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FEDERICO ZUCCARI'S ACCADEMIA DEL DISEGNO
AND THE CARRACCI ACCADEMIA DEGLI INCAMMINATI

DRAWING IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT

In 1593 Federico Zuccari was elected as the first Principe of the new Accademia del Disegno (Accademia di San Luca) in Rome. He evidently had intellectual ambitions for the Academy's programme, as well as a strong interest in the education of young artists in the principles of drawing. This was largely thanks to his earlier participation in the Florentine Academy, in addition to his experience of other literary academies. This article compares the educational programme of the Roman Academy under Federico with that of the Carracci, founded a decade earlier in Bologna. While evidence for the Carracci's curriculum is somewhat elusive, it too seems to have owed much to the Florentine Academy and to such literary academies as the Accademia dei Gelati, of which Agostino was a member. Indeed at first sight the subjects taught by Federico and the Carracci have much in common, and drawings from both Academies may be compared,

especially in anatomy and perspective. A systematic approach to drawing the body was adopted by both, with young pupils learning their "alphabet" of drawing different parts of the body, before attempting more ambitious types of drawing. Life drawing was at the very heart of the Carracci's teachings. In the Roman academy, drawing from a live model was apparently rather infrequent, only being undertaken on occasion during the summer months. In his own practice Federico would make genre studies and drawings of landscapes which are comparable with those of the Carracci, yet these apparently played no part in his academic teaching. Instead his emphasis lay far more in copying other works of art, as numerous drawings, as well as his writings attest. There is thus a discrepancy between the kinds of exercises that Federico set for pupils and his own practice, in marked contrast with that of the Carracci.

In 1593 Federico Zuccari was elected as the first *Principe* of the newly refounded Accademia del Disegno in Rome, which had as its meeting place a converted *fenile* (hayloft) in a house immediately in front of the artists' church of Santi Luca e Martina.¹ Dedicated to the patron saint of painters, St Luke, it had as its patron Cardinal Federico Borromeo. One of its explicit aims was the training of young artists in *disegno*, or drawing, in both theoretical and practical ways, in response to the particular situation in Rome, in which apprenticeships for aspiring artists were very hard to come by.² The Academy's activities are in some respects well documented, particularly in the records of its meetings between 1593 and 1599, which were compiled by Romano Alberti, and dedicated to Cardinal Borromeo, though they seem to have been written at Federico's behest.³ Federico had long had a strong interest in artistic education, in part conditioned by his elder brother Taddeo's difficulties during his early Roman career.⁴

He also had ample experience of both artistic and literary academies. He had been an enthusiastic participant in the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, founded by Vasari and Vincenzo Borghini under the auspices of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, during the 1560s and 1570s.⁵ His activities there included painting the curtain with a hunting scene, under Vasari's direction, for the production of the comedy, *La Cofanaria* in 1565 for the marriage festivities of Francesco I de' Medici and Giovanna d'Austria (fig.23).⁶ A few years later, in 1582, Federico's fellow Academician, the little-known Giovanni Maria Casini, would praise him in the dedication of another comedy, *La Padovana*, for his abilities as a poet, as well as a painter.⁷ In 1593 Federico

was also a member of the Accademia degli Insensati in Perugia, along with Cesare Ripa, author of the *Iconologia* (Rome, 1593), which was a source for part of the decoration of Federico's Roman palace.⁸ His *Lettera a Principi et Signori Amatori del Disegno ... con un Lamento della Pittura* was written by Federico as a member of this Academy in 1605.⁹ Towards the end of his life, in 1608 Federico would also address a *Discorso sopra la grandezza e facoltà del disegno interno ed esterno pratico* to the Accademia degli Innominati in Parma, an institution whose members had included the poets, Torquato Tasso and Giovanni Battista Guarini, the minor Bolognese painter Bernardino Baldi, who had also founded his own drawing academy in Bologna, and conceivably Agostino Carracci.¹⁰ Significantly, in the context of Federico's intellectual aspirations, a number of *gentilhuomini amatori*, including the collector and patron of Caravaggio, Asdrubale Mattei, were invited to attend the meetings of the new Roman painters' Academy.¹¹

Federico was clearly a highly learned artist, as both his writings, and the complex allegorical imagery that he devised in works such as the *Porta Virtutis*, the *Calumny*, and in the decoration of his Roman palace make evident.¹² He was also clearly the driving force behind the Roman Academy's programme. He laid out the duties of the academicians at their first meeting, and he gave one of the earliest lectures there, a highly theoretical discourse on the nature of *disegno*. This followed a much more practical account, given by Durante Alberti.¹³ Evidently it did not fulfil Federico's wishes, so he then asked Cesare Nebbia to discuss the subject "as a painter and a philosopher". This too was unsatisfactory in Federico's

¹ For the earlier foundation of the Academy by Muziano under Gregory XIII, see PEVSNER 1940, pp. 57–59; MARCIARI 2009. For the location, see NOEHLES 1969, pp. 43–47; SALVAGNI 2009. Federico's election is recorded in ALBERTI 1604, p. 1 (HEIKAMP 1961, p. 13). For the history of the Roman Academy, see MISSIRINI 1823; ROSSI 1984; WAŻBIŃSKI 1988 and 1994, ch. 7; PRINZ 1999; ROETTGEN 1999; CAVAZZINI 2008, pp. 43–48; LUKEHART 2009a.

² BROOKS 2007, p. 2. The Academy's intentions are recorded in a notarial document of 7 March 1593: LUKEHART 2009a, pp. 352–56, doc. 3. For its teaching under Federico, see ROCCASECCA 2009, pp. 124–34.

³ ALBERTI 1604. For the purpose of these records, see LUKEHART 2009a, p. 3. Other documentation for the Academy's earliest activities is sparser than one would wish: it is conveniently brought together at www.nga.gov/casva/accademia.

⁴ The famous *Life of Taddeo* series of drawings also reflects such concerns: below.

⁵ BARZMAN 2000, pp. 67–68, 153 and pp. 243–46. For the Florentine Academy, see also WAŻBIŃSKI 1987; BARZMAN 1989; GOLDSTEIN 1996, pp. 16–29; JACOBS 2002 and JACOBS 2005.

⁶ Below, n. 97.

⁷ "... oltre all'alte rarissime parti in voi dalla natura concesse, siate a nuova talmente nella poesia esercitato, che benché pochi all'età nostra vi si ponno eguagliare le quali accompagniate al nostro antico et immortale stile del Disegno ...". TESTAVERDE 2006 (2008, p. 4). The dedication was altered when the play was eventually published, after Federico's death, in 1617.

⁸ ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 179. See also, GAGE 2009, pp. 249–51.

⁹ ZUCCARO 1605; HEIKAMP 1961, pp. 103–29.

¹⁰ The *Discorso* is published in ZUCCARO 1608, part quoted in ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 278–79. See also MAYLENDER 1926–39, vol. 3, p. 296; COLONNA 2007, p. 48.

¹¹ A list of such members is included in ALBERTI 1604, p. 99 (HEIKAMP 1961, p. 111), although the date is not specified.

¹² For his writings, see HEIKAMP 1961; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 273–91. For the *Porta Virtutis*, see HEIKAMP 1958c; CAVAZZINI 1989; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 127–32; WINNER 1999, pp. 137–44; WEDDIGEN 2000, pp. 215–25; Eitel-Porter and Zukerman in FRANKLIN 2009, pp. 346–49, nos. 110–11. For the *Calumny*, see SHEARMAN 1983, pp. 299–303; MASSING 1990, pp. 197–217; WEDDIGEN 2000, pp. 202–04; WHITAKER/CLAYTON 2007, pp. 76–79. For the Palazzo Zuccari decorations, see KÖRTE 1935; HERRMANN FIORE 1979; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 199–227; LEUSCHNER 2000; KLIEMANN 2006, pp. 198–203; STRUNCK 2007. For his allegorical imagery in general, see ACIDINI/CAPRETTI 2009.

¹³ "... fù imposto a M. Durante che egli desse principio a ragionare di che egli doveva intorno al Disegno, che cosa sia, & come si possa intellettivamente intendere, il quale con Romano Alberti suo Nipote, discorsero a lungo & assai bene sopra la pratica, & uso di disegnarne al di fuori, assegnando varii, e diversi modi, e maniere di disegnarne, ma questa non essendo il thema dato dal Sig. Principe, che desiderava si conoscesse piu a detto nell'animo, e nello spirito ...". ALBERTI 1604, pp. 15–16 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp. 27–28).

eyes. As Romano Alberti reported, “At the end the Signor Principe [Federico] praised what had been said about external *disegno*, and drawing in practice, but because he intended otherwise, that is that *disegno* in the Idea and in the intellect should be principally discussed and understood,” he therefore gave his own account on 17th January 1594.¹⁴ Here Federico outlined his concept of *disegno* as being a *scintilla divinitatis* (a spark of divinity), a theme which he also illustrated in the Sala del Disegno in his palace.¹⁵ He also regularly stepped in to give apparently impromptu lectures or devise other activities when his fellow academicians made excuses for not presenting the topics that they had been assigned. For example, on three successive occasions Giacomo della Porta pleaded pressure of work, when he was supposed to be defining architecture in early 1594.¹⁶ Excuses were also made by Giuseppe Cesari, who sent Camillo Ducci to give a lecture in his place.¹⁷ The Academicians’ enthusiasm for Zuccari’s prescribed lecture programme seems to have waned when he was absent from Rome for three months later in 1594. During that period no lectures were given, and in the years after Federico ceased to be *Principe*, the Academy is described as “quasi abbandonata”.¹⁸ It has been persuasively argued that Roman artists, unlike those of Bologna, had a strongly anti-intellectual basis, and that this was one of the reasons for Federico’s failure to establish his lecture series.¹⁹ The extent to which Federico’s notoriously prickly character might also have contributed is a matter for speculation.²⁰

Just over a decade before the inception of Federico’s Roman Academy, the three Carracci, Ludovico, Agostino and Annibale, had founded their famous academy in Bologna, initially entitled the *Accademia delli Desiderosi*, and subsequently the *Accademia degli Incamminati*.²¹ Like Federico’s Academy, it

probably took its inspiration, at least in part, from the Florentine Academy, with which Ludovico might have had contact during his early *studioso corso*, although Bernardino Baldi’s academy, at which the Carracci would draw both from casts and from life in their early days, was also a precedent.²² Most scholars have agreed that the Carracci Academy was a much less formal institution than the Roman Academy in its earlier years, combining the teaching of drawing, and above all life drawing and the study of nature, with the functions of an active workshop and business.²³ This apparently changed in 1602, when Ludovico sought to have it joined to the Bolognese *Compagnia dei Pittori* in an arrangement that resembled the constitutions of both the Florentine and Roman Academies, and to have it formally associated with the Roman Academy.²⁴ The connections between the Carracci Academy and its Florentine and Roman counterparts emerge clearly from a letter of 1611 from Ludovico in response to Cardinal Federico Borromeo’s request for the Academy’s statutes to assist him in the establishing of an Academy at the Ambrosiana in Milan.²⁵ Ludovico’s letter clearly reflects the later evolution of the Academy under his sole guidance. Interestingly, in this context, Zuccari had been in contact with Ludovico around 1604, when he was working on the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia for the Cardinal.²⁶

The evidence for the activities of the Carracci Academy before the departures of Annibale and Agostino for Rome is rather more elusive. The most reliable written source is Lucio Faberio’s funeral oration for Agostino, which for all its rhetoric, must be reasonably dependable since it was delivered to the members of the Academy, including Ludovico.²⁷ This is the most detailed contemporary written evidence that we have for the Academy’s earliest curriculum, although our knowledge is supplemented by Malvasia’s information. Agostino has always been regarded as the intellectual of the Carracci, fluent in Latin, an able poet and musician, as well as learned in a wide range of subjects. It is not entirely clear to what extent his ideas

¹⁴ “Nel fine però il Sig. Principe lodò quanto si era detto circa il Disegno esterno, & disegnarne attualmente; ma perche esso altro intendeva, cioè che si discorresse, e si cognoscesse principalmente Disegno nel Idea, & nel intelletto, impose a M. Cesare Nebbia Pittore Orvietano, e di nome, che sopra ciò ne dovesse all’altra tornata seguente ragionare intellettualmente, e come pittore, e come filosofo.” ALBERTI 1604, p. 16 (HEIKAMP 1961, P. 28). For Nebbia see MARCIARI 2009; LUKEHART 2009b. The text of Federico’s lecture is reproduced in ALBERTI 1604, pp. 16–25 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp. 28–37).

¹⁵ ALBERTI 1604, pp. 15–25 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp. 27–37). For the Sala del Disegno, see HERRMANN FIORE 1979, pp. 72–90; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 215–20; STRUNCK 2007, p. 115. Below, p. 000.

¹⁶ ALBERTI 1604, pp. 26–34 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp. 38–46).

¹⁷ ALBERTI 1604, p. 57 (HEIKAMP 1961, p. 69). See also WAŻBIŃSKI 1992, pp. 330–32.

¹⁸ ALBERTI 1604, pp. 66, 77 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp. 78, 89).

¹⁹ CAVAZZINI 2008, p. 154.

²⁰ ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 2–4; ACIDINI/CAPRETTI 2009, *passim*.

²¹ DEMPSEY 1977 and 1989; FEIGENBAUM 1990, 1993 and 1999; ROBERTSON 2008, pp. 68–77, with further bibliography.

²² For the influence of the Florentine Academy, see ROBERTSON 2008, pp. 20, 68. For Baldi, see MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p. 268; ROBERTSON 1997, p. 4; ROBERTSON 2008, p. 34.

²³ DEMPSEY 1989, p. 32.

²⁴ MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p. 384; DEMPSEY 1980, pp. 557–59 and 1989.

²⁵ “Di due cose sono per hora debitore a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima: ad una sodisfarò con il libretto delle leggi, le quali sono ultimamente ricevute e stabilite da tutto il corpo dell’Accademia nostra, doppio l’haverle variate più volte, sì per quello che di giorno in giorno richiedevano l’occorrenze, come per quello che da varie Accademie di Roma, Fiorenza et altre habbiamo veduto osservarsi”. Letter of 11 February 1613: PERINI 1990, pp. 127–28. See also JONES 1993, p. 47.

²⁶ PERINI 1990, p. 147. For the Collegio Borromeo, see ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 248; LUKEHART 2009b, pp. 182–84.

²⁷ MORELLO 1603, reprinted in MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, pp. 299–312; SUMMERSCALE 2000, pp. 50–51. and pp. 180–97. See also, ROBERTSON 2008, pp. 191–92.

might have dominated the curriculum of the Academy, nor the degree to which Ludovico and Annibale might have contributed to the more theoretical aspects of its artistic teachings. Like Federico, Agostino was well acquainted with the culture of literary academies, as a member of the Accademia dei Gelati.²⁸ Members of the Gelati, including Agostino's friend Melchiorre Zoppio, were among the intellectuals who would attend the Carracci Academy, according to Malvasia.²⁹ Other artist members of the Academy wrote verse, and belonged to literary academies, notably Agostino Mitelli and Giovanni Luigi Valesio, suggesting a significant intellectual culture among at least some members. Ludovico too seems to have been willing to be associated with literary controversy, at least towards the end of his career, when his friend Ferrante Carlo wrote a polemic on a sonnet by Marino, a polemic in which Valesio also took an active part.³⁰ The Accademia degli Incamminati was clearly hugely popular in its early years, with young artists such as Domenichino, Albani and Reni deserting their masters of the older generation to study with the Carracci, while older artists also attended.³¹ Yet by around 1600, it was apparently in decline, after the departures of Annibale and Agostino for Rome in the mid-1590s, and the exodus of the younger generation who followed to assist Annibale in the Farnese Gallery around 1600–01. Malvasia reports the crisis in relation to Alessandro Tiarini, when Ludovico rejected his entry into the Academy, on the bitter grounds that “today no one does anything in my school except make noise and carouse”, temporarily forcing the young artist to study at the Florentine Academy.³²

The theoretical content of the curricula of both Academies has been extensively discussed. At first sight the study programmes of Federico's Roman Academy and that of the Carracci before 1602, are remarkably similar, in that both stressed artistic training through extensive practice of drawing, but also insisted on an intellectual and theoretical underpinning for their students' education. Their immediate physical needs also had much in common. Besides needing a suitable space for both lectures and practical activities, from early on there had to be an *impresa*, which would be symbolic of each institu-

tion's aims, and an image of the Virgin. Malvasia quotes a document of 1582 in which the father of a Carracci pupil, Giovampaolo Bonconti, paid for the Madonna, as well as tables, and other equipment.³³ It is not certain when the *impresa* of the *Carro*, or Ursa Major, the traveller's beacon, was adopted. Although Agostino seems to be experimenting with related ideas in a drawing that must date from after 1595, an *impresa*, presumably painted, is mentioned amongst the expenses paid by Bonconti's father.³⁴ The *Carro* was particularly appropriate for the *Incamminati*, which was a university term relating to students who were well on their way, that is “embarked upon a *corso di perfezionamento*”.³⁵ (Interestingly Federico used the term *incamminare* in his first address to the Academy, concerning their purpose.)³⁶ Similarly, the *impresa* to be adopted by the Roman Academy was debated over several of their earliest sessions, with that of a shining lantern, put forward by Federico, apparently anonymously, being adopted.³⁷

There is no record to suggest that in its earlier years, while it was a relatively informal institution, the members of the Carracci Academy engaged in any form of religious activity before their sessions. Indeed the only religious ceremony which is associated with the Academy is Agostino's funeral in 1602, which was explicitly based on one of the Florentine Academy's first public displays, the funeral of Michelangelo in 1564.³⁸ Nonetheless, an image of the Virgin within the Academy's meeting place was clearly deemed necessary from the outset. The Roman Academy, by contrast, was an official organisation with a Cardinal Protector. At its first meeting, it had to be provided not just with tables and chairs, but also with an altar over which was an image, appropriately, of *St Luke painting the Virgin in the presence of Raphael*. This was believed to be a work by Raphael himself, and had previously been installed in the church of San Luca on the Esquiline, the church of the Accademia's forerun-

²⁸ DEGRAZIA BOHLIN 1979, pp.280–87; ROBERTSON 2008, pp.68–70.

²⁹ MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p.336. See also CAMMAROTA 1984, p.303; SUMMERSCALE 2000, pp.271–72.

³⁰ TAKAHASHI 2007, pp.43–47; PFISTERER 2007; ROBERTSON 2008, p.29.

³¹ ROBERTSON 2008, pp.70–71.

³² “Stravagante fu la risposta di quell buon virtuoso [Ludovico]; poiche interrogando l'intercessore, se il giovane [Tiarini] ciò addimandasse per passatempo, o per istudiare, avutone in risposta, ch'anzi per istudiare, ed istudiare di proposito: appunto perciò rispose, nè io accettar lo voglio, nè lui si ci metta, perchè altro oggi non si fa nella mia scuola che chiasso e bagordi.” MALVASIA 1841, vol. 2, pp.120–23. See also TAKAHASHI 2001, pp.525–28; PIGOZZI 2004, p.141.

³³ MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p.404.

³⁴ ROBERTSON/WHISTLER 1996, no. 44; ROBERTSON 2008, p.71. If the *impresa* was painted, it may well have resembled that painted for the Accademia dei Gelati by Prospero Fontana: ROBERTSON 2008, p.24, n. 42. On later *imprese* of individual members of the Academy between 1604 and 1607, see PACE 2004.

³⁵ DEMPSEY 1989, p.33.

³⁶ “Dovendosi questa mattina dar principio con il Nome di Dio, a qualche cosa degna, & honorata, per incamminare gli studij, e ragionamenti nostri, in questa nuova, e nascente Accademia del Disegno, o professione nostra di Pittura, Scultura & Architettura.”: ALBERTI 1604, p.2 (HEIKAMP 1961, p.14). In another session, Federico declared that “li Giovanni ben incaminati” should be called “Academici studiosi”, while “li principianti” should be “Academici desiderosi”: ALBERTI 1604, p.7 (HEIKAMP 1961, p.19). The overlap of terminology between the two academies seems scarcely coincidental.

³⁷ ALBERTI 1604, pp.28–34 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp.40–46).

³⁸ WITTKOWER/WITTKOWER 1964; WĄŻBIŃSKI 1987, pp.155–65. For Agostino's funeral, see MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, pp.300–12; SUMMERSCALE 2000, pp.179–210; ROBERTSON 2008, pp.191–93.

ner, the Università di San Luca.³⁹ As a confraternity, as well as an Academy, its members had to observe certain religious requirements. The Academy met on Sundays, and before the first meeting on 14 November 1593 a mass was held in the artists' church. Prayers were regularly said at the beginning of each meeting.⁴⁰ In addition the academicians were required to attend mass before each formal meeting of the Academy, and the young pupils were expected to be ready to receive the Holy Sacrament on the last Sunday of every month.⁴¹

Artistic theory was a necessary topic for discussion in both academies. We have no direct record of the content of such discussions in the Carracci Academy, though Malvasia mentions that they took place.⁴² However, it seems reasonable to assume, given Agostino's contacts with writers such as Alessandro Lamo and Bernardino Campi, that they would have been polemical, and sympathetic to the anti-Vasarian reaction of other northern Italian writers.⁴³ Annibale had a copy of Vasari's *Vite*, which he annotated quite extensively, with remarks which are generally hostile to the author's promotion of Tuscan artists, and of the study of the antique. This was evidently available to other members of the Carracci Academy, since it has been further annotated in several different hands with comments in a similar vein.⁴⁴ Federico at various stages owned two copies of Vasari, one of which he also annotated. He too was hostile to Vasari, though in part for slightly different reasons, largely to do with what Federico considered Vasari's disrespectful treatment of Taddeo in his biography. There are, nonetheless, significant overlaps with Annibale's views on Vasari.⁴⁵ The accounts of the meetings of the Roman Academy also contain numerous examples of Federico's views on other writers on art, such as Armenini and Lomazzo.⁴⁶ Indeed it has been argued that Lomazzo's treatise may have functioned as a "quasi official" manual for the Roman Academy.⁴⁷

Mathematics was a crucial part of each curriculum, following the example of the Florentine Academy.⁴⁸ Bellori mentions that

Agostino "turned his mind to the mathematical sciences and philosophy", specifically mentioning geometry, as fundamental for painting, and arithmetic.⁴⁹ The mathematician, architect and cosmographer, Ignazio Danti may have taught mathematics in the Florentine Academy during the early 1570s, and he subsequently taught at the University of Bologna between 1576 and 1580. While he cannot have taught in the Carracci Academy, it is possible that he, or at least his work, was known to them, since Passerotti painted his portrait around 1577, at a time when Agostino may have been studying with him.⁵⁰ Danti's commentary on Vignola's *Due regole* (Rome, 1583) may well have been in use in the Carracci Academy. Numerous perspective studies by Agostino and Annibale demonstrate their mastery of perspective, including their study of another architectural treatise, that of Serlio.⁵¹

The Florentine Academy taught mathematics, and especially Euclidean geometry from an early date, employing professional tutors. Federico subsequently proposed that classes in the subject should be given at least once a month.⁵² Related subjects such as geometry, perspective, and proportion would have been an appropriate part of the aspiring artist's studies, as well as the study of architecture.⁵³ Pure mathematics is not mentioned in the curriculum of the Roman Academy, though the study of perspective and proportion are.⁵⁴ That Federico would have favoured mathematical study is suggested by an engraving entitled *Accademia d'Pitori* by Pierfrancesco Alberti, son of Durante Alberti, who was one of the founding members of Federico's Academy (fig. 1). In the middle ground the principles of geometry are being explained to some young students, in a group that appropriately owes much to Raphael's Euclid group in the School of Athens.⁵⁵ Tomaso Laureti, who would become Federico's successor as *Principe*, was scheduled to give a lecture on mathematical rules and forms on 21 August 1594,

³⁹ SALVAGNI 2009, pp.77–78. The work has previously been attributed to Federico Zuccari, with a possible intervention by Scipione Pulzone: WAŻBIŃSKI 1985b; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp.178–79. For the quarrel over Scipione's restoration of the painting, see BAGLIONE 1642, p.124.

⁴⁰ ALBERTI 1604, p.14 and *passim*. (HEIKAMP 1961, p.26).

⁴¹ ALBERTI 1604, pp.16–17 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp.28–29).

⁴² MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p.277. See also, BELLORI 1976, pp.116–17.

⁴³ ROBERTSON 2008, pp.27–30 and pp.52–67.

⁴⁴ For Annibale's *postille*, see FANTI 1979 and 1980; PERINI 1990, pp.158–64; KEAZOR 2002; ROBERTSON 2008, pp.54–67.

⁴⁵ HOCHMANN 1988; SPAGNOLO 2007; ROBERTSON 2008, pp.55–56.

⁴⁶ E.g., ALBERTI 1604, p.18 (Vasari, Armenini), p.24 (Vasari, Lomazzo, Dolce) (HEIKAMP 1961, pp.30, 36).

⁴⁷ WAŻBIŃSKI 1999, p.332.

⁴⁸ BARZMAN 2000, pp.151–54. For the Carracci, see also MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, pp.277, 308.

⁴⁹ "Sollevò la mente alle scienze matematiche ed alla filosofia; dalla geometria raccolse i fondamenti della pittura, dall'aritmetica la teoria della musica ..." BELLORI 1976, p.117.

⁵⁰ GHIRARDI 1990, pp.216–19; PIGOZZI 2004, pp.139–40.

⁵¹ WITTKOWER 1952, no. 139; GOLDSTEIN 1988, pp.147–54; ROBERTSON 2008, p.74.

⁵² BARZMAN 2000, pp.56, 68.

⁵³ Pietro Roccasecca argues that architectural study was a relatively weak component in the Roman Academy's teaching: ROCCASECCA 2009, p.129. On the other hand, Baglione suggests that under Tomaso Laureti's leadership, the year following Federico, he took great care to teach the young "la prospettiva, e li principianti dell'architettura", which might be expected of an artist of Laureti's particular interests: BAGLIONE 1642, p.73.

⁵⁴ ALBERTI 1604, pp.8, 56 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp.20, 68). On the relationship between mathematics and art in the Academy's teaching, see GAGE 2009, pp.262–65.

⁵⁵ For Alberti's engraving and its relationship to Federico's programme, see LUKEHART 2007, p.107. See also OLSZEWSKI 1985, pp.118–21. For Federico and geometry, see also, MERZ 1999, pp.214–27.



1. Pierfrancesco Alberti, *Accademia d'Pitori*, etching, 40.5×58.2 cm, c. 1625 (photo © Trustees of the British Museum)

though it is not clear whether this ever took place.⁵⁶ A drawing by Federico of a view through a corridor to a square with figures and buildings has an elaborate perspective construction, clearly demonstrating Federico's study of the subject (fig. 2).⁵⁷ The theoretical nature of architecture was similarly discussed, largely by Federico as usual, though several architects were invited to speak in the absence, once again, of Rome's leading architect, Giacomo della Porta. So too, a number of lectures on practical aspects of the subject were suggested for Giovanni Battista Montano, Onorio Longhi, Ascanio Rossi and Martino Longhi to give.⁵⁸ However, these were due to take place during the period of Federico's absence from Rome, and evidently did not happen.

Anatomy too was a significant area of study. For obvious practical reasons, actual dissections could not be undertaken with great regularity. The study of anatomy was practised by the Florentine Academy, with the requirement that at least one dissection a year should take place at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.⁵⁹ It was also well established in Bologna. Passerotti studied anatomy with doctors, and planned to write a treatise on the subject.⁶⁰ According to Malvasia, detailed study of the parts of the body, including the skeleton, veins, nerves, and muscles was required in the Carracci Acad-

⁵⁶ ALBERTI 1604, p. 56 (HEIKAMP 1961, p. 68).

⁵⁷ *Geheimster Wohnsitz* 1999, no. 106.

⁵⁸ ALBERTI 1604, pp. 54–55 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp. 66–67).

⁵⁹ BARZMAN 2000, p. 56. JACOBS 2002, pp. 436–39. For anatomical drawings by members of the Academy, see *Mostra di disegni* 1963, nos. 40–41, and 1984, nos. 6–9, 22–32. WAŻBIŃSKI 1987, pp. 179–96.

⁶⁰ ZAPPERI 1989, p. 43, n. 31; GHIRARDI 1990, pp. 42–46. HÖPER 1997; KORNELL 1998. More generally, see GHIRARDI 2004; LAURENZA 2004. See also, below, n. 70.

emy. The presence of a skeleton in the studio, an item which is commonly depicted in idealised illustrations of Academies, such as those of Stradano and Pierfrancesco Alberti (fig. 1), is vividly attested by an anecdote of Malvasia, in which Pietro Faccini was petrified studying late at night, when the Carracci, as one of their notorious practical jokes, made the skeleton appear to move.⁶¹ The Carracci also employed one of the professors of Bologna University, Dr Domenico Lanzoni, to give lectures, though apparently only after the departure of Annibale and Agostino for Rome.⁶² Whether he gave access to actual dissections, as Malvasia claims, is open to question.⁶³ That Agostino studied the human figure scientifically is demonstrated in a number of drawings, which show parts of the body *écorchés*, as well as detailed features such as ears, eyes and feet (fig. 3).⁶⁴ Another study of human proportions shows a schematic skeleton (fig. 4).⁶⁵ Annibale, by contrast, seems to have been sceptical about the value of anatomical studies. He is highly critical of Vasari's praise of anatomical study in one of the *postille*, criticising artists who wasted too much time on dissection, and exclaiming that, while such study might have some uses, it was not necessary for artists "to plunge right inside, like the medics".⁶⁶ Given the relatively limited possibilities of access to corpses, artists found it useful to make anatomical models for later study. Malvasia describes this process in some detail, describing Agostino's model of the *orecchione*, or big ear, which was regarded as one of the most difficult parts of the body to draw.⁶⁷ He goes on to say that Agostino "also made small clay models of hands and feet after cadavers that were obtained for him pri-

⁶¹ For Stradano and Alberti, see PFISTERER 2007, figs. 3–4. There is also a dissection taking place in the background of Alberti's engraving (fig. 1). For Faccini, see MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p. 398.

⁶² PIGOZZI 2001, pp. 19–20, and 2004, p. 145.

⁶³ MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p. 347; CIARDI 1993, p. 212.

⁶⁴ WITTKOWER 1952, no. 131. See also WITTKOWER 1952, nos. 133, 134, 137 *recto*, 139 *recto*; BYAM SHAW 1976, no. 927; PARKER 1956, vol. 2, no. 151 *verso*.

⁶⁵ WITTKOWER 1952, no. 137 *verso*; GOLDSTEIN 1988, pp. 124–25.

⁶⁶ "È gran cosa che molti pittori, non so s'[io] debbo dire poco intend[enti] di quest'arte, attendon[o] et consumano tanto te[mpo] in torno a questa anno[to]mia, che con tutto ch[e] sia buono il saperne, non è però necesario il cacciarvisi drento [come] fanno i medici, ma n[on] più, chè qua non è [il] suo loco". PERINI 1990, p. 158.

⁶⁷ "Fece di rilievo Agostino e modelleggiò per suo servizio. Si vede particolarmente nelle stanze de' pittori, ad essi servendo di modello, una orecchia più grande assai del naturale, detta comunemente l'orecchione di Agostino, quale fece in tal modo per ben più intenderla ed assicurarvisi dentro in tutte le vedute disegnandola; come che riputasse quella parte, come veramente ella si è; una delle più difficili dell'umana struttura; ond'è, che per ben conoscere se una testa dipinta sia da valentuomo si soglia subito guardare alle orecchie se son ben disegnate ed intese per il suo verso ed a suo luogo; e che nissuno sia pure che gran maestro si vuole, mai meglio de' Carracci le abbia disegnate, ben intese e meglio collocate". MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, pp. 346–47.



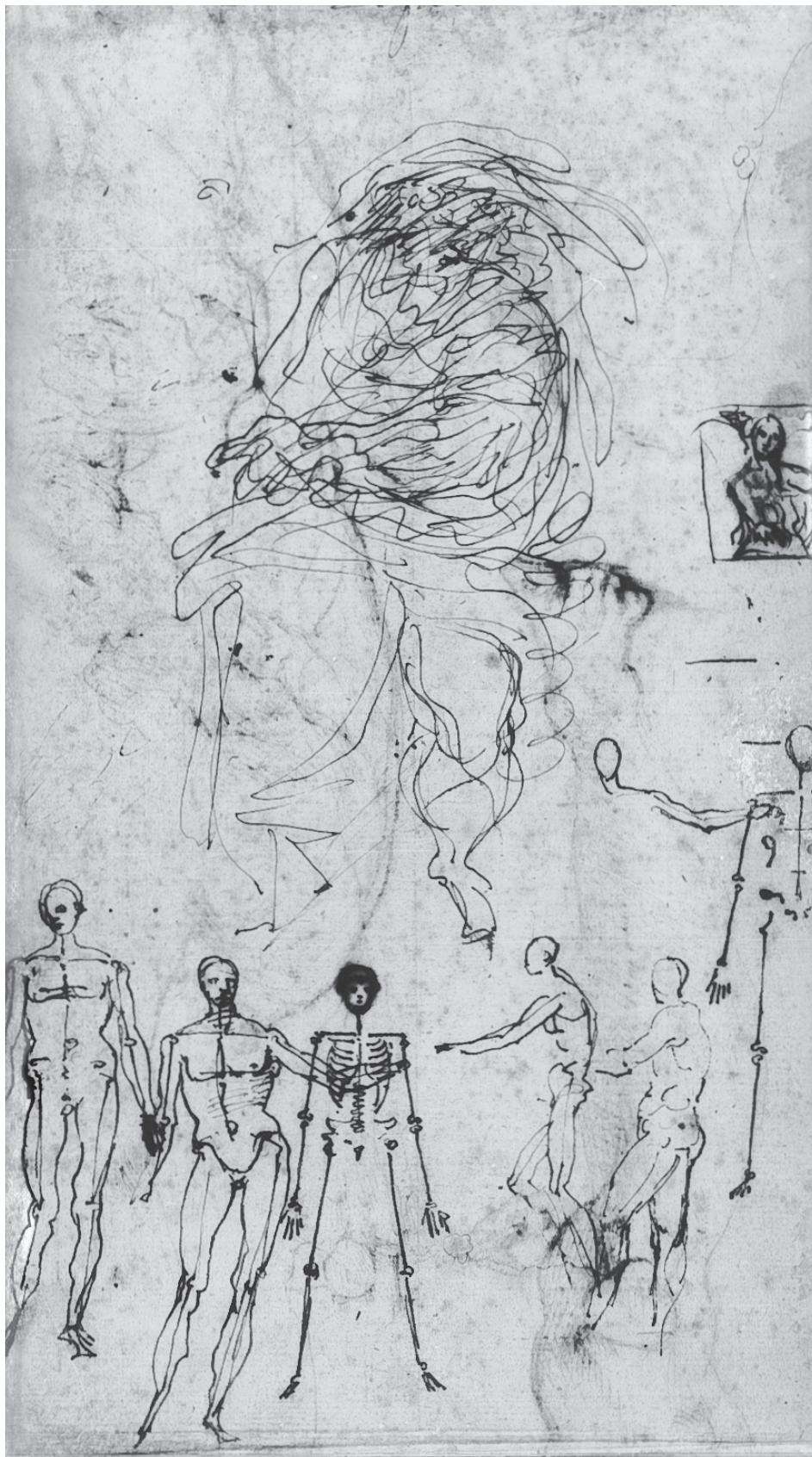
2. Federico Zuccari, *Perspective study of a scene through a corridor*, pen and brown ink and wash, 26.9×13.4 cm. Weimar, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. KK 8670 (photo Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar)

vately from the law courts before burial and sometimes from hospitals by his friend Lanzoni, who flayed them himself."⁶⁸ Such models were not only portable for study away from the

⁶⁸ "Cavò anche dal naturale di corpi morti (che dalla Giustizia prima di seppellirsi e talor dagli ospedali gli fece avere privatamente il suo Lanzoni, scorticandoli di sua mano) certi modelletti piccioli, per poter portar seco per tutto ove andava con comodità, di braccia, di gambe di terra creta, che poi fe' cuocere alla fornace". MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p. 347; SUMMERSCALE 2000, p. 295.



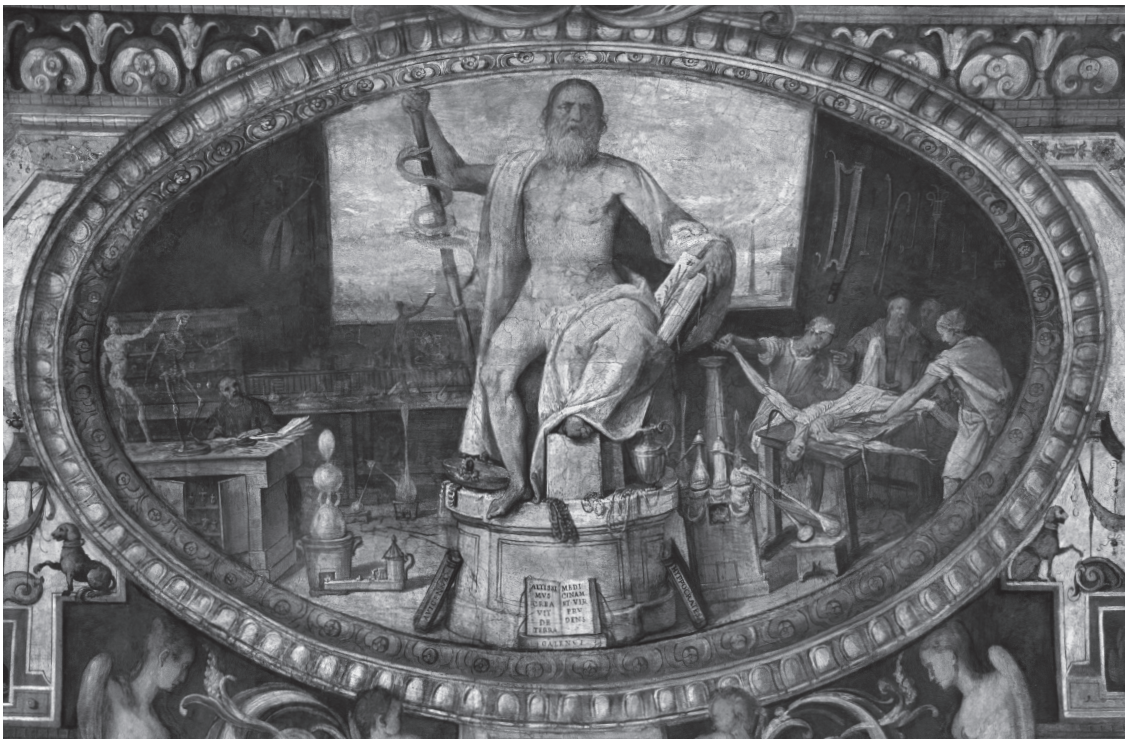
3. Agostino Carracci, Studies of heads and figures, details, caricatures and trees, black chalk, pen and grey and brown ink, 50.0×37.0 cm. Windsor Castle, Collection of H. M. the Queen, inv. 1755 verso (photo Villani)



4. Agostino Carracci, *Figure studies*, pen and brown ink, 26.9×15.6 cm. Windsor Castle, Collection of H. M. the Queen, inv. 1848 verso (photo Villani)



5. Circle of Federico Zuccari, *Anatomy lesson with Michelangelo and other artists*, 1575–79, 42×52 cm. Rome, Galleria Borghese (photo Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)



6. Federico Zuccari, *Publica Salus*, fresco, 1593–1603. Rome, Palazzo Zuccari, Sala del Disegno (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome)



7. Agostino Carracci, *Studies of feet and an Annunciation*, pen and brown ink, 25.8×16.2 cm. Windsor Castle, Collection of H. M. the Queen, inv. 2129 recto (photo Villani)

studio, but would also form a basis for some of the drawing manuals to be discussed below.

One dissection is recorded in the proceedings of Federico's Academy. This took place on 26 January 1594, when Giacomo della Porta had failed to turn up to deliver his lecture. Federico seized the opportunity on the grounds that the previous day there had been an execution, and it would therefore be easy to obtain a cadaver. It was just as well that it was winter, since the dissection took place over a fortnight. The corpse was flayed, and then detailed study was made of the muscles, bones, and veins, according to standard academic practice. Finally a cast was made, though it is not clear what state the body was in at this point, and it was put on display in the Academy for "public study and common benefit".⁶⁹ A painting and related drawing which had traditionally been attributed to Passerotti, but

which have more recently plausibly been given to Federico and assistants, shows an idealised *notomia* led by Michelangelo, surrounded by leading early Cinquecento artists, and fits well with Federico's didactic programme (fig.5).⁷⁰ Such study was also given visual form in Federico's decoration in his Roman palace, in the Sala del Disegno (fig.6).⁷¹ A personification of

⁶⁹ ALBERTI 1604, p.28 (HEIKAMP 1961, p.40). On this episode, see also, ROC-CASECCA 2009, p.133.

⁷⁰ HERRMANN FIORE 2001, pp.63–84. JACOBS 2002, p.439 (as Passerotti); GHIRARDI 2004, pp.153–54 (as Passerotti); RAGIONIERI 2008, p.82, no. 34 (as Passerotti). In ROBERTSON 2008, pp.74–75, I followed Ghirardi's attribution to Passerotti (above, n. 60).

⁷¹ HERRMANN FIORE 1979, p.86; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, p.217, fig.83. For a preparatory drawing, see McTavish in FRANKLIN 2009, no. 140. See also, DEMIRSOY 2000, pp.110–14.



8. Agostino Carracci, *God the Father and other studies*, pen and brown ink on grey-green paper, 25.6×40.0 cm. Windsor Castle, Collection of H. M. the Queen, inv. 1825 (photo The Royal Collection © HM Queen Elizabeth II)

Medicine or *Publica Salus*, surrounded by medical textbooks, is included as one of the adjuncts of *Disegno*, reflecting Federico's theoretical views. In the background, to the left, a figure studies at a desk on which there is a model of a skeleton and an *écorché*, while on the right a dissection is taking place. In practice, however, anatomical drawings from Federico's circle seem relatively rare.⁷²

Initial teaching methods for the youngest members of each Academy were apparently quite similar. Agostino seems to have developed a highly systematic approach to drawing different parts of the body. This can be seen in numerous drawings in which parts of the body are repeatedly studied from a variety of angles (fig. 7), or in which features such as eyes are schematically rendered (fig. 3).⁷³ Some of these drawings were subsequently engraved in a drawing manual by Luca Ciambelano, the *Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il*

corpo, which was widely imitated during the seventeenth century (fig. 9).⁷⁴ One such example was published in two editions by Ludovico's pupil, Giovanni Luigi Valesio, who described himself as "l'Instabile Academico Incaminato", while another was written by another Carracci alumnus, Francesco Cavazzoni.⁷⁵ Other very similar volumes were produced in Venice and Padua, notably the manuals of Odoardo Fialetti (also a former member of the Incamminati), Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Giacomo Franco and Gasparo Columbina.⁷⁶

On occasion Agostino would extend this systematic study to some improbable angles, such as some studies of a figure seen from below the feet (fig. 8). Federico seems to have taken a comparably methodical approach to the first stages of drawing. He decreed that the youngest scholars, the *giovani prin-*

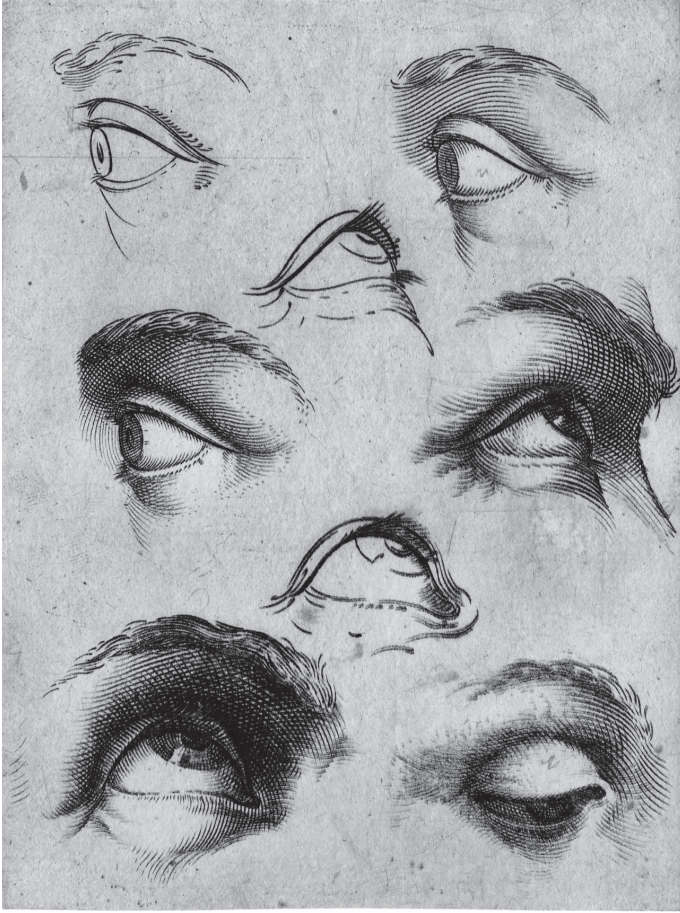
⁷² Herrmann Fiore (2001, p. 69) notes the presence of *écorché* figures in Federico's *Inferno* in the Florence Duomo.

⁷³ WITTKOWER 1952, p. 13 and nos. 133–34; ROBERTSON/WHISTLER 1996, no. 23.

⁷⁴ DEGRAZIA 1980, pp. 294–373; PIGOZZI 2001, pp. 21–23. For the dating of the *Scuola perfetta*, probably between 1609 and 1614, see DONATI 2002, p. 343.

⁷⁵ *I primi elementi di disegno in gratia dei principianti nell'arte della pittura fatti da Giovanni Valesio l'Instabile Academico Incaminato di Bologna*. The first edition was probably published between c. 1606 and 1616. The second edition appeared in Rome c. 1621–33: PIGOZZI 2001, pp. 23–25; TAKAHASHI 2007, pp. 35–36 and 71, ills. 12, 14 and 15; PFISTERER 2007, pp. 3–4. For Cavazzoni, see PIGOZZI 1999, pp. 113–91.

⁷⁶ FIALETTI 1608; FRANCO 1611; COLUMBINA 1623. For these, see ROSAND 1970, pp. 12–24; MAUGERI 1982; AMORNPICHETKUL 1984; BRAUN-ANDERSON 1984; PIGOZZI 2001, pp. 25–31; SOHM 2001, pp. 733–37. For some slightly later examples, see BOSCHLOO 1994.



9. Luca Ciamberlano, from *the Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo*, 1st edition, probably Rome, c.1609–14 (photo © Trustees of the British Museum)

cipianti, should learn the “alphabet” of *disegno* by drawing “eyes, noses, mouths, ears, heads, hands, feet, arms legs, bodies, backs and other similar parts, whether of the human body or that of any other sort of animal ...”.⁷⁷ A group of young artists drawing eyes according to this method can be seen on the left of Pierfrancesco Alberti’s engraving of an Academy (fig. 1). In the centre of the Sala del Disegno in Federico’s Roman palace, a young child holds a similar drawing, which includes an eye and an ear (fig. 10).⁷⁸ So too, in a later portrait of the Cavalier d’Arpino, who himself had been Principe of the Academy in 1628, he is depicted holding a drawing with sketches of an eye, a nose and a mouth, of a kind which might well reflect his didactic activities there (fig. 11).⁷⁹ Yet, although there are a number of lively studies of animals by Federico (fig. 12), studies of individual parts of the human body seem to

⁷⁷ ALBERTI 1604, p. 17 (HEIKAMP 1961, p. 29).

⁷⁸ I thank Julian Kliemann for drawing my attention to this detail.

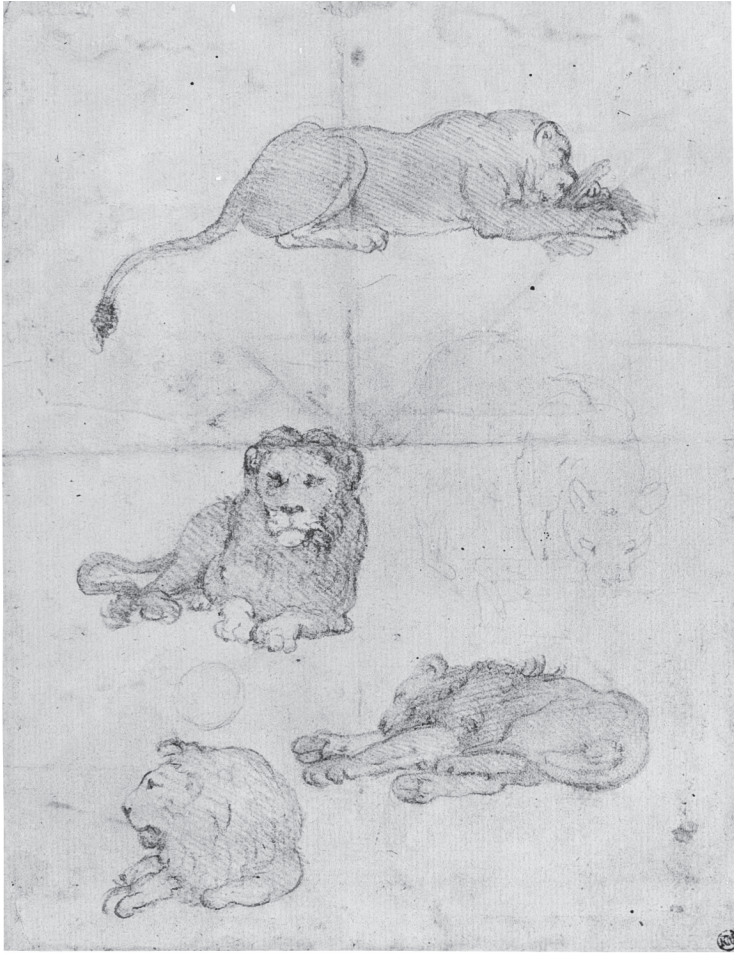
⁷⁹ RÖTTGEN 2002, p. 220.



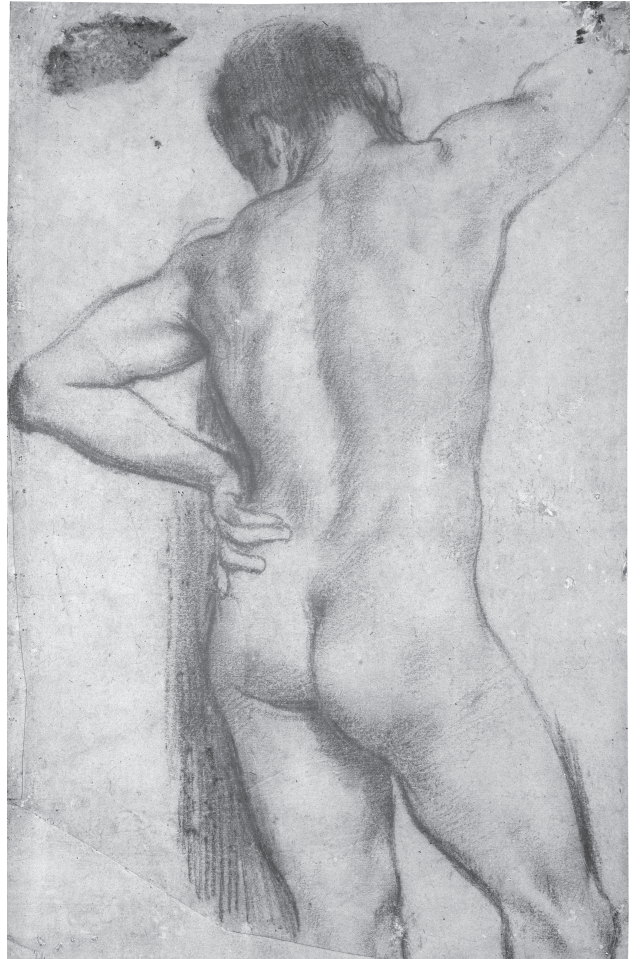
10. Federico Zuccari, *Detail of the ceiling of the Sala del Disegno*. Rome, Palazzo Zuccari (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome)



11. Giuseppe Cesari, *Self-Portrait*, oil on canvas (detail). Private Collection (after RÖTTGEN 2002, p. 220)



12. Federico Zuccari, *Studies of Lions*, red chalk, 20.0×15.0 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM 498/1863 (photo © Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)



13. Annibale Carracci, *Male nude seen from behind*, red chalk on buff paper, 36.4×23.4 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. P11, 860 (photo museum)

be virtually non-existent in his *oeuvre*.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, there is evidence to suggest that three-dimensional models of parts of the body played an important part in the Academy's teaching.⁸¹ Moreover, Baglione comments on Federico's abilities as a sculptor.⁸²

The Carracci Academy is of course most celebrated for its emphasis on drawing from life, whether from the posed model in the studio, or scenes from every day life, and no object was too insignificant for them to draw.⁸³ This approach was summed up by Annibale in his *postille*, when he complained

the "ignorant" Vasari did not understand that ancient artists had taken their inspiration from life, rather than copying other works of art.⁸⁴ Members would also regularly make excursions into the countryside around Bologna to draw the landscape, as numerous drawings by the Carracci themselves, and their pupils testify.⁸⁵ A number of drawings survive, which show artists from the Carracci school in the act of drawing, and particularly in the act of drawing from a model, a practice which led, as Passeri informs us to the resulting drawing being called an "Academy" (fig. 14).⁸⁶ So too, there are many fine examples

⁸⁰ BJURSTRÖM AND MAGNUSSON 1998, no. 594 recto and verso. Other examples include a number of studies of dogs: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 4618, 4621 (GERE 1969, no. 50) and 4622. Another similar study is in the Musée de Rennes: RENNES 1990, no. 50.

⁸¹ ROCCASECCA 2009, pp. 129–32.

⁸² "Quest' uomo non solo fu valente nella pittura, ma fece di scoltura, e modellò eccellentemente": BAGLIONE 1642, p. 125.

⁸³ ROBERTSON 2008, pp. 72–74.

⁸⁴ "[L']ignorante Vasari [n]on s'accorge che gl'[a]ntichi buoni maestri [h] anno cavate le cose [l]oro dal vivo, et vuol [p]iù tosto che sia buono [r]itrar dale seconde cose [c]he son l'antiche, che [d]a le prime e princi[p]alissime che sono le vive, le quali si debbono [s]empre immitare. [M]a costui non intese [q]uest'arte." PERINI 1990, p. 161.

⁸⁵ MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p. 308. Carracci landscape drawings remain highly problematic, especially in attributional terms: POSNER 1971, vol. 1, ch. 9; WHITFIELD 1980 and 1988; BAILEY 1993; STERNBERG-SCHMITZ 2009.



14. Carracci School, *Life drawing class*, pen and brown ink and wash over black chalk on brown paper, 24.0×39.5 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM 906/1863 (photo © Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)

of the male nude by the Carracci themselves, as well as innumerable “school of Carracci” drawings of the male nude, mostly in red chalk, and seen from various angles, which attest to such practice (fig. 13).⁸⁷ Unusually for the time, according to Malvasia, female models, as well as male were drawn: “Here there was never a lack of the best bodies, whether male or female, to serve as muscular and well proportioned models”.⁸⁸ In practice, what appear to be life drawings of the female nude are relatively rare, and Malvasia also records that on at least one occasion, in the *Venus, a Satyr, an Amorino and a baby Satyr*, Annibale would use Ludovico as the model for Venus!⁸⁹

Evidence for life drawing in Federico’s Academy is much harder to come by. Among Federico’s own drawings, the majority are elaborately worked compositional studies or drawings of individual figures, often allegorical, but clearly drawn from the imagination, or what Federico would regard as “*disegno artificiale*”.⁹⁰ A quite different kind of drawing that clearly does involve direct observation is represented by Federico’s numerous portrait studies, almost always executed in a combination of red and black chalk (fig. 15).⁹¹ Their lifelike qualities have much in common with the Carracci’s early portrait studies, notably a portrait of a woman by Agostino, in the same media (fig. 16).⁹²

⁸⁶ PASSERI 1995, p.22. For drawings of the Carracci Academy at work, see PFISTERER 2007, figs. 17, 21, 32a–b. Pfisterer, following Költzsch (2000, p.134), attributes these last two drawings, which have been traditionally given to the Carracci school, to the “circle of Federico Zuccari (?)”, unconvincingly in my view. For the Carracci’s early drawing practices, see also FEIGENBAUM 1993; ROBERTSON 1997.

⁸⁷ ROBERTSON/WHISTLER 1996, no. 60; FEIGENBAUM 1993.

⁸⁸ “Qui non mancavano, fossero del maschio o della femmina, i meglio formati corpi che servissero di risentito e giusto modello.” MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p.277; SUMMERSCALE 2000, p. 118.

⁸⁹ MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p.277; ROBERTSON 2008, p.59. For an example of a female nude by Agostino, see ROBERTSON 2008, p.73, fig.52.

⁹⁰ For Federico’s definition of *disegno artificiale*, see HEIKAMP 1961, pp.167–71.

⁹¹ GRAF 1999. For the portrait of a woman, see ANDREWS 1968, p. 131, no. D3070. For the portrait of Bianca Cappello (?) sold at Sotheby’s (7 December 1978, lot. 96), see ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 116, n. 37. For Federico’s highly formal red and black chalk portrait drawings of Queen Elizabeth I and Robert Dudley, see GOLDRING 2005.

⁹² ROBERTSON/WHISTLER 1996, no. 45. For the Carracci as portraitists, see ROBERTSON 2008, pp.35, 42–43, 65, with further references.



15. Federico Zuccaro, *Portrait of a Woman*, red and black chalk, 10.7×7.7 cm, Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, inv. D 3070 recto (photo National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh)



16. Agostino Carracci, *Portrait of a Woman*, black and red chalk with traces of white chalk on buff paper, 27.2×22.8 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. P11, 144 (photo museum)



17. Annibale Carracci, *Domestic scene*, pen and black ink, grey and brown wash, 29.0×23.3 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1972.133.2 (photo museum)

Federico would also make occasional genre studies, which are comparable to some of Annibale's early drawings (figs. 17–18).⁹³ He also decorated his Florentine house with scenes of everyday life.⁹⁴ In addition, particularly during his Florentine years, while working on the completion of the frescoes for the dome of Florence Cathedral, he would make excursions into the countryside, where he would sketch extensively, anticipating another signifi-

⁹³ For Federico's drawing, see GERE 1966, no. 46. Similar examples are in GERE 1966, nos. 56, 76; GERE 1969, no. 77. For other examples of scenes of everyday life, see also HEIKAMP 1999, pp. 358–59, figs. 14–15. For Annibale's drawing, see ROBERTSON 2008, pp. 35, 73.

⁹⁴ For the Florentine house, see HEIKAMP 1996 and 1998; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 103–15; DIARA/GALORA 2007; Heikamp in ACIDINI/CAPRETTI 2009, pp. 50–61.



18. Federico Zuccari, *Studies of Women and a child*, black chalk, 19.5×22.8 cm. Florence, Uffizi, inv. 11097 F, recto (photo Soprintendenza speciale per il Polo Museale, Florence)

cant Carracci practice, already mentioned. His studies of Vallombrosa and the surrounding countryside, made in August 1577, are particularly well known (fig.19).⁹⁵ In one of these, an artist is seated on the ground sketching, while his companion has a picnic in the shade of the trees (fig.20).⁹⁶ His hunting scene for *La Cofanaria*, with its distant view of Florence, is clearly based on observation from the hills above the city near Fiesole or Set-

tignano (fig.23).⁹⁷ He also sketched views on his many travels throughout Italy, including the view of Cividale del Friuli, which, according to Vasari, he visited with Palladio, who was working on the Palazzo Comunale there around 1564–65 (fig.21).⁹⁸ The practice of drawing landscape evidently continued into his Roman period with a few surviving views of the city (fig.22), including a magnificent view of St Peter's (fig.24).⁹⁹

⁹⁵ For the Vallombrosa drawings, see HEIKAMP 1967, pp.59–60; GRAF 1999, p.45; WAŻBIŃSKI 2001; PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 2004. For the Carracci, see ROBERTSON 2008, pp.72–73.

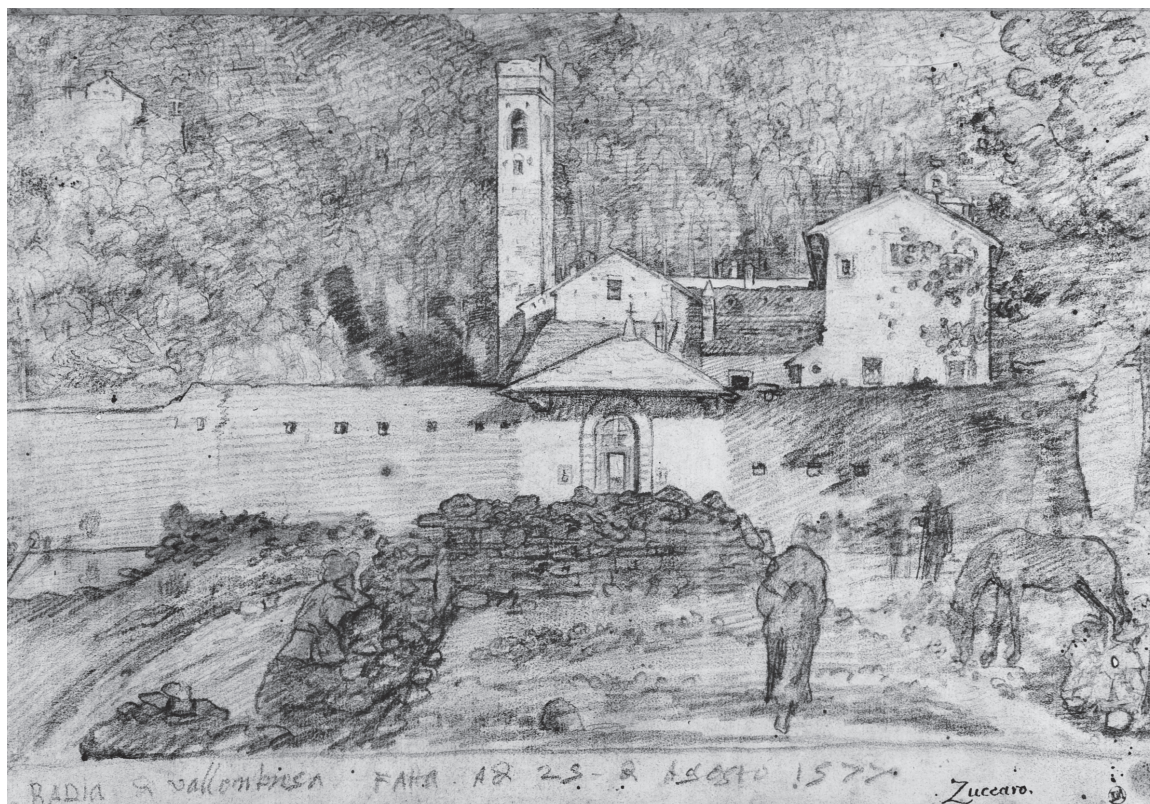
⁹⁶ WAŻBIŃSKI 2001, pp.543–44, fig.1.

⁹⁷ GERE 1966, no. 48; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 1, pp.241–43; WINNER 1999, pp.132–35; PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 2004, pp.270–71; Capretti in ACIDINI/CAPRETTI 2009, pp.128–31, no. 4.1. For a pre-

paratory drawing at Chatsworth, see JAFFÉ 1994, p.243, no. 393. Above, p.190.

⁹⁸ VASARI/MILANESI 1878–85, vol. 7, p.100; HEIKAMP 1958 a and 1999, p.366; PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 2004, p.266.

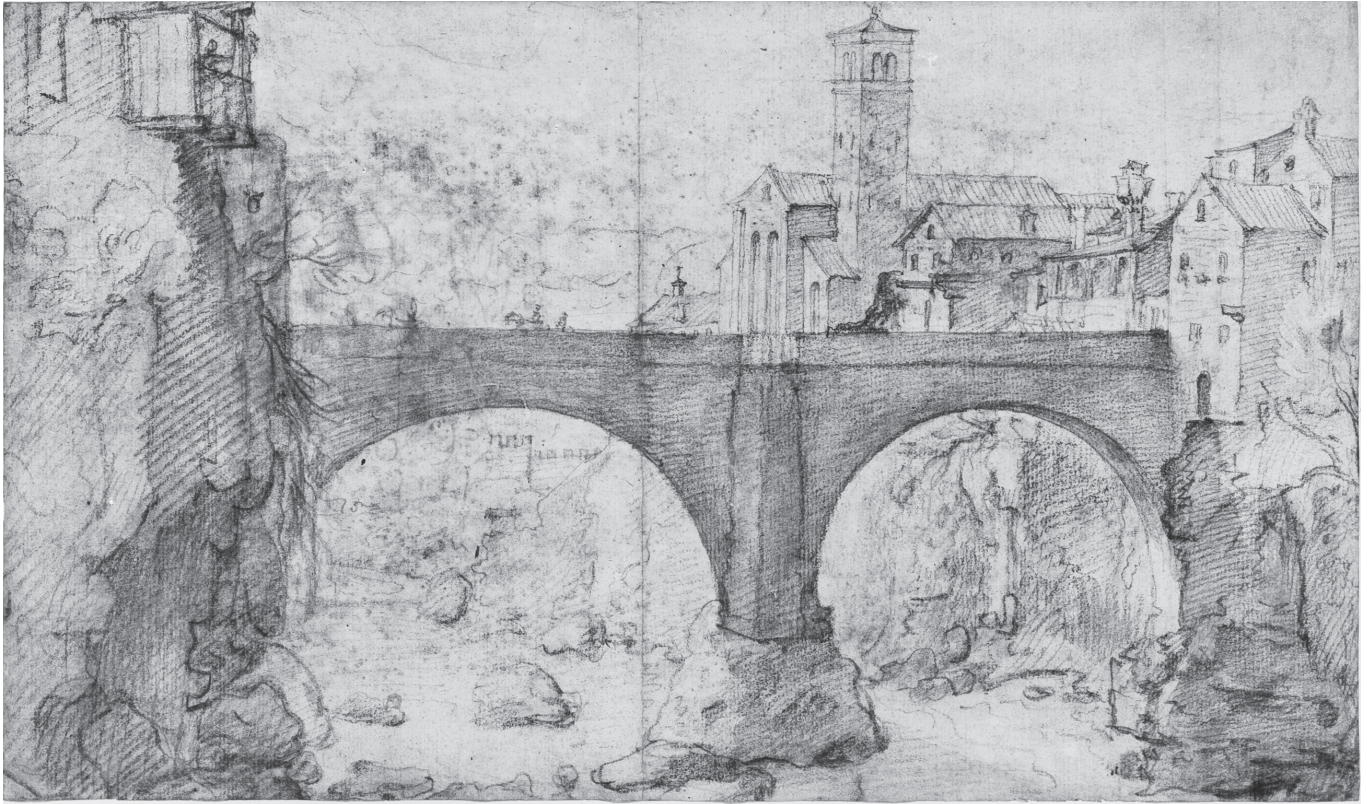
⁹⁹ RÖTTGEN 1968; *Römische Barockzeichnungen* 1976, nos. 2–5; MUNDY 1989, nos. 74–76; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, p.76, fig.11, pp.86–87, 102, 285, fig.18; PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 2004, pp.281–83. For the view of St Peter's, see BROOKS 2007, no. 21 recto.



19. Federico Zuccari, View of the Badia at Vallombrosa on 25th August 1577, red and black chalk, 17.3×25.8 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NMH 463/1863 (photo © Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)



20. Federico Zuccari, Rest in the Forest of Vallombrosa, black and red chalk, 27.1×39.5 cm. Vienna, Albertina, inv. 13329 recto (photo museum)



21. Federico Zuccari, *View of the Ponte del Diavolo, Cividale del Friuli*, black and red chalk, 27.7×38.4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-T-1981-36 (photo museum)



22. Federico Zuccari, *View of the Tiber*, black and red chalk, 8.5×12.5 cm. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, inv. 8497 (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome)



23. Federico Zuccari, *Hunting Scene*, black chalk, watercolour, tempera and white heightening on brown paper, 60.4×137.9 cm. Florence, Uffizi, inv. 11074 F (photo Soprintendenza speciale per il Polo Museale, Florence)

Agostino and/or Annibale would occasionally draw views of Rome, such as a study of the Tiber close to the Isola Tiberina (fig.25).¹⁰⁰ Strikingly, however, there are virtually no figure drawings by Federico which can be considered to have been drawn from life from

the 1590s, let alone the kind of Academies which are such an important feature of the Carracci Academy's production. A rare example is a study of two figures, which may be based on direct observation (fig.26).¹⁰¹ Nor is there any evidence that Federico's Roman stu-

¹⁰⁰ ROBERTSON/WHISTLER 1996, no. 50. Another partially completed view of the Tiber made from the same location is on the *verso* of a study by Annibale for the Farnese Gallery: Paris, Louvre, inv. 7416. See LOISEL 2004, p.240, no. 504.

¹⁰¹ MUNDY 1989, no. 89. RÖTTGEN 2004, p.22, notes that similarly in the drawings of Giuseppe Cesari, what might appear to be studies from life often turn out not to be so. See also MARCIARI 2009, p.223, n. 56.



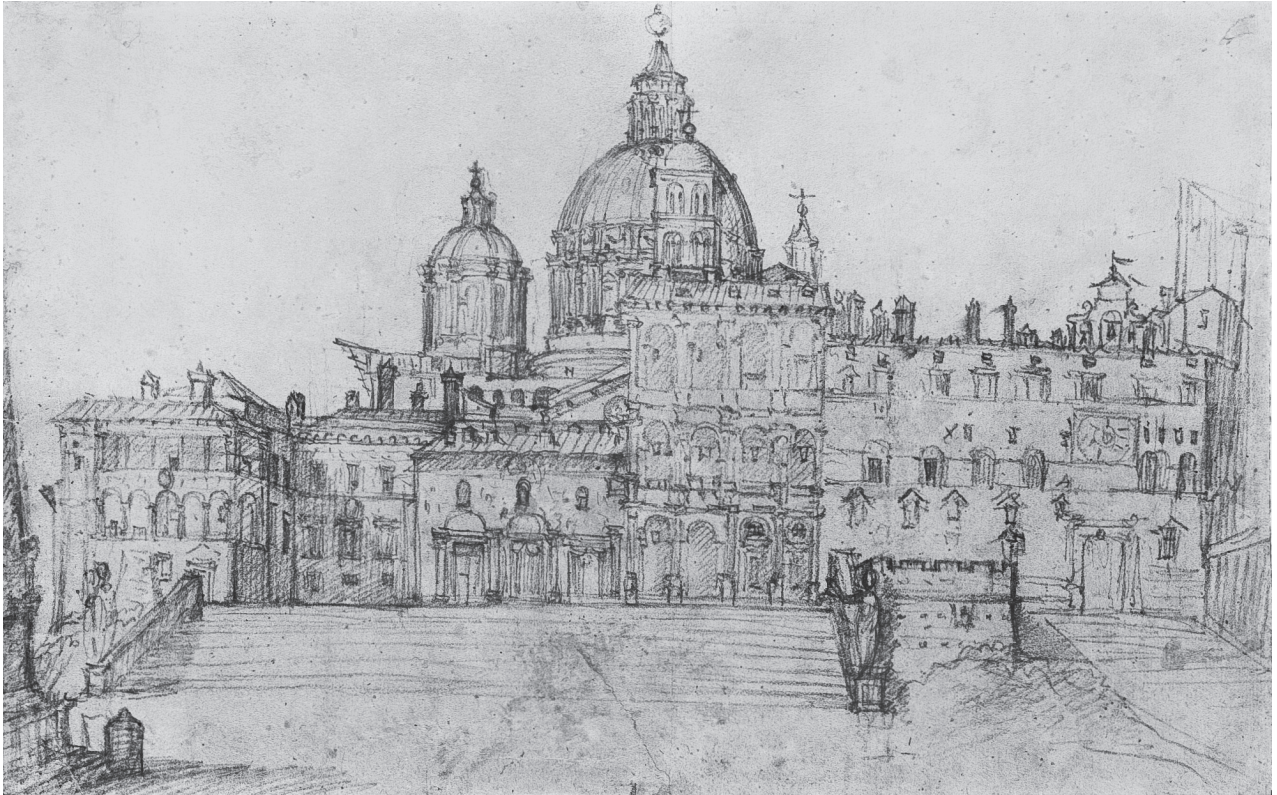
dents were encouraged to make the kind of landscape studies that he had practiced during his Florentine years.

Drawing was clearly seen as central to Federico's pedagogical approach, but the kinds of drawing made in the Academy seem to place far more emphasis on copying from other works of art than from direct observation of the human figure, unlike the Carracci. One of the first rules of the Academy was that an hour of each meeting should be spent in teaching the young artists how to draw, and the scholars were encouraged to draw

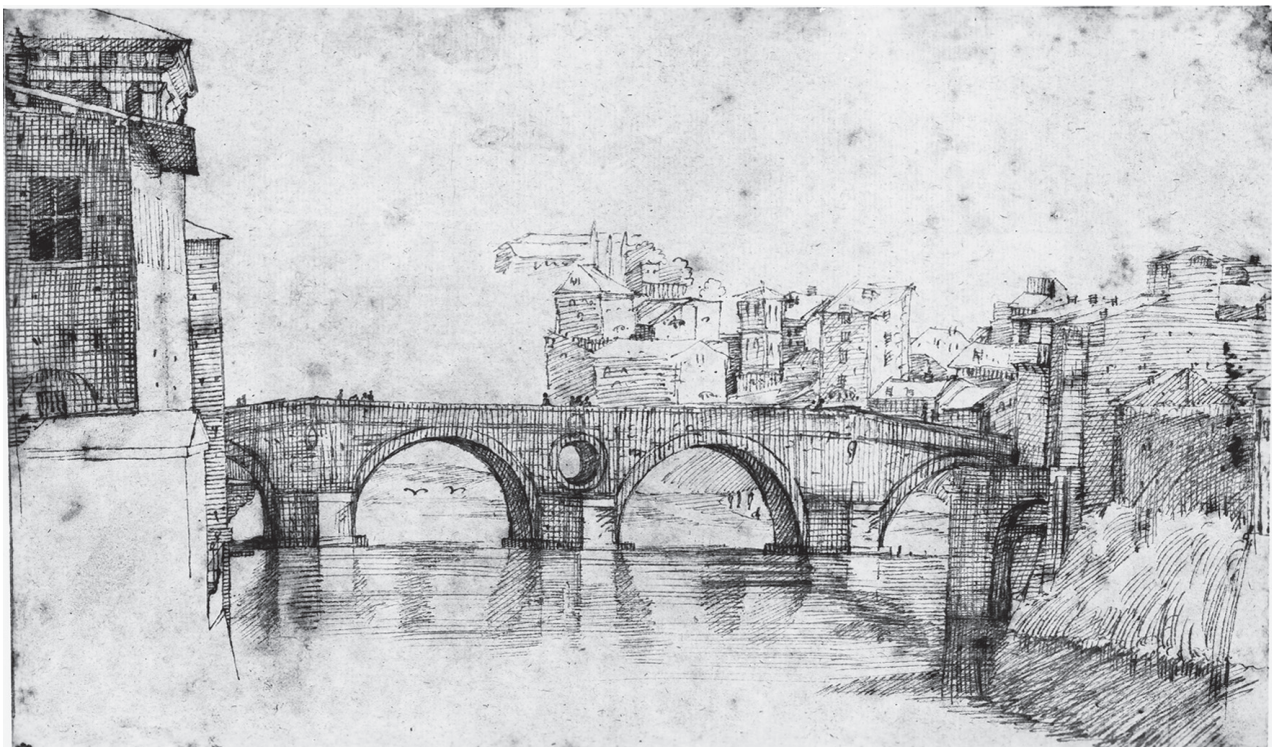
in between meetings and to bring along their contributions, which would be judged, with prizes such as drawing materials or drawings by other artists.¹⁰² The young beginners could not rise to the status of *incamminati* without submitting a drawing "di lor mano, e di lor fantasia" which would be judged by a committee of senior artists.¹⁰³ They were also expected to

¹⁰² ALBERTI 1604, p.5 (HEIKAMP 1961, p.17).

¹⁰³ ALBERTI 1604, p.7 (HEIKAMP 1961, p.19).



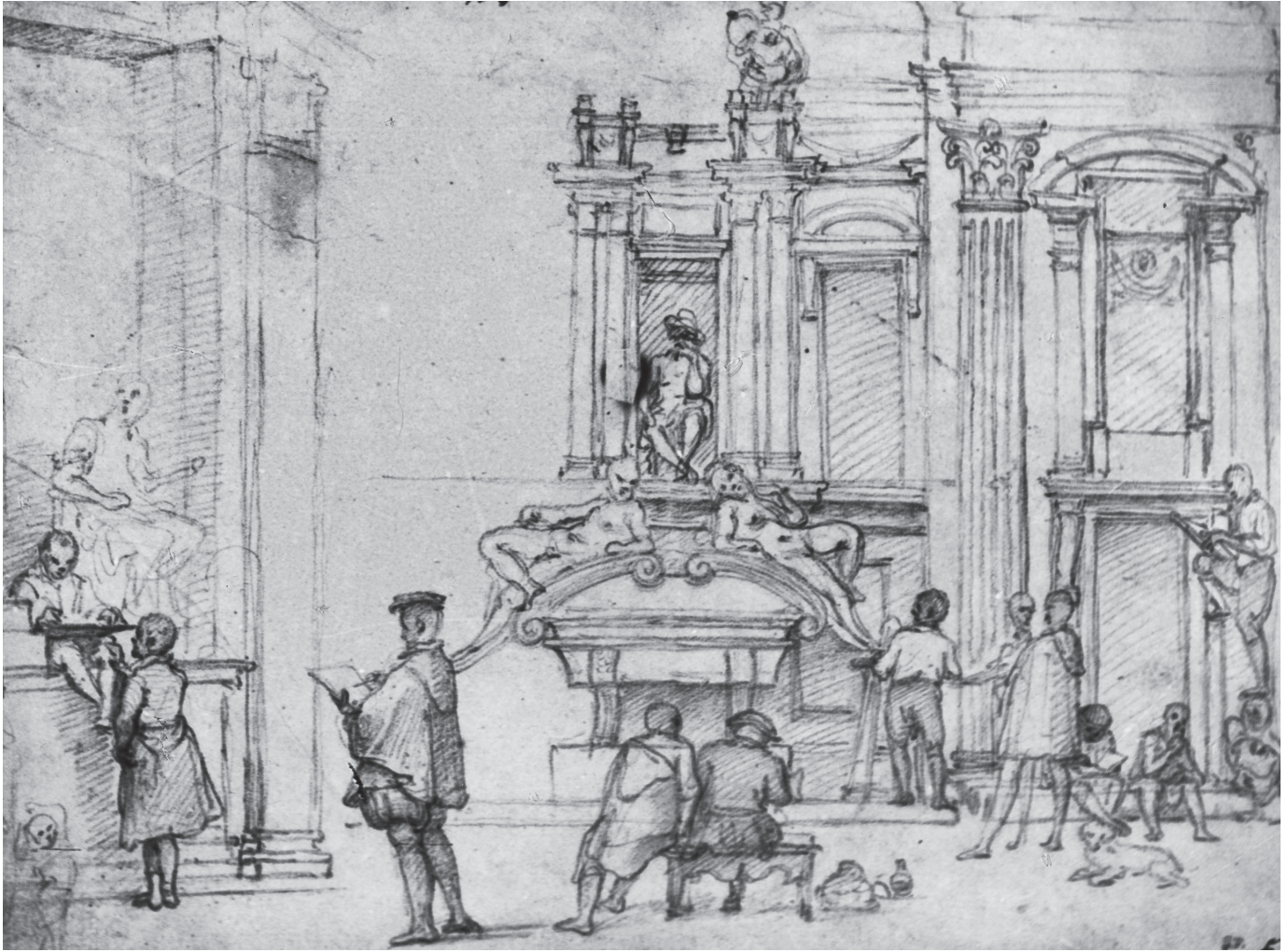
24. Federico Zuccari, *View of St Peter's*, red chalk, 25.9×41.3 cm. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 85.GB.228
(photo The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles)



25. Agostino or Annibale Carracci, *View of the Ponte Sisto*, Rome, 14.6×24.8 cm. Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, inv. 463 (photo Villani)



26. Federico Zuccari, *A kneeling figure seen from behind and a youth*, red chalk, 27.0×19.7 cm. London, Christie's, *Old Master Drawings from the Woodner Collection*, 2 July 1991, no. 97, recto



27. Federico Zuccari, *Members of the Florentine Academy drawing in the New Sacristy*, black chalk, 20.0×26.4 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 4554 (photo museum)

make a drawing after some past master, and particularly of a work which was at risk of destruction, such as Polidoro da Caravaggio's palace façades (These had the additional advantage of accessibility).¹⁰⁴ This seems once more to follow practice in the Florentine Academy, whose young members were encouraged to make a study trip to Rome to draw after the antique and the masters of the High Renaissance. This was the case for Giovanni Battista Naldini who, on the advice of Vasari and Vincenzo Borghini, made drawings after Polidoro and Raphael in Rome in 1560. On his return he, like many other Florentine Academicians, would also draw Michelangelo's sculptures in the New Sacristy.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, two drawings by

Federico show a number of artists engaged in such activity (fig. 27).¹⁰⁶ These drawings would not only be academic exercises, but would contribute to an archive held by the Academy. Once again, this follows Vasari and Borghini's academy. It has been suggested that two highly finished drawings by Naldini after Michelangelo's *Lorenzo* and *Giuliano de' Medici* in the New Sacristy might have been made as part of a competition to enter the Academy.¹⁰⁷ At its foundation, the Florentine Academy had specifically recommended that it should make a col-

¹⁰⁴ BROOKS 2007, p.71. Interestingly, Cardinal Borromeo's Ambrosiana owned two copies by Ludovico of works by Correggio, which were on the brink of destruction: FEIGENBAUM 1992, p.302.

¹⁰⁵ WAŻBIŃSKI 1985a, pp.287–90. Vasari in 1563 expressed to Duke Cosimo his wish that the members of the Academy should meet in the New Sacristy: FREY 1923–30, vol. 1, pp.719–20. For Naldini's Roman trip, see also THIEM 2002.

¹⁰⁶ For fig. 27, see GERE 1969, no. 82; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, p.101, fig.74; BARZMAN 2000, p.51, fig.12. For the second drawing (Paris, Louvre, inv. 4555 recto), see ROSENBERG 2000, pp.138–39, fig.21.

¹⁰⁷ WAŻBIŃSKI 1985a, p.290.

lection of drawings, models, plans and so on, hoping that members would bequeath such items, for the young artists to study.¹⁰⁸ In his memo to the Florentine academy of around 1578, Federico further recommended the acquisition of a substantial collection of drawings by the best young artists, to encourage the others.¹⁰⁹

The method of copying proposed by Federico is entirely consistent with the portrayal of Taddeo Zuccari in Federico's exemplary *Life of Taddeo* series, which – it has often been suggested – seems to have been associated with a series of paintings on leather, apparently intended for a room in his palace for young artists.¹¹⁰ There Taddeo is shown drawing Raphael's Farnesina frescoes by moonlight, copying Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, and drawing after the Antique (fig. 28).¹¹¹ Polidoro's façades also feature prominently, and Taddeo's great triumph, with which the series concludes, is his imitation of Polidoro, in painting the façade of the Palazzo Mattei, in the admiring presence of Michelangelo, Vasari and Salviati.¹¹² Federico also made drawn portraits of his artistic heroes, Raphael, Michelangelo, Polidoro and Taddeo, which were also painted on leather, and probably intended as wall decoration for his palace.¹¹³ The practice of drawing after celebrated frescoes was not, however, limited to the activities of the Academy. The Cavaliere d'Arpino, for example, would correct such drawings by young aspiring artists.¹¹⁴

The Carracci regularly made copies in their early years, in their desire to “possess” a particular artist's style, as Annibale put it, though these were usually painted.¹¹⁵ In a fascinating passage, Malvasia discusses models used by the Carracci, which were made in the style of a particular artist, such as a



28. Federico Zuccari, *Taddeo Zuccari copying Raphael's frescoes in the Villa Farnesina by moonlight*, pen and brown wash with traces of black chalk underdrawing, 42.4×17.5 cm. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 99.GA.6.13 (photo J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles)

¹⁰⁸ “Apresso, ci si faccia una libreria per chi dell’Arti volessi alla morte sua lasciare Disegni, Modelli di Statue, piante di edifizii, ingegni da fabbricare, o altre cose attenenti alle dett’Arti ... per farne uno Studio per i Giovani per mantentimento di quest’Arti”. Capitoli of the *Accademia del Disegno*, 1563, no. 31. WAŻBIŃSKI 1987, p. 281 and p. 432.

¹⁰⁹ “Mi piacerebbe ancora vi fusse un libro, dove si riponesse et salvasse nell’Accademia tutti i disegni migliori di detti Giovani con I nomi loro, si per inanimarli a loro, come gl’altri appresso, et di mano in mano vedrebbono li loro acquisti; et non piccolo sprone sarebbe (come io credo) a tutti gl’altri Giovani che alla giornata succedessero.” WAŻBIŃSKI 1987, p. 492; JACOBS 2005, p. 104.

¹¹⁰ Several reconstructions of how these paintings may have been displayed have been put forward, though none is entirely convincing: WAŻBIŃSKI 1985c, p. 288, fig. 12; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 225–26; STRUNCK 2007. For the paintings on leather, now in Macerata and Rome, see Mochi Onori in STRINATI/VODRET 2001, pp. 23–25, nos. 4–10; BROOKS 2007, pp. 40–43, nos. 25–31. I thank Julian Kliemann for a helpful discussion of this problem.

¹¹¹ BROOKS 2007, nos. 12, 13, 17, 18.

¹¹² BROOKS 2007, nos. 5, 8, 12, 14, 19.

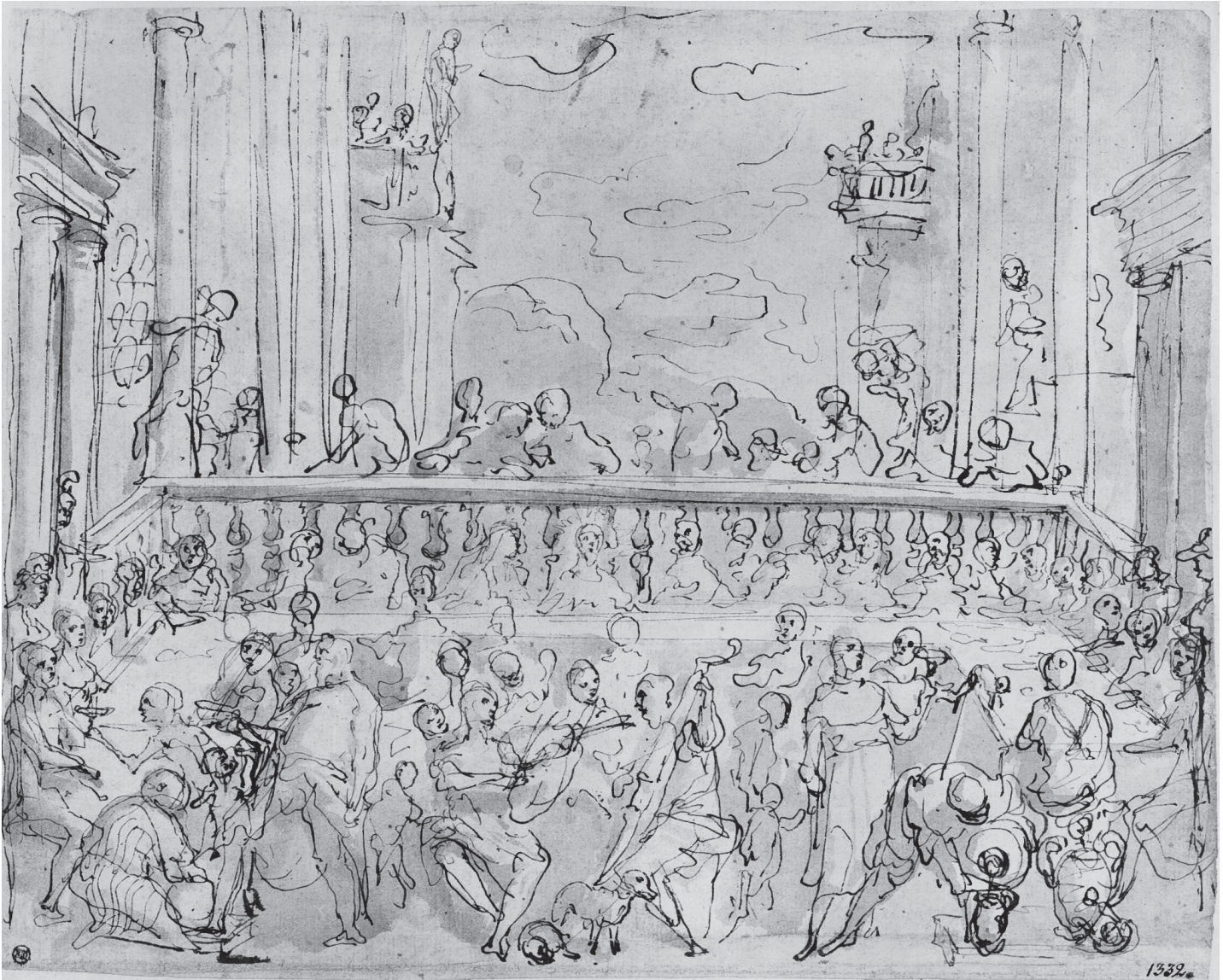
¹¹³ BROOKS 2007, pp. 36–40.

¹¹⁴ CAVAZZINI 2009–10, pp. 84–85.

¹¹⁵ MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p. 269. For copying, see FEIGENBAUM 1992.



29. Federico Zuccari, after Correggio, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, red and black chalk, 14.8×13.1 cm. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 2004.82 (photo The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles)



30. Federico Zuccari, after Veronese, *The Wedding Feast at Cana*, dark brown ink and grey-brown wash, 22.0×28.3 cm. Stockholm Nationalmuseum, inv. NMH 1522/1863 (photo © Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)

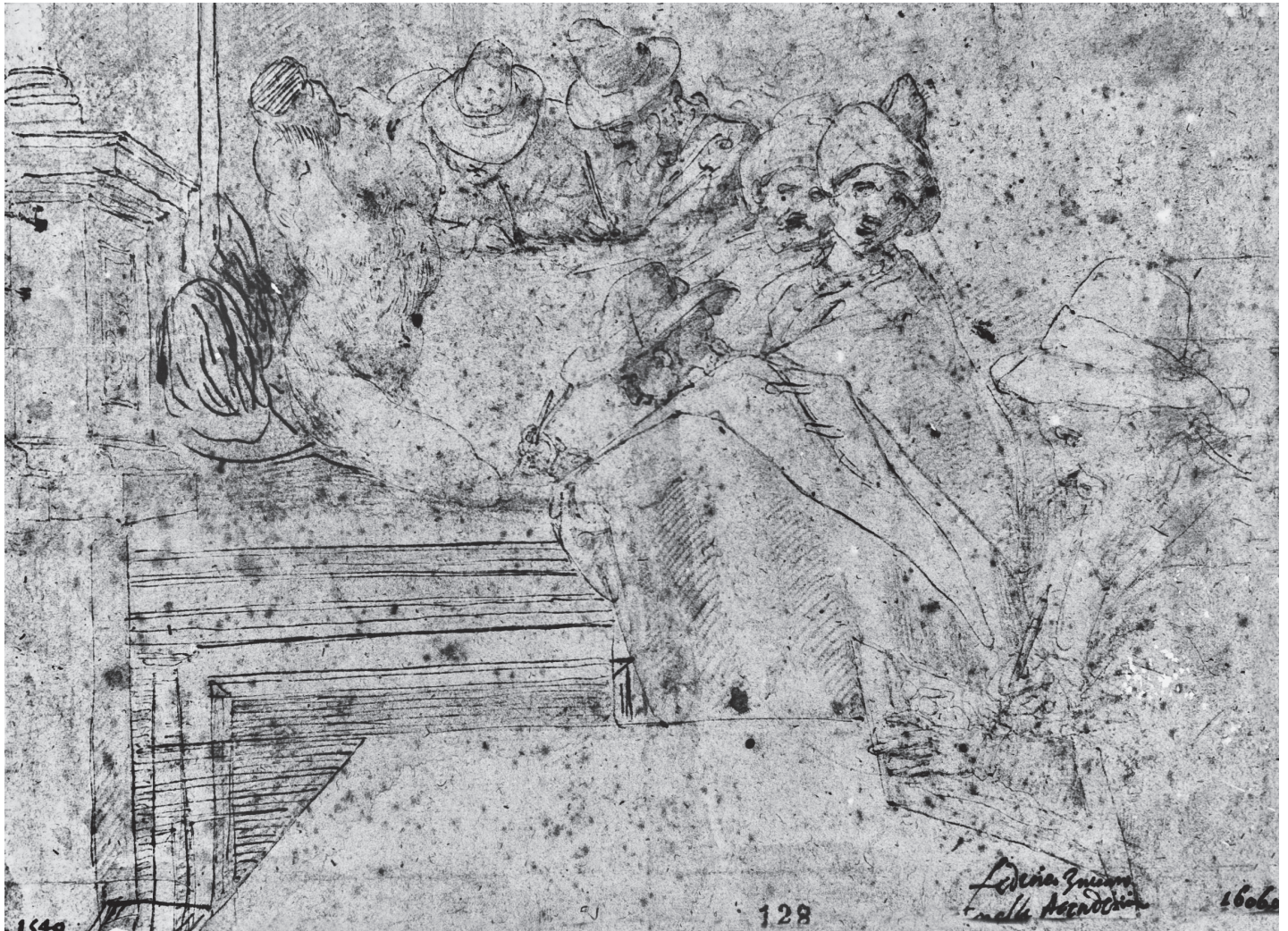
Madonna “wholly in the style of Correggio”, which was evidently a source of inspiration for other artists, or another of which he confesses, “I myself would not be able to say whether it was modelled from the life, or based on Parmigianino or the antique”.¹¹⁶ Federico, during his many travels, seems also to

¹¹⁶ “V’ha anco per le stanze una maschera di una Madonna da lui [Ludovico] fatta, cogli occhi socchiusi, sul gusto affatto del Correggio, detta la Madonna di Ludovico e che a a tutti i pittori serve di modello, e fu la diletta del Cavedone, che tutte le sue si belle B. Verg. da questa ricavava. V’è una tal testina di donna ancora, detta la favorita de’ Carracci, che pure trovai fra le cose del Baglioni, che il nostro Gabrielle Brunelli, valente statuaro ed allievo dell’Algardi, intercesse dal Sirani, e che allora fu singolare, oggi a tutti fatta commune; ma non saprei se da essi modelleggiata, o dal Parmigiano, o dall’antico dedotta”. MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, p. 347; SUMMERSCALE 2000, p. 296.

have made copies after artists particularly favoured by the Carracci, notably Correggio and Veronese, and these may well have been used as teaching aids in the Roman Academy (figs. 29–30).¹¹⁷ However, unlike the Carracci, Federico apparently shows little interest in recording style as opposed to composition.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ HEIKAMP 1999; ONGPIN 2004, nos. 1–10; BROOKS 2007, p. 79; ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 142, fig. 39.

¹¹⁸ An example is his copy of Andrea del Sarto’s *Herod’s Banquet* in the Chiostro dello Scalzo: ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 102, fig. 78. Other similar examples are his copy after Correggio’s *Jupiter and Antiope*, Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. 6005 (GERE 1969, no. 86); copy after Titian, *Portrait of Paul III with his grandsons*. Oxford, Christ Church (BYAM SHAW 1976, no. 719). See also, ACIDINI LUCHINAT 1998–99, vol. 1, pp. 238–40.



31. Circle of Federico Zuccari, *Group of artists drawing an antique torso*, pen, black and red chalk, 19.0×26.4 cm. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (photo Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milano/De Agostini Picture Library)

Teaching in the Roman Academy was highly systematic, with students being allocated certain types of task according to their abilities: at its second meeting Federico specified the drawing of cartoons, reliefs, heads, feet and hands in the studio, and during the week, drawing after the Antique, Polidoro's façades, landscapes, animals, buildings, architecture and perspective. A drawing in Milan from the circle of Federico shows a group of artists drawing an antique torso (fig. 31).¹¹⁹ By 1594 the Academy in fact owned a significant collection of *gessi* and other sculptures, many after the Antique, as well as fifteen cartoons, which had been donated by its members, presumably for teaching purposes.¹²⁰ Only at the appropriate time would the nude model be studied. Otherwise the body would be stud-

ied from wax or clay models, on which drapery could be placed.¹²¹ How far this programme was adhered to in question is more difficult to ascertain. The students were to be divided into four groups. The most able, who were capable of drawing their own *invenzioni* would chose a common subject, and whoever did it best, "with the most decorum and grace" would receive a prize. The slightly less advanced students would be given drawings by other artists to copy. A third group would copy cartoons and reliefs, with which the Academy was well supplied, thanks to Federico and the generosity of fellow Academicians, while the youngest would, as we have seen, learn their "alphabet".¹²² These activities are all represented in Alberti's Academy engraving (fig. 1), while it is notable that

¹¹⁹ BORA 1978, no. 128; PFISTERER 2007, fig. 33.

¹²⁰ ROCCASECCA 2009, p. 125 and LUKEHART 2009a, p. 368, doc. 7a.

¹²¹ ALBERTI 1604, p. 8 (HEIKAMP 1961, p. 20). On the importance of clay or wax models, see ROCCASECCA 2009, pp. 129–32.

¹²² ALBERTI 1604, pp. 10–11 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp. 22–23).

nowhere are they drawing from a living model. Evidently it was not considered appropriate to draw the nude model during the winter months because of the cold. Federico had put some emphasis on the provision of a room in which the students of the Florentine Academy could “ritrarre dal naturale”, presumably meaning draw from the live model, especially in summer.¹²³ There is no evidence for a similar space in the Roman Academy. It is only in June 1594 at the fifteenth meeting of the Academy that we hear of Federico’s deciding to order a life drawing session, thanks to the warm season.¹²⁴ There is no suggestion that the female nude was ever drawn.¹²⁵ Despite this apparently limited attention to life drawing, it is worth noting that Cesare Nebbia was scheduled to give a lecture on the “morbidezza de gli ignudi” in July 1594, while Paolo Guidotti was asked to discuss the muscles, proportion and anatomy of the nude the following month.¹²⁶ The apparent rarity of nude drawing seems to be in marked contrast with the practice of the Carracci, where it seems to have been a constant activity: Malvasia claims that in the early years while they were still attending Baldi’s academy, “which they never left”, the first two hours of the night were regularly spent drawing from life, apparently regardless of season, and he adds that they would reinforce their experience by re-drawing from memory

what they had drawn in the academy.¹²⁷ However, Roman artists may, like the Carracci, have had the opportunity to study the nude outside the Academy. This was certainly the case in the early Seicento, when artists would attend private academies, presumably rather like Baldi’s, in order to study the nude.¹²⁸ One wonders whether the climate of censorship imposed by Clement VIII with regard to nudity in public art might have discouraged the study of the nude, except in the anatomical context, in the Academy as a public institution.¹²⁹ On the other hand, this kind of study is apparently non-existent in Federico’s own *oeuvre*, as we have seen.

There can be no doubt about the ambitions of Federico’s programme for the Roman Academy, nor about his sincerity about education for young artists, largely through the practice of *disegno*. There does, however, seem to be a marked discrepancy between the kinds of exercises that were set for pupils, and the types of drawing he made for his own paintings. This is in distinct contrast with practice in the Carracci Academy, in which once students had got beyond the “alphabet” stage, using Agostino’s exercises and models, the divisions between formal academic drawing and drawings made for individual works seems to have been seamlessly blended in the process of *invenzione*.

¹²³ “... et nell’estate, per essere i giorni maggiori et di più comodità, si potrebbon fare le tornate d’essi giovani dua volte il mese et chi volesse anco ogni settimana, secondo ch’alli studiosi piacesse, con havere una stanza, ove si esercitassero a ritrarre dal naturale, sopra di che bisogna fare fondamento.” HEIKAMP 1957, pp.216–18; WAŻBIŃSKI 1987, p.490; BARZMAN 2000, p.243; LUKEHART 2007, p.106.

¹²⁴ ALBERTI 1604, pp.31, 70 (HEIKAMP 1961, pp.43, 82).

¹²⁵ Vasari had recommended drawing both male and female nudes: BARZMAN 2000, p.163. In his depiction of the artist’s studio in his Florentine house, in an admittedly idealized scene, he painted the artist (himself?) working

with nude female models: Illustrated in LANDRA 2007, p.141. For a preparatory drawing, see *Mostra di disegni* 1963, no. 34.

¹²⁶ ALBERTI 1604, p.56 (HEIKAMP 1961, p.68). Alberti’s account of the academy does not indicate that these lectures took place.

¹²⁷ MALVASIA 1841, vol. 1, pp.268, 334.

¹²⁸ CAVAZZINI 2008, pp.70–74. Baglione (1642, pp.140, 150, 164, 185) mentions a number of such academies.

¹²⁹ Cf. ZAPPERI 1987. More generally on Clement and censorship, see MANSOUR 2004.

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