

**THE PORTRAIT DRAWINGS OF ANNIBALE CARRACCI:
REPRESENTATIONS OF MASCULINITY AND HOMOSOCIALITY
IN EARLY MODERN BOLOGNA**

By

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INTRODUCTION

The Bolognese artist Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) is credited as the reformer of Italian art from the earlier style of Mannerism, encouraging a return to the classical grandeur and elegance of the High Renaissance masters synthesized with the direct observation of nature. The seventeenth-century writer, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, revered Annibale for his retrieval of Italian art from what he perceived as the “decline” of Mannerism and devotion to a naturalistic elegance, stating, “Thus, when painting was drawing to its end, other more benign influences turned toward Italy. It pleased God that in the City of Bologna, the mistress of science and studies, a most noble mind was forged and through it the declining and extinguished art was reformed. He was that Annibale Carracci... coupling two things rarely conceded to man: nature and supreme excellence.”¹ Although Annibale, along with his elder brother Agostino (1557-1602) and their elder cousin Ludovico Carracci (1555-1619), strove to depart from the style of Mannerist artists, they held a deep respect for and studied the work of Bolognese Mannerist masters such as Pellegrino Tibaldi, Bartolommeo Passerotti, and Prospero Fontana.

Thus in their artistic practice, the three Carracci supported the observation of nature in conjunction with the emulation of past and present Italian masters.² At Ludovico’s insistence, both Agostino and Annibale traveled on their *studioso corso* to Parma and Venice to study the art of Titian, Correggio, Parmigianino, and other northern Italian masters.³ The three Carracci

¹ Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci*, Trans. Catherine Enggass (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), 6.

² See Gail Feigenbaum, “When the Subject was Art: the Carracci as Copyists,” in *Il luogo ed il ruolo della città di Bologna tra Europa continentale e mediterranea*, ed. Giovanna Perini (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1992), 297-312, for a discussion of copies after other artists by the three Carracci.

³ See Daniele Benati, “Annibale Carracci’s Beginnings in Bologna: Between Nature and History,” in *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; London: Lund Humphries, 2000), 44, for a discussion of Annibale’s turn to Correggio and Venetian artists in his search for naturalism.

admired the naturalistic figure style and use of color by the northern Italian artists, in contrast to the elongated and idealized figures portrayed by many Mannerist artists, and sought to infuse their own work with these northern Italian characteristics. Annibale's esteem for Correggio above all other northern Italian artists is seen in a letter he wrote to Ludovico in 1580, where he states, "Even your beloved Parmigianino will have to stand aside patiently... [for] his grace falls short of Correggio's."⁴ Annibale was inspired by Correggio's directness and adherence to nature in his work; his drawing in the Louvre, *A Boy Taking Off His Shirt* (ca. 1583-85), executed during a life study session in preparation for his altarpiece *The Baptism of Christ* (1585) in San Gregorio, Bologna, shows the influence of Correggio in the soft modeling and undulating contours of the young boy (Fig. 1).⁵ The three Carracci strove to achieve an artistic reformation by instilling their art with a similar sense of directness through the observation of reality, the natural world, and true human form.

Many art historians state that the Carracci reform reached its pinnacle in 1595 when Annibale ventured to Rome and achieved the synthesis of nature and supreme excellence to which Bellori refers.⁶ This artistic reform, however, was not achieved by Annibale alone, but through the joint efforts, devotion to nature, and collaboration central to the practice of Annibale, Agostino, and Ludovico. Count Carlo Cesare Malvasia, who included the three Carracci in his treatise on Bolognese artists entitled, *Felsina pittrice, vite de' pittori bolognesi*, first published in Bologna in 1678, offers insight into the collaborative working methods of the three artists:

"Ludovico sketched lots of things for them... and Annibale was the one who labored more than

⁴ Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, Comm. and Trans. Anne Summerscale (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 96.

⁵ Daniele Benati, *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; London: Lund Humphries, 2000), 66-67, cat. no. 8.

⁶ See Kate Ganz, "Annibale's Rome: Art and Life in the Eternal City," in *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; London: Lund Humphries, 2000), 200-207, for a discussion of Annibale's success and career in Rome.

anyone else on it, letting Agostino... attend to those deities... At any rate, all three of them would help one another in a reciprocal way.”⁷ This statement, taken from Malvasia’s description of the frescoes commissioned by Count Filippo Fava in ca. 1582 for the Palazzo Fava, Bologna, evidences the importance of community and collaboration to the three Carracci.⁸ The synergistic working relationship and unified style of the Carracci, seen in their work at the Palazzo Fava, were fundamental to the philosophy and practice of their art academy, founded in ca. 1582.⁹ Together the three Carracci encouraged a communal sense of brotherhood through their academy and pedagogical philosophy emphasizing a unified and devoted study of nature.

Drawing was a pivotal component of artistic education in the Carracci Academy. Numerous sheets of drawings showing various figure exercises attest to the devotion of the three Carracci and their students to nature and the diligent study of the human body. As in the above example of Annibale’s study in the Louvre, many of these drawings were created as a means to an end, as preparatory studies for later compositions or paintings. The production of drawings as a preparatory procedure relating to a painting, or the creation of a presentation drawing to be shown to a patron, was a common practice by many artists in early modern Italy. In contrast to these figure studies and preparatory works, however, are Annibale’s portrait drawings of men, adolescent male youths, and boys that often do not correspond to a known painting. Malvasia explicitly states that the Carracci created drawings after both male and female models, but the majority of Annibale’s portrait drawings, like most of his studies of the nude model, are of males. In consideration of the patriarchal ideologies of early modern Italy, as well as studio practices, it is not surprising that Annibale primarily depicts males in his portraits. These

⁷ Malvasia, *Malvasia’s Life of the Carracci*, 103. Emphasis added.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 102-110.

⁹ Charles Dempsey, “The Carracci Academy,” in *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, vol. 5-6 (Leiden: Stichting Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 1989), 33.

drawings are arresting in their psychological gravity and ability to convey the emotional presence of the sitter, but are often discussed in art historical scholarship as nothing more than studies in the portrayal of human physiognomy. Their high level of finish, however, and the fact that they do not relate to paintings necessitates a reconsideration of their function and meaning.

Although these portrait drawings certainly highlight the importance of drawing and life study to the Carracci and their academic practice, the intricate detail of each portrait and Annibale's emphasis on males signifies their greater meaning as examples of the predominance of male homosocial relationships in the early modern period. The collaboration and unified study of nature fundamental to the philosophy of the Carracci Academy evokes a sense of communal brotherhood and atmosphere of male camaraderie. In this context, Annibale's portrait drawings can be viewed as visual records of male homosocial relationships, which were supported by the practice of the Carracci Academy and by early modern gender ideologies. Before assessing these facts, however, it is instructive to consider Annibale's artistic education, centered in nature, which led to his creation of these portrait drawings.

The study of nature was at the crux of the Carracci reform and central not only to the foundation and pedagogy of their art academy, but also their artistic education. Annibale's artistic training has occupied the minds of many art historians. Malvasia claims that Ludovico was Annibale's earliest teacher and that he supervised the younger artist's painting of the *Crucifixion* for the Bolognese church of San Nicolò di San Felice (1583, now in Santa Maria della Carità), even retouching it after Annibale's completion.¹⁰ Donald Posner questions Malvasia's statement and asserts that similarities between Annibale's early painting style and

¹⁰ See Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 92, for a discussion of the commission of the *Crucifixion*. See p. 87 for Malvasia's statement that Annibale, who was "...by nature inclined to be almost too lively and high spirited, and so had more need of moderation and discipline than of that daring and speed which were all one would ever acquire under Prospero..." was educated by Ludovico.

that of Passerotti suggest that the younger Carracci spent some time in Passerotti's studio.¹¹ In her recent book, Clare Robertson critically reconsiders Malvasia's analysis of Annibale's early training and Ludovico's role in his cousin's education.¹² She recounts Bellori's tale of Annibale's innate skill as a draughtsman and his ability to identify the thieves who robbed his father by drawing their portraits from memory.¹³ Bellori, like Malvasia, also claims that Annibale was educated by his elder cousin, and further states that Ludovico immediately recognized Annibale's great talent and that his younger cousin had a better teacher in nature.¹⁴

Bellori's reference to nature as Annibale's teacher not only stresses the importance of the direct observation of nature to the practice of the three Carracci, but also signifies the strong interest in science and the study of nature in the city of Bologna. The University of Bologna, founded in the second half of the twelfth century, played a large role in shaping this cultural atmosphere.¹⁵ There was an intimate sense of community between the university members and citizens of Bologna, for many of the professors at the university were local citizens, primarily from prominent Bolognese families.¹⁶ One such figure was the naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, who taught at the university during the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Aldrovandi was specifically interested in the scientific observation of nature and created a science museum of his collection of approximately twenty thousand rare plants and animals, commissioning artists to

¹¹ Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: a Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, vol. 1 (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1971), 4-6.

¹² Clare Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 30.

¹³ Ibid. See Bellori, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci*, 7, for his account of the story.

¹⁴ Bellori, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci*, 7.

¹⁵ Paul F. Grendler, "The University of Bologna, the city, and the papacy," *Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 4 (1999): 475-485.

¹⁶ Ibid., 479.

¹⁷ Ibid. See also Anton W.A. Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Government Publishing Office, 1974), 113-116, for a detailed discussion of Aldrovandi's studies.

make documentary illustrations of these objects.¹⁸ In 1582, Gabriele Paleotti, the bishop and later archbishop of Bologna and a participant at the Council of Trent, published a treatise on religious art entitled the *Discorso intorno all'immagini sacre e profane*. Paleotti, who also studied and taught at the University of Bologna, knew Aldrovandi from his university days and included the scientist on the editorial review board of his *Discorso*, along with Prospero Fontana, the early teacher of Ludovico.¹⁹ In his treatise, Paleotti stated that art should serve an instructional purpose and assist the viewer in religious devotion, which is achieved through the artist's adherence to Biblical text and the imitation of the natural world.²⁰ Aldrovandi's scientific studies undoubtedly influenced Paleotti's emphasis on the study of the visible world in the *Discorso*. Due to their relationship with Fontana, the three Carracci were likely aware of Paleotti's writings, and were influenced by Aldrovandi's scientific interests through Paleotti's treatise.

A more direct relationship between Aldrovandi and the three artists is also possible, for Malvasia claims that the scientist and other university officials frequented the Carracci studio.²¹ Robertson critically considers the veracity of Malvasia's text, suggesting that Ludovico and Agostino, who also trained with Fontana, might have come into contact with Aldrovandi through their interactions with Fontana's circle.²² She questions, however, whether the scientist actually visited the Carracci studio, citing a letter written by Aldrovandi in 1595 in which the scientist states that he barely knows the three artists.²³ Agostino's engraving of Aldrovandi (1596)

¹⁸ Guiseppe Olmi and Paolo Prodi, "Art, Science, and Nature in Bologna Circa 1600," in *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci: Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 221.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 224.

²⁰ Babette Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2004), 21. See also Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, vol. 1, 110-113 and 121-133, for a thorough analysis of Paleotti, his text, and his impact on the art of post-Tridentine early modern Bologna.

²¹ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 271-272.

²² Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 28.

²³ *Ibid.*

surrounded by exotic animals and wildlife, however, attests to his knowledge of the scientist and his work.²⁴ This portrait engraving, made for Aldrovandi's *Ornithologiae hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII*, was published in Bologna in 1599.²⁵ Agostino's sensitive rendition of Aldrovandi in this portrait suggests that the artist knew the scientist on a more personal level.²⁶ Although Aldrovandi's relationship with the other two Carracci is uncertain, he was undoubtedly an influential figure in the scholastic and religious realms of early modern Bolognese society.

Aldrovandi's scientific studies helped shape a culture that was receptive to the type of observation of nature that was central to the theory and practice of the Carracci Academy. It is this culture in which the present thesis, focusing on six portrait drawings by Annibale Carracci from the Uffizi, Staatliche Museen in Berlin, Louvre, Windsor Castle, collection of Kate Ganz, and Chatsworth, will be discussed. It is not the purpose of this thesis to assign new attributions or dates to Annibale's *oeuvre*. There are disagreements in drawing scholarship regarding authorship; the drawings presented in this thesis are some of the least controversial works. These drawings were selected for their pertinence to the thesis: they all depict young boys or adolescent males; they are psychologically gripping; and they exemplify the high finish and technological skill that characterizes Annibale's life studies. In addition, all six drawings date to Annibale's Bolognese period, are in good condition, and are in relatively accessible collections.

The six portrait drawings analyzed in this thesis are exercises in the portrayal of masculine physiognomy with great emotion and naturalism; however, in consideration of their high quality and level of finish, the rising status of drawings as collectible works of art, and the

²⁴ Ibid., 28-29. See fig. 14, p. 29.

²⁵ Babette Bohn, *Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 39, comm. pt. 1 (New York: Abaris Books, 1995-1996), 356, cat. no. .215.

²⁶ Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family, A Catalogue Raisonné* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1979), 334, catalogue no. 207.

patriarchal climate of early modern Italy, these drawings achieve greater significance than mere life studies as visual representations of their cultural ideology. The precise and delicate attention to detail and emotional power exhibited in these six portrait drawings of young boys and adolescent male youths visualizes the cultural fascination with male adolescence and homosocial, emotive ties between men, prevalent in early modern Italy. Through their emphasis on males, these portrait drawings can be interpreted not only as studies in naturalism and human physiognomy, but also as records of the dominance of homosocial relationships in the early modern period and, in particular, in the Carracci Academy.

Chapter one of this thesis will consider the foundation of the Carracci Academy as a type of communal brotherhood, and their pedagogy and practice centered on the observation of nature. This chapter will also analyze earlier art academies, paying particular attention to the Florentine Accademia del Disegno. Through comparison with the Florentine Accademia, the progressive pedagogy of the Carracci Academy will be presented. Chapter two will consider Annibale's activity as a portrait artist, present the six portrait drawings focused on in this thesis, compare these drawings to examples by Annibale's contemporaries, and consider the function of Annibale's portrait drawings. This chapter will also discuss the rising status of drawings as works of art in their own right and the establishment of drawings collections with holdings of works by the Carracci. The third and final chapter of this thesis will situate Annibale's six portrait drawings in the greater context and male homosocial culture of early modern Italy. This chapter will present the Carracci Academy as similar to religious confraternities in the unity and brotherhood that was central to their academic practice. Annibale's portrait drawings will be assessed as a product of these homosocial cultural currents and as exemplary of the Carracci Academy's emphasis on brotherhood.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE ACCADEMIA DEGLI INCAMMINATI:

NATURE, UNITY, AND BROTHERHOOD IN THE CARRACCI ACADEMY

The Carracci Academy was founded in a cultural climate characterized in the previous discussion by an atmosphere of scientific discovery, observation of nature, and artistic reform. Before analyzing the revolutionary philosophy and practice of the Carracci Academy in comparison to previous and contemporary Italian art academies, it is instructive to discuss the evolution of the academy in early modern Italy. The word academy was first used in antiquity for the location near the Acropolis where Plato and his friends congregated to discuss philosophy.²⁷ During the Renaissance rebirth of antiquity, the term was revived and appropriated by Neo-Platonic philosophers such as Marsilio Ficino and members of the Medici court, to describe male sodalities of humanists coming together to discuss philosophy and other scholarship.²⁸ Italian academies of the Renaissance can be characterized as informal gatherings in which various topics were addressed and were not controlled by laws or a governing body.²⁹

By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the unstructured, free nature of academies began to change. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner connects this shift to changes in the cultural atmosphere and artistic styles of the period. He posits that the change in the nature of the academies was due to the more laborious style of Mannerist artists in comparison to the unified elegance and harmony of High Renaissance artists and Counter Reformation mandates that

²⁷ Thomas B. Hess, "Some Academic Questions," in *The Academy: five centuries of grandeur and misery, from the Carracci to Mao Tse-tung*, ed. Thomas B. Hess and John Ashbery (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 9.

²⁸ Ibid. See also Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 1-6.

²⁹ Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 7.

established rules regulating the depiction of religious works of art.³⁰ In contrast to the relaxed nature of Renaissance academies, the academies of the Mannerist period were structured by strict rules and regulations.³¹ Despite these transformations, academies flourished during the middle of the sixteenth century and developed in many fields, including philology, divinity, archaeology, law, medicine, and natural history.³²

The first true art academy, the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, was founded in the midst of the Mannerist period. The initial idea of a Florentine artists' academy began in 1560 when the sculptor and Servite monk, Fra Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, and the Prior of the Servite church of SS. Annunziata, Father Zaccaria Faldossi, proposed to the artist Giorgio Vasari to create in the Sala del Capitolo of the convent of SS. Annunziata a place for artists to be buried and for masses to be said for those that were deceased.³³ This conversation inspired the three men to revive the diminishing sodality of artists known as the Compagnia di S. Luca. In 1562, their efforts were realized when the Compagnia met in the Sala del Capitolo to celebrate mass and bury the body of Pontormo in the new sepulcher. In addition to assisting in the renewal of the Compagnia, Vasari along with Duke Cosimo de' Medici, proposed to incorporate the Compagnia di S. Luca into the new, comprehensive Compagnia del Disegno.³⁴ This action would bring artists under the control and sponsorship of the Medici. On January 31, 1563 the Accademia e Compagnia del Disegno was founded with the purpose of instructing beginning and advanced students of the arts in the practice of *disegno*, design.³⁵

³⁰ Ibid. See also p. 12.

³¹ Ibid., 12-13.

³² Ibid., 10.

³³ Charles Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna During the Later Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 52 (1980): 552.

³⁴ Ibid., 553.

³⁵ Ibid.

Although the founders of the Accademia stressed the study of design as its primary concern, Pevsner states that artistic instruction was secondary to Vasari's personal goals of raising the status of the artist and separation from membership in the guild system.³⁶ Karen-edis Barzman agrees that the founders of the academy championed the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture as more than the creations of craftsmen and members of guilds, but as erudite activities that were only achieved through the study and synthesis of theory and practice.³⁷ Barzman, however, disagrees that this emphasis on theory and practice was secondary to Vasari's goals of raising the status of artists and reforming the guild system.³⁸ The academy certainly wanted to promote the work of artists as intellectual and noble activities, but not necessarily as separate and distinguishable from the guild system. In actuality, Florentine artists received greater public acclaim upon their incorporation as an official guild in 1584, for they now had the ability to hold offices, which signified their noble status to the Florentine public.³⁹

The intellectual character of art was further evident in the intensive pedagogy implemented by the Florentine Academy. Although the study of *disegno* was at the heart of the academy's educational philosophy, mathematics was central to their pedagogy and skill in this subject was pivotal in advancing to the study of nature and mastery of artistic theory and practice.⁴⁰ Leon Battista Alberti stressed the importance of mathematics as the root of nature and source of artistic form in book one of his treatise *Della pittura*, translated from Latin into Italian

³⁶ Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 44.

³⁷ Karen-edis Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," in *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, vol. 5-6, ed. A.W.A. Boschloo (Leiden: Stichting Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 1989), 14.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 26, endnote 3. See also Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna During the Later Sixteenth Century," 556, for his discussion of the inaccuracies of Pevsner's statement.

³⁹ Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," 26, endnote 3.

⁴⁰ Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 151.

in 1436.⁴¹ Like Alberti, the founders of the Florentine Accademia understood mathematics as the foundation of art and incorporated it into their curriculum as a requirement for all students.⁴² The subject was considered so critical that beginning in 1569, professional mathematicians, such as the Bolognese Pier Antonio Cataldi, were recruited and given a salary for their instruction.⁴³ The study of anatomy and life drawing was the next step in the Florentine Academy's curriculum, and was considered of such importance that the academy required an annual dissection to be held in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.⁴⁴ The study of anatomy was viewed as an essential component of artistic theory and practice, and by requiring an annual dissection the academy offered students the opportunity to study in detail the human body. These studies of the internal structures of the body complimented their analysis of the external in the academy practice of drawing after nude models.⁴⁵ Lectures on natural philosophy, the study of inanimate forms, such as drapery over a figure, and architectural principles were also key components of the Florentine academy's pedagogical practice.⁴⁶

The Florentine Academy served as an early model for the Carracci Academy, which was founded in ca. 1582 upon Agostino and Annibale's return from their *studioso corso*.⁴⁷ Malvasia states, "With Ludovico's consent and advice, Agostino and Annibale founded and opened an academy in his rooms like all the other academies recently established..."⁴⁸ This latter point by Malvasia is important, for the development of an "academy" was not a new concept, as seen in the above discussion of the Florentine Academy. During the later sixteenth century in Bologna

⁴¹ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, rev. ed., trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1966), 43-59.

⁴² Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," 15-19.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁴ Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno*, 163.

⁴⁵ Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," 22.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 22-25.

⁴⁷ Dempsey, "The Carracci Academy," 33.

⁴⁸ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 117.

and throughout Italy, it was common for artists to come together for the purpose of drawing and making life studies.⁴⁹ Malvasia refers to the Carracci's drawing from plaster casts and life in the academy of Bernardino Baldi, known as *L' Indifferente*, which they attended "...very diligently and most assiduously, and where early in the morning one would draw from plaster casts, and from life in the first two hours at night..."⁵⁰ Malvasia's statement proves that the academy founded by the three Carracci was not altogether revolutionary, for other academies existed in Bologna. The factors that set the Carracci Academy apart from contemporary Italian examples, however, are seen in their more progressive philosophy and pedagogy centered around the observation of nature.⁵¹

The original name of the Carracci Academy, the *Accademia degli Desiderosi*, meaning the "Academy of the Desirous Ones," is vital to discuss in an analysis of their pedagogical philosophy.⁵² This name alludes to the desire for perfection of the three Carracci and their students, leading them to virtuously study all day and night, constantly working towards their ultimate goal of artistic perfection achievable only through the study of nature.⁵³ Their centralization of nature and life study contrasts with the philosophy of the Florentine Academy that emphasized mathematics as the foundation and source for establishing a sound artistic theory and practice. The name of the Carracci Academy was later changed, probably around 1590, to the *Accademia degli Incamminati*, which translates as "those who are making it."⁵⁴ Posner asserts that this name change was probably a result of the rising fame of the academy as a

⁴⁹ Posner, *Annibale Carracci: a Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, vol. 1, 63.

⁵⁰ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 93.

⁵¹ Milton J. Lewine, "The Carracci: A Family Academy," in *The Academy: five centuries of grandeur and misery, from the Carracci to Mao Tse-tung*, ed. Thomas B. Hess and John Ashbery (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 24.

⁵² Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 201.

⁵³ See *Ibid.*, 201, for Faberio's discussion of the virtuous Carracci in his funeral oration for Agostino.

⁵⁴ Posner, *Annibale Carracci: a Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, vol. 1, 63.

center for didactic artistic education and intellectual criticism.⁵⁵ The change in the name of the Carracci Academy, however, can also be seen as symbolic of the successes of the instructors and students in the academy. The academy was initially founded with the purpose of revitalizing art through the study of nature. The members of the academy were unified in this goal, and strove fervently together to achieve their reformation. They changed the name of their academy around eight years after its inception. As Posner states, by this time the Carracci had proven their success through their influential pedagogy and philosophy that encouraged an artistic reformation through the work of their many students. The changes in the name of the Carracci Academy, however, not only indicate their rising fame, but also are symbolic of the widespread geographical proliferation of their artistic reform. The members of the Carracci Academy were not only successful and well known in Bologna, but also in Rome through the work of Annibale and his students in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By changing their name, the academicians announced the continuous nature of their goals for reform, which would be realized through the numerous achievements of the academy members throughout Italy.

The unconventional workshop practice and teaching philosophy implemented in the Carracci Academy probably played a role in their newfound fame and success. In contrast to traditional Italian workshops and the strictly codified pedagogy of the Florentine Academy, the three Carracci allowed their students to be taught by many artists, permitted them to accept outside commissions and artistic training, and allowed them the freedom to choose which masters of the classical past to study and imitate.⁵⁶ By allowing their students to choose which artists they studied, the Carracci emphasized the importance of an individual style firmly

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Gail Feigenbaum, "Practice in the Carracci Academy," in *The Artist's Workshop, Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 38, ed. Peter M. Lukehart (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993), 63-64.

grounded in the observation of nature.⁵⁷ Among the practices of the Carracci Academy was the placement of a model(s) in poses mirroring those used by Renaissance masters, as seen in the Uffizi drawing of a seated figure posed after Michelangelo's Jonah in the Sistine ceiling, attributed to the Carracci school by Gail Feigenbaum.⁵⁸ This practice stressed the importance of studying past masters through a live model, reinforcing the Carracci Academy's emphasis on nature as the foundation of artistic skill. The progressive academic philosophy of the Carracci Academy is made further evident in an annotation, made by one of the Carracci in their copy of Vasari's *Lives*, which criticizes the pedantic study of anatomy by some artists, who "...excavate the insides like doctors do..."⁵⁹ This comment stresses the Carracci philosophy that the study of nature was the foundation of all artistic activity, but this, however, does not require the tenuous, scientific study of anatomy, a course required in the Florentine Accademia.

In their academic practice, the three Carracci combined a dedication to teaching and the critical examination of art with the usual activities of an Italian workshop. Charles Dempsey states that this combination of theory, criticism, and academic practice in a workshop setting is the most important aspect in distinguishing between the Carracci Academy and contemporary academies in Florence, Rome, and throughout Italy.⁶⁰ Drawing competitions were frequently held in the Carracci Academy, in which Ludovico invited outside artists to critique and judge drawings submitted by academy students. Through this process, Ludovico encouraged artistic improvement by providing constructive comments to his students through a type of contest in which the works of students were criticized without their authorship being disclosed to the entire

⁵⁷ Diane de Grazia, "Drawings as Means to an End: Preparatory Methods in the Carracci School," in *The Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*, eds. Andrew Ladis, Carolyn Wood, and William U. Eiland (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 166.

⁵⁸ Feigenbaum, "Practice in the Carracci Academy," 67.

⁵⁹ Charles Dempsey, "The Carracci *Postille* to Vasari's *Lives*," *The Art Bulletin* 68, no. 1 (Mar., 1986): 76. Translation of the Italian provided by Dempsey.

⁶⁰ Dempsey, "The Carracci Academy," 33.

group. In 1613, he wrote to Cardinal Federico Borromeo: “Nothing is quicker to dampen the spirits and to disgust the academicians than censure...they resent correction less from those who...they know will judge them independently.”⁶¹

Although such teaching practices were certainly inventive, the collaborative practices and dedication to drawing from life of the three Carracci were also pivotal in distinguishing their artistic philosophy from that of previous and contemporary academies. The three Carracci collaborated not only on large commissions such as the Palazzo Fava and Magnani frescoes, but also on other works. Agostino’s drawing of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* in the British Museum, once attributed to Ludovico, was executed in preparation for a series of paintings for the overdoors of the Palazzo Sampieri, commissioned from the three Carracci.⁶² Although Agostino seems to have executed the drawing, Annibale created the painting. This situation highlights an intriguing point of collaboration between the two brothers. It is obvious that Annibale based his painting on Agostino’s drawing, for the seated figure of Christ at the well in the painting corresponds to the drawing. The rest of the work, however, does not resemble the drawing and shows Annibale’s development of his own artistic creation. This example of collaboration shows how the three Carracci often incorporated and adapted each other’s work to assist with the development of their own, individual ideas.

These examples of the Carracci Academy’s philosophy and teaching practices, however, were firmly founded on and encouraged by their direct observation of nature and dedication to drawing from life. Malvasia discusses the Carracci Academy’s practice of drawing from life,

⁶¹ Ibid., 36-37. Translation of the Italian provided by Dempsey.

⁶² Clare Robertson, “The Carracci as Draughtsmen,” in *Drawings by the Carracci from the British Collections*, Clare Robertson and Catherine Whistler (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum [and] Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1996), 28. See also page 80, cat. no. 36 in this same text. See Posner, *Annibale Carracci, A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, vol. 2, 33, no. 77, for the attribution of the drawing to Ludovico. See Babette Bohn, “Problems in Carracci Connoisseurship: Drawings by Agostino Carracci,” *Drawing* xiii (1992): 127, and Feigenbaum, “Practice in the Carracci Academy,” 71, for attributions of the drawing to Agostino.

sometimes even posing as models for one another.⁶³ Works by Annibale, such as his red chalk drawing in the Louvre, *A Boy Taking Off His Shirt*, and *A Boy Taking Off His Sock* (ca. 1584) in the British Museum, depict figures in active positions, suggesting that they were created during life-drawing sessions (Fig. 2).⁶⁴ These works attest to the Carracci Academy's direct observation of nature and Annibale's focus on accurately reproducing a specific action in his drawings, and not merely an idealized pose.⁶⁵

The importance of nature as the source for all artistic creation underscored the foundation of the Carracci Academy's practice. Malvasia states that the Carracci drew constantly, "Whether they were eating, drinking, resting, or going about, every operation, every motion, every act, every gesture would compel them to take charcoal-holder in hand to record the experience..."⁶⁶ This devotion was carried into their practice. According to Malvasia, the students in the Carracci Academy studied male and female bodies by day and night, constantly making life studies.⁶⁷ Two drawings, one in Munich and the other in Düsseldorf, show students, presumably members of the Carracci Academy, sitting together and drawing after models (Fig. 3).⁶⁸ The intimate nature of the drawing sessions in the academy is also seen in a figure study at the Uffizi attributed to Annibale of a reclining nude man resting on his left forearm (Fig. 4).⁶⁹ The same man in this drawing is positioned at a slightly different angle, exposing more of his chest and

⁶³ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 120.

⁶⁴ Scholars agree that drawing from life was a fundamental practice in the Carracci Academy, as seen in their numerous figure studies. See Carl Goldstein, *Visual Fact over Verbal Fiction: A Study of the Carracci and the Criticism, Theory, and Practice of Art in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1988), for an interesting challenge to this idea, suggesting that the Carracci constructed some of their presumed studies not from life, but from memory and their imagination. See also the reviews cited in the bibliography by De Grazia, Dempsey, and Perini rejecting Goldstein's analysis.

⁶⁵ Benati, "Annibale Carracci's Beginnings in Bologna: Between Nature and History," 42.

⁶⁶ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 266.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁶⁸ See Lewine, "The Carracci: A Family Academy," 22, for the Munich drawing. See Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 79, fig. 7, for the Düsseldorf drawing.

⁶⁹ Feigenbaum, "Practice in the Carracci Academy," 64-65. Feigenbaum questions the traditional attribution of this drawing to Ludovico, stating that it is more likely a product of the Carracci Academy.

torso, in the lower right corner of Ludovico's *Flagellation of Christ* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (Fig. 5). Feigenbaum asserts that the Uffizi drawing was not intended as a preparatory study for Ludovico's painting, but was executed during a life drawing session, in which many students in the Carracci Academy gathered together to study the same figure in the same room. Whichever artist eventually created the preparatory drawing for the figure in Ludovico's painting was sitting just to the left of the artist who made the Uffizi drawing.⁷⁰ Such images evidence the study of life in the Carracci Academy and the close working relationships and collaboration of the students and instructors, who often convened for the purpose of creating life drawings and frequently exchanged these works for use in preparing a composition.

The joint efforts of the *incamminati*, the members of the Carracci Academy, to reform Italian art through their observation of nature encouraged the development of a sense of communal brotherhood in the academy. Malvasia discusses the fraternal, jovial spirit of camaraderie within the academy and states that Guido Reni and Francesco Albani, both students in the Carracci Academy, often said that it was impossible not to desire to learn there, for studying was fun and jokes were constantly made between students and instructors.⁷¹ Malvasia writes that Annibale, in particular, was fond of such jokes and once painted a fake oil lamp on the wall in place of a real one.⁷² One day, Annibale asked a few of his pupils to run and get the lamp. The students eagerly ran to retrieve the lamp and were shocked and amused by their master's skill at *trompe l'oeil* when they discovered that the lamp was only a painting.⁷³

Malvasia gives numerous similar accounts throughout his biography of the three Carracci of the amicable atmosphere in their art academy, frequently mentioning Annibale's role as a

⁷⁰ Ibid., 65.

⁷¹ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 274.

⁷² Ibid., 277.

⁷³ Ibid.

light-hearted, humble, and kind instructor. In many instances, however, he also mentions Annibale's dislike and jealousy of Reni.⁷⁴ Malvasia elaborates on this conflict further in his biography of Guido Reni's artistic career, stating "Only Annibale, who at first was partial to him and devoted and well-disposed, became cool, perhaps because of the antipathy of their different natures and interests, or perhaps because so much diligence and judgment in the young man aroused in him some spark of fear or jealousy that very likely was increased by various successes."⁷⁵ In this passage and in many other places throughout Reni's biography, Malvasia casts Annibale in a negative light as a spiteful artist who was jealous of the skill and successes of his talented pupil. Malvasia's inconsistent descriptions of Annibale's character show his writing style that praises the particular person he is focusing on at that moment, but then disagrees with later at a different point in the narrative. Malvasia's writings show the complexities of using a primary source as evidence of an artist's personality and career. It is important to critically assess the different accounts of Annibale's character, and to consider Malvasia's writing style and personal biases that might have shaped his opinions. Despite these discrepancies, the kindness of the three Carracci, including Annibale, is stressed in many examples throughout Malvasia's writings and their lasting legacy is seen through the successes of their students.

In addition to their general kindness, the three Carracci were very generous to their students and constantly helped them in their sketches and studies. Malvasia states that Ludovico gave two drawings of heads to one of his pupils, Count Camillo Bolognetti.⁷⁶ Skilled students were even trusted with assisting their masters in their projects and commissions. Due to Annibale's deteriorating health in his later years, his students, including Francesco Albani and

⁷⁴ Ibid., 251.

⁷⁵ Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *The Life of Guido Reni*, trans. Catherine Enggass and Robert Enggass (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), 40-41.

⁷⁶ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 255.

Sisto Badalocchio, were often entrusted with completing some of their master's work. One instance is seen in Annibale's commission from Juan Henríquez de Herrera to paint the frescoes for his chapel in the Spanish national church of San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli in the Piazza Navona, Rome. Annibale accepted the commission, but when he became too weak to work, he placed Albani and Badalocchio in charge.⁷⁷ When the chapel was finished, Herrera was angry that it was not painted entirely by Annibale, and claimed that the work was not worth the original fee agreed upon. Eventually, however, Herrera was persuaded to award the entire amount to Annibale. Malvasia states that a friendly battle was sparked between master and student when Annibale tried to give Albani the money for his work and the student would not accept.⁷⁸

Annibale's efforts to reward Albani for his assistance demonstrate his humility and desire to treat Albani not as a pupil or servant, but as a brother and companion. Thus the three Carracci reformed Italian painting through their unified devotion to nature seen in the life studies that were fundamental to their academy practice, their collaboration on projects, and the camaraderie in their academy that instilled in their students the desire to learn, joining them together as brothers. The unification and brotherhood at the core of their practice sets the Carracci Academy apart from other Italian art academies. Through their influential pedagogical practice, the three Carracci founded a school of painters and spurred a revolution in artistic style and academic practice that would impact generations to come.

Ludovico and Annibale's later efforts to combine the Carracci Academy with the Accademia di San Luca in Rome show their attempt to solidify the legacy of their academy.⁷⁹ Such a union would have guaranteed the posterity of their school, assuring the students

⁷⁷ Ibid., 223-224. See also Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 188.

⁷⁸ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 225.

⁷⁹ Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna During the Later Sixteenth Century," 559.

patronage of the Farnese in Emilia and in Rome and job security through ties with the Roman Accademia.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, Ludovico and Annibale's plans were never realized. The Carracci Academy never became an officially recognized institution like the academies of Florence and Rome.⁸¹ After the deaths of Agostino in 1602, Annibale in 1609, and Ludovico in 1619, the Carracci Academy ceased to exist. Despite their failure to join with the Roman Accademia di San Luca, the Carracci Academy achieved greater success than any other Italian academy in the reform of painting that was ignited and dispersed throughout Italy through their influential philosophy and academic practice, firmly grounded in their devotion to nature.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO:
DRAWINGS AS WORKS OF ART:
THE CREATION AND FUNCTION OF ANNIBALE'S PORTRAIT DRAWINGS

In order to understand more accurately the creation and function of the six portrait drawings by Annibale under discussion in this thesis, it is instructive to characterize his activity as a portrait artist. During the course of his career, Annibale worked in many artistic categories, executing history paintings of both religious and classical subjects, landscapes, *genre* paintings, and portraits. Annibale did not, however, devote a large part of his career to portrait painting, and was more widely revered by his contemporaries for his revival of classical antiquity in his fresco cycle in the Palazzo Farnese, Rome.

Early historians characterize Annibale's portraits as linked to his *genre* paintings, since both were based on studies of everyday life.⁸² Annibale's oil painting entitled *Head of a Man in Profile* (c. 1588-95) in the British Royal Collection is executed with quick, *bravura* brushstrokes suggesting the artist's study of the model from life. Malvasia claims that Annibale frequently created such likenesses, painting the portraits of the barber and cobbler when they asked him to.⁸³ Annibale's choice of Bolognese citizens as the sources for his portrait paintings is also seen in his painting at the Uffizi, *Man with a Monkey* (ca. 1590-91). The preparatory drawing for this work, most likely executed from life, shows a male youth in profile with an ape resting on his shoulders.⁸⁴ In the final painting, however, Annibale depicts the man facing out towards the

⁸² Posner, *Annibale Carracci: a Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, vol. 1, 20.

⁸³ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 261.

⁸⁴ British Museum inv. no. F.f-2-115, red chalk on cream paper. See also Clare Robertson and Catherine Whistler, *Drawings by the Carracci from British Collections* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum [and] Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1996), 112, cat. no. 64.

viewer. Annibale also created numerous self-portraits, such as his painting in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, in which he portrays himself at his easel.

In contrast to his representations of Bolognese citizens, members of the Carracci Academy, and self-portraits, Annibale also created traditional portraits that employ compositions planned through preparatory drawings. One example is Annibale's *Portrait of the Lutenist Mascheroni* (ca. 1593-94) in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, executed prior to the artist's move to Rome (Fig. 6). In preparation for this painting, Annibale created two portrait studies. The first of these is a pen and ink drawing at Windsor Castle in which Annibale sketched out the form of his sitter with quick parallel strokes and cross-hatching to achieve volume (Fig. 7).⁸⁵ Even in this early study, Annibale paid great attention to the physiognomy and emotions of his sitter, taking great care to accurately depict the sober look in the sitter's eyes. The highly finished red and white chalk drawing at the Albertina, Vienna was most likely a final preparatory study for the painting (Fig. 8).⁸⁶ This drawing shows a more sensitive attention to the modeling and volume of the sitter's face, achieved through heightening with white chalk. That Annibale executes many of his portrait drawings with a similar level of detail, however, is intriguing, because they do not always relate to known paintings.⁸⁷

The six portrait drawings serving as the focus of this thesis are similar to Annibale's drawings of Mascheroni in their portrayals of bust-length males, with more concentration given to facial details than to clothing. The Uffizi *Profile Portrait of a Boy* (1584-85; Fig. 16), Louvre *Head of a Boy* (ca. 1585-90; Fig. 18), and Chatsworth *Portrait of a Youth, Bust-Length, Wearing*

⁸⁵ Benati, et al, *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci*, 103, cat. no. 24 by Catherine Loisel Legrand.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 104, cat. no. 25 by Catherine Loisel Legrand.

⁸⁷ In addition to his portrait drawings, Annibale created many figure studies that were not preparatory for a painting. One example is *A Nude Man, Standing, Seen from Behind* in the Ashmolean, inv. no. WA1853.1.53. These works were executed as exercises, solely for the purpose of study. See Robertson and Whistler, *Drawings by the Carracci from British Collections*, 108, cat. no. 60.

a Round Cap (ca. 1590; Fig. 21) depict younger boys, while the Berlin drawing entitled *Baldassare Aloisi, called "Galanino"* (1598-90; Fig. 17), Windsor *Portrait of a Boy* (ca. 1590; Fig. 19), and the *Head of a Boy* (ca. 1587-88; Fig. 20) in the collection of Kate Ganz portray older, adolescent male youths.⁸⁸ All six of these drawings are executed in red or black chalk on paper and are relatively large, excluding the much smaller Uffizi portrait. These drawings are examples of Annibale's early drawing style, characterized by his use of red or black chalk as his primary medium, parallel lines to convey shadow, and skillful use of cross hatching to achieve volume and density in the faces of his models. Annibale often used white chalk or white heightening, similar to that in the Vienna drawing of Mascheroni, to achieve a greater sense of realism in his description of volume and the play of light across the sitter's face.

Another characteristic of Annibale's drawing style is his skillful application of red chalk to create a sense of *sfumato* in the modeling of his forms similar to that of Correggio.⁸⁹ As in his portrait drawings at the Uffizi, in Berlin, and in Chatsworth, he also chose to use red chalk in many of his early figure studies, such as his *Boy Pulling on a Sock* in the British Museum. Robertson posits that Annibale's use of black chalk during his early Bolognese period, as in the Louvre, Windsor, and Ganz portraits, was probably encouraged by his study of Venetian art, in particular the drawings of Jacopo Bassano.⁹⁰ There are other reasons, however, aside from the influence of past masters, that Annibale might have chosen red and black chalk as his primary media for his figure and portrait studies. In contrast to ink, chalk can be erased, allowing an artist

⁸⁸ The inventory numbers for these drawings are: Uffizi inv. no. 1668 E, Louvre inv. no. 7376, Chatsworth inv. no. 450, Berlin inv. no. KdZ 5873, Windsor inv. no. 2254, and the Collection of Kate Ganz in Los Angeles.

⁸⁹ Clare Robertson, "Annibale Carracci and Invenzione: Medium and Function in the Early Drawings," *Master Drawings* 35, no. 1 (1997): 7. See also Diane de Grazia, *Correggio and His Legacy: Sixteenth-Century Emilian Drawings* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1984), cat. no. 126, for her discussion of the relationship between Annibale and Correggio's drawing style. See also Robertson and Whistler, *Drawings by the Carracci from British Collections*, 105, cat. no. 57.

⁹⁰ Robertson, "Annibale Carracci and Invenzione: Medium and Function in the Early Drawings," 7.

to re-work areas of a composition until the desired contour line or stylistic affect is achieved.⁹¹ Chalk is also by nature a malleable medium, which can be sharpened or left thick, providing better control over the thickness of line, tonality, and subtle gradations in shadow.⁹² The potential in chalk for a range of stylistic effects made it a desirable medium to artists, and appealing to Annibale in his study and representation of nature.⁹³

The use of chalk plays a large role in the vivacity and emotional impact of Annibale's portrait drawings. In all six of these portrait drawings, Annibale executes the head of each sitter in various ways, taking advantage of the malleable nature of the chalk to accentuate specific facial features, achieve certain stylistic affects, and develop subtle variations of line. The drawings in the Uffizi, Berlin, Ganz, and Chatsworth collections show a thin use of line that is built up in layers to achieve delicate ranges of tone and volume in the facial features of the young boys. This is particularly evident in the Uffizi drawing in the soft, velvet texture on the cheek of the boy, developed through faint cross-hatchings and compact smudges of chalk.⁹⁴ In the Ganz drawing, similar shadows are created on the face of the youth. The Berlin drawing, however, shows a more striking application of line. The parallel lines and cross-hatching that give volume to the young boy's cheek and hair can be clearly seen. In contrast, in the Chatsworth portrait Annibale executes the round face of the young boy with a coarse contour line and employs fine cross-hatching to develop volume. He also applies white chalk to indicate highlights and the volume of the forehead, nose, and right cheek of the sitter.⁹⁵ The Windsor and Louvre drawings,

⁹¹ Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing*, 71.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ See Babette Bohn, "The Chalk Drawings of Ludovico Carracci," *Master Drawings* 22, no. 4 (Winter, 1984): 405-488, for a discussion of Ludovico's similar use and interest in the medium of chalk in his early drawings.

⁹⁴ Daniele Benati and Eugenio Riccòmini, eds. *Annibale Carracci* (Milan: Electa, 2006), 106, cat. no. II.7 by Daniele Benati. I am thankful to Dr. Babette Bohn for assisting in the translation of the catalogue entries written in Italian.

⁹⁵ Robertson and Whistler, *Drawings by the Carracci from British Collections*, 106, cat. no. 58.

executed in black chalk on blue and red paper respectively, show Annibale's ability to convey the physiognomy of a sitter using a thicker application of line, without sacrificing attention to detail. In both portraits, the strokes in the hair are much more thickly applied than in the four previously discussed drawings. In the Windsor and Louvre drawings, however, Annibale constructs the shadow on the side of the face through subtle parallel lines and cross-hatchings, similar to the style used in the other four portrait drawings.

In the Uffizi, Windsor, Ganz, and Chatsworth drawings, Annibale executes the outline of the portraits with a more fluid, single line. The Berlin and Louvre drawings, however, show a subtler, somewhat less energetic line that dissolves into parallel lines and cross-hatching, which Annibale uses to develop volume and shadow in the face of the sitter. Annibale also pays close attention to the background of the sitters and how their forms emerge from the pictorial space. The thicker, coarse contour lines of the Uffizi and Windsor portraits separate the face from the background, allowing the figure to emerge vibrantly from the blank space. The Berlin, Ganz, and Chatsworth drawings all have a shadowed background cast by the form of each figure. The boys in these drawings, however, are still conveyed with an intense sense of reality due to Annibale's use of white body color to illuminate protrusions of the face, allowing the figure to achieve a strong appearance of volume.

The psychological presence and heightened sense of reality in these portrait drawings is achieved through Annibale's mastery of certain technical skills that are key characteristics of Annibale's drawing style: his skill in three-dimensional modeling, ability to convey texture, and facility in depicting the play of light and shadow across his figure's face. The delicate layer of texture forming the cheek of the young boy in the Uffizi drawing is achieved through minute cross-hatching. These subtle lines allow the face of the boy to rise up out of the drawing, creating

plasticity, tactile realism, and a three-dimensional presence. The play of light across the sitter's face evidences Annibale's execution of these portrait drawings during a life study session. Although the direction of light can be traced in all six drawings, the most obvious examples are the works at Windsor and Chatsworth. The left side of the male youth's face in the Windsor drawing is cast in complete shadow due to a source of light that illuminates the entire right side and partial center of his face. The face of the young boy in the Chatsworth drawing is similarly illuminated from the sitter's right side. Annibale uses white body color to highlight the tip of the boy's nose and the lyrical play of light across his face. A dark shadow made by the boy's head is cast across the right side of the composition, giving the head more volume, and occupying the majority of the pictorial space.

Annibale's mastery of these stylistic techniques allows each of his sitters to assume an independent personality and convey a sense of emotion and presence. This is particularly evident in the Windsor, Ganz, and Chatsworth drawings, which portray the boys in frontal positions, looking directly out towards the viewer. The delicate attention to the eyes, pursed lips, and slightly tilted head of the Windsor portrait convey a sense of familiarity between the artist and sitter, in contrast to the more rigid, upright stance of the sitters in the Ganz and Chatsworth drawings. The sitters in the Uffizi, Berlin, and Louvre drawings are all presented with an averted gaze. This method of presentation, however, does not detract from their emotional impact. Despite the rather unnatural, fixed pose of the boy in the Uffizi drawing, Annibale conveys his personality through a strong gaze and tightly pursed mouth.⁹⁶ The Berlin portrait achieves an even greater sense of realism in the subtle cracks that are made evident in the cinched lips of the sitter, and Annibale's ability to draw each individual eyelash. The young boy in the Louvre

⁹⁶ Benati, et al, *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci*, 71, cat. no. 10 by Daniele Benati.

portrait is also depicted with a heightened sense of naturalism and immediacy, conveyed through his upward, inquisitive glance, as if he has just turned to look towards someone entering the room beyond his right shoulder. The physical presence of these drawings convey a sense of familiarity between the artist and sitter, most likely an assistant or student in the Carracci Academy, that recalls the fraternal atmosphere of the academy described in chapter one.

Annibale's skillful manipulation of chalk to convey varying degrees of thickness in his line, changes in tone, and contrasts in shadow is characteristic of his early portrait studies. Such qualities also appear in other portraits executed in chalk, pen, and oil of children, adolescent youths, and adults, such as his red chalk *Portrait of a Boy* at the Louvre (1590-92), and oil study on paper entitled *Portrait of an Old Man* (ca. 1583) in a private collection in London (Fig. 9).⁹⁷ Like the six drawings discussed above, both of these works show a dedication to detail in their high level of finish, attention to male physiognomy, and effort to capture the emotions and personality of the sitter. Numerous examples exist of figure studies and portrait drawings of males that can be described in a similar fashion. Though less frequently, Annibale also created portrait studies of females, including the oil study on paper entitled *Head of an Old Woman* (ca. 1590) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.⁹⁸

An understanding of early modern gender constructs is essential to comprehend why many of Annibale's figure studies and portraits are of men. Due to the early modern relegation of females to the domestic sphere, women were not allowed the same public lifestyle or education given to men. Often, the only way for a woman to transgress these restrictions was through

⁹⁷ See the entry by Alessandro Brogi in Benati and Riccòmini, eds., *Annibale Carracci*, 224, for the Louvre drawing, inv. no. 7380. See Benati in this same publication, 98, for the London portrait in oil.

⁹⁸ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. PD.17-1992, oil on paper laid down on panel. See Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 35, and 280, pl. 74a; Robertson, "Annibale Carracci and Invenzione: Medium and Function in the Early Drawings," 23, fig. 27; *Treasures of The Fitzwilliam Museum* (London: Scala, 2005), 46, for discussions of the portrait.

joining a convent, which might allow her the opportunity to receive an education, or through the fortune of being born into a family that encouraged her education, as seen in the case of the Bolognese female artist Lavinia Fontana who was educated by her father, the artist Prospero Fontana. Gender restrictions also made it difficult for male artists to study the nude female body to the same degree and with the same attention as they could male bodies. This explains why most nude figure drawings produced in early modern Italian workshops are of males, and why most of Annibale's portrait studies represent male adolescents and men. It would have been inappropriate for a respectable woman to be present in an early modern Italian workshop surrounded by male artists. Thus, drawings such as Annibale's portrait of the old woman in the Fitzwilliam Museum were likely executed during one of Annibale's ventures throughout the city of Bologna to which Malvasia refers, when the three Carracci ventured out of doors to study the world around them, drawing lower class Bolognese citizens and local street scenes.⁹⁹

Despite these gender restrictions, Malvasia writes that the Carracci did study the female body and that they created drawings of both men and women from life in their academy.¹⁰⁰ Agostino's *Portrait of a Woman* at the Ashmolean Museum confirms Malvasia's statement (Fig. 10).¹⁰¹ Agostino's drawing and Malvasia's assertion, however, cannot be over analyzed, for as previously discussed, male models were more common than female models in the Italian Renaissance workshop, and the public display of a woman in a room full of men, such as in the Carracci Academy, violated prescribed notions of early modern gender ideologies. The Carracci and their students were constantly drawing, and numerous figure studies of young boys, adolescent male youths, and men made by academy members prove that studying males was

⁹⁹ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 120-121. Malvasia states that the Carracci would take breaks from their studies and walk through Bologna, drawing the city, landscapes, and observing the people. See the previously cited book by Goldstein for his theory that the Carracci did not draw from life.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁰¹ Robertson and Whistler, *Drawings by the Carracci from British Collections*, 89, cat. no. 45 by Clare Robertson.

more common in the early modern Italian workshop and art academy. Thus, the reality that more male portrait drawings by Annibale survive than female portrait drawings does not necessarily reflect Annibale's personal preference for one sex, but early modern gender restrictions.

The excellent quality and high level of finish of these six portrait drawings, however, and the fact that, according to Malvasia, women were available as models for study necessitates a discussion of the function of Annibale's portrait drawings. If they were not created in preparation for a painting, then what was their purpose? Most scholars have discussed these drawings as somewhat analogous to Annibale's *genre* paintings, as studio exercises in naturalism and studies of the world around him.¹⁰² Daniele Benati asserts that the modest clothing of many of the sitters in Annibale's portraits suggests that they were not studies for commissioned paintings.¹⁰³ Benati states that it is more likely these portrait studies were exercises in the perfect character head, the *testa di carattere*, to be used as a source for later works.¹⁰⁴ The creation and function of the Uffizi, Louvre, Ganz, and Chatsworth portrait drawings can possibly be characterized in this way. The sitters in the Uffizi and Ganz drawings, in particular, appear older than those in the Louvre and Chatsworth drawings and may have been students or apprentices in the Carracci Academy and studio.¹⁰⁵ The younger boys portrayed in the Louvre and Chatsworth drawings might possibly depict children living in Bologna that Annibale sketched as private exercises.¹⁰⁶ Although the identity of the figures in these four drawings is not known, Annibale's sensitive

¹⁰² Posner, *Annibale Carracci: a Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, vol. 1, 20.

¹⁰³ Benati, "Annibale Carracci's Beginnings in Bologna: Between Nature and History," 42.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Benati and Riccòmini, eds., *Annibale Carracci*, 116, cat. no. II.12 by Daniele Benati.

¹⁰⁶ Benati, et al, *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci*, 80, cat. no. 15 by Daniele Benati.

rendering of the youths, especially the young boy in the Louvre drawing, suggests a level of acquaintance between the artist and sitter.¹⁰⁷

The identity of the sitters in the Berlin and Windsor drawings, however, has undergone constant debate in art historical scholarship. In his early catalogue of the drawings in Windsor Castle, Rudolf Wittkower labeled the male youth in the Windsor drawing as an early self-portrait of Annibale, but stated that this identification was not certain.¹⁰⁸ More recent scholarship has rejected Wittkower's suggestion and approached the identity of the sitter with skepticism.¹⁰⁹ Benati states that the sitter in this portrait is around sixteen or seventeen years of age, which precludes the possibility of it being an early self-portrait by Annibale.¹¹⁰ Ann Sutherland Harris proposed an attribution to Ludovico for this drawing as a portrait of his younger cousin, but the mastery of anatomy and volume, which are signature characteristics of Annibale's graphic style, confirm his authorship.¹¹¹ For this reason, Benati states that this portrait study must be classified as one of Annibale's many personal exercises in nature and physiognomy, similar to the Uffizi, Louvre, Ganz, and Chatsworth portrait drawings discussed above.¹¹²

The sitter in the Berlin portrait, however, has been identified as Annibale's distant cousin Baldassare Aloisi, born on October 12, 1577 in Bologna, who served an apprenticeship under the three Carracci.¹¹³ Three numbers in the upper right-hand corner of the composition that have

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. See also Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, vol. 1, 32-33.

¹⁰⁸ Rudolf Wittkower, *The Drawings of the Carracci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London: The Phaidon Press Ltd., 1952), 149, plate 43, cat. no. 360.

¹⁰⁹ Bohn, *Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 39, comm. pt. 2, 168-169; Benati, et al, *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci*, cat. no. 18 by Daniele Benati; Benati and Riccòmini, eds., *Annibale Carracci*, 122, cat. no. II.15 by Daniele Benati.

¹¹⁰ Benati, et al, *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci*, 88, cat. no. 18 by Daniele Benati.

¹¹¹ Ibid. See also Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing*, 602, no. R84, who confirms Annibale's authorship. For the attribution to Ludovico see Ann Sutherland Harris, "Ludovico, Agostino, Annibale: '...l'abbiam fatta tutti noi,' " *Accademia Clementina: Atti e Memorie* 33-34 (1994): 69-84.

¹¹² Benati, et al, *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci*, 88, cat. no. 18 by Daniele Benati.

¹¹³ Ibid., 76, cat. no. 13 by Catherine Loisel Legrand.

been retouched indicate a date of around 1590. By this year, Baldassare was around twelve years old, as indicated by an inscription in the upper left-hand corner of the drawing. The striking presence and monumentality of the sitter in this portrait drawing, occupying the entire picture space, has led scholars to consider this work a commission from the parents of the young Baldassare, or a gift from Annibale to his relatives.¹¹⁴ Sutherland Harris has questioned the veracity of the inscriptions indicating Baldassare's identity, age, and the year the composition was created, arguing that the sitter in this drawing is older than twelve years of age.¹¹⁵

Benati agrees with Sutherland Harris' assertion that the boy in the Berlin drawing is older than twelve years of age, but does not entirely discount the possibility of this being a portrait of Baldassare by Annibale.¹¹⁶ Benati claims that a date later than 1589-90 is plausible for this drawing due to certain technical similarities between this work and the Vienna portrait drawing of Mascheroni, dated 1593-94.¹¹⁷ The elegant clothing of the sitter, however, leads Benati to question his identity. It is not likely that Baldassare, who probably came from a working class family, could have dressed in such fine attire. Whether the sitter is the young Baldassare or not, the high level of finish of this drawing elevates it as a work of art, most likely the product of a commission or a gift from Annibale to patrons. This same level of finish and detail is seen in all six of the portrait drawings discussed in this thesis and seems to suggest that they served a greater purpose than studies of character heads for potential works. Annibale gives primary attention to the emotional presence and physiognomic details of the sitter in each of these portrait drawings, suggesting a level of acquaintance with each sitter. Thus it is reasonable to consider

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ann Sutherland Harris, "The Drawings of Annibale Carracci 1999," *Master Drawings* 43, no. 4 (2005): 520-521.

¹¹⁶ Benati and Riccòmini, eds., *Annibale Carracci*, 262, cat. no. V.14 by Daniele Benati.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

that these six portrait drawings, while certainly studies in nature, also possibly served as gifts or presentations to potential patrons.

Annibale's portrait drawings are an anomaly in consideration of the traditional function of portrait drawings as preparatory studies for paintings.¹¹⁸ Annibale was certainly aware of this more traditional method of portraiture from the work of other Italian artists, such as Federico Barocci, Lavinia Fontana, Agostino Carracci, and Ottavio Leoni. Federico Barocci employed an extensive creative process of making drawings and color sketches in preparation for his paintings. He created numerous studies of exquisitely detailed heads in his preparatory stages, such as his color study in tempera for the head of St. Jude in his *Virgin and Child with Sts. Simon and Jude* (ca. 1567) in the Galleria Nazionale, Urbino (Fig. 11).¹¹⁹ Annibale saw Barocci's work while traveling on his *studioso corso*, and was aware of the artist's extensive preparatory methods. Barocci's studies, in contrast to Annibale's, were always constructed as a means to an end and correspond to a painting.

Annibale was presumably also aware of the Bolognese female artist Lavinia Fontana, who achieved great success with her portraits of the noblewomen of Bologna. Some of Lavinia's portrait drawings can be associated with paintings and were executed as preparatory stages in her creative process, but most do not directly relate to a known painting. The collar of the woman's clothing in her portrait drawing at the Uffizi is similar to that depicted in Fontana's painting, *Young Woman in White* (1580s), but there are some differences. (Figs. 12, 13). Although the stance of the figures is similar, there are subtle changes in the dress that make it debatable

¹¹⁸ Carmen Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 106-107.

¹¹⁹ Nicholas Turner, *Federico Barocci* (Paris: Vilo, 2000), 40-44, figs. 26 and 31.

whether this drawing was actually a preparatory study for the portrait painting.¹²⁰ In this sense, Lavinia's conception of drawings is comparable to Annibale's since they were not always conceived as a means to an end.

Due to the close working relationship between the artists in the Carracci Academy, it is also constructive to consider Ludovico and Agostino's work as portraitists. Ludovico rarely made portrait drawings, and although he created portrait paintings, there are no known preparatory drawings for these works.¹²¹ Agostino, however, produced many portrait engravings during his early years as an artist, such as his portrait of the Bolognese writer and poet Giulio Cesare Croce.¹²² He created portrait studies for his early engravings, including a portrait sketch at the Louvre made in preparation for his portrait engraving of the Cremonese painter Bernardino Campi.¹²³ Another distinction between Agostino and Annibale's portraiture is seen in the type of figures each artist depicted. Most of Agostino's portraits depict well-known, intellectual figures. The identity of the sitters in the six portrait drawings by Annibale discussed in this thesis, excluding the work in Berlin depicting Aloisi, is not precisely known.

Ottavio Leoni, known for his work as a portrait draughtsman whose drawings of erudite figures, artists, and citizens received great praise for their immediacy and truth, forms an intriguing parallel to Annibale's portrait drawings. As for Annibale, central to Ottavio's drawing practice was the study from life. Ottavio was trained under his father, the artist Ludovico Leoni,

¹²⁰ Caroline Murphy, *Lavinia Fontana: A Painter and her Patrons in Sixteenth-century Bologna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 112-114, figs. 96 and 97. Uffizi inv. no. 12197 F.

¹²¹ Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing*, 73-74. See the essay by Catherine Loisel, "A Portrait by Ludovico Carracci at Christ Church, Oxford: His early chronology reconsidered," *Apollo* 151, no. 457 (2000): 22-27, for her discussion and attribution of the portrait drawing of Giacomo Filippo Turrini (Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico, Collezione Designi Riva, inv. no. 10-276-550) and painting of Turini in Christ Church, Oxford to Ludovico. Bohn rejects Loisel's attribution of the drawing to Ludovico, and instead gives the drawing to Agostino, work cited, 515, cat. no. R2.

¹²² Babette Bohn, "Early Portrait Engravings and Drawings by Agostino Carracci," *Paragone* 539 (1995): 19.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 20.

who emphasized the necessity of creating works of art *alla macchia*, directly from life in a single, quick session.¹²⁴ This is seen in the immediate, broad lines that form the jacket of the boy in his *Portrait of a Youth* (1620) in the British Museum.¹²⁵ In contrast to Annibale, however, Ottavio received specific commissions for his portrait drawings, especially from Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who owned approximately four hundred portrait drawings by the artist.¹²⁶ Although Leoni specialized in portrait drawings, numerous portrait paintings survive, attesting to his use of drawings as a means to an end.¹²⁷ That Leoni's portrait drawings were commissioned and viewed as valuable by collectors, but also served as studies for paintings, suggests the rising status of drawings as works of art, regardless of their function.

The praise Leoni's portrait drawings received from connoisseurs and collectors signifies the evolving appreciation of drawings as works of art, which played a pivotal role in the conservation of numerous drawings by the three Carracci. With the foundation of art academies such as the Florentine Accademia del Disegno that focused on the creation of drawings as the synthesis of artistic theory and practice, as well as the rising status of the artist during the sixteenth century, drawings began to assume a more respected role in the art world. They were circulated amongst artists, traded as gifts, collected, and created as presentation pieces to convey an artist's design to a patron.¹²⁸ Vasari, the co-founder of the Florentine Academy and

¹²⁴ John T. Spike, "Ottavio Leoni's Portraits *alla macchia*," in *Baroque Portraiture in Italy: Works from North American Collections: the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, December 7, 1984-February 3, 1985, Wadsworth Atheneum, March 20-May 20, 1985* (Sarasota, Florida: The Museum, 1984), 12.

¹²⁵ British Museum inv. no. 1860-7-14-34, black, red and white chalk on light blue paper. See also Nicholas Turner, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Roman Baroque Drawings c. 1620 to c. 1700*, vol. 10-11 (London: Trustees of The British Museum by British Museum Press, 1999), 117, cat. no. 162.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 10, 114-115.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹²⁸ Claire Van Cleave, *Master Drawings of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007), 29.

biographer of artists' lives, formed his own collection of drawings by other artists, his famous *Libro dei disegni*, which he held in great esteem.

Drawings by the Carracci were also considered highly collectible and desired by numerous early modern collectors. Malvasia, like Vasari, was an avid collector of drawings, and owned three hundred drawings by the Carracci.¹²⁹ In his biography of the three Carracci, Malvasia listed numerous contemporary collections of Carracci drawings outside of Bologna, some of which have played an important role in the preservation of the portrait drawings discussed in this thesis. Malvasia's list includes Giovanni Pietro Bellori's book of Carracci drawings, the collection of Francesco Angeloni, Lelio Orsini's book of caricature drawings, Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici's collection of Carracci drawings, works in Modena, drawings owned by King Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham, and the collection of Everard Jabach, acquired by Louis XIV in 1671.¹³⁰ These collections of Carracci drawings are important to discuss in this thesis, for they evidence the growing esteem of drawings as works of art. Annibale's portrait drawings must be understood in this context. Malvasia's statement that numerous drawings, which were of little value to the three Carracci, were highly praised by collectors and "...worth their weight in gold," is evidenced by these collections that reflect the admiration for the work of the Carracci in the seventeenth century.¹³¹

The collections of drawings listed by Malvasia are widely dispersed, testifying to the posthumous fame of the three Carracci throughout all of western Europe. Many of Annibale's drawings from his Roman period were acquired by his student Domenichino and the antiquarian Francesco Angeloni, who, like his protégé the author Bellori, praised Annibale as the savior of

¹²⁹ Babette Bohn, "Malvasia and the Study of Carracci Drawings," *Master Drawings* 30 (1992): 396.

¹³⁰ Ibid. See also Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 265-266.

¹³¹ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 265.

Italian art.¹³² Upon his death, Domenichino bequeathed his collection of Carracci drawings to his pupil Francesco Raspantino. When Raspantino died, the collection was sold, most of the drawings acquired by the painter Carlo Maratti.¹³³ In 1703, Pope Clement XI Albani, who desired the Carracci works for his own collection, seized the majority of the drawings from Maratti. Due to financial difficulties in 1762, Cardinal Alessandro Albani was required to give a portion of his drawing and print collection to King George III of England, subsequently spreading many Carracci works into British collections.¹³⁴

Francesco Angeloni also amassed a collection of Carracci drawings, probably acquired when works in Annibale's studio and personal belongings were sold after his death. Angeloni owned around six hundred drawings by Annibale executed in preparation for his work in the Farnese Gallery.¹³⁵ Angeloni's collection of drawings from Annibale's Roman period shows his fascination with the creative process of an artist and his interest in the successive relation of preparatory stages that lead towards a final composition.¹³⁶ Upon his death, Angeloni's student Bellori was supposed to inherit his studio and turn it into a museum. The author, however, was denied possession of Angeloni's belongings, and many of the Carracci drawings from Angeloni's collection were sold, making their way into the collections of Pierre Mignard and Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici.¹³⁷ Bellori eventually formed his own collecting of drawings, including many works by Annibale, which were later purchased by the famous Milanese

¹³² Catherine Loisel Legrand, "The Fate of Annibale's Drawings," in *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; London: Lund Humphries, 2000), 25.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* See Catherine Whistler, "The Taste for Carracci Drawings in Britain," in *Drawings by the Carracci from the British Collections* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum [and] Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1996), 11-25, for an extensive discussion of the history and formation of Carracci collections in Britain.

¹³⁵ Jennifer M. Fletcher, "Francesco Angeloni and Annibale Carracci's 'Silenus Gathering Grapes'," *The Burlington Magazine* 116, no. 860 (Nov., 1974): 665.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Loisel Legrand, "The Fate of Annibale's Drawings," 28.

collector and connoisseur Padre Sebastiano Resta.¹³⁸ Resta owned an extensive collection of drawings by many artists, including the Carracci, which he organized in albums. Resta's collecting was not only motivated by his admiration of drawings, but also by his shrewd business skills. He sold many of his albums to raise money for charity, and gave drawings as gifts to connoisseurs in order to establish good business relations with other collectors.¹³⁹ In 1711, however, most of Resta's collection was taken to England where Jonathan Richardson, collector and connoisseur of drawings, dispersed Resta's holdings throughout British collections.¹⁴⁰

Everard Jabach is another important collector who formed one of the greatest modern day holdings of Carracci drawings. Jabach, a seventeenth-century German banker, amassed a large and exquisite collection of drawings, most of which were sold to Louis XIV in 1671, forming the nucleus of the French Royal Collection.¹⁴¹ Jabach did not sell his entire collection, however, to Louis XIV, and drawings by Annibale are recorded in the inventory of his belongings taken at his death.¹⁴² Many of these drawings were bought by the dealer Pierre Crozat and dispersed at his sale in 1741, subsequently entering the collections of contemporary French collectors, such as Pierre-Jean Mariette. The French Royal Collection acquired part of Mariette's portfolio of drawings in the middle of the eighteenth century. Confiscations made during the French Revolution resulted in the Royal Collection's procurement of more works from the Crozat and Mariette collections.¹⁴³ Thus, through the hands of Italian connoisseurs and European collectors,

¹³⁸ See the foreword by Robert Enggass in Bellori, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci*, xii-xiii, for a discussion of Bellori's study under Angeloni and development of his own art collection.

¹³⁹ Genevieve Warwick, "Gift Exchange and Art Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta's Drawing Albums," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (Dec., 1997): 632 and 645.

¹⁴⁰ Jeremy Wood, "Padre Resta as a Collector of Carracci Drawings," *Master Drawings* 34, no. 1 (Spring, 1996): 5. See also Loisel Legrand, "The Fate of Annibale's Drawings," 28.

¹⁴¹ Loisel Legrand, "The Fate of Annibale's Drawings," 29. See also Roseline Bacou, *Great Drawings of the Louvre Museum: The Italian Drawings* (New York: George Braziller, 1968), 8.

¹⁴² Loisel Legrand, "The Fate of Annibale's Drawings," 29-30.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 32.

such as Resta and Jabach, Annibale's drawings were distributed into British and French collections, forming the two largest present day holdings of drawings by Annibale at Windsor Castle and the Louvre.

The admiration of connoisseurs for Annibale's portrait drawings is reflected by the location of two portrait drawings discussed in this thesis in the British collections at Windsor Castle and Chatsworth, and by another in the Louvre whose provenance can be traced to the collection of Mariette. These portraits were considered valuable and desirable to early modern collectors as finished works of art. Thus it is viable to consider that these portrait drawings had a greater symbolic meaning to early modern audiences than mere studies in nature, but as representations of their cultural ideology. In the following chapter, the fraternal relationship suggested through Annibale's intimate and detailed representation of the sitter in the six portrait drawings presented in this thesis will be further analyzed, and Annibale's portrait drawings will be interpreted as visual records of homosocial relationships in the early modern period.

CHAPTER THREE:

ANNIBALE’S PORTRAIT DRAWINGS:

DEPICTIONS OF MASCULINITY, HOMOSOCIALITY,

AND BROTHERHOOD IN THE CARRACCI ACADEMY

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.¹⁴⁴

This passage from Bellori paints a portrait of Annibale as a loving and paternal figure who was not only concerned with his student’s artistic education, but was also attentive to forming lasting relationships with his pupils. The fraternal relationships Annibale formed with his students were a product of his time. Homosocial in nature, such friendship, *amicizia*, was encouraged and supported by early modern gender and societal constructs. Homosocial relationships were built on social and emotional ties between men.¹⁴⁵ Thus they reinforced and perpetuated the patriarchal hierarchy that shaped early modern Italian cultural ideology. For this reason, homosocial relationships were not a threat to societal order, but were encouraged, for they promoted communal peace in their public acclamation of patriarchal concepts.¹⁴⁶

The six portrait drawings by Annibale presented in chapter two must be understood and analyzed in this context. Both homosocial and “homosexual” relationships between men in the early modern period were central parts of Italian culture. It is not suggested in this thesis that Annibale formed “homosexual” relationships with his students and adolescents. Rather, these six

¹⁴⁴ Bellori, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci*, 61.

¹⁴⁵ See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) for the history of the term ‘homosociality.’

¹⁴⁶ Patricia Simons, “Homosociality and Erotics in Italian Renaissance Portraiture,” in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. Joanna Woodall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 29.

portrait drawings are not *solely* studies in naturalistic human physiognomy, but *also* portray the presence and power of homosocial relationships in early modern Italy. Through a discussion of the varying notions of masculine identity in the early modern period, Annibale's drawings will be analyzed as depictions of homosocial bonds. In this respect, the unity and brotherhood of the Carracci Academy can be compared to the tradition of male relationships in Bolognese religious confraternities. Thus, Annibale's portrait drawings are indicative of two types of homosocial relationships: the male relationships formed through networks of social, political, and artistic patronage, and the brotherhood and male community of the Carracci Academy, similar to that in religious confraternities, which is exemplified through the "fraternal" gaze of the figures in the portrait drawings.

Before discussing how Annibale's portrait drawings exemplify homosocial relationships, it is instructive to assess how masculinity was defined, established, and visually portrayed in the early modern period. Masculine relationships, with both women and men, were hierarchical and patriarchal in nature. In addition to social status, the role of honor played a vital role in forming society's view of males and females and their gender identities. Although different codes of honor were required for men and women, honor itself was a collective identity, important not to a single male or female, but integral to their entire family and social networks. Female honor and identity was centered on a woman's chastity. If a man took away a woman's virginity outside of wedlock, fathers and male guardians immediately strove to regain whatever honor their family had left by requiring the man to marry the girl, or by bringing litigation in the civic courts.¹⁴⁷ Thus, sex crimes against a woman were seen not as a violation of her individual identity but as an offense to the identity of the family as a collective entity.

¹⁴⁷ Sharon T. Strocchia, "Gender and the Rites of Honour in Italian Renaissance Cities," in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (London: Longman, 1998), 55.

In contrast to the role of chastity as the determining agency for female honor, masculine identity and honor were formed by a multitude of components, including social class, age, and marital status.¹⁴⁸ Like female honor, male honor also had a collective identity that can be understood through the dynamics of public Renaissance organizations such as confraternities. Nicholas Terpstra defines confraternities as, "...organic societies made up of the people of a particular place, such as a city or parish, gathering at regular intervals for spiritual worship, and governed by their own officials under their own statutes."¹⁴⁹ Confraternities were associations made up of the laity whose primary purpose was to promote public worship or to perform charitable acts. Confraternities primarily consisted of male members, and much of the language used within these fraternal, familial systems, and their statutes emphasized this brotherhood.¹⁵⁰ Jennifer Fisk Rondeau discusses these notions in her analysis of the statutes of the confraternity of Santa Maria della Misericordia in Arezzo, written in 1262.¹⁵¹ In these statutes, the *confratelli* of Arezzo use words such as "brotherhood" to describe their members, and elaborate on the unity of the men in their community.¹⁵²

Despite the unity of confraternities, the dominant currents of social status and class hierarchy even infiltrated these systems of communal brotherhood. In late medieval Florence, many of the officers of the confraternity of the Madonna of Or San Michele, one of Florence's

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 48.

¹⁴⁹ Nicholas Terpstra, "Confraternities and Mendicant Orders: The Dynamics of Lay and Clerical Brotherhood in Renaissance Bologna," *The Catholic Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (Jan., 1996): 5.

¹⁵⁰ Confraternities in early modern Europe were mainly formed by male members; however, there is evidence that women formed part of the laity in some confraternities. See the essay previously cited by Strocchia, "Gender and the Rites of Honour in Italian Renaissance Cities," pp. 48-50 for an analysis of women's role in confraternities and the development of consorories in sixteenth-century Bologna.

¹⁵¹ Jennifer Fisk Rondeau, "Homosociality and Civic (Dis)order in Late Medieval Italian Confraternities," in *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University, 2000), 34.

¹⁵² Ibid.

wealthiest confraternities, held prominent positions in the local religious community.¹⁵³

Similarly, in other late medieval Italian cities, such as San Sepolcro, Siena, and Pisa, the local governments selectively supported certain confraternities whose officers held legislative seats in the communal government.¹⁵⁴ In 1286, the commune of Pisa even went so far as to exclude the foundation of any other confraternities aside from Santa Lucia de Ricucchi.¹⁵⁵ Such public recognition given to confraternities brought them under suspicion and ignited jealous responses from similar corporate organizations, such as the guilds. The most informative example of class hierarchy in confraternities and the resulting conflicts with guilds is seen in 1317, when the Florentine wool guild banned some of its workers from joining confraternities. They justified their actions by claiming that the prestigious members of the confraternity would not want to associate with those of lower political and social status.¹⁵⁶

Social status was a requirement in both the religious and secular divisions of society, and was such a powerful force in the secular world that networks of male friendship and patronage systems developed in order to assist in social standing. Patronage of the arts is referred to as *mecenatismo*, but political patronage is a different concept and is signified by the word *clientilismo*.¹⁵⁷ *Clientilismo* was a significant relationship in Renaissance society; many men of lower status sought the protection, friendship, and recognition of a man of higher social rank. Men of higher status also desired such friendship and eagerly accepted the civic protection that collective groupings of lower rank men could offer them. Thus men of differing status simultaneously used each other as leverage in their efforts to climb the social ladder.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 36.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ F.W. Kent and Patricia Simons, "Renaissance Patronage: An Introductory Essay," in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, eds. F.W. Kent, Patricia Simons, and J.C. Eade (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 2.

Early modern social hierarchies encouraged male homosocial relationships, whether these were religious in nature, as in the confraternities, or political and social, as seen in the formation of male friendship and patronage networks. These relationships were often ambiguous, blurring the lines of whether they were emotional, homosocial relationships, examples of *clientilismo*, or possibly sexual in nature.¹⁵⁸ Patricia Simons discusses the difficulties in understanding masculine identities in the Renaissance due to the multiple types of relationships men formed with each other.¹⁵⁹ Male sexuality was not a solidified, static concept, but was an evolving gender identity that was defined by the context of the situation and those involved in the relationship. This multivalence often clouds interpretations and modern day understandings of Renaissance portraiture. For example, Simons discusses the various relationships possible between the two men in Raphael's *Portrait of the Artist with a Friend* (ca. 1518; Fig. 14).¹⁶⁰ It is unclear in Raphael's painting whether the relationship between the two figures is homosocial or erotic. The question of the relationship between these two men illustrates the permeable line between homosocial relationships, dependent upon male emotive ties and friendship, and relationships that would be characterized by modern audiences as "homosexual."

In early modern Europe, male sexual relationships with other men were not understood in the same sense that they are today. Sexual acts between adolescent males and mature men were often considered a rite of passage into adulthood, in which the male youth would subsequently entertain a heterosexual lifestyle.¹⁶¹ These acts were described by the word sodomy, which could mean many different things. Michael Rocke asserts that although sodomy could refer to sex between men and women or any sexual act or behavior that was not natural and procreative in

¹⁵⁸ Simons, "Homosociality and Erotics in Italian Renaissance Portraiture," 42.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 45-47.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

nature, the only acceptable reason for sex deemed appropriate by Catholic dogma, sodomy normally referred to sexual acts between males.¹⁶² It is inaccurate to describe these acts between men as “homosexual” or to name those involved “homosexuals.” As Michel Foucault states in *The History of Sexuality*, the identification of “homosexual” as referring to an individual person did not evolve in cultural consciousness until the nineteenth century.¹⁶³ In contrast, James Saslow posits that a certain awareness and early emergence of the modern concept of “homosexuality” was present in the Renaissance.¹⁶⁴ Saslow positions his argument around the poetry and artistic *oeuvre* of Michelangelo, stating that the artist’s defense of his character and chastity in his self-dictated biography written by Ascanio Condivi suggests that Michelangelo was aware that his poetry and feelings towards Tommaso de’ Cavalieri violated social norms.¹⁶⁵

The fifteenth-century sermons of St. Bernardino of Siena seem to reinforce Saslow’s theory. St. Bernardino openly lectured in vivid sermons against the vice of sodomy, urging his Florentine followers to react vehemently even at the mention of the sin.¹⁶⁶ Sodomy in Florence, in particular, was such an issue that local Tuscan authorities began enforcing laws against sodomitical acts.¹⁶⁷ The Officers of the Night were instituted during the fifteenth century by the Florentine government to bring legal action against sodomites. St. Bernardino’s sermons, the counteractive legislature that developed in Tuscany, such as the Officers of the Night, and the cases and convictions brought against sodomites seem to support Saslow’s assertion of a nascent

¹⁶² Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3.

¹⁶³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 43.

¹⁶⁴ James Saslow, “A Veil of Ice between My Heart and the Fire”: Michelangelo’s Sexual Identity and Early Modern Constructs of Homosexuality,” in *Homosexuality and Homosexuals in the Arts*, eds. Wayne R. Dynes and Stephen Donaldson (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), 144.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Rocke, “Sodomites in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany: The Views of Bernardino of Siena,” *Journal of Homosexuality* XVI (1988): 7.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

“homosexual” gender identity in the Renaissance. Another theory is presented by Richard Spear, who states that it is more historically correct to use the term “sodomitical desire” for “homosexual desire” when discussing early modern gender identities.¹⁶⁸ This terminology offers a middle ground between Foucault and Saslow, for Spear acknowledges that there was not an actual word used during the period for this particular sexual identity and instead proposes the phrase “sodomitical desire” to stand as a surrogate.

Spear uses this term in his work on the Bolognese artist and student in the Carracci Academy, Guido Reni.¹⁶⁹ It is tempting to analyze Reni’s psychological identity as a male artist prone to sodomitical desires, for his biographers often mention the artist’s hatred and fear of women. Malvasia gives an example of Reni’s fear of women in his biography of the artist, stating that when the artist found a woman’s shirt mixed in with his laundry, “He quickly had the linens rinsed in pure water and dried, and from then on he wanted his Marco to do the laundry himself at the house.”¹⁷⁰ Spear posits that although Reni definitely had a psychological issue with women, modern scholars should not jump to interpretations of Reni as a “homosexual.”¹⁷¹ Bologna became part of the Papal States in 1506, and the presence of the papacy and Catholic doctrine was dominant during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Paleotti’s participation at the Council of Trent and his treatise on religious art made Catholic doctrine known to artists. Reni was undoubtedly aware of the power of the papacy in Bologna and Catholic mandates that controlled social behavior and artistic imagery, and would have feared any challenge of their power through acts of sodomy, the most hated vice by the Church.

¹⁶⁸ Richard E. Spear, *The “Divine” Guido: Religion, Sex, Money and Art in the World of Guido Reni* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 51.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

¹⁷⁰ Malvasia, *The Life of Guido Reni*, 119.

¹⁷¹ Spear, *The “Divine” Guido: Religion, Sex, Money and Art in the World of Guido Reni*, 58.

Reni's fears of women may have been based on the belief that contact and relations with a woman could take away a male artist's divine, God-given creative talent. Cennino d'Andrea Cennini warned artists against this fate in his treatise on painting, *Il libro dell'arte*, written towards the end of the fourteenth century. In his text Cennini writes, "There is another cause which, if you indulge it, can make your hand so unsteady that it will waver more...this is indulging too much in the company of woman."¹⁷² Paolo Pino gave a similar warning to male artists in his *Dialogo di pittura*, written in 1548, where he encouraged painters not to marry because women and children would interfere with their work, and that sexual intercourse "...enfeebles virility, humiliates the mind, causes melancholy and shortens life."¹⁷³ Such writings warning artists to fear women contrast sharply with St. Bernardino's *quattrocento* sermons emphasizing that men who did not take a wife were certainly sodomites.¹⁷⁴ Catholic doctrine, however, expressed at the Council of Trent, emphasized a life of virginity and dictated that a celibate lifestyle was preferable to matrimony.¹⁷⁵

Although condemned by the Catholic Church, and strictly punished by law, sodomitical relationships between men flourished nonetheless, and were sustained by the hierarchical patriarchal roles they supported and reinforced. In this sense, sodomitical relationships were pivotal in forming and stabilizing masculine identities in the early modern period. Age also played an integral part in shaping masculine identities. Male youth confraternities were popular in early modern Italy due to their emphasis on masculine piety, religious life, and male, homosocial friendship. On the other hand, early modern Italy also sustained a population of

¹⁷² Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1933), 16.

¹⁷³ Paolo Pino, "Dialogo di pittura," in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento*, vol. 1, ed. P. Barocchi (Bari: Laterza, 1960), 137. Translation provided by Spear, *The "Divine" Guido: Religion, Sex, Money and Art in the World of Guido Reni*, 52.

¹⁷⁴ Rocke, "Sodomites in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany: The Views of Bernardino of Siena," 18.

¹⁷⁵ Spear, *The "Divine" Guido: Religion, Sex, Money and Art in the World of Guido Reni*, 52.

violent male youths. It was acceptable for boys and young men to act in a deviant manner because they were viewed by society as lacking the sexual maturity to conduct themselves in a more appropriate way.¹⁷⁶ Once they reached around seven years of age, male youths transitioned from the parental instruction of their mothers to that of their fathers or male family members. In efforts to locate an individual, masculine identity, these youth often clashed with their fathers on issues of authority, society, and economics.¹⁷⁷ Despite their disturbance to communal peace and challenge to their fathers and male authority, the acts of boys and older male adolescents were somewhat condoned by society, for their behavior reinforced their masculine identity and symbolized their transformation into adulthood.¹⁷⁸

Adolescent communities, such as confraternities, were developed in the early modern period to help divert the energies of male youths from behavior that was disturbing to civic order.¹⁷⁹ Adrian Randolph states that adolescents in confraternities played a large part in the growing development of *sacra rappresentazione*, sacred drama plays that were popular in early modern Italy.¹⁸⁰ The fame these plays achieved shows the cultural admiration and fascination with the male adolescent body as emblematic of masculine identity.¹⁸¹ This fascination is mirrored in Italian Renaissance artistic imagery that portrays the adolescent male. Both Christopher Fulton and Randolph analyze the cultural reception and meaning of Donatello's bronze *David* (ca. 1450) in this context (Fig. 15).¹⁸² The sensuality of Donatello's *David* tempts

¹⁷⁶ Strocchia, "Gender and the Rites of Honour in Italian Renaissance Cities," 50.

¹⁷⁷ Christopher Fulton, "The Boy Stripped Bare by His Elders: Art and Adolescence in Renaissance Florence," *Art Journal* 56, no. 2 (Summer, 1997): 32.

¹⁷⁸ Strocchia, "Gender and the Rites of Honour in Italian Renaissance Cities," 51.

¹⁷⁹ Fulton, "The Boy Stripped Bare by His Elders: Art and Adolescence in Renaissance Florence," 32.

¹⁸⁰ Adrian W.B. Randolph, "Homosocial Desire and Donatello's Bronze *David*," in *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, Adrian W.B. Randolph (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 180.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² See Fulton, "The Boy Stripped Bare by His Elders: Art and Adolescence in Renaissance Florence," 31-40, and Randolph, "Homosocial Desire and Donatello's Bronze *David*," 138-192.

modern viewers to consider the sculpture as an overt representation of Renaissance homoerotic desire; however, this is too simplistic of an interpretation. Randolph asserts that if fifteenth-century Italians understood the *David* as homoerotic, it certainly would not have been placed in the Palazzo Medici, the center of Florentine public life, and owned by as popular and socially important a figure as Cosimo de' Medici.¹⁸³

Considering the gendered spaces of public life, civic art was primarily viewed and made for a male audience. In this respect, the *David* must be understood in relation to two groups: adolescent male youths and older men. The dichotomous representations of masculine adolescent identity, either as faithful and pious members of confraternities, or as deviant, violent youth, allow the *David* to be seen as a visual image used to instruct youth towards greater civic dignity and reinforce homosocial male ties.¹⁸⁴ Adolescent viewers were encouraged to empathize with the figure represented in the sculpture, which exemplified the beautiful, proud masculine identity that they were to emulate and become.¹⁸⁵ Adult male viewers similarly empathized with the sculpture as a reminiscent image of their bygone days of adolescence, and as emblematic of the male ideal they hoped to instill in their own lineage.¹⁸⁶ The sensual, nude body of *David* also reflects the gaze of the Florentine male adult and his desire for the passive adolescent youth.¹⁸⁷ Such relationships between men were encouraged by the fascination of early modern society with masculine adolescence, ideal beauty, and homosocial relationships.

Annibale's portrait drawings must be situated within this complex climate of ambivalent masculine identities. These six drawings are works of art that exemplify, similar to Donatello's

¹⁸³ Randolph, "Homosocial Desire and Donatello's Bronze *David*," 168. See also Fulton, "The Boy stripped Bare by His Elders: Art and Adolescence in Renaissance Florence," 35-36.

¹⁸⁴ Randolph, "Homosocial Desire and Donatello's Bronze *David*," 169.

¹⁸⁵ Fulton, "The Boy stripped Bare by His Elders: Art and Adolescence in Renaissance Florence," 36.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁸⁷ Randolph, "Homosocial Desire and Donatello's Bronze *David*," 186.

David, the early modern cultural fascination with male adolescence. In his depiction of males in these portrait drawings, Annibale highlights this cultural fascination and provides visual evidence of homosocial currents predominant in the early modern period. The six drawings selected as the focus of this study were all created in Bologna during the late sixteenth century, prior to Annibale's move to Rome, when he was still an instructor in the Carracci Academy. According to Bellori, who is quoted at the beginning of this chapter, and Malvasia, whose biography of the artist is discussed in chapter one, Annibale was a loving father figure to many of his pupils and strove to help them with their studies and to form lasting relationships. The pedagogical practices of the Carracci Academy itself, encouraging stylistic unity, a collective attention and devotion to the study of nature, and the sharing of commissions similarly emphasize currents of brotherhood and community. In this respect, the academic pedagogy of the Carracci Academy can be compared to the brotherhood seen in Bolognese confraternal communities previously discussed.

In addition to a sense of brotherhood, other parallels can be drawn between the Carracci Academy and Bolognese confraternities. In his study of the relationships between Bolognese Renaissance confraternities and their associated mendicant orders, Terpstra asserts that the mendicant orders in Bologna – the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians – had differing relationships with their respected confraternities.¹⁸⁸ Despite the different dynamics between the orders and their *confratelli*, essential to all Bolognese confraternities was their collective individual identity as distinct from the religious mandates of their mendicant order.¹⁸⁹ Similar to the independence desired by the *confratelli* in Bologna, the Carracci Academy also struggled to

¹⁸⁸ Terpstra, "Confraternities and Mendicant Orders: The Dynamics of Lay and Clerical Brotherhood in Renaissance Bologna," 1-22.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

break away from the dominant style and established artistic masters of the preceding generation and form a community devoted to the observation of nature. At times, the Carracci even doubted if they were correct in their progressive philosophies. Malvasia states that the two brothers and their elder cousin would hold debates as to whether it might be better to return to the more popular, Mannerist style.¹⁹⁰ In one such debate, Annibale responded to Agostino's doubts, saying, "But let us carry on, let us continue and have no doubts: if we are not appreciated today we will be some day."¹⁹¹ Annibale's use of "us" and "we" in his response signifies his consideration of the Carracci Academy as a community of brothers and friends striving for a unified goal. Similar to the members of Bolognese confraternities who desired an intense homosocial relationship between their *confratelli* independent from their religious order, the founders of the Carracci Academy strove to reform Italian art through the collective unity and devotion of their members to the study of nature.

Thus Annibale's drawings are more than mere physiognomic studies in naturalism and emotion, but are visual records of the homosocial relationships dominant in Bolognese confraternities and the Carracci Academy. Annibale's focus on males in these portraits stresses the fraternal ties between the members of the Carracci Academy. In addition to their emphasis on male homosocial relationships, these drawings are also indicative of early modern Italian views of masculine identity. All six of these drawings visualize young or adolescent boys: the Uffizi, Louvre, and Chatsworth drawings depict young boys, while the portrait drawings in Berlin, Windsor, and in Kate Ganz's private collection portray older adolescent youths. The obvious difference in age of the six youths in these drawings seems to correlate with Fulton's discussion of the transition from the care of a boy from his mother to that of his father, alluding to the social

¹⁹⁰ Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 114-116.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

maturation of the male youth and his progression into adulthood.¹⁹² Although it is unlikely that Annibale consciously chose to depict these distinct ages, his portrayal of boys at different life stages relates to the cultural fascination of male youths. These drawings show how intrinsic such notions of masculinity were in early modern society.

In contrast to the fascination Donatello's *David* likely spurred in its audience, blurring the lines between homosocial, "homosexual," or erotic praise of the male adolescent, these six portraits by Annibale are not erotic in any sense. This is not to say that Annibale did not execute erotic studies. For example, his drawing in the Louvre of a boy taking off his shirt portrays a male youth in a much more sensual manner. In addition to depicting the movement of the figure, Annibale has also captured a specific emotion in the figure's face, as if he has just been aroused from a deep sleep, parting his lips as he sighs, stretches, and removes his shirt. Although this work definitely has what modern audiences would describe as "erotic" and "sensual" undertones, Annibale's focus on males in this drawing and in his portrait drawings does not allude to nascent sodomitical desires, but instead references the prevalent currents of homosocial relationships in the early modern period.

Annibale's portrait drawings indicate two types of homosocial relationships. The first type of is seen in the efforts of early modern men to develop networks of political, social, and artistic patronage. As previously discussed, a person's social class was an important signifier in his/her public image, and early modern men, especially, were defined by their wealth and social rank. Men often developed networks of social and political patronage to assist in climbing the social ladder. These networks and relationships between men were also evident in artistic circles, and many artists used these relationships to secure artistic commissions, publicize their works,

¹⁹² Fulton, "The Boy stripped Bare by His Elders: Art and Adolescence in Renaissance Florence," 32.

and ensure the preservation of their art in collections. One way artists did this was by giving works of art as gifts to their friends. The Florentine artist Agnolo Bronzino gave his portrait painting, *Andrea Doria as Neptune* (ca. 1533), to his friend Paolo Giovio, who was forming his own collection of portraits of noble figures.¹⁹³ In giving this painting to Giovio, Bronzino signified the value of his artistic creations as worthy of belonging in an important collection.

This aspect of gift giving to increase social standing, and in an artist's case, patronage, was probably the reason behind Annibale's creation of the portrait drawing in Berlin that has been questionably identified as Baldassare Aloisi. The high level of finish in this drawing suggests that it was either commissioned of Annibale, or given as a gift by the artist to the boy's family. The students in the Carracci Academy came from varying social backgrounds. Some, such as Giovampaolo Bonconti, were members of wealthy families, and others such as Domenichino, whose father was a well-off shoemaker, were the sons of successful artisans. Guido Reni's father was a prominent Bolognese singer and musician, who encouraged his son to follow a musical path, eventually allowing him to pursue a profession in the arts. Annibale came from a family of tailors and led a simple lifestyle. Malvasia and Bellori characterize him as having a disregard for luxury. Bellori states that Annibale was not concerned with social standing and extravagant living, for the artist "...despised ostentation in people as well as in painting, seeking the company of plain, ambitionless men."¹⁹⁴ Despite his humble lifestyle, developing patronage networks, as seen in the possible circumstances surrounding the creation of the Berlin portrait, were beneficial to Annibale and the Carracci Academy in establishing clientele. Malvasia recounts the efforts of Vincenzo Carracci, Ludovico's father, to promote his son's works by showing them to his friends and sending them to Italian villages and

¹⁹³ Simons, "Homosexuality and erotics in Italian Renaissance portraiture," 43-44.

¹⁹⁴ Bellori, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci*, 58.

neighborhoods to be sold.¹⁹⁵ The establishment of patronage networks encouraged the formation of social and homosocial relationships between men, which were pivotal for artistic patronage.

The second type of homosocial relationship relates to the brotherhood of the Carracci Academy. In this respect, the gaze of the figures in these six drawings gains relevance as a “fraternal” gaze, indicative of the emotive ties between the men in the academy. In the Uffizi, Berlin, and Louvre portraits, the gazes of all three youth are deflected to the right of the composition. In contrast, the portraits at Windsor, in Ganz’s collection, and in Chatsworth all portray the figure looking out towards the viewer. The latter three drawings display a powerful sense of psychological gravity through the relationship made by the outward gaze between the sitter and creator/spectator. Annibale depicts the sitters in these three drawings with a tender, familiar hand, allowing their individual personality and emotions to come forth. This is seen, in particular, in the Windsor drawing, in which the male youth looks out toward the viewer with a longing yet comfortable look in his eye, as if he knows the artist sitting in front of him. It is obvious that the sitter, most likely a student in the Carracci Academy, was comfortable in the presence of Annibale and accustomed to the academy practice of drawing after live models. This practice was a pivotal aspect of their pedagogy, emphasizing brotherhood in the academy by encouraging students to draw together and pose for one another as models. The figure’s outward gaze, as a result, can be interpreted as “fraternal” and as representative of the homosocial relationships between Annibale and his students in the academy.

Although the eyes of the sitters in the Uffizi, Berlin, and Louvre portraits are averted, they too can be seen as visualizing the fraternal atmosphere of the Carracci Academy. Annibale executed these drawings with extreme tenderness and attention to the minute facial details of

¹⁹⁵ Malvasia, *Malvasia’s Life of the Carracci*, 86.

each character. These works exhibit a heightened sense of volume, which allows their heads to emerge out of the paper with a life-like presence. The psychological impact of the sitters is paramount. Annibale could not have created such realistic works without being familiar, in some way, with each sitter. His ability to achieve such a shocking level of reality in these works, despite their averted gaze, attest to the power of homosocial relationships, community, and brotherhood in the practice of the Carracci Academy.

Thus, these six portrait drawings by Annibale can be seen as visual examples of the fraternal, homosocial relationships dominant in the Carracci Academy and early modern Italy. Annibale's portraits portray the ambiguous and symbiotic modes of shaping and depicting masculine identity in the early modern period. His focus on male youths not only references the cultural fascination with male adolescence, but also depicts the visual stages of age and progression into manhood important in the life of a male youth. Although certainly valuable for their physiognomic detail, great naturalism, and emotional impact, these portrait drawings are also significant as views into a past culture of homosocial relationships and the development of gender identities in the early modern period.

CONCLUSION

The six portrait drawings discussed in this thesis are significant not only as examples of the high quality, finish, and skillful draftsmanship characteristic of Annibale's graphic works, but also as representations of early modern notions of masculinity. Careful consideration of these drawings within the appropriate cultural context and prescribed gender constructs of early modern Italy allows these portrait drawings to become visual records of a past ideology that emphasized male relationships, both in the secular and religious realms of society. Whether these relationships were erotic or homosocial in nature is not always obvious. The ambiguity of these identities is evidenced in the previous discussion of the cultural reception of Donatello's *David* and Raphael's *Portrait of the Artist with a Friend*. In contrast to these works by his Italian predecessors, Annibale's portrait drawings of young boys and male youths lack sexual ambiguity. Instead, these drawings are a product of the brotherhood and male camaraderie encouraged by the tradition of early modern Italian religious confraternities and homosocial relationships. In this context, the sense of brotherhood and collaboration central to the practice of the Carracci Academy creates an intriguing parallel with earlier and contemporary Bolognese religious confraternities that similarly emphasized a communal brotherhood in their statutes and fraternal relationships.

Thus, these drawings also serve as examples of the pedagogy and practice of the Carracci Academy. In addition to encouraging a sense of brotherhood, artistic collaboration, and a constructive educational environment, a unified devotion to nature and observation of life also occupied a central place in the practice of the *incamminati*. Annibale's minute attention to detail and precise rendition of the sitter's physiognomy in his portrait drawings show his reliance on

nature as the source of his artistic creations. The high level of finish of these drawings and the fact that they do not correspond to any known paintings make them fascinating exceptions to the traditional purpose of portrait drawings as a means to an end. Annibale certainly knew of these more traditional methods through the works of his contemporaries such as Lavinia Fontana and his brother Agostino; however, he chose to execute drawings of equally high finish that appear as completed works of art in their own right. Early modern collectors and connoisseurs obviously found these drawings appealing and worthy of collecting, resulting in the preservation of Annibale's drawings in such renowned art collections as the Louvre and Windsor Castle.

In conclusion, the portrait drawings of Annibale Carracci are scientific studies in the accurate portrayal of a sitter's physiognomy that also reflect the male homosocial relationships that were predominant in the early modern period and encouraged by the fraternal atmosphere of the Carracci Academy. The rising appreciation of drawings as collectible works of art elevates these portrait drawings as more than mere artistic studies to the status of masterpieces. Thus, Annibale's portrait drawings must be considered pivotal components of his graphic *oeuvre* and his entire artistic corpus. They survive as visual records of the homosocial, fraternal ties in the Carracci Academy, and the Carracci's dedication to nature.

APPENDIX

Checklist of Annibale Carracci's Portrait Drawings

1. *Profile Portrait of a Boy*, 1584-1585, Figure 16
 Inv. no. 1668 E.
 Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
 Red chalk on ivory paper
 8 13/16 x 6 3/8 in.

2. *Baldassare Aloisi, called "Galanino,"* 1589-1590, Figure 17
 Inv. no. KdZ 5873
 Staatliche Museen, Berlin
 Red chalk and touches of white on beige paper
 13 3/4 x 10 5/16 in.

3. *Head of a Boy*, ca. 1585-1590, Figure 18
 Inv. no. 7376
 Musée du Louvre, Paris
 Black chalk on reddish brown paper, laid down
 12 7/16 x 9 15/16 in., including 2 cm horizontal strip added to top

4. *Portrait of a Boy*, ca. 1590, Figure 19
 Inv. no. 2254
 Collection of Her Majesty the Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle, Windsor
 Black chalk heightened with white on blue-gray paper, laid down
 14 15/16 x 9 13/16 in.

5. *Head of a Boy*, ca. 1587-1588, Figure 20
 Collection of Kate Ganz, Los Angeles
 Charcoal and black chalk with white chalk on beige paper
 14 x 10 in.

6. *Portrait of a Youth, Bust-Length, Wearing a Round Cap*, ca. 1590, Figure 21
 Inv. no. 450
 The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, Chatsworth
 Red chalk on grey paper, heightened with white body-color
 15 3/5 x 10 3/5 in.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

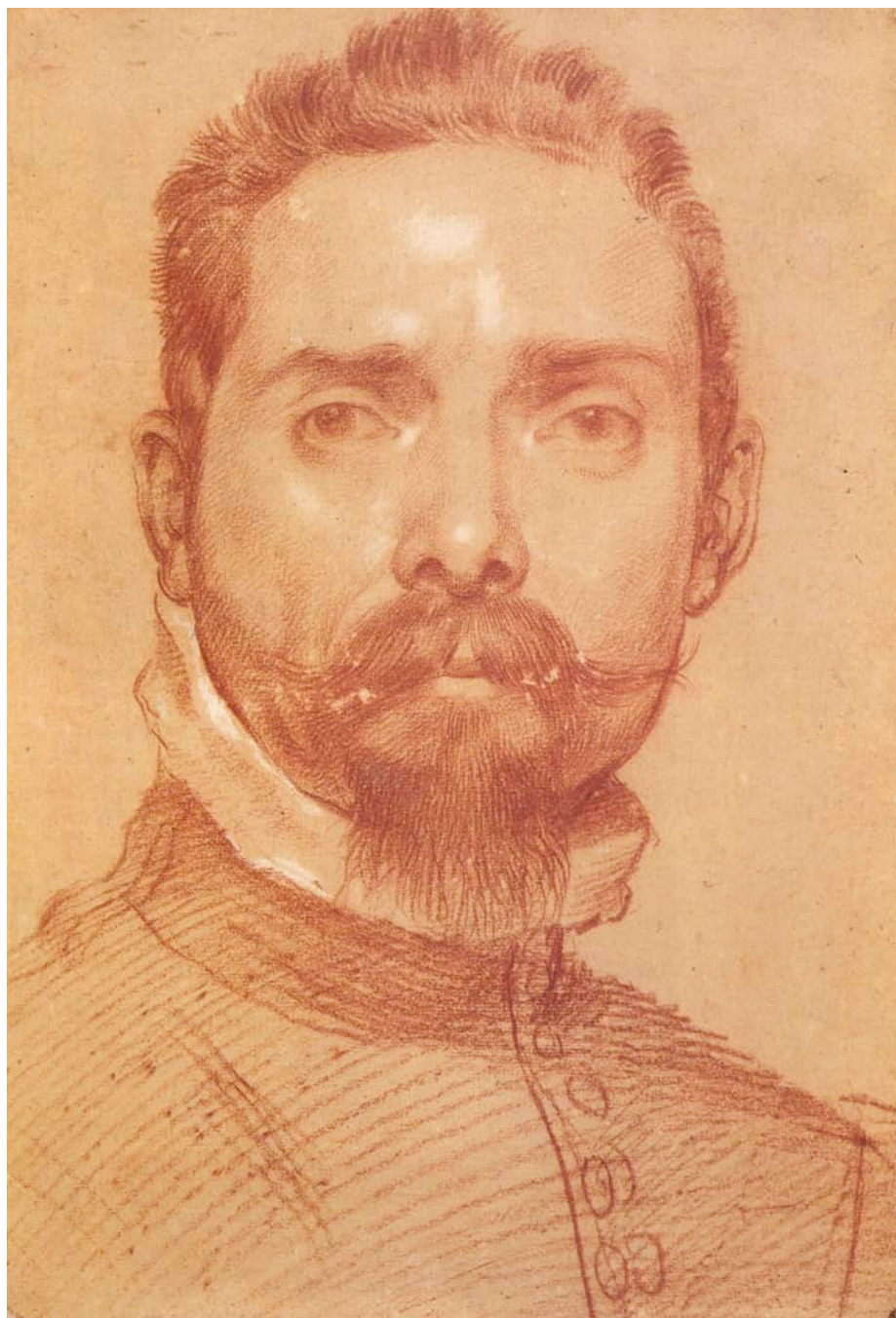


Figure 8

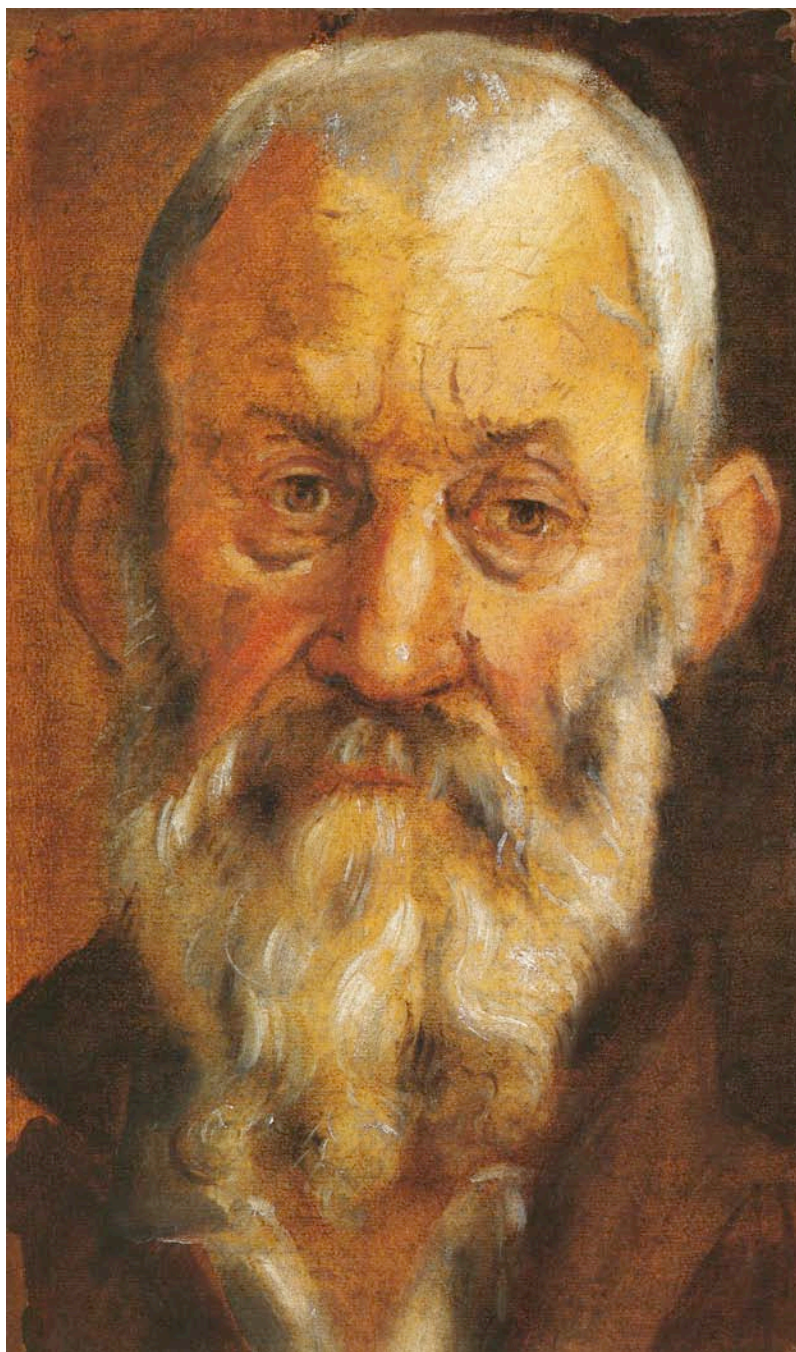


Figure 9



Figure 10

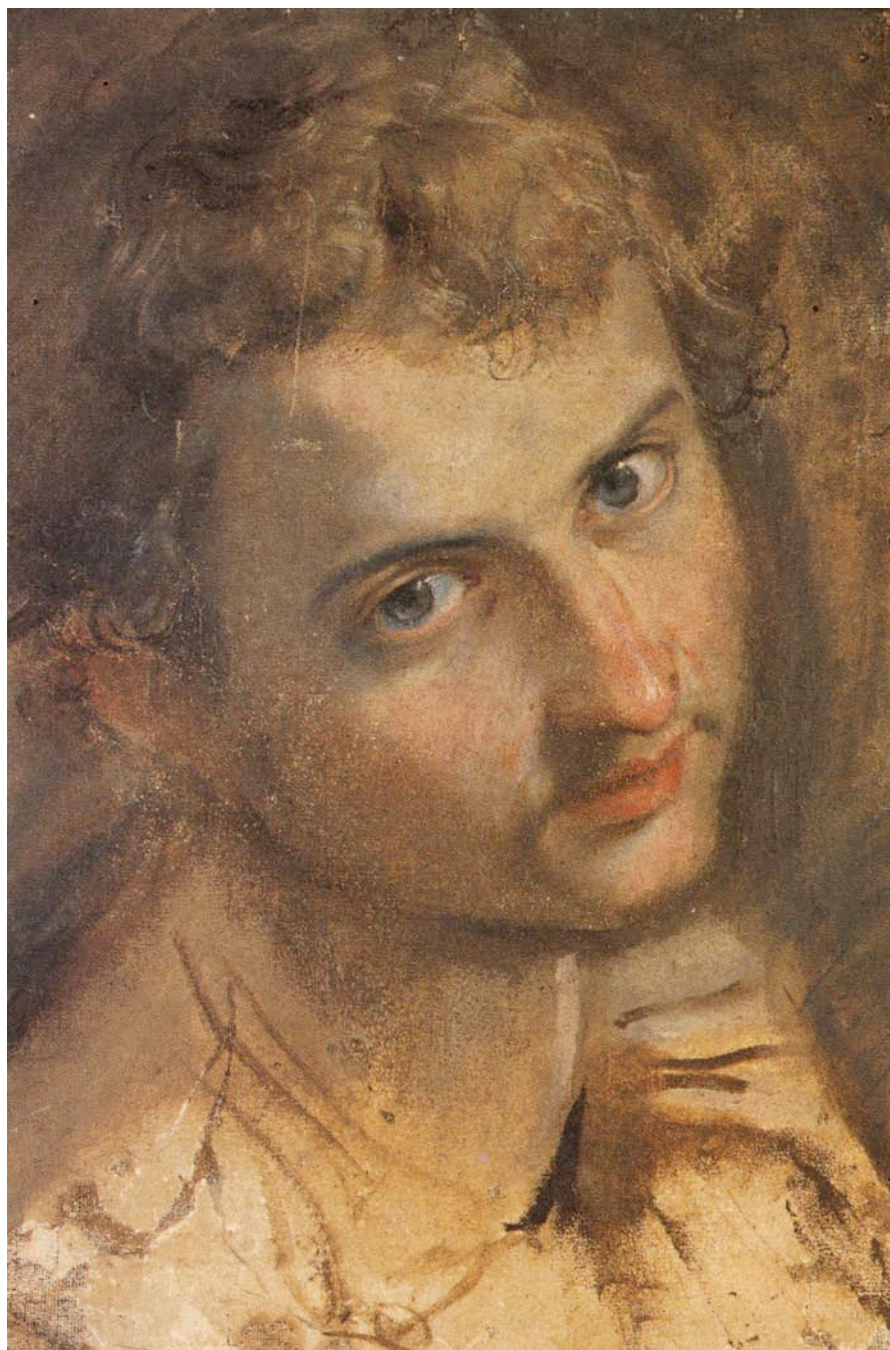


Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21

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VITA

Sarah Beth Wilson was born on March 7, 1984 in Corsicana, Texas to Joe Max Wilson, Jr. and Karen Elizabeth Dammon. Sarah grew up in Texas, but spent some of her childhood in Kirkland, Washington. Her family now resides in Orange, Texas, where Sarah graduated from Little Cypress-Mauriceville High School in May 2002. After graduating from high school, Sarah attended Baylor University in Waco, Texas, where she graduated with her Bachelor of Arts in both Art History and Museum Studies in December 2006.

Sarah's education at Baylor inspired in her the desire to continue her studies, leading her to pursue a graduate degree in art history. Sarah is currently at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas, where she anticipates a Master of Arts in Art History in May 2009. Sarah received a graduate tuition fellowship, stipend, and Kimbell Fellowship during her studies at TCU. While pursuing her graduate degree, Sarah also received two Mary Jane and Robert Sunkel Travel Endowment awards, and two graduate student travel grants, allowing her to view the holdings of Carracci drawings and paintings at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, and collections in Bologna, Italy. Sarah worked as curatorial intern to Dr. Nancy Edwards at the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, and as a teaching and research assistant for the art history faculty at TCU. Sarah plans to pursue a career in the art world, eventually achieving a doctoral degree in art history.