LANDSCAPES, TOWNSCAPES AND MAPS IN THE OEUVRE OF THE CARRACCI

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Countless essays and books have been written on the Carracci contribution to Italian and European landscape painting, both as a genre in its own right and as the setting for history painting. Not surprisingly, the assessment of their contribution usually follows and iterates the standard clichés on their oeuvre and on the impact it has had on contemporary and later art and art discourse in Italy and Europe. This means that scholars tend to focus on Annibale Carracci's Roman production and on the work of his immediate followers (most notably Domenichino and Albani), [1] stressing Annibale's complex yet seemingly effortless blend of a fresh look at nature with some idealization, in order to create a classical, timeless setting for contemplation – or, in the case of history painting, for action. Thus, it is standard practice to underplay the roles of Annibale's cousin Ludovico in Bologna and of Annibale's brother Agostino in his prints, stirring up endless disputes on the attributions of their early (and not so early) works, usually given to Ludovico if somewhat faulty or inept and to Annibale if deemed of exceptionally high quality or sensitivity. [2] This received "wisdom" stems from the ongoing, prepossessing bias in favour of Annibale created by Bellori's biography published in 1672. [3] Malvasia's subsequent rebut in his 1678 *Felsina Pittrice* has not been fully effective. His intelligent alternative interpretation is still largely denied real credit and even attention – a perfect example of the Gresham Law as applied to the humanities. [4] It is probably time to take another look and change mind, possibly taking landscape painting as a starting point.

From the beginning of Italian Renaissance art and art theory, landscape painting has been largely subsidiary to history painting, in the wake of Leon Battista Alberti's pervasive theory, based on the equation of rhetoric and painting (*ut rhetorica pictura*). [5] For Cicero history was the main rhetorical genre (*historia opus oratorium maxime*), for Alberti *amplissimum pictoris opus historia* (history is the most important work). [6] Thus landscape (or townscape) is nothing but a backdrop for religious, mythological or allegorical "history". As such it is not worth dedicated study or theory. Besides Northeners are more proficient at it. As Francesco Lancellotti put it in his 1506 poem named *Trattato della pittura (*treatise on painting), "[to be a perfect painter] it takes care [...] for landscapes, both close and in the distance,/ it takes a degree of intelligence and sensitivity,/ as the Flemings do it better than the Italians". [7]

This final statement concludes a list of the natural phenomena that only painting can imitate. Here Lancellotti's inept verses, clad in mythological references, seem to echo well-known passages from Leonardo's unpublished treatise concerning the representation of nature, as he lists: "First in

the sky do paint thundering Jupiter,/ the moon, the sun, the stars, and gods/ the pellucid rays issuing from their holy eyes/. Then the air and the way thunderbolts, hail,/ rain with thunders and lightings seem to pour down,/ dark clouds, winds, water-birds and wild fowl/. And then the earth, mountains, and hills and fields,/people and towns, wild beasts and woods/ dust, smoke, stones, fires and blaze,/And then water, where you can make out/fish, ships, galleys, brigs and boats/ with storms, tempests and gloomy weather". [8)]

Whether Lancellotti was acquainted with Leonardo's thought, or was familiar with his pictorial and graphic oeuvre or happened by chance to think along similar lines, it is a fact that Leonardo's work and thought was to find a large audience in later years among painters, and indirectly enhanced the importance of landscape painting in Italy. In 1546 Vasari himself championed the superiority of painting over sculpture by using this very same set of arguments, among others. [9)] Thus, it is fair enough to state that early modern Italian landscape painting stems from the late Gothic Northern European tradition made Italian by Leonardo. He is the meaningful link between Gentile da Fabriano's lost *Tempest* painted in Venice and Giorgione's own.[10)]

Neither Raphael, nor Michelangelo played any role in this. Raphael's interest in landscape is marginal, albeit affected by Urbino's gentle surroundings and Perugino's manner, later to be shaken up and revitalized by Leonardesque and, in turn, Venetian influences.[11)] Both Michelangelo and Raphael, however, inspired later mannerist painting, where landscape plays its usual subsidiary role, an obvious alternative to architectural settings. Exceptions can be found in Venice, and more generally in Northern Italy, where painters like Girolamo Muziano from Brescia show a specific interest in nature and landscape – yet Brescia was a Venetian dominion at the time.[12)]

Muziano is also part of the little investigated Mannerist background for the Carracci, where Federico Zuccaro and Federico Barocci play major roles, together with other Lombards and Venetians. This is certainly true for Ludovico Carracci, the eldest member of the group and the mentor of his two cousins. After Heinrich Bodmer's seminal monograph on him and Gail Feigenbaum's sound studies, partly devoted to his late career, there is no comprehensive, intelligent work on him worth mentioning.[13)]

Confusion rules on his beginnings.[14)] Thus, the fresco cycle in the Fava palace in Bologna representing Jason's deeds, dated as late as 1584 (Ludovico was 29 at the time), is the only safe starting point.[15)] Even if the attributions of the individual scenes in the frieze are controversial, what is undisputed is Ludovico's supervision of the whole cycle. His authorship for some of the scenes also elicits almost general consent. Admittedly, most landscapes are far from memorable, nothing but competent backdrops in the coeval Mannerist tradition. The first two scenes, featuring the centaur Chiro in front of the entrance of his cavern on the side of a hill, should provide ample room for the representation of a woody natural setting live with plants and animals. This is hardly the case, though, partly because the nocturnal scene does not favour the visualization of colourful details, and mostly because the picture was finished "a secco" (i.e. with colours added onto the surface after the fresco had dried up), so that in the course of time the finishing touches have

gradually fallen down, impairing the general effect.[16]

One scene stands out in terms of ambience. It is Ludovico's charming nocturnal scene featuring the sorceress Medea taking a bath in a brook after performing an act of witchcraft involving the sacrifice of two black sheep or goats, while the dark goddess of the infernal world, Hecate, holding a scythe like Death, darts through the pellucid starry and moonlit sky on her drake-driven cart.[17] Despite the gory and frightening content of the scene, the night is bright and cool and calm and quiet, as if aloof, indifferent to the busy and anxious lives of both humans and gods. The moon surface is not shining fully and throughout. Not only is it on the wane – as is appropriate in association with Hecate – , but it clearly shows some dark spots and crevices on its lit surface, as if the painter had watched it very carefully. This vaguely recalls Galileo's drawings of the moon surface, but Galileo's *Sidereus nuncius* is dated 1610 – a quarter of a century later, just like Ludovico Cigoli's famous fresco of the *Immaculate Conception,* in which the representation of the moon is based on Galileo's book.[18] As for the surrounding stars, it has never been ascertained whether their disposition is casual or actually reflects the actual positions of specific constellations, although it has been suggested that the Milky way is looming behind Hecate's cart.

Certainly this is not Ludovico's only nocturnal setting. Many more can be found in his religious paintings, such as his several versions of the *Capture of Christ*.[19] More intriguing, however, is *Jacob's dream,* which is part of a series of 13 pictures for a Bolognese prelate, Bartolomeo Dolcini, several of which take place at nighttime, like *Peter's denial* or the lost *Christ and Nicodemus*.[20] *Jacob's dream* clearly pays a tribute to Raphael's similar invention in the Vatican Logge, although its angels hark back to Emilian visual culture, from Francia to Parmigianino.[21] What is entirely original and looks very natural, though, is the slice of cloudy nocturnal landscape to the right, the moon eyeing down from an opening in the clouds. By comparison, Raphael's

1) Ludovico Carracci, *Medea's enchantments* (from *Jason's frieze*), Bologna, Fava Palace

standard half-moon on the left amidst smoky clouds looks very conventional and artificial.

In the *Vision of St Francis* formerly Pepoli, now in Amsterdam, Gail Feigenbaum has already pointed out that in the dark nocturnal landscape on the left the starry night is an accurate representation of the Sagittarius (or Archer) constellation, and that the position occupied by the head of Christ is in fact the position of the sun, so that it is also subservient to a symbolic interpretation of the picture.[22] Some relation to the bright night unconventionally hosting Barocci's *Stigmatization of St Francis* has been occasionally suggested in literature,[23] but it should be borne in mind that Barocci's painting is a decade later than Ludovico's.

Ludovico's fascination with the nocturnal sky sets him apart from his cousins, as is proven by Annibale's clumsy allegorical depiction of *Night* now at Chantilly, made in Rome with the help of assistants.[24] It also gives an entirely new significance to the emblem for the Carracci academy, established by Ludovico in Bologna around 1582. It is a starry celestial globe, featuring on the manuscripts of the academy, as well as on its printed matters (be they summons to their meetings or official publications).[25] It has often been misinterpreted as a mere reproduction of the Carracci family coat of arms, i.e. the celestial globe with seven stars showing the *Ursa minor*, also known as the constellation of the Cart (*carro* in Italian, a pseudo-etymology for their family name Carracci).

In fact the academy emblem stems from it and may well allude to it, but it is also a careful and meaningful variation. Instead of depicting one specific constellation, the visible stars multiply, to intimate that it rather represents the whole celestial globe. The Carracci had no wish to market

2) Ludovico Carracci, *Vision of St Francis*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

their academy as an ordinary family business, their emblem aimed rather at promoting an updated, scientific approach to the study and visual representation of nature, in its phenomenical appearance as much as in its rational, mathematical structure. This is certainly true (and widely acknowledged) for Agostino,[26] but it may have been even truer for Ludovico,[27] although it has not been acknowledged so far. Besides, from a symbolic point of view, their academic choice might also respond to Cardinal Luigi d'Este's slightly earlier personal impresa, forged by Tasso, showing the Aristotelian celestial globe and the motto "in motu immobile" (standing still while everything is in motion).[28]

If we turn to the pictorial representation of the sky just before the Carracci, the difference is striking. We have only to watch the separation of light and darkness, of day and night as painted by Federico Zuccari in the ceiling of the chapel in the suburban palace-fortress of Caprarola, a Farnese property near Rome[29] or the celestial map of constellations on a design by Giovanni Antonio Vanosino depicted in the vault of the room of the maps in the same palace in 1573-1575.[30] The latter looks very much like the coeval, much larger celestial map in the vault of the room named "Bologna" in the Vatican (1575).[31] While Ludovico tries to reproduce the sky, its stars and planets as they can be experienced by direct observation on a clear night, his predecessors tend to provide a visual interpretation of the celestial vault in terms of didactical representation of each constellation in the guise of its namesake animal or figure, so that their sky resembles an emblematic, neo-medieval zoo, rather than the real sky. They are academic in the most Aristotelian way.

Both Ludovico's and Agostino's well-known but little-explored relations with Florence and the intellectual ambience of its court may partly account for their scientific approach, somewhat similar to Cigoli's.[32] Even so, the long forgotten name of Carlo Carracci, their uncle, may provide a more straightforward explanation for their mathematical, astronomical and mechanical interests, which have been severely underplayed by studies so far.[33] Carlo Carracci was not "a taylor", as he was dubbed from his disparagers - among them the powerful Cardinal Montalto, nephew of Pope Sixtus V, and Ercole Bottrigari, a member of the lesser Bolognese nobility close to the Papacy *and* a pedantic and uninspired scholar. Unlike his brother Antonio, Carlo was not registered in the taylor's guild, as he was part of one of the most powerful and richest guilds in Bologna, the Guild of the *Drappieri* and *Strazzaroli* (i.e. drapers and second-hand dealers), where he also held important offices over the years.[34] In short, he was a sort of designer and haute-couturier, playing in the same league as Armani or Kenzo nowadays.

Not surprisingly, he was interested in mathematics, especially applied mathematics. He took part in some mathematical controversies both at a local and a national level, concerning architectural proportions or, on another occasion, ancient (Greek) music. Most significantly, he published a couple of books for land surveyors, which ran through several editions and sparked controversies.[35] The rich title-page for his first book looks like a frontispiece and may have been engraved by Agostino, who may also have helped with its illustrative prints, however elementary,

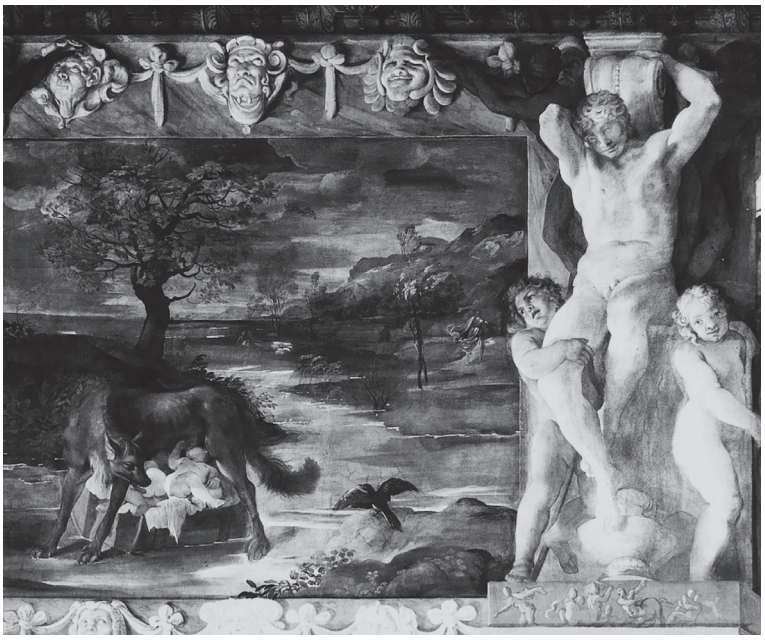
and, most importantly, with the one related to his architectural controversy.[36] From the summary list of books mentioned in its bibliography, we can gauge part of his mathematical culture, further proven by his own library listing over 280 titles (quite extraordinary for a private citizen who died in 1600). While this was separated from the library in his nephews' academy, they may have borrowed ideas, if not books, from him – on perspective and other relevant sciences, including astronomy. Many of the scientists and musicians attending the Carracci academy may have also been acquainted with Carlo Carracci, probably even before meeting his nephews.[37] The Paduan Giovanni Antonio Magini, professor of applied mathematics and astronomy at the University of Bologna since 1588 is one such case. The composers Sigismondo d'India and Claudio Merulo may probably be added.[38]

Ludovico seems to have been particularly close to his uncle Carlo, as he painted a mythological fresco on the chimney-piece of the latter's house, depicting *Hercules at rest*, whose invention was later to be reused by Annibale in Rome, in the ceiling of the Camerino Farnese.[39] Besides, senator Scipione Zambeccari, one of Ludovico Carracci's early patrons paying for his *Conversion of St Paul* (1587-1588), is also the man backing (and even prompting) Carlo Carracci in his architectural controversies of 1587-1589 against Cardinal Montalto and his Roman and Bolognese architectural advisors.[40]

The very sky of the *Conversion of St Paul* is a striking depiction of a stormy day, to witness a supernatural event. Natural and supernatural blend into the image, where the ghostly figure of God hardly discernible in the blazing light merges with a very effective natural representation of the overcast sky.[41] It is no wonder if in 1752 Sir Joshua Reynolds made a graphic note of this very sky during his stay in Bologna,[42] the same way Alexander Cozens would record specific sky patterns of similar invention in his notebooks and books.[43] Sir Joshua was deeply struck by Ludovico's paintings in general, not only because of their style and invention, but mostly because of their colours and light. In his Second discourse at the Royal Academy (1769) he praised Ludovico's solemn crepuscular light, leaving a lasting impression on his audience, as is shown by Joseph Wright of Derby, Henry Fuseli and others, repeating his very words when discussing Ludovico's pictures seen on their Italian tours.[44]

Even so some of Ludovico's twilights (e.g. in his powerful *St Jerome*, or in the various versions of the *Martyrdom of St Ursula)* have more to do with his study of Venetian and Ferrarese painting (i.e. with art) than they have with nature. Ludovico is also the author of the most extraordinary sunlit landscape in the Carracci oeuvre, placed at the beginning of the 1590 frieze in the Magnani Palace illustrating the stories of Romulus and Remus.[45] The silvery and glittering river Aniene, by which, under the supervision of a woodpecker, a she-wolf is breast-feeding the two babies abandoned in a crate or basket makes a striking contrast with the stormy sky above, alluding to the receding tempest mentioned in the myth. As for the barren tree just behind the she-wolf, according to the legend it should be a fig tree, although it looks more like a mulberry tree. Certainly Ludovico has put every effort to illustrate the story with great attention both to its details and to

3) Ludovico Carracci, *St Jerome,* Bologna, St. Martin's



4) Ludovico Carracci, *A she-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus,* Bologna, Magnani Palace

their realistic pictorial rendition. His original invention as witnessed by a pen-and-ink drawing in the Louvre shows the additional figure of King Amulius' servant striding away from the abandoned crate, his back turned to the onlooker.[46] His presence is chronologically incompatible with that of the she-wolf, for it conflates the moment of the abandonment of the babies with their later rescue operated by the she-wolf after they had dangerously drifted along the river for some time during the storm. Thus the final omission of the servant is entirely appropriate, but because of it the whole picture becomes history painting disguised as landscape painting. The idea is too original and brilliant to be Annibale's, as is sometimes claimed.[47] At any rate, the splendid preparatory drawing has steadily been credited to Ludovico. Indeed no other landscape in the frieze can match this one in quality. Apparently Ludovico was equally taken by daylight, as is also proven by his individual academic impresa, showing two eagles flying in a craggy landscape, their eyes fixed into the blazing sun (hence his academic nickname, *Il Rapito* – which means enraptured).[48]

It is easy enough to have a clear idea of what Annibale's landscapes would look like before he started picking his cousin's brain. The setting of the *Rape of Europa* in the *Camerino* (closet) adjoining the room with Jason's frieze in the Fava palace stands to show how learned and brilliant he was in converting Northern landscapes seen in prints into something more natural, but still very removed in style and feeling from the Southern, undeniably Mediterranean ambience required by the myth. The shape of the high-pitched roofs in the walled village and in the few cottages scattered in the woods give away his visual sources as well as his lack of interest in verisimilitude and historical precision.[49]

Ludovico's virtually coeval *Annunciation* might be charged with similar indifference to the truth of the setting, because the action takes place in an ample room at the second floor of a fairly

5) Ludovico Carracci, Preparatory drawing for the fresco in Fig. 4, Paris, Louvre Museum

6) Ludovico Carracci, *Annunciation,* Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

prosperous mansion endowed with hallways, columns, fine furniture etc.[50] This is very far from Mary's modest one-room brick cottage allegedly preserved in Loreto, later to be depicted by Annibale in Rome.[51] Even worse, the townscape visible beyond the window has got nothing to do with any Middle East setting, as it portrays a Leonardesque view of Bologna's center, showing a major building (possibly a church, or else a palace) with a tall tower, possibly a bell tower behind. This is not nearly so preposterous as it looks and sounds, for Bologna (like a few other Italian cities) hosted her own Jerusalem, the church of St. Stephen's, where the itinerary to the holy sees of Palestine was reproduced on a much smaller scale within its precinct and had thus become the destination of safer and more comfortable religious pilgrimages throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.[52] Thus, Bologna could even be conceived as a fragment of the Holy Land in her own right, which may explain why in Ludovico's *Miracle at the Pool in Bethesda* the setting is equally reminiscent of some major aristocratic Bolognese street, such as Via San Donato (currently Zamboni) or Via Galliera.[53]

Nevertheless, Ludovico's attitude to townscapes is somewhat wavering. More often than not, they are sketchy stage backdrops, as in the case of the city walls in the *Conversion of St Paul*,[54] in the Piacenza *St Martin*[55] or in *St Charles Borromeo among the plague-stricken.*[56] Sometimes they are elliptically evocative, like in the *Call of St Matthew,* where a spirally figured column evokes the Roman power ruling in Palestine at the time of the action,[57] or in the *Martyrdom of Sts George and Catherine* in Reggio Emilia,[58] where a Roman ambience is suggested by a portion of a Corinthian temple, a Ionic monumental column topped by a naked bronze statue in the center of a square, and a sequence of giant Corinthian columns supporting the arcade of the palace (tribunal?) from

whence the saints are taken out to the execution scaffold. Finally, the *Meeting of the three saints* is staged in the courtyard of a rich palace or monastery conceived in Veronesian style.[59)]

Occasionally, a city view is placed at the center of his altarpieces, like in the Fano one showing two of the city patron saints, the bishops Ursus and Eusebius, standing on the sides, the Madonna hovering in the sky between them and above a city.[60)] Whichever city is represented, it can hardly be the seaside city of Fano, both because of its hillside location and because of the few discernible buildings, bearing no resemblance to Fano's most prominent ones. On two occasions, the city of Bologna is clearly discernible in Ludovico's pictures: at the very centre of the the *Pala Bargellini* of 1588 (obviously accommodating to the wish of his patrons portrayed "a lo devino", as they say in Spain, i.e. in the guise of their patron saints)[61)] and in the 1613 *Martyrdom of St Peter Thoma* from the church of St Martino, possibly to suggest the special link between the saint depicted and Ludovico's patron, in this case a Bolognese Carmelite of Muslim origin who had chosen to take up the saint's name for his conversion and consecration as a monk.[62)]

On occasions, also Annibale tries to be topographically specific. Thus it has been remarked that the walled city in the Aldobrandini landscape representing the *Flight into Egypt* (1604 ca.)

7）Ludovico Carracci, *Bargellini altarpiece,* Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

8) Ludovico Carracci, *Martyrdom of St Peter Thomas*, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

bears some appropriate resemblance to the Byzantine Catholic abbey of Grottaferrata, which was under the Aldobrandini patronage – especially if we ignore the preposterous addition of a building resembling the Rotunda or Pantheon.[63] Even in Annibale's official debut as an artist, the Venetian-looking *Crucifixion* of 1583, an accurate model of the city of Bologna lies in the foreground, at the feet of the city patron, St Petronius, next to an open book and a skull drawn in a very difficult, intriguing perspective.[64] Some ten years later, just before going to Rome, Annibale also painted a small altarpiece for the private chapel of the Caprara palace, showing the *Madonna in glory* hovering above a bird's eye view of Bologna.[65] Somehow, it looks like a deliberate homage or reference to Francesco Francia's famous fresco in the city palace known as "the Earthquake Madonna" (*Madonna del Terremoto*) of 1505.[66]

The skyline of the city is unmistakable because of its famous "two towers". The bird's eye view is typical of many of the several maps and views of the city issued in prints from the last two decades of the sixteenth century onwards, in the wake of the maps of Bologna painted in the Vatican, first in the room of the same name (1575) on a design by the city architect and surveyor Scipione Dattari and shortly afterwards in the gallery of the maps at the behest of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni on measurements made by Egnazio Danti, Professor of mathematics at the University of Bologna after being advisor to the Grandduke of Tuscany Cosimo I.[67] As for the series of three maps of the city and its surrounding areas commissioned at about the same time by

9）Annibale Carracci, *Madonna in Glory,* Oxford, Christ Church

Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, the archbishop of Bologna, out of emulation or rivalry with the Pope, they are now lost, known only via much later copies.[68)]

There is little doubt that the famous map of the city engraved by young Agostino Carracci in 1581 with a dedication to Archbishop Paleotti is closely related to Danti's, but it is not a copy.[69)] There are minor, interesting differences which may be subject to various interpretations. Their source is elusive. Magini was still to come, so they may be based on suggestions from Agostino's uncle Carlo, or direct observations made from the top of the Asinelli tower. In any case, they may be taken as a wish to improve and perhaps obliquely criticize both the maps of the city painted in Rome (and the surveying involved in them), while it is harder to understand their relations to the lost painted map of the city commissioned by Paleotti.[70)] Agostino's map has often been interpreted as a homage to Paleotti in the hope to obtain his patronage, a small portrait of the cardinal at the age of 70 (1592) lending support to this idea, despite its uncertain attribution.[71)] Even so, Agostino's map bears the coats of arms of the City and the Pope next to Paleotti's and is printed by Giovanni Rossi, the publisher in charge of all the official publications of the City Government and of the University (as well as of Carlo Carracci's writings).[72)] It is not printed by Benacci, the official

publisher of the Archbishopric.[73] The correct interpretation of this key point might provide vital, conclusive information on the real quality of the relations between the Carracci and Paleotti, which are probably very different from what has been assumed since the 1950s.

As Franco Farinelli has noticed,[74] Agostino, unlike earlier and subsequent cartographers of Bologna, has introduced a few Lilliputian people animating his map with their activities. Hardly to be noticed at first sight – and hard to find in any case – they evoke both the surveyors animating the prints in Carlo Carracci's book of 1579 and the Bolognese peddlers jotted by Annibale in a sketchbook, which the French engraver Simon Guillian reproduced in prints and published in a book in 1646.[75] This book, reprinted a few times,[76] became the continental model for similar collections of prints of peddlers and artisans in Venice, Paris, London and elsewhere throughout three centuries.[77]

Out of the total number of 80 lesser tradesmen portrayed – the kind of people who had to pay fees to the guilds to receive protection, but had no right to vote, as they could not be full members –, 27 act in a totally undefined or very vaguely defined space, where a horizontal line marks the ground, a vertical line indicates a corner, some clouds hint an open space somewhere.[78] On a few occasions, the man (or more rarely the woman) is probably set in the open countryside, outside the city gate or its walls.[79] On all the remaining instances, actions take place in either urban or suburban settings close to the city walls, like the alleys in the hills overseeing Bologna.[80] High walls do not always correspond to city walls. Sometimes they protect the orchards and gardens pertaining to a house, as is still often the case in Bologna city center.

It is generally assumed that all these drawings date to Annibale's Bolognese years and in many instances this is certainly true.[81] Sometimes the ambience is unquestionably Bolognese, as in sketch n. 61, showing a characteristic Bolognese medieval house with a wooden portico. Looking at the buildings and their decorative details it is often fair and easy to assume that the ambience is either Bolognese, or at least Northeastern Italian, like in the backgrounds of the chimney-sweeper, the merchant and the seller of pans.[82] Also the presence of at least one tower in sight may indicate a possible Bolognese location.[83] Channels and lighthouses may also be related to Bologna, at the time a city full of waterways and endowed with a river harbour. Rome had a thriving river harbour too, although neither seems to have had a lighthouse like the one sketched by Annibale.[84]

At times, the townscape cannot be related to Bologna. It may show medieval and early Renaissance Rome, a city without porticoes built on seven hills – not on a flat land like Bologna –, especially if a Rotunda-like building is discernible, or a tower similar to the Torre delle Milizie.[85] If Rome is the actual stage of some or even several of the peddlers' activities (often named with Central Italian rather than Northern Italian terms),[86] this means that some widespread assumptions on Annibale's art in his Roman period should be revised. Probably Annibale's lost sketchbook was no sketchbook at all, being rather a gathering of drawings in a portfolio, bound by a collector after the artist's death. Done at different times, in different places (Bologna, Rome, and possibly elsewhere), his drawings prove a continuity in Annibale's studies from life which disturbed

10）Annibale Carracci, *Seller of rosaries,* from his *Diverse figure* (Rome 1646)

Roman linear assumptions on his gradual shift from Bolognese naturalism to Roman classicism.

In fact, even in Rome he kept thinking of Bolognese problems as a Louvre drawing for the Camerino Farnese shows.[87] Behind a reclining Hercules, an unrelated study of a domed basilica drawn in perspective looms prominently. Not only does this perspectival sketch evoke Carlo Carracci's mathematical studies, but the very aspect of the unfinished church may be related to the recent disputes on the roofing of St. Petronius in Bologna in which Carlo had been involved.[88] Thus a more focused, systematic analysis of the settings in the oeuvre of the three Carracci may provide a new, privileged viewpoint to better understand their reform of art and, more specifically, to gauge the depth of their culture and the value of their individual contributions.

Notes

1）Leaving aside dedicated chapters within the artists' monographs, see e.g.: Cesare Gnudi (a cura di), *L'ideale classico del Seicento in Italia e la pittura di paesaggio,* Bologna, Alfa, 1962; Luigi Salerno, *Pittori di paesaggio del Seicento a Roma*, Rome: Bozzi, 1977-1980; Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf, *Ideal Landscape – Annibale Carracci, Nicholas Poussin and Claude Lorrain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1990; Stephen Michael Bailey, *Carracci Landscape Studies: The Drawings Related to the "Recueil de 283*

Estampes de Jabach", (PhD. Thesis discussed at the University of California Santa Barbara), Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 1993; Pierluigi De Vecchi and Graziano Alfredo Vergani, *La natura e il paesaggio nella pittura italiana,* Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2002; Ludovica Trezzani, *La pittura di paesaggio in Italia*, *Il Seicento,* Milan: Electa, 2004; Anna Ottani Cavina and Emilia Calbi, *La pittura di paesaggio in Italia, Il Settecento*, Milan: Electa, 2005; Gabriele Crepaldi, *Il paesaggio nell'arte*, Milan: Electa, 2006 etc.

2）As already claimed by Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice, Vite de' pittori bolognesi,* Bologna: Barbieri, 1678, I: 487 and also 491-492 (reporting similar assessments expressed by Alessandro Algardi and Pier Francesco Mola).

3）Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni (*1672), Turin, Einaudi, 1976.

4）An assessment of recent trends in Malvasia literature is in Giovanna Perini Folesani, Documenti spariti, manipolati, falsificati, ritrovati - Le alterazioni della memoria storica come problema di metodo critico: una casistica tratta dalla letteratura artistica barocca (ovvero: ancora sulla Felsina Pittrice di Carlo Cesare Malvasia), in Grazia Maria Fachechi ed., Lost and found: Ricostruire ciò che è andato distrutto, recuperare ciò che è andato disperso, Rome: Gremese, pp. 159-187.

5）John Spencer, "Ut rhetorica pictura": a Study in Quattrocento Theory of Painting", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1957: 26-44.

6）Leon Battista Alberti, *De pictura,* Bari: Laterza, 1975: 102-103.

7）Francesco Lancellotti, *Tractato di pictura,* Naples: 1506, reprinted anastatically in Carlo Pedretti, *La tempesta in biblioteca – Il paragone delle arti da Urbino a Ischia,* Florence: Cartei and Becagli, 2003: 120 (= fol. 2v): "A paesi dapresso e lontani/Bisogna un certo ingegno e descretione/Che me' l'hanno i fiandreschi che italiani".

8）Ibidem ("Prima a pictar nel ciel Giove el tonante/La luna, el sol, le stelle, i dei e raggi/Lucidi ch'escon dalle luci sancte,/L'aria di poi e come par che chaggi/Folgor, grandine, pioggia, troni e lampi/Nugoli, venti, ucei d'acue e selvaggi/Dipoi la terra e monti e colli e champi/ L'huomini, le cictà, le fiere e boschi,/ Polvere, fummo, pietre, fuochi e vampi,/L'acqua di poi dove si riconoschi/Pesci, navi, galee, grippi e liuti/ Con procelle e tempeste a tempi foschi"). Cf. Jean Paul Richter ed., The notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci (1883), New York: Dover Publications, s.d. [1980 ca], I: 301-314, esp. nos. 604-608.

9）See Giorgio Vasari, in Benedetto Varchi, *Due lezzioni*, Florence: Torrentino, 1549: 121-126, esp. 123.

10）On Gentile da Fabriano's *Tempest,* see Giovanna Perini, *Gentile da Fabriano nella lettura di Bartolomeo Fazio*, in Cecilia Prete ed., *Gentile da Fabriano "magister magistrorum",* Sassoferrato: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Piceni, 2006: 87-97. On Giorgione's the most popular essay is probably Salvatore Settis, *La tempesta interpretata*, Turin: Einaudi, 1978.

11）On Raphael's landscapes, see e.g. De Vecchi and Vergani, *La natura e il paesaggio* cit.: 189-196.

12）See Patrizia Tosini, Girolamo Muziano 1532-1592: dalla maniera alla natura, Rome: Bozzi, 2008, passim.

13）Heinrich Bodmer*, Lodovico Carracci*, Burg bei Magdeburg: Hopfer, 1939. Among Gail Feigenbaum's several studies, see esp. her *Ludovico Carracci: a study in his late career and a catalogue of his paintings,* Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI, 1984 and *Ludovico Carracci: un profilo,* as well as most entries in the catalogue, in Andrea Emiliani ed, *Ludovico Carracci,* Bologna, Nuova Alfa, 1993: LXXXV- CVIII.

14）Many problems start with Francesco Arcangeli's seminal essay "Sugli inizi dei Carracci", *Paragone,* 1956: 17-48 and some attributions present therein.

15）The most recent comprehensive study is probably Andrea Emiliani, *Le storie di Giasone in Palazzo Fava a Bologna di Ludovico, Agostino e Annibale Carracci,* Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2010 (with earlier literature).

16）Ibidem: 64-66 and 66-67, figs. I and II.

17）Ibidem: 81-82 and fig. XVI.

18）Erwin Panofsky, *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts,* Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer, 1954: figs 2 and 3, and passim.

19）Gail Feigenbaum, "The Kiss of Judas by Ludovico Carracci", *Record - Princeton University Art Museum*, 1989, pp. 3-17 and also Eadem, in Emiliani ed., *Ludovico Carracci* cit.: 52-54, entry n. 24. For other nocturnal paintings of the *Capture of Christ/Prayer in the Garden,* see ibidem: 58-59, entry n. 27 (London version) and 98-99, n. 45 (Madrid version).

20）Cf. Ilaria Bianchi, *Note sul collezionismo Bolognese del Seicento attraverso documenti inediti: Bartolomeo Dolcini e i "quadri di pittura fatti per mano di Ludovico Carrazzi"*, in Giovanna Perini Folesani and Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari eds., *Riflessi del collezionismo tra bilanci critici e nuovi contributi*, Florence: Olschki 2014, 145-158, and subsequently Giovanna Perini Folesani, *Effetti collaterali del Nicodemismo: i Carracci in bilico tra eterodossia ed ortodossia, tra arte e scienza*, in Dalma Frascarelli ed., *L'altro Seicento. Arte a Roma tra eterodossia, libertinismo e scienza*, Roma: L'erma di Bretschneider, 2016: 197-206, esp. 203-204.

21）Feigenbaum, in Emiliani, *Ludovico Carracci:* 137-138, entry n. 63.

22）Ibidem: 30-32, entry n. 14.

23）On Barocci's picture, see Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci (Urbino, 1535-1612)*, Ancona: Il lavoro editoriale/Ars Books, 2008, II: 156-167, entry n. 57 and Giovanna Perini Folesani, *Riflessioni baroccesche tra Bologna e Urbino,* in Bonita Cleri ed., *Barocci in bottega*, Urbino, University of Urbino, 2013: 3-43, esp 34.

24）Claudio Giardini, *Innocenzo Tacconi*, in Emilio Negro e Massimo Pirondini eds., *La scuola dei Carracci: i seguaci di Annibale e Agostino,* Modena: Artioli 1995: 259-275, esp. 261, 263, fig. 341 and 265.

25）On this emblem see Giovanna Perini Folesani, *L'Accademia dei Carracci: ripensando alle questioni aperte*, in Clizia Gurreri e Ilaria Bianchi (a cura di), *Le virtuose adunanze – La cultura accademica tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, Avellino: Edizione Sinestesie, 2015: 107-127, esp. 113-117.

26）Starting with Bellori, *Vite* cit.: 115-117 and Malvasia, *Felsina* cit., I: 360-361 and 470-471.

27）See my essays mentioned in notes 32, 33 and 50.

28）On this emblem see Torquato Tasso, *Il Conte, ovvero dell'imprese – Dialogo,* in Idem, *Dialoghi* ed. by Ezio Raimondi, Florence: Sansoni 1958, II/2: 1062-1063; and also: Battista Pittoni and Ludovico Dolce, *Imprese di diversi principi, duchi, signori e d'altri personaggi et huomini illustri,* Venice: Bertoni, 1602: n. 8; Jacopo Gelli, *Divise, motti, imprese di famiglie e personaggi italiani,* Milan: Hoepli 1916: 399, n. 888; Mrs Bury Pallisser, *Historic Devices, Badges and War Cries,* London: Sampson Low, Son & Martson, 1870: 98-99 and Georg Büchmann, *Geflügelte Worte*, Frankfurt: Outlook Verlag, 2018: 220.

29）Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari, fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, Rome: Jandi Sapi, 1998-1999, II: 13-20 (and figs. 13 and 15). See also Federico's projects for the Great Gallery in Turin, ibidem: 253-259, esp. 254-255, nos. 51-60.

30）Ibidem, II, 32.

31）Francesca Fiorani, *Carte dipinte – Arte, cartografia e politica nel Rinascimento*, Modena: Panini, 2010: 175-205 and Emily Urban, *La volta celeste della Sala Bologna e la tradizione della cosmografia rinascimentale*, in Francesco Ceccarelli and Nadia Aksamija eds., *La Sala Bologna nei Palazzi Vaticani - Architettura, cartografia e potere nell'età di Gregorio XIII*, Venice: Marsilio, 2011: 57-63.

32）On the Carracci's relations to Florence, see Giovanna Perini Folesani,"Un parere inedito di Bernardo Buontalenti sulla basilica di San Petronio a Bologna e una prospettiva riformata sugli inizi dei Carracci", *Confronto*, 2010: 168-186.

33）Ibidem and also Perini Folesani, *Riflessioni baroccesche* cit.: 3-43, esp. 22-23 and 32-33.

34）Among the prominent members of this guild one can find cadets of important, rich and noble Bolognese families, such as the Fava (hence one can easily guess how the three Carracci got their first important commission for frescoes at Palazzo Fava) and the Paleotti (which may well account for their alternate relations with the Archbishop of Bologna, Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti). If trading second-hand goods may sound somewhat debasing, it should be pointed out that the guild-members who would do this could also draft post-mortem inventories of works of art, jewels and furniture, making their evaluations and trading them. In other words, they were the local art dealers in non-contemporary art and design. As far as we know, Carlo Carracci was not involved in such activities personally.

Despite the fact that his opposers claimed he had no Latin, this may not be entirely true. Obviously Carlo Carracci was no University scholar, but he could probably manage some basic understanding. In any case his son Marcantonio, a solicitor, could certainly read and write Latin, because of his profession and studies, so he might have helped his father out.

35）Carlo Carracci, *Modo del dividere l'alluvioni da quello di Bartolo et degli agrimensori diverso, mostrato con ragioni matematiche e con pratica,* Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1579 and Idem, *Dubitationi d'autore incerto contra il modo di dividere l'alluvioni et risposte fatte da lui con un discorso contra il modo accettato da un dottore parmeggiano*, Bologna: Benacci, 1580, reprinted the following year at the end of the second edition of his first book, the Modo (Bologna: Rossi, 1581). On his participation in musical debates, see the references given in Giovanna Perini Folesani, "Le Annunciazioni di Ludovico in prospettiva – Riflessioni in margine al *ricercare* del Carracci maggiore"*, Studiolo,* 2013: 110-126, esp. 118-120 and 121-122.

36）Perini Folesani, "Un parere inedito" cit.: 176-177.

37）The scientists and scholars attending the Carracci academy are listed by Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice* cit., I: 470.

38）On the relationship between the Carracci and these musicians, see Giovanna Perini, *Gli scritti dei Carracci*, Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1990: 79-81.

39）As explained in Giovanna Perini Folesani, "Le Annunciazioni di Ludovico in prospettiva – Riflessioni in margine al *ricercare* del Carracci maggiore"*, Studiolo,* 2013: 110-126, esp. 123.

40）Perini Folesani, *Un parere inedito* cit.: 173.

41）Indeed Walter Friedländer (*Mannerism and Anti-mannerism in Italian Painting,* New York: Schocken Books, 1965: 70) did not see it, surely because he studied the same black and white photograph he published, rather than the real painting: "It is significant that in the striated sky with bright areas left by the parting clouds there is nowhere visible the usual incarnate vision".

42）Sir Joshua Reynolds, sketchbook in the Sir John Soane's Museum, London, fol. 70v (published in Giovanna Perini, "Sir Joshua Reynolds a Bologna (1752). Considerazioni preliminari ad un'edizione critica dei taccuini di viaggio, basate sul taccuino conservato al Sir John Soane's Museum di Londra", *Storia dell'arte*, 1991: 361-412, esp. 375, fig. 19).

43）See e.g. Alexander Cozens, *Essay to Facilitate the Invention of Landscape*, London 1759; *New Method of Assisting the Invention in Drawing Original Compositions of Landscape*, London: Dixwell, 1785.

44）As shown in Giovanna Perini, *'L'uom più grande in pittura che abbia avuto Bologna': l'alterna fortuna critica e figurativa di Ludovico Carracci.* in Emiliani, *Ludovico Carracci* cit.: 269-344, esp. 315-320.

45）The most recent comprehensive work on this cycle is probably Samuel Vitali, *Romulus in Bologna: die Fresken der Carracci in Palazzo Magnani,* Munich: Hirmer, 2011 (with earlier literature). For Ludovico's scene (attributed by Vitali to "Ludovico, Agostino and Annibale", like all the other ones in the series), ibidem: 112-118 and colour plate 2.

46）Diane DeGrazia and others, *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci*, Washington DC: The National Gallery of

Art, 1999: 82-84, entry n. 16 (attributed to Annibale by Benati and most connoisseurs).

47）E.g. by Malvasia himself (*Felsina Pittrice* cit., I: 373) and by Mahon, who credits both Ludovico and Annibale for its execution.

48）First published by Claire Pace, ""Perfected through emulation": "Imprese" of the Accademia degl'Incamminati", *Notizie da Palazzo Albani,* 2004: 99-138, esp. 106-108 and 126 (for Ludovico's *impresa* see 122-123, figs. 12 and 13).

49）For a discussion of the Camerino, see Anna Ottani Cavina, *Gli affreschi dei Carracci in Palazzo Fava,* Bologna Patron, 1966: 25-32, che segue la lettura tradizionale attenta a rilevare principalmente le influenze venete, senza rilevare quelle transalpine.

50）Feigenbaum, in Emiliani ed., *Ludovico Carracci* cit.: 12-15, entry n. 6 and also Perini Folesani, "Le Annunciazioni" cit.: 112-114.

51）Daniele Benati and Eugenio Riccomini eds., *Annibale Carracci*, Milan: Electa, 2006: 416-417, entry n. VIII.25.

52）Cf. e.g.: Luciano Serchia ed., *Nel segno del Santo Sepolcro,* Vigevano: Diakronia 1987 and Enrichetta Cecchi Gattolin, *Il Santuario di Santo Stefano in Bologna,* Modena: Artioli, 1976.

53）On this painting see Feigenbaum, in Emiliani, *Ludovico Carracci* cit.: 94-96, entry n. 43.

54）Ibidem: 42-43, n. 19.

55）Ibidem: 150-151, n. 69.

56）Ibidem: CVII.

57）Ibidem: 141-143, n. 65

58）Ibidem: 171-173, n. 78.

59）Ibidem: 148-149, n. 68.

60）Gail Feigenbaum, *Ludovico Carracci and his Later Career and a Catalogue of his Paintings* (Ph, D. thesis discussed at Princeton Univerisity, 1984), Ann Arbor Mich.: UMI, 1985: 438-439, entry n. 134.

61）Feigenbaum, in Emiliani ed., *Ludovico Carracci* cit.: 48-50, n. 22.

62）Ibidem: 114-116, n. 53.

63）Silvia Ginzburg, *Domenichino e Giovan Battista Agucchi,* in Almamaria Mignosi Tantillo ed., *Domenichino*, Milan: Electa, 1996: 121-137, esp. 132.

64）Benati and Riccomini eds., *Annibale Carracci* cit.: 136-137, entry n. III.2.

65）Ibidem: 258-259, entry n. V.12.

66）Emilio Negro and Nicosetta Roio, *Francesco Francia*, Modena: Artioli, 1998: 157-158, entry n. 29 and also Lucia Nuti, *Bologna e le città dipinte nei palazzi del Papa,* in Ceccarelli and Aksamija eds., *La Sala Bologna* cit.: 65-71 and esp. 66, fig. 2.

67）On the Gallery, see Lucio Gambi, Marica Milanesi and Antonio Pinelli, *La Galleria delle Carte geografiche in Vaticano — Storia e iconografia*, Modena: Panini, 1996 and, more recently, Fiorani, *Carte dipinte* cit.: 207-340.

68）Much has been written on the relations between the Bolognese Pope and the Bolognese Archbishop, coming from rival senatorial families and often taking divergent political and cultural stances according to Luigi Spezzaferro (*I Carracci e i Fava: alcune ipotesi*, in Andrea Emiliani (a cura di), *Bologna 1584 – Gli esordi dei Carracci e gli affreschi di Palazzo Fava*, Bologna: Nuova Alfa editorial, 1984: 275-288), but also "intimate friends" according to Emily Urban (*La volta celeste* cit.: 60).

69）On Agostino Carracci's print, see Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family – A Catalogue Raisonné* Washington DC: National Gallery, 1979: 118-119, entry n. 29*.

70）On this map see Francesco Ceccarelli, *La Bologna dipinta. Città e immagine cartografica nel tardo*

Cinquecento, in Ceccarelli and Aksamija eds., *La Sala Bologna* cit.: 35-55.

71）A version is in the Uffizi collection (inv. 3979), another one is in a private collection: see Giampiero Cammarota, in Andrea Emiliani ed., *Dall'avanguardia dei Carracci al secolo barocco, Bologna, 1580-1600*, Bologna: Nuova Alfa editoriale, 1988: 103 and 244-245, entry n. 50.

72）For Carlo's book, see above, note 35.

73）On Rossi and Benacci, see Albano Sorbelli, *Le marche tipografiche bolognesi nel secolo XVI*, Milano: Bertieri e Vanzetti, s.d. [ma 1920 circa]: 39-44 and 44-46 respectively.

74）Franco Farinelli, *L'interfaccia cartografico,* in Emiliani ed., *Dall'avanguardia* cit.: 99-104.

75）On this engraver, see Giovanna Sapori, *Il libro dei mestieri di Bologna nell'arte dei Carracci*, Rome: Artemide, 2015: 58-70. (This is the most detailed study of the Carracci book to date).

76）First issued in 1646 (with the original title: *Diverse figure al numero di ottanta disegnate a penna nell'hore di ricreatione da Annibale Carracci*, Rome: Grignani, 1646) it was immediately pirated without Massani's introduction as *Le arti di Bologna* (Rome: Fosarelli, 1646) and reprinted several times, under the title of the pirate edition: *Le arti di Bologna*, Rome: Gregorio Roisecco, 1740; Rome: Giuseppe Monti Roisecchi, 1766 and again 1776. In recent years see the anastatic reprints edited by Athos Vianelli, Bologna: Tamari, 1968; by Alessandro Marabotti Marabottini, Rome: edizioni dell'Elefante, 1966 and 1979; Alessandro Molinari Pradelli, *Gli antichi mestieri di Bologna nelle incisioni di Annibale Carracci, Gioseffo Maria Mitelli e Giovanni Maria Tamburini,* Rome: Newton Compton, 1984 and most recently in Sapori, *Il libro dei mestieri* cit.: 147-228.

77）Sapori, *Il libro dei mestieri* cit: 17-29.

78）Such undetermined backgrounds can be found in pls. 28, 29, 31-41, 52-55, 57, 64-71, 76-77, 80.

79）E.g. pls. 18 and 78, but also 2, 11, 16, 44.

80）Pls. 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 30, 43, 44, 51, 56, 58, 73, 79.

81）Cf. Vianelli, in Carracci, *Le arti* cit.: 18-19 (he is clearly wrong when he states that the boy in n. 79 turns his back to the side of St. Petronius: whichever church that is, it is not St. Petronius); Marabotti Marabottini, in Carracci, *Le arti* cit.: XVII, although he observes that Wittkower is the only one to claim that part of them were done in Rome and XXXII-XXXIII, note 21, where he comments on the names of the various professions, partly Northern Italian and partly Southern or Central Italian; Sapori, *Il libro dei mestieri* cit.: 17 and 27, note 24, where she notes that several names of professions sound Roman or Central Italian, as confirmed to her by Paolo d'Achille. Indeed nos 46, 47 and 49 bear Roman names, whereas nos. 3, 9 and 73 are specifically Bolognese or at any rate Emilian. Given that the book was conceived and printed in Rome, it is not surprising if Roman words slip in. This does not provide any definite evidence as to the place where Annibale drew his sketches, though, unless visual clues in their settings confirm the linguistic hints.

82）Ibidem, pls. 50, 6 and 21 respectively. See also pls. 14 and 17, where details of Bolognese fourteenth and fifteenth-century buildings with protruding upper floors propped by oblique wooden beams (called *beccadelli*) are detectable in the background.

83）Pls. 1, 2, 12, 24, 56, 60, 63.

84）Pl. 3.

85）For the Rotunda, or Pantheon, see pls. 5 and 8. For buildings resembling the Torre delle Milizie, see pls. 24, 30, 47.

86）See above, note 81.

87）Silvia Ginzburg, in Benati and Riccomini eds., *Annibale Carracci* cit.: 300-301, entry n.VII.2 and Perini Folesani, "Le Annunciazioni" cit: 121.

88）See above, note 32.