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Salviati, Vasari, and the Reuse of Drawings in their Working Practice

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The repetition of standard stock figures, one of the most characteristic features of the art we are now accustomed to calling Mannerism, has largely been overlooked in the most recent discussions of *maniera* or the "stylish style."[1] The purpose of this article is to examine this practice in the works of two well-known sixteenth-century artists who were also close friends, Francesco Salviati and Giorgio Vasari.

The use and reuse of standard models, or the practice by which an artist refers to earlier work by others or by himself through the systematic exploitation of stock figures, is restricted neither to Mannerism nor to sixteenth-century art. However, it is worth examining here in some detail for two principal reasons: first, it is important to establish how the art of quotation and self-quotation changes with time and place, or, in other words, how it is used and understood by the artists and by the audiences of a specific geographical area and/or at a specific time; and second, because the art of quotation and self-quotation reveals the way in which drawing was conceived during a given era.[2]

Quotation and self-quotation are features common to many historical periods and many different cultures. Both were employed prior to the Renaissance as, for example, the late medieval pattern book tradition shows. Agnolo Gaddi, to name only one artist, offers a perfect paradigm for this practice; his representations of Coronations often portray Christ and the Virgin in the same pose and sometimes dressed in almost identical robes.[3] But these were mostly iconographic conventions as other Florentine paintings of the fourteenth century demonstrate.[4]

Here, however, I am more concerned with the reuse of a specific figure (or figures) in different contexts, whether in oil paintings or in fresco cycles, than with the issue of fixed iconography. While quotation and self-quotation are common to many sixteenth-century painters, Vasari and Salviati are unusual in their frequent and sometimes overindulgent habit of referring to their earlier work. Both artists probably inherited this practice from the masters with whom they both had studied, Andrea del Sarto and Baccio Bandinelli, but it seems that Vasari and Salviati took this method to the extreme. What is so remarkable about their artistic procedure is the sheer quantity, or exploitation, if you wish, of self-quotation, which often reduced their paintings to pastiches made up of several individual figures derived from a number of previous works.

With our first example by Salviati, we briefly re-enter the field of replicas of the same subject, here considered to be a different practice from the assemblage of a variety of figures pieced together. Vasari informs us that a rich Florentine merchant active in France, Tommaso Guadagni, commissioned Salviati to paint a *Doubting Thomas*

Figure 1 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Doubting Thomas.
Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Figure 2 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Doubting Thomas.
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques.

Figure 3 Workshop of FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Doubting Thomas (detail).
Rome, S. Giovanni Decollato. Photo: Author.

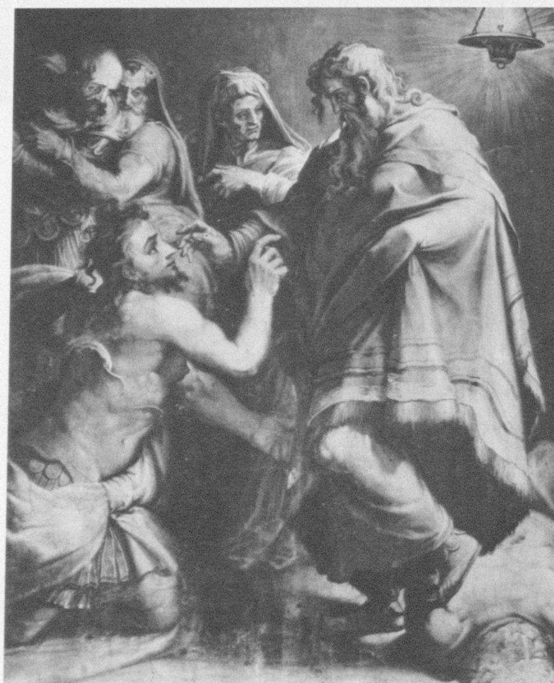

Figure 4 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
The Ghost of Samuel Appearing to King Saul.
Rome, Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.

(Fig. 1) for his family chapel in the church of the Jacobins in Lyons.[5] This altarpiece, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, has correctly been dated to between 1545 and 1548.[6] A drawing (Fig. 2), or rather a *modello*, also in the Louvre, has rightly been connected with the painting.[7] The drawing includes revealing and hitherto overlooked information about Salviati's working method.

At the bottom of the sheet is an inscription in a sixteenth-century hand, which states that the *modello* was executed by the Florentine painter Michelangelo *alias* Salviati and that it reproduces his project for the altarpiece promised by the artist to his patron, Albizo del Bene: *di Michelagnolo pittore fiorentino alias Salviati dichiaro questo essere / il disegno della tavola d' altare che io* [ho] *promesso fare a Albizo del Bene come appare dentro* [il] *contratto rogato per m*[esser] *Piero Franc*[esco] *Machalli notaio fiorentino oggi questo dì* [di] *novembre*.[8] Until now scholars had failed to read the surname of the patron, who incidentally is recorded in Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography as a member of the Florentine community living in France[9]; and even if the first name Albizo does not correspond to the name of the patron as stated by Vasari in his *Lives*, no one has questioned the connection between the drawing and the painting. The two works are so close that there is no doubt about their direct relationship. It is probable, however, that the inscription does not refer to the Guadagni commission, but that it relates to a painting of the *Doubting Thomas* in S. Giovanni Decollato, Rome (Fig. 3). Although usually attributed either to Vasari or to Salviati, the latter work was certainly designed by Salviati and almost entirely executed by one of his assistants.[10] For our purposes, however, it is more important to discuss the inscription at the bottom of the Louvre drawing. The first two words are missing: they were undoubtedly *io Francesco*. Therefore, the inscription does not say that the drawing was executed by a certain Michelangelo, but by Francesco di Michelangelo. Indeed, Vasari informs us that Michelan-

Figure 5 GIORGIO VASARI.
Standing Figure.
Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe.

Figure 6 GIORGIO VASARI.
Deposition.
Camaldoli, Archicenobio. From Barocchi, Vasari Pittore, *Milan, 1964.*

Figure 7 GIORGIO VASARI.
Homage of the Nations to Paul III (detail).
Rome, Palazzo della Cancelleria. Photo: Musei Vaticani, Archivio Fotografico.

gelo was the name of Salviati's father and therefore this is the only surviving autograph inscription by Salviati. But it is even more interesting to note that the artist himself made an important addition: the frame. He pasted the original drawing onto another sheet and drew this frame around it.[11] Since this addition corresponds to the design of the frame surrounding the altarpiece in S. Giovanni Decollato, it is likely that the drawing originally executed for Tommaso Guadagni was reused by the artist a few years later for this new commission in Rome.[12]

Approximately five years after the Guadagni altarpiece, Salviati recast the figure of St. Thomas for his celebrated fresco cycle in the Ricci-Sacchetti Palace in Rome (Fig. 4). The scene represents the ghost of Samuel appearing to King Saul in the hut of the witch of Endor. It is likely that Salviati was moved to use the same composition because the episode concerned another supernatural apparition, but it is revealing of his studio practice that the artist did not confine himself to arranging the five principal figures in a roughly similar way: indeed, he went so far as to quote exactly the kneeling St. Thomas of the Guadagni altarpiece in the final cartoon for the scene of the Ricci-Sacchetti cycle.[13]

It is not difficult to find analogous working methods in the *oeuvre* of Giorgio Vasari. In the last phase of his career, Vasari was involved in the renovation of S. Maria Novella and S. Croce according to the new Counter-Reformation decrees. A major part of this considerable undertaking was devoted to the decoration of the family chapels of the Medicean aristocracy with new altarpieces executed by Vasari himself and the artists of his entourage. In 1572 Vasari executed the *Christ on the Way to Calvary* for the Buonarroti Chapel. The soldier at the right was repeated by Vasari one year later in his fresco for the Sala Regia in the Vatican depicting the wounded Admiral Coligny. In both cases, the figure performs a realistic action and the model was reused within a short space of time.[14]

Vasari's drawing of a *Standing Figure* in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (Fig. 5), is particularly interesting, because instead of depicting a realistic action, the figure is purely decorative. The painter seems to have used this figure as a model frequently simply because he must have thought highly of its visual impact. The drawing in the Uffizi was probably first executed for the *Deposition* in Camaldoli, painted in 1540 (Fig. 6). Subsequently, Vasari reused the same figure twice more: in 1546, at the very left, in the fresco *Homage of the Nations to Paul III* in the Sala dei Cento Giorni, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome (Fig. 7), and in 1548–49 when he painted the gigantic *Marriage of Esther* now in the Pinacoteca in Arezzo (Fig. 8), where an identical figure is again standing to the left of center.[15]

Salviati likewise made frequent use of the same stock figure in different contexts. For example, the splendid drawing representing a *Roman Soldier*, now in the British Museum, London (Fig. 9), was certainly created for the soldier standing at the right in the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* of 1548–50, in the Cappella del Pallio (Fig. 10). The identical model had previously been employed by the artist for the figure of Camillus at the right edge of the fresco depicting the *Punishment of the Schoolmaster of Falerii* of about 1547, in the Audience Chamber of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (Fig. 11). Finally, the soldier reappears in the *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* in the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato—a fresco entirely executed by an assistant using Salviati's designs, in 1553 (Fig. 12).[16] The same model was therefore reused by Salviati and his circle at least three times in less than ten years and it is probably no coincidence that in each composition, the figure always performs the same function: that of a Roman soldier ordering an execution.[17]

Identifying these recurring models in Salviati's and Vasari's paintings may seem a *divertissement*, but it would be unwise to underestimate the significance of the exercise. Indeed, it may account for the apparent incongruity between two sets of data: on the one hand, an artist like Salviati executed numerous and gigantic fresco cycles, while on the other, it is rare to find preparatory drawings for these very large undertakings. Moreover, Salviati was one of the most talented draughtsmen of his generation and a considerable proportion of his prolific output has survived. Thus, the lack of preparatory studies requires some explanation, since it is unlikely that their absence can be ascribed entirely to fortuitous circumstances such as the disappearance of these studies during the following centuries. Rather, it is probable that Salviati consistently reused models created for his other paintings as well as borrowed from other artists.[18]

Figure 8 GIORGIO VASARI.
Marriage of Esther (detail).
Arezzo, Pinacoteca. From Barocchi, Vasari Pittore, *Milan, 1964.*

I came to the conclusion that Salviati made continual re-use of his models many years ago when writing my dissertation on the painter's masterpiece, the decoration of the Audience Chamber in the Ricci-Sacchetti Palace in Rome.[19] The hall is vast, the walls are covered with crowded scenes depicted on *trompe-l'oeil* paintings and Chinese scrolls (a tribute to the taste of the patron who was a collector of Chinese art), and the enterprise was certainly a major and demanding task.[20] Yet, in the rich corpus of Salviati's drawings, not a single sheet can securely be connected with this cycle. Nevertheless, I have been able to identify five sources related to the project, although some of these are not such precise quotations as I would have liked. Beginning with the end wall overlooking the Vicolo del Cefalo, Salviati painted two *ignudi* above the personification of the Greek *Kairos*. Although the pose is reversed, the *ignudo* on the right derives from a drawing by Baccio Bandinelli in the Louvre, which was itself inspired by a Roman relief of *Hercules on the Pyre*; that on the left is a precise quotation after a figure painted by Andrea del Sarto in the background of his *Sacrifice of Isaac* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.[21] It is moving that Salviati's most successful work contains such a clear homage to his most important teachers.

The splendid draperies in the Audience Chamber bearing the Cardinal's attributes—a series of hedgehogs (a pun on the family name of Cardinal Ricci)—are based on a drawing originally executed for the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, and now in the collection of the late Philip Pouncey.[22] The fourth quotation that I have identified is the St. Thomas subsequently transformed into King Saul, mentioned above (see Figs. 1–4).

Figure 9 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Roman Soldier.
London, British Museum (Reproduced by Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

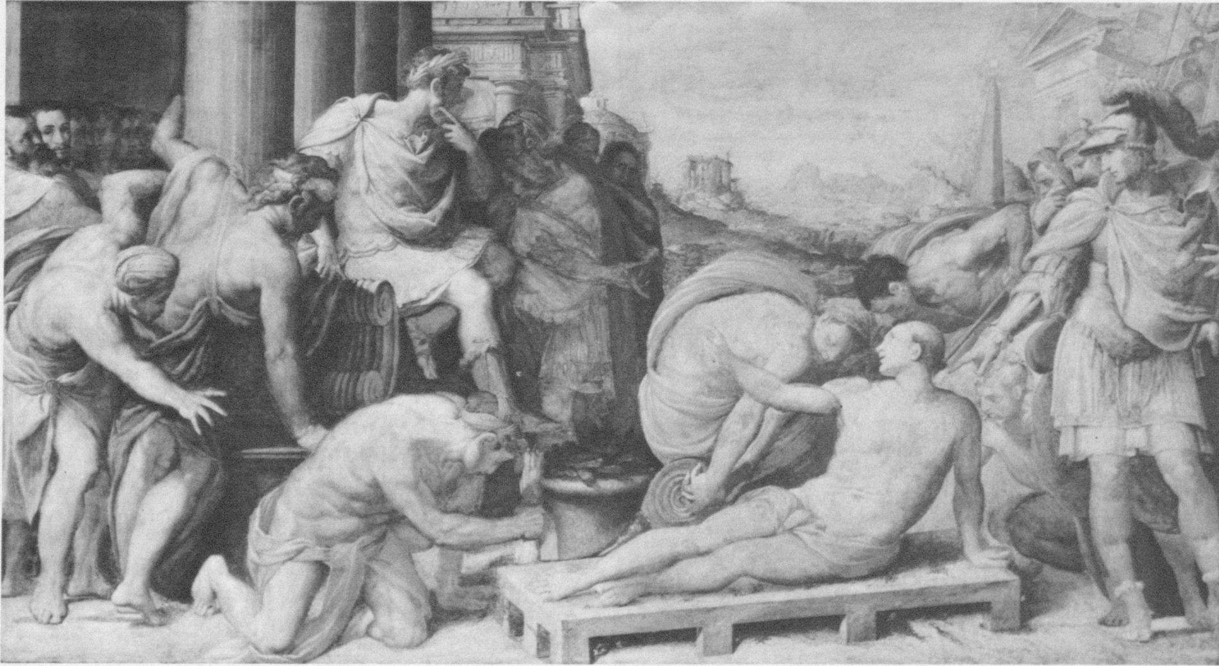

Figure 10 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.
Rome, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Cappella del Pallio. Photo: Musei Vaticani, Archivo Fotografico.

As far as Salviati's working method is concerned, however, the fifth quotation is the most instructive. In the Audience Chamber of Cosimo de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio, Salviati's fresco the *Triumph of Camillus* depicts a retinue led by a young man holding an enormous key (Fig. 13). A drawing related to this figure is in the Uffizi (Fig. 14). The sheet is so badly damaged that it is difficult to reach a decision about its exact status:[23] while it may be a copy executed in Salviati's workshop, it nevertheless provides evidence that a model of this kind existed, and that it must have been kept in the artist's portfolio. Indeed, a few years later, Salviati used the same drawing for *Saul Attempting to Kill David*, in the fresco cycle of the Ricci-Sacchetti Palace in Rome (Fig. 15). The sequence is instructive because it does not involve problems of chronology. However, I was fortunate enough to make these discoveries in reverse chronological order. When studying the Ricci frescoes, I first noticed the elegant, dancing figure of King Saul. Then I found the drawing in the Uffizi and noticed the great key held in the figure's left hand. Finally, I realized that the drawing was not preparatory for the Ricci frescoes, but rather for the cycle in the Palazzo Vecchio, an observation published earlier by Iris Cheney.[24] Yet, to have made these connections independently was extremely useful since it was only in this way that I could reflect on the absurd pose of Saul. If I had immediately noticed the prototype in the Palazzo Vecchio, I would probably have confined myself to observing this quotation in the later fresco. Instead, I had always been struck by Saul's empty left hand. The discovery of the Uffizi drawing and its original purpose therefore clarified the artist's working process. Salviati kept the model in his portfolio, a practice inherited from his teachers Andrea del Sarto and Baccio Bandinelli, but he took to the extreme their love of economy through repetition: he simply re-dressed his model, adding a spear and a crown, and taking away the key. The movement of the king's left hand became meaningless, although neither the artist nor his patron seem to have been disturbed by this fact.

This example illustrates perfectly one of the main characteristics of *maniera* painting: mimetic verisimilitude does not concern the artist. He is more interested in exquisite and unrealistic colors, in sophisticated, dec-

Figure 11 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Punishment of the Schoolmaster of Falerii (detail).
Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. Photo: Archivi Alinari.

Figure 12 Workshop of FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Beheading of St. John the Baptist.
Rome, Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.

orative details, and in elegant poses—here demonstrated in Salviati's depiction of the crown and sandals of Saul, and his graceful, dancing figure.

To further explore how Salviati recast standard figures in new compositions, one must examine a particular type of drawing often produced by the painter, and consult a valuable treatise written by an artist who frequented his circle. One drawing of this type will suffice for an example, a sheet in the Ambrosiana, Milan (Fig. 16). In this study of a *Seated Soldier*, the figure is clumsily drawn and the left arm hangs like an artificial limb attached to the body. Indeed, the figure was not drawn from a live model, but from a plaster or clay figurine.[25] It is unlikely that this and similar studies were drawn with a specific composition in mind; rather, such drawings were probably kept in the artist's workshop as ready-made models for immediate use in case of urgent and demanding major mural commissions.

In this context it is worth mentioning a passage from Giovanni Battista Armenini's *De' veri precetti della pittura*, since this important source has been entirely overlooked as far as Salviati's work is concerned. The author records how one night in Rome, probably in the early 1550s, the painter visited two French stuccoists, and how he commissioned a wax model that had to be based on one of his drawings representing a naked figure, since, as Salviati was reported to say, he wanted to study the "relievo."[26] This account reveals an unfamiliar aspect of sixteenth-century studio practice and it can be linked with another passage in the same treatise in which Armenini explains how to plan a great *istoria*. His advice was that the artist should make many three-dimensional models and arrange them on a horizontal surface. By moving them around, he could then arrive at a clear and original composition. These words recall the method described by the Cremonese painter Bernardino Campi in his short treatise on painting published three years earlier; Campi, who was a friend of Armenini, also recommended the use of such wax models in planning compositions.[27] Salviati's request for a similar statuette shows how widespread this practice had become in Central Italy. The same method was also noted by Vasari in his introduction to the *Lives*, in which he recorded that many painters were accustomed to arrange clay figures on a horizontal surface before drawing a cartoon for a fresco so as to understand more clearly the way the shadows would fall.[28] However, Campi's short and less well-known treatise is more useful because it informs us in greater detail about the actual procedure followed by his colleagues. The artist, after having made as many wax models as the composition required, fixed them onto a board using a warm iron: in this way he could analyze and, if he wished, change the composition.[29]

There is little doubt that Salviati's works were created using these methods. He would organize his *istoria* by moving around wax or clay puppets executed after his own sketches, and in the final cartoon he would make use of a series of stock figures kept in his portfolio. This assemblage of many independent ready-made models could be based either on celebrated works of art such as, for instance, Michelangelo's *Night* and *Dawn* in the Medici Chapel,[30] or on Salviati's own designs (which were rarely drawn from life, and more frequently from three-dimensional models or earlier sketches).

That Salviati favored this practice of piecing together figures originally intended for a variety of projects seems to be confirmed by a drawing of *A Kneeling Emperor Presenting the Pope with the Orb of Worldly Power* in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (Fig. 17).[31] As pointed out by Pouncey, the sketch belongs to Salviati's splendid series for the cycle in the Sala Regia in the Vatican, a very late project that, in the end, was entrusted to other painters. Until now, however, it has not been noticed that the figures in the foreground were drawn on different pieces of paper pasted onto the original sheet; nor that the river-god in the lower right-hand corner was originally intended for an earlier *Baptism of Christ* planned for the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato.[32]

This "collage" technique must have been a common practice in Salviati's studio, and it might have derived from the methods developed by sixteenth-century goldsmiths who would often add to their objects a handle or a base drawn on a different piece of paper in order to explore new solutions and to give more variety to their standard designs. (As is well known, Salviati had trained as a goldsmith.) Of course, this does not mean that the artist did not produce general compositional sketches before starting his paintings. It is true, however, that Salviati seems always to have created his compositions keeping in mind those stock figures that might easily be used at the cartoon stage. Whereas these stock

figures were interchangeable, as the following and last example shows, the creative process remained the same, thus contributing to the abstract quality of Salviati's final products.

Vasari informs us that while the young Francesco was in the service of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati in Rome, his patron asked him to draw a red chalk *modello* representing *David Anointed by Solomon.*[33] The drawing, which served as a model for an inlay by the celebrated Fra Damiano, is unfortunately lost, but the composition has been preserved through two early copies (see Fig. 18).[34] The old man behind the kneeling David, leaning on his stick with his legs crossed, is quoted from one of the figures in Bandinelli's crowded *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*—which is also based on previous Florentine and classical sources. This model became one of Salviati's favorite stock figures; at about the same time it appears on the right-hand side of his *Visitation* (1538) in the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato, and in its preparatory sketch, now in the British Museum (Fig. 19).[35] Almost ten years later, Salviati designed a tapestry for the Life of Joseph series, commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici: the subject was Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream of the Fat and Lean Cattle, and the recently discovered preparatory drawing shows the same figure in the right foreground of the sketch (Fig. 20).[36] The old man and the river-god figure at his feet were eventually eliminated from the final design, and in the tapestry as finally woven (Fig. 21). They were substituted with two figures that, in turn, were later reused in two frescoes executed in Rome.[37]

The fact that Salviati in the last stage of his tapestry design adopted an alternative solution does not contradict the basic point that the artist always designed his compositions in terms of stock figures. An especially prestigious commission such as a tapestry for Cosimo de' Medici could induce Salviati to explore new typologies, but this example also shows the thought process of the artist who nevertheless always started from a series of well-tried standard models. Indeed, the kneeling Joseph and the two men in the left foreground of the preparatory drawing for the tapestry did not go unused, since they reappear in the *Doubting Thomas* for Tommaso Guadagni, painted at about the same time (Fig. 1).

This brief discussion on the drawings and drawing methods of two distinguished *maniera* artists is intended to address the complex question: What was the purpose and meaning of this practice of referring to earlier works by the same artist at different times and in different geographical areas? As we have already seen, for Gaddi and his contemporaries, it was the outcome of iconographic conventions. For the Brescian Gian Girolamo Savoldo, to give an example from North Italian painting during the first half of the sixteenth century, works that employed self-quotation were determined by successful devotional formulas certainly requested or at least favored by the patrons. For some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century painters, the quotation was a stimulus and intellectual reference for the patron or collector, who was gratified by his ability to identify the artist's original source. Is it therefore possible that for Salviati, Vasari, and their followers the use of self-quotation was simply a practical contrivance in response to problems of economy? I would argue that their most characteristic studio habit, which was certainly related to practical challenges, cannot, however, be separated from their aesthetic ideal.

During the sixteenth century, the rapidity of execution came to be considered of positive value as long as it did not compromise the quality of the work. In a revealing passage in the preface to the third part of his *Lives*, Vasari ventured to comment, with one of his typically rhetorical phrases, that painting had reached such perfection that while the old masters had taken six years to execute a panel, his contemporaries were now able to paint six panels in one year.[38] Salviati and Vasari were among the most prolific artists in the history of painting, yet, although they had well-staffed workshops, they were never able to rely on a group of assistants as competent as those active in Raphael's studio, for example. In the early stages of his career Vasari was helped by the brilliant Cristoforo Gherardi and by Prospero Fontana, among others, but only toward the end of his life, when engaged in the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio, was Vasari surrounded by many talented assistants. As far as Salviati is concerned, his misanthropic and peevish character made him unable to tolerate clever assistants and he therefore almost always availed himself of the services of mediocre painters, the only exception being Giuseppe Porta, who remained with him only for a short period.

Figure 13 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Triumph of Camillus.
Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. Photo: Archivi Alinari.

To meet the extraordinary demands of the Tuscan and Roman aristocracy, among whom Salviati and Vasari found their powerful and prestigious patrons, both artists covered the vast wall surfaces of their patrons' palaces and chapels in a very short time (an extreme example being the notorious Sala dei Cento Giorni). Their need to execute commissions rapidly for a demanding clientele, together with a frequent shortage of qualified assistants, must have compelled Vasari, and above all Salviati, to make repeated use of the same models. Nevertheless, this technique cannot be isolated from its critical and theoretical justification.

Commenting upon Perugino's prolific activity, Vasari criticized the former's thirst for money, which forced him to accept too many commissions and often to execute the same things ("le medesime cose").[39] It is not difficult to find clear examples of Perugino's workshop practice in his artistic production. The *St. Sebastian* in the Louvre is a replica of the same saint in the Martini altarpiece painted for S. Domenico in Fiesole.[40] The magnificent *St. Michael* of the Certosa polyptych, now in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 22), and based on Donatello's *St. George*, was reused for the Vallombrosa altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (Fig. 23).[41]

Considering Vasari's own repetition of the same models in different paintings, his criticism of Perugino seems rather hypocritical. But if his text is read more carefully, it becomes clear that his disapproval was specifically addressed to the monotonous expressions of Perugino's

Figure 14 Workshop of FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Young Man Holding a Key.
Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe.

Figure 15 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Saul Attempting to Kill David.
Rome, Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.

Figure 16 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Seated Soldier.
Milan, Ambrosiana.

faces ("e' faceva a tutte le figure un'aria medesima") and the artist's laziness in inventing new compositions.[42]

Vasari's criticism of Perugino's working method brings us back to our starting point: that the repetition of standard motifs is not an exclusive hallmark of the *maniera*. However, the *way* in which these models were reused by Vasari, Salviati, and their close followers was generally different from both preceding and subsequent practice. For Vasari and Salviati, this method was more acceptable only if the model was repeated in different contexts. A standard figure could perform the same action, as is demonstrated by Salviati's Roman soldier ordering an execution, and the action could take place inside a previously used architectural/scenographic setting, as some of Vasari's paintings reveal, but it was vital that the overall composition challenge the viewer through its variety of invention.

Vasari's justification for criticizing Perugino was that his self-quotations lacked imagination, that is, Perugino repeated a St. Michael for a St. Michael and a St. Sebastian for a St. Sebastian. Moreover, his many portrayals of the Baptism of Christ were identical, and he executed at least three paintings representing the Assumption of the Virgin and the Assumption of Christ without changing either the general scheme, or the postures of the figures. According to Vasari, then, Perugino's quotations of the same models in the same contexts were responsible for his tedious repetition.

This system of referring to one's earlier works as developed by Salviati and Vasari was, by contrast, an instrument that, at least in theory, had as its premise, an entirely different objective. For Vasari and Salviati, the repetition of the same models was not simply a way of saving time and labor; rather, it was the source for more complex inventions. It helped the artist create elaborate compositions that were subsequently enriched by elegant details during the execution of the final commission. Therefore, the self-quotation was intended to facilitate a more elaborate variety of invention via a functional economy of means.

It was inevitable, however, that this practice of piecing together many different figures from earlier designs often led to artificial and unbalanced compositions. If a painting is framed by a series of *figure quinta*, and the entire scene is made up of ready-made models, it follows that the background will not be in harmony with the central activity of the scene, and will instead be transformed into a quasi-standardized stage backdrop—indeed a typical feature of any true Mannerist work. Perugino's paintings can perhaps be considered monotonous—as Vasari thought—but their compositions were

Figure 17 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
A Kneeling Emperor Presenting the Pope with the Orb of Worldly Power.
New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum.

compact. The extraordinary variety that is so characteristic of *maniera* painting was achieved at a high price: Vasari and Salviati took to the extreme and almost exhausted a venerable practice by using it as an instrument to execute quickly and with great facility new and varied compositions; but this method of exploiting the possibilities of the workshop tradition led to an artificial organization of space that meant that the decorative impact of the painting was more important than its compositional structure.

It was this lack of structure that later irritated the Carracci, and in particular Annibale, who based his anti-*maniera* reform on a different concept of drawing. In the academy founded by the Carracci in Bologna, many preparatory figures were drawn from life and this renewed practice opened up a new era in the history of art, establishing the pattern for the academic nude study of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Salviati and Vasari rarely drew from live models;[43] and there is no better way to illustrate the contrasting aims and ideals of *maniera* and anti-*maniera* artists than a comparison of their distinct working methods.

The study of workshop practice reveals the way in which drawing was conceived and used during a given

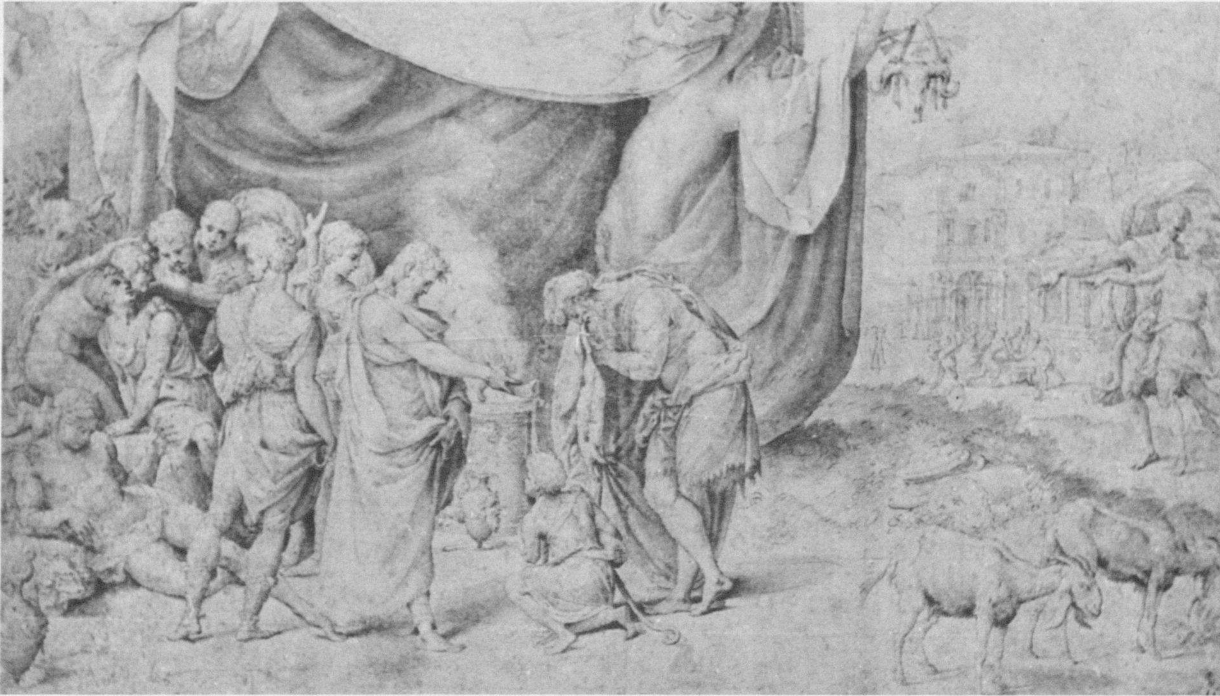

Figure 18 After FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
David Anointed by Solomon.
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques.

era. Only through a profound knowledge of a period's drawing methods can we understand, not merely the visual strategies promoted by an artist and his milieu, but also their aesthetic ideals.

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1. In the extensive bibliography that has grown up around the concept of Mannerism and the *maniera* artists, occasional references to the practice of self-quotation have appeared, but the method has never been discussed within a wider theoretical framework. For general observations on this aspect, see Georg Weise, *Il Manierismo. Bilancio critico del problema stilistico e culturale*, Florence, 1971 (esp. pp. 39–58, "Motivi principali della stilizzazione manieristica"): his examples, however, are extremely heterogeneous, thus weakening the argument. For Salviati, see Richard Harprath, "Eine unerkannte Zeichnung Francesco Salviatis," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XVII, 1971, p. 165, which touches on the artist's method of reusing his own studies, and Michael Hirst, "Francesco Salviati's 'Visitation'," *Burlington Magazine*, CIII, 1961, p. 240. More recently Patricia Rubin, "The Private Chapel of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Cancelleria, Rome," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, L, 1987, pp. 90–92, has analyzed this aspect of Salviati's practice in relation to his projects for the Cappella del Pallio.

   For the definition of Mannerism as "the stylish style," see John Shearman, *Mannerism*, Harmondsworth, 1967, p. 19.

2. In the most recent attempt to reexamine the concept of Mannerism, Jeroen Stumpel, "Speaking of Manner," *Word and Image*, IV, 1, 1988, pp. 246–64, has drawn attention to the importance of investigating the working methods used by sixteenth-century artists, and has taken issue with Hessel Miedema on this key point, which was surprisingly ignored in the latter's influential critique of previous interpretations of the *maniera*: Hessel Miedema, "On Mannerism and *maniera*," *Simiolus*, 10, 1978–79, pp. 19–45. Other important remarks on the stylistic features of Man-

nerist painting are in Craig Hugh Smyth, *Mannerism and Maniera*, Locust Valley, NY, n.d. [1963], and Sydney J. Freedberg, "Observations on the Painting of the *maniera*," *Art Bulletin*, 47, 1965, pp. 187–97.

3. For Gaddi's versions of the *Coronation* in London, Prato, and Washington, D. C., see Bruce Cole, *Agnolo Gaddi*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 83, 87–88, and 89–90.

4. See, for example, the *Coronation of the Virgin* ascribed to Jacopo di Cione and workshop in the National Gallery, London (Martin Davies, *The Early Italian Schools before 1400*, rev. ed. by D. Gordon, London, 1988, pp. 45–47), and the *Coronation* by the Master of the Strauss Madonna in the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Florence (Luciano Bellosi, *Il Museo dello Spedale degli Innocenti a Firenze*, Milan, 1977, pp. 232–33).

5. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, eds. R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, Florence, 1984, vol. 5, p. 524. Vasari states that the panel was commissioned for the chapel of the Florentine community, but the altarpiece was for the funerary chapel of the Guadagni family as the subject of the painting makes clear: the chapel was founded by the uncle of Tommaso Guadagni, who was also named Tommaso and who had died in 1533 (see Sylvie Béguin, *Le XVIe siècle florentin au Louvre*, Paris, 1982, p. 39).

6. See Iris Cheney, *Francesco Salviati (1510–1563)*, Ann Arbor, 1963, p. 378. She also dates the painting between late Autumn 1547 and 1548 (p. 204).

7. The best discussion of the drawing is in Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Vasari et son temps*, Paris, 1972, p. 124, n. 146.

8. I have modernized the Italian spelling and integrated the text; for a literal transcription, see Monbeig Goguel, 1972, p. 124, n. 146.

9. See Benvenuto Cellini, *La Vita*, ed. G. Guasti, Florence, 1890, p. 178, where the artist gives an account of his killing, in Rome, of the Milanese goldsmith Pompeo: "In fra questi era il più caro mio amico, il quale aveva nome Albertaccio del Bene, fratel carnale di Alessandro e di Albizo, il quale è oggi in Lione grandissimo ricco." That Albizo resided for a certain time in Lyons is confirmed by a *ricordo* of the same Cellini published by Guasti in the appendix to the autobiography (pp. 607–608).

10. The S. Giovanni Decollato altarpiece, which is surrounded by other frescoes based on Salviati's designs, is usually ignored in the literature on the artist. According to Béguin (1982, p. 40), the painting is wrongly attributed to Vasari. Cheney (1963, p. 392), however, seems to accept it as a basically autograph variant: "Several paintings in the church proper may also have been executed by Salviati or his assistants about this time [early 1550s]. There are a *Doubting Thomas* at the second altar on the right, which reproduces Salviati's Louvre painting, and a *Charity*, which is a variant on Salviati's Uffizi *Charity*." In two slightly less ambiguous passages of her catalogue, Cheney classifies the altarpiece as a "version" of the Louvre picture (p. 378), and the *Charity* frescoed above the window as a variant by a pupil or a follower of Salviati (pp. 153–54).

11. The drawing is badly damaged and the outlines of the figures have been gone over, probably at a later date. Moreover, the original sheet has been reinforced many times and parts of the frame have been redrawn following the original pattern. However, the numerous tears between the field of the composition and the drawn frame seem to confirm that the latter was added at a later date by the artist himself.

12. One cannot be absolutely positive in identifying the patron of the painting in S. Giovanni Decollato as Albizo del Bene. His family had strong ties with Lyons, and in theory he might simply have signed the agreement with Salviati in the name of Tommaso Guadagni. However, Vasari is explicit in recording that the altarpiece was "taken to France" by Guadagni. It is therefore more likely that Albizo saw the painting in Lyons (Cellini ed. Guasti, 1890, 607–608), and then commissioned Salviati to execute a replica. Only systematic research in the not easily accessible archives of the Confraternity can solve this question, and, thus far, the scholars who have been permitted to examine these papers (Hirst, Keller, and Weisz) have not found documents relating to this chapel. In any event, there can be little doubt that the Louvre drawing also served as a model for the altarpiece in Rome.

13. On the Ricci-Sacchetti cycle, see Catherine Dumont, *Francesco Salviati au Palais Sacchetti de Rome et la décoration murale italienne (1520–1560)*, Geneva, 1973.

14. For a discussion and reproductions of these works, see Marcia B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation. Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta. Maria Novella and Sta. Croce 1565–1577*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 124–26, pl. 40, and Weise, 1971, p. 46, figs. 91–92.

15. For a discussion of the drawing and of the three paintings, see Paola Barocchi, *Vasari pittore*, Milan, 1964, pp. 19, 28–29, 33–34; and the catalogue entry by Charles Davis in *Principi, letterati e artisti nelle carte di Giorgio Vasari*, Florence, 1981, p. 57.

16. For the study in the British Museum, see Nicholas Turner, *Florentine Drawings of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1986, pp. 172–73. As first pointed out by Cheney (1963, pp. 243–44), the *Beheading* is a true pastiche of many different sources: 1) the kneeling figure on the left-hand side is based on a drawing, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which served as a *modello* for a similar figure in the tapestry

Figure 19 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Visitation.
London, British Museum (Reproduced by Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Figure 20 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.

Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream of the Fat and Lean Cattle.

Present whereabouts unknown. Photo: Sotheby's.

Figure 21 NICHOLAS KARCHER
after FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream of the Fat and Lean Cattle. Tapestry.
Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. From Gli Arazzi della Sala dei Duecento, *Modena, 1985.*

of *Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream of the Fat and Lean Cattle* (Fig. 21), which was commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici in Florence and delivered by Nicolas Karcher's workshop on 16 May 1548; 2) the figure of the executioner is a precise quotation from one of the "elected" (the celebrated figure holding the rosary) in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*; 3) the pointing soldier on the right, discussed in the text; 4) the relief of a horseman in an oval decorating the right-hand side of the triumphal arch in the background is based on a drawing at Windsor that had previously been used to fresco a monochrome medallion in the Audience Chamber of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. To these examples I would add a fifth quotation also derived from a previous Florentine project: the figure at the lower right of the fresco is copied after the preparatory drawing for one of the tapestries of the Tarquin and Lucretia series commissioned by Salviati's close friend Cristofano Ranieri (for a reproduction of the drawing, see Monbeig Goguel, 1972, p. 121).

The attribution of the fresco in S. Giovanni Decollato has been subject to considerable debate: some scholars have attributed it to Salviati, and others to Pirro Ligorio. Most, however, correctly think that it was designed by Salviati and executed by a pupil: Rolf E. Keller, *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato in Rom*, Neuchâtel, 1976, pp. 118–19, has tentatively ascribed the execution of the fresco to Roviale Spagnolo, but this attribution has been rejected by both Herwarth Röttgen in his review of Keller's book in *Pantheon*, XXXVIII, 1980, p. 196, and by Jean S. Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia. The Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome*, Ann Arbor, 1984, p. 19. A more likely candidate is Jan van der Straet (Stradanus): according to Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, 1584, p. 580, the Flemish artist joined Salviati's workshop in 1550, and, as suggested by Alessandro Cecchi, "Alcune aggiunte e precisioni per il Salviati disegnatore," *Antichità viva*, XXVIII, 1989, nos. 2–3, p. 40, Stradanus is known to have drawn from Salviati's models.

17. However, in a drawing that recently appeared on the art market in Hamburg (*An Offering to a Ruler*, pen and brown ink, brown wash, on white paper, 200 x 260 mm.), the same model is engaged in a different action (see Fig. 24): the soldier seems to respond to an offering, and his pose is even closer to the figure of Alexander in the monochrome fresco under Raphael's *Parnassus* in the Stanza della Segnatura than to the pose of the soldier in the British Museum drawing. I would like to thank Thomas Le Claire, Hamburg, for sending me a photograph of this new important addition to Salviati's *oeuvre*.

18. According to Hildegard Bussmann, *Vorzeichnungen Francesco Salviatis. Studien zum zeichnerischen Werk des Künstlers*, Berlin, 1969, p. 18, approximately one fourth of the artist's drawings can be related to documented works, but her estimate is not accurate. Moreover, during the twenty years following her dissertation, many unpublished sheets have appeared on the art market, and only a few can firmly be connected with known works. Among the latter are: the *modello* of a man "in classical dress" (London, Sotheby's, 9 April 1981, lot no. 76; Yvonne Tan Bunzl, *Old Master Drawings*, London, 1984, no. 9), which, as was pointed out to me by David Ekserdjian, is a preparatory drawing for one of the Apostles in the *Pentecost* of S. Maria dell' Anima in Rome (the drawing is now in the collection of Jeffrey E. Horvitz; see Linda Wolk-Simon, *Italian Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Jeffrey E. Horvitz*, exh. cat., Cambridge, MA, Montreal, and elsewhere,

Figure 22 PIETRO PERUGINO.
St. Michael.
London, National Gallery. From E. Camesasca, L' opera completa del Perugino, *Milan, 1969.*

Figure 23 PIETRO PERUGINO.
Assumption of the Virgin.
Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia. From E. Camesasca, L' opera completa del Perugino, *Milan, 1969.*

1991, pp. 15–18, no. 4); two preliminary studies for the Palazzo Farnese cycle (London, Christie's, 9 December 1982, lot nos. 28 and 29, the first recently exhibited by Katrin Bellinger at Harari & Johns in London, *Die Zeichnung in Florenz. Drawing in Florence 1500–1650*, London, 1991, no. 8; the second now in the Ferretti Collection); the sketch for the tapestry of *Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream of the Fat and Lean Cattle* (Fig. 20) (London, Sotheby's, 15 June 1983, lot no. 5); the study for the decoration under the window dividing the *Visitation* from the *Birth of the Baptist* in the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato (Paris,

Figure 24 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.
An Offering to a Ruler.
Hamburg, Art Market. Photo: Thomas Le Claire.

Nouveau Drouot, 23 May 1986, lot no. 200, as Lattanzio Gambara); and the study for *Time Grasping Opportunity* in the Audience Chamber of the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (Colnaghi exhibition, London and New York, 1991). Salviati's practice of frequently reusing the same model in different contexts always leaves a margin of uncertainty as to the identification of preparatory drawings, thus hampering a precise chronology of his work as a draughtsman.

19. Alessandro Nova, "'Occasio Pars Virtutis.' Considerazioni sugli affreschi di Francesco Salviati per il cardinale Ricci," *Paragone*, 365, 1980, pp. 29–63, 94–96.

20. Michael Hirst, "Salviati's chinoiserie in Palazzo Sacchetti," *Burlington Magazine*, CXXI, 1979, pp. 791–92.

21. For a reproduction of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, see Sydney J. Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, Cambridge, MA, 1963, fig. 190, or John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, Oxford, 1965, pl. 170. The same figure reappears in the background of the Prado version. The quotation from Sarto was kindly pointed out by Michael Hirst.

22. Pouncey's drawing is reproduced in Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici*, Florence, 1980, p. 46.

23. *Young Man Holding a Key*, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Inv. no. 1077S (Santarelli Coll., Cartella XVII). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, on green paper; 410 x 265 mm. Although Cheney

wrote on the mount that this is a copy, the same author published it in her dissertation as a preparatory study for the figure in the *Triumph of Camillus* (Cheney, 1963, p. 519), adding in the text that this is a drawing "of great fluency and elegance" (p. 174). Bussmann (1969, p. 134, n. 59) does not think that the *modello* is by Salviati, but she adds that an absolute judgment is difficult because of the poor condition of the sheet. The cycle in the Audience Chamber of Cosimo de' Medici was widely copied, but this drawing certainly originated in Salviati's workshop.

24. Cheney, 1963, pp. 273, 519.

25. The sheet has been published by the present writer in *Renaissance Drawings from the Ambrosiana*, exh. cat. ed. by R. R. Coleman, Notre Dame / Washington, D. C., 1984, no. 53, repr.

26. Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura*, Ravenna, 1587, p. 225; for an English translation of this passage, see Edward J. Olszewski, *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, n. p., 1977, p. 293. One of the two French artists was a certain "Pontio," who must surely be identified with the Maître Ponce active in the Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti while Salviati was painting the frescos in the Audience Chamber: see Edith Hewett, "Deux artistes français du XVIe siècle à Rome. La décoration du Palais Sacchetti par maître Ponce et Marc le Français," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 70, 1928, pp. 213–27.

27. Armenini, 1587, pp. 97–98. Bernardino Campi's *Parere sopra la Pittura* was published in Cremona in 1584 as an appendix to Alessandro Lamo's *Discorso intorno la scoltura, e pittura.* This rare book was reprinted by Giambattista Zaist and added as a third volume to his *Notizie istoriche*, Cremona, 1774: for the passage on how to plan a composition using three-dimensional models, see p. 103. Interestingly, after fleeing Rome in 1556 for fear of a new sack of the city, Armenini ended up in Milan where he helped Campi to paint an *Assumption of the Virgin*, and where he was the latter's guest for a few months (Armenini, 1587, p. 221).

28. Vasari, eds. Bettarini / Barocchi, 1966, vol. 1, p. 120.

29. Campi, 1584, p. 103. Interestingly, Salviati and Campi knew each other, as shown by a letter written by the former and published in Lamo's *Discorso* (1774, p. 49). The document does not contain information relevant to Salviati's works, but since this is the only surviving letter written by the artist and is unknown to Salviati scholars it is worth transcribing in full:

    M. Bernardino mio Mag. Se dalle opere, che veggiamo qui con maraviglia di ciascuno, di mano della bella Pittrice Cremonese [Sofonisba Anguissola] vostra fattura, si può far congiettura del bell' intelletto vostro, che li sete stato Maestro, tanto più poi dal nome che v'acquistate con le pitture vostre di Milano, che fin di qui si sente, dobbiamo confermarci nell' animo che, nella gioventú vostra essendo tale, avete col valor vostro sopra ogni altro da illustrar la vostra città nei tempi a venire. Non è dunque maraviglia se avendo io per miei negozi da venire in breve in coteste parti, vi mando in questa carta un poco di schizzo dell' affezione mia verso di voi, salutandovi, e ricordandovi che io v' amo più per il vostro leggiadro intelletto e per la fama vostra che perché io vi conosca, come spero e desidero di fare, con la presenza. Comandatemi da fratello, fra tanto, che io mi offero in quant' io posso, e mi vi raccomando. Di Roma 28. Aprile 1554.
    Alli piaceri vostri
    Francesco Salviato Pittore

30. For quotations of Michelangelo's *Night* and *Dawn* in the altarpiece in S. Maria dell' Anima and in the Grimani Palace fresco cycle respectively, see Alessandro Nova, "Francesco Salviati and the 'Markgrafen' Chapel in S. Maria dell' Anima," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXV, 1981, p. 363, and Michael Hirst, "Three Ceiling Decorations by Francesco Salviati," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 26, 1963, p. 156.

31. New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Inv. no. 1901–39–1365 (ex-Piancastelli Collection). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white; 206 x 260 mm.

32. For Pouncey's opinion, see Cheney (1963, p. 530). Notwithstanding the valuable monographs by Keller (1976) and Weisz (1984), the entire question of the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato needs to be reexamined. The fresco of the *Baptism of Christ* was executed by Jacopino del Conte in 1541, but I believe that his painting is based on Salviati's designs. Jacopino was an artist of limited powers, as shown by his other works in the same Oratory: his *Preaching of the Baptist* was based on a drawing by Perino del Vaga, now in Vienna, and even his acknowledged masterpiece, the *Deposition* over the altar, was probably inspired by a previous project of Daniele da Volterra, as has been suggested by Jean S. Weisz, "Daniele da Volterra and the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato," *Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, pp. 355–56. This is not the place to discuss Salviati's pivotal role, but it should be noted that the figure of St. John in Battista Franco's *Arrest of the Baptist* forms part of the Salviati repertoire; for example, it appears in reverse in the left foreground of the *Triumph of Camillus* in the Palazzo Vecchio. Moreover, when Salviati was commissioned to complete the cycle in the early 1550s, the painter and his assistants intervened on all four walls so as to unify and leave his mark on the entire enterprise. Indeed, besides the frescoes on the altar, east, and west walls, it has not previously been noticed that Salviati also designed the highly imaginative decoration surrounding the statue of the Baptist on the north (entrance) wall.

33. Vasari, eds. Bettarini / Barocchi, 1984, vol. 5, p. 517.

34. For the copy in the Louvre, see Hirst (1961, p. 240). For a second, slightly larger, version which has been sold with an attribution to Baldassare Peruzzi, see Catherine Monbeig Goguel, "Drawings by Vasari and His Circle in the Collection of the Louvre: An Examination and New Findings," *Drawing*, XI, 1, June 1989, p. 3, fig. 7.

35. The preparatory sketch was identified by Hirst (1961, p. 236).

36. Present whereabouts unknown. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, squared in red chalk; 182 x 139 mm. Sold London, Sotheby's, 15 June 1983, lot no. 5, it was attributed to Salviati and identified as a preliminary sketch for the tapestry by Mario di Giampaolo.

37. The kneeling figure reappears in the *Beheading of the Baptist* (1553), while the bearded man served as a model for the Zaccariah in the *Birth of the Baptist* (1551), both in the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato.

38. Vasari, eds. Bettarini / Barocchi, 1976, vol. 4, p. 10.

39. Vasari, eds. Bettarini / Barocchi, 1971, vol. 3, p. 608.

40. For the two paintings, see Pietro Scarpellini, *Perugino*, Milan, 1984, p. 86, n. 51, and pp. 86–87, n. 53.

41. The two paintings are virtually contemporary and were executed around 1500: see Scarpellini, 1984, pp. 100–101, n. 104, and p. 103, n. 112.

42. Similar critical remarks are repeated by Vasari in his *Life* of Battista Franco (Vasari, eds. Bettarini / Barocchi, 1984, vol. 5, pp. 459–73), in which the biographer exposes Franco's poor inventions because they were too recognizably based on well-known prototypes. This crucial text deserves a separate and thorough study.

43. Vasari (eds. Bettarini / Barocchi, 1984, vol. 5, pp. 515–16), reports how he and Salviati devoted their early years in Rome "to studying nudes from life in a bath-house," but it is a fact that their sketches from live models are extremely rare.