and walls of the cardinal's private retreat. Taken with the Gallery frescoes on the east side of the palace gardens, as Robertson has observed, the scheme forms a kind of Garden of Love.<sup>4</sup> The figure of the sleeping goddess was certainly painted by Annibale, although one or more of his pupils may have contributed to other parts of the painting.<sup>5</sup> He drew the sleeping figure three times, each with the subtlest refinement of her pose. The most complete drawing, in the center of the page, was the first study. The artist has posed a model on a bed, her eyes closed and curls tucked under a simple scarf, and drawn her from life. Venus' entire body is stretched out, and she sinks lightly into the mattress, her back against the round bolster that lifts her from the sheets. A highly finished and carefully worked study in black and white chalk, the drawing evokes the sensual and tactile quality of Venus' flesh.

Her left arm is raised above her head. Tietze was the first to observe that this pose depended on the Roman statue of the *Sleeping Ariadne* (see fig. 2),<sup>6</sup> which Annibale would have known in Rome. The indication of a bracelet on her upper arm is copied from the Roman model. The goddess, half dreaming, bends her

## PROVENANCE

Francesco Angeloni (?) (the number 30 inscribed at lower right resembles other such numbers on drawings in his collection); in the Städelsches Museum's collection before 1862; inv. z 4060

## EXHIBITIONS

Frankfurt 1980, no. 38; Frankfurt 1994, z 31

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tietze 1906–1907, 162–163 and fig. 70; Foratti 1913, 235 (as not autograph); Wittkower 1952, 148, under no. 358; Martin 1964, 160–163; Posner 1971, 2: 60, under no. 134, and fig. 134 b





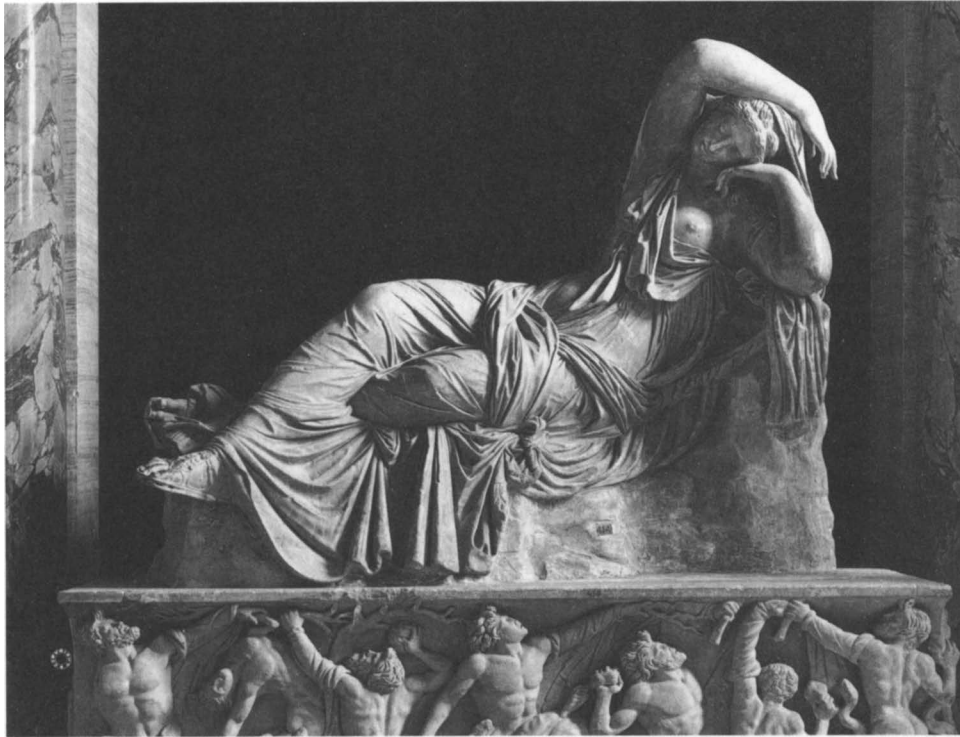


FIG. 2 Roman, second century AD, Sleeping Ariadne, Vatican Museums, Vatican City

right arm upward and touches her breast. The erotic nature of the subject is heightened in this study, because the artist's view of his model is so tender, and because he has used his skill with chalk to make her flesh come alive. Annibale outlined the figure and the sleeping cupid with pen and ink before moving on to a new sketch.

Annibale reworked Venus' pose in two rapid drawings. On the upper right corner of the page he changed the positions of the cushion and the model's right arm, which is now raised to her cheek so that she can rest her head. He put her in more shadow and rearranged her curls to be more classicizing, as they will appear in the painting.

In the other drawing, the much freer study on the far left, Annibale again placed her left arm behind her head, while he tried two alternative positions for her right arm. The second study, showing her arm on the bed and her hand across her belly, would be used for the painting.

Annibale must have been aware of the exceptional beauty of the two pen studies, as he may have signed each of them with an abbreviation of his name (see Cat. 67). These sketches are quite extraordinary in their modern look. The pen drawing, in particular, on the upper left, with its abstract openness, and smudges and deposits of dark wash, heralds the drawing style of nineteenth-century artists such as Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix. κϞ

#### NOTES

1. The other drawings are at Windsor (Wittkower 1952, no. 358) and in the Louvre (inv. 7303 *ter*).

2. Translated by Posner 1971, 2: 60. For the text of Agucchi's letter with comments by Malvasia, see Malvasia 1678 (1841), 1: 360–368; Bellori used Agucchi's letter to write his own essay on the painting. See Bellori 1672, 89–92.

3. For the other canvases, see Posner 1971, 2: nos. 132, 137, 138 (*Rinaldo and Armida, Night Bearing Sleep and Death, Dawn*).

4. Robertson 1988, 360. Stephen Pepper, in a lecture at the National Gallery, London, December 1998, expanded on this observation.

5. For the authorship of the painting, see Posner 1971, 2: 59–60.

6. Tietze 1906–1907, 162–163, suggested that the first drawing was the one on the upper left, and that it is this drawing that is dependent on the antique source.





## Saint Andrew

c. 1603–1604; black chalk  
heightened with white chalk on  
blue paper, laid down; 273 x 289  
(10 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 11 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

ANNIBALE WAS FAMOUS FOR HIS generosity to his pupils, and his concern for their artistic well-being included sharing not only his ideas, but more unusually his stock of drawings as well. In the last years of his life, from about 1603 onward, most of the drawings in black and white chalk that have survived have been identified as having been made for his students, so that they might execute works that he was not able to undertake or finish himself.

The present sheet is an example of this type of drawing. It was made as a preparatory study for an altarpiece of *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*, certainly executed in Annibale's workshop, possibly by Domenichino around 1604.<sup>1</sup> Domenichino worked extensively for Annibale until his master's death in 1609, and made full use of Annibale's drawings for many of his projects.<sup>2</sup>

The drawing is a study from life of the top half of a young man's torso, his arms bound and his large hands held above his head. In the story of the saint, Andrew hung on a cross for two days. His tormentors purposely tied his hands and feet to the cross, rather than nailing them, so that he would suffer longer. During the two days that he hung in agony, he preached to the people. In the finished painting, Andrew appears as a much older man. A copy of the lost painting is in Munich (fig. 1).

This sheet shows an important development in the style of Annibale's later chalk drawings, in which the study of light becomes the primary concern. Although this drawing was made for use by a pupil or assistant, and therefore the information it had to convey was of critical importance, the artist has simplified its components. Interior modeling of the torso is kept

to a minimum. The saint's face, arms, and hands are barely outlined in chalk, and their forms are reduced to blocks of light and shadow. Empty sections of paper are read as light-filled, giving an illusion of form, such as on the saint's cheek, where there is no chalk at all. Annibale has used the heavenly light that falls from upper left onto the outer edge of the saint's arm, face, and body to create mass. He further added to the drama by wetting the black chalk in order to darken the lines of Andrew's torso where necessary, in those edges of the body that in the painting will appear black against the strong, slanted heavenly light from God.

The reduction of the subject to its essential form marks a radical departure for Annibale and introduces a true late style in both his paintings and drawings. Its importance in terms of its effect on all of Annibale's pupils—Lanfranco, Domenichino, Badalocchio, and later on, Guercino—cannot be overestimated. All of these artists made drawings directly related to this new approach, particularly ones such as this, which use black and white chalk on colored paper. KG

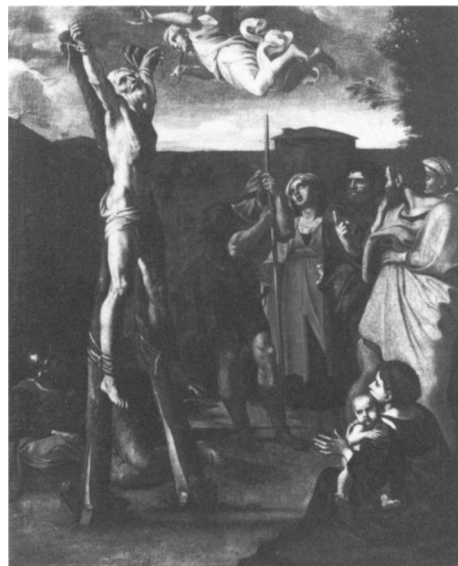


FIG. 1 *unknown artist*, *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*, *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich*

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201)  
(Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 76); Windsor  
Castle, Royal Library, inv. 2121

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1950–1951, no. 442;  
London 1964, 32, no. 119

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 146, no. 352, pl.  
82; Spear 1982, I: 323

## NOTES

1. Spear 1982, I: 323, suggests that the Munich painting, one of two versions of the subject, is a copy after a lost painting possibly by Domenichino.

2. See Spear 1982, I: nos. 9, 10i, 10ii, 12i, 12ii, 12iii, 12iv, 12v, 12vi. Domenichino also copied a number of Annibale's paintings in his early years in the studio, presumably as a training exercise.

## Felicity and Fortune

c. 1602–1605; pen and brown ink  
over traces of black chalk on  
cream paper, laid down; 186 x 168  
(7 5/16 x 6 5/8)

PRIVATE COLLECTION,  
CHARLES TOWN,  
WEST VIRGINIA

THIS DRAWING OF TWO ALLEGORICAL figures, probably representing Felicity and Fortune, appears to be a study for the same painting as a drawing at Windsor called *Plenty and Felicity* (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Wittkower has suggested that these studies may have been made for a painting in the Farnese collection that is listed in the seventeenth-century family inventories as “Un’Abbondanza con altra Donna.”<sup>2</sup> As no trace has been found of the picture, this relationship must remain speculative.

The freedom in handling, the rough black chalk underdrawing, and the thin framing line at the bottom of the page are Annibale’s usual way of starting a composition. Thus, this sketch likely precedes the Windsor drawing, which is also less agitated and more complete. In the



FIG. 1 Plenty and Felicity, c. 1602–1605, Windsor, The Royal Collection © 1999 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

present drawing, the figure on the left holds a cornucopia filled with fruits and leaves, while below her a small child kneels offering a basket containing apples and other fruit, normally a symbol of abundance. This figure, however, seems derived directly from Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, in which *Felicita Publica*, based on an antique medal, is personified as a woman holding a cornucopia filled with fruits and flowers (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup>

The elegant figure seated on the right, her profile classical in its perfection and proportions, gazes at Felicity. She holds a winged caduceus, usually included as the attribute of Mercury or as a symbol of eloquence, but here intended to represent Good Fortune.<sup>4</sup> Both women are wrapped in flowing dresses, the figure of Fortune in a diaphanous garment that hints at her breasts underneath. The classical poses, with wide ample laps, opened legs, bare feet, and particularly the slightly twisting upper torsos, suggest that Annibale may have had in mind an antique statue, such as the Roman Seated Venus, which Raphael drew, or even a figure by Raphael himself, such as the figure of Wisdom in the Stanza della Segnatura, as a generic model for his figure of Fortune.

On the sheet at Windsor, the figure on the left holds the caduceus and the one on the right a sheaf of wheat and a grape vine. Their positions are more central, and they link arms. They are reduced in scale and rendered with more care, the lines becoming more lyrical and simplified. The figures appear before a landscape that opens up the composition behind them, showing a group of men on horseback marching toward the gate of a town, perhaps, judging from the mass of towers, Annibale’s

## PROVENANCE

Jean Papillon; private collection, New York; Mia Weiner, New York; purchased by the present owner in 1986

## EXHIBITIONS

New York 1992, 2

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bull 1987, 483



FIG. 2 Felicitia Publica, from *Nuova iconologia di Cesare Ripa* (Padua, 1618), National Gallery of Art, Washington





FIG. 3 Allegory of Truth and Time, c. 1584–1585, Hampton Court, The Royal Collection ©1999 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

beloved Bologna.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that in the original painting the symbols of Good Fortune and Public Felicity commemorated the end of a battle, with the victorious army returning to the city in the background.

Annibale had treated a similar allegorical figure in an earlier painting, *The Allegory of Truth and Time* (fig. 3),<sup>6</sup> in which the mysterious figure holds both a cornucopia and the winged caduceus. She has been identified as both Fortune and Felicity, but the subject of the painting, which is much earlier and is not connected with the exhibited drawing, has never been properly identified.

*Felicity and Fortune* exhibits a graphic abandon that will characterize many of Annibale's pure pen and ink studies of his last years. He develops a shorthand for the eyes, nose, lips, and chins of his figures, drawing five or six very free, almost parallel lines (see Cats. 87 and 91, for example). He similarly abbreviates fingers and toes with a few quick, parallel strokes. Strong points of emphasis are drawn with short, staccato marks, almost punched onto the page. Dark areas and pockets of shadow are created when Annibale presses harder on his pen, or dips into the ink again, going over lines quickly. The scale of the figures in relation to the size of the sheet also heralds a change for the artist that will develop more fully in the drawings of the last years. κϚ

#### NOTES

1. Wittkower 1952, 156, no. 426, pl. 62.
2. Malvasia 1678 (1841), 359.
3. Ripa 1603, 129–130.
4. The caduceus is also the Roman symbol of peace, and has other meanings as well, including one as the herald of messengers, another as the settlement of quarrels. One story has its origins as an olive branch turned into serpents. For these symbols, derived from Roman (Plutarch) and Renaissance (Carracci) sources, see de Tervarent 1958, 57–58.
5. Wittkower 1952, 156, had noted this, although Annibale always draws the towers of Bologna as leaning, not straight, as here.
6. Posner 1971, 2: 10, no. 19.

## Young Man Holding a Rearing Horse

1602–1604; pen and two colors of  
brown ink on beige paper; 344 x 255  
(13 7/16 x 10 1/16)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

THE FIRST COMPLETE INVENTORY OF the Carracci drawings in the Royal Library was compiled in the early nineteenth century, within fifty years of King George III's acquisition of two large groups of studies in 1763. It was in this inventory that the present double-sided drawing was first called "for the Picture of the Conversion of Saint Paul," although no painting of that subject by Annibale is known or mentioned in any of the seventeenth-century biographies of the artist. Wittkower, followed by virtually all other writers, calls the studies "certainly fragments . . . showing Saint Paul's rearing horse with a soldier trying to master it,"<sup>1</sup> and indeed there are clues that this, and two additional drawings at Windsor for the same project (invs. 1849 and 1990), could be for such a painting.

On the recto of the Windsor drawing a young boy reins in a galloping horse, while another youth, with a Roman-style helmet, runs before them; a figure riding bareback is shown behind. The young boy, hair streaming, is wearing a fluttering Roman toga, belted at the waist. Made with a wide nib or reed pen, over a rough preliminary sketch that uses a traditional pen and lighter colored ink, the drawing is particularly free. As the pen flew over the surface, drips and splats of ink fell at random onto the paper. Blocks of parallel lines were used to shade the face of the boy, his tunic, and the belly of the horse. On the verso of the drawing, the young boy is shown pulling the horse to a stop from the far side, while part of the torso and legs of a figure, presumably the stunned Paul, are shown in the foreground. There is an intimacy between the boy and the horse that suggests Annibale had



VERSO Young Man Holding a Running Horse,  
pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk

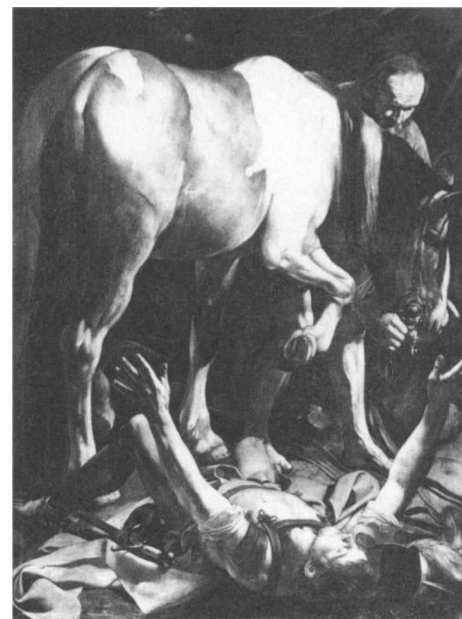


FIG. 1 Caravaggio, *The Conversion of Saint Paul*,  
1600–1601, Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome

absorbed the lessons of Caravaggio's startling depiction of the scene in the Cerasi chapel, executed while Annibale was at work in the same space a few years earlier (fig. 1). The more traditional depictions of the Conversion

### PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201)  
(Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 75); Royal  
Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 1989

### EXHIBITIONS

London 1986, no. 83; Washington  
1987, no. 36

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 153, no. 400







FIG. 2 Raphael, *The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple* (detail), 1512, *Stanza dell'Eliodoro*, Vatican Palace, Vatican City

of Saint Paul—such as one by Michelangelo (1542–1545, Pauline chapel, The Vatican), whose treatment of the subject Carracci surely knew—show soldiers and horses scattered in every direction while Paul lies on the ground, a divine light striking him from above.

For the galloping horses Annibale seems to have been inspired by two sources. As his main model he used the horse of the Divine Messenger in Raphael's fresco of *The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple* (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> Annibale's first sketch repeats the charging legs, the arched neck, and open mouth of Raphael's rather wooden, carousel-like horse. Subsequently he changed the legs in a blotchy, swiftly drawn *pentimento*. He must also have looked at the most famous equestrian monument in Rome—the bronze horse of Marcus Aurelius, in Michelangelo's specially designed piazza in the Campidoglio, *in situ* by 1546.<sup>3</sup>

For the date of both drawings it is helpful to compare the head of the soldier to the right of the horse, on the recto, with the head of

Annibale's self-portrait in the drawing of about 1604 (Cat. 88). Annibale's graphic shorthand shows a head drawn with three swift strokes, and its shape and its features, with two dark sockets for the eyes, are easily recognized. The sense of speed exhibited in the rendering of the galloping horses is quite revolutionary. The mounted figure in the top left corner of the recto is perfectly understood and rendered with such freedom that it prefigures drawings by Degas in the nineteenth century.

Various scholars have suggested that Annibale at one time may have been asked to draw up a project for the lateral walls of the Cerasi chapel showing a Conversion of Saint Paul,<sup>4</sup> the subject undertaken by Caravaggio, and that these drawings might have been Carracci's first ideas for those paintings. Documents indicate that Caravaggio was assigned the wall spaces from the very beginning of the project,<sup>5</sup> however, and the style of these drawings, irrefutably much later than 1600, cannot support such a claim. κκ

#### NOTES

1. Wittkower 1952, 153.
2. Stacey Sell, oral communication, 1999.
3. See Bober and Rubinstein 1986, no. 176.
4. See, for example, Sutherland Harris 1996, 198, under no. 271.
5. See Friedlaender 1955, 184.

## Self-Portrait on an Easel and Other Studies

*c. 1604; pen and ocher-brown ink  
on cream paper (watermark: bird in  
a circle); 248 x 181 (9 3/4 x 7 1/8)*

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

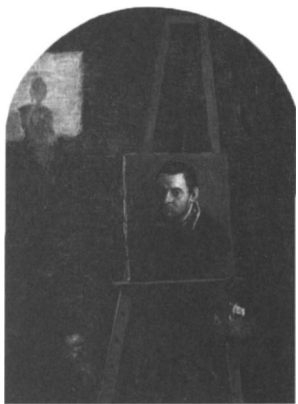


FIG. 1 Self-Portrait on an Easel, *c. 1604*, *The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg*

THREE SELF-PORTRAITS OF ANNIBALE are universally accepted, and almost all other images of the artist, whether painted, drawn, or engraved, depend on one of these: the tiny painting in Parma (Galleria Nazionale),<sup>1</sup> which is inscribed and dated “17 di Aprile 1593”; the drawing at the J. Paul Getty Museum (Cat. 75), dating from about 1600; and the painting on an easel in the Saint Petersburg picture of about 1604 (The State Hermitage Museum),<sup>2</sup> for which the current drawing is a study.

The Saint Petersburg portrait (fig. 1) shows a large easel in a darkened room on which a small canvas rests. On this canvas Annibale has painted his image. The picture is stark and simple, although the conceit of showing a painting within a painting is a sophisticated one. The Windsor drawing not only works out the composition, but seems also to examine the conundrum of art and its two-dimensional representation of life, playing on depictions of reality and illusion.<sup>3</sup>

Annibale began the drawing in the upper left margin, trying out his pen with a few quick strokes before moving to the sketch in the upper square. Wittkower is probably correct that in this square is a quick study for a conventional self-portrait of the artist, in a cloak, his left shoulder forward and turned to the left. Annibale would have had to have stood with his right shoulder facing the mirror, as the reflected image was in reverse. His left hand holds his cloak together, while his right hand—his painting hand—is not drawn in. An oval mirror, on the wall behind the sitter, may reflect the image of the artist from across the room. A small sketch, which could be a second study for the mirror frame, appears to the right. The study of a bearded man, always assumed to be an independent drawing, may be related to a sketch for the artist’s cloak. The

study appears to reproduce a classical statue, and Annibale may have been looking at the famous Roman sculpture on the staircase of the Farnese Palace, a Barbarian Captive,<sup>4</sup> for the arrangement of folds and drapery.

In another rectangle, below the first, Annibale expanded the composition and drew the interior of the artist’s studio, with a beamed ceiling and the large, simple easel, its unfinished portrait sketched in, pushed to the foreground. Three small dogs are at the left, one of which barks at the painting, perhaps, as Posner was the first to suggest, “taking the painting of his master for reality.”<sup>5</sup> A cat is curled up in the foreground, underscoring the domesticity of the setting.

On the far wall is an enigmatic fourth image. Is it another self-portrait, as seems to be indicated by the pose and shape of the head? Perhaps it is an observer, possibly the artist himself, with one arm on a windowsill, looking into the studio from outside the room.

In the Saint Petersburg painting the composition has been simplified. Dark in color, the portrait becomes the sole focus. Its melancholy aspect and vulnerable expression are almost unbearably sad. The artist is shown not in a grand cape, as in the studies, but in his simple painting garb. In the back seems to be a ghostly square of light, in front of which the suggestion of a classical bust is shown in silhouette. The dogs have been replaced by one startled animal, staring straight out at the viewer, as does the sitter in the portrait. The cat has retreated into the shadow of the room. The artist’s palette, a pictorial signature, hangs from the easel’s peg.

The painting is not mentioned in the early literature and its exact date is not known. The image of Annibale on the easel became the source for Ottavio Leoni’s drawing of Carracci of about 1614, and, in turn, for other images of Annibale reproduced throughout the seventeenth century. K6

### PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201)  
(Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 75); Royal  
Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 1984

### EXHIBITIONS

Bologna 1956, no. 122; London  
1964, 31, no. 113; Oxford and Lon-  
don 1996–1997, no. 98

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, 146, no. 353, repr.  
fig. 48; Posner 1971, 2: 65, under  
no. 143a; Schilling and Blunt 1971,  
65; Vsevolozhskaia 1981, 281, no. 96

### NOTES

1. See Posner 1971, 2: no. 75, for history and bibliography.
2. See Posner 1971, 2: no. 143, for history and bibliography, and for notes on other supposed portraits of Annibale, including lost works and the images used by Bellori and Malvasia.
3. See Posner 1971, 2: 65, who was the first to suggest this conceit.
4. See Bober and Rubinstein 1986, 197, nos. 165 A and B.
5. Posner 1971, 2: 66.





## Landscape with Smiling Sunrise

c. 1603–1604; pen and brown ink on tan paper, laid down; 136 x 195 (5 3/8 x 7 11/16)

Inscribed in pen and black ink at lower right: 20

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE,  
DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS  
GRAPHIQUES, PARIS



FIG. 1 Hercules and the Hydra, c. 1603–1604, Musée du Louvre

THIS SWIFTLY RENDERED LITTLE landscape may have been Annibale's parody of some florid description of a sunrise, visualizing its verbal imagery to humorous effect, much as his well-known drawing at Windsor Castle ridicules the composition of Tintoretto's *Annunciation* in the Scuola di San Rocco by showing how bizarre the scene becomes when viewed from a slightly different angle.<sup>1</sup> Nor are these the only examples of Annibale using drawings to deflate the pretensions of others. The most famous instance, perhaps, is when he reminded his pompous older brother Agostino of their humble origins with a drawing of their parents with needle, thread, and scissors: "Remember, Agostino, that you're a tailor's son."<sup>2</sup>

As it has all the earmarks of Annibale's late pen style, Loisel Legrand was undoubtedly right to place the *Landscape with Smiling Sun-*



FIG. 2 Landscape with Hunter and Sol, Windsor, The Royal Collection © 1999 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

*rise* in the early seventeenth century. The closest parallels are found in the pen sketches Annibale executed around 1603–1604 in preparation for the small mythological scenes on the walls of the Farnese Gallery. The *Hercules and the Hydra* (fig. 1) exhibits exactly the same shorthand for trees: two short straight lines for the trunk, which supports a cloudlike, merely adumbrated crown, and a horizontal squiggle or zigzag to suggest the tree's lower part and its shadow.<sup>3</sup> A few flowing lines, quickly traced, indicate the ground, as in many of Annibale's landscapes.

Whether this landscape was satirical or not, Loisel Legrand has noted Annibale's penchant for solar themes in his last years, as in another small landscape sketch at Windsor Castle, where Sol appears behind the hills as a giant figure, his head crowned with rays (fig. 2),<sup>4</sup> or the unprecedented sunset landscapes in London (Cat. 95) and Stuttgart.<sup>5</sup> cvt

## PROVENANCE

Everard Jabach (in both his "first" and "second" collections); Pierre Crozat (sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, part of no. 510 or no. 512); P.-J. Mariette (Lugt 1852) (sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, no. 316); acquired by "Lachaise"; Ch.-P. de Saint-Morys; confiscated during the French Revolution as émigré property, 1793; entered the Louvre in 1796–1797 (Lugt 1955), inv. 7485

## EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1961, no. 105; Paris 1994, no. 62, repr.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arquié-Bruley, Labbé, and Bicart-Sée 1987, 2: 167.

## NOTES

1. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 1841; Wittkower 1952, no. 438; Oxford and London 1996–1997, no. 94.
2. Bellori 1976, 82 (1672, 71).
3. Louvre inv. 7194; Martin 1965, 276, no. 146, fig. 265.
4. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 1994; Wittkower 1952, no. 421.
5. Thiem 1977, 112, no. 227 (from the Ellesmere collection; sale, London, Sotheby's, 11 July 1972, no. 74).

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## Danaë

1604–1605; pen and brown ink  
on cream paper, laid down, the  
upper right corner cut; 194 x 257  
(7 5/8 x 10 1/8)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

BY 1595, WHEN ANNIBALE ARRIVED in Rome, Titian's painting of *Danaë*, one of the greatest and most erotic mythological works of the sixteenth century, had been hanging in the Farnese Palace for fifty years (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The picture was one of the proudest possessions among the many great riches then owned by the Farnese family. Commissioned, according to Vasari, by Alessandro Farnese in 1545/1546, *Danaë* had hung in the cardinal's bedroom, his "camera propria,"<sup>2</sup> since its arrival in Rome, and from there it had been transferred, after the cardinal's death in 1592, to one of the great rooms on the *piano nobile* of the palace.<sup>3</sup>

There can be little doubt that when Annibale was commissioned by Camillo Pamphilj to paint his own *Danaë*, it would be to Titian's languorous, sexy model that he would turn.<sup>4</sup> *Danaë*, the daughter of the king of Argos, had been locked in a tower by her father. Her imprisonment did not stop her lover, Zeus, from ravishing her, however, disguised as a shower of gold.

The Windsor drawing is a study for Annibale's painting, ultimately undertaken by a

pupil. The final picture (now destroyed), well known to Bellori and Malvasia,<sup>5</sup> was documented as having been sold by Pamphilj to Queen Christina of Sweden in 1656. It was painted sometime around 1605 by Francesco Albani, one of Annibale's most trusted pupils at that moment.<sup>6</sup>

In the drawing Annibale establishes the composition with vigorously drawn, thick ink lines. As is characteristic of his late drawings Annibale used a very broad nib, perhaps even a reed pen, which would explain both the thickness and the apparent roughness of the lines over the initial sketch. In this masterful, free study, Annibale placed his *Danaë* out of doors, reclining on her bed against a huge drape. *Danaë* is reversed in position to Titian's model, but the drawing includes the essential ingredients of Titian's painting in clear and direct homage to it. Annibale's expectant lover, like Titian's, lies naked in her bed, leaning against her pillows with one arm, her breasts exposed. Annibale's clever putto kneels to collect the gold raining from the sky. Unlike Titian's heroine, however, Annibale has his *Danaë* reach up to greet her lover with a gesture that lifts her whole torso off the bed. The landscape, although distilled to a minimum of lines, shows plains, hills, bushes, and trees receding into space in an ordered and clear way. The shorthand of Annibale's late drawings telegraphs its message with great clarity. Not only can we see the position of *Danaë* and understand her expression, but all the necessary information about where the light will fall and the shadows gather is present in this sketch.

The darkness of the ink on this drawing probably represents the true color of the ink Annibale used at this time, whereas in many other sheets the color has been lightened by exposure to light (see Cat. 75). The drawing is exceptionally well preserved. κϞ

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201)  
(Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 75); Royal  
Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 1954

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1950–1951, no. 437;  
Bologna 1956, no. 126

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bellori 1672, 84; Malvasia 1678  
(1841), I: 499; Tietze 1906–1907,  
167, fig. 73; Foratti 1913, 235; Voss  
1924, fig. 185; Wittkower 1952, 147,  
no. 355, pl. 83; Posner 1971, 2: 69,  
under no. 153, pl. 153b

## NOTES

1. See Wethey 1969–1975, 3: 56–57, n. 288 and pl. 81.
2. See Robertson 1992, 72 and 204, for the fact that the cardinal kept this picture in his bedroom.
3. For the inventories of the Farnese and the descriptions of where the picture hung at given moments in time, see Robertson 1988, 368 and n. 42.
4. The influence of Titian's *Danaë* had been commented on early in this century by Panofsky 1933, 209–210, 216.
5. Bellori 1672, 84. Malvasia 1678 (1841), I: 357.
6. For the relationship between Annibale and Albani, see Posner 1971, 139–140, and n. 15, and Martin 1965, 62 and n. 47.



FIG. 1 Titian, *Danaë*, 1545, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples







## 91

## Saint Catherine

1605–1609; pen and brown ink with traces of black chalk on blue paper; 255 x 216 (10 1/16 x 8 1/2)

HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
ELIZABETH II

WHEN THIS DRAWING ENTERED THE Royal Collection in the eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> the spirited figures were recorded as studies for a Saint Catherine of Alexandria. Although the figure is shown without her usual attributes of wheel, book, or palm of martyrdom, the identification was probably made on the basis of the drawing's similarity to another sheet of the saint, of similar medium and size, also at Windsor (fig. 1), in which the wheel is present. Much seems to link the two drawings. Both are in dark brown ink and on similar blue paper, and each has a second study of the saint drawn elsewhere on the page. The larger, more complete drawings in each example show the figure of Catherine clothed, wearing the traditional diadem. Wittkower followed an early inventory of King George III's collection in identifying the present study as a Saint Catherine, although no painting related to either of these drawings is known.

Both of the sketches on the exhibited drawing are masterful examples of Annibale's late pen style. The rapidly drawn lines move vertically and horizontally as if in one gesture, with the pen hardly leaving the paper. Despite the evident quickness and freedom of the drawing, the narrative content is not lost. Saint Catherine, the learned and beautiful virgin daughter of a prince, was ordered to be executed by beheading because she would not renounce her God.

The figure is shown kneeling on three steps twisting toward her unseen executioner, and opening her arms in joyous prayer as she waits to join her savior. In the smaller study she kneels in supplication, her hands folded in her lap, her head bowed and pushed forward,



FIG. 1 Study for a Saint Catherine of Alexandria, Windsor, The Royal Collection © 1999 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

waiting for the sword to fall.<sup>2</sup> The head of the kneeling figure in the background, seen almost in profile, resembles the head in the *Self-Portrait on an Easel*, also at Windsor (Cat. 88), of approximately the same date.

Catherine was one of the most popular female saints in the last half of the sixteenth century in Rome. Baglione lists sixteen paintings of her in Roman churches, mostly dating before 1610. Annibale had worked for the Farnese family in the church of Santa Caterina dei Funari, just down the street from their palace, where he had painted a large altarpiece of *Saint Margaret*, based on an earlier Saint Catherine in *The Madonna of Saint Luke* altarpiece (Paris, Musée du Louvre), when he first arrived in Rome.<sup>3</sup> In that church there were already depictions of the saint by Livio Agresti, Federico Zuccaro, and Giovanni Ruggeri.

In the 1627 inventory of Cardinal del Monte's collection in Rome, there is a reference to a painting by Annibale of a *Saint Catherine* that may be connected to the present drawing, but no visual record of it exists. It has been suggested that Annibale made this late painting to compete with one by Caravaggio, also owned by the same cardinal.<sup>4</sup> KG

## PROVENANCE

King George III (Lugt 1201)  
(Windsor Inv. Ms. A, 75); Royal  
Library, Windsor Castle, inv. 1980

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1952, no. 434

## NOTES

1. Listed as *Various Studies. Two of a Saint Catherine* in Inventory A, which is an early nineteenth-century copy of the original eighteenth-century manuscript inventory. See Wittkower 1952, 20–22, for the provenance of the Windsor drawings and an explanation of the contents of Inventory A.

2. Wittkower 1952, 157, does not connect the two studies on this page, calling the right-hand one “possibly for a composition of Christ and the Woman Taken into Adultery.” He also identifies the horizontal lines toward the top of the sheet as an indication of a wheel.

3. *Saint Margaret* was commissioned from Annibale by Gabriele Bombasi between 1597 and 1599. It is variously attributed to Annibale (Mancini, Baglione) or Lucio Massari with the intervention of Annibale (Bellori, Malvasia, Posner). See also Cat. 63 and Cooney and Malafarina 1976, no. 62.

4. Posner 1971, I: 175, n. 30.

## Christ Bearing the Cross

1601–1605; pen and brown ink over  
red chalk on light brown paper,  
laid down; 232 x 310 (9 1/8 x 12 1/4)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at  
lower left: An C

AMSTERDAMS HISTORISCH  
MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

THIS SHEET IS NOT CONNECTED with any documented work by Annibale, but the style places it in Rome about the time of the Cerasi chapel and the *Domine, Quo Vadis?* in the National Gallery of London, which was undertaken at the behest of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini after the unveiling of the Farnese Gallery ceiling in 1601. The scene is treated rather ambitiously with a multitude of figures and a complicated layering of the planes.

All the artist's hesitations are revealed in the multiplicity of *pentimenti* and the use of two successive sketches in red chalk and pen, while the passages of wash seem to have resulted from extra pressure on the pen rather than from a brush, a working method that is frequently seen in Annibale's late drawings. Certain geometrizations in the features—such as the straight line of the eyes and the nose of Christ—strongly recall the drawing in the Albertina for one of the compartments of the

Cerasi chapel ceiling.<sup>1</sup> In addition, some silhouettes in the background are marked by an elongated elegance that is found in the bathers of the landscape in the Oppé collection,<sup>2</sup> while the caricatured accent of the soldier behind Christ presages the etching of *Christ Crowned with Thorns* of 1606 (Cat. 93).

The projected painting, which, like the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* in the Louvre may have been on copper,<sup>3</sup> presents a very high horizon line, much like that in *The Pietà* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>4</sup> At left, the group around the swooning Virgin evokes the Correggesque reminiscence of the *Christ of Caprarola*. A drawing in Windsor shows a study in reverse for the figure of Christ.<sup>5</sup> By the energy of the line, the Amsterdam drawing recalls the violence of the studies for *The Flight into Egypt* in the Doria Pamphilj, as well as *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 1), which points to a dating between 1601 and 1605. CLL

### PROVENANCE

N. Beets (sale, Amsterdam, Fred. Muller, 9–11 April 1940, no. 107, as Venetian, sixteenth century); acquired by the Amsterdams Historisch Museum, inv. A 18112

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vitzthum 1971, 89, pl. IV;  
Koevoets 1976, no. 17

### NOTES

1. Posner 1971, 2: pl. 127c.
2. Bologna 1956, no. 236, fig. 79.
3. Posner 1971, 2: no. 141.
4. Posner 1971, 2: no. 139.
5. Wittkower 1952, no. 470.



FIG. 1 Study for the Adoration of the Shepherds, c. 1606, private collection





THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THREE faces, two of cruelty, one of grace, is at the heart of this small composition, the supreme technical perfection and expression of which shows that Annibale's ability to draw did not diminish despite failing health and depression in his later years.

Carracci's version of *Christ Crowned with Thorns* shows two demonic soldiers preparing Christ for public display. Made in preparation for an etching that is signed and dated 1606 (fig. 1),<sup>1</sup> the study served as a *modello* for the print. Annibale drew the composition in great detail on a sheet of green-blue prepared paper, and the dark ground heightens both the drama and the emotional intensity of the scene. Although the etching is restricted to a palette of black ink against ivory paper, the drawing has the effect of a chiaroscuro print and is a tour de force of draftsmanship at this late moment in Annibale's career. Once completed, this highly finished composition was incised with a sharp instrument to transfer the image onto an etching plate of nearly identical size. *Christ Crowned with Thorns* was to become one of Carracci's most copied prints.<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 1 Christ Crowned with Thorns, 1606, British Museum

While one soldier binds Christ's hands with rope, pulling tight on the cord, the other, his own hand protected by his iron gloves, pushes the Crown of Thorns deep into Christ's bowed head, a poignant and jolting detail. In the drawing, the soldier behind Christ ties his hands, whereas in the print he gives him the reed scepter, a mocking act. The thin stick Christ holds in the drawing is the symbol both of his power on earth and of the cross on which he will be crucified.

The drawing emphasizes highlights and shadows, and on the paper Annibale drew the lightest elements with particular attention, using layers of white gouache applied with a brush. Not only Christ's robes, but the light on his neck, beard, and chin appear luminous against the green-blue ground, ensuring that the tiniest details, such as the glint on the soldier's chain mail, and even the ugly white hairs bristling on his chin, would be cast into relief.

Christ's long neck, his pose of submission, and the utter cruelty of his tormentors bring to mind not so much Titian's great painting of this subject in the Louvre, to which this tiny composition has often been compared,<sup>3</sup> but rather Caravaggio's *Flagellation* (Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte) and *Crowning with Thorns* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).<sup>4</sup> Both of Caravaggio's paintings and Annibale's drawing, as well as Annibale's earlier painting of the subject (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), are ultimately dependent on the majestic altarpiece by Sebastiano del Piombo, in the church of San Pietro in Montorio, up the Janiculum Hill from the Tiber River and just behind Annibale's abode in 1606.

The print for which this drawing is a study, and two others of the same year, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (see Cat. 94) and *The Madonna della Scodella*, for which there is also a full preparatory drawing, are the last documented works of Annibale's life. KGG

#### PROVENANCE

William, 2d duke of Devonshire (Lugt 718); Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, inv. 430

#### EXHIBITIONS

Washington and tour 1969–1970, no. 24, fig. 21a; London 1973–1974, no. 24; Washington 1979, 468, under no. 21, fig. 21a

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Malvasia 1678 (1841), 1: 86; Posner 1971, 2: 73, under no. 174, pl. 174b; Jaffé 1994, 84, no. 486; De Grazia 1984, 245–246, under no. 21, fig. 341a; Bohn 1996, 264, under no. .021, repr. 266

#### NOTES

1. The print is inscribed *Annib. Carracius in. et fecit. 1606*.
2. See Bohn 1996, 264, under no. .021. The print, one of only two pure etchings by Annibale, was known in five states and thirteen printed copies.
3. See, for example, De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 468, n. 4.
4. The *Flagellation* was painted in about 1607, when Caravaggio was already in Naples (see Gregori in New York and Naples 1985, no. 93). The close relationship between this painting and Annibale's print suggests that Caravaggio may have seen the etching before leaving Rome. Particularly striking is the repetition of the gesture of the soldier who forces down Christ's head with his fist (as is noted by Wallace in Boston–Cleveland–Washington 1989, 112). Caravaggio's *Crowning with Thorns* also bears striking similarities to Annibale's etching, but its date is uncertain and it is not clear which artist influenced the other. For a review of the dating problems, see Gregori in New York and Naples 1985, 316–318. See also Marini 1987, no. 35, who dates the painting to 1599.

# 93

## Christ Crowned with Thorns

1606; black chalk and gray wash heightened with white on green-blue prepared paper, incised for transfer and laid down; 163 x 132 (6 7/16 x 5 3/16)

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE AND THE CHATSWORTH SETTLEMENT TRUSTEES

## 94

Studies for an  
Adoration of  
the Shepherds

1606; pen and brown ink with  
smudges of printer's ink on cream  
paper; 153 x 218 (6 x 8<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

THE PIERPONT MORGAN  
LIBRARY, NEW YORK

THIS VIGOROUS LATE DRAWING HAS elements connecting it with two separate projects that Annibale must have been working on concurrently, a lost painting of *An Adoration of the Shepherds*, known through a copy by Domenichino, and a print of the same subject (fig. 1), both dating from about 1606.<sup>1</sup> If the drawing was made in preparation for the print, as De Grazia was the first to suggest, the angels bending over the Christ child are the only elements to have been retained, the bagpiper and his two dancing shepherds having been discarded along the way.<sup>2</sup>

The Morgan sketch is drawn on the back of a very rare proof state, before letters, of an impression of the signed and dated etching by Annibale of *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, giving the present drawing a terminus post quem of 1606, the date of the print (see Cat. 93).

Annibale started the drawing with his characteristic framing lines, drawn on three sides of the sheet.<sup>3</sup> He began on the far left, with a rapid study of the bagpiper and two small

shepherds, each holding crooks, dancing to his tune. The *pentimenti* in the piper's head and the children's feet, some of which were made by smudging ink over details the artist wanted to eliminate, give the figures more animation and convey a feeling that the group is joyfully approaching the Christ child.

The gesture of the piper is perfectly captured, and he seems fully absorbed in his playing. He is dressed in a toga, rather than a shepherd's cloak. Annibale may have been influenced by pipers in the Bacchic processions carved in relief on Roman sarcophagi. A particularly close prototype is found on a sarcophagus that belonged to the Aldobrandini family and was installed in their villa in Frascati in 1603.<sup>4</sup> Annibale's shepherd plays bagpipes with smaller reeds, but his fat cheeks and intense concentration are similar to those of the piper on the Aldobrandini sarcophagus.

To the right Annibale drew the Madonna and child with four adoring angels, a cluster of figures that also appears in the central section of the lost painting. The mother and angels bend toward the child, into the light, which comes from the upper left, as is usual with Annibale. In the painting, however, the light emanates from the Christ child himself.

Annibale's last style of drawing, almost always with a reed pen and dark ink, is perfectly illustrated on this sheet. The drawing is urgent and simplified, with only those lines needed to fix the positions of the figures and to tell their story. Much of the page is left blank. Many writers, starting with Wittkower, have called these last drawings ugly, scratchy, or harsh,<sup>5</sup> but their force comes from their directness and comparative simplicity. Drawings such as *Studies for an Adoration of the Shepherds* became the supreme example for Annibale's followers of a new, expressive style, and characterized the drawings of artists such as Pier Francesco Mola and Pietro Testa in Rome, and Rembrandt in the north, for generations to come. KG

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, New York; The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, inv. 1978.17

## EXHIBITIONS

New York 1967, 25, no. 14; Washington 1979, no. 22, 470–472, fig. 22b

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Posner 1971, 2: 73, under no. 175; De Grazia 1984, 246–247, under no. 22, fig. 342b; Bohn 1996, 245–246, under no. .019, repr.

## NOTES

1. For the painting and its possible dating, see Posner 1971, 2: 47–48, pl. 108a. For the print and the dating of drawings connected with it, see Bohn 1996, 245–248, under no. .019.
2. De Grazia Bohlin in Washington 1979, 470. Her thorough analysis of the relationship of the drawing to the lost painting, to the print, and to the other drawings for the print is convincing.
3. It is possible that the framing lines were trimmed from the right side of the sheet.
4. See Bober and Rubinstein 1986, 113, no. 78.
5. Wittkower 1952, 12, calls them “ugly” and categorizes all of Annibale's late drawings under the label the “maniera brutta.”



FIG. 1 Adoration of the Shepherds, c. 1606, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund*, 1926. (26.70.4[7])







## 95

Landscape with  
the Setting Sun

1605–1609; pen and brown  
(iron gall) ink on dark cream paper;  
271 x 428 (10 11/16 x 16 7/8)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at  
lower right: 48

THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
LONDON

ANNIBALE'S REVERENCE FOR THE lyricism of pure nature, and his representations of vast, breathtaking landscapes, both painted and drawn, is justly famous.<sup>1</sup> As Posner has written, "he made a contribution to the genre greater than any other Italian artist since Titian," whose landscapes Annibale studied and admired.<sup>2</sup> Although the literature speaks of "a vast and never ceasing production of landscape drawings,"<sup>3</sup> those that can be attributed to Annibale with complete certainty are relatively few (see Cats. 70, 71, 89). A comparison of *Landscape with the Setting Sun* and Titian's *Landscape with Roger and Angelica* (fig. 1) reveals the greater freedom and expression in Annibale's sheet. There are fewer lines and a vaster, more rhythmic treatment of receding planes and distant space.

An extraordinary sense of country life and a wealth of information are conveyed in this drawing, one of the latest and possibly the most famous of all of Annibale's landscape studies.<sup>4</sup> The bucolic moment, as the sun begins to sink in the sky and a shepherd sits quietly on a small hill watching his donkey, is conveyed in every part of this scene.



FIG. 1 Titian, *Landscape with Roger and Angelica*, c. 1565, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne

Annibale has constructed his drawing in a way typical for him. More than half a dozen planes of clearly defined space stretch into the distance. A cluster of grass, flowers, and reeds in the bottom right corner serve as a *repoussoir*, plunging the rest of the landscape into the distance. The variety Annibale records in nature is astonishing—each tree or group of trees is different: some spiky, some delicate, some bushy and squat, some tall and thin.

In the center of the drawing, a cluster of buildings depicts a small farm on a flat plain. To the right, atop a hill, birds fly around a bell tower, perhaps a dovecote. On the left a stream or river flows from a lake, in which floats a tiny boat with a lone figure. In the center distance two figures on a path walk home in the sunset. Every detail is given equal emphasis, and the effect is one not so much of Annibale telling a story, as it is of the artist showing that he can equal the beauty of nature in his art.

Although Annibale must have sketched constantly out of doors, a drawing such as this was almost certainly constructed in the studio as a compositional study rather than a record of a specific scene. Natural elements, such as the delicate plants in the lower right corner of the sheet, may have been drawn from life. The scene as a whole, however, with its discrepancies in scale, high viewpoint, and wide angle of vision, would have been created in the artist's imagination, a *capriccio* of remembered views.

A childlike quality pervades this drawing, but apparent naiveté cannot mask the dazzling complexity of the planes deftly drawn, nor the perfection with which each element occupies its place, both in the landscape and on the page. The seeming simplicity comes partly from the rapidity with which it was drawn, partly from the profound harmony Annibale felt all of his life with the natural world around him. 66

## PROVENANCE

Paignon-Dijonval collection; Thomas Dimsdale (Lugt 2426); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence; repurchased from Lawrence's estate by Samuel Woodburn; Lord Francis Egerton, 1st earl of Ellesmere (Lugt 2710b); by descent in the earl's family (sale, London, Sotheby's, 11 July 1972, no. 73); purchased by the British Museum, inv. 1972-7-22-13

## EXHIBITIONS

London 1836b, no. 62; London 1955, no. 13; Bologna 1956, no. 247; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1961, no. 103; Tokyo and Nagoya 1996, no. 61; Oxford and London 1996–1997, 151, no. 100

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## NOTES

1. See in particular Posner 1971, 1: 171–173; Sutherland Harris in Poughkeepsie and tour 1995–1996, under no. 34.
2. Posner 1971, 2: 113.
3. Posner 1971, 2: 113.
4. Mahon in Bologna 1956, 167, no. 247, included it in the Bologna exhibition as the final drawing by Annibale and dated it to the last period of Annibale's life, that is between 1605 and 1609, a dating that has been followed by all subsequent writers.



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