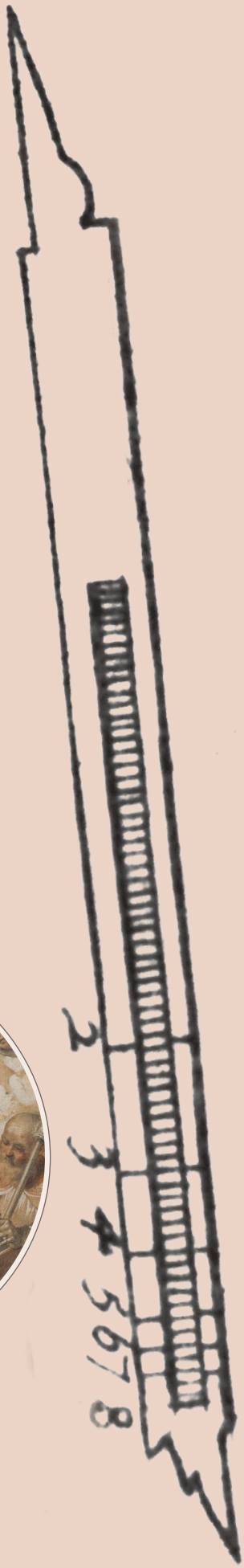
Federico Barocci and the Science of Drawing in Early Modern Italy

Ian Verstegen



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Ian Verstegen is the Associate Director of Visual Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. His work is centered on early and modern art, historiography and theory. His most recent book is *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians*.

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Cover illustration:
In circles, from top to bottom:
(1) Federico Barocci, *Il perdono d'Assisi,* ca. 1575, oil on canvas, 110 × 71 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, INV. 1990 D 78 (detail);
(2) Federico Barocci, *Il perdono d'Assisi,* 1574–1576, oil on canvas, 427 × 236 cm, Urbino, Chiesa di San Francesco (detail);
(3) Federico Barocci. *St. Francis of Assisi.* Drawing. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Inv.no. OR-14714 (Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Svetlana Suetova) (detail).
Instruments: Nicolas Bion. *Traité de la construction et des principaux usages des instruments de mathematique,* Paris, 1709

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Preface

This project began with my study of Barocci's cartoons and pastel and oil heads, which passed to the suspicion that many other drawings were full size as well. I first noticed even stranger things while getting ready to go to Italy with a Fulbright Fellowship. Barocci's models, oil sketches and the like, seemed to have numerical relationships with their mother works that were only dimly intuited at that point. Meanwhile, a web depository of images I created in html, and in which I entered drawings and paintings at one centimeter to the pixel, revealed other unusual things. This examination led to extensive size manipulating via web uploading, Photoshop, and even once photocopying!

It was at a crucial point in the project that I began to exchange ideas in earnest with John Marciari, who was writing the catalogue of the drawings of the Yale University Art Gallery. We began sending Photoshop manipulations back and forth, and I revealed my unorthodox intuitions. John produced two beautiful Photoshop documents of the *Madonna del Gatto* and the *Madonna del Popolo* – the model I have continued to follow – which fueled our collaborative work that is partially republished here.

The result is a unique product, but one demanded by Barocci himself. The book is both caught in all the minutiae of drawings that one would expect from a monograph on drawing, but the book also feeds into a very broad view of not only Barocci's practice but that of his peers. The only precedent for such a project that I can think of – with no presumptions to matching its success – is Michael Baxandall and Svetlana Alpers' *Giovanni Tiepolo and the Visual Intelligence*.[1]

What is required for Barocci is a revised notion of connoisseurship. In spite of more and more works appearing on the art market and making their way into specialists' catalogues, judgment about what constitutes a work by Barocci have not improved. Barocci is a special case that demonstrates that one must go beyond visual intuition to all sorts of other factors to attribute successfully a work to him. These are "analytical" as opposed to "phenomenological" standards, but they refine one's phenomenal sensitivity, and so the analytic, and on and on.[2]

As a consequence, I do not enumerate drawings for each painting. Oftentimes, I do not make hard judgments about Barocci's authorship about a drawing. I have not burdened the footnotes with full documentation of drawings, directing the reader to Emiliani's catalogs, or Mann's exhibition catalog. This is a synthetic study and should be treated as such. Finally, the attentive reader may see a sentence first written for my dissertation. There is no claim for absolute novelty – this has been a very long project in coming.

Working in Cortona, Italy, I had waves of students help on the famous "Photoshop project." Back in Philadelphia, Josh Velong, Margot Halpern and most recently Caroline Miller helped. Parts of Chapter 2 were published jointly with John Marciari in *Master Drawings*. A shorter version of Chapter 8 was previously published in the *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*. Alex Marr enlightened me about Urbino mathematicians. Claire Farago was kind enough to share her ongoing work on Leonardo's Codex Urbinas. Were it not

[1] Alpers and Baxandall (1994).
[2] Mandelbaum (1980), 19-34: reprinted in Mandelbaum (1984).

for a mountain of commitments, John Marciari might have been a co-author. I could have used his broad knowledge and good judgment to smooth out my flashes of sometimes preposterous and slightly reductive ideas. In any case, he very helpfully read earlier drafts and provided helpful comments.

Gratitude is due to the Visual Studies Gift Fund that supported two summers of research, as well as the Price Lab for Digital Humanities, where I was fortunate to be a fellow in 2017-18. I am grateful to Heidelberg University Library for accepting this project into their Arthistoricum series. This book would be very difficult to publish in a non-digital format so it has found its proper home. This book is dedicated to the memory of my father Dennis Verstegen (1939-2014), who used a slide rule to help put people on the moon.

Ian Verstegen
Philadelphia

Introduction

Toward a New Science of Drawing

In 1600, the most famous artist in Italy was not Michelangelo da Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci, Peter Paul Rubens, or even the Cavaliere d'Arpino. The most famous artist was Federico Barocci, who created ravishing paintings. A painter mainly of religious works, he was—like most artists working in Italy during the first generations of the Counter-Reformation—long ignored by art history, although his works are recently becoming better known. Capping off this "recent canonization of Federico Barocci" is of course the wonderful Barocci exhibitions of 2012 in London and St. Louis.[3]

In his lifetime Barocci was sought by the top collectors and patrons. They called him the greatest painter in places that did not call for hyperbole, as for instance when a canon of Florence Cathedral wrote to Barocci's lord, Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere, that Barocci was "given the first place among painters (*e dato il primo luogo fra i pittori).*"[4] Similarly, Father Tarugi, of the prestigious Congregation of the Oratory in Rome, wrote to Tommaso Bozzi that the "painter today is in Italy probably the best" (*pittore hoggidì in Italia forse il primo*)."[5] People responded to Barocci's remarkable style and this book is about the development and structure of the constituents of that style – the working procedures and materials that made this style possible. Indeed, Barocci created more than a style and can even be said to have pioneered a technology for a new art.

Barocci's star has risen but it still has not been sufficiently appreciated how strongly it shone. Especially given that he was a subject of the duchy of Urbino, and absent from the Eternal City, it is somewhat astonishing that his fame and influence made him an almost a living presence in Rome from the 1580s to the first decade of the seventeenth century. Art historians have to deal with the fact that Barocci received a shocking amount for his altarpiece for Santa Maria sopra Minerva, *Institution of the Eucharist* **(Fig. 1)**: 1,483 *scudi*, far more than any other painting in its day.[6] Indeed, if one examines the production of altarpieces and relates size to payment, one finds that Barocci easily produced the majority of the more expensive altarpieces of the period.[7]

Furthermore, the modern notions of age and stylistic obsolescence were completely alien to Barocci's time. Barocci (1535–1612) is in most histories of art considered with painters born, like him, in the first decades of the sixteenth century, and who worked in

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[3] Witte (2015); Mann and Bohn (2012).

[4] Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino, April 16, 1583; Georg Gronau, *Documenti artistici urbinati* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1936), 154; and further Fortuna quoting the Duke of Tuscany, "dandogli fra i pittori il primo luogo" (December 3, 1583); Gronau, *Documenti artistici urbinati*, 155.

[5] Father Tarugi to…, 22 May 1592; Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri. L'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana. Storia e Spiritualità* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989), vol. II, 802, n. 117.

[6] Barocci received the following payments: 1603, 283.38 scudi; 1604, 200 scudi; 1607, 1,000 scudi, equaling 1,483.38 scudi; cited Emiliani (1985, 2:380). A few artists received higher payments, but those were for extensive fresco scenes. No artist in Barocci's lifetime is known to have received a higher payment for an altarpiece. See further Spear (2018).

[7] For discussions of artists' fees, see Schnapper (2004); Gérin-Jean (1998); Spear (2010) and www.getty.edu/researsch/tools/provenance/payments to artists/index.html.

a "mannerist" idiom. In early modern Italy, however, a painter's productivity was delimited by his lifetime, so Barocci – who outlived the much younger Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), Francesco Vanni (1563–1610) and Caravaggio (1571–1610) – was in his lifetime regarded as contemporary to that younger generation of "baroque" artists. Thus, it is no surprise that he was included, according to the order of death date, among much younger artists in the contemporary biographies of Giovanni Baglione and others.[8] We ought also today to consider his role among that generation of painters.

It does not help that the most popular artist of the period, Caravaggio, seems to overturn all those most characteristic elements of the Counter-Reformation *Zeitgeist*. There exists a historiographic challenge for Caravaggio scholarship in determining exactly why this artist is treated so often. But more concretely, Caravaggio's own abbreviated approach to painting, which has some elements in common with the sixteenth century greats Titian and Tintoretto, also skews the historical record in terms of *alla prima* painting. This form of painting is easily, but not accurately, assimilated to nineteenth century working practice, making Titian and Tintoretto—like Caravaggio—appear more modern than they are.

We can be grateful for a number of recent works on Barocci, most notably Andrea Emiliani's revised *catalogue raisonné* the carefully argued book by Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting*, and most of all the great Saint Louis and London exhibition.[9] Barocci is indeed entering the popular consciousness, yet there are some reasons that he will continue to suffer, some of which this book intends to address. First, the sentimental and heavy-handed religiosity of the period does not appeal to all. Although Charles Dempsey instigated an important revision based on eradicating post-romantic notions of the artist—a revisionism to which Richard Spear's work on Guido Reni's and indeed Lingo's on Barocci's has responded—technical issues intrude on a successful historicization.

It is here that my study enters. Counterpoised to the 'top down' approach of Dempsey and others, based on the rich conventions of literary culture, I offer a 'bottom up' approach. And just as the former revision overthrows truisms and allows us to get to the heart of the matter, so too does a revision of our knowledge of Barocci's workshop practice and that of his contemporaries. For such an endeavor, Barocci provides a remarkable case. Hundreds of his drawings survive and are a treasure-trove of evidence for his working practice. Their abundance points to precisely what is special about Barocci. By working in Raphael's hometown, distant enough from Rome to recall older practices, paired with the ability to absorb the "mathematical humanism" of Urbino, the result was a deep meditation on the very constitution of a painting.

Attention to drawings was also a feature of the St. Louis and London exhibitions. Barocci's drawings were subjected to an intense scrutiny – studied, compared, and rethought in a manner never before done. While the authors of the catalog were aware of the paradigm used here, its overall approach was met with general skepticism. Thus, although some of the paradigm's observations were accepted in the exhibition, it was not assimilated fully. That is unfortunate because in several cases the holistic view offered

[8] Baglione (1642/1995); for an elaboration, see Verstegen (2006).

[9] Emiliani (2008); Lingo (2008). Three other recent studies that might be mentioned are Turner (2000); Giannotti and Pizzorusso, 2009); Gillgren (2011) and now Mann (2018).

here allows one to see crucial relationships and avoid easy fallacies.[10] Exhaustive attention to individual drawings could sometimes lose the forest for the trees.

The following study considered? a kind of prolegomenon, a searching after the essence of Barocci's practice as a necessary preliminary step before stylistic and iconographic analysis. In spite of the number of the drawings discussed, this book is not a catalogue of drawings. It is a structural analysis of the main outlines of Barocci's working practice. While I reflect on authenticity, I do not seek to enumerate all drawings for every single commission. Rather, the book's aim is to provide the tools for weighing future claims to authenticity, once the necessary inner workings of the studio are understood. Perhaps above all, a great deal of *gravitas* is given to Barocci's approach to graphic production, so it is appropriate to cast draftsmanship in the light of the religion of the time.

Drawing as a Form of Devotion

Federico Barocci's drawing practice marked a new beginning for the art and science of draftsmanship in Italy. No artist since Raphael had a preparatory process that required so much intense scrutiny, such obsessive self-criticism, or so many drawings. More than merely the unusual case of a painter working outside a major artistic center, Barocci and his many drawings also represent a shift in artistic theory reflected in several painters of his generation. Where artists of the previous generation were praised for qualities like *sprezzatura*, the apparently effortless creation of graceful figures, Barocci was instead consistently praised for his *diligenza*, his diligence, and for his perceived perfection of nature through arduous study.[11] For Bellori, whose life of Barocci was illustrated with an Allegory of Study emblem, the "Studio Vigilanti" (**Fig. 2**) that symbolized the artist's devotion to artistic perfection, Barocci's diligence was representative of his movement away from what we call mannerism, his avoidance likewise of Caravaggio's extreme naturalism, and his similarity to the Carracci as a forbearer of Baroque classicism.[12]

To some degree, this shift in attitude might also be linked to a seriousness related to the Counter-Reformation. Barocci's attitude probably had its roots in mid-cinquecento Rome, for we find similar tropes in the visual and verbal biographies of Girolamo Muziano and Taddeo Zuccaro, Barocci's early companions in the papal city. Federico Zuccaro's well-known visual biography of his brother makes much of Taddeo's long period of study.[13] Similarly, Muziano's biographers enthusiastically relate the long and arduous period during which the artist devoted himself to the perfection of his art. Baglione, for example, writes that one day Muziano "shaved not only his beard, but also his entire head, so that he seemed like a galley slave, and did not want to leave the house…; and he did this to distract himself from love, and to attend more carefully to the

[10] For example, the authors tend not to rely on exact comparison. On a couple of occasions, they merely compare dimensions, losing the chance to infer direct connections (see Mann and Bohn, 2012. e.g. 143, 177); c.f. Bohn (2018). In the wider drawing literature, the scale paradigm has mostly been overlooked. One exception is the dissertation by Bartsch (2009).

[11] Borghini (1584), 569; Bellori (1672/1972; 1672/1978). See the related mention of *esquisitezza* in the next chapter.

[12] On the emblems, see Pace and Bell (2002).

[13] For Federico Zuccaro's drawings (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 99. GA.6), see Brooks (2007).

study of painting."[14] This is the world from which Barocci's art arose, this is the context in which his two thousand surviving drawings must be understood, and this is the reason for which the study of his drawing practice gets at the very heart of his art. It was not by accident that Bellori used a discussion of Barocci's drawings to sum up his life of the artist.

Yet, even if Barocci's attitude towards the preparatory process developed during his time in Rome, his draftsmanship stands in marked opposition to that of his Roman predecessors and contemporaries. For artists of the generation of Vasari and Salviati, the act of drawing was akin to taking license. Design allowed for free invention. Moreover, having drawn an elegant, serpentine, figure, the mannerists were apt to use and reuse a figure, stretching the possibilities of its iconography and significance. As part of the "more enlightened age" that was the court society of Mannerism, reused drawings were less the province of lazy painters and more the grist for the inside jokes and visual witticisms of this culture.[15]

Muziano and Barocci's Roman contemporaries turned away from this mannerist practice, but while their cerebral approach to design included careful draftsmanship, with little of the licensed invention and iconographic double-entendres of their predecessors, they did not, as a general rule, adopt life drawing as a fundamental and regular part of their practice.[16] Even Florentine reformers like Santi di Tito, who did reinstitute regular use of life study in their workshops,[17] never devised as elaborate and diligent a design process as did Barocci. While Barocci would have agreed with the Florentines that the first announcement of the reform of painting lay in a recommitment to life drawing, based on the model of the High Renaissance, his own variety of reform had deeper conceptual roots that went beyond studying bodies to achieve proper form. For Barocci, the evolution and improvement of a figure or composition was an act of devotion, and not merely an act aimed at artistic perfection.

The Demand for Control

Drawing as a form of devotion goes hand in hand with the necessity to control its outcomes, because a devout work must achieve its desired effect. Both artists and clerics heightened their interest in the aesthetic appearance and theological content of works of art during the Counter-Reformation; consequently, this interest forced their attention to the preparatory phases of execution: drawing. The story of the early Baroque, of the artists who put into practice the new ideals of the Counter-Reformation period, continued the High Renaissance project of working with surrogates of the final work in order to better control its development. Painters demanded forgivingness of their tools, and they multiplied them for this purpose. Barocci could produce for a given work a *modello*, a cartoon, chalk and pastel and, at least in some case, painted *bozzetti*.

In order to continue, we must overcome a rhetorical opposition provided by Bellori in his successions of the Lives of Federico Barocci and Caravaggio. The frontispiece to the Life of Barocci was the aforementioned allegorical figure of "Studio Vigilanti" **(Fig. 2)**.

[14] Baglione (1642/1935), 49. See also Marciari (2000).
[15] Nova (1992); Härb (2005); Marciari (2005).
[16] Marciari (2009).
[17] See, for example, Brooks (2009).

The figure shows an antique robed youth sketching at night by the light of a lantern and, indeed, in the text of the biography Bellori repeats this *topos* of the ardent young artist working into the early morning.[18] Coupled with Bellori's extensive discussion of Barocci's exhaustive preparatory practices and piety, the figure serves to recast Barocci's efforts as the earnest efforts of a latter-day Saint Luke. Opposed to this was Caravaggio's figure of "Praxis" **(Fig. 3)** a blind figure mechanically drawing out circles with a compass and no imagination. One might quarrel with Bellori's characterization of Caravaggio, but the point here is not to endorse, but rather to emphasize Bellori's appreciation of Barocci, that not only for the artist's own merits but also as a prototype for the Carracci. In contrast to Caravaggio's "improvised" painting *alla prima*, Barocci and the Carracci made many preparatory studies for their most important paintings.

Caravaggio was famous for not using drawings and for painting directly on the canvas. We are, however, becoming more sensitive to the brash artist's self-fashioning according to the trope of the impetuous artist. We know that drawings are called for in at least three contracts: for the Cerasi chapel, the *Death of the Virgin* and for a lost altarpiece. In the last case, it is clear that Caravaggio actually did produce the drawing, since it reads that the final painting must "conforme allo sbozzo per esso signor Michelangelo fatto per detto signor Fabio."[19] The term 'sbozzo' seems to refer to a sketch (*bozzetto*) and not underpainting (*abbozzato*), because an examination by Maurizio Calvesi of the use of 'sbozzo' at the time consistently refers to drawings and not paintings already begun. In addition to these real drawings Caravaggio made, he would have executed at least a rudimentary drawing on each canvas. Every composition, that is, would have been sketched in with brown paint. The proof of this stage's existence in Caravaggio's practice is proven by the general lack of *pentimenti* in his paintings.[20]

Compared with Caravaggio, the volume of Barocci's preparatory drawings is astounding. The way Barocci went about making his drawings was obsessively meticulous and often duplicative, not only repeating several studies of the same subject but sometimes of the very same feature.[21] Nevertheless, when these superficial differences are cast aside, we find unique means evolved in different ways to give novel painterly results. In fact, what we find is that the artist lengthened the amount of time he spent with some surrogate of the final work, as he was so concerned with its absolute final appearance.[22] This explains the emergence of new kinds of drawings and painting techniques and media with new descriptive possibilities, like pastels, reduced cartoons and/or *bozzetti*, and *modelli*.

In earlier years, the *modello* existed almost as a contract, a means of approval and quality assurance. In the Counter-Reformation period, aesthetic effect became one of the conditions of success. Therefore, the need for the artist to forecast the effect of the picture

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[18] Bellori (1672/1972), 181; (1672/1978), 14.
[19] Calvesi (1994), 150. The document was first published by Massetti (1971).
[20] Keith (1998).
[21] For an example, see the three drawings in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (hereafter "Berlin") (invs. 20520, 20532, 20536), all for Joseph's hand in the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation*.
[22] Thus Oreste Ferrari (1990, 12) write of the oil sketch in general, "*Si può dire anzi che l'ansorgenza del bottetto pittorico nasca, in questi casi, come momento di più dilungato passaggio dall'ideazione grafica alla redazione pittorica conclusiva: un momento riassorbito più nella disposizione mentale della prima fase se nella pratica già versato nella successive.*"

coincided with that of the prelates who were now more concerned than ever with what they were receiving. Indeed, the Romantic image of Caravaggio boldly dispensing with drawings is appealing, but it flies in the face of the control exerted by Counter-Reformation bodies in the quality control of their works. The Cardinal-Vicar of Rome, Girolamo Rusticucci, for example, issued an edict requiring that artists "*eshibiscano il cartone, o sbozzo in disegno dell'historia.*"[23] This directive (although not issued from the Cardinal-Vicar) was followed by Scipione Pulzone when asked by the Fathers of the Chiesa Nuova to "install a cartone for a test" of his *Crucifixion* (1586) for the Caetano chapel in the Chiesa Nuova.[24] Working in Rome, Rubens also signed a contract that demanded that his painting conform to the 'sbozzo.'[25]

Thomas Puttfarken has shown how because of the need for control and the small prospectus, reformers more or less invented pictorial composition as we know it today.[26] That is, in their desire to correct errors – extravagant poses, unorthodox figures – they found ways to articulate distinctions that are only evident in smallish pictures like *modelli*. Thus, the composition and size worked together as an element of Counter-Reformation culture. The larger point, however, is that it was a spur for artists to visualize the larger work, to serve as a surrogate, while the artist was working. This reliance on earlier surrogates of the final work during the preparation of the altarpiece is a major medial technological innovation by Barocci, externalizing work from the artist's mind in the way that word processors did for writers.

It is sometimes questioned whether Tridentine decrees were actually enforced in practice. It is true that the central parochial structure of the church leading up to the bishop (or in Rome's case, the Cardinal-Vicar) rarely intervened over works, but there is evidence that the 'laicization' of religion that was a major part of the entire sixteenth century led to intervention by local clerics; this may also account for the many cases of rejected works, for instance, Scipione Pulzone's altarpiece in the chapel of the Angels at the Gesù, and of course Caravaggio's many works.[27] A number of Caravaggio's paintings were not necessarily rejected because of outright iconographic error, but simply because they did not match the expectations of the patrons.

Caravaggio was impetuous and seems to have appreciated working rashly. Given his practice of working directly to the canvas, one cannot help but wonder whether it was Caravaggio himself or a patron seeing the sketched-out composition who was responsible for the radical revisions of the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesci) and of both the final *Conversion of Saul* (Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo) and its earlier version (Odescalchi collection, Rome).[28] Of Caravaggio's rejected paintings, only *Death of the Virgin* called in the contract for a preparatory sketch to be shown to the patrons.

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[23] Girolamo Rusticucci, "Editto per gli altari et pitture," in Beggiao (1978). Rusticucci's wording, incidentally, is further proof for Calvese's thesis that 'sbozzo' rigorously refers to drawings.

[24] Barbieri et al. (1995), 178-9: "*Che per deliberare sopra la pittura della Cappella della famiglia Caetano si metta per provare un cartone col Golgotha.*"

[25] Jaffè (1984).

[26] Puttfarken (2000), 75.

[27] For Caravaggio's rejected altarpieces, see Warwick (2006).

[28] On the recent discovery of another version beneath the Cerasi Chapel work, see Bernardini (2001).

A Baroque Visual Technology

Even in the case of Caravaggio, the most famous of early seventeenth-century artists and also in some respects the most atypical, we can still say that the demands of control held. No artist was more controlled than Barocci. Although his procedure outlined in this book was extremely elaborate and even over-labored, its basic core provided a kind of visual technology for the Baroque. In general, Barocci's transitional experimentation created techniques that did not need to be followed to the letter after they had served their initial purpose.

Just as Barocci was popular with patrons, he was popular with other artists. The effect of his *Deposition*, unveiled in Perugia in 1569, or his *Madonna del Popolo*, revealed in Arezzo ten years later, was instant and revelatory. By the time Sixtus V had assembled his *equipe* of painters for his papal projects after 1585, Barocci's style was spreading rapidly. Although Barocci held on to most of his drawings because they were working documents for constant reference (and reuse),[29] enough of them traveled and enough artists had firsthand experience of his drawing and painting techniques to have a wide effect. This exposure to Barocci's exact procedure only reinforced the general cultural move toward control that we have been outlining. Barocci's means became only one of the most conspicuous and successful models to follow.

With the exception of Caravaggio, almost all of the important artists of the early seventeenth century were influenced by Barocci: Annibale Carracci, Ludovico Cigoli, Francesco Vanni, Giovanni Baglione, Cavaliere d'Arpino, Guido Reni, not to mention Northerners like Hendrik Goltzius and Peter Paul Rubens.[30] Few, if any, of these artists ever even met Barocci. They did not follow him because his was their master or the prime local painter in their cities, but rather, because he offered them pictorial solutions that had otherwise not been developed.

With the Carracci, for example, we find a rehabilitation of classic altarpiece painting and dependence on the cartoon. We can agree that Barocci's *chiaro* treatment of light separates him from the more forceful manner of Annibale.[31] Moreover, Annibale was principally a fresco painter, and when differences of media are taken into account, different pictorial solutions can be appreciated. Yet, Annibale carried on an enterprise largely sympathetic to Barocci's.

This influence carried through to Guido Reni, who like Barocci shunned fresco decoration and concentrated on altarpieces. While Guido's earlier work was closer in spirit to the Carracci, his latent mannerism and later *chiaro* style moved him much closer to Barocci, now dead. Indeed, it would be fair to call Guido a true emulator and not imitator of Barocci, even an *alter Baroccius*.[32] Not only was the kinship recognized by the Oratorians in Rome and Naples, it is probable that Reni's influential *Crucifixions* and *Immaculate Conceptions* owe something to Barocci (**Figs. 4 & 5)**.

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[29] For the recycling of Barocci's cartoons in later works, see the last chapter.

[30] On Barocci's influence, see especially Giannotti and Pizzorusso (2009).

[31] Dempsey (2000).

[32] The true emulation by Reni of Barocci is brought in the discussion in Fumaroli (1994), where a comparison is made between Reni's *Encounter of Christ and St. John the Baptist* (Naples, Oratory of the Girolomini) and Barocci's *Visitation* (Rome, Chiesa Nuova); c.f Verstegen (2015), 135-141.

Likewise, Rubens closely observed Barocci's works, going to so far as to (after Goltzius) imitate his manner of depicting warm and cool hues in the skin tone; there are furthermore common aspects in their treatment of iconographic motifs.[33] It is also clear that Rubens' style of landscape drawing was decisively influenced by Barocci.[34] Commentators have long related Barocci's painting of flesh to Rubens' use of alternating warm reds and cool veinous blues,[35] and Dempsey sums the issue up when he writes that "it is tempting to say that Rubens required no more than the magnificent figure of St. Sebastian in that painting [the Genoa *Crucifixion with Saint Sebastian*] to teach him all he needed to know about the handling of flesh."[36] Rubens would of course had ample opportunity to study Barocci's works, not only in Genoa but also in Rome and Madrid.

More importantly for our present purposes are the ways in which artists sought means to extend the life of the preparatory process through different kinds of drawings and the use of color, which could mimic the effect of painting. Rubens, for example, extensively used oil sketches **(Fig. 6)**, a practice he passed on to Van Dyck and Jordaens.[37] He began using them already in his Italian period and, like Barocci, he did them both for the composition and also for individual figures. Working on the high altarpiece at the Chiesa Nuova where Barocci's two paintings hung, Rubens painted several *bozzetti* of the composition (*Sts. Gregory the Great, Domitilla, Mauro and Papia*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie; London, Courtauld Institute; and *The Madonna della Vallicella adored by Angels*, Vienna, Akademie für bildende Kunst) and for figures (*Saint Domitilla*, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo).[38] For his contemporary Oratorian commission for Fermo, the *Nativity* (1608, S. Filippo), Rubens also painted a color *bozzetto* of the composition (Saint Petersburg, Hermitage).[39]

Rubens must have known of Barocci's procedure and thought he was emulating it in some way. However, in actual practice the way he uses these sketches is closer to the Venetians. We shall see that Barocci's *bozzetti* are never painted *alla prima,* but rather rely on a series of earlier sketches. In contrast, when Venetians presented oil *modelli* they were competition pieces, first ideas that gave a hint of the final work. This is the kind of oil sketch that Rubens largely carried on, ideas to show a client or aids for assistants to follow. Barocci was not a fresco painter or monumental decorator and thus had no need for this kind of oil sketch. Thus, Jaffè seems to be incorrect in saying that Rubens' oil models for the Antwerp Jesuit church S. Borromeo "can be said to have been painted after Barocci's procedure."[40] However, Rubens did not necessarily discern the difference

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[33] For recent work connecting the two artists, see Walch and Liebaers (1985), 171-78; Hubala (1993), 31-41; Larson (1994), 79-85. Using computer manipulations, Jaffé's suggestion that Rubens actually traveled to Ravenna can be ruled out. His drawing in Wilton House, in the Collection of the Earl of Pembroke, is obviously based on a Barocci drawing which Rubens must have owned (1984, pp. 52-3).

[34] Jaffé (1977), 52: "Appreciation of Barocci was crucial to Rubens's shift from a Venetian-based style of rendering the details of landscape."

[35] See Hetzer (1948), 220-221. For a review of arguments relating Barocci to Rubens on painting flesh, see Huemer (1996), esp. 125-147.

[36] Dempsey (2000), 61; c.f., Dempsey (1987), 62.

[37] For Van Dyck, see Wheelock et al. (1990), 327-366.

[38] Ferrari (1990), 28-29, 221-227.

[39] Jaffè (1984), fig. 339.

[40] Jaffè (1984), 52.

between how his and Barocci's oil sketches came about, for he was unlikely to have intimate knowledge of Barocci's working practice.

Many Seicento artists seem to have been familiar with Barocci's oil sketches and the methods that preceded them. Both Palma Giovane and Claudio Ridolfi worked in and around Urbino and would have known these intimately.[41] The Baroccista Vanni also painted oil sketches, as did Cigoli **(Fig. 7)**; neither of those artists had any direct contact with Barocci himself, but both clearly made deep studies of his work.[42] Barocci had experimented with oil sketches even as a young artist in Rome, and some knowledge of his innovation must have lingered behind even after he returned to Urbino **(Fig. 8)**. Moreover, artists from the Marches who came to Rome — Federico Zuccaro or Andrea Lilio, for example—are likely to have been asked how the famous Barocci worked; certainly, Zuccaro's mixed-chalk drawings follow a trip to Urbino where he might have seen Barocci.[43]

Interestingly, those architects of the Baroque style, the Carracci, seem not to have used oil sketches as *modelli*, but one might consider some of the early Carracci exercises like the *Boy Drinking* (various versions including Cleveland Museum of Art) as related to Barocci's head studies in oil. While the details of how—and why—these oil sketches were painted vary from artist to artist, Barocci was arguably the source for most of these innovations. Furthermore, the development of a composition through the use of such small-scale surrogates related directly to the demand for control. Their use was pioneered by Barocci, and even if the oil sketch occupied a slightly different role in his preparatory process than it did in the work of his would-be followers, we must turn now to an investigation of how Barocci came to create his examples.

[41] For Palma's oil sketches, see Ferrari (1990), 17-20, 193-197; and for Ridolfi's, see Ferrari (1990), 52-53, 214-215. Obviously important is the well-known letter from Marcantonio Bassetti to Palma describing the use of oil sketches in which "quanto di disegna, si dipinge ancora" Bottari and Ticozzi, (1822), 484-485.
[42] Contini (1991); Ferrari (1990), 16-17, 111-113.
[43] Mundy (2005), 160-185.

Fig. 1
Federico Barocci, *Institution of the Apostles*, 1608 (Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome)

Fig. 2
Attributed to Jean-Baptiste Corneill, *Studio Vigilanti (Allegory of Study)* (from Gian Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti Moderni*, 1672), 169

Fig. 3
Attributed to Jean-Baptiste Corneill, *Praxis (Allegory of Practice)* (from Gian Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti Moderni*, 1672), 201

Fig. 4
Federico Barocci, *Crucifixion*, 1603, Prado, Madrid

Fig. 5
Guido Reni, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1639-40, Galleria Estense, Modena

Fig. 6
Peter Paul Rubens, *The Madonna Vallicelliana adored by Saints*, 1608, Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna

Fig. 7
Ludovico Cigoli, oil sketch of *Head of Christ*, 1599–1600, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

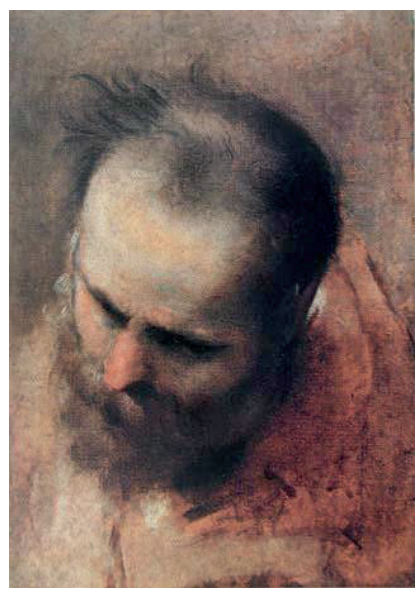

Fig. 8
Federico Barocci, oil sketch of *Head of Man who Supports Christ* (Nicodemus) for the Senigallia *Entombment*, 1582, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Chapter 1

Urbino's Mathematical Humanism and the Reduction Compass

Barocci's development of new artistic methods did not arise merely from a particularly sensitive response to the climate of the Counter-Reformation; rather, Barocci had certain distinct cultural and technological advantages over his peers. A degree of provincial isolation afforded by Urbino preserved techniques from the High Renaissance, particularly the use of life and extensive preparatory drawings, which fell into relative disuse in the cosmopolitan capital of Rome, and later Florence. Nonetheless, the riches of the local mathematical and scientific culture of Urbino are important to note, especially the influence of a number of prominent scholars with documented contact with Barocci and his family.

Of course, "science" as an organized practice did not exist in Barocci's time.[44] If the Counter-Reformation led to a demand for control and re-elevation of the work of a painter, Barocci's response was richly informed by concrete influences in his hometown of Urbino, where he came of age, and to which he later permanently returned after a few important early years in Rome. One need only glimpse the view of Urbino's ducal palace in the background of so many of Barocci's paintings to sense the artist's pride in his city. However, by looking more carefully, we can better understand the ways in which the culture of Urbino impressed itself upon Barocci.

Artful Mathematics, Mathematical Arts

Urbino was a center of advanced natural philosophy in Barocci's time.[45] A number of thinkers of world-wide importance worked there, for the Dukes and their voracious appetite for knowledge secured a hospitable environment for numerous mathematicians. These individuals included Federico Commandino (1509-1575), the first great figure of the late century.[46] A translator of Euclid, Heron and Ptolemy, he was the *caposcuola* who trained most of the younger mathematician. In Samuel Edgerton's words, Commandino was "the first professional to publish a mathematical analysis of linear perspective in a text intended solely for fellow mathematicians."[47] His seminal text, *Planisphaerium Ptolemaei commentarius*, was published at a crucial time in Barocci's training, and Commandino continued with optical topics, including a Latin translation of Euclid's *Elements*.[48]

Closer in age to Barocci was Francesco Paciotto (1521-1591), an important architect who worked both in Turin and the Spanish Netherlands for projects of mutual interest to the duke of Urbino.[49] Paciotto was an expert in surveying and helped acquire ancient poliorcetic texts. Guidobaldo del Monte (1545-1607) was Commandino's successor as

[44] Park and Daston (2006).
[45] For the sciences in Urbino see in general, Gamba and Montebelli (1988, 1989).
[46] Rose (1975); Meli (1989): 397-403.
[47] Edgerton (1991), 165.
[48] Commandino (1558; 1575). There was furthermore talk of publishing Leonardo of Pisa's *Practica geometriae* and Luca Pacioli's *Summa*; c.f., Baldi (1707).
[49] For Paciotti, see Promis (1863), 361-442; Verstegen (2010).

caposcuola. Guidobaldo was a minor noble and a friend from birth of the Duke Francesco Maria II, and he was even named after the Duke's father, Guidobaldo II. Guidobaldo continued the pursuit of scientific perspective, not intended for the layman, in his *Perspectivae Libri Sex* of 1600.[50] The work is commonly acknowledged as the most rigorous perspective treatise of the Renaissance that proves perspective according to standards we can recognize today.

What was the social position of these thinkers? One interpretation is that the mathematicians sought to distinguish themselves socially by focusing their efforts on non-utilitarian thinkers – the purity of their objects of study translated to their elevated social position.[51] One could call this an interpretation of mathematics as *sprezzatura*, in accord with Baldassare Castiglione's famous ideal of comportment for Urbino's courtiers. Yet the exhausting efforts of a Commandino – and also a Barocci – did not seek to conceal effort. Rather, as Alexander Marr has pointed out, they pursued in all things precision (*esquisitezza*).[52] Such labor was not antithetical to nobility or social distinction.

Both Commandino and Guidobaldo del Monte had demonstrable ties with the Barocci family. The Commandino and Barocci families lived next door to each other in Urbino, and Commandino, as will be explained below, surely knew Barocci's brother Simone. A member of Barocci's school may have painted the posthumous portrait of Commandino in the style of the *uomo illustro* **(Fig. 9)**.[53] Moreover, Simone Barocci worked closely with Guidobaldo as well; the tangible evidence of this friendship is a portrait of Guidobaldo by Barocci himself **(Fig. 10)**.[54] A lost portrait by Barocci of Paciotto is recorded in an early inventory.[55]

Finally, there are subsequent personalities who worked into the seventeenth century and would have had less formative influence but still contributed to the scientific atmosphere of Urbino. Among them are Count Giulio Thiene (1520-1588), the poet Bernardino Baldi (1553-1617), Giambattista Clarici (1570-1620), the architect Muzio Oddi (1569-1639) the theologian Ludovico Vincenzi (married to Muzio's sister) and Peter Linder of Nuremberg.[56] Most of these mathematicians were younger, but they may have had some contact with Barocci. Ludovico, for example, corresponded with his brother Guidobaldo in Milan about Barocci's commissions for Milan Cathedral.[57] According to an old story, Baldi was given drawings lessons by Barocci.

These interactions and circumstances are not random; generations of the Barocci family (including Federico's brother and father) tellingly constructed scientific instruments and clocks. Barocci's great-grandfather, Ambrogio Barocci established the Barocci family in Urbino when he moved to the city to work for Federico da Montefeltro

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[50] Del Monte (1600/1984).
[51] Biagioli (1989).
[52] Marr (2010), 223.
[53] Workshop of Federico Barocci, *Portrait of Federico Commandino* (Urbania, Museo Comunale); Cleri and Paoli (1998), no. 25, 18, list the author as Cesare Maggeri.
[54] Federico Barocci, *Portrait of Guidobaldo del Monte* (Rome, Galleria Nazionale now transferred to Uffizi, Florence); Olsen (1962), no. 57, 204-5; and Museo Civico, Pesaro; Gamba (1998), 2:88.
[55] Zezza (2009), 264: "*fece ancora un ritratto del s. r. conte pacciotto.*" A copy of the original is in the Casa Raffaello, Urbino.
[56] For Thiene, see Promis (1874), 672-675; for Clarici, 734-6.
[57] Sangiorgi (1982).

at the Palazzo Ducale. Ambrogio was a master carver and worked extensively in and around Urbino. He was extremely successful and was even eventually voted to the magistrate. Ambrogio bought the family house in 1486 on the via dei Fraticelli (now via Barocci) in which the painter's ancestors would proceed to all live. Emblematic of the family's early ties to Urbino's scientific interests are the tens of panels that Ambrogio Barocci carved for the exterior of the Palazzo Ducale. Based on drawings of scientific machines conceived by Francesco di Giorgio, the carvings illustrated jointly Duke Federico Montefeltro's celebration of scientific knowledge and the Barocci family's participation.

Ambrogio's son (and Federico's grandfather) Marcantonio was a jurist, but the Baroccis by and large adopted highly skilled professions. Barocci's father, Ambrogio the Younger, was a gem engraver, sculptor, and clockmaker. He established the Barocci name in the manufacture of scientific instruments. Ambrogio the Younger trained his son Simone (the brother of Federico), in addition to his nephews Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Maria (d. 1593) in the art of precision craftsmanship. Federico's cousins were slightly older than he, and they achieved their own fame when Federico was still a young man. Giovanni Maria is most famous for making a watch for Saint Philip Neri (1563) and a gear clock for Pope Pius V (1570).[58] Simone, however, seems to have been the most praised of the three. He is known for various projects but especially for working with both Commandino and Guidobaldo on innovative scientific instruments. Muzio Oddi writes how Simone collaborated with both mathematicians on the perfection of the reduction compass, a story recounted below.

Federico Barocci thus grew up in a heady theoretical and technical environment. He never practiced as an instrument maker, but mathematics and mechanics surely affected his artistic practice to a much greater extent than it did for most of his contemporaries. When Barocci was a young man, he was taught perspective, spent time in the ducal collections in Pesaro and came under the protection of the Cardinal Giulio Feltrio della Rovere. It is hard to imagine that the young Barocci was unaware of Commandino's works. Just as Barocci was completing one of his first mature works, *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (1557; Urbino, Cathedral), Commandino would have been compiling his commentary on Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium (Federici Commandini ubrninatis in planisphaerium Ptolemaei commentarius* (1558).[59] Within the commentary, Commandino attacked the proof of perspective with the vigor of a mathematician, rejoining a debate that had floundered since Piero della Francesca.

Pittore Scientifico?

One of the most obvious ways in which to gauge the scientific commitments of a Renaissance painter is through their interest in problems like perspective. Although Barocci often had architectural backdrops for his compositions, we see an active perspective construction in only a few of his works, most notably in the *Flight of Aeneas from Troy* (1589, Villa Borghese), with its rendition of Bramante's *Tempietto* from San Pietro in Montorio in Rome.[60] The building is utilized here to provide a suitably classicist

[58] Morpurgo (1974); Panicali *(*1988).
[59] Commandino (1558/1993).
[60] Olsen *(*1962), 190-182; Emiliani (1985), 2:230-237; (2008), 2:58-*70.*

backdrop and was worked out in full detail in a separate study (Uffizi 135A); **(Fig. 11)**.[61] The perspective is constructed with authority but it is almost unique in Barocci's oeuvre.[62] There is also some record that Barocci created scenography in 1588, and he probably approached this with ability as well.[63] But these works exhaust Barocci's attention to perspective. Perspectives were no longer of absorbing interest to the most advanced painters in Italy, for by the late sixteenth century, perspective, especially in the form of architectonic *quadratura* decoration, had become a specialty craft. Cigoli, a leading painter and expert on perspective, was an anomaly for the time.[64] Further, as a painter primarily of easel pictures rather than frescoes, Barocci would have had even less opportunity to paint perspectives.

Barocci's primary biographer Bellori, however, notes that Barocci learned perspective from his cousin (actually his father's cousin) Girolamo Genga. Vasari describes the expertise of both Girolamo and his son Bartolomeo for making *archi trionfali*, and Girolamo's frescoes for the Villa Imperiale employ very advanced *quadratura*.[65] Indeed, the involvement of perspective specialists in Urbinate ephemeral architecture is shown again and again, leading us to believe that perhaps there was as much of an interest in perspective in these arches as in other artistic centers like Milan.[66]

Another way to judge the scientific interests of a Renaissance painter is through a demonstration of study of anatomy. Such drawings are not life drawings but rather *écorché*, or drawings of musculature. Only a few anatomical drawings in Barocci's *oeuvre* exist.[67] In the midst of other sketches, Barocci will occasionally remind himself of the anatomy of the arm or another body part. Examples include Berlin 20132 **(Fig. 12)**, which, in addition to a sketch of Andrew's foot and arm for the *Calling of Saint Andrew,* also includes a study of an arm's musculature.[68] Like the perspective studies, these are done with confidence and expertise. While Barocci did not make the *écorché* studies of an artist who attended dissections or anatomy lessons, his close attention to the articulation of a hand, or the bulge of muscles in a forearm, suggests that he was concerned not only with the appearance, but also the workings of the human body.[69]

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[61] Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi (hereafter "Uffizi"), inv. 135A, 42 x 46 cm; Malmstrom (1968/9); Günther (1969); Lingo (2008), 179, fig. 151.

[62] See also Uffizi inv. 11660F for the Urbino Cathedral *Last Supper*; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), 87, n. 1; and Uffizi 9339 S for the Urbino *Perdono*; Emiliani (2008), 1:272, fig. 34.5.

[63] Matheo. . .at Pesaro to Tingoli at Cagli, 13 February 1588; quoted Gronau (1936), 210: "*le scene sono tre, fatte dal Baroccio e questa basta dire.*" However, the Pesarese scenographer Nicolò Sabbatini (*Pratica di fabbricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, Pesaro, 1637) does not mention Barocci.

[64] Chappell (2003).

[65] On Genga's *apparati* see Pallen (1999), 21-24; on his *quadratura* see Sjöström (1978).

[66] See Battistell (1986); Davidson (2002). For perspective in Milan in Barocci's time, see Bora (1980).

[67] Olsen (1965).

[68] Berlin inv. 20132, 41.5 x 27.3 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:196, fig. 411; (2008), 2:17, fig. 41.19. The drawing is identified in Chapter 6 as primarily half scale.

[69] For additional drawings with anatomical studies, see:
Berlin inv. 20272, 24.5 x 34.5 cm, Emiliani (1985), 2:363, fig. 805; (2008), 2:278, not illustrated (for the *Crocifisso Spirante*, Prado, Madrid).
Berlin inv. 20438, 17.7 x 27.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:142, fig. 263; (2008), 2:326, fig. 38.38 (for the *Madonna del Popolo*, Uffizi, Florence).

Given the absence of a significant body of perspective and anatomical drawings, Barocci has not traditionally been considered among natural philosophically-minded artists. Although his interest is not overtly or obviously that of a anatomist or mixed mathematician – that is, Barocci's scientific interests are not demonstrated in the ways that typically categorize a "scientific" artist – when considered alongside other evidence that indicates that Barocci was arguably as deeply steeped in a scientific culture than any comparable artist of his time, his drawings and paintings appear in a new and technologically illuminated light.

Leonardo and the *Codex Urbinas 1270*

In drawing ties between scientific and artistic culture, one must finally, but perhaps above all, give mention to a voice from the scientific past that nurtured Barocci: Leonardo da Vinci. Barocci may even be considered as something of the Leonardo da Vinci figure of the Counter-Reformation. Similar to the way that many of Leonardo's contemporaries like Perugino or Ghirlandaio continued to paint in a largely *quattrocento* style into the sixteenth century while Leonardo was pioneering new aspects of naturalism, lighting, and space, Barocci also pioneered a new way of painting that looked forward to the seventeenth century. Although Barocci was not the universal mind that Leonardo was, he was more technically inclined than previously documented and part of this lies in his probable knowledge of Leonardo's written works, perhaps including the *Libro di pittura* (Codex Urbinas 1270) itself.[70]

Credit must go to Gary Walters (proceeding on a hunch by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin) for discovering, in a close examination of Barocci's early works, a meditation on themes found in Leonardo's *Libro di Pittura*.[71] This period of activity indeed correlates to Barocci's profound change in style in the mid-1560s, when Barocci began using color head studies, experimenting with pastels, and achieveing his mature, graceful figure style. There is, however, a difficulty in determining exactly how Barocci had access to Leonardo's writings. The first objection, that Leonardo's Codex Urbinas was inventoried in the Castel Durante (Urbania) ducal library and would have been inaccessible,[72] can be put aside, for the Duke only retired to Castel Durante in 1621; the manuscript would have been in Urbino prior to that date. More problematic is the fact that Francesco Melzi, Leonardo's collaborator, did not die until 1570, and the manuscripts in his possession are generally thus presumed to have arrived in the ducal collections too late to influence Barocci.[73] The following speculations are not a definitive theory of the arrival of the Codex Urbinas in Urbino, but some important facts in consideration of such a theory.[74]

While it is possible that Barocci had access to a summary of Vincian themes, the abridgments available at that time do not reflect the relevant chapters of the *Libro di Pittura* that seemed to influence Barocci. All of the abridgments of the *Libro di Pittura*,

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[70] Leonardo da Vinci (1995).

[71] Lavin (1964); Walters (1977), 43-45.

[72] Pedretti (1977), 12, 34. This misunderstanding is also noted by Farago (1992).

[73] Thus, Zygmunt Wazbinski's (1994, 60) suggestion that the cause of Barocci's change in style "*fu probabilmente la scoperta dell'eredita' leonardiana, durante la sua visita fiorentina* (1579)," may only refer to reflected light.

[74] For the most up to date hypothesis on this, see Farago (2018).

including the *editio princeps* of 1651, do not include books five through eight dealing with light and color, what Anna Sconza calls the "scientific" chapters, and as we shall see these are the ones that most interested Barocci.[75]

Walters locates the stylistic break in Barocci's painting in the *Madonna of Saint Simon* (c. 1566) and *Crucifixion* (c. 1567), observing the behavior of light in different environments and along different surfaces, its reflections, and atmospheric perspective. Indeed, beginning with the *Saint Simon*, we see a consistent employment of aerial perspective (comprising color, chiaroscuro and acuity perspective) in the background. Barocci's famous still-life elements that he often places in the foreground of pictures similarly serve a perspectival function. They tend to be painted in a sharp focus in contrast to the *sfumato* of his principal figures, thereby demonstrating increased acuity that rigidly places his figures into a gradient of distance.[76] In the *Madonna of Saint Simon*, Simon's halberd and Joseph's saw are rendered with sharp focus, while the buildings in the back lost acuity and their color approaches transparency. The same is true of the *Crucifixion* created the next year.

Moreover, Walters also notes more technically that in addition to the atmospheric perspective, Barocci has experimented with reflected shadows, such that the left leg of Jude picks up the yellow from his garment, receiving a yellowish cast, while the Christ child's skin seems to reflect the blue of the Virgin Mary's mantle **(Fig. 13)**.[77] Importantly, many of the textual sources isolated by Walters are those present only in the Urbino *Libro di Pittura* and not in the later abridged *Trattato*. What we may add is that this period of stylistic change also correlates to Barocci's profound change in technique in the mid-1560s. At that time, Barocci committed himself to life drawing, began also using color head studies, experimenting with pastels and achieved his new, graceful figure style.[78] Evidence also indicates that Barocci began using a reduction compass to aid in the composition of his paintings.[79] The arrival of the *Libro di Pittura* at this time is somewhat confirmed by the fact that in the preface to the edition of Apollonius published in 1566, *Conicorum libri quattuor,* Commandino lauds duke Guidobaldo II's enrichment of the library.**[80]** The results suggest that, as already argued by Walters, Barocci consulted the actual *Libro di Pittura* (Codex Urbinas 1270) during his convalescence in Urbino c. 1563-5.[81]

As noted, I will not offer any hypothesis about how the Codex, or a lost version with the scientific chapters intact, could have arrived in Urbino. But the fact that codices were coming to the city is easy to document. In 1558, he had published the first of his editions of ancient authors, the *Planisphaerium* of Ptolemy, followed in 1562 with the

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[75] Sconza (2009): 307-366.

[76] On acuity perspective in Leonardo's writings, see Bell (1998). On the use of *sfumato* in Barocci's painting, see Hall (2011); Verstegen (2015).

[77] Walters (1978), 43-57.

[78] On this period, see Fontana (1998); Verstegen (2003b); on the pastels, see McGrath (1998).

[79] Marciari and Verstegen (2008).

[80] Apollonius (1566), "*bibliothecam aui tam optimis libris adauxifti*"; Rose (1975), 203.

[81] Babette Bohn (Mann, 2012, 38) argues that Leonardo's influence is not felt by Barocci "from the late 1560s," however, she also does not consider or even cite Walters' arguments and does not focus on aerial perspective.

Analemmate.[82] At exactly the time that the *Libro di Pittura* came to Urbino, the duke had asked Commandino (as Annibale Caro revealed to Felice Paciotto) to obtain some manuscripts from the Vatican Library.[83] In 1568, Duke Guidobaldo II della Rovere gave a copy of Francesco di Giorgio's *Opusculum de architectura* (c. 1475), a series of 200 drawings now in the British Museum (Codex 197 B 21) to the Duke of Savoy, a Spanish ally.[84] These drawings, incidentally, illustrated the panels that Barocci's own great-grandfather had carved.

There are a number of reasons that such individuals as Commandino, Paciotto, and Genga might be interested in Leonardo. Foremost of course is his work on fortifications. Knowing that this is a *Libro di Pittura*, however, would rule that out. The idea that one might have sought out the treatise, not quite knowing what was inside is also possible. For example, it was noted that Barocci was introducing pastels into his drawing technique and also using a reduction compass, both practices discussed by Leonardo in writings, and possibly connected to him by lore.

The Reduction Compass

Unusually in the history of art, the moment of the invention of a major technical innovation, the reduction compass, coincides with its use by an artist, Barocci. In this event, tool and temperament came together for a quick and easy way to adjust the scale of drawings. The primary means available to Renaissance artists to scale works – the pantograph would only be invented in the sixteenth century – was the use of the squared grid (*griglia quadrettata*). According to his biographer, Manetti, Brunelleschi used squared paper in order to draw the ruins of Rome, which was evidently useful for later transfer.[85] The first forensic use of such a grid for the clear enlargement of a drawing comes from the head of the Virgin in Masaccio's fresco of the Trinity (Santa Maria Novella, 1427-29).[86] There one may see a lattice of lines directly incised into the plaster, which presumably helped transfer the design from a lost drawing. The slightly later fresco by Paolo Uccello of Sir John Hawkwood (1436, Duomo, Florence) gives more complete evidence. Both the extant fresco and surviving drawing show correlating evidence that the latter was used to enlarge the composition for the fresco.[87]

Barocci utilized the grid technique often. Indeed, he developed a novel use of a double grid, which was elaborated by Gary Walters and not discussed since.[88] Walters showed that with his grid Barocci discovered he could take dimensions off of a near or a farther line, thereby obtaining different scales. What Walters did not know is the sheer preponderance of drawings in scaled ratios, so that the drawings (neatly organizing into round ratios, 1:4, etc.) are merely a subclass of the larger compass scaling.

In Urbino, another method of enlargement was discovered by Piero della Francesca. Roberto Bellucci and Cecilia Frosinini have determined that the head of Federico da

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[82] Commandino (1558); Sinisgalli and Vastola (1992); Commandino (1562).
[83] Rose (1972), 189; citing Caro (1961), 3:81.
[84] Scaglia (1992), no. 1, 50-51; no. 36, 101-2.
[85] di Tuccio Manetti (1970), 132.
[86] Bambach (1999), 189-194.
[87] Meiss (1970), 124-127; Melli (1999), 261-272.
[88] Walters (1978), 158-164.

Montefeltro in his Uffizi diptych is 16% larger than that in the San Bernardino altarpiece.[89] With a reflection on basic fractions, it is not difficult to see that the 16% must be a proportional division, namely 1:6. Divisions by half yield quarters, eights, and so on, in the following series: 50% (1:2), 25% (1:4), 12.5% (1:8). Dividing by thirds, however, we arrive at another series: 33.33% (1:3), 16.66% (1:6). In this case, the portrait in the Uffizi is exactly *one sixth* larger than that in the Brera. Put another way, the portrait in the Brera is six units and that in the Uffizi is seven.

Here is the method I suggest Piero used. In the first book of *De prospectiva pingendi*, Piero shows how the size of an object is determined proportionally by its distance from the viewer.[90] Each size is correlated directly to distance and we can see easily how one may pass from one proportion to another.[91] Piero asks us to imagine, but does not illustrate, seven squares in a long row marking out variable distances from a hypothetical viewer. Drawing a line through the vertical face of each cube, the line intersection that is created indicates the variably apparent size of each distance **(Fig. 14a)**.

Fortuitously, the distances chosen by Piero in his textual example are exactly those discussed above, that is, 6 units and (16.6% larger), seven units. Using a series of parallel lines (as with Piero's procedure to obtain the head "proportionalmente degradata," but much simpler), one can easily reproduce a face of a different scale and also create two groups of lines – one for the horizontals (the height of the eye, nose, etc.) and another for the verticals (the depth of the ear, etc.).[92] From here we arrive at the actual heads **(Fig. 14b)**. This is a method directly prescribed by Piero, and therefore, the likeliest he actually used.

In such a scientific context, it is unsurprising that other expedients for enlargement were discovered. Under the Euclid revival of the late fifteenth century and given his awareness of Piero's and Luca Pacioli's work, Leonardo da Vinci seems to have understood the geometry of a potential reduction compass, in his Codex Foster.[93] A version of the reduction compass may have been used for architectural plans by Antonio da Sangallo.[94] The use of two compasses, or readings from a single compass as Sangallo seems to have done, within both a building and military context, was the impetus for the reduction compass **(Fig. 14b)**.[95]

Reduction compasses (today called proportional dividers) work on the geometric principle of the similarity of triangles. Two parallels intersecting two triangles formed by two other intersecting lines form the same angles but different lengths (**Figs. 15 & 16**). The reduction compass was a two-arm compass with a variable central pivot; it created asymmetrical but geometrically equal triangles on each side, and consequently enabled the reduction and enlargement of drawings. Because the parallels insure that the angles are identical in the two triangles, the dimensions in the two remain proportional. A 4:3

[89] Bellucci and Frosinini (1997), (2001).
[90] Piero della Francesca (1942).
[91] This is amply discussed in Wittkower (1953); Kemp (1990), fig. 33.
[92] For the diffusion of Piero's method of parallel projection, especially for the conventions of architectural representation, see Di Teodoro (2002).
[93] For a review, see Veltman (1993).
[94] Frommel and Adams (1994), 246-247, 449; Camerota (2001).
[95] Camerota (2000); Rose (1968); Rosen (1969); Gamba (1994).

ratio is 1.333, an apparently non-intuitive number. It is important instead to imagine Barocci working the compass based on how large an object in the painting is compared to how much space he had on the sheet of paper.

According to Muzio Oddi, writing in 1633, it was in 1568 that the reduction and proportional compasses were invented by Federico Commandino and Guidobaldo del Monte.[96] There is a controversy as to whether or not this is absolutely true, but it is safe to say that Commandino and Guidobaldo were among the early experimenters with such instruments. Bartolomeo Eustachio requested that Commandino devise a compass with which to derive the ratios of triangles easily. Since Guidobaldo was then studying with Commandino (1566-70), he was there to help. Oddi remarks that Simone Barocci made the instrument. More interestingly, he says that Guidobaldo "was always at the house where Simone worked;"[97] in other words, Guidobaldo was always in the studio that Simone and Federico shared. Less important for us is Oddi's claim that Guidobaldo actually suggested the improvements to turn the reduction compass into a proportional compass, which could derive sines and tangents.

Remarkable about this story is the commonality of interests of the various natural philosophers tenured by the della Rovere – Eustachio, Commandino, Guidobaldo – all working on similar problems in a common scientific environment. At the time, both Commandino and the young Guidobaldo also resided in Urbino working closely with Simone, Federico's brother. This working relationship is only one of the countless occasions Barocci would have had to interact with the Urbino philosophers. Indeed, the reduction compass shall form a major part of this study, as it furnished the mechanism for Barocci quickly to derive the necessary ratios with which he could enlarge and reduce drawings. Barocci's brother, Simone, is known to have fashioned several of these compasses (and others) for Federico Commandino, Bartolomeo Eustachio, Guidobaldo del Monte and Fabrizio Mordente, some of the top mathematicians of the latter sixteenth century.[98] The ratios inscribed on the arms of the compass, from 2-8, describe exactly the range of ratios used by Barocci in his drawings.

It is because of Barocci's close association with the reduction compass that an anonymous Flemish painter might have deemed it appropriate, in the early seventeenth century, to present the personification of *Disegno* in the general guise of Barocci **(Fig. 17)**.[99] The reduction compass undergirds the whole analysis given in this book. To show the epochal nature of what Barocci was attempting with the reduction compass, it is necessary to delve more deeply into the process by which he evolved his compositions.

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[96] Oddi (1633/1865).

[97] Oddi (1633/1865), 442: "*L'illustriss. Sinore Guidobaldo de Marquesi del Monte, che in quei tempi si tratteneva in Urbino per conferire i suoi studij con il Commandino, et spesso era alla casa dove lavorava il [Simone] Baroccio.*"

[98] As noted above, Muzio Oddi's *Fabrica et Uso del Compasso Polimetro* (1633), preface, notes the year 1568 – extremely prescient for our narrative – when Eustachio, whom Barocci would have known at Cardinal Giulio delle Rovere's retinue in Rome, requested Commandino to design a compass for Simone Barocci to fashion.

[99] See http://mysteriousmasterpiece.com/an-alternative-candidate-for-disegno/; accessed 21 April 2016.

Inventing Light and Color

Barocci has been long been appreciated by scholars and collectors for his colored head and compositional studies in pastel and oil.[100] However, we may say further that these studies were part of a broader process in which Barocci invented "light" and "color" as we know them today. He was the first artist to separate tacitly the formal contribution of both light and color into the artistic message. He managed to create this separation by coordinating two kinds of preparatory painted drawings, the light compositional study (*modello*) and the color compositional study (*bozzetto*). By creating the two types of studies in parallel he cloves apart a fundamental distinction that can be taken for granted today. Moving beyond the more common discussion of Barocci's innovative choice of medium, we can discuss further the systematic nature of his working method.

Barocci's usage of monochrome and color studies will be outlined in great detail in the following chapters. Here I am merely concerned with the consequence of Barocci's conceptualization of the studies' joint functioning, a division of labor that forced the creation of new semantic categories. Quite early in his career, Barocci began using oil and pastel – a medium he brought to maturity – to make auxiliary cartoons of heads and *bozzetti* of the composition. Before Barocci, auxiliary cartoons of head in chalk were known, and Domenico Beccafumi had regularly painted oil sketches of heads, but Barocci was the first to see such heads as a necessary component of any major commission. For his fresco of *Moses and the Serpent* (c. 1563) in the Vatican Barocci already produced a head of Moses in oil **(Fig. 18)**.[101] The *modello* in ink wash with white heightening was well known from the High Renaissance, and Barocci continued to produce them throughout his career, but he also extended coloristic means to compositional studies. It is difficult to know if the chalk and pastel study for the *Madonna of Saint John* in the Morgan Library & Museum, given its condition, is actually by Barocci, but if so would constitute the earliest colored preparatory compositional drawings since some experiments by Polidoro da Caravaggio.[102]

The earliest such secure work is the well-known oil study **(Fig. 19**; Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino) for the large *Perdono* of ca. 1574-76 adorning the high altar of the Observant Franciscan church in Urbino.[103] Scholars have been reluctant to see this as a preparatory work for a variety of reasons discussed in detail in Chapter 5. These doubts have now been dispelled after a subtle and unnoticed shift in the composition clarified that it was indeed painted in the development of the composition, and not afterward, as a copy. The shift can easily be observed by using a straight edge that while the architecture and figure of Saint Francis align in the final painting (bottom) and the *bozzetto* (top), the figures of Chris and Mary are shifted *en masse* to the right.

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[100] See Chapters 5 and 7 for bibliography.

[101] Sotheby's (1993), 1993, 48; Haboldt & Co. (1995), 19. The authenticity of this head is not accepted by Bohn (Mann, 2012). It is discussed again in Chapter 7.

[102] For a reproduction of the Morgan drawing see Pillsbury and Richards (1978), 43. For a review of colored compositional drawings up to, and beyond Barocci, see Ferrari (1990). This drawing is discussed again in Chapter 5.

[103] Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, 125 x 100 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:105, fig. 181. This painting is discussed in Chapter 5. Note that the image with a manipulated scale is rendered in *gray*; this is a convention that will be used throughout the book.

Ironically, the presumed *modello* for the composition, in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg can now be seen to postdate the final work precisely because it has erased this compositional shift.[104] The lack of compositional change confirms that the drawing served instead for Barocci's important etching for the work, and the drawing and print match each other closely in size and distribution of figures. However, it is more economical to think of the second *modello* as a cleaned-up version of an earlier example of the same size, which was perhaps cut to experiment with the movement of the figure group, a fact that is confirmed by the existence of other very early drawings at the same scale investigating new poses.[105]

Juxtaposing these two works together produces some startling facts. First, we come to the realization that perhaps for the first time in western art history an artist has produced two redundant paintings, one focused on light and the other on color. To emphasize the significance of this distinction, we might make reference to classic semiotic theory, which holds that signs change their meaning (or value) when placed in different paradigmatic and syntagmatic oppositions. In the classic example of the French *mouton,* the word means both the species and the meat derived from it. Unlike the English *sheep-mutton* which has separate signifiers for each, *mouton* cannot differentiate between the two meanings.[106] Similarly, "modello" has the value of both light and color. When a new signifier, "bozzetto" arrives on the scene, it pries these two values apart and reassigns them. The description term monochrome and color sketch become semantically *not*-colored and *not*-monochrome respectively.

It is true that such pairs of light compositional (*modello*) and color compositional (*bozzetto*) studies do not survive for every painting. Nevertheless, as I shall argue in later chapters, for several: The *Entombment* (1582, Chiesa del Croce e Sacramento, Senigallia), *Calling of Saint Andrew* (1583, Musée Royaux des Beaux Arts, Brussels), and *Circumcision* (1590, Louvre, Paris), they do.[107] Barocci's first biographer, Gian Pietro Bellori, in his life of the artist of 1672, recorded that Barocci made such colored oil and pastel studies of the composition. Bellori noted that Barocci would "make a small cartoon in oil or gouache, in chiaroscuro" and "as regards the coloring, after the large cartoon Barocci made another small one in which he distributed the hues in proportions and sought to find the right tones between one color and the next."[108] Here, Bellori actually suggested the complementarity of light and color studies through his language; thus, to complement drawings in ink with white heightening (*cartoncini*) which Bellori says the artist used to understand "i lumi," Barocci supplemented another for the color (*cartone…picciolo*).

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[104] Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg), inv. 14714, 53.5 x 31 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:106, fig. 182; Emiliani (2008), 1:267, fig. 34.1; Mann and Bohn (2012), fig. 5.7. Nicholas Turner, based on Michael Bury's communication, has already used size to link the model to the print (2000, 143) without reference to the compositional details. The example is fully discussed in Chapter 3.

[105] See Chapter 3, fig. 6, for documentation.

[106] de Saussure (1983), 115-116; Leach (1985).

[107] See Chapters 3 and 5.

[108] Bellori (1672/1978), 24; (1672/1972), 205-6: "*formava un cartoncino ad olio overo a guazzo di chiaro scuro…Quanto il colorito, dopo il cartone grande, ne faceva un altro picciolo, in cui compartiva le qualità de' colori con le loro proporzioni; e cercava di trovarle tra colore e colore; accioché tutti li colori insieme avessero tra di lor concordia ed unione, senza offendersi l'un l'altro.*"

Furthermore, these pairs also tellingly display scale relationships. The Saint Petersburg *modello* for the *Perdono* is half the size of the Urbino *bozzetto*, which itself is one quarter the size of the final painting (**Fig. 20**). To do this, Barocci had to begin with the dimensions of the final picture and scale down purposely to 1:8 for the model and then 1:4 for the oil sketch, each work reflecting its importance (the model smaller and more provisional and the oil sketch bigger and closer to the final work). These facts reinforce the complementarity of the two terms, and their signification of different contents.

By following a strict numerical relationship, Barocci presumes that *each is necessary for the work*. In other words, the two models are not different exploratory avenues toward the completion of a work of art but rather two independent and necessary works. In semiotic terms, Barocci has created a meaning of *paradigm* whereby messages become differentiated by their simultaneous presence in the system. Consequently, Barocci has tacitly invented light and color, because no one before him had severed the mixed function of the two, or the uniqueness of hue from *colorire*. Previous artists had studied *i lumi* and *i colori* to be sure, but by a rigorous method Barocci demonstrates a very intellectualized approach to the effects of light and color in nature that anticipated later theoretical developments.

Much scholarship has been directed toward overcoming the mistaken notion that cinquecento Venetian painting was directed toward hue (*colore*) by emphasizing the broadness of *colorire*; in the traditional comparison of Florence and Venice, the opposition was between *disegno* and *colorito* not *colore*.[109] Venetian painting was directed to powerful *chiaroscuro* and lifelike appearances, not bright colors. One need only compare Titian's late *Madonna della Misericordia* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) with Barocci's contemporary *Madonna del Popolo* (Galleria degli Ufizzi, Florence) — itself a variation on the Misericordia theme—to understand the difference between the two approaches.

What Barocci did, then, was consolidate thought in the midst of a dawning pluralism and eclecticism, congealed in the Rome of the 1550s and 1560s. Barocci's companion and mentor, Taddeo Zuccaro, can be considered a major influence here, absorbing Venetian influences in the duchy of Urbino and central Italian tendencies arriving from the west, brought together in Rome. It is precisely in this period that two important authors, Giovanni Battista Armenini and Gian Paolo Lomazzo reflected a new sense of the perfections of the various Italian schools and consequently how they might be combined.[110] This outlook accepted the necessary components for a perfect painting based on both drawing and color.

A major step in this direction came with the rationalization of the color wheel away from the old Aristotelian division of colors into species of white and black. A number of scholars around 1610 began to reflect artists' practice of forming mixtures from the newly elevated primary colors: red, yellow and blue. The most conspicuous example was the Jesuit Aguilonius, a friend of Peter Paul Rubens, who in his *Opticorum libri sex Philosophis iuxta ac Matematicis* distinguished primary from secondary colors.[111] This helped

[109] Poirier (1980); Puttfarken (1991); and Rosand (1997).
[110] Kemp (1987).
[111] Parkhurst (1961),35-49; c.f., Gage (1993), 153-168; Shapiro (1994).

overcome the old medieval identification of hues as their mineral sources and led to their understanding as pure hue, with determinate properties subject to mixture.

Bellori wrote the most complete early biography of Barocci in 1672 and not too long afterward, an even more powerful conceptual shift was impacted in our understanding of artistic practice when Roger de Piles changed the meaning of *disposition* in works like his *Cours de peinture par principes* of 1708.[112] The term now means, as Thomas Puttfarken has recently shown, the total effect of the portable easel painting – the *effet du Tout-ensemble*.[113] Its visual effects could now be separated analytically into 'Coloris' and 'Clair-Obscur.' Critics of course knew the difference between light and color, but never before had they conceived of the role of painting as its instrumental effect on the viewer, which then could be analyzed into its components.

The notorious outcome of de Piles' revisionism was the distinctly modern result of his famous 'Balance,' included at the end of the *Cours de peinture*. It is easy to make too much of this document, and too much has, but the consequences for Barocci are clear. While de Piles holds his own with other artists (his overall 45 out of 80 is respectable, near Andrea del Sarto), in color he scores an abysmal 6 of 20, tying with Parmigianino and Poussin (the antithesis to de Piles' hero Rubens), and scarcely above Leonardo and Michelangelo.

Color was championed by de Piles in his defense of Rubens, but he fatally accepted the ground rules of his *Poussiniste* opponents. This included a caricature of Central Italian painting whereby artists were locked into a Michelangesque straight-jacket according to which color was a mere afterthought. For better or worse, de Piles's ideas are the source of our own and the modern oblivion of Barocci. Unbeknownst to De Piles, Barocci's experiments with light and color sketches were fundamental for de Piles's hero, Rubens, a painter of monumental works whose progeny became the small inventions of Watteau. It is perhaps poetic justice that de Piles, after codifying the narrow hue-based idea of color that Barocci introduced in practice, led to a modern neglect and underestimation of Barocci's color by critics. Ironically, Barocci, who suffered so badly in de Piles' estimation, had ultimately made de Piles' own procedure possible in his precocious experiments 100 years earlier.

As Janis Bell has recently shown with the case of Barocci's countryman Raphael, however, we neglect the coloristic contribution of central Italian painters to our detriment. We cannot anachronistically project our preconception (born of these seventeenth and eighteenth century views we have been reviewing) of Central Italian painters as not concerned with color, when in their time, they certainly were recognized as such.[114] If we think away the analytic separation of formal contributions to paintings of De Piles, and the idea of pure hue constituting "color," we arrive at a level playing field in which Fra Bartolomeo or Andrea del Sarto could easily arouse admiration in a Venetian, and Raphael might be considered indeed a "scientific painter." Seen in this light, Barocci's pursuits with media, perspective, and anatomy – to which we now turn – justify this appellation to the artist as much or more than they do to Raphael.

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[112] de Piles (1708).
[113] Puttfarken (2000).
[114] Bell (1995).

Fig. 9
School of Federico Barocci, *Portrait of Federico Commandino*, c. 1575, Museo Comunale, Urbania

Fig. 10
Federico Barocci, *Portrait of Marchese Guidobaldo del Monte*, c. 1590, Museo Civico, Pesaro

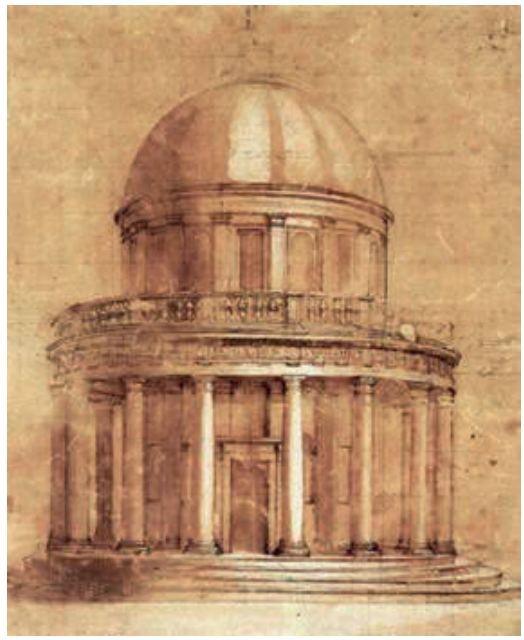

Fig. 11
Federico Barocci, inv. no. 135A, Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 12
Federico Barocci, *Study of Arms and Legs* (for the *Calling of Saint Andrew*), inv. 20132, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Fig. 13
Federico Barocci, *Madonna of St. Simon* (detail)

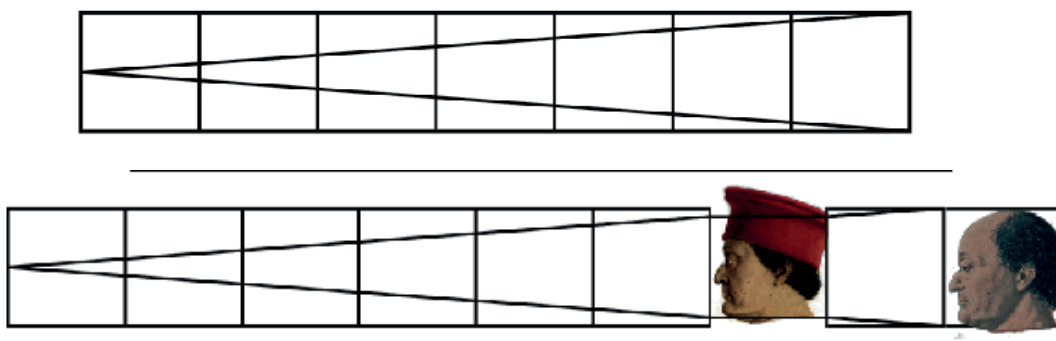

Fig. 14
The size-distance relation (after Piero, top); the relation of both heads of Federico da Montefeltro (6:7) (bottom)

Fig. 15
Simone Barocci? Reduction Compass, late sixteenth century, Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, Florence

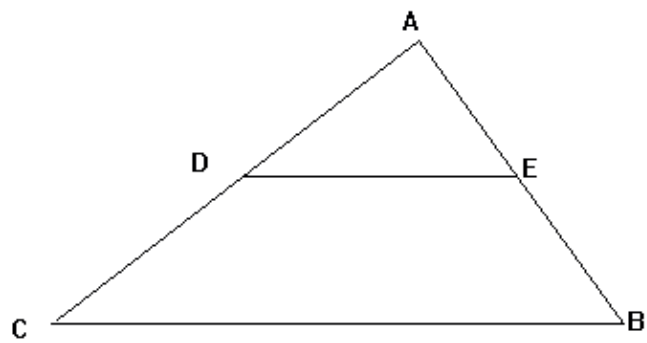

Fig. 16
Diagram of the similarity of triangles

Fig. 17
from Anonymous Flemish Painter, *Figure of Disegno (Barocci?)*, detail, *The interior of a Picture Gallery*, late 1620s, oil on copper, private collection, New York

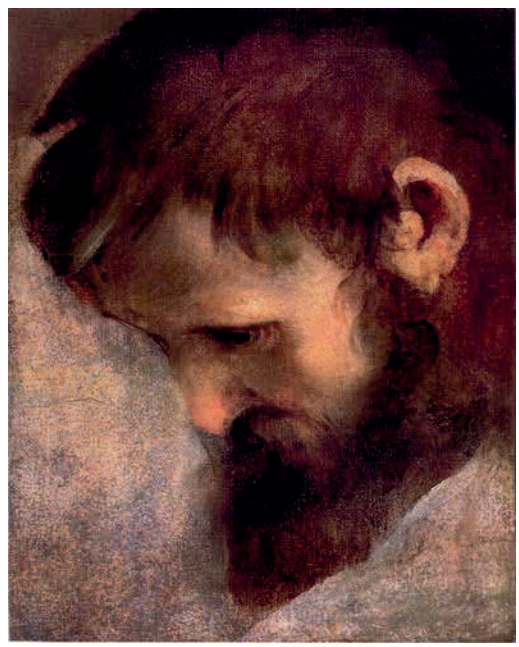

Fig. 18
Federico Barocci, *Head of Moses*, c. 1563, oil on paper, private collection

Fig. 19
Federico Barocci, *Madonna of St. John*, 1565, Morgan Pierpont Library, New York

Fig. 20
Federico Barocci, *Bozzetto* for the *Perdono* (top), and *Perdono*, San Francesco, Urbino, reduced four times (below)

Chapter 2

The Process of Composition

It is a reasonable methodological principle to suggest that for every change in style there can be a correlated change in painting practice, preparation drawing, studies, painting stages, technique, and/or application. If Barocci's altarpieces appear different from those of other painters like Alessandro Allori, Federico Zuccaro or Girolamo Muziano, how did the artist differ in his preparatory work for them? The difference in style is obvious, but what process accounts for the difference in style? This concern has to do with the materialistic notion of style that was sketched in the Introduction. My claims about Barocci become more plausible when they are rooted in concrete practices.

Discussions of paintings often somewhat superficially draw a distinction between process and final appearance, or between drawing (monochrome) and painting (color). In the following I do not distinguish between drawing and painting, partly because the proto-Baroque way of painting does not allow it, but also because the category of color is suffused through Barocci's drawing process and extends late in his painting process. In the case of Barocci, each phase of preparation is driven by considerations of function, and it is thus according to function that I must organize and discussion of his preparatory studies.

This chapter is devoted to exploring Barocci's innovative role as a reforming artist, who utilized drawing and painting techniques to contribute to his preparatory work before painting the final work. Before discussing these different "ideal types" of drawings, it is useful to stress once again that these drawings are not each necessarily used by Barocci for every individual commission.[115] Nonetheless, honing-in on these drawing types from Barocci's working procedure that do exist, substantially illuminates how Barocci worked when addressing a commission. In the Introduction I already mentioned the reuse of drawing during the heyday of the Maniera, and it follows that the instigators of Baroque visuality would smash this reflexive but time-saving aspect of painterly practice. Beginning with a discussion of Barocci's pastels, one of his most often noted drawing types, helps illustrate the ways—and the reasons why—his drawing practice was unprecedented.

One of the most significant features of late sixteenth century painting is its recommitment to naturalism. This renewed interest was communicated in different ways, through intensive life drawing as in the case of Barocci and Annibale Carracci, or else in painting directly from life in Caravaggio's example. These three artists share a commitment to observation that was deemed necessary to impart the proper liveliness to the painting under way.

Turning to Barocci, most scholars have followed the lead offered in the life of the artist by Gian Pietro Bellori, who wrote that Barocci began the design process with life studies and went on to imply that Barocci never drew except from life. Accordingly, the general scholarly assumption has been that the pastels were, likewise, life studies, and that they were made early in the evolution of the composition. Writing about the

[115] On "ideal types," which derive from Max Weber, see Hart (2012).

Albertina *Head of St Peter* **(Fig. 21)**,[116] for example, a study for the *Calling of St Andrew* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), Nicholas Turner recalls that "Bellori tells us how Barocci, when 'outside in the piazza or in the street…would study the countenances and physiques of the various persons he saw there. If he happened to see someone who was in some way striking, he would try to get that person to come to his house in order to draw him or her.' Drawings such as that in Vienna could well have resulted from such sorties."[117]

This statement, even if made only half-seriously, is nonetheless symptomatic of the manner in which the pastels have been interpreted. In particular, it highlights the common assumption that the pastels are life studies. Most who have written on Barocci have seen him as rejecting mannerism and returning to a close study of the world as the basis of his painting; subsequent discussion of the pastels has accordingly followed from this beginning. Indeed, few of Barocci's pastels show evidence of having been transferred to a cartoon or painting by mechanical means such as pouncing or incisions, so that, taken as objects on their own, they can seem to be life studies made early in his design process.

However, as noted in the posthumous inventory of Barocci's studio, many of these drawings were not only as large as life, but also as large as the corresponding painting, *grande quanto l'opera* ("as large as the work").[118] This notation in the inventory was not a casual observation. Careful re-examination of the drawings, using means that will be outlined further in the chapter, has suggested that most of Barocci's colored pastel drawings were made at the large scale of his cartoons and paintings, closely corresponding to figures that had been fixed much earlier in his work. Rather than life studies to start a figure, the pastel drawings are instead the artist's final refinements, made in the studio and probably with the painting already underway. As charming as Bellori's stories of live models might be, and as useful in Bellori's teleological progression towards Baroque classicism, the theorist seems to have been mistaken; thus, much of the previous scholarly discussion surrounding the pastels has rested on shaky ground.

In wondering about the size and scale of the drawings, John Marciari and I began by examining extant drawings against the paintings for which they were preparatory. The usual method of comparison is by mylar plastic tracing. Although this method has yielded important results, even for Barocci, it is laborious and logistically limiting to compile a corpus of painting and drawing tracings for comparison.[119] Our method of re-examination instead has been with the computer, which has already yielded promising results.[120] Digital images and Photoshop allow the computer to project the drawings at absolute scale, making clear their sizes relative to one another, and to the related paintings, cartoons, mini-cartoons, and sometimes *bozzetti*. Early examination of several pastel heads revealed that they were virtually all full size (i.e. that they were the size of

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[116] Albertina, Vienna, inv. 558, 30.5 x 23.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1: 191, fig. 396; (2008), 2:11, fig. 41.3; Birke & Kertesz (1992).
[117] Turner (2000), 89.
[118] Calzini (1913), 78; Mann (2018), 175; Ekserdjian in Mann (2018).
[119] See the results compiled by Bambach (1999), and, for Barocci, McCullagh, (1991), 53-65.
[120] For Barocci, Verstegen (2003), 378-383; (2005/2006); Marciari and Verstegen (2008); and for Francesco Vanni, Marciari and Verstegen (2012).

the corresponding head in the finished painting).[121] This might simply have been coincidence. However, expanding the project and projecting many of the drawings for a number of paintings at scale, revealed this scaling technique to be a regular pattern, not only for the head studies, but also for hands, arms, legs, feet, and even key animals.

The method of projecting the paintings and drawings represents a version of Malraux's 'Museum without Walls', or, to use a term current in Italy, a *mostra impossibile*. This method is a way of bringing drawings and paintings together, when for the practical reasons of conservation and cost, the separate works are unlikely to be compared side by side in the foreseeable future. The result is that I can confirm that almost all of Barocci's pastels are at the full scale of the corresponding painting. Moreover, many other drawings at a smaller scale are also to the scale of other drawings or mini-cartoons, thus demonstrating Barocci to be much less beholden to life drawing than previously believed.[122] The discovery of the consistent life-size scale of the pastel drawings represents a major revolution in the understanding of Barocci's preparatory procedures. In fact, this discovery enables a whole rethinking of Barocci's practice.

Life Drawing

Scholarship lacks a contemporary description of Barocci's working practice, presumably because of Urbino's relative isolation in the later cinquecento, and also because of the absence of any tradition of art historical writing that region. Accordingly, any serious discussion of Barocci's working practice must return to Bellori, whose mid-seicento *Vita* is the ground on which all subsequent accounts rest. Bellori obtained information on Barocci from Pompilio Bruni (1605-1668), an instrument maker in Urbino. Despite Bellori's removal from the source by two generations, the completeness (and obvious interest) with which he discusses Barocci had often provoked trust in modern scholars. An important passage is a touchstone for concerns on Barocci's preparatory process:

> The methods used by Barocci in painting, notwithstanding his illness, required great effort and application. He always worked from life, not allowing himself to paint even a small part without having first observed it…He drew in chiaroscuro, using a stick of burnt wood, and he made even more use of pastelli, in which he had become extremely proficient, shading the design in a few lines. When doing this, first he conceived of the scene to be represented, and before doing a sketch of it, he placed his youths according to the design, arranging them in accord with his idea and asking them whether they felt unnatural…from the sketches he them composed a finished drawing [*disegno compito*]…he also did models for the figures in clay or wax…From all of these preparations Barocci would make a small cartoon in oil or gouache, in chiaroscuro, and afterwards he would make use of a full-scale cartoon in charcoal and chalk, or in *pastelli* on paper, laying it over the priming of the canvas

[121] The abovementioned Vienna drawing turns out, however, to be one of the very rare pastels that is not the same size as the corresponding head in the painting. It is actually larger than the painting, but at a 4:3 ratio relationship. This will be discussed below.

[122] As will be discussed further below, there is a distinction to be made between the drawings in colored pastel (which are all at full scale) as opposed to those in natural black and red chalk (which are at many different scales).

and tracing the contours with the stylus so that the drawing never deviated from the original design... As regards the coloring, after the large cartoon Barocci made another small one in which he distributed the hues in proportions and sought to find the right tones between one color and the next so that all the colors together would have a sense of harmony and balance between them... After he completed the preparatory work, Barocci was quick to color the form and he often shaded with the big finger of his hand instead of the brush.[123]

Bellori certainly was correct in parts of the passage, but there are also many claims that demand immediate questioning. Barocci certainly did make studies of his assistants, some of the earliest after the relative neglect during the generation of Vasari and Salviati.[124] Already in the 1560s, Barocci's drawings indicated rigorous study of his studio assistants as in the *Nude Youth* in the National Gallery, Washington, made for his *Crucifixion* painted for Count Pietro Bonarelli (**Fig. 22**), a result that is not too far from that practiced later by Annibale Carracci (**Fig. 23**).[125] Another useful example to mention is the drawing (**Fig. 24**), clearly from one of Barocci's adolescent assistants, for the Virgin in his *Madonna del Gatto* **(Fig. 25)**.[126]

As Nicholas Penny and others have noted, however, the study for the nude youth **(Fig. 24)** can hardly have been the first of Barocci's studies for the composition.[127] Indeed, sheets of studies like Uffizi 1412E & 11477 **(Fig. 26)** surely represent Barocci's first experiments.[128] Yet, contrary to Bellori's statement, no life drawings for groups of figures exist: everything that seems to be a life-study of a *garzone*, and certainly all the nudes, study individual figures. The lack of group figure drawings might be an accident of survival, but so many drawings by Barocci survive of so many varying types, that surely at least one such drawing would exist if Barocci made them as part of his preparatory

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[123] Bellori (1672/1978), 23-24; (1672/1972), 205-206: "*Li modi tenuti da Federico Barocci nel suo dipingere, non ostante il mal suo, furono di molto esercizio ed applicazione; egli operando ricorreva sempre al naturale, né permetteva un minimo segno senza vederlo. . .Disegnava di chiaro scuro, usando uno stecco di legno abbronzato, e frequentemente ancora si valeva de' pastelli, nelli quali riuscí unico, sfumandoli con pochi tratti. Prima concepiva l'azzione da rappresentarsi ed avanti di formarne lo schizzo, poneva al modello i suoi giovini, e li faceva gestire conforme la sua imaginazione, e chiedeva loro se in quel gesto sentivano sforzo alcuno. . .e da gli schizzi formava poi da sé il disegno compito. . .Fatto il disegno formava li modelli delle figure di creta o di cera. . .Da tutte queste fatiche formava un cartoncino ad olio overo a guazzo di chiaro scuro, e dopo usava il cartone grande quanto l'opera di carbone e gesso, o vero di pastelli su la carta, e calcandolo su l'imprimitura della tela, segnava con lo stilo i dintorni, accioché mai si smarrisse il disegno da esso con tanta cura tirato e perfezzione. . .Quanto il colorito, dopo il cartone grande, ne faceva un altro picciolo, in cui compartiva le qualità de' colori con le loro proporzioni; e cercava di trovarle tra colore e colore; acchioché tutti li colori insieme avessero tra di loro concordia ed unione. . .Dopo le fatiche egli era poi nel colorire prestissimo, e sfumava spesso col dito grosso della mano, per unire in vece di pennello.*"

[124] On the practice of 'Mannerist' draftsmanship during Barocci's youth, see the previous chapter, as well as Nova (1992); Härb (2005); and Marciari (2005).

[125] National Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. 1983.17.1.a, 40.0 x 27.4 cm; Olsen (1962), 147-8; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), fig. 18; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 1:166, fig. 19.11. As pointed out in Chapter 5, even Barocci's drawing is to a 1:3 scale, suggesting it is not a pure life drawing.

[126] Berlin inv. 20140, 19.5 x 15.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:94, fig. 157; (2008), 1:254, fig. 33.12.

[127] Penny, in Dunkerton, Foister and Penny (1999), 187.

[128] Uffizi inv. 1412E (recto), 21.7 x 10.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:93, fig. 154; (2008), 1:250, fig. 33.3;
Uffizi inv. 11477, 29.7 x 23.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:94, fig. 159; (2008), 1:250, fig. 33.2;

process. On the contrary, as Pillsbury has noted, Bellori's description of studio assistants arranged as *tableaux vivants* for prospective paintings is a bit of wishful thinking, perhaps based on the presumption that the Urbinate Barocci was the heir to Raphael's method.[129] More broadly, discussions of Italian Renaissance and Baroque artistic practice tend generally to assume that life studies were a standard part of every artist's regular artistic practice (with the possible exception of "Mannerist" artists), despite evidence that many artists, having perfected their study of anatomy, devised figures without resorting to live models and life studies.[130]

The actual use of life studies is similarly brought to question when examining a sheet like Uffizi 1401 **(Fig. 27)**, a nude study for the woman at lower left in the great mass of humanity swirling around the bottom of the *Madonna del Popolo* **(Fig. 28)**. A glance at the right half of the sheet indicates that there is something more amiss with Bellori's account. Are we really to believe that Barocci made life drawings of his assistants, but then dressed them as women? Considering further the study for the figure in the Lugt collection (Institut Nèerlandais, Paris, inv. 1992), are we to believe that Barocci then abandoned his male assistants and hired a female model?

Judith Mann and Babette Bohn make similar observations about female models in the recent Barocci exhibition catalog, advocating for Barocci's ability to transform a drawing of a male youth into a woman. Nevertheless, in their text, the number of drawings from life - judged mostly on the freshness and subtlety of their execution - are overestimated. Most conform to a scale, thereby complicating their status as purely life drawings.[131] Did Barocci draw "from life" to scale? He likely executed a mixture of real observation with scaled drawing. His genius was in his ability to make such "canned" drawings come to life.

One should give credit to Barocci's creative abilities as a draftsman. While Barocci did, at some point early in his process, study nude figures, Bellori's comment that Barocci always worked from life can only have a metaphorical, and not a literal, meaning. It is far more accurate to say he was one of the first to reassert the importance of constructing the figures from nude drawings, which could derive from observation of nudes themselves, other master's paintings, or antique sculptures.[132] In order to understand his drawings and creative process, we need to leave Bellori - and the myth of life drawing - behind.

Scaled Drawings and the Reduction Compass

Barocci's innovation comes not from an exclusive use of life studies; instead, his innovation derives from the systematic preparatory process that he developed, which included life drawings among much larger sets of other drawing types. Specifically, in seeking to multiply surrogates of the final work, and thus to expand his decision-making process (and process of perfecting a composition and its figures), Barocci stands apart from most of his generation. The sheer quantity of drawings that he made should alone indicate that Barocci's preparatory process was not haphazard; the analysis of Barocci's

[129] Pillsbury (1976), 56-64; Pillsbury, (1978), 172; Pillsbury (1987), 285-7; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), 7-10.
[130] Marciari (2009), 197-224.
[131] For examples, see Mann and Bohn (2012), 99, 124, 125, 126, 156, 166, 189, 207.
[132] For a recent, brilliant elaboration of this line of thinking, see Lingo (2018).

many drawings reveals a profoundly systematic quality. Patient comparison of all the preparatory works that exist for any of his altarpieces demonstrates a simple but powerful system.

As noted above, it has been possible to study large groups of drawings for the same painting by juxtaposing digital images using Adobe Photoshop software. Of course, this is an expedient and, as these relationships are best studied with direct comparison or mylar tracings directly from one drawing or the painting to another. Besides the danger of comparing a cropped image, there is a further difficulty in confirming "matches" between drawings and paintings. Nevertheless, the results are extremely robust, and fascinating relative scale relationships emerge from the study.

For a number of reasons Barocci found it useful, and even necessary, to quickly enlarge or reduce an achieved artistic solution. Reduction and enlargement was a common practice for artists during the renaissance when moving from a reduced compositional model to the full-size cartoon. In this case the most popular tool to achieve variations in scale was the use of squaring. (Interestingly, when Barocci uses pure square grids it appears he is only concerned to recopy a part at the same scale—as for example when he copies partial outlines from a cartoon to a head. This can be called "lateral" reproduction. Typical grids seem to be used for the creation *ex novo* of a model for an engraver or scaling up to a cartoon).

Any discussion of reproduction and enlargement must begin with the most basic forms of compositional transfer. Mechanical means were the most common, in which a hole or incision maintained an exact identity between drawn studies. These are most common with cartoons in which the 1:1 relationship had to be maintained. Pin pricks applied to the original drawing, and powdered charcoal pounced through them to the recipient drawing (the *spolvere* technique), is well known from Raphael's practice.[133] The later technique of incising (*calcare*) was occasionally used by Barocci for his cartoons and other full-size (1:1) drawings (auxiliary cartoons). Both techniques were used, also, for smaller drawings, as when sketches toward a model got congested and the basis of the composition was recopied on a fresh sheet. Some of Barocci's drawings show such incisions, which are even visible in photographic reproduction. Barocci, however, went far beyond simple squaring or transfer. We find him both enlarging *and* reducing a composition during the design process as he worked at a series of scales with fixed ratios with respect to the final painting.

This important observation bears repeating: Barocci's practice is unique for the insistence and repetition with which he worked at a number of scales, each of them a specific ratio relationship to the final work. Where other artist might make a *modello,* hand study, or drapery study at whatever scale seemed to fit their paper, Barocci's preparatory drawings—once he passed the earliest and roughest stage of composition sketches like **(Fig. 26)**—are all at specific scales. Unfortunately, this conclusion was dismissed by the organizers of the Saint Louis and London exhibitions. Instead, effort was expended on a reliance on connoisseurship and correct attributions at the expense of the

[133] For a review, see Bambach (1999), 321-328. A rare, late example is found in a drawing by Palma Giovane: Edinburgh, National Gallery, D2099; Finaldi (2000), 180.

basic contours of the preparatory process itself. In this, it seems a major opportunity was lost.

A complicated set of circumstances presumably led Barocci to this rigorous methodology. Bellori describes Barocci's sickly constitution, and how Barocci could work in oil paints for only a few hours per day; this illness—perhaps brought on by an attempted poisoning at the hand of a rival artist in Rome—may well have inspired the artist to develop his paintings with ink, chalk, and pastel, limiting the time required to paint. Alternately, or additionally, Barocci's relative artistic isolation in Urbino may simply have led the artist to find his own curious way of devising compositions, one with few parallels among his contemporaries. The abovementioned relatively greater demand for control of a project on the part of Counter-Reformation patrons could have also inspired the artist to take more preparatory steps, or as suggested in Chapter 1, the scientifically-minded milieu in which Barocci worked led him to develop a process of artistic creation that resembled more a scientific method than an artistic one. To place too much emphasis on any one of these factors would be mistaken, for all these and more surely contributed to Barocci's path as an artist.

Whatever reason *why* Barocci desired these multiple-scale surrogates of the final work, it is easier to explain *how* he constructed them: To move up and down these scales, Barocci relied upon reduction compasses fashioned by his brother, Simone Barocci, an instrument maker famous throughout Europe (**Fig. 15**). These reduction compasses were a novel technology, and one of which Simone Barocci and his mathematically-minded friends must have been justly proud. Federico, however, seized upon the compass as a tool with which he could maintain an obsessive control over his artistic products.

The practice, in its basic form, was simple. Barocci would begin a project knowing the final size of an altarpiece; he would also have paper of a more or less uniform size, roughly 25 x 40 cm.[134] From those two constraints he would pick ratios at which to work such that he would fill his paper according to the task at hand. Until now, however, no one has recognized that all of these sketches exist in scale relationships to each other, and to the final work.

Bellori's account of Barocci's practice has been bolstered by the elusiveness of such relationships. Returning to the Albertina *Head of Peter* mentioned at the outset of this chapter **(Fig. 21)**, the drawing is obviously different than the size of the painting and therefore seems to support the story of Barocci's life drawing. It is close to life size, and larger than the corresponding head that appears in the middle ground of the painting. The drawing is not, however, at a generic "life-scale" but rather, at a 4:3 ratio to the painted head. As he prepared to paint, Barocci would have needed merely to set his compass to a 4:3 ratio to reproduce various nodes of the adjusted head, and to study it further in one of his characteristic pastel drawings.[135]

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[134] This size is about the size of an *imperiale* (50 x 74 cm) cut in half, or a more common *recute* (32 x 45 cm) trimmed. Of course, Fabriano - the famous paper manufacturing center - was not far from Urbino. But there was also local production in Fermignano. On Barocci's paper, see Bartsch (2009), 23-24.

[135] As already pointed out by Marciari and Verstegen (2008). Nevertheless, Bohn (Mann and Bohn, 2012, 67, n. 98) remarks that it "is not always true" that "several" pastel heads are the same size as the paintings (repeated in Mann, 2018). Examples like the *Saint Peter* show the regularity of the rule. As demonstrated in Chapter 7, all apparently anomalous cases can be assigned a geometric scale.

The Stages of Execution

Once one recognizes that Barocci chose to work on such scales, fascinating relationships emerge in his drawing. One factor of consistent importance in Barocci's system is absolute scale. As a general rule, Barocci struck a balance between keeping the gross size of the studies approximately equal and working with a simple ratio to the final work. Once he had chosen a scale at which to work, a new sub-family of studies was born that had consistency with each other and maintained a simple relationship to the final work. These new insights lead us to propose a new understanding of the typical stages of execution of a painting.

As we shall see, Barocci's *modelli* were conceived to fill a large sheet of paper; these sheets are generally of a similar size but are not completely uniform. I shall demonstrate, however, regular geometric relationships between them and the final painting. Furthermore, his mini-cartoons and *bozzetti* (the latter on canvas), were not limited to any standard size. Barocci tended to scale both the mini-cartoons and *bozzetti* to one-fourth or one-third the size of the final painting; consequently, they vary dimensions according to the size of of the paintings. Barocci's cartoons (made on many pieces of joined paper and therefore unlimited by the support) were at full scale of the final work. Moreover, Barocci's drawings for figures and for details (heads, hands, bits of drapery, etc.) are made to match the scale of the *modelli*, *bozzetti*, and full or half-size cartoons. To conceptualize the situation, one might say that as Barocci moved toward the final full size of his works, he moved away from absolute scale (the size of a paper sheet for a *modello*) to relative scale (drawings and oil sketches done in a simple scaled relationship to the final work).

It is also surprising to discover that in developing a painting, Barocci generally worked his way from small to large *two seperate times*, for two fundamentally different tasks. First, he worked to finalize the composition, and second, he explored the light and color. Consider, as one example, the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* (1586). Barocci went directly from the *modello* in the National Gallery of Scotland to the full-size cartoon in the Uffizi, because the pose of the maid on the right-hand side match in these two drawings **(Figs. 29 & 30)**.[136] This figure of the maid was then altered in the painting. After Barocci amended the *modello* and cartoon, which he did without creating new ones (see below), only then did he clearly move on to the studies of light and color found in black and white chalk drawings, in addition to full-size pastel and oil studies. Hence, the first version of the maid is found in the original drawings of the *modello* and in the cartoon, but all the other drawings match the second and final version of the maid and were thus made *after* Barocci "corrected" the *modello* and cartoon. The light and color studies surely follow after these changes, because they are made in scaled relationships to the *modello* and cartoon: they cannot have been created at those scaled ratios unless the *modello* and cartoon were drawn first.

The study of the drawings revealed a regular, if surprising, pattern of invention: after a few rough compositional sketches (sometimes called *scarpigni*), Barocci would

[136] Edinburgh inv. 216, 46.3 x 31.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:229, fig. 475; (2008), 2:56, 45.35; Mann and Bohn (2012), 202, fig. 10.4.
Uffizi inv. 1784, 106.3 x 130.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:222, fig. 456; (2008), 2:46, fig. 45.17; Mann and Bohn (2012), 203, fig. 70.

create a *modello*. Only then would Barocci have studio assistants pose for studies *dal vivo*, which we know because these life drawings are made at scale, so that the figure studies correspond in size to those in the *modello*. Having thus perfected the figures—that is, the contours of the painting—Barocci would then scale the work up to the cartoon stage. At this point, Barocci would also turn to what might be called the 'light and color stage,' which included a mini-cartoon and sometimes an oil (or pastel) *bozzetto* that incorporated any changes to the composition brought on by the 'contour' stage. Studies corresponding to the *bozzetto* are not concerned with perfecting a pose (that is, a contour), but rather, with perfecting the fall of light and shade on parts of a figure in a given pose (even though Barocci often recreates the figure from the nude). Barocci then sometimes executed (for larger works) additional studies of body parts at half scale, in black and white chalk, then proceeding again to the full scale with pastel and sometimes oil heads and body parts.

Both in the number of stages, and in the obsessive process of producing drawings at various scaled relationships, Barocci's practice is distinct from virtually all other artists (the complicated sculptural procedure of Canova is perhaps the closest parallel). However, this practice was guided both by a particular variety of Counter-Reformation devotion and by a scientific frame of mind inherited from Urbino intellectuals, Barocci's family, and from Leonardo himself. Nonetheless, the uniqueness of this process may still render readers skeptical. A few comments can thus serve to introduce further each of the stages with an eye to their systematic interlocking elements, and then a case study can serve as an illustration and further proof of the process.

Modelli: Guides for the Contour Stage

Most Renaissance artists relied on some type of model or prospectus drawing to explore artistic solutions, and sometimes compete for a competition or serve as a binding model to follow. Such *modelli* are an important part of Barocci's production and as with many other artists were lightly drawn in with charcoal, strengthened with ink and wash, and highlighted with white lead paint.

A good number of Barocci's *modelli* have survived. Still others are lost but known from copies. What analysis shows is that Barocci chose an approximately 50 cm scale at which to work on his models. Yet, rather than simply making all his *modelli* roughly that size, he would choose a size at which he could maintain a regular scaled relationship to the final painting. In order to maintain that size, different scales have to be introduced; but as a general rule, the bigger the altarpiece, the larger the ratio to its model will be. For small altarpieces—the *Madonna of Saint John*, the *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, the *Madonna del Gatto* and the *Nativity*, for example (**Fig. 31**)—Barocci used a 1:3 ratio between *modello* and final picture. For his largest altarpieces like the Urbino *Perdono*, the ratio would be 1:8. The result is that not only the *modello*, but also the figure drawings that match to the corresponding figures in the *modello*, would be at roughly the same scale from one project to the next.

The following table correlates scale to ratios for a number of works, using the compositional drawing. The list represents works of sometimes different execution and phase in the creation of the work; e.g., some drawings are actually models for prints. In one case, the drawing is certainly not by Barocci at all (the Woodner/National Gallery drawing for the *Presentation*), but nevertheless remains a precious trace of a lost

preparatory practice. Therefore, the exact status of a drawing must be specified in the individual chapters.

TABLE OF PAINTINGS AND MODELLI BY SIZE

Urbino *Perdono* (427 x 236 cm) vs. Saint Petersburg 14714 (53.5 x 31 cm)[137] = 1:8
Perugia *Deposition* (412 x 232 cm) vs. Uffizi 9348 (58 x 33.4 cm)[138] = 1:7
Bologna *Lamentation* (410 x 288 cm) vs. Amsterdam 2749 (105 x 77)[139] = 1:4
Brera *S. Vitale* (392 x 269 cm) vs. Liverpool (44.2 x 32.3 cm)[140] = 1:8
Rome *Presentation* (383 x 247 cm) vs. NGA/Woodner 2006.11.4 (39.7 x 34 cm)[141] = 1:7
Louvre *Circumcision* (374 x 252 cm) vs. Uffizi 818 (58.6 x 43.4 cm)[142] = 1.4
Urbino *Stigmatization* (360 x 245 cm) vs. Frankfurt 489 (50 x 37 cm)[143] = 1:8
Uffizi *Madonna del Popolo* (359 x 252 cm) vs. Chicago ex-Chatsworth (55 x 38.4 cm)[144] = 1:6
Brussels *Calling of Saint Andrew* (315 x 235 cm) vs. Windsor 107 (6830) (47 x 34.7 cm)[145] = 1:7
Urbino *Last Supper* (299 x 322 cm) vs. Uffizi 819 (110 x 109 cm)[146] = 1:3
Senigallia *Entombment* (295 x 187 cm) vs. Getty 85.GG.26(47.7 x 35.6 cm)[147] = 1:5
Senigallia *Rosario* (290 x 196 cm) vs. Ashmolean 1944.100 (54.5 x 38.5 cm)[148] = 1:5
Rome *Institution of the Eucharist* (290 x 177 cm) vs. Fitzwilliam PD.1-2002 (51.4 x 35.5 cm)[149] = 1.5
Rome *Visitation* (285 x 187 cm) vs. Edinburgh 216 (46.3 x 31.6 cm)[150] = 1:6
Louvre *Madonna of Saint Lucy* (285 x 220 cm) vs. Uffizi 817E (42.5 x 32.7 cm)[151] = 1:7

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[137] Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg), inv. 14714, 53.5 x 31 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:106, fig. 182; Emiliani (2008), 1:267, fig. 34.1; Mann and Bohn (2012), fig. 5.7. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[138] Uffizi inv. 9348, 58 x 33.4 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:61, fig. 90; (2008), 1:193, fig. 22.1; Mann and Bohn (2012), fig. 3.2. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[139] Amsterdam inv. 2749, 105.0 x 77.0 cm; Emiliani, (1985), 2:389, fig. 849; Mann and Bohn (2012), 57, fig. 38; Bohn (2018), 10. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[140] Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, 44.2 x 32.3 cm; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), 67-69; Emiliani (1985), 1:170, fig. 339; (2008), 1:380, fig. 40.1; Scrase (2006), 144, fig. 47.
[141] NGA/Woodner inv. 2006.11.4, 39.7 x 34 cm; Pillsbury and Richards (1978); not in Emiliani (1985); Emiliani (2008), 2:264, fig. 72.55; Grasselli (1995). Discussed in Chapter 3.
[142] Uffizi inv. 818, 58.6 x 43.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:252, fig. 525; (2008), 2:94, fig. 49.3. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[143] Frankfurt inv. 489, 50.0 x 37.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:299, fig. 634, (2008), 2:158, fig. 57.2.
[144] Chicago ex-Chatsworth, 55.0 x 38.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:130, fig. 222; (2008), 1:315, 38.1. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[145] Windsor inv. 107(6830), 47.0 x 34.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:193, fig. 405, (2008), 2:10, fig. 41.2.
[146] Uffizi inv. 819, 110.0 x 109.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:331, fig. 711; (2008), 2:216, fig. 66.3. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[147] Getty inv. 85.GG.26 (formerly Chatsworth), 47.7 x 35.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:154, fig. 300; (2008), 1:375, fig. 39.43. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[148] Ashmolean inv. 1944.100, 54.5 x 38.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:265, fig. 558; Not in Emiliani (2008).
[149] Fitzwilliam inv. PD.1-2002, 51.4 x 35.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:378, fig. 825; (2008), 2:301, fig.81.2. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[150] Edinburgh inv. 216, 46.3 x 31.6 cm; E1q3iliani (1985), 2:229, fig. 475; (2008), 2:56, 45.35; Mann and Bohn (2012), 202, fig. 10.4; Discussed in Chapter 3.
[151] Uffizi inv. 817E, 42.5 x 32.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:279, fig. 597; (2008), 2:130, fig. 52.1. Discussed in Chapter 3.

Munich *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene* (256 x 185 cm) vs. Uffizi 11425 (50.6 x 38 cm)[152] = 1:5
Vatican *Beata Michelina* (252 x 171 cm) vs. Uffizi 19104 (47 x 32 cm)[153] = 1:5
Urbino *Assumption* (239 x 171 cm) vs. ex-Chatsworth 364(52.2 x 36.7 cm)[154] = 1:4
Uffizi *Madonna della Gatta* (233 x 179 cm) vs. *Hypothetical* (58.25)[155] = 1:5
Chantilly *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (219 x 191 cm) vs. Uffizi 11430 (50.2 x 34.4 cm)[156] = 1:4
Borghese *Flight of Aeneas* (179 x 253 cm) vs. Windsor Castle 2343 (33.9 x 46.1)[157] = 1:5
Vatican *Annunciation* (248 x 170 cm) vs. Budapest (43.2 x 29.9 cm)[158] = 1:5
Urbino *Imm. Conception* (222 x 150) vs. Uffizi 11446 (27.5 x 18.9 cm)[159] = 1:7
Prado *Nativity* (134 x 105 cm) vs. Uffizi 11432 (51.7 x 44.1 cm)[160] = 1:3

The ratios do not proceed in a perfectly logical stepwise fashion from 1:8 to 1:3, although that is the general trend. In some cases, the size of figures (foreground versus middle ground) can explain the choice of ratio. For example, for the Louvre *Circumcision*, Barocci used a 1:4 ratio for this relatively large painting (374 cm tall). On examining it, however, we can see that the figures are set back in the middle ground with a good bit of negative space above and below them. By enlarging the *modello*, Barocci was able to treat the figures in greater detail (and had a ready-made cartoon for the *bozzetto*, created at the same size – see below).

In other cases, as in several workshop pictures like the Louvre *Madonna of Saint Lucy*, it appears that Barocci cut corners and utilized larger ratios in order to work more quickly. Shortening the production time of an altarpiece is consistent with the lower payment for a work consigned mostly to his assistants. In other very late cases, when the artist was quite old, Barocci appears to have skipped steps and worked large at the *modello* stage. An example is the Bologna *Lamentation*. Nevertheless, the table reflects Barocci's attempt to keep his *modelli* at approximate half a meter in height.

The list also hypothesizes that a model existed, but no longer survives, for the *Madonna della Gatta*. Barocci's smallest figure drawings correlate to the size of those figures in a project's *modello*, and it is thus possible, from the extant figure drawings, to derive the size at which a *modello* would have been made. It should go without saying

[152] Uffizi inv. 11425, 50.6 x 38 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:242, fig. 495; (2008), 2:75, fig. 47/A.1.
[153] Uffizi inv. 19104, 47 x 32 cm; Olsen (1962), 208.
[154] ex-Chatsworth inv. 364, 52.2 x 36.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:401, fig. 880; (2008), 2:331, fig. 84.1.
[155] *Hypothetical* (58.25);
[156] Uffizi inv. 11430, 50.2 x 34.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:414, fig. 911; (2008), 2:344, fig. 85.2.
Discussed in Chapter 3.
[157] Windsor Castle inv. 2343, 33.9 x 46.1; Scrase (2006); Emiliani (2008), 2:63, fig. 46.3. Mann and Bohn (2012), 279, fig. 16.5. Discussed in Chapter 3.
[158] Budapest inv. 2013, 43.2 x 29.9 cm; not in Emiliani (1985) or (2008); Turner (2000), 147, fig. 135; Mann and Bohn (2012), 192, fig. 9.7.
[159] Uffizi inv. 11446, 27.5 x 18.9 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:123, fig. 209, (2008), 1:304, fig. 37.6; Mann and Bohn (2012), 138, fig. 6.1.
[160] Uffizi inv. 11432, 51.7 x 44.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:320, fig. 679, (2008), not illustrated, fig. 63.3; Mann and Bohn (2012), 264, fig. 83.

that the figures could not have been correctly scaled if the (now-lost) *modello* had not been made first.

The Cartoon

From the *modello* – already scaled to the final painting – Barocci returned to a full-size cartoon. Executed with charcoal, black and white chalks, on heavy paper, this venerable tool in use since the fifteenth century had allowed previous artists to transfer the composition to the final support. Barocci's utilization of the cartoon was close to the practice pioneered by Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael in providing a testing ground for the composition at life-size, judging its success, and thinking through the broad lighting and massing of its figures. Invariably for Barocci, however, this stage of execution led to rethinking of aspects of the composition, which were reflected in the next stage in workshop practice, the reduced cartoon.

The cartoon for the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* **(Fig. 30)** demonstrates Barocci's dependence on the model in Edinburgh **(Fig. 29)**.[161] One can see that the cartoon is not finished in the faces, which is also true of many of the backgrounds. In other words, it would not be sufficient to merely transfer the design to the final work, something requiring Barocci's numerous head studies. The pose of the maid at the right closely follows the *modello*, but the open stance in the *modello*/cartoon is turned away in the final painting toward the group of Elizabeth and Mary. Barocci executed drawings to reflect this shift, partially abandoning the cartoon (and *modello*) along the way, now superseded by later head and limb studies.

***Bozzetti?* Drawings from the Reduced Cartoon Stage**

In addition to drawings scaled to the *modello*, numerous Barocci drawings exist at a 1:4 to 1:2 scale, consistent with another but larger compositional study, which may have resulted in an oil sketch, a question that is subject to much debate. In my dissertation I overly enthusiastically supported *bozzetti* as a standard stage in all of Barocci's works; a more tempered case was made for them in a joint article with John Marciari.[162] The Saint Louis and London exhibitions cast suspicion on the very category of the oil sketch;while they rightly demoted a few oil studies to *ricordi* made after the completion of the altarpiece, the exhibitions still did not deal with the problem of multiple drawings executed at "bozzetto-scales."[163] In the following I admit that oil sketches were not always a part of Barocci's routine procedure, but I outline four examples of what I believe to be secure oil sketches.

While the *modelli* generally range in size from 40 to 55 cm, the reduced cartoons are between 78 and 122 centimeters, not a terribly large range of sizes. Glancing at the following table, however, one can see a variety of scales chosen by Barocci for his work. In the table, the scales are placed in order according to gross magnitude of the altarpiece,

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[161] Edinburgh inv. 216, 46.3 x 31.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:229, fig. 475; (2008), 2:56, 45.35; Mann and Bohn (2012), 202, fig. 10.4.
Uffizi inv. 1784, 106.3 x 130.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:222, fig. 456; (2008), 2:46, fig. 45.17; Mann and Bohn (2012), 203, fig. 70.

[162] Verstegen (2002).

[163] Marciari (2013).

so that the largest painting for which I argue we possess a secure *bozzetto*, the *Perdono* (427 cm), is first and the Senigallia *Entombment* (295 cm) is last. Notice how the largest altarpiece has the smallest ratio between oil sketch and painting, one quarter, while the smallest altarpiece has the largest ratio, one half. As with the *modelli* it seems clear that Barocci wanted to keep his *bozzetti* approximately the same size but would only pause along regular ratios.

Even more so than with the *modelli*, the works that help us identify reduced cartoons can have a tenuous relation to Barocci, being often copies of his paintings that, however, reflect a series of drawings that are extant. If a good case can be made that the Urbino reduced version of the *Perdono* is a genuine *bozzetto*, the New York painting of the *Entombment* seems to be merely a *ricordo* of the Senigallia painting, but certainly reflects a stage of intense activity, as outlined later. Finally, there are many examples of clusters of drawings at reduced cartoon ratios that strongly suggest the existence at one point of a mini-cartoon, as for instance with the Perugia *Deposition*, Rome *Presentation*, and Uffizi *Madonna del Popolo*.

TABLE OF PAINTINGS AND REDUCED CARTOONS (& BOZZETTI) BY SIZE

Urbino *Perdono* (427 x 236 cm) vs. Urbino (110 x 71 cm)[164]	= 1:4
Perugia *Deposition* (412 x 232 cm) vs. *Hypothetical* (103 cm)	= 1:4
Rome *Presentation* (383 x 247 cm) vs. *Hypothetical* (95.75 cm)	= 1:4
Louvre *Circumcision* (356 x 252 cm) vs. New York private (81 x 64 cm)[165]	= 1:4
Urbino *Stigmatization* (360 x 245 cm) vs. Bologna private (102 x 77 cm)[166]	= 1:3
Uffizi *Madonna del Popolo* (359 x 252 cm) vs. *Hypothetical* (89.75 cm)	= 1:4
Brussels *Saint Andrew* (315 x 235 cm) vs. ex-Contini Bonacossi (78 x 59 cm)[167]	= 1:4
Senigallia *Entombment* (295 x 187 cm) vs. Urbino (125 x 100 cm)[168]	≈ 1:2
vs. New York private (89.7 x 57.8 cm)[169]	= 1:3

Barocci only created mini-cartoons and *bozzetti* in three ratios: 1:4, 1:3 and 1:2, that is, from one quarter to a half, depending on the size of the altarpiece. The same factors at play with *modelli* are also at play with cartoon-*bozzetti*. Depending on the size of the figures within the picture, Barocci may have overridden a literal scale in favor of one which maintained the proper size of the figures for proper study. However, because the cartoon-*bozzetti* are more about light and color than the figures' contours, there are fewer oddities in the pattern of ratios than can be observed in the surviving *modelli*.

Again, it is possible to reconstruct lost mini-cartoons or *bozzetti* from surviving drawings; these are, again, marked as "hypothetical" in the chart above: the Urbino

[164] Emiliani (1985), 1:105, fig. 181; (2008), 1: 268-9, fig. 34.2. Discussed in Chapter 5.
[165] Emiliani (1994), 456-466; Emiliani (2008), 2:91, fig. 49.1. Discussed in Chapter 5.
[166] Emiliani (2008), 2:158, fig. 57.1.
[167] Borea (1976): 55; Emiliani (2008), 2:18, fig. 41.23. Discussed in Chapter 5.
[168] Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, 125 x 100 cm; Emiliani (1992), 26, fig. 17; Emiliani (2008), 2:352-3, fig. 39.1; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(b); Mann and Bohn (2012), 177, fig. 8.16.
[169] New York private collection, 89.7 x 57.7 cm; Emiliani (1992), 28, fig. 20; Emiliani (2008), 2:354-5, fig. 39.2; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(d); Mann and Bohn (2012), 176, 8.15.

Deposition, the Rome *Presentation*, the Uffizi *Madonna del Popolo* and finally the *Last Supper* (Urbino), all possess a number of drawings at a 1:4 scale. The existence of so many drawings at this scale belie the original existence of at least a 1:4 cartoon, which would have been necessary to make the individual studies.

Half-Size Chalk Drawings: An Additional Step for Barocci's Largest Paintings

In a similar vein, Barocci also created half-sized cartoons with chalk studies scaled to (or preparatory to) this half-sized study. Such drawings are executed in black and white chalk, with charcoal - as with cartoons - but on toned paper. They are used almost exclusively to study the fall of light on exposed flesh. Barocci does not execute such drawings to study concealed anatomy, so it is a late tool intended to think precisely about how to highlight and shade the fleshy parts of his picture, without actually producing a colored pastel.[170]

Once again, scale is necessary to comprehend these drawings. Even the obsessive Barocci seems not to have wished rigidly to execute half-sized scale drawings for their own sake. The painting had to be of a particular size to require attention at this scale. The table below once again lists paintings in descending order of size, showing the point at which Barocci decided not to execute half-sized drawings.

TABLE OF PAINTINGS BY SIZE FOR WHICH HALF-SIZE DRAWINGS WERE EXECUTED

Genoa *Crucifixion* (500 x 318.5 cm)
Urbino *Perdono* (427 x 236 cm)
Bologna *Lamentation* (410 x 288 cm)
Perugia *Deposition* (412 x 232 cm)
Brera *St. Vitalis* (392 x 269 cm)
Rome *Presentation* (383 x 247 cm)
Urbino *Stigmatization* (360 x 245 cm)
Uffizi *Madonna del Popolo* (359 x 252 cm)
Louvre *Circumcision* (356 x 252 cm)
Brussels *Calling of St. Andrew* (315 x 235 cm)
Urbino *Last Supper* (299 x 322 cm)
Senigallia *Madonna del Rosario* (290 x 196 cm)
Urbino *Crucifixion* (288 x 161 cm)

TABLE OF PAINTINGS BY SIZE FOR WHICH VERY FEW OR NO HALF-SIZE DRAWINGS WERE EXECUTED

Senigallia *Entombment* (295 x 187 cm)
Rome *Visitation* (285 x 187 cm)
Munich *Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalene* (256 x 185 cm)
Uffizi *Madonna della Gatta* (233 x 179 cm)

[170] From Barocci's earliest major altarpieces (e.g. Perugia *Deposition*) to just before the *Madonna del Popolo*, the artist also used chalk also for full-size body parts (hands, forearms, feet). With the *Popolo*, he began using pastels for such studies.

One can see that in general Barocci did not regard a work below three meters as requiring extensive half-sized drawings. As will be outlined, good proof for the formality of a half-scale step in Barocci's process is the existence of several reduced versions of his paintings at exactly half the original size. These examples (for the Urbino *Crucifixion*, the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation*, and the *Perdono*) will be discussed in Chapter 6.

A Case Study: the Senigallia *Entombment*[171]

For a fuller demonstration of the stages of execution, take the Senigallia *Entombment*, for which the most complicated and diverse set of preparatory drawings survives, including the large scale studies in Amsterdam, New York, and Urbino (**Fig. 32**).[172] For the *Entombment*, the now-familiar sets of studies at various scales exist; but because Barocci flipped the composition in the middle of his preparatory process, it is possible to track the development of the painting in ways that are impossible with other compositions.

Besides any compositional sketches that have been identified for the *Entombment* (such sketches are the smallest group and rarest survivals of Barocci's drawings apart from cartoons), nude figure and drapery studies like those discussed above for the *Madonna del Gatto* also survive. In continuation of the trend outlined above, the first wave of figure studies, based on studies *dal vivo*, are conceived at the scale of the *modello*, which for this painting happens to be 1:5. In the case of the *Entombment*, though, these first figural studies are all reversed with respect to the final painting. Examples include studies in the Uffizi and the Morgan Library for the young man (Saint John) supporting the dead body of Christ.[173] This reversal is surprising, for the sheet in the Getty, that is apparently a *modello,* is in the same orientation as the finished painting. We will return to the Getty drawing presently; the figure studies, however, relate not to the Getty drawing, but to a fragmentary *modello* in the Uffizi (**Fig. 33**). The Morgan drawing, as

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[171] This section is one of those reprinted from a previous article (Marciari and Verstegen, 2008). It is not altered substantially because it still succinctly summarizes the view presented here. Also, in spite of Bohn and Mann's (2012; Bohn 2018; Bohn and Mann, 2018) extensive work on the Senigallia *Entombment*, they mistook crucial parts of our argument. They state that we (among other scholars) believe the "Getty drawing preceded the Rijksmuseum composition" whereas we clearly stated that, "the logical conclusion to be drawn from it is that the private collection *bozzetto* and the Getty *modello* were thus made very late in the process." Simplifying our argument for "ever-increasing scale" we clearly used this case study because the design process was stalled and restarted.

[172] See for example De Grazia (1985); Goldman (1988); Emiliani (1992); Mann and Bohn (2012), 158-181.
Amsterdam inv. 1977.37, 113 x 90.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:152, fig. 297; (2008), 1:357, 39.3; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(c); Mann and Bohn (2012), 174, fig. 8.13.
New York private collection, 89.7 x 57.7 cm; Emiliani (1992), 28, fig. 20; Emiliani (2008), 2:354-5, fig. 39.2; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(d); Mann and Bohn (2012), 176, 8.15.
Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, 125 x 100 cm; Emiliani (1992), 26, fig. 17; (2008), 2:352-3, fig. 39.1; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(b); Mann and Bohn (2012), 177, fig. 8.16.
Getty inv. 85.GG.26 (formerly Chatsworth), 47.7 x 35.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:154, fig. 300; (2008), 1:375, fig. 39.43.

[173] For the drawings matching the Uffizi modello (inv. 11326; Emiliani (1985), 1:153, fig. 298; (2008), 2:374, fig. 39.42 see:
Morgan Library, inv. IV,155A; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), no. 39; Emiliani (2008), 1:366, fig. 39.23;
Uffizi inv. 11536; Emiliani (1985), 1:165, fig. 328; (2008), 2:366, fig. 39.22.

has been noted elsewhere, was begun with the transfer by stylus of the outlines of a nude figure corresponding to the Uffizi figure study.[174]

As noted above, there is a further set of drawings at 1:3 scale, corresponding to the New York *ricordo* (**Fig. 34**). These studies, like most of Barocci's chalk drawings at an intermediate scale, retain the basic pose established in the smaller study, and concentrate instead on details of anatomy and the fall of light on flesh. The 1:3 drawings are also reversed, though, and only at the next scale—that of the Rijksmuseum cartoon, the Urbino *bozzetto*, and of drawings like that in Princeton—does the composition turn to match the final painting. Barocci's reasons for the reversal are not clear, but it does help trace the progress of the work: all of the early studies in which the details of the poses were being established are in reverse, and only the larger scale drawings for light and color are in the same orientation as the final work.

It is possible to track this change even on single sheets, given Barocci's habit of adding larger studies in the margins of earlier drawings. In Berlin 20357 for example (at right in **Fig. 34**), the study of Christ's torso, at 1:3 scale, is reversed, whereas the arm at the left side of the sheet, drawn at a larger scale, is in the orientation of the final painting (This study corresponds not to the arm of Christ but to the right arm of the man at far right in the composition).[175] Interestingly, the lighting is consistently from the same direction in all of the studies (in front of the picture plane and to the viewer's left), regardless of the orientation of the composition. Finally, all of the full-scale pastels and oil studies are in the same direction as the final work, therefore, they must have been painted with the altarpiece already underway. As for all paintings from the *Madonna del Popolo* (1579) forward, Barocci turned to pastels and studied not only heads, but also hands, feet, limbs, and other details. The studies for the foot of John (Berlin, 20358) and for the arm and foot of Christ (Berlin, 20365) are pastels that may be assuredly placed alongside the better-known full-size head studies in pastel and oil (**Fig. 35**).[176] As other examples will demonstrate, the overabundance of drapery and clothed figures, not survival, determines this relatively low number of pastels and oil studies.

The drawings and the reversal also illuminate the function of the various *modelli*, *ricordi* and *bozzetti*. As the *Entombment* evolved up to the creation of the Rijkmuseum reduced cartoon and the Urbino *bozzetto*, the composition was still more widely spaced than in the final solution. The discrepancy in spacing is most clearly visible when one looks at the figure at lower right, presumably the Magdalene. In the Amsterdam and Urbino compositional studies, her profile is not so close to the edge of the rocks of the tomb, and her hands are to the right, rather than below and to the left, of Christ's shoulder; her draperies along the ground do not reach to the tomb lid with the instruments of the passion strewn on top. This wider spacing is also evident in the fragmentary Uffizi *modello*. In the final painting, however, and in both the New York

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[174] Pillsbury and Richards (1978), no. 39.

[175] Berlin inv. 20357, 25.5 x 20.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:156, fig. 303; (2008), 1:373, fig. 39.39. This drawing is discussed again in Chapter 5.

[176] Berlin 20358, 19.1 x 26.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:165, fig. 329; (2008), 1:365, fig. 39.18;
Berlin, 20365 (recto), 27.4 x 41.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:158, fig. 309; (2008), 1:369, fig. 39.32; Mann and Bohn (2012), 165, fig. 6.3.
These head studies are mentioned in Chapter 7.

ricordo and the Getty *modello*, the composition has been tightened up, becoming narrower, forcing the marginal figures closer to the central action, and matching the final painting rather than early and more preparatory drawings.[177]

Perhaps Barocci, at this late st age, realized that his composition did not match the desired proportions of the altarpiece. Whatever the reasons for narrowing the composition, the logical conclusion to be drawn from it is that the New York *ricordo* and the Getty *modello* were made very late in the process. That it was made late is not surprising for the former, which can thus be understood as a small-scale surrogate of the large final altarpiece, an as-completed record for the actual painting. It, and similar small paintings, would thus fit the role of the *bozzetti per i colori* described by Bellori. Barocci might have had a compositional mock-up at the same scale that he had used to organize the figural drawings, but the painting of these *bozzetti* – probably only done in the Galleria Nazionale case – must have been among the latest parts of the preparatory process. Presumably, too, Barocci recognized that this mock-up, if carefully finished, could also serve as *ricordi* and/or saleable works.

Several ideas emerge from these observations that can serve as programmatic remarks for Barocci's drawings in general. Tens of drawings executed by Barocci are not technically drawn from life, but rather, are adapted from life drawings and then scaled in some measure to a *modello*, *bozzetto* or the final work. It bears noting that this adapted-from-life drawing process is still a reasonably radical departure from artists of the previous generation. What is more, the understanding of scale and sequence as generally used by Barocci necessitate a reconsideration of all Barocci's drawing types. With just a few simple principles in place, one must appreciate how Barocci's works progress with a remarkable and systematic drive.

Every scale tends to go with a medium that also serves a complimentary purpose. Chalk drawings, often of nudes, contribute to the formulation of the composition at the scale of *modelli*, mini-cartoons and *bozzetti*. Finished chalk drawings, often at quarter or half scale, explore the fall of light on the fixed poses of fleshy forms. Pastels at full scale, or oil studies, explore local color and final details. There are, of course, exceptions to the general rules of scale – one gets the sense that Barocci occasionally just improvised, making studies that do not fit alongside the others, simply redrawing or refining a figure at whatever scale it happened to come out – but as a general rule, his drawings constitute one of the most orderly artistic practices documented for any artist of the Renaissance or Baroque era.

[177] Recently, Bohn and Mann (2018) also remark on the placing of the Magdalene relative to the central grouping, but instead of acknowledging our point about the discrepancy between the group of Rijksmuseum/Urbino studies and the final painting, they note differences between Rijksmuseum and Urbino. Whatever slight differences exist between these two works, they should not obscure the greater divergence from the painting, which places their creation quite early.

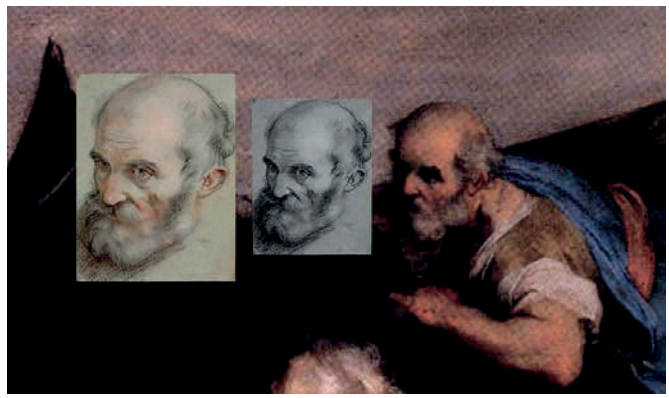

Fig. 21
Absolute scale comparison of *Head of a Bearded Man*, Albertina, Vienna (left), same reduced by a fourth (1:4) in black and white (middle) and *Calling of St. Andrew* (detail, right)

Fig. 22
Federico Barocci, *Study of Nudes*, inv. 1983.17.1.a, National Gallery, Washington (left)

Fig. 23
Annibale Carracci, *Study of Nudes*, Louvre, Paris (right)

Fig. 24
Federico Barocci, Study of a Youth for the *Madonna del Gatto*, inv. 20140.
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Fig. 25
Federico Barocci, *Madonna del Gatto*, 1575, National Gallery, London

Fig. 26
Federico Barocci, Sketches of Mother and Child for the *Madonna del Gatto*, inv. 1412E,
Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 27
Federico Barocci, Study for the *Madonna del Popolo*, inv. 1401, Uffizi, Florence

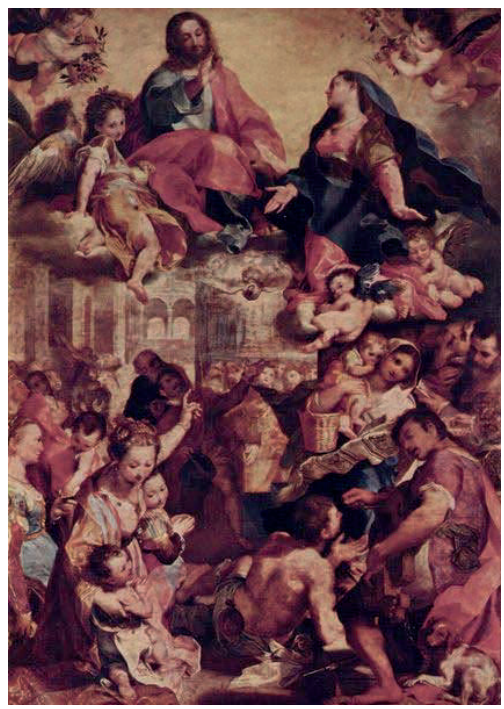

Fig. 28
Federico Barocci, *Madonna del Popolo*, 1579, Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 29
Federico Barocci, composition study for the *Visitation*, c. 1584, inv. 216, National Gallery, Edinburgh, Scotland

Fig. 30
Cartoon for the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation*, c. 1584, inv. 558, Uffizi, Florence

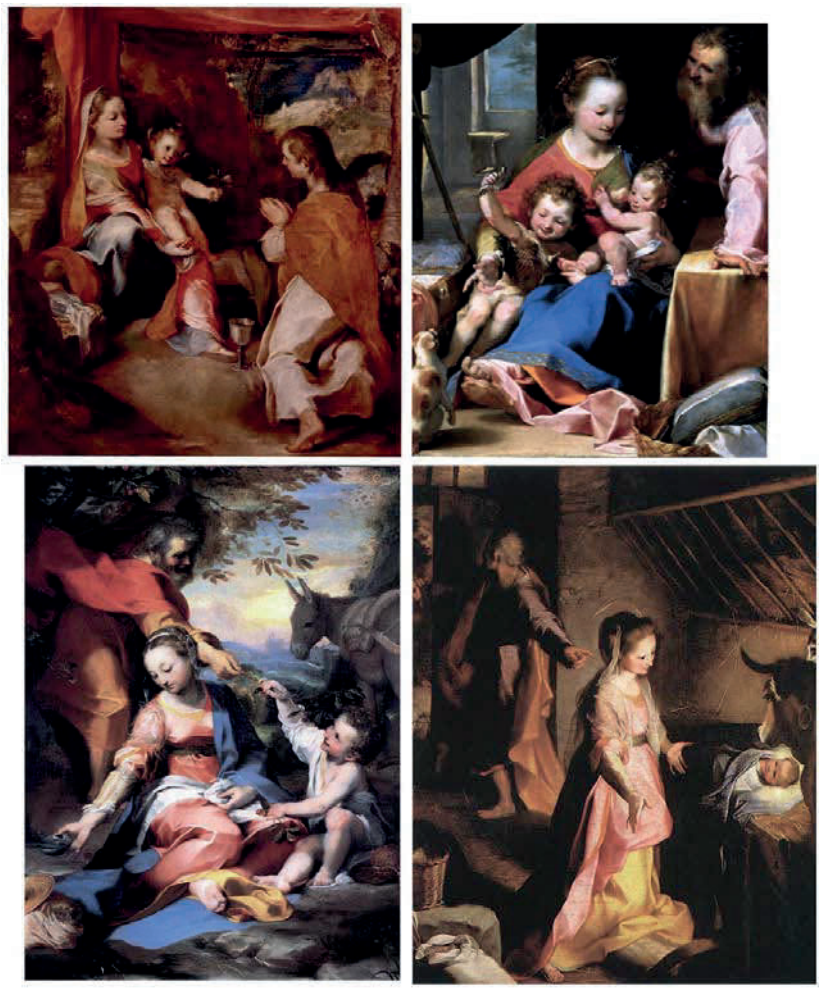

Fig. 31
Federico Barocci, absolute scale comparison of four small altarpieces (clockwise from top left): *Madonna of Saint John* (Galleria Nazionale, Urbino), *Madonna del Gatto* (National Gallery, London), *Rest on the Return from Egypt* (Pinacoteca, Vatican City), *Nativity* (Prado, Madrid)

Fig. 32
Absolute scale comparison of the Senigallia *Entombment* (left), *bozzetto* in Urbino (center, top), cartoon in Amsterdam 1977-137 (center, bottom), *ricordo* in New York (right, top), *modello* at Getty inv. (right, middle) and fragmentary *modello* in the Uffizi inv. 11236 (right, bottom)

Figure 33
Absolute scale comparison of the fragmentary Uffizi *modello* for the Senigallia *Entombment*, inv. 11326, with Uffizi 11536 (left) and Morgan Library inv. IV 155 (right)

Fig. 34
Absolute scale comparison of New York *ricordo* for the Senigallia *Entombment* (middle) with related drawings: Rotterdam inv. 1-428 (top, left), Uffizi inv. 1401v (bottom, left), and Berlin inv. 20357 (right)

Fig. 35
Absolute scale comparison of the Senigallia *Entombment*
(left) with related drawings: Berlin inv. 20365 (top right) and Berlin inv. 20358 (bottom right)

Chapter 3

Ink Models (1:3-1:8)

The *modello* was a venerable kind of drawing that usually functioned throughout the Renaissance as a prospectus for the patron. Especially in Central Italy, the *modello* had evolved in the middle sixteenth century in the hands of Vasari and Salviati – and carried into the seventeenth century by Federico Zuccaro – to be a calligraphic showpiece. Usually, the design of the drawing matches the final painting closely, however, the flourishes of heightening and the darks are not necessarily descriptive of a real scene (or the final work); rather, these elegant marks demonstrated the draftsman's *bravura*.

In contrast to the searching after form that characterized the drawings of Raphael and Leonardo done in more pliant black and red chalk, the later renaissance drawings rendered in pen and ink lack all of the visible hesitancy and struggles of a working drawing. Consequently, the corresponding pen and ink drawing becomes a work of art in its own right, independent from the searching after form that characterized the drawings of Raphael and Leonardo done in more pliant black and red chalk. Beginning with Leonardo's so-called *Burlington House Cartoon* (London, National Gallery of Art, functional and aesthetic concerns were united in this new procedure that carried the design at full-size but also forecast the light effects in the painting.[178] Raphael's cartoons for the Vatican Stanze, such as the *School of Athens* cartoon in the Ambrosiana, Milan, continued pioneering methods of lighting and massing of figures in the sixteenth century.[179]

Consequently, the ink and wash drawing, heavily corrected with lead white heightening, reemerged in the later sixteenth century. Barocci again is one of its earliest practitioners, going so far as to develop specific drawings that took on special names by early commentators. Barocci even dedicated a fixed stage in his preparation process considered more determinate than a mere *modello*; these studies are called *cartoncelli* in the *Minuta* of Barocci's studio after his death.[180] Bellori calls them *cartoncini ad olio ovvero a guazzo di chiaroscuro*.[181] In a deposition regarding the theft of one of his drawings, Barocci simply calls it a "cartone."[182]

When Barocci began work on any altarpiece or painting, he would first complete quick sketches in ink and wash, in order to test out compositional ideas. These drawings, or *scarpigni*, were simply sketches, with no geometric relationship to the final work.

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[178] The drawing, *Mary and Ann with Christ and Saint John the Baptist* (National Gallery, London, inv. 6337), is discussed by Bambach (1999), 265-266.

[179] See the cartoon for the School of Athens in the Ambrosiana, Milan. On Raphael's procedure, see Oberhuber and Vitali (1972); and Bell (1997), 103-104.

[180] Calzini (1913), 80; Mann (2018), 176. The *cartoncello* for the Urbino Last Supper is characterized as "*di chiaro oscuro fatto parte a olio e parte a guazzo.*"

[181] Bellori (1972), 205; (1978), 24; Mann and Bohn (2012) use the abbreviated term "*cartoncino per il chiaroscuro.*"

[182] Cleri (2013), 55: "*si piglia forma il suo disegno in un cartone che é il primo essemplare delle figure, che vuolsi poi formare ed in tal esemplare, dissegno et cartone pone tutta la sua industria, il suo giuditio con tutt'I tratti suoi lineamenti, et con tutta quella bellezza et perfettione che rapresenti, et mostri la natura istessa, et in ciò consuma molto, e molto tempo, et mostra in somma qual egli si sia.*"

However, once Barocci began drawings for a painting, he continued his series of sketches at the same scale in order to easier test his solutions against one another at scale. A prime example of such a series are the drawings first undertaken for the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation*, including those from the Statensmuseum for Kunst, Copenhagen, Fritz Lugt collection, Paris, Institut Nèerlandais, also Paris, and the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.[183] The drawings take figures and shift them in space against different backdrops, rapidly resolving the final solution.

In his earlier career, if Barocci was happy with a pictorial solution, he would often continue to a finished compositional study, a kind of early *modello* that might be sufficient for showing to a client as a prospectus, but not necessarily.[184] Such compositional studies exist for many paintings, but for certain masterworks such pieces of the process are likely lost to history. Such compositional works painted in ink washes and heightened in white appear to be created *earlier* in Barocci's life. The many examples mentioned above, and many contained in the Louvre, represent Barocci's less systematic earlier career, and he undoubtedly stopped preparing such loose painted drawings when he began to work exclusively on more formal *modelli*, created at a strict scaled relationship to the final painting.

These new kinds of *modelli* are remarkable in themselves because they are partly painted and contribute to the early history of painted sketches.[185] But they are often overshadowed by Barocci's more glamorous color *bozzetti*, that will be discussed next. Since Barocci is a stalwart cartoon user, the *cartoncini* take over much of the aesthetic function for him that cartoons had for earlier Renaissance artists. *Cartoncini* could still be used as a tool of visualization for patrons.[186] More than once, drawings were used by Barocci as a contractual or demonstration piece. The most famous case for a demonstration was the "*doi dissegni*" Barocci sent to Pope Clement VIII in preparation for the *Institution of the Eucharist* **(Fig. 1)**, who then gave his subsequent comments to Barocci.[187] These sketches may be tentatively identified with two existing drawings, one in the Chatsworth collection and the other in the Fitzwilliam collection.[188] But at the stage of the presentation drawing the composition is in flux, and Silvia Tomasi Velli has argued that another lost drawing closer to the final composition is also referred to in the documents.[189] The aim of the *cartoncino* is to solve a problem and only secondarily serves to impress the patron. In the following portion of the book, these drawings will be referred to as "models" or *modelli,* indicating a highly finished drawing that leads to the final execution of the painting.

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[183] For an illustration, see Verstegen (2015), fig. 3.1.

[184] For examples in the Louvre, see inv. 2849 for the *Madonna of Saint Simon*; Emiliani (1985), 1:45, fig. 70), and 2858 for the *Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis*; Emiliani (1985), 1:170, fig. 338.

[185] Bauer (1978); Ferrari (1990), 12-13.

[186] On the earlier uses of cartoons as "contractual and demonstration" pieces, see Bambach (1999), 256-257.

[187] Gronau (1936), 181. Another case is the *disegnum* requested by the Cassinese monks of Ravenna for Barocci's *Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis*, who then requested "*pluribus figuris augere et accrescere*;" Emiliani (1985), 1:169.

[188] Chatsworth House, inv. 361, 48 x 34.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:377, fig. 824; (2008), 2:300, fig. 81.1; Mann and Bohn (2012), 292, fig. 18.1;
Fitzwilliam inv. PD.1-2002, 51.4 x 35.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:378, fig. 825; (2008), 2:301, figs. 81.2.

[189] Tomasi Velli (1997).

The scaled model for Barocci serves to lock - at a preliminary stage - the details of the composition. These details will often be changed, but for the time being serve the creation of the cartoon. Within the model, Barocci can undertake the elementary study of light. It allows him to consider the massing of his figures, and how the distribution of light will lead the viewer over the work. Technically, Barocci is able to create a wide range of tones, black ink to white heightening, building up the composition from a black chalk sketch, and progressively deepening shadows with ink washes and creating white highlights with the brush.

Barocci was uniquely concerned with the illumination conditions in the chapels that would hold his altarpieces. This focus on lighting was partly a result of his residence away from many of his commissions; however, the attention to such illumination factors surpasses that of most of his contemporaries. For the *Institution of the Eucharist* **(Fig. 1)** Barocci was particularly obsessive, drawing the Duke of Urbino and his ministers into procuring plans of the Aldobrandini chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome and complete descriptions of the lighting found there.[190] A prototypical *modello* would be Barocci's well-known drawing for the *Madonna del Popolo* in a private collection in Chicago (**Fig. 36**; ex-Chatsworth). Its design is quite close, but not identical, to the final picture. The *model* uses ink washes and skillfully applied areas of white heightening to explore the effect of light in the work.

The *modelli* of the Carracci school bear many similarities to those of Barocci, and ultimately Correggio.[191] For example, the drawing of the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire), created by Annibale in preparation for his altarpiece for the church of the Confraternita di San Rocco, in Reggio Emilia (1587, now Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), is not unlike Barocci's drawing done less than ten years earlier for his *Madonna del Popolo*. These similarities are unsurprising because this was precisely the time when Annibale and his family were intensely studying the works of Barocci. Moreover, the *Assumption* was conceived in Correggio's Emilian countryside. Barocci's *modelli* tend to have more fixed contours than any of his peers because he, more than any others, was concerned to fix them and more or less forget about them. Carracci's preparatory studies and others show more freedom to improvise along the way, through a partial assimilation of Venetian painting techniques that employed *alla prima* composition.

It is not surprising that Barocci's exacting method does not require too much dogmatism at the level of the *modello*. One need only examine the dimensions of his various compositional sketches to see that they are all approximately 50 centimeters tall (**Fig. 2**). Of all stages, this is the most independent, when Barocci works out details at a

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[190] See for example the letter of Giacomo Sorbolongo, the Duke of Urbino's minister, to Duke Francesco Maria II (23 August 1603), Gronau (1936), 178: "*vedrà almeno che per stasera io possa mandare la Pianta con le misure et lumi, et col seguente ordinario aggiungere il dissegno della facciata, et cosi farò secondo potrò haverle.*" For other instances, see the correspondence surrounding the *Entombment* (Olsen, 1962, 170) and the *Annunciation* (Gaye, 1839-40, 461).

[191] See also Ludovico Carracci, *Conversion of Saint Paul* (1587), *Modello* in British Museum; Agostino Carracci, *Battle between the Romans and Sabines* (1590), Palazzo Magnani, *Modello* in Chatsworth; *The Coronation of the Virgin* (1597-8), Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Modello* in the Musee des Beaux Arts, Dijon; *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1597-8), *Modello* in the Graphische Sammlung, Vienna: Diane De Grazia et al., *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1999).

comfortable and uniform scale. So, are they true scales at all? They are because, as already suggested, in most cases a simple ratio to the final work can be detected, whether 1:5, 1:6, 1:7 or 1:8. Each of these scales are found in the examples reproduced below and proportionally derive from the gross size of the work.

These analyses were conducted by initial analysis of scale relationship and then manually resized to rigid scales. A painting like the Senigallia *Entombment*, which is 295 cm tall, appears to be five times larger than the Getty *modello*. The image is then resized to exactly one fifth of its original height (59 cm) and juxtaposed with the *modello* at its exact size (47.5 cm). The immediate compelling visual relationship is presented below with exactly no further manipulation. In fact, Barocci's systematic procedure means that what seem to be superficial numerical relationships turn out almost always to be exact.

In order to stress the systematic nature of the findings, the discussion of the individual *modelli* and their relationship to the original paintings, is based on size determined ratios. Thus, the largest altarpieces have 1:8 scaled *modelli* and so on. The scaled paintings juxtaposed with the preparatory sketches emphasizes the unchanging nature of Barocci's system (**Fig. 37**). The exceptions to this scaling, which often prove to be very enlightening, will be duly noted and serve as exceptions that prove the rule.

Many reservations have been voiced and odd facts noted about some of these compositional drawings. In some cases, like the Ian Woodner or Cleveland Museum of Art drawing for the *Presentation of the Virgin* and *Flight of Aeneas*, respectively, doubts about authenticity have been raised. In others, like the British Museum drawing for the *Madonna del Gatto* or the Hermitage sketch for the *Perdono*, function has been clarified for an engraving. But the criteria demonstrate that these drawings are not just copies or for prints, but rather, they record earlier, lost work. Some of the discussion will be about works that are not regarded to be by Barocci, but are still invaluable as they reflect stages of his process lost to history.

Beginnings

In the 1560s, Barocci began to bring geometrical order to the "modello" stage of his working procedure. The *Madonna of Saint John* is an extremely early work but may lay claim to be the first painting created with scaled preparatory drawings. The drawing in the Morgan Library (inv. 1978.37), a heavily varnished pastel compositional drawing, raises questions of authorship.[192] It is extremely close to being 1:3 the size of the final painting. When it is compared to another drawing in the Uffizi (11373) it can be seen that it matches it perfectly so that if the Morgan drawing is not autograph, it is a direct copy of an autograph model (**Fig. 38**).[193] The work became a model of other like-sized altarpieces, like the *Madonna del Gatto*, and the *Nativity*, as well as their preparatory drawings, which are also scaled at 1:3.

No extensive drawings survive for the *Madonna of Saint Simon*. The next significant altarpiece chronologically, therefore, is the Urbino *Crucifixion* (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche). One drawing, Berlin 27466, clearly shows Barocci's typical method of

[192] Morgan Library inv. 1978.37; 48.2 x 40.2 cm; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), 43; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), I:152, fig. 16.2.

[193] Uffizi inv. 11373, 29.6 x 38.5 cm; Calzini (1913), fig. 46; Emiliani, (1985), 1:31, fig. 43; not in (2008).

developing the figure (**Fig. 39**).[194] First, the squared paper suggests that even if Barocci did not complete a true model (which does not still exist), he squared the drawings down to the proper 1:6 dimensions. By creating a nude figure as the basis of the Madonna figure, Barocci can next go on to clothe her. The same is true of Louvre 2851v, which features sketches of *putti*.[195] Barocci worked on the John figure at a larger scale but did jot down a complete sketch of the figure in Berlin 27465v, which he or a follower copied at the same (slightly reduced) scale in Louvre 2928.[196]

While it is not perfectly clear whether or not Barocci produced drawings for the *Madonna of Saint John* and *Crucifixion* to scale so early in his career, he certainly scaled drawings in preparation for the Perugia *Deposition*, as explained shortly. From this point on in the late 1560s, Barocci follows this scaling system. The only deviations occur in his later career and possibly also for paintings intended to be completed with workshop help, for which Barocci abbreviated his process in different ways.

The Half-Meter *Modello*

In order to begin expounding Barocci's use of monochrome *modelli*, it is useful to pick a series of paintings to show the simple logic of the artist's procedure. The *Perdono* (1576, San Francesco, Urbino) is particularly helpful for this both for its large size (427 cm) as well as its earlier mention in Chapter 1 as an example of the watershed moment when Italian artists attained the concepts of light color for the respective drawings they served. The painting is also useful in clearly demonstrating the complementarity of the model and oil sketch in Barocci's system. The model was 1:8 the size of the final painting and the oil sketch 1:4 or, put another way, the sketch was twice as big as the model.

Beginning with the earliest altarpiece for which we seem to have a secure *modello*, Uffizi 9348 for the Perugia *Deposition* (1569, duomo, Perugia), may be the first definitively reduced drawing.[197] The scale is perfect at 1:7th, unlike some of the other compositional drawings for earlier works, whose ratios are fuzzier (**Fig. 40**). Of course, this exact one seventh sizing is even more significant relative to the possible use of the reduction compass and the chronology recounted above relating to its invention. Although there exists a rapidly drawn, ink *scarpigno* in the Louvre, no surviving drawings exactly scaled to this model remain, although some of approximately the correct size exist. Barocci used a larger sheet of paper and accordingly came up with what would be his preferred working size for a *modello*, which is copied in all later works (**Fig. 37**). Like the Saint Petersburg drawing, this model may be too perfect if still certainly by Barocci's hand. Juxtaposing it at the same scale with Francesco Villamena's print of 1609, we see that they match perfectly, and it too may constitute a "cleaned up" modello for the print.[198]

More likely, the bulk of the preparation of the painting was completed at 1:5 scale. In fact, no less than ten drawings exist that are quite close to this scale **(Fig. 41)**. Like

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[194] Berlin inv. 27466, 28.1 x 42.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:37, fig. 53 (2008), 1:164, fig. 19.6; Mann & Bohn (2012), fig. 2.5.

[195] Louvre inv. 2851v, 20.4 x 27 cm; Olsen (1962), 148.

[196] Berlin inv. 27465v, 40,3 x 24,9 cm; Not in Emiliani (1985); Louvre 2928, 25.3 x 16.3 cm; unpublished.

[197] Uffizi inv. 9348, 58 x 33.4 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:61, fig. 90; (2008), 1:193, fig. 22.1; Mann and Bohn (2012), fig. 3.2.

[198] Bohn, in contrast, suggests Barocci "probably employed this large sheet as a presentation drawing, to obtain final approval from the patron for his design" (Mann and Bohn, 2012, 106).

most drawings at the model 'stage,' they include studio assistants improvising poses that are far from settled, or very provisional drapery studies to complete the original, lost *modello*. Of posed figures there is Hertziana 3, recto, for Christ and the man on the left, three for the Mary comforting Mary (Uffizi 11312 *verso*, 11595 and Urbino 1652) and the reclining Mary (Uffizi 11312 *recto*).[199] Rough sketches of the men who remove Christ's hands from the cross are Uffizi 11321 and Urbino 1658.[200] Drapery studies are found in Chantilly G. D 142, Hertziana 3, verso, and Berlin 20469.[201]

The example just discussed, the *Deposition*, captures the complexity involved when a beautiful model may be only an improved copy in preparation for Barocci's own etching. The model for the *Perdono* in Saint Petersburg is highly finished and has led Michael Bury, as reported by Nicholas Turner, to stress its affinity to the print of the same size.[202] The drawing is indeed closer to the final painting than the oil sketch in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, because the Virgin Mary and Christ are moved toward the right (Christ directly above Francis) unlike in the oil sketch (**Fig. 42**). While the Hermitage model is indeed highly finished, this discrepancy does not rule out the *scale* for initial composition of the work, for four drawings match it in its 1:8 scale. A series of studies for Saint Francis (Uffizi 11441), shows a nude in a pose corresponding to that Saint Francis would ultimately take alongside a much different pose. Similarly, a study for the Virgin (Chatsworth 356) presents the figure slightly more open. Two more drawings of Saint Nicholas (Berlin 20231 and Urbino 1681) are extremely tentative nude poses, slightly smaller and not at all like in the final painting, suggesting very early execution in the process. Taken together, Barocci clearly began his earliest explorations into the painting at this scale; indeed, the Chatsworth figure may represent this earlier *modello*, as the left contour of the drawing follows that of the Saint Petersburg model.[203] Therefore, an earlier, much amended *modello* may have existed for which the Saint Petersburg study is merely a cleaned-up version. Furthermore, the fact that there are still differences between the painting and model in terms of relative size (Christ, Francis, etc.) may be an artifact of copying from the old model.

The yield of drawings for the *Madonna del Popolo* (1579, Uffizi, Florence) is in general especially large, and indicates the riches that must have existed for any of

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[199] Uffizi inv. 11312 *verso*, 27.6 x 41.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:65, fig. 99; (2008), 1:195-6, fig. 22.7.
Uffizi inv. 11595, 42.7 x 27.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:65, fig. 98; (2008), 1:196, fig. 22.9.
Urbino inv. 1652, 35.0 x 20.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:64, fig. 97; (2008), 1:195, fig. 22.5.
Uffizi inv. 11312 *recto*, 27.6 x 41.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:62, fig. 91; (2008), 1:194, fig. 22.4.
[200] Uffizi inv. 11321, 42.0 x 29.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:73, fig. 123; (2008), 1:213, fig. 22.39.
Urbino inv. 1658, 26.5 x 41.0 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 1:216, fig. 22.41 (not pictured).
[201] Chantilly G. inv. D 142, 425 x 28.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:68, fig. 106; (2008), 1:201, fig. 22.17.
Hertziana inv. 3 verso, 41.2 x 27.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1: 70, fig. 113; (2008), 1:203, fig. 22.19.
Berlin inv. 20469, 29.8 x 26.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:64, fig. 96; (2008), 1:196, fig. 22.10.
[202] Turner (2000), 143.
[203] Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg) inv. 14714, 53.5 x 31 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:106, fig. 182; Emiliani (2008), 1:267, fig. 34.1; Mann and Bohn (2012), fig. 5.7; for the drawings that match it, see:
Uffizi inv. 11441, 43.1 x 28.3 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:110, fig. 192; (2008), 1:278, fig. 34.13; Mann and Bohn (2012), 125, fig. 5.1.
Chatsworth inv. 356, 26 x 10.8cm; Jaffè (1994), 39; not in Emiliani (1985); Emiliani (2008), 1:279, fig. 34.16.
Berlin inv. 20231, 27.5 x 42 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:112, fig. 196; (2008), 1:278, fig. 34.15 not illustrated.
Urbino inv. 1681, 28.5 x 40.9 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:112, fig. 197; (2008), 1:273, fig. 34.6 not illustrated.

Barocci's elaborate and well-paying commissions. The *modello*, formerly in the Chatsworth collection, is also sized one sixth (1:6) the size of the original painting in the Uffizi. There are a number of drawings that match this *modello*, including Uffizi 1401, Uffizi 11359, Berlin 7705, and Berlin 20431 (**Fig. 36**).[204] The painting becomes emblematic of Barocci's procedure because of the sheer variety of the attempted poses. As is particularly clear in this case, the typical *modello*-sized drawing constructs a nude figure for which the pose is still being explored and is not fixed.

Two different *modelli* were drawn for the Senigallia *Entombment*. The now-fragmentary first in the Uffizi had the composition reversed; the second is now in the Getty and very close to the final composition. Like the other paintings discussed here, the painting is below three meters and Barocci has switched to a 1:5 ratio. As already noted in the Case Study of the Senigallia *Entombment*, there are several drawings that match the scale of this drawing **(Fig. 33)**. Some confusion might arise, however, about the finish of the *modello*. In fact, given the prior existence of the Uffizi *modello*, the Getty drawing can be seen to be a retrospective cleaning-up of all that Barocci had accomplished up to that point compositionally. Consequently, the Uffizi *modello* may have been created more as a record than anything else. Indeed, it may have been the model, which the workshop used to copy the drawing in the Louvre, which seems to have been the model for Aegidius Sadeler's print after the painting (**Fig. 43**).[205] Bonita Cleri published a deposition that Barocci gave to a court in Pesaro, indicating that he had made a drawing available to Stradano in Florence for engraving and never received it back. I believe that Barocci had supplied the Louvre drawing to Stradano, and it had then made its way to Sadeler.[206]

The relationship of the Rome *Visitation* (1586, Chiesa Nuova) to its *modello* (Edinburgh) is also clearly 1:6.[207] Although the figures are of slightly different sizes, the architectural background clearly indicates that it was traced through the various stages of execution and remained constant. Barocci proceeded immediately to the cartoon from this model, and the cartoon changed on its path to the final work. There is one drawing in Berlin that was made to be placed directly over the model, thereby correcting the pose of the maid on the right, Berlin 20522 (**Fig. 44**).[208] Strangely, this is the only drawing that

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[204] Uffizi 1401, 21.5 x 32.2 cm; Olsen (1962), 167, fig. 32; Emiliani (1985), 1:148, fig. 287; (2008), 1:338-9, fig. 38.70; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 295-96.
Uffizi inv. 11359, 29.3 x 42 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:140, fig. 251; (2008), 1:322, fig.38.24;
Berlin inv. 7705, 26.5 x 38 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:148, fig. 285; (2008), 1:337, fig.38.68;
Berlin inv. 20431, 30.4 x 19.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:140, fig. 250; (2008), 1:322, fig.38.25;

[205] Marciari and Verstegen (2008); Olsen (1962) had suggested the Louvre drawings was by Sadeler, but Olsen had no idea it matched exactly Barocci's Getty drawing, begging the question how Sadeler would have been able to produce a drawing scaled to the final painting.

[206] Cleri (2013) thought the drawing supplied to Stradano was the Amsterdam modello/reduced cartoon. Bohn (2012, 68, n.135) suggests the drawing was the Getty *modello*.

[207] Edinburgh 216, 46.3 x 31.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:229, fig. 475; (2008), 2:56, 45.35; Mann and Bohn (2012), 202, fig. 10.4.

[208] Berlin inv. 20522, 28 x 12.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:224, fig. 462; (2008), 2:54, fig. 45.30; Verstegen (2015), 76-77, fig. 3.2.

exists at this scale. One other drawing, Uffizi 11622r, is smaller than the Edinburgh *modello*, but of the kind that must have been lost.[209]

As noted earlier in the chapter, Barocci prepared at least two *modelli* for the *Institution of the Eucharist* (1608, Santa Maria sopra Minerva), both 1:5 of the original painting (**Fig. 45**). In the first at Chatsworth, a figure of charity is shown with the devil counseling Judas at the communion.[210] In the second at the Fitzwilliam, the allegorical figures have been exchanged for naturalistic washer-boys and now Judas is off sulking in the background.[211] Surprisingly, very few drawings survive for the earliest stages of this painting. One of the few is the drawing for a kneeling figure, related to the first *modello*, in Berlin 20253.[212] An elaboration of the same figure, now approximating the final painting and thus an improvement on the second *modello* is Uffizi 11282.[213] Although the paucity of drawings may be partly due to lack of survival, Barocci also seems to be working in an abbreviated fashion at this late stage in his career.

Strange Exceptions

There are a couple cases in which Barocci blatantly overrides his system – these are easily discovered studying the chart in Chapter Two where ratios normally proceed with the size of works according to an ascending (or descending) order. One striking example is the model for the *Circumcision* (1590, Louvre, Paris) in the Uffizi that is 1:4 the size of the final painting, an extremely large model (**Fig. 46**).[214] Nevertheless, if Barocci regarded the main action of the painting to be in the central band and removed the relatively unimportant top and bottom (as he did for example in the cartoon for the same work), he ended up with a piece of paper the same size as a typical model (see **Fig. 37**). Interestingly, there are drawings that match the Uffizi model at 1:4 scale but there are nevertheless also drawings scaled to 1:8 and 1:7 (Berlin 20024[215] & 20026).[216] Perhaps Barocci, following his normal system requiring a high ratio for large altarpieces, began with these and found the detail too small (given that the rabbi and Christ child are in the middle, and not the foreground) and accordingly opted for a different ratio keeping the paper the same approximate size as a model. This suggests that the 1:8 and 1:7 drawings are perhaps earlier in sequence.

Barocci also used an unusually small ratio for the *modello* - Uffizi 819 - in preparation for the very large Urbino *Last Supper*, 1:3 (**Fig. 47**).[217] For works of the same size he typically tended toward a 1:5 sized compositional sketch. It is hard to know why he opted for this specific scale but in any case, it is not surprising that there are a couple

[209] Uffizi inv. 11622r, 34.2 x 28.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:226, fig. 470; (2008), 2:53, fig. 45.28; in color in Mann & Bohn (2012), 207, fig. 10.9.
[210] Chatsworth House, inv. 361, 48 x 34.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:377, fig. 824; (2008), 2:300, fig. 81.1; Mann and Bohn (2012), 292, fig. 18.1.
[211] Fitzwilliam inv. PD.1-2002, 51.4 x 35.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:378, fig. 825; (2008), 2:301, figs. 81.2. Both of these drawings were already cited at the beginning of this chapter.
[212] Berlin inv. 20253, 15.8 x 9.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:385, fig. 845; (2008), 2:308, fig. 81.19.
[213] Uffizi inv. 11282, 40.4 x 26.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:385, fig. 845; (2008), 2:306, fig. 81.18.
[214] Uffizi inv. 818, 58.6 x 43.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:252, fig. 525; (2008), 2:94, fig. 49.3
[215] Berlin inv. 20024, 11.2 x 16.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:260, fig. 550; (2008), 2:104, no. 49.28, not illustrated.
[216] Berlin inv. 20026, 24.5 x 21.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 528; (2008), 2:96, fig. 49.6.
[217] Uffizi inv. 819, 110.0 x 109.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:331, fig. 711; (2008), 2:216, fig. 66.3.

of drawings matching this work: Berlin 20195 and 20014.[218] It is clear that the bulk of the early compositional work for the painting was not done at the scale of the *modello* but slightly smaller, at 1:4 scale. Indeed, there exist at least five drawings that are typical drawings preparatory to the *modello*: Berlin 20199, 20210, 20209, 20202, and 20203 **(Fig. 48)**.[219] The first three reproduce one of the apostles and the two serving boys as nudes, upon which to develop the drapery and the other two drawings do just that, for the very apostle figure already mentioned. Why would Barocci work predominantly at 1:4 scale but prepare his model at 1:3? Clearly, the horizontal emphasis of the painting made the figures appear too small at the 1:4 scale; by increasing it, Barocci was able to achieve figures that were easier to study.

The End of the System

The *Institution of the Eucharist* is probably the last work with which Barocci rigorously used his scaling system. But during its execution there were already signs that he was cutting corners, whether to save time, or because he felt confident in his powers. An example may be seen in the late *Lamentation of Christ* (1612, Bologna), left incomplete at Barocci's death. For such a large and important altarpiece, for Milan Cathedral, one would expect a fine *modello* but, instead, Barocci made the model at what one might call "oil sketch size" (1:4) thereby killing two birds with one stone. This drawing certainly functions as a model and not a cartoon, which its tentativeness of the design and, as pointed out by Babette Bohn, the chalk and charcoal materials appropriate to a reduced cartoon might otherwise indicate (**Fig. 49**).[220] Its closest cousin would be the reduced cartoon in Amsterdam that prepared the Urbino reduced, painted version of the *Entombment*. But in the case of the *Lamentation*, a reduced cartoon would suggest both the existence of an oil sketch and lost *modello*. Instead, I argue that medium should not confuse function, and this drawing and its scale certainly was preparatory for the *modello*.

By enlarging the model and gaining the finer detail (as in the Uffizi model for the Urbino *Last Supper*), Barocci was able to gain the advantage of a model at the "oil sketch" scale. A tell-tale sign of the preparatory nature of the scale is the reversed figure for Christ (Berlin 20360).[221] In addition, Barocci sketched a figure different from the *modello*, anticipating the kneeling woman in the foreground in the final painting (Berlin 20494, 20480).[222] Three drawings study Christ in the final pose of the painting (Berlin 20367, 20366, 20510) and one each for the two angels (Berlin 20015, 20019).[223] Most interestingly,

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[218] Berlin inv. 20195, 28.2 x 20.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:333, fig. 720; (2008), 2:226, fig. 66.27.
Berlin inv. 20014, 28.0 x 19.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:333, fig. 717; (2008), 2:221, fig. 66.12.
[219] Berlin inv. 20199, 27 x 29.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:336, fig. 725; (2008), 2:225, fig. 66.23.
Berlin inv. 20210, 25 x 15.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:340, fig. 743; (2008), 2:224, fig. 66.21.
Berlin inv. 20209, 28.4 x 20.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:339, fig. 741; not in (2008).
Berlin inv. 20202, 41.5 x 26.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:341, fig. 750; (2008), 2:223, fig. 66.18.
Berlin inv. 20203, 41.5 x 27 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:336, fig. 727; (2008), 2:222, fig. 66.15.
[220] Amsterdam inv. 2749, 105.0 x 77.0 cm; Emiliani, (1985), 2:389, fig. 849; Mann and Bohn (2012), 57, fig. 38; Bohn (2018), 10.
[221] Berlin inv. 20360, 21.6 x 31.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:391, fig. 857; (2008), 2:320, fig. 83.20.
[222] Berlin inv. 20494, 24.9 x 19.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:392 fig. 864; (2008), 2:323, fig. 83.30.
Berlin inv. 20480, 25.1 x 19.4 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:323, fig. 83.29.
[223] Berlin inv. 20367, 26.5 x 39.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:391, fig. 860; (2008), 2:321, fig. 83.22.
Berlin inv. 20366, 25.0 x 39.5cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:391, fig. 858; (2008), 2:321, fig. 83.21.

a drawing in the Horne Collection, Florence (5595) illustrates the figure of the soldier nude and then in Berlin 20508, he is clothed, a transition which is very typical for preparation at the stage of the *modello*.[224] Another figure at this scale is Sain John (Louvre 28990).[225]

Like the *Lamentation*, the *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (1612, Chantilly) was left unfinished at Barocci's death. A similar situation exists for the painting, because for this work Barocci also produced a *modello* at "oil sketch size."[226] But there is no question that it is a model because of the numerous drawings of nude figures at the same scale (**Fig. 50**). Among these are Uffizi 11379 for the Virgin and 11269 for the Magdalene.[227] Both represent the very earliest drawings for each of the figures and only secondarily, as in Berlin 20485, are they clothed.[228] As previously noted, experimental nude figures are a hallmark of the model stage for Barocci.

Lost Works

Using Barocci's logic leads to surprising results and allows us to find traces of lost works. For example, there is no surviving *modello* for the *Presentation of the Virgin* (1603, Chiesa Nuova, Rome). The only thing approximating a *modello* is the compositional drawing in the Ian Woodner collection in the National Gallery, Washington, attributed to a Netherlandish artist, which trails off in the lower right-hand corner, suggesting that it is copied.[229] Although the handling does not suggest Barocci's direct execution, evidence suggests that it reflects a lost model firsthand. The *modello* ratio of 1:7 is consistent for a picture of its size; moreover, the existence of another drawing at the same approximate scale suggests that Barocci indeed had produced a model at 1:7 that the Woodner draftsman copied.[230] The quickly sketched Uffizi 11434 is consistent with an early sketch at the scale of the *modello*. In this case, we do not confirm Barocci's authorship at all, but merely prove the proximity of the drawing to another lost, autograph drawing from the master's workshop.

Berlin inv. 20510, 24.1 x 37.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:390, fig. 852; (2008), 2:320, fig. 83.19.
Berlin inv. 20015, 28.2 x 23.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:399, fig. 879; (2008), 2:326, fig. 83.37.
Berlin inv. 20019, 24.2 x 41.8 cm; Not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:325, fig. 83.36

[224] Horne Collection inv. 5595, 43.2 x 28.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:394, fig. 867; (2008), 2:318, fig. 83.8.
Berlin inv. 20508, 40.9 x 25.4 cm; Not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:319, fig. 83.12.

[225] Louvre inv. 28990; 29 x 42.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:398, fig. 876; (2008), 2:324, fig. 83.33; Lingo (2008), 118.

[226] Uffizi inv. 11430, 50.2 x 34.4cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:414, fig. 911; (2008), 2:344, fig. 85.2.

[227] Uffizi inv. 11379, 26.5 x 20.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:416, fig. 918; (2008), 2:346, fig. 85.8;
Uffizi inv. 11269, 40.5 x 28.0 cm; Lingo (2008), 62; Emiliani (2008), 2:347, fig.85.12;

[228] Berlin inv. 20485, 28.4 x 23.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:419, fig. 927; (2008), 2; 348-9, fig. 85.16.

[229] Ian Woodner collection, National Gallery of Art, 39.8 x 33.9 cm. For the drawing and the question of its authenticity, see Pillsbury and Richards (1978), no. 67. The latest catalogue attributes it to a Netherlandish copyist c. 1610. It is clear that this artist had Barocci's actual drawings available to him. Bohn (2012, 56) accepts its authenticity.

[230] This drawing is illustrated, in comparison to the painting and one drawing, on p. 86 of Verstegen (2015).

Invalidating Works

The *Flight of Aeneas from Troy* (Borghese, Rome) has a model in Cleveland whose authenticity has been questioned.[231] Referring back to our table it can be seen that its scale is anomalous relative to its overall size, which ought to be bigger. As in other quick ink drawings that may be affixed at scales, this may be the case of the inspiration of the Cleveland study, if it is in Turner's words "done by a follower."[232] As it turns out, comparing the scale of this drawing to all published drawings reveals *no* matches. One would expect there are several drawings that point to a possible lost model that are all at 1:5 scale, as is appropriate for the size of the painting (**Fig. 51**). These drawings match perfectly the recently nominated *modello* in the Royal Collection of Windsor Castle (naturally, also the same size as Agostino Carracci's engraving of the picture).[233] The drawings are dedicated to clarifying the details of the Aeneas and Creusa figures, although none are nude.

Works for the Workshop

For a couple classes of works, Barocci bent the rules: the painting with figures in the middle ground and also the late altarpiece, for which Barocci relaxed his rules and made models larger. In the case of workshop pictures, Barocci seemingly did the opposite and contented himself with a smaller model. The *Madonna of Saint Lucy* in the Louvre, for example, long considered a workshop painting, has a fine autograph model in the Uffizi.[234] Usually dated to c. 1588 due to fresco decoration in the chapel where it was housed in Perugia, its model is only 42.5 cm. If it is true that Barocci's nephew painted the work from his model, it is interesting that his smaller scale (1:7), appropriate for a much bigger work, seems to signal the lesser importance of the work (**Fig. 52**). In fact, other works demonstrate that the size of the *modello* becomes a kind of indicator of the level of investment of the master in the actual work.

* * *

After discussing Barocci's use of ink models, it is useful to look a little more closely at the stakes of his venture. Note that he always begins with the installed dimension; only with the known size can he meaningfully calculate a ratio at which to work. This puts the emphasis on the final work, and Barocci will manage the work's final effect from this very early stage. However, it is imperative to qualify the way in which these are preparatory works. Once Barocci begins working at a scale, he is already chained to the final work. Except for *scarpigni*, there is no such thing for him of simply testing out solutions. Contrast this state of affairs to Rubens. Both in his oil sketches for larger paintings as well as in a copy of, say, Caravaggio's Chiesa Nuova *Entombment*, Thomas

[231] Cleveland Museum of Art inv. 60.26, 27.5 x 42.1 cm; Pillsbury and Richards (1987), 77; Emiliani (2008), 2:63-64, fig. 46.4.
[232] Turner (2000), 109.
[233] Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, inv. 2343, 33.9 x 46.1 cm; Scrase (2006), cat. no. 59; Emiliani (2008), 2:63, fig. 46.3; Marciari and Verstegen (2008); Mann and Bohn (2012), 203.
[234] Uffizi inv. 817; 42.5 x 32.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:279, fig. 597; (2008), 2:130, fig. 52.1.

Puttfarken has detected interesting scale differences that reveal that Rubens has treated these as bounded, composed objects.[235]

Barocci is different in that he looks at his small *modello* as if he were looking already into the chapel in which the work will be placed. There are never any wholesale changes from early conception to later conception. Like a contemporary mural painter working with Photoshop, Barocci ignored the bounded surface. In this, his procedure conquers what media theorist Lev Manovich has called "visual nominalism," the equalization of time-space dimensions for rigorous control.[236]

[235] Puttfarken (2000), 150, analyzing Rubens' copy after Caravaggio's *Entombment*, c. 1605?, oil on canvas, 88.3 x 66.5 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottowa.
[236] Manovich (1996).

Fig. 36
Madonna del Popolo (Florence, Uffizi) reduced one sixth (1:6) with (left to right) Uffizi inv. 1401, Berlin inv. 20431, ex-Chatsworth, Berlin inv. 7705 (beneath) and Uffizi inv. 11359F (right)

Fig. 37
Ink models associated with Barocci (from top to bottom, left to right): Uffizi (*Deposition from the Cross*), St. Petersburg (*Perdono*), Chicago (*Madonna del Popolo*), Getty (*Entombment of Christ*), Royal Collection/Windsor Castle (*Calling of St. Andrew*), Walker/Liverpool (*Martyrdom of St. Vitalis*), Budapest (*Annunciation*), Edinburgh (*Visitation*), Uffizi 817 (*Virgin of St. Lucy*), Uffizi 11425 (*Christ Appearing to the Magdalene*), Royal Collection/Windsor Castle (*Flight of Aeneas*), Ashmolean (*Madonna of the Rosary*), Fitzwilliam (*Institution of the Eucharist*), Uffizi (*Circumcision*)

Fig. 38
Urbino *Madonna of Saint John* reduced a third (1:3) with Morgan drawing (center) and Uffizi inv. 11373 (right)

Fig. 39
Urbino *Crucifixion* reduced a sixth (1:6) with from bottom left Berlin 27466, (top left) Louvre inv. 2851, (right) Berlin inv. 27465v and far right Louvre inv. 2928

Fig. 40
Perugia *Deposition* reduced a seventh (1:7) next to Uffizi *modello* (inv. 9348, center) and Villamena print (1609, right)

Fig. 41
Perugia Deposition reduced a fifth (1:5) next to (clockwise from center right): Uffizi 11312 verso, Uffizi 11595, Berlin 20469, Urbino 1652, Uffizi 11312 recto, Hertziana 3 verso, Chantilly G D XI 142, Hertziana 3 recto, Urbino 1658, Uffizi 11321F

Fig. 42
Urbino *Perdono* (center left) reduced an eighth (1:8) next to Hermitage *modello* (center right) with, from left to right, Uffizi inv. 11441, Chatsworth inv. 356, Berlin inv. 20231 (right, top), and Urbino inv. 1681 (right, bottom)

Fig. 43
Senigallia *Entombment* reduced a fifth (1:5) next to Getty *modello*, Uffizi fragmentary *modello*, Uffizi inv. 11536 and Morgan Library inv. IV 155

Fig. 44
Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* reduced a sixth (1:6) next to Edinburgh *modello*, and Berlin inv. 20522

Fig. 45
Rome *Institution of the Eucharist* (Santa Maria sopra Minerva) reduced a fifth (1:5)
next to Chatsworth (left), Berlin inv. 20253, and Fitzwilliam (right)

Fig. 46
Louvre *Circumcision* reduced an eighth (1:8, center) and a seventh (1:7, right) with Berlin inv. 20024 (left top) and inv. 20026 (left bottom)

Fig. 47
Urbino *Last Supper* reduced a third (1:3) with Berlin inv. 20014, Uffizi *modello,* and Berlin inv. 20195

Fig. 48
Urbino *Last Supper* reduced a third (1:3) with 20210 (top left), 20209 (bottom left) 20202 (top right), 20203 (middle right), 20199 (bottom right)

Fig. 49
Bologna *Lamentation* reduced a fourth (1:4; left) with Amsterdam *modello* (right) with, clockwise (from top left): all Berlin inv. 20015, inv. 20366, inv. 20510, (from top right): inv. 20360, inv. 20494

Fig. 50
Chantilly *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* reduced a fourth (1:4) with Uffizi *modello* and (from left to right) Würzburg 7182 (top, left), Uffizi inv. 11379 (bottom, left), Uffizi inv. 11269 (near right) and Berlin inv. 20485 (for right)

Fig. 51
Borghese *Flight of Aeneas* reduced a fifth (1:5) with (from left to right) Uffizi inv. 11642m Berlin inv. 20294, Windsor Castle and (on right) Berlin inv. 4588

Fig. 52
Louvre *Madonna of St. Lucy* reduced a seventh (1:7), next to Uffizi *modello*

Chapter 4

The Cartoon

Far from being outmoded, the cartoon was a mainstay of the Early Baroque. The cartoon was prominently used by the Carracci in their revival of grand fresco painting along the lines of Raphael and the High Renaissance, but it was also used obsessively by Barocci, for even his oil altarpieces. Cartoons were also significant for Barocci because he utilized them as a vehicle to return to another High Renaissance tool that had fallen out of favor, the auxiliary cartoon.

Barocci would have first had to use cartoons during his few years of fresco painting in Rome, but even after returning to Urbino and abandoning fresco as a medium, he devised a novel potential for the old form of drawing.[237] All of Barocci's cartoons are undamaged by transfer, meaning that he used 'substitute cartoons.' While substitute cartoons are more common in wall painting, such stylus-incised substitute cartoons are described by Vasari and Borghini.[238] The cartoon is placed over another sheet of paper with the back rubbed with charcoal. The design is then incised from the original leaving the charcoal outlines on the painting (or equally importantly another "auxiliary" drawing).

There are cartoons extant for just eleven of Barocci's works, but it is likely that he used one for every large commission. A typical example of the utilization of the cartoon is evident for the *Visitation* in the Chiesa Nuova **(Fig. 30)**, cited previously, or the *Madonna del Popolo*, in the Uffizi (**Fig. 53**). Neither are complete. The odds are against the preservation of these cartoons: they are composed of a number of pieces of paper (to reach the size of the altarpiece) and when separated, might not be of an impressive aesthetic quality and, hence, be less likely to survive. However, almost Barocci's entire procedure presumes the existence of absolute measures of the final work and corresponding cartoon.

One may go further to affirm that the cartoon evidences a consistent approach to altarpiece painting, where a monumental size is generally to be found. If one compares the just cited cartoon of the *Popolo* with that of the *Visitation* at the same scale **(Fig. 53)** - that is, as if they were placed next to one another - one can see a consistent size of depicted protagonists that fueled Barocci's imagination from one painting to the next, as he worked on varying the interactions of Christ, Mary and other saints in a number of contexts.

LIST OF EXTANT CARTOONS

1. Two fragments for the Urbino *Madonna of Saint Simon* (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica).[239]
2. Three fragments from the cartoon for the Perugia *Deposition* in Chicago (Art

[237] Barocci's frescoes in the Sala and Casino of Pius IV show incision marks, as pointed out to me by Dott. Giovanni Cecchini of the Vatican Museum.
[238] Vasari (1568/1966), 1:134; Borghini (1584/1967), 173. Transfer to substitute cartoons by pin-pricking is instead described by Armenini (1586/1977), 103-104; c.f., Bambach (2003), 285-6.
[239] Verstegen (2003).

Institute), Vienna (Albertina), and Urbania (Museo Civico, missing).[240]

3. Two fragments from the cartoon for the Uffizi *Madonna del Popolo* in Milan (Ambrosiana 4393) and a French, private collection.[241]
4. Two fragments from the cartoon for the ruined Bywell Hall *Noli me tangere* in an Oslo, private collection.[242]
5. Half-cartoon for the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* (Uffizi 1784).[243]
6. Almost-complete cartoon for the Borghese *Flight of Aeneas from Troy* (Louvre, 35774).[244]
7. Almost-complete cartoon for the Louvre *Circumcision* (Uffizi 446).[245]
8. Full cartoon from the Urbino *Last Supper* (Uffizi 91458).[246]
9. cartoon for the Vatican Beata Michelina (Casa Castelbarco Albani).[247]
10. Full cartoon for the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro *Madonna della Culla* (Casa Castelbarco Albani).[248]
11. Full cartoon for the unfinished Chantilly *Christ Taking Leave of the Virgin* (Uffizi 1785).[249]

In addition, the Uffizi possesses a cartoon fragment that stylistically relates to the early *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (Duomo, Urbino).[250] While the two designs do not match - the Virgin and Child - it can be confirmed that they are to the same scale and the cartoon in question could easily have served as an earlier ideation of the altarpiece project.

The survival of these cartoons confirms the general close similarity to Barocci's earlier compositional drawings. Because of Barocci's obsession with scale, there is no question that the artist relies reliably on the cartoon for all of his commissions. In any case, the ubiquity of cartoons is also confirmed by their number in the *Minuta* of his studio at his death.[251] These cartoons should be noted for not only their significant number but also their sometimes-experimental appearance, including local color, which is discussed in the next chapter.

Barocci's adherence to a technique more popular from the High Renaissance

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[240] Chicago inv. 22.5406, 29.4 x 23.9 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:66, fig. 102; Emiliani (2008), 1:196-7, fig. 22.11.
Vienna inv. 2287, 30.1 x 24.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:68, fig. 105; Emiliani (2008), 1:199, fig. 22.15.
Urbania inv. 206 2, 32.4 x 25.6 cm; Bianchi (1959), fig. 22; not in Emiliani (1985); Emiliani (2008), 1:198, fig. 22.14.

[241] Ambrosiana 4393, 44 x 34.2 cm; Olsen (1962), 168; Bora (1978).
French private collection, 149.5 by 110.5 cm; Rosenberg (1981); Bambach (2015). The squaring on these two drawings matches and when overlaid on the *Madonna del Popolo* can be seen to constitute a single grid.

[242] Madsen (1959): 273-77, figs. 26 and 27.

[243] Uffizi inv. 1784, 106.3 x 130.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:222, fig. 456, (2008), 2:46, fig. 45.17; Mann and Bohn (2012), 203, fig. 70.

[244] Louvre inv. 35774, 148.0 x 190.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:231, fig. 477, (2008), 2:61, fig. 46.1.

[245] Uffizi inv. 91450, 230 x 252.5 cm; Olsen (1962), no. 43; Emiliani (1985), 2:253, fig. 526; (2008), 2:95, fig. 49.4; Ekserdjian in Mann (2018), 168, fig. 9.5.

[246] Uffizi inv. 91458, 230.0 x 294.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:252, figs. 713 and 729; (2008), 2:218, fig. 66.4.

[247] Castelbarco Albani, dimensions unknown; Olsen (1962), no. 63; Pillsbury (1976), 63-4, fig. 38.

[248] Castelbarco Albani, 115.0 x 82.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:422, fig. 931; (2008), 2:355, fig. 87.3.

[249] Uffizi inv. 1785, 186.6 x 161.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:413, fig. 910; (2008), 2:344, fig. 85.2.

[250] Uffizi 1786 E, 121.7 x 89.3 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); Petrioli Tofani (1987), 2:735.

[251] Calzini (1913); Mann (2018).

illustrates his respect for artistic tradition, in addition to his overriding reliance on some absolute fixed standard as he continued his exhaustive drawing process. Demonstrably, to be sure, there are lots of *pentimenti* on these cartoons, but these result from Barocci's perfectionism, and not from his overwhelming reliance on the overall stability that the cartoon affords. John Shearman pointed to the irony that the obsession with successfully achieved naturalistic effects caused Barocci's figures to look mannered and stylized when his use of the stylus for transfer caused "the liquid profiles and the melting faceted surfaces of Barocci's forms."[252] What initially appears to be a stultifying practice, turns out to have begun for a means of strict control.

As a rule, the cartoon is an enlargement from the *modello*. However, as already pointed out, Barocci begins with the final dimensions of the altarpiece or painting (to which the cartoon need not coincide, as in the case of partial cartoons that omit parts of the final work), which determines the scale of the reduced model, and from which he can return back to the cartoon. Accordingly, in the example from chapter 2, the Edinburgh *modello* from the Chiesa Nuova Visitation and its companion cartoon in the Uffizi **(Figs. 29 & 30)**, Barocci scaled down from the projected canvas to 1:5, and back up to full size.

One can note the clear conformity between the two studies. In general, the poses are more or less unchanged. In particular, the pose of the maid at the right is the same, and would be changed as Barocci moved to the final picture, turning her body away from the viewer. If the *modello* gives one, preliminary version of the composition - a temporarily satisfactory account of the composition and the overall massing of figures - the cartoon allows for a more realistic assessment of these same solutions at full scale.

The materials are charcoal, black and white chalk, on a compound piece of heavier paper. As Carmen Bambach points out, Barocci used the neutral brown tone of the paper as a middle tone, and worked the cartoon roughly to organize the values from a distance:

> In drawing the cartoon, Barocci adjusted the quality of the design and his technique so that it could be viewed from a considerable distance, creating dynamic visual effects with contrasts in his handling of the charcoal and chalk. Passages of intense lustre and *sfumato* in the modelling...alternate with areas of expressive unfinish, aggressive hatching with diagonal strokes, while the more sketchily reinforced outlines of the figures pulsate with energy and movement...In many passages, he applied the charcoal and chalk in a staccato of broad strokes with parallel hatching, often leaving these unblended; for the most part, however, he stumped the charcoal and black chalk in the shadows, probably blending with his fingers or a soft wool cloth to unify tone.[253]

If the *modello* was the preview of the whole at a manageable size to gather all the details together, the cartoon sacrificed detail for the facticity of the actual size of the work, *grande quanto l'opera*.

The existence of the cartoons made every sort of reuse possible, from copies, to head studies, to reused portions of earlier altarpieces. For his very earliest works in the 1560s and 1570s Barocci appears to have poured all his invention into these works, but

[252] Shearman (1976),54.
[253] Bambach (2015), 166.

he did not yet think of repeating figures. Barocci was trying to win his reputation, which he successfully accomplished first in Rome with his frescoes in the Casino of Pius IV, later with his monumental altarpiece of the *Deposition* for the Duomo of Perugia (1569), and finally with the *Madonna del Popolo* (1579) for Arezzo. By this time, Barocci was in his late forties and the reuse of cartoons points to an important fact: given his traditional working procedure based on the cartoon, it is the way that the Barocci deals with his fame. However, the idea no doubt came to him in replicating his own pictures for a demand. The early *Rest after the Flight from Egypt* was made in three versions (lost, Piobbico, Santo Stefano; Vatican, Galleria Vaticana). Significantly, in one of the versions, the composition was slightly changed, making the new work into a distinctly new version.

The very first reused figure in Barocci's repertoire comes from the preparatory drawings for the *Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis* (1583, Brera). Earlier in his career, for the *Madonna del Popolo,* Barocci had thought about a gesturing figure to guide the viewer into the picture showing an intercession by the Virgin. At the same time, the Virgin holds a child who reflects back to us the didactic point. Barocci was clearly happy with this figural arrangement, and accordingly chose it again for the *Martyrdom of S. Vitalis*; it is more literally lifted from the previous painting at the same scale (**Fig. 54**). This work was intended for the Cassinese Benedictines in Ravenna, far from Arezzo where the first picture was installed and raises questions about originality and convention in the Renaissance. However, the juxtaposition of the later woman and child over that of the earlier *Popolo* illustrate slight differences, but largely the image is derived from this earlier composition – and at the same scale.

Analogous to the similar compositions for the *Rest on the Return from Egypt,* two similar altarpieces, the *Noli me tangere* (ruined, Bywell Hall, England) and the *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene* (Munich, Pinakothek) also utilized similar formats. There has been much controversy over which came first, but the Munich version appears to be earlier, with the second a more easily identifiable iconography. While working with the same two figures (and probably some of the same cartoons), Barocci made the Christ figure lean back more emphatically and the Magdalene lean forward.

* * *

Not surprisingly, Caravaggio, Reni, Rubens and countless others traced paintings to make new versions.[254] Therefore, the Baroque, committed to the naturalistic relation of religious events for the sake of believability, nevertheless paradoxically could repeatedly rely on stock figures and solutions that proved to be remarkably successful. Barocci made a further, remarkable, use of the cartoon in its literal recycling for other commissions. This practice is detailed in the last chapter but is worth mentioning here because Barocci's practice of thinking in terms of full-size parts is founded on the cartoon, which literally suggested the recombination of similar sized painted figures in new compositions **(Fig. 53)**.

For the current discussion, more illuminating are the shortcomings that the full-size of the cartoon brought to light, causing Barocci to rethink different figures slightly.

[254] On Reni, see Pepper (1999); on Rubens, see Wadum (1996), 393-395.

He adjusted the figures through a series of new reduced size drawings, but larger than the *modello*. The extant drawings suggest that Barocci routinely produced a series of mini-cartoons that could even result in completed color *bozzetti*.

Fig. 53
Absolute scale comparison of the cartoons for the *Madonna del Popolo* and the *Visitation*

Fig. 54
Absolute scale comparison of *Madonna del Popolo* (detail, left) and Federico Barocci, *Martyrdom of St. Vitalis* (detail, right)

Chapter 5

Reduced Cartoons and Oil Sketches (1:2-1:4)

If the cartoon brought to light different artistic problems - a figure too small, a pose not adequate - Barocci had another stage at which to reconsider features of the composition. There are countless drawings that evidence the existence of yet another kind of surrogate of the altarpiece, scaled larger than the *modello* at 1:4-1:2 ratios. In these drawings, we find Barocci refreshing already determined poses, sometimes reversing the composition or shifting aspects of the composition, in this final stage before beginning to paint.

Many of these drawings are also scaled to what we would call oil sketches or *bozzetti*, although their relation to the execution of each work must be determined individually. Bellori had noted that after the cartoon, Barocci executed another one but smaller (*cartone…picciolo*). According to Bellori, Barocci "distributed the hues in proportions and sought to find the right tones between one color and the next so that all the colors together would have a sense of harmony and balance among them."[255] Barocci was certainly extremely aware of color and tone in his painting, and the need for a stage to test such coloristic ideas is entirely plausible.

Indeed, if the oil sketch follows the cartoon, Barocci's experimentation with cartoons suggests that he needed some stage to introduce color into the composition. As to the predilection to experimentation even with the cartoon, the *Minuta* of Barocci's workshop at his death lists some somewhat bizarre cases of tinted works. The lost cartoon for the Chiesa Nuova *Presentation*, for example, is listed as "on paper stained with wash" (*in carta tinta d'acquerella*), while another for an *Annunciation* is on "blue paper" (*carta azurra*). Perhaps strangest is the cartoon for the *Entombment*, with the heads "entirely in pastels" (*tutte di pastello*)![256] These examples demonstrate that the specific form of an oil sketch mattered less to Barocci, than a stage dedicated to the thorough exploration of color.

The *bozzetto* or oil sketch is the fundamental innovation of the early Baroque, as it acted as the visualization of the composition supplementing the *modello* that High Renaissance artists previously preferred for the realization of the composition. Barocci's works provide a window into the brilliant development of the oil sketch, because he had already executed his *modelli* with the brush and continued to do so with dedicated oil sketches. While the *bozzetto* certainly extends his preparation into the chromatic range, these painted works also do much more.

As noted, their scale is fundamental to the completion of the composition. Barocci's utilizes this stage to work out the particulars of a composition in numerous subsidiary drawings matched to the scale of the sketch, leading up to the final composition. All the drawings of nude figures executed at this scale illustrates that while the composition is not in flux, it is entirely correct to rebuild the figure from the nude.

The *modelli* Barocci completed demonstrate substantial changes from the final composition, already indicate the often-unresolved state of the composition.

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[255] Bellori (1978), 23-4; (1972), 205-6: "*compartiva le qualità de' colori con le loro proporzioni; e cercava di trovarle tra colore e colore; acchioché tutti li colori insieme avessero tra di loro concordia ed unione.*"
[256] Calzini (1913), 78; Mann (2018), 175, 176.

Consequently, Barocci worked up compositions in cartoons that are now long destroyed, and then came *back* to the same scale to work out the color. This procedure is a two-stage process that has never been considered but which makes sense in light of Barocci's other procedures. Therefore, any discussion of Barocci's *bozzetti* is always also a discussion of the drawings scaled to the *bozzetto*.

As we know, Bellori had stated that Barocci created a colored *bozzetto* after the cartoon. However, the Saint Louis exhibition cast healthy suspicion on the *bozzetto* as a consistent feature in Barocci's practice.[257] In Bohn's programmatic essay, "Drawing as Artistic Invention," and in the catalogue entries written by Bohn and Mann, and more recent writers, the curators give a rationale for rejecting oil sketches. The arguments can be summarized in the following ways:

- At his death, there were no oil sketches in Barocci's studio. If they did not survive, it seems strange that they were part of his productive process.
- The reduced versions of paintings that do exist are better thought of as *ricordi* of the finished paintings, completed for eventual copies.
- Those reduced versions do not have significant changes – the hallmark trace of a preparatory process – and if they do possess significant changes, they can be explained otherwise (e.g. *Perdono*).
- At least one of the oil sketches (*Entombment*) can be withdrawn on connoisseurial grounds.
- There does not seem to be a clear preparatory function to the purported oil sketches.

As a consequence, Bohn and Mann conclude that Bellori must have been reflecting the practices of later seventeenth century artists when he placed the use of the "cartoncino per i colori" in Barocci's working procedure.

I admit to having accepted too hopefully the distinct existence of a *bozzetto* as a stable output of Barocci's procedure.[258] However, as noted by Marciari in his review of the Saint Louis and London exhibitions, Bohn and Mann do not account for the numerous drawings that exist at scales of 1:2, 1:3 and 1:4 to the final paintings, that is at the scale of a potential *bozzetto*, which are not keyed to the *modello*.[259] Even if Barocci did not complete a finished *bozzetto* for each composition, when there are surviving drawings at that unique scale, we have to admit that the artist was thinking *as if he had made a bozzetto*. Indeed, we have to posit the existence of some form of reduced cartoon that served as a guide for these other drawings.

As a consequence, in the following I will review the evidence and propose a modified theory:

- As noted, Bohn and Mann do convincingly explain that some of the reduced versions are *ricordi* (e.g. the 1:3 version of the *Entombment* in a private collection).

[257] Bohn (2012); Mann and Bohn (2012). The oil sketch was a prominent feature of Andrea Emiliani's (1992; 1994; 2008) treatment of the artist and continues to feature in Nicholas Turner's (2000) works.
[258] Verstegen (2002); Marciari and Verstegen (2008); following Emiliani in this regard: Emiliani (1992); Emiliani (1994).
[259] Marciari (2013).

- However, Barocci did paint at least three oil sketches in his middle career when he was most searching and exhaustive in his preparatory procedures.
- Barocci *always* produced drawings at "bozzetto scale" and solved figural problems (e.g. spacing of figures).
- Barocci *always* addressed problems of light, color, and massing, but not always with an oil sketch/*bozzetto*.

The holistic approach this book takes looks at the total scale and function of drawings at this enlarged scale that is distinct from the *modello*. Once the *bozzetti* and *modello* are grouped together, the juxtaposition highlights that Barocci is accomplishing something clearly different in each work; as a result, certain autograph *bozzetti* are well known while others are less so. To ask whether Barocci might actually have produced a *bozzetto* for a painting, it is important t to consider not only the number of drawings that survive at an intermediate scale for each work, but also the payment and prestige of the according commission. Therefore, I affirm the category of the *bozzetto* when it is understood in the qualified sense that I will elaborate.

In order to examine the arguments against oil sketches, I will conduct three case studies, for the *Perdono* (c. 1576, San Francesco, Urbino, in situ), the *Entombment* (1582, Chiesa della Croce, Pesaro, in situ), both of which featured prominently in the Saint Louis and London exhibitions, and the *Calling of St. Andrew* (Brussels), which did not.

The Color Sketch before Barocci

Compositional sketches in color had occasionally been attempted before Barocci's time. Raphael's *Sedia Gestatoria* (Boston, Gardner Museum) for the Sala di Constantino is an example, as is Perino del *Vaga's Drawing for an Altar Wall* in the British Museum and Parmigianino's *Three Canephores* in the Chatsworth collection.[260] However, these are prospectus drawings for fresco commissions that could further serve notationally as guides to assistants. Polidoro da Caravaggio also executed three, color compositional studies for his *Ascent to Calvary* (c. 1534) in the Capodimonte Museum, Naples, but this was a passing experiment.[261] This experimentation with compositional sketches in color ended with the Maniera, only to be reworked by later artists like Barocci.

Barocci was certainly the earliest to use *bozzetti* in the sense of seventeenth century artists, and his earliest color *bozzetto* that still exists may be that in the Morgan Library **(Fig. 38)**. Yet as noted in the last chapter, the size is ideal for a model, so it is better to think of the Morgan drawing in that way, despite its partial execution in color. The first painting for which there are both model and oil sketch existing is the *Perdono* (**Fig. 55**). As argued in Chapter 1, the existence of two such preparatory works suggests a new function for color, and even gives Barocci the claim to have been one of the earliest to pioneer hue-based color in the way we understand it today.

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[260] For a color reproduction of the Raphael *Sedia Gestatoria*, see Oberhuber, ed., *(*1999), no. 159, 231; for Perino del Vaga's *Altar Wall drawing* (inv. 1885.5.9.42), see McGrath (2000), fig. 3; for Parmigianino's *Three Canephores*, see Jaffè (1994), 3:268.

[261] The three sketches are now in the Palazzo Cancelleria, Rome; Capodimonte, Naples; and the Pouncey private collection, London; c.f., Ferrari (1990), 204.

From the creation of *Perdono* the color sketch becomes an invaluable resource in Barocci's preparatory practice. These studies, which have been labeled "bozzetti per i colori," have been downplayed in the literature either due to their low number (which also conveniently explains the onset of pastel drawing as a medical necessity due to Barocci's supposed lead poisoning) or – as previously noted – denied as actual parts of Barocci's procedure.[262] However, by juxtaposing the oil and pastel sketches together, they appear much more as a salient step in Barocci's practice.

It is still unknown if Barocci normally executed such an overall sketch for all his works. Certainly, those that are extant and appear autograph vary a great deal from one another. The long known *bozzetto* for the Senigallia *Entombment* is quite unfinished and truly seems to test tones whereas that for the Urbino *Perdono* is more highly finished and seems self-sufficient as a work of art. But perhaps their variety can be explained in the same way as that of the *cartoncini*. While *bozzetti* may be common, they might be attempted or begun at slightly different times in Barocci's preparatory process, explaining the oil sketches differing purpose and appearance. Nevertheless, the *bozzetti* are all largely the same size, ranging from about 75 cm to 1 meter (**Fig. 56**). In addition, the analyses presented here for the first time prove beyond any doubt that Barocci almost always executed 1:2, 1:3, and 1:4 scaled drawings, the cartoons for which are now lost.

Just as Raphael in his Ambrosiana cartoon for *The School of Athens* conceived of overall light and massing for the first time, Barocci in his *bozzetti* masters chromatic harmony. Tellingly, Leonardo's earlier-cited portrait cartoon of Isabella d'Este was both a cartoon and an experiment with color. The cartoon, with its delicate *sfumato* and even color developed into the "ben finito cartone" and necessitated the use of substitute cartoons; Barocci uses the cartoon back for utilitarian purposes but continues the experimentation of aesthetic effects in different drawn studies, such as in the *bozzetti*.

Accordingly, Barocci's studies are the logical continuation and manifestation of the need for sketched light and color. The first chiaroscuro drawings evolved to chiaroscuro paintings, and these monochrome media are made by Barocci into color works, to better assess the complete phenomenon in its full complexity. Thus, Barocci's compositional studies are a logical extension of Raphael's cartoons which study light and shade, except that they go further by include color. It would be senseless, however, to make a color auxiliary cartoon because one would then have a painting.[263] Furthermore, since Barocci did not paint monumental fresco subsequent to his work in the Casino of Pius IV, it seems that the function of Raphael's cartoons was accomplished for him by his *cartoncino* or chiaroscuro study.

It was noted that Barocci is exploring poses at the *modello* stage, building figures from the nude. At the *bozzetto* stage, Barocci continues to build figures from the nude, but peculiarly, the drawings done at this intermediate scale almost always exist in the same pose as the final painting. In other words, once Barocci fixes poses in the *modello*, he rigorously rebuilds figures *in their final poses* in the oil sketch. Consequently, nude

[262] This medical explanation of the rise of pastel is supported by McCullagh (1991); and McGrath (1994), 194. The connection between Barocci and lead poisoning was made by Moffitt (1988), 198.

[263] Of course, Raphael's painted cartoons are unusual as guides for tapestry weaving. See McGrath (1994), 76-82 on the rarity of color cartoons.

figures are always clothed in subsequent drawings, and Barocci moves beyond the figure to the fall of light upon it, and its color.

The fact that Barocci can devote attention to the same figures at three different scales (*modello*, cartoon, and oil sketch) aids in understanding Barocci's procedure in comparison to the utilization of oil sketches by the Venetians, Tintoretto and Veronese. Recall that Venetians tended to paint *alla prima,* so that the composition was worked out directly on the canvas. Lights and darks could be "blocked in" (*abbozzato*), following with the addition of color. Thus, the Venetian's investigation of color was firmly undertaken in the process of painting itself. Therefore, oil sketches have different meanings and consequences in a Venetian context. The most famous case of oil sketches was the preparation for the painting of *Paradise* intended for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Ducal Palace in Venice in 1579/80. Jacopo Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Francesco Bassano and Palma Giovane all contributed proposals in the form of oil sketches.[264] Once again, these sketches were not only prospectuses, but also actual competition sketches intended for the patrons. The works were not just the investigation of color, but form, composition, *everything*. In this respect, they have more in common with common sketches and *modelli*, yet their execution in color with brushes and oil paints has obscured their function.

Barocci conceives of the color *bozzetto* level as a quarter to a half the size scale of the final work, or about a meter in absolute height. As noted already, the vast majority of oil sketches are sized to one-quarter scale. However, a few are also a third and at least one is one half. This happens predictably owing to the size of the altarpiece. Barocci obviously prefers to work at a quarter scale to the final work, but as the altarpiece gets smaller and smaller, maintaining the ratio produces a much smaller oil sketch. In these cases he relents to a third sized work (*Entombment*, *Stigmatization*), and even a half(ish)-sized work (*Entombment*).

Beginnings

As noted, it is difficult to know exactly where Barocci began using oil sketches, because they are fewer in number than his other kinds of studies. The worn pastel in the Morgan Library poses a good candidate **(Fig. 38)**, and even bears a nearly 1:3 relationship. But it is not certain that the color on the work was added by Barocci because the condition is so poor. More probably, the color was added in the 1580s when the work was engraved, serving as a guide to the tones.[265]

Granted, Barocci would not need an oil sketch for a small devotional altarpiece. As noted in the previous chapter, a paucity of drawings does not allow us to infer anything about the larger *Madonna of Saint Simon.* Therefore, the existence of medium scale drawings for the slightly later *Crucifixion* (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino) is momentous. A few drawings – Berlin 20266, 20502, 27465, National Gallery 1983.17.1.a

[264] Tintoretto painted two sketches (Paris, Louvre; Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza) and the rest – Veronese (Musee des Beaux-Arts, Lille), Bassano (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg) and Palma (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan) – painted one each; on this commission, see Ferrari (1990).

[265] The additions to the painting, then, would make the drawing rather similar to the drawing in the British Museum, inv. 1994,0514.55, 30.6 x 23.9 cm, prepared by Barocci for engraving by Cornelis Cort; Mann and Bohn (2012), 154, fig. 7.6.

(recto) and Fitzwilliam 1978 (**Fig. 57**) – match the altarpiece at a 1:3 scale.[266] In a couple of cases, Barocci is already building up his figure from the nude and clothing it. Yet the poses (and scales) are not perfect, and the drapery solutions do not reflect the final painting. The existence of these drawings suggests the existence of a reduced cartoon at about 1:3 scale. This does not prove that an oil sketch existed, merely that Barocci was beginning to work at several scales, allowing for quick painting at that scale if he so wished.

Barocci's first monumental altarpiece is of course the *Deposition* of Perugia. A work of that size would certainly have pushed Barocci to new invention and experimentation, especially in terms of his preparatory process. At a 1:4 scale, there are at least four drawings: Berlin 20462, Uffizi 11595, 11383 and 11341 (**fig. 58**).[267] It is instructive to compare them to the drawings for the 1:5 lost modello. There are two drawings from the nude, however, they can be considered clarifications of a finalized pose rather than an exploration of the same. Similarly, that two drapery studies bring the relevant passages to greater specificity. The first oil sketch for which there is no doubt is for *Perdono*, some fifteen years into Barocci's mature career. I will argue that Barocci used such experiments for the middle part of his busy career, when he agonized over important commissions and was still heavily invested in establishing his name among the foremost painters of Italy.

The *Perdono*

The *bozzetto* for the *Perdono* in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche can serve as an ideal demonstration of the role that the oil sketch serves in Barocci's work. Moreover, the *bozzetto* for the *Perdono* highlights that Barocci selects a ratio at which to work that preserves the smaller painted work at approximately one meter in height. As noted, because of the large size of the *Perdono*, the oil sketch becomes exactly one fourth its size; Barocci continues to adjust his ratios as the size of the work gets smaller, though, of course, he does not always execute an oil sketch for every commission.

The Urbino reduced scale *bozzetto* has been clarified by documents found by Marilyn Lavin, who shows that San Niccolo, unlike the Santa Chiara shown in the sketch, was requested by the patrons from the start.[268] While Lavin believed that Barocci could have produced the *bozzetto* on speculation, Bohn and Mann find this unlikely, also given other facts like the lack of any drawings of Saint Claire, the mismatch in format between

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[266] Berlin inv. 20266, 40.9 x 25.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:37, fig. 54; (2008), 1:164, fig. 19.7.
Berlin inv. 20502, 40.4 x 26.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:37, fig. 55; (2008), 1:164, fig. 19.8.
Berlin inv. 27465, 40.3 x 24.9 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:38, fig. 56; Mann and Bohn (2012), 85, fig. 2.4;
National Gallery of Art, Washington; 1983.17.1.a, 40.0 x 27.4 cm; Olsen (1962), 147-8; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), fig. 18; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 1:166, fig. 19.11.
Fitzwilliam inv. 1978, 51.5 x 41.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:40, fig. 61; (2008), 1:170, fig. 19.19.

[267] Berlin inv. 20462, 39.3 x 24.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:74, fig. 124; (2008), 1:212, fig. 22.38; Mann and Bohn (2012), 99, fig. 3.5.
Uffizi inv. 11595 F (recto), 42.7 x 27.1; Emiliani (1985), 1:65, fig. 98; (2008), 1:202, fig. 22.18;
Uffizi inv. 11383 F (recto), 42.1 x 28.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:72, fig. 12o; (2008), 1:210, fig. 22.32; Mann and Bohn (2012), 105, fig. 3.10.
Uffizi inv. 11341 (recto), 35.6 x 26.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:64, fig. 95; (2008), 1:195, 197, fig. 22.6.

[268] Lavin (2006).

smaller painting and final work, the lack of details on the balustrade, the *pentimenti* on Claire's hands and face, etc. For them, these facts suggest that this painting could not have been preparatory. Other arguments against the reduced version being preparatory to the final work are:

These facts, however, are not unequivocal. The absence of drawings of Santa Clara could suggest the figure was added later. The lack of match in format could also indicate an earlier stage of preparation. The dearth of details is typical of *bozzetti*. *Pentimenti* could suggest that Barocci had to improvise on this figure because it was done later, with fewer drawings. More importantly, however, is a fact pointed out by the present author in 2007 and not otherwise considered: there is an important shift of figures in the final painting that suggests that Barocci was not happy with the original figure arrangement in the earlier *bozzetto*.[269]

In the first chapter, I repeated this argument that the figure grouping of Christ and Mary shifted to the right. Now it is possible to make the insight more definitively with digital tracings. Once the architecture is lined up, which was retained through the permutations of the composition, Barocci decided to shift the figures of Mary and Christ *en masse*, that is together, to the right. Christ then more clearly fell on Francis' axis, yet Barocci also decided to shrink the figure of Francis as he must have seemed too large for the composition **(Fig. 59)**.

In addition, however, he has made substantial changes in hue. The draperies hanging over banisters behind Francis are bright, pink, peach and yellow. They must have detracted from Francis' dark figure, which in the final painting is suitably contrasted with the light emerging from the represented choir of the church, while the draperies are reduced properly to stage props. In other words, both figural and coloristic design decisions were precipitated at this stage of painting.

Even before the *bozzetto*, though, Barocci clearly preferred to compose at this one quarter scale. Barocci had fixed the poses at the model stage but rebuilds figures again from the nude. Significantly, at least two studies that are drafted at the scale of the *bozzetto* suggest Barocci worked up the same poses as he had used in the *modello* but at this larger scale. For example, the sheet of *Studies for Saint Francis* in the Uffizi (11441) have already been cited for their match to the Francis figure in the *modello*; however, the studies also match the *bozzetto* in the lower leg of Francis. The *Hand Studies* in Berlin (Berlin 20232) study Christ's arm at the scale of the *bozzetto* **(Fig. 60)**.[270] Significantly, Uffizi 9105 fits perfectly over Claire, to 'update' the composition with St. Nicholas.[271] These drawings ensure that the figural solution that Barocci achieves is final, which therefore allows him next to consider the grouping and color of the entire composition.

In discussing whether the reduced version of the *Perdono* is indeed a *bozzetto*, it is imperative to acknowledge that drawings were executed rigorously at its 1:4 scale. Moreover, the *bozetto* contains a compositional shift that is not found in the final painting (I already attributed the match between the Saint Petersburg *modello* with the painting

[269] Verstegen (2002), fig. 46; (2007).

[270] Berlin inv. 20232, 29.6 x 42.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:108, fig. 185; (2008), 1:274, fig. 34.10, not illustrated. Uffizi inv. 11441, 43.1 x 28.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:110, fig. 192; (2008), 1:278, fig. 34.13; Mann and Bohn (2012), 125, fig. 5.1.

[271] Uffizi inv. 9105 S, 39 x 25 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:113, fig. 201; (2008): 1:279, fig. 34.18.

to the fact that it is late, for the print). It remains a challenging work, with unexplained details. But due to this ambitious stage of Barocci's career, it is consistent with the artist's other searching procedures.

The Entombment

The *Madonna del Popolo* was painted after the *Perdono*, and Barocci executed numerous drawings at scales consistent with an oil sketch.[272] The *Popolo* is similar to the *Deposition* in affirming Barocci's reputation outside of the duchy of Urbino, and it is numerically the altarpiece for which he seems to have produced the greatest number of drawings. Even if it is impossible to nominate a reduced oil sketch for the *Popolo*, it would be consistent with its position in his mid-career, a possibility discussed at the end of this chapter.

In Marciari's and my previous article, we assumed that both the reduced versions in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche and a New York private collection were preparatory for the *Entombment* in Pesaro.[273] Now I agree that the smaller (1:3) version in the private collection is a true *ricordo*. As noted already, the reduced version in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, was removed from Barocci's oeuvre in the Saint Louis and London exhibition. There are specific reasons that Bohn and Mann discount the Galleria Nazionale reduced version as a genuine oil sketch. They believe it is a copy after the painting, perhaps using the Amsterdam reduced cartoon.[274] Their argument is based on observations of technique and connoisseurship. Technically, the Urbino painting, has an absence of incisions and red underdrawing, and is made with "atypically broad application" of painting. Formally, the head of John has an "angular rendering." These two kinds of observations are genuine elements to reconsider in light of the painting.[275]

Setting these arguments aside for the time being, it is important to return to the shift of figures that is noted by Bohn and Mann, but not considered particularly significant. This change, as powerfully indicated by the Amsterdam cartoon, shows that Barocci used this level of organization as a significant point to reconsider and change his composition. At this larger scale, he could see how the figures worked together – as earlier with the *Perdono* – and accordingly adjusted them. Although Barocci could have learned of new dimensions in the actual chapel, it does not hold that one would shift *one figure*. Learning the dimensions of the actual chapel is likely as an expedient for a lesser artist, but not a painter of highest accomplishment as Barocci.

In considering this argument, it is necessary to review a misunderstanding of Marciari and Verstegen's original argument. We argued that the Uffizi fragmentary *modello*, Rijksmuseum reduced cartoon, and Galleria Nazionale painting, are early, reflecting the wider spacing of the composition with Mary Magdalene further away from the scene **(Fig. 32)**.

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[272] Marciari and Verstegen (2008), fig. 12.

[273] Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, 125 x 100 cm; Emiliani (1992), 26, fig. 17; (2008), 2:352-3, fig. 39.1; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(b); Mann and Bohn (2012), 177, fig. 8.16.
New York private collection, 89.7 x 57.7 cm; Emiliani (1992), 28, fig. 20; (2008), 2:354-5, fig. 39.2; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(d); Mann and Bohn (2012), 176, 8.15.

[274] Amsterdam inv. 1977.37, 113 x 90.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:152 fig. 297; (2008), 1:357, 39.3; Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(c); Mann and Bohn (2012), 174, fig. 8.13.

[275] Bohn and Mann (2012); Bohn and Mann (Mann, 2018).

> In the Amsterdam and Urbino compositional studies, her profile is not so close to the edge of the rocks of the tomb, and her hands are to the right, rather than below and to the left, of Christ's shoulder; her draperies along the ground do not reach to the tomb lid with the instruments of the passion strewn on top. This wider spacing is also evident in the fragmentary Uffizi modello. In the final painting, however…the composition has been tightened up, becoming narrower, forcing the marginal figures closer to the central action, and matching the final painting…Perhaps Barocci, at this late stage, realized that his composition did not match the desired proportions of the altarpiece. Whatever the reasons for narrowing the composition, the logical conclusion to be drawn from it is that the private collection *bozzetto* and the Getty *modello* were thus made very late in the process.[276]

As a consequence, the finished Getty *modello* is quite late and indeed is not preparatory of the painting, but rather looking toward the reproductive printmaking process. This last point is explicitly stated, but because the sketch of Barocci's working procedure (p. 305) suggests that Barocci moves up in scale successively, Bohn and Mann accept that Marciari and Verstegen somehow insist that the Amsterdam/Urbino versions are later than the Getty *modello*. From the case study, however, it is clear that Barocci would have begun the process again and corrected whatever drawings existed, including the early-produced cartoon, to make them conform to the newer, narrowed composition **(Fig. 61)**.

At this scale of approximately one half that Barocci reverses the composition to the form it will have ultimately. Only one drawing reflects this stage of preparation, Princeton 48-595, so where are all the *bozzetto*-scale drawings **(Fig. 62)**?[277] Besides the fact that the Amsterdam mini-cartoon takes care of much of the need for study of individual forms, this work also took place earlier at a 1:3 scale. As noted in Marciari and Verstegen, there are at least three drawings that match the New York one third scaled *ricordo*: Uffizi 11301, Pushkin Museum I.427 and Berlin 20357.[278] By judging the New York reduced size copy merely a replica takes all the preparatory work out of the equation.

Therefore, the major work typically done for a *bozzetto* occurred at the 1:3 scale, as reflected in these three drawings. Barocci may have worked up a color study at this scale. But the flipping of the composition suggested that he would have to update these sketches, and he chose to do so at a larger scale. In regard to what exactly Barocci wanted to accomplish with the color sketch, there is an interesting fact first observed by Lorenzo Lazzarini, that Barocci had prepared his canvas for the *Entombment* in zones, and not uniformly.[279] The sketch would have allowed him to understand how to adjust his tones for the maximum unity. In this case, parts of the sketch could indeed have been executed

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[276] Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 313.

[277] Princeton, inv. 48-595; 41.3 x 27.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:158, fig. 306; (2008), 1:362, fig. 39.11.

[278] Uffizi inv. 11301, 26.0 x 19.9 cm; Emiliani (2008), 2:291, fig. 78.8.
Pushkin Museum, Moscow (formerly Boymans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, inv. 1-428), 25.6 x 37.3 cm; Emiliani, (2008), 1:373, fig. 39.41.
Berlin inv. 20357, 25.5 x 20.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:156, fig. 303; (2008), 1:373, fig. 39.39.

[279] Lazzarini (1973): "*la preparazione del fondo sia stata eseguita dall'artista più a zone che uniformemente*;" c.f. Hall (1992), 196.

by the workshop; consequently, a test of connoisseurship will fail in divining its true purpose.

Calling of Saint Andrew

Another particularly beautiful work is that for the *Calling of Saint Andrew* (Brussels), not discussed in the Saint Louis and London catalog, but analyzed in my dissertation.[280] The small oil sketch, in a Milan private collection, is exactly 1:4 the size of the final painting.[281] The analysis in my dissertation was slightly misguided because I compared the reduced version to the *modello* and not the final painting. That can be corrected here.

Looking at them next to each other, one can see that in the reduced version Barocci has reproduced the boat and its crew smaller. Barocci seems to have learned that those figures ought to be more a part of the composition for the final picture **(Fig. 63)**. Not only are the boat and figures smaller, but the figure of the boatman at the right is brought in significantly. One might argue that in making a *ricordo* of the painting, Barocci ran out of room in his canvas. Yet this feature does not show up in the copy in the Escorial, which is extremely close to the original except for slight changes in the boat in the distance and the shoreline. In other words, where details ought to count, they do not. Instead, as we would expect, Barocci is most likely relying on his full-size cartoon to reproduce the composition.

In addition, at least two known drawings correspond to the execution of the *Calling of Saint Andrew*, or at least the investigation of the composition at the scale of the *bozzetto*. One is a nude study of Christ (Berlin, 20133), the other a drapery study (Berlin, 20134) **(Fig. 64)**.[282] Glancing back at the *modello*, one can easily recognize that Barocci has begun again, even though he sketched the Christ figure for the smaller compositional drawing. He was still deciding details of the composition, and eventually settled on the solution of the *bozzetto*, which even on its own still differs slightly from the final work.

When Bohn and Mann discuss the possibility that the Urbino reduced version is a sketch, they prudently do not pass judgment on those other putative *bozzetti* they had not seen personally. Of those they have seen, however, they first judge them on the basis of connoisseurship; if a painting is not deemed autograph then it is not necessary to judge its preparatory nature. In addition, as in the case of the *Perdono*, they judge a painting based on connoisseurship and the information gleaned from the commission, removing it from serious discussion of its potential preparatory nature.

When faced with the question of how an oil sketch can function, Bohn generally regard as the fundamental criterion that the version be significantly different.[283] For her, in the absence of significant differences, it is not clear why an oil sketch would not be redundant. This constrains the authors to think of potential differences rather literally – a changed pose, or choice of hue or combination of hues. For example, in the discussion of the *Perdono* the appearance of Saint Claire in the Urbino reduced version is regarded

[280] Verstegen (2002).
[281] Borea (1976): 55; Emiliani (2008), 2:14, fig. 41.23.
[282] Berlin inv. 20133, 42.0. x 25.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:192, fig. 398; (2008), 1:10-11, fig. 41.5.
Berlin inv. 20134, 42.0 x 26.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:196, fig. 408; (2008), 1:14, fig. 41.12.
[283] Bohn (2012), 61.

as deadening and does not enrich the variety and vividness of the heavenly host at the top of the painting.

Here the classical task of an oil sketch, to anticipate the reaction of colors against each other and a dry-run of the painting technique needed to achieve them, is not taken seriously. As previously noted, in his earlier major altarpieces, Barocci is going to great lengths to think through his altarpieces, and this naturally extends to the painting technique. Logically, Barocci would need an oil sketch to test out the overall harmony of the colors and also the layering of them, for maximum effect. If there is evidence that Barocci painted his underpainting in zones in the Entombment; accordingly, a sketch would have been the best method to test out these zones.

But what of the fact that the sketches did not remain in the studio? The theory presented here only suggests that Barocci would have produced oil sketches in his early period, and so that reduces a need to hold onto them for future works or reference. Bohn and Mann use the term "ricordo" but in the case of the New York private reduced version discard it because the work looks like a finished copy. That is wise because *ricordi* would also be expected to remain in the studio.

Furthermore, one cannot solely rely on the published inventory of Barocci's studio for its original and completely accurate contents. For example, in the dealings of Barocci's nephew, Ambrogio Barocci, with the Grandduke of Tuscany, the Urbino reduced version of the *Entombment*, which appears in the inventory, is mentioned but also another that is not: the reduced version of the *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene*.[284] As Pillsbury argued, this is probably that now in the Uffizi, and is exactly half the size of the painting and is discussed in the next chapter.[285] This reduced version may have begun as a cartoon for half-sized chalk drawing. But it is instructive for lost oil sketches because the correspondence specifically says that Ambrogio finished the figure of the Magdalene.[286]

A similar application works for the more finished Urbino *Perdono* version, with the substituted figure of Saint Claire. Marciari and Verstegen in their 2008 discuss this very subject, continually mentioning "cleaned up" modelli and mini-cartoons, that served multiple purposes. These oil sketches had served their function and now were finished-off and sold. However, in certain cases, like the *Perdono*, it betrays an earlier genesis when the figures were shifted. The Urbino *Entombment* was not sold, but it too reveals an earlier state of presentation. Thus, this modified theory of oil sketches finds a way to work the drawing preparation into the equation.

Strange Exceptions

We have already noted of the *Circumcision* that its *modello* is to the same scale as this *bozzetto* – normally a danger sign of a later copy.[287] Nevertheless, as I noted in Chapter 3, Barocci began at a more traditional, smaller scale **(Fig. 46)**. There are a number of drawings – including Uffizi 11342, 11412, 11295, Berlin 20023, 20028, 20012, and Courtauld 2329 – are scaled at exactly 1:4 the size of the final painting (**Fig. 65**).[288]

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[284] Giovanni Battista Staccoli to Leopoldo de' Medici, (1658); reprinted in Baldinucci (1686/1975), III:70.
[285] Pillsbury (1976); Emiliani (2008), 2:74, fig. 47/B.
[286] Staccoli to de' Medici, 70: "*la Madalena e' finite dal signor Ambrosio nipote del Baroccio.*"
[287] Emiliani (1975), fig. 190; (1994), 460; (2008), 2:91, fig. 49.1.
[288] Uffizi inv. 11342, 41.0 x 2.66 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:256, fig. 534; (2008), 2:99, fig. 49.12.

Although they technically could have been executed for either the *modello* or oil sketch (as they are at the same scale), most are consistent for the class of drawings explored in this chapter and associated with *bozzetti*. That is, these sketches presume poses already worked out, and subsequently merely elaborate for light and tone.

A couple of the drawings seem to belong to the earlier phase of the *modello*; for example, the small boy (Berlin 20023), as well as a nude study for the Virgin in reverse (Uffizi 11295). However, others appear to build figures for a second time in a manner consistent with a *modello*, in particular the rabbi who is built up from the nude. The oil sketch is consistent in finish with others like it, and slight variation from both the model and final painting is also consistent. In particular, the sketchiness of the small painting seems consistent with both the *bozzetto* for the *Entombment* and *Calling of Saint Andrew*.

Lost Works

Because Barocci did not produce a lot of *bozzetti*, our investigation becomes more interesting for suggesting that a great many more existed. Subsequently, this leads to scouring the store houses of museums around the world for echoes of works produced at the 'proper' scale for an oil sketch. The importance of various altarpieces tends to be confirmed by the number of surviving drawings, leading us to have even greater confidence that something existed or still exists.

A great example is the *Madonna del Popolo*, which was completed only three years after the *Perdono* but for which no oil sketch survives. For this important commission, Barocci likely would have availed himself to at least one *bozzetto;* indeed, several drawings are to the scale of a hypothetical 1:4 sized *bozzetto*, including Uffizi 11603 for the woman on the far left, Uffizi 11348 for the beggar figure, Berlin 20428 for the hurdy-gurdy player, and Rijksmuseum (ex-Regteren Altena) – nude studies for the gypsy woman holding a child (**Fig. 66**).[289] Of course, Barocci changed the composition from the original *modello*, so it is unsurprising that he 'rebuilds' figures from the nude in these drawings.

Another work that both through importance and survival of drawings suggests the creation of an oil sketch is the *Presentation of the Virgin* (Chiesa Nuova, Rome). Indeed, there are five drawings in Berlin (20489, 20477, 20488, 20490 & 20501) that match a hypothetical quarter-sized *bozzetto* (**Fig. 67**).[290] Significantly, all depict nude figures –

Uffizi inv. 11412, 38.7 x 25.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 530; (2008), 2: 98, fig. 49.10.
Uffizi inv. 11295, 40.7 x 26.9 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:259, fig. 543; (2008), 2:102, fig. 49.21.
Berlin inv. 20023, 13.4 x 9.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:260, fig. 548; (2008), 2: 103, fig. 49.26.
Berlin inv. 20028, 31.7 x 22.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 532; (2008), 2:96, fig. 49.5.
Berlin inv. 20012, 28.3 x 20.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 531; (2008), 2:97, fig. 49.8.
Courtauld inv. 2329, 33.5 x 23.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 527; (2008), 2:97, fig. 49.9.

[289] Uffizi inv. 11603, 24.0 x 22.0 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:146, fig. 279; (2008), 1:332, fig. 38.56.
Uffizi inv. 11348, 19.1 x 23.1 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:142, fig. 264; (2008), 1:326, fig. 38.37.
Berlin inv. 20428, 22.0 x 32.7 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:141, fig. 257; (2008), 1:323, fig. 38.27.
Rijksmuseum (ex-Regteren Altena) inv. 1981-31 recto and verso, 27.4 x 22.9 cm; 1:138, figs. 245 and 246; recto in (2008), 1:316, fig. 38.6, and Mann and Bohn (2012), 45, fig. 31.

[290] Berlin inv. 20489, 42.3 x 27.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:353, fig. 767;(2008), 1:257, fig. 72.17.
Berlin inv. 20477, 24.6 x 15.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:350, fig. 763; (2008), 1:254, fig. 72.8.
Berlin inv. 20488, 38.0 x 28.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:350, fig. 762; (2008), 1:254, fig. 72.10.
Berlin inv. 20490, 41.0 x 37.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:350, fig. 761; (2008), 1:254, fig. 72.7.

often *garzoni* – occupying the final poses worked out in the *modello*. All but the last are incised and squared. Not surprisingly, the last – a study of the man who brings in the ram for sacrifice – seems to have been drawn more freehand and does not adhere to the scale as rigorously. Here, in this last great altarpiece, Barocci expends every effort and carefully begins figures again from nude that were later abandoned.

A series of drawings that can both give us insight into a possible *bozzetto* in addition to giving a glimpse into Barocci's later procedures is afforded by the *Institution of the Eucharist* (1608). We noted in the last chapter that Barocci produced very few figures to prepare his *modello*. At the next stage of the composition, he has continued to elaborate figures, but none from the nude. This seems to reflect Barocci's later practice, when he was abbreviating his procedures. At a 1:3 scale, there are four drawings; all appear more or less as they will in the final painting. Berlin 20334 studies a kneeling apostle, Getty 83.GB.279 the washer boy, and two studies for the Judas figure: Berlin 20329 and 20331 (**Fig. 68**).[291] Barocci seems to have lost his interest in beginning ever anew, or else he trusts his solution and simply returns to the forms for final clarification.

Discovering Lost Works

This procedure helps determine the characteristics of a Barocci *bozzetto*, both as finished product or completed reduced cartoon. But there are already a couple of candidates of such works beneath our noses that might already nominate themselves for this qualification. In order to do so, scholarship must move beyond the aversion to treating seriously "reduced copies" after Barocci's works. Even the if the reduced copies are indeed associated with the Barocci workshop, and clearly not the master himself, the sketches still can reflect some genuine phase of his production. This does not mean that a work is indeed a *bozzetto,* but it may be an over-painted sketch or one painted after the lost oil sketch. Two examples seem to follow these possibilities.

No *bozzetto* exists for the *Visitation* (1586), however, there are a number of drawings made at the ratio of 1:4 (for Joseph, Berlin, 20527 and 20531; for Elizabeth, Chatsworth 918r; for Mary, Chatwsorth 918v, Uffizi 11420; for Zachariah, Uffizi 11400) (**Fig. 69**).[292] The *Visitation* is not overly large, yet for some reason Barocci persisted in working at the 1:4 scale instead of switching to 1:3, which would have maintained the larger size of the oil sketch. Judging these drawings according to the existence of many figures already

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Berlin inv. 20501, 40.2 x 28.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:356, fig. 778; (2008), 2;259, fig. 72.24.
There are in addition a couple more in the Uffizi.

[291] Berlin inv. 20334, 41.2 x 24.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:382, fig. 835; (2008), 2:305, fig. 81.11.
Getty inv. 83.GB.279, 30 × 27.1 cm; not in Emiliani (1985) or (2008); Turner (2000), 130, fig. 119.
Berlin inv. 20329, 28.0 x 41.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:381, fig. 832; (2008), 2:303, fig. 81.8.
Berlin inv. 20331, 40.5 x 24.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:381, fig. 833; (2008), 2:303, fig. 81.9.

[292] Berlin inv. 20527, 26.6 x 21.4 cm; not in Emiliani (1985), (2008), 2:56, fig. 45.36.
Berlin inv. 20531, 28.4 x 18.5 cm; not in Emiliani (1985), (2008), 2:56, fig. 45.37.
Chatsworth inv. 918r, 38.1 x 25.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:220, fig. 449, (2008), 2:46, fig. 45.15.
Chatsworth inv. 918v, 38.1 x 25.3 cm, Emiliani (1985), 2:220, fig. 453, (2008), 2:45, fig. 45.10.
Uffizi inv. 11420, 41.3 x 22.2 cm, Emiliani (1985), 2:220, fig. 450, (2008), 2:45, fig. 45.11.
Uffizi inv. 11400, 40.0 x 28.3 cm, Emiliani (1985), 2:225, fig. 466; Bohn and Mann (2012), 205, fig. 10.7.
In Verstegen (2015), 75, I misidentified this ratio as 1:5 and argued that the results suggested a "another provisional model" which is clearly wrong. The ratio makes it much clearer that the drawings served a lost *bozzetto*.

constructed (no nude figures), they are clearly for a stage subsequent to the *modello*. One fourth of the *Visitation*'s height is 71.25 cm, and in my *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians* I recommended that such a hypothetical oil sketch be compared to extant, reduced version of the same painting including those in the Casa Natale di Raffaello (85 x 65 cm) and the Oratorio della Visitation (78 x 54 cm), both in Urbino.[293]

A particularly likely find of an oil sketch or at least proof of reduced cartoon would be for the *Madonna della Gatta* (1592). Numerous drawings match a hypothetical oil sketch at 1:4 scale: Berlin 7707, 20229, 20443, 20444, 20460 & 20467 (**Fig. 70**).[294] The two sets each build up the figures of Joseph and the Virgin, respectively, from generic nude *garzoni* into clothed and shaded figures. These drawings follow the predictable profile for graphic work at this stage; taking the pose for granted but building it up again in order to create a definitive version that can study color. In addition, numerous reduced versions of the painting exist; they should all be examined.[295]

The sketch became a hallmark in the mid to later seventeenth century, where it could serve to direct a workshop and its increasingly spontaneous and dashed-off quality served as an index of the artist's imagination. The influence of Barocci's oil sketches was already mentioned in the Introduction. Like Rubens, several Seicento artists knew firsthand of Barocci's practice with oil sketches. Both Palma Giovane (1544-1628) and Claudio Ridolfi (1570-1644) worked in and around Urbino and would have known these intimately.[296] The Baroccista Vanni, although he did not live long, also painted oil sketches, as did Cigoli and his student Cristofano Allori (1577-1621).[297]

Most often artists painted monochrome oil sketches, especially the artists Cavaliere d'Arpino and Cristoforo Roncalli.[298] It is also true of the Carracci, who made due without color sketches but relied on the monochrome. These artists relied on the *trois crayon* technique and there may have been an element of pride in relying solely on the tools that Raphael had used. In the context of the restraint of their preparatory materials, the monochrome works of Agostino and Ludovico that no longer exist, but remain in description, are sufficiently experimental and impressive. Some idea of their appearance can be gleaned from the works of Domenichino, such as his *The Stoning of Saint Stephen*

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[293] For the Oratorio della Visitazione painting, see Alessandro Zuccari, in *La Regola e la Fama* (1995), no. 84, 526); for the Casa di Raffaello painting, see Cucco (1997), 89. Other examples can be found in the Museo Albani, Urbino, and the National Gallery of Scotland (inv. 767).

[294] Berlin inv. 7707, 42 x 27.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:289, fig. 621; (2008), 2:144, fig.54.14.
Berlin inv. 20229,39.0 x 24.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:288, fig. 617; (2008), 2: 143, no. 54.10 (not illustrated).
Berlin inv. 20443, 21.8 x 33.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:286, fig. 613; (2008), 2:142, fig. 54.6.
Berlin inv. 20444, 21.5 x 21.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:286, fig. 612; (2008), 2:142, fig. 54.5.
Berlin inv. 20460, 40.5 x 27.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:286, fig. 610; (2008), 2:140, fig.54.3.
Berlin inv. 20467, 40.3 x 29.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:288, fig. 619; (2008), 2:143, fig. 54.11.

[295] One, in the Ringling Museum in Sarasota, Florida, seems to be half-sized; Tomory (1976). Another, illustrated by Emiliani (70 x 67 cm), is closer to one quarter sized; Emiliani (1985), 2:284.

[296] For Palma's oil sketches, see Ferrari (1990), 17-20, 193-197; and for Ridolfi's, see Ferrari (1990), 52-53, 214-215. Obviously important is the well-known letter from Marcantonio Bassetti to Palma describing the use of oil sketches in which "*quanto di disegna, si dipinge ancora*" (Bottari and Ticozzi, *(*1822), vol. 2, pp. 484-485.

[297] For Cigoli, see Contini (1991); Ferrari (1990), 16-17, 111-113; for Allori, Ferrari (1990), 75-80.

[298] For Cavaliere d'Arpino, see Ferrari (1990), 17, and Röttgen (2002), fig. 12; for Roncalli, see Ferrari (1990), 17.

in the Louvre which is much more than a heightened drawing but instead a full-scale investigation of painterly light (if not color) in an oil medium.[299]

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I encourage scholars to do the work to investigate the scales of drawings for any given painting and search out lost echoes of Barocci's works among lesser versions in collections and on the art market. The regular scale relationship just demonstrated and surviving drawings underscore the authenticity of Barocci's known sketches. The degree to which Barocci painted oil sketches can be debated, but the fact that he worked out figures from the nude at about 1:4 scale cannot. This repetition of scale opens the possibility that there are numerous other works for which the *bozzetto* has been lost or perhaps there never was one, although there certainly was some sort of cartoon at this scale. What doesn't change, however, is the number of supplementary drawings. The fact that they all occur at a reduced scale means that perhaps Barocci had a primitive cartoon to work at that has been lost. The scale is nonetheless real and can be reconstructed repeatedly.

[299] DeGrazia (1995), 179; Spear (1982), 1:140-141, fig. 41.

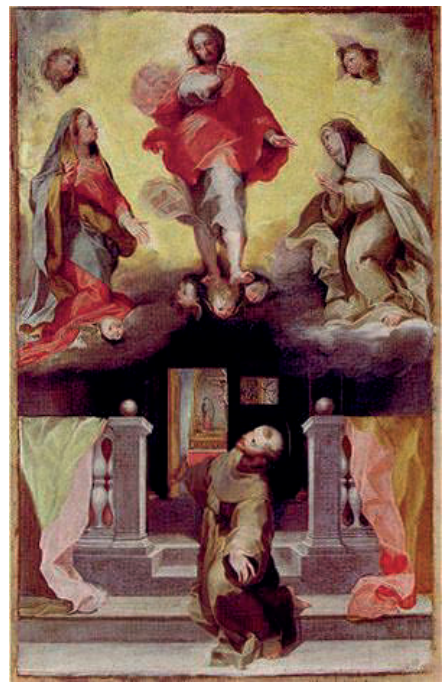

Fig. 55
Federico Barocci, *Perdono*, c. 1576, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino

Fig. 56
Same-scale diagram showing all the *bozzetti* or suspected *bozzetti* in reverse chronological order

Fig. 57
The Urbino *Crucifixion* reduced three times (1:3) with (from top left), Berlin inv. 20266, Fitzwilliam inv. 1978, (from bottom left) Berlin inv. 20502, National Gallery, Washington, Berlin inv. 27465 and Uffizi inv. 11375

Fig. 58
Perugia *Deposition* reduced four times (1:4) with (clockwise, from bottom left) Uffizi inv.11595, Berlin inv. 20462, Uffizi inv. 11383 and Uffizi inv. 11341

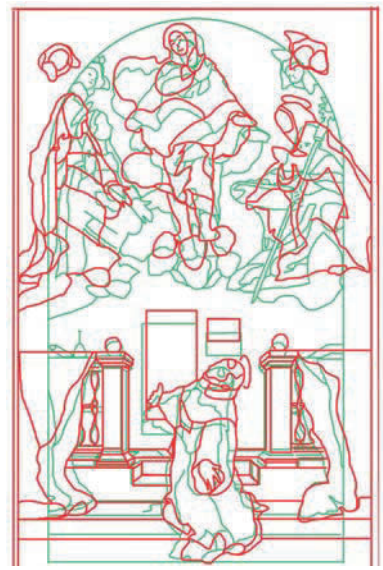

Fig. 59
[green=painting, red=reduced version] When the figure of Francis and the architectural details are matched in the painting and reduced version, the figures of Mary and Christ are clearly to the left in the reduced version, and Francis is bigger

Fig. 60
The *Perdono* reduced four times (1:4) (left) with Uffizi inv. 11396 (center, top), inv. 11441 (center bottom), the Urbino *bozzetto*, Berlin inv. 20232 (right top) and Uffizi inv. 9105 (right bottom)

Fig. 61
[green=painting, red=reduced version] When the central group around Christ is matched with painting and reduced version, Mary Magdalene can be seen to be radically shifted to the right in the latter

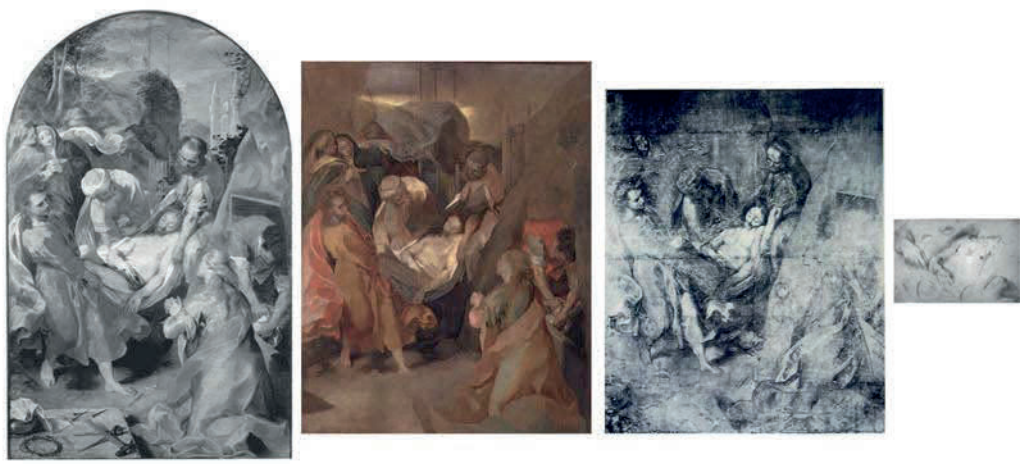

Fig. 62
The Senigallia *Entombment* (left) reduced approximately half (1≈2) with Urbino *bozzetto* (second from left), Amsterdam cartoon (third from left) and Princeton inv. 48-595 (right)

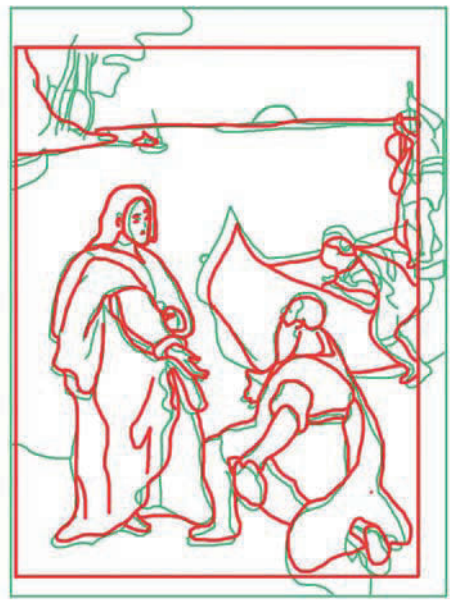

Fig. 63
[green=painting, red=reduced version] When the figure of Christ and the shoreline is matched in the painting and reduced version, the boat and figures of Peter and the boatman are smaller in the reduced version, and the boatman is shifted to the left

Fig. 64
The Brussels *Calling of St. Andrew* reduced four times (1:4) with (left to right) Berlin inv. 20134, the ex-Contini-Bonacossi *bozzetto*, and Berlin inv. 20133

Fig. 65
The Louvre *Circumcision* reduced four times (1:4) with the New York *bozzetto* with (from bottom left, clockwise) Uffizi inv. 11342, Berlin inv. 20023, (top left) Berlin inv. 20028, Uffizi inv. 11412, Courtauld, Berlin inv. 20012, (right)Uffizi inv. 11287, Uffizi inv. 11295

Fig. 66
The Uffizi *Madonna del Popolo* reduced four times (1:4), juxtaposed with (from left) Uffizi inv. 11603, Uffizi inv.11348 (bottom) and Rijskmuseum (ex-Regteren Altema) inv. 1981-31 recto and verso

Fig. 67
The Rome *Presentation* reduced four times (1:4) with (clockwise, from left) Berlin inv. 20489, Berlin inv. 20477, Berlin inv. 20488, Berlin inv. 20490 and Berlin inv. 20501

Fig. 68
The Rome *Institution of the Eucharist* reduced three times (1:3) with (clockwise, from bottom left) Getty inv. 11585, Berlin inv. 20334, Berlin inv. 20331 (top right) and Berlin inv. 20329

Fig. 69
The Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* reduced four times (1:4) with (clockwise, from bottom left) Berlin inv. 20527, Berlin inv. 20531 (outer left), Chatsworth 918r, Uffizi inv. 11400 (upper right), Chatsworth inv. 918v and Uffizi inv. 11420 (outer right)

Fig. 70
The Uffizi *Madonna della Gatta* reduced four times (1:4) with (from left to right), Berlin inv. 20229, Berlin inv. 7707, Berlin inv. 20443, Berlin inv. 20444 (top, near right) and Berlin inv. 20460 (bottom, near right) and Berlin inv. 20467

Chapter 6

Chalk Drawings (1:2)

A small but significant stage in Barocci's mature production process is his repeated creation of black and white chalk drawings for the flesh portions of his larger altarpieces. While chalk drawings were a mainstay of Renaissance and Baroque draftsmanship, Barocci characteristically uses the drawing in a peculiar way. The black and white chalk drawings exist alongside his more famous pastel heads as blended drawings at half-scale that tests light and tone, but not color. Therefore, in the same way that monochrome *modelli* and color *bozzetti* coexist at different scales, so too do chalk drawings and full-size pastels, at different scales.

For larger works, over approximately three meters, Barocci resorts to a half-size scale to work at. This scale is a result of the larger size and the need to control some aspects of the light of the painting. While drawings for *modelli* rehearse different poses and those for *bozzetti* conclude the final pose, these works *never* show significant changes of pose or contour. Instead, they are almost exclusively drawn in black and white chalk, on toned paper (usually blue, but sometimes tan), providing a very quick but expressive means to treat flesh and only sometimes drapery studies. An example from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett is given below (**Fig. 71**; Berlin 20280).[300] This drawing, for the Senigallia *Madonna del Rosario* (1594, Palazzo del Arcivescovo, Senigallia), studies the left arm of one of the angels three times. Given that Barocci revisits the pose three times, the flexibility of the chalk serves him well by working at a large scale that anticipates the final work, without passing over to drawings in pastel that he reserves for full scale.

Around 1500 the red or black chalk drawing began to be popular for its flexibility in drawing from life and working out compositions.[301] It could study a figure, as was done by Raphael or Michelangelo, or be overlaid with wash and white heightening for a *modello*. For the most part, white chalk was used sparingly. In the drawings of Titian or the late works of Michelangelo, the white chalk is used equally with the black, energetically, to work out an early scheme of a composition. Barocci is almost unique in using the blended black and white chalk drawing to study body parts of exposed flesh. That is, while he continued to use it for figures studies and cartoons, he refined its use for one very specific purpose: to render flesh.

Interestingly, the use of black and white chalk "limb" drawings emerged at exactly the same time as Barocci's pastels, during the 1560s, further dispelling any ideas of their apparent redundancy in the fact that they serve different purposes. This technique probably emerged when Barocci was working on one of his first largish works for which there was also much flesh to represent. There is no evidence that for the early *Madonna of Saint John* or the *Madonna of Saint Simon* Barocci made such a half-sized cartoon.

For the *Crucifixion* (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino), however, it appears Barocci utilized a half-sized cartoon for the first time. The work is not too large, and in later practice Barocci would not resort to such a measure for such a picture

[300] Berlin inv. 20280, 26.5 x 41.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:271, fig. 579; (2008), 2:116, fig. 50.23.
[301] See Bambach (2003).

(accomplishing its work with oil sketch-sized or pastel full-sized drawings). But here he must have been very careful to deliver the proper product. For this painting there are at least two drawings, Berlin 20264, for Christ's torso, and 20271 for Christ's left arm, which are so closely sized to half-size that they suggest the possibility that Barocci had worked up a half-sized cartoon (**Fig. 72**).[302] Further evidence that such a cartoon existed is suggested by the existence of a perfectly half-sized studio version of the *Crucifixion* in the Musée Lambinet, Versailles.[303] The chances that such a reduced version would be created by a copyist is nil. The exactness of the ratio implies a connection to the studio. The existence of the half-sized studies in concert with this version is good evidence that Barocci made a half-sized cartoon for the painting that resulted in a workshop reduced copy for sale. Moreover, as will be recounted, there are other examples of the half-size cartoon resulting in saleable, reduced works.

For some years Barocci used black and white chalk both for these such drawings, but also for full size drawings of body parts. For example, for the *Deposition* in Perugia, Barocci studies the hands and feet of Mary with full size chalk drawings: Berlin 20462 and 20456 **(Fig. 73)**.[304] From around 1565 to 1575, then, chalk is used for body parts at different scales and pastel is used for heads. However, beginning with the *Madonna del Popolo* (1579, Uffizi) Barocci begins to become more liberal with the pastel and now begins to use it for exposed arms and legs, hands, and feet, no longer just for heads.

Grouping all these drawings together that are normally considered separately brings certain common characteristics to the foreground. These third- to half-size drawings are almost exclusively made with black and white chalk on colored paper. Never does Barocci utilize his famous pastel technique for these drawings. Also, they always refer to fixed details that are no longer subject to investigation and modification. This is why in the last chapter in reference to the Senigallia *Entombment* both the Urbino *bozzetto*, the Amsterdam cartoon for it, and the other matching drawings should not be placed in this category, even though they are approximately half-size. The drawings still explore nude figures and anatomy and the *bozzetto* is just that, a *bozzetto*.

In the case of a work smaller than approximately three meters, the figural content becomes so small that half-sized drawings are consequently small as well. Therefore, the artist can just as well turn to a full-sized pastel drawing or, if he is still 'building' the figure as in a few cases discussed below, then he can resort back to the oil *bozzetto* (or reduced cartoon) scale. All of the chalk drawings to be discussed in this chapter are half-sized, with one exception, the very large Genoa *Crucifixion*. Here the opposite logic is in effect. The altarpiece is so large that half-sized drawings do not fit on the standard sheet of paper. One need only glance at all the images collected below to see what Barocci can fit on a single sheet at this scale. For the Genoa *Crucifixion*, Barocci has to reduce even

[302] Berlin inv. 20264, 26.7 x 41.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:42, fig. 66; (2008), 2;170,173, fig. 19.21;
Berlin inv. 20271, 19.4 x 32.1 cm; Emiliani, (1985), 1:43, fig. 68; (2008), 2;171,173, fig. 19.24.
[303] *Crucifixion*, 163 x 119, Musée Lambinet, Versailles; *Peintures du Musée Lambinet*, 15, no. 10.
[304] Berlin inv. 20462, 39.3 x 24 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:74, fig. 124; (2008), 1:212, fig. 22.38.
Berlin inv. 20456; 27.4 x 39.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:68, fig. 107; (2008), 1:207, fig. 22.25.

further, to one third, in order to fit the limbs, he usually draws at half scale in chalk onto a single page.

Studying the drawings illustrated in this chapter, almost all of them from Berlin, aid in thinking about the question of historical survival. There are several cases noted below where a drawing coincides with *every* major field of human flesh in the painting. It would be foolhardy to claim that the survival of Barocci's drawings for any one painting has occurred with few losses. But at least in some of the cases regarding the chalk drawings, we might make this statement.

Reducing the early Perugia *Deposition* by half, where we see that there are several drawings that match it closely (Berlin 20449, 20459, 20464 & 20466), gives an even more secure result than the Urbino *Crucifixion*.[305] Therefore, there likely was a mini-cartoon scaled to half the size of the painting **(Fig. 74)**. All of the female figures are clothed and only Christ has much exposed flesh in the composition. Therefore, it is not surprising that two studies are devoted to his body, while the remaining two are devoted to the only two other body parts with exposed flesh, the soldier on a ladder and one of the Marys rushing forward to comfort a collapsing Virgin. Given that there are drawings scaled at 1:8, 1:5 and 1:4, there is a possibility Barocci had produced three separate versions of the final composition.[306]

The same goes for Barocci's other large-scale altarpiece commissions. After the *Deposition*, Barocci concentrated on a couple of smaller pictures, the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* (Vatican, Pinacoteca) and *Madonna del Gatto* (1575, National Gallery, London), both of which did not require extensive scaled drawings. His next large altarpiece, the *Perdono* (1576, San Francesco, Urbino), unsurprisingly used black and white chalk drawings at half scale. Berlin 20221 **(Fig. 75)** is a study of Christ's lower leg.[307] The single image is explained by the general lack of flesh in the painting, but the technique precisely echoes that of the preceding examples from the *Deposition*. The Vatican *Stigmatization* is exactly to half this scale,[308] further indicating that perhaps more drawings or a half-sized cartoon existed.

The yield for the *Madonna del Popolo* is particularly rich. Berlin 20421, 20440, 20189, 20441, 20397, 20521, Uffizi 11591, Besancon 1001, and British Museum Pp,3.201 are all drawn at half-scale.[309] They are sketches of limbs, but there is some indication of drapery

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[305] Berlin inv. 20449, 26.8 x 40.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:68, fig. 108; (2008), 1:207, fig. 22.26.
Berlin inv. 20459, 41.7 x 28.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:75, fig. 131; (2008), 1:216, fig. 22.47.
Berlin inv. 20464, 37.1 x 26.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:74, fig. 74; (2008), 1:216, fig. 22.44.
Berlin inv. 20466, 42.5 x 26.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:75, fig. 129; (2008), 1:216, fig. 22.46; Bohn (2018), 90, fig. 6.1.

[306] A painting attributed to Antonio Viviani that I have not seen in person, a *Deposition* in the Museo Civico of Visso (Macerata), 244 x 165cm, appears to be half the size of the Perugia painting; http://www.comune.visso.mc.it/servizioalcittadino/index.php/croci; accessed May 24, 2018.

[307] Berlin inv. 20221, 32 x 43.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:108, fig. 186; (2008), 1:275, fig. 34.9.

[308] Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, 118 x 165 cm, Pinacoteca, Vatican; Mancinelli (1982), 158-159. Of approximately the same scale is also the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, 146 x 115 cm, Museo Civico, Fossombrone; Emiliani (2008), 1:293, fig. 36.

[309] Berlin inv. 20440, 25.6 x 16.0; Emiliani (1985), 1:134, fig. 231; (2008); 1:341, fig. 38.75.
Berlin inv. 20189, 31.3 x 21.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:134, fig. 231; (2008), 1:315, fig. 38.4.
Berlin inv. 20441, 20.8 x 27.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:132, fig. 224; (2008); 1:341, fig. 38.78.

(Fig. 76). When juxtaposed against a half-sized projection of the painting, that is, the drawings match the composition perfectly. The arm of the Hurdy Gurdy player and beggar conform to my expectation of how Barocci utilized his half-sized chalk drawings. More interesting is the way the artist builds the figure of Christ from a nude to a clothed figure, in the same manner that he would do with an ink *modello* or oil *bozzetto*. In addition, the drapery for Mary's bosom is unusual. But when considered as a useful scale at which to compose and the exhaustive detail to which Barocci went with this altarpiece, these studies make more sense.

A situation similar to that of the *Perdono*, with many clothed figures, occurs with the Calling *of Saint Andrew* (Brussels). If heads are generally given over to pastels, apart from Peter's arms, Andrew's calf, and Christ's hands, there is little flesh depicted in the final painting. All three receive treatment in two drawings in Berlin (20132, 20135; **Fig. 77**).[310] The first simply makes two attempts at capturing the appearance of Christ's hand while the other couples a study of Andrew's calf with the outreached arms of Peter in the background.

Another similar preparatory situation exists for the *Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis*. There are six drawings, all in Berlin, which study parts of exposed flesh in the final painting: 20241, 20237, 20233, 20242, 20245, 20239, 20240 and 20243 (**Fig. 78**).[311] Looking at the juxtapositions, one can see that most parts of exposed flesh are given a study. The nearly nude Vitalis, as expected from the example of the Perugia *Deposition* with its prominent Christ figure, is given three studies. In addition, the putto's arms, the digger's arms, and the executioner's legs are examined with chalk.

For the two versions of the *Christ Appearing to the Virgin* (1580s) there are three chalk drawings in Berlin: 15229, 20389, 20164 at half scale (**Fig. 79**).[312] Interestingly, Barocci studied the torso for Christ in both versions: the lost Bywell Hall version with Christ recoiling, and the Munich version with Christ reaching forward. The other

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Berlin inv. 20397, 41.0 x 26.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:143, fig. 266; (2008), 1:326, fig. 38.39; Note the oddly large head of Berlin 20397. Although the head is oversized, it is an attachment to the body fragment that is a perfect fit.

Berlin inv. 20421, 27.1 x 42.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1;136, fig. 240; Emiliani (2008), 1:318, fig. 38.15

Berlin inv. 20521, 15.9 x 23.4 cm; Olsen 1962, 166; Emiliani 1985, I, 149, fig. 293; Emiliani (2008), 1:347, fig. 38.86 (not illustrated).

British Museum inv. Pp,3.201 (recto), 51.6 x 39.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1: 138, fig. 248; (2008), 1:315, fig. 38.2.

Besancon 1001, 24.0 x 15.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:149, fig. 295; (2008), 1:344, fig. 38.81 (not illustrated).

Uffizi 11591, 26.8 x 19.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:81, fig. 136; (2008), 1:348, fig. 38.94.

[310] Berlin inv. 20132, 41.5 x 27.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1: 196, fig. 411; (2008), 2:17, fig. 41.19.

Berlin inv. 20135, 28.5 x 14.9 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:193, fig. 403; (2008), 2:12, fig. 41.9.

[311] Berlin inv. 20241, 42.5 x 27.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:171, fig. 340; (2008, 1:390, fig. 40.31.

Berlin inv. 20237, 26.2 x 40.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:172, fig. 347, (2008), 1:395, fig. 40.41.

Berlin inv. 20233, 42.2 x 27.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:175, fig. 357; (2008), 1:392, fig. 40.33.

Berlin inv. 20242, 43.5 x 28.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:183, fig. 380; (2008), 1:385, fig. 40.16 (not illustrated).

Berlin inv. 20245, 29.0 x 42.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:178, fig. 368, (2008), 2:382, fig. 40.4.

Berlin inv. 20239, 42.5 x 28.5 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), II;384, fig. 40.8.

Berlin inv. 20240, 29.0 x 42.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:178, fig. 369, (2008), 2:382, fig. 40.4.

Berlin inv. 20243, 26.4 x 42.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:183, fig. 383. (2008), 1:394, 40.36;

[312] Berlin inv. 15229, 40.0 x 27.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:243, fig. 498, (2008), 2:80, fig. 47/C.4.

Berlin inv. 20389, 27.5 x 42.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:244, fig. 505, (2008), 2: 78, 47/A.12;

Berlin inv. 20164, 18.5 x 26.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:249, fig. 522, (2008), 2:85, fig. 47/C.19.

drawing is for the Magdalene's exposed forearm. It is of course very interesting to compare such drawings to a painting well known in the Uffizi collection, which was mentioned in the last chapter. The drawings match quite closely very much like the *Crucifixion* and *Perdono* for which there are also reduced workshop copies.

As the last example of half-sized chalk drawings, we can look to the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation*. We already noted drawings scaled to the modello and a hypothetical *bozzetto*. There are four drawings at 1:2 scale, including U11622r&v (studies of Joseph's hand and sack, respectively) and Berlin, 20515, 20533, the arm and hands of Elizabeth and Mary **(Fig. 80)**.[313] Like the *Perdono* or *Calling of Saint Andrew*, there is not a lot of exposed flesh in this painting. Therefore, the drawings only refer to hands. Nevertheless, the chalk is used slightly unusually to sketch out a sack, and Mary's arm is sketched, although appearing covered. Further evidence that a cartoon was worked out at this scale is the fact that a work in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, is exactly half the size of the original.[314] What is important, again, is that this need not be by Barocci directly (indeed, it is not) but is certainly based on preparatory materials by the master.

As noted, a very interesting case exists for the Genoa *Crucifixion*. Although there is at least one drawing scaled to half-size (Uffizi, 1162), the majority in black and white chalk are to one-third (Berlin inv. 20273, inv. 20268, inv. 20259, inv. 20260, inv. 20261, inv. 20285, and inv. 20283, Princeton inv. 48-598, inv. 48-599, Berlin inv. 15228 and Uffiz inv. 11350) (**Fig. 81**).[315] Since one-third sized reduced cartoons are inferred to have existed (*Entombment*, *Stigmatization*), these drawings might be for a lost oil sketch or reduced cartoon. However, these drawings have all the hallmarks of a half-sized drawing. They are in chalk and there is no wrangling with the figure; Barocci is simply exploring light on what are more or less fixed forms. As hinted above, the explanation for the changed scale lies in the great size of the painting, 500 cm, the largest of Barocci's career. Drawing the forms at exactly half scale would have overtaken his paper, so he scaled down a bit. In the case of a smaller figure (e.g., *putto*) Barocci opted to scale up to one half because he could fill the sheet.

The liveliness of these primarily half-sized drawings easily promotes the assumption that they were drawn from life. For example, Bohn specifically discusses one

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[313] Uffizi inv. 11622r, 40.0 x 28.3 cm; Emiliani (2008), 2:53, fig. 45.28; Mann and Bohn (2012), 207, fig. 10.9; Verstegen (2015), 76.
Uffizi inv. 11622v, Emiliani (2008), 2:53, fig. 45.27;
Berlin inv. 20515, 24.3 x 19.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), II, fig. 654; (2008), 2:42, fig. 45.5 (not illustrated);
Berlin inv. 20533, 27.4 x 40.9 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:426, fig. 451; (2008), 2:46, fig. 45.12 (not illustrated).
[314] *Visitation*, 147 x 111 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Dal Poggetto (2003), 224.
[315] Berlin inv. 20259, 42.5 x 28.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:307, fig. 648; (2008), 2:175, fig. 59.3;
Berlin inv. 20273, 26.8 x 34.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:307, fig. 647; (2008), 2:175, fig. 59.2;
Berlin inv. 20261, 26.5 x 28.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:312, fig. 661; (2008), 2:180, fig. 59.17;
Berlin inv. 20283, 19.9 x 25.4 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:216, fig. 22.49 (not illustrated).
Berlin inv. 20285, 33.5 x 26.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:307, fig. 650; (2008), 2:175, fig. 59.4;
Berlin inv. 20268, 38.4 x 28.3 cm; Emiliani, (1985), 2:307, fig. 649; (2008), 2:175, fig. 59.5;
Berlin inv. 20260, 27.8 x 42.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:309, fig. 655; (2008), 2:176, fig. 59.8;
Princeton inv. 48-598, 42.3 x 26.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:312, fig, 662; (2008), 2:177, fig. 59.11,
Princeton inv. 48-599, 41.7 x 27.4; Emiliani (1985), 2:313, fig. 668; (2008), 2:178, fig, 59.12 (not illustrated);
Berlin inv. 15228, 28.2 x 41.0 cm; Emiliani (1985) 2:312, fig. 660; (2008), 2:177, fig. 50.10.
Uffizi inv. 11350 F, 34.8 x 27.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:313, fig. 666; (2008), 2:180, fig. 59.18.

of the drawings we have illustrated – Berlin 20466 (**Fig. 74**) – as "a beautiful study of the torso from life."[316] She notes its careful study of the fall of light, observable only before a model. I agree that the drawing is primarily concerned with light, but I add that this is only possible because Barocci was not distracted by concerns over the contour due to his reliance on a half-sized cartoon. Having a scaled and fixed point of departure allowed him possibly to refer to a model in the production of such drawings. But the scale rules out that such a drawing was *purely* a drawing from life.[317] As will be discussed later the underestimation of what Barocci can accomplish from memory also affects the discussion of the pastel heads.

From what has been said, the half-sized chalk drawing has a very specific function for Barocci's evolved, mature process. It is drawn to study flesh parts of his larger altarpieces, at (most often) one half the size of the final picture. Although Barocci certainly uses chalk for other kinds of drawings, those that "build" the figure at an earlier stage of creation can be easily distinguished from these later drawings that never introduce major changes to the overall composition. Instead, Barocci is happy with the general poses he has already developed and seeks a surrogate to consider issues of lighting, shading, and massing before he passes on to the painting stage. Before that, however, Barocci works on his celebrated pastel (and oil) heads.

[316] Bohn (2018), 95; see further, on life drawing, Chapter 2.
[317] As already pointed out in Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 318.

Fig. 71
Federico Barocci, Berlin inv. 20280, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Fig. 72
Reduced version of Urbino *Crucifixion* (Versailles), half the size of the original, with (from top to bottom) Berlin inv. 20271, inv. 20263 and inv. 20264

Fig. 73
Federico Barocci, Berlin inv. 20462 (left) and inv. 20456 (right) for Perugia *Deposition*

Fig. 74
Perugia *Deposition* reduced by one half (1:2) with (clockwise from bottom left) Berlin inv. 20449, inv. 20464, inv. 20466, and inv. 20459

Fig. 75
Urbino *Perdono* reduced by one half (1:2) with Berlin inv. 20221 (top) and Vatican *Stigmatization* (right)

Fig. 76
Uffizi *Madonna del Popolo* reduced by one half (1:2) and, clockwise (from bottom left), Berlin inv. 20521, 20440 (middle, left), inv. 20189 (top, left), inv. 20441 (top, right), British Museum inv. Pp3-201 (middle, right), and inv. 2039 (bottom, right)

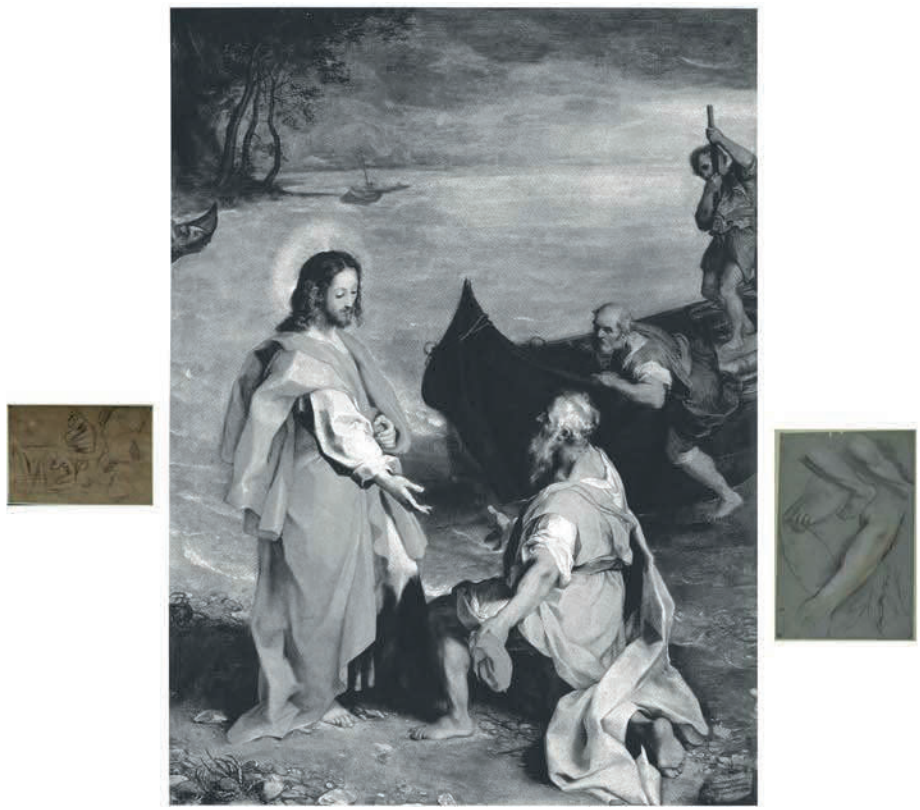

Fig. 77
Brussels *Calling of St. Andrew* reduced by half (1:2) and (from left to right), Berlin inv. 20135 and inv. 20132

Fig. 78
Brera *Martyrdom of St. Vitalis* reduced by half (1:2) and, clockwise (from top left), Berlin inv. 20241, inv. 20237, inv. 20233, inv. 20242, inv. 20240, inv. 20243, inv. 20239, and inv. 20245

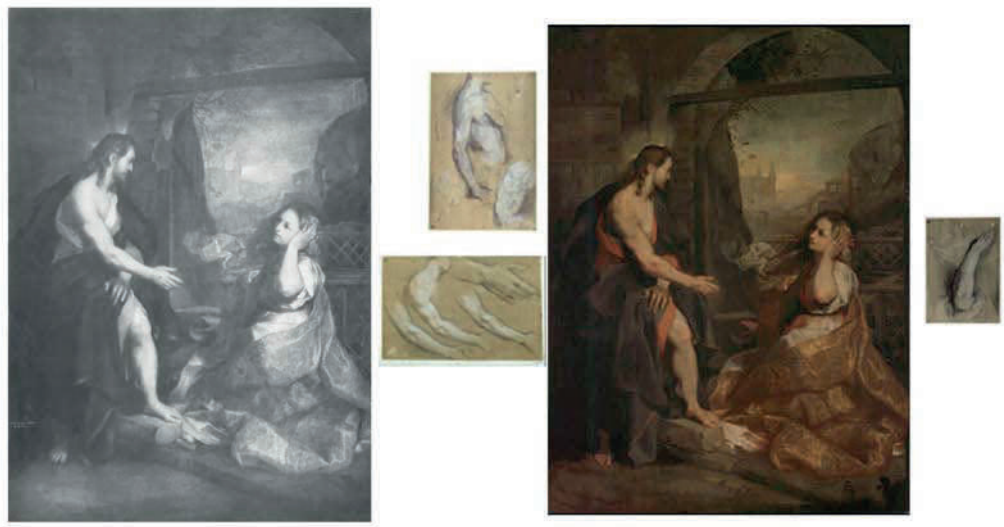

Fig. 79
Munich *Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalene* reduced one half (1:2) with (from top left) Berlin inv. 20389, inv. 15229, Uffizi version of *Noli me tangere,* and Berlin inv. 20164

Fig. 80
Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* reproduced at half-scale (left) and Urbino reduced copy at full scale (right) with, from top to bottom, Berlin inv. 20515, inv. 20533, Uffizi inv. 11622, and inv. 20164

Fig. 81
Genoa *Crucifixion* reduced by one third (1:3) with (from top to bottom, left to right):
Berlin inv. 20273, Berlin inv. 20268,
Berlin inv. 20259, Berlin inv. 20260,
Uffizi inv. 11350, Berlin inv. 20261, Berlin inv. 15228,
Princeton inv. 48-598, Princeton inv. 48-599, Berlin inv. 20285, and Berlin inv. 20283

Chapter 7

Full Size (1:1) Oil and Pastel Drawings

We have seen that in terms of compositional development, one of the first stages Barocci reached was the cartoon, which fixed the contours of the composition at the size of the final painting. Turning from composition to color, however, life sized drawings were the final stages of chromatic preparation, executed while the painting is already begun. Barocci created not only head studies in both pastel and oil—for which there were historical precedents in the works of Beccafumi and others—but also, surprisingly, colored, full-scale studies for other body parts not obscured by drapery (arms, legs, hands, feet), and, in some cases, even animals. Working at the full size of the painting enabled Barocci to use the flexible technique of pastel he had pioneered to quickly work out chromatic solutions. While previous chapters have offered some general comments on Barocci's use of full-sized oil and pastel sketches, this chapter will look at those studies in greater depth and will examine a number of complicated cases, the better to shed light on Barocci's carefully constructed preparatory process.

It was already noted in Chapter 4 that the cartoon was a mainstay for Barocci and it is especially the auxiliary cartoon inherited from Raphael and Bartolomeo Genga that provides the possibilities that Barocci opens in his further elaborations of full-size drawings in chalk and pastel, and studies in oil.

The Pastel Medium

The use of colored media marks a significant point of departure for Early Baroque drawing. Leonardo and his pupils made occasional use of colored chalks, but Barocci made the further refinement of manufacturing pastels.[318] In Venice, in the practice of sketching with oil paint, and in Caravaggio's case, the practice of working directly on the canvas, are similar phenomena. In all cases, the important fact is a need to introduce hue into the preparatory work of the artist in order to finely control the coloristic result.

However, Barocci and his incessant searching after painterly effects in drawings managed to change the very nature of the practice.[319] Through the use of manufactured pastels, Barocci was able to introduce the very pigments he would use in the final painting into the drawing stage, thus allowing himself to see final effects in a timely and

[318] It is virtually impossible to distinguish natural chalks from man-made pastels without scientific analysis, which has not been done on Barocci's drawings. For practical purposes, though, chalks in pink, ochre, yellow, or brown are almost certainly *pastelli* (pigments ground, mixed with a binding agent to form a paste, and left to dry) rather than naturally occurring chalks. See McGrath, (1998), 3-9; Bohn (Mann and Bohn, 2012, 39-40. As a general rule, by "pastels" we mean drawings that use more than the commonly available black and red chalks. In addition to his work in pastels, Barocci also made use of natural red, white, and black chalks in a kind of *trois crayons* technique. Contrary to the argument in Turner (2000), 151, however, Barocci probably did not adopt the technique from Federico Zuccaro, for by the time that Zuccaro worked in this manner, Barocci had already arrived at the technique himself, and it is possible that Zuccaro, who stopped in Urbino in the later 1560s, was inspired by Barocci, rather than the other way about.

[319] For significant discussions of Barocci's pastel heads, see Dempsey (1987); McCullagh (1991); Halasa (1993); McGrath (1998).

efficient manner.[320] In Barocci's mature drawing practice, as anyone who has studied the master's graphic production in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett can attest, there are literally dozens of drawings done with pastel on blue or green paper. The astonishing thing about these numerous, yet beautiful drawings, is that they provide a remarkably complete coloristic vision of the final work before the final painting has even been completed.

A good example of Barocci's procedure is the drawing from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (inv. 20365), which studies Christ's hanging arm and Saint John's left foot for the Senigallia *Entombment* **(Fig. 35; Fig. 82)**.[321] It is drawn in black and white chalk with ochre and pink pastel on green paper at the "same size as the painting" (*grande quanto l'opera*). The simple addition of the ochre and pink has a breathtaking effect, bringing the tones into a seemingly full chromatic range.

Both cartoons and the chalk drawings had used the color of the paper as a middle tone. Charles Dempsey describes how Barocci continued this practice with pastel.

> Barocci characteristically uses the green, beige, or blue tones of the paper to distinguish the colors of shadows in the flesh. From this he indicates the flesh tones themselves in pinks and yellows, using rouge tones where the blood flows nearer the surface (i.e., the tip of the nose, the ears, knuckles, joints, and so on). He typically employs yellow where the light strikes directly (thus, in the manner of Correggio, giving the general tone of daylight), white in the highlights, and indicates direct shadows, for example beneath the brows, with cinnabars.[322]

Thus, when studying a leg, by using the inherent tone of the paper and its ability to capture the cool venous flesh beneath the skin, and the pinks and reds to capture the warm flesh itself, Barocci is forecasting the final effect of the painting. It is another of his proclivities in advancing issues usually left by other artists for a later consideration to an earlier stage in the preparatory process.

Barocci used to great effect the full range of synthetically made pastels, in addition to simply the black, white and red of natural chalk. Other artists might have used many colors for ornamental purposes, whereas conversely a simple black and ochre can be used to suggest real skin tones.[323] Barocci used a wide range of colors but always with the intention to describe. His color choices reflected what he saw and to aid his eventual execution of the subject in paint; his colors, one might say, never merely ornament a drawn form. Furthermore, unlike other colored drawings, Barocci's are not presentational. A drawing being preparatory means it is instrumental, a means to an end, rather than being conceived of as inherently valuable. While Barocci's pastels are

[320] Interesting is the consideration by Giovanni Battista Armenini in 1587 of the different effects of pigment in preparatory drawings and in the final work, an apparently new concern; Armenini (1587/1977), 2:183.
[321] Berlin 20365, 27.4 x 41.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:158, fig. 309; (2008), 1:368, fig. 39.30.; Mann and Bohn (2012), 165, fig. 8.3.
[322] Dempsey (1987), 63.
[323] On this point, see McGrath (1994).

beautiful and came to be collected avidly, they clearly show that they are meant to solve a problem that is in fact a descriptive-representational problem.

Barocci was looking for a way to use descriptive color in a preparatory way, and his familiarity with different materials helped him find a new solution. Barocci's unique achievement in pastel is in combining the use of colored chalks with a colored ground. Barocci took the descriptive possibilities of Venetian drawing for granted and added to it the chromatic potential of the colored chalks.

Pastels (*pastelli*) are to be distinguished from natural chalks: they are made synthetically from painting pigments.[324] They began to be used in the early sixteenth-century. The invention of pastels is associated with Leonardo da Vinci by Gian Paolo Lomazzo, who said the Heads of the Apostles in the Santa Maria della Grazia *Last Supper* were studied in color pastels, although they do not survive.[325] Leonardo's cartoon of *Isabella d'Este* in the Louvre (inv. MI 753) does survive (**Fig. 83**), as do pastels by his pupil Boltraffio.[326] Mention of Leonardo is of course important because, like Raphael, he was a touchstone of reforming artists.

However, the surviving "pastels" from the Leonardo circle are little more than heightened drawings. In the Isabella d'Este drawing, for example, the pastel contribution is made up of a yellow band on the woman's garment and light heightening on the face. Other artists experimented with pastel, including Andrea Solario, Domenico Beccafumi and Parmigianino.[327] But, like Polidoro da Caravaggio's colored compositional sketches, it was importantly only a passing experiment for these artists, in addition to being an experiment that more or less ended with the rise of the Maniera.

Another possible influence might be considered in Emilia with the works of Correggio. Bellori reports that Correggio used pastels, and that some painter brought those pastels to Urbino, and this is how Barocci came to know them:

> During that period there arrived in Urbino a painter who was returning from Parma with some large sheets ['pezzi di cartoni'] and some exquisite heads drawn in colored chalks ['pastelli'] by Correggio, which Federico admired for the beautiful maniera which conformed perfectly with his temperament; thereafter he began to draw with colored chalks ['pastelli'] from life.[328]

This assumes, however, that Correggio used them, but no pastels survive from his hand. Most, but not all, scholars have concluded that the story is apocryphal and merely serves

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[324] The fundamental source is Watrous (1957); c.f., McGrath (1994), 30-34.

[325] Lomazzo (1584); in R. P. Ciardi ed. (1974), 2:170.

[326] See his three drawings, F 290 inf. N. 7 ('Santa Barbara'), F 262 inf. n. 33 and n. 34, in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan; Bambach (2003), 18.

[327] See Solario, *Bearded Man* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art); Beccafumi, *Head of a Woman* (Haarlem, Teylersmuseum), *Head of St. Michael* (Paris, Louvre, 9177) and Parmigianino, *Head of a Boy* (Vienna, Albertina).

[328] Bellori (1978), 23-4; (1972), 183: "*Nel qual tempo capitando in Urbino un pittore, che tornava da Parma con alcuni pezzi di cartoni e teste divinissime a pastelli di mano del Correggio, Federico restò preso da quella bella maniera, la quale si conformava del tutto al suo genio, e si pose a disegnare ai pastelli dal naturale.*"

to highlight Barocci's debt to Correggio.[329] The story is interesting, however, in light of the importance of Correggio for all the reforming artists of the late sixteenth century: Barocci, El Greco, the Carracci, Cigoli, and Lanfranco. What Correggio offered perhaps to those artists was not merely the proto-Baroque affective theatrical quality of his art, with which his influence is most often associated, but more specifically, that his integration of linear form and affective color was one of the lessons the reforming generation must have taken away from his works.

David Ekserdjian has noted that Bellori's story about *pastelli* could have been satisfied by certain of Correggio's achromatic drawings like the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.[330] Not a pastel proper, its use of red and black chalk on a blue ground with white heightening still possesses remarkable coloristic qualities. These drawings, even more than Barocci's, were taken to heart by the Carracci. Their drawn *modelli,* made with a combination of ink and wash and white lead heightening on a colored ground, carry on this approach, without strictly using color.

In the absence of pastels by Correggio, scholars have looked next to Barocci's slightly older contemporary Jacopo Bassano (c. 1510-1592) for influence.[331] Barocci did use the conventions of Venetian chiaroscuro drawing upon colored paper. Paralleling Venetian drawing practice, Barocci allowed his blue or green paper to serve as mid-tone between white highlighting and black shadows. However, as Thomas McGrath has pointed out, in many cases Central Italians used *more* color in their drawings than Venetians, and there was a strong tradition of pastel experimentation in Barocci's native Urbino.[332] It seems unlikely that Barocci was influenced by Bassano, whose drawings are sketchy compositional studies that do not blend or bring out the inherent possibilities of the medium of pastels. The innovation of and full possibilities of this medium seemingly occur only in Barocci's works.[333] Even if Barocci had access to drawings by Correggio or Bassano—something which is far from certain—Barocci is still notable for having pioneered an entirely new way of using colored pastels as part of a preparatory drawing process.[334]

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[329] Dempsey (1987), accepts the story at face value as does Ekserdjian (1997). DeGrazia (1984), 286-88 denies the veracity of the story, as do most scholars (e.g., McCullagh, 1991): 53-65, (1994),190-191; and Fontana (1998), 136-140. One wonders, too, whether Bellori may have been misled by drawings such as Windsor no. 5227 (see Scrase (2006) no. 5), which seem to be later copies after Correggio.

[330] For the Correggio, see Ekserdjian (1997), 208, who affirms that such a drawing could satisfy Bellori's story. See the equally remarkable drawing for the *Annunciation* (Metropolitan Museum of Art); Ekserdjian (1997), 144.

[331] Rearick saw the two developing independently (Rearick, 1976, 164). Rearick has dated the drawing in the Städel Institut, Frankfurt (15216) to c. 1557 and called it Bassano's first pastel (Rearick (1962), 525, n. 4), but Ballarin dates it to the late 1560s (Ballarin in Morassi (1971), 138). More recently see Brown and Marini (1993).

[332] McGrath (1998).

[333] Occasionally Bassano draws heads which approach Barocci. See the *Head of a Bearded Old Man* in the Janos Scholz collection of the Morgan Library (inv. 1973.43); according to Edward Olszewski, "it is difficult to believe it is. . .only in chalk" (Olszewski (1981) 17).

[334] Of all Barocci's pastels, the only one that might closely be compared to Bassano is the *Annunciation* in the Uffizi (no. 11391), but that drawing is both so late (it relates to the 1582 painting now in the Vatican and/or the 1584 engraving of the composition) and so unusual that it cannot be used to draw a link to

Heads, and Limbs

The most widespread use of colored preparatory studies, whether by Barocci or other artists, was for head studies, specifically, for auxiliary cartoons, works made at the full scale of the final painting and used as trial surrogates. The pastel head derives directly from the chalk "auxiliary cartoons" of Raphael and his circle.[335] Barocci would have been quite aware of this practice not only through his knowledge of Raphael's drawings but also his training with his relatives, the Genga family, who preserved the use of cartoons in Urbino well into the mid-sixteenth-century.

Raphael, like Barocci after him, copied heads from his finished cartoon in order to work on them further. However, there are distinctive differences between the two artists respective processes regarding the auxiliary cartoons. Raphael used pin-pricking and pouncing (*spolvere*) to transfer the head from the cartoon to an auxiliary drawing whereas by Barocci's time, incising (*calcare*) was preferred. Hence, incised lines instead of pin-pricks are the tell-tale signs that Barocci took the contours from the cartoon, although in some cases, incised or transferred lines are absent, and Barocci—an artist of impressive technical facility—merely drew a free-hand but exact copy of a head from a cartoon. Moreover, of course, Barocci added synthetic pastels and oil to the former chalk repertoire. Nevertheless, the basis of the High Renaissance practice remained relatively unchanged.

The most important antecedent to Barocci is the Sienese painter Domenico Beccafumi – again a High Renaissance master – who made sketches of heads in paint.[336] Beccafumi is always an interesting artist to bring up in the context of Barocci due to his shared possible affinities in color and style. But Beccafumi's sketches were, for the most part, light studies. Although they are fairly finished models like Barocci's, they were not made to explore problems of color (and they were abandoned after a short time). Moreover, as Linda Bauer has taught us, it is important to distinguish genuine preparatory sketches from those works that are merely incomplete and begun in speculation for the open market.[337] As she explains, many of the so-called oil sketches of artists of the sixteenth-century were simply unfinished paintings. They do not relate to the discussion at hand.

It appears that the use of pastels for "auxiliary cartoons" emerged after Barocci's convalescence, in the very work that was presented as an *ex voto* to his health, the *Madonna of Saint John* (for which we will also recall the pastel compositional sketch in the Morgan Library; **Fig. 38**).[338] For that work, Barocci sketched a chalk study of the

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Bassano. The drawing may instead have been an experiment, one where Barocci made a pastel study in substitution for his usual small oil sketches, like those discussed in Chapter 4.

[335] For bibliography, see the earlier discussion of the reduction compass.

[336] Sanminiatelli (1955); Ferrari (1990), 9. Beccafumi's head studies are variously described as being in tempera, oil, or body-color. They may in fact be in some kind of *tempera grassa*; they remain to be studied, but the point here is that they were in paint rather than chalk.

[337] Bauer (1987). Bauer "disattributes" many oil sketches from Barocci's contemporaries like Titian, Girolamo Muziano and Jacopo Bassano, which earlier scholarship presumed was a regular element of their working procedure (99, n. 8). She corrects the interpretation of the meaning of abbozzo as "sketch" in writers like Baldinucci, with whom the modern usage became current.

[338] According to DeGrazia (1984), fig. 95 in black and white, Barocci's first pastel may be the Head of a Woman in a private collection. The authorship of the drawing is not certain, and the drawing cannot be

Virgin, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. 64.136.3) (**Fig. 84**), which contains ochre pastel in addition to black and red chalk. In addition, Barocci executed a pastel of the entire Christ Child.[339] When Barocci executed these heads he must literally have had a traced-in area on his canvas and thought of them as actual fill-ins for the lacuna of the final work (as we shall see, in two cases he actually affixed these directly to the canvas). Hence, they are quite similar to the final painted solution. By the time we reach the Perugia *Deposition from the Cross* (1569), a perfectly mature use of pastel may be seen in the *Woman Supporting the Virgin* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon (**Fig. 85**).[340] Here, Barocci explores the coloring of one of the Mary's heads with a perfect command of the possibilities of pastel, in a personal form that would change little for forty years.

Moreover, Barocci began making oil sketches at the same time as his pioneering efforts with pastel, in the 1560s. As is the case with the pastels, there are earlier examples of such colored oil sketches; but again, Barocci made the practice his own from the beginning of his career.[341] One secure oil sketch made in execution of the *Moses and the Serpent* c. 1563 (Vatican) exists, which is the study for the *Head of Moses* (**Fig. 86**; Bob Haboldt collection).[342] The head looks very much as it will appear in the final picture. There is no hesitancy. Like the pastels, the technique appears full-blown. As in the case of the pastels, Barocci had a more or less rigid *cartone grande* from which he took the outline of the head, and he went on from there to test its coloring.

It is important to stress once again the way in which the oil sketches approximate the final picture—so much so that in two cases Barocci actually pasted oil sketches onto the final work: the female donor in the *Madonna of Saint Simon*, and the head of Francis himself in the *Perdono*.[343] Presuming that Barocci intended to study the color and when he decided he could not improve on his sketch, he actually attached it to the altarpiece. Obviously, one cannot use an oil sketch for a picture unless it is both scaled and executed in the same technique.

A still-unanswerable question remains as to why Barocci sometimes chose to paint oil head studies but far more often made full-scale heads in pastel. They both seem to have come into use at approximately the same time that he achieved his mature style in the mid 1560s. After comparing two head studies – the one in pastel the other in oil – Pillsbury has written, "They occupy a position in relation to the final painting which is analogous. The scale is similar, the ground-color for both flesh parts is pale, and the

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related to any work, but stylistically it relates to the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (Duomo, Urbino) which was painted between 1557-1558, thus sometime after Barocci's first Roman journey. Like McGrath (1994), 192-193; and Fontana (1998),137, n. 78, I see no reason to insert it into Barocci's legitimate development; however, see Bambach in Alsten (2009). 41-43.

[339] Art Institute of Chicago, inv. 1990.512.1, 40.1 x 26.3 cm; McCullagh (1991); Emiliani (2008), 1:154, fig.16.8.

[340] Besançon inv. D1516, 31.4 x 28.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:68, fig. 104.; (2008), 1:200, fig. 22.16; Mann & Bohn (2012), 102, fig, 3.7.

[341] For the general history of oil sketches, see Ferrari (1990).

[342] Sotheby's (1993), 48; Haboldt & Co. (1995), 19. Bohn (Mann, 2012, 67) does not accept it. It is difficult to compare the painting to the fresco, which is very high up on the wall. But it is useful to remember that the Vatican technical investigation of the fresco shows an overly careful approach with more *giornate* than Barocci's peers (e.g. Zuccaro). Furthermore, the high-up fresco would have been impossible to copy at life-size in person. For Barocci's oil heads in general, see Pillsbury (1978) and Prytz (2011).

[343] The pasted head is particularly evident in photographs taken in raking light, as are available at the Archivio Fotografico per la Documentazione dei Restauri in the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro in Rome.

development of the figure in dark tones initially and later in local tints is comparable."[344] This suggests that both pastels and oil sketches served roughly the same function, with oil sketches being perhaps the more elaborate and finished medium.

The fact that Barocci sometimes opted for oil, but much more often for pastel, suggests they do not serve exactly the same function. Generally, the pastels are much more numerous than the oil sketches, presumably, because of the labor involved. The pastels become a kind of shortcut for painting, perhaps accelerated by Barocci's weak constitution. However, one thing that Barocci never does in oil is paint a limb, an important difference. One can discern further differences.

If one examines works for which both oil and pastel studies survive, perhaps most notably the Senigallia *Entombment*, for which Barocci executed at least six head studies total, and an oil and pastel study for the same figure **(Fig 35)**, these become clear. *The Bearded Man Who Supports Christ (Nicodemus)* is studied both in pastel (Washington, National Gallery of Art) and in oil (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art).[345] The pastel study renders the head bigger, is executed in a manner that is rougher and less finished than the oil study, and consequently, must have served as a study for it. The oil head, instead, fits closely the final painting. This practice is not unique in Barocci's career, for there are other pictures for which Barocci did oil or pastel studies for the same figure (e.g. *Visitation*).

To address the rest of the heads for this painting, the *Head of a Bearded Man with a Turban who supports Christ (Joseph of Arimathea)* in the Institut Nèerlandais (inv. 5681) and the *Head of Woman who Comforts the Virgin* (private collection) are both in pastel. Both they, and the National Gallery head of *The Bearded Man Who Supports Christ*, which is also pastel, are oversized.[346] As will be explained in the next section, if they are reduced by 1:4 (from 4:4 to 3:4) they are perfect matches to the painting. The remaining two oil sketches - the *Head of Saint John the Evangelist* (National Gallery, Washington) and *Head of Mary Magdalene* (Musée Bonnat, Bayonne) are to the scale of the painting.[347] From this and other examples (e.g. the Peter in the Albertina, and see below), one of the fundamental differences in Barocci's mind between pastel and oil is that pastel affords scaling up whereas oil does not.

All of the above must be kept in mind as we turn to the interesting problem case of the drawings that are routinely labeled as "drawn from life" in drawing catalogs. Compare the chalk drawings for the Virgin of the *Madonna of Saint John* in the Louvre

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[344] Pillsbury and Richards (1978), 172.

[345] National Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. 1991.182.16, 38.0 x 36.3 cm, McGrath (1998), 6, fig. 7; not in Emiliani (2008); Mann and Bohn (2012), 170, fig 8.8,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 1976.87.1, 40.0 x 27.8 cm; Pillsbury (1978), plate II; Emiliani (1985), 1:160, fig. 314, (2008), 1:363, fig. 39.13.

[346] Paris, Institut Nèerlandais, inv. 5681, 31.4 x 24.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:162, fig. 316; (2008), 1:362, fig. 39.12;
Private collection, New York, 20.5 x 21.3 cm, pastel on paper; Haboldt (1990), no. 5; Emiliani (1992), fig. 31; not in Emiliani (2008);

[347] National Gallery, Washington, inv. 1979.11.1, 41.9 x 31.6 cm, oil on paper; De Grazia 1985, 36, fig. 8; not in Emiliani (2008).
Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, inv. RF1997.3 (formerly Jacques Petithory), 58.0 x 43.0 cm, oil on paper; Emiliani (1992), 27, fig. 18; Emiliani (2008), 1:371, fig. 39.37.

(2864) and Metropolitan Museum of Art (64.136.3) (**Fig. 84**). It has been said that the Louvre "study appears to have been drawn from life" whereas the Metropolitan study is more "idealized," implying the Louvre drawing was done first.[348] However, both are similar in dimensions to each other and the final work (or cartoon). The Louvre drawing is less idealized, but it was not simply sketched freehand. At the least, Barocci blocked out a space the size of the head before he sketched from life. Countless of Barocci's studies are derived from the cartoon in a similar manner and have been confirmed to be strongly dependent on the cartoon. These are not casually taken life studies. Their position, dimension, light, and shading would all by this point in Barocci's standard practice have been worked out in multiple drawings. Against the Bellorian account of Barocci's practice of drawing from life, represented most strongly by Andrea Emiliani, credit goes to Edmund Pillsbury for stressing the role of most of Barocci's pastel and oil head studies as auxiliary cartoons.[349]

Although Barocci's use of oil and pastel is a direct continuation of possibilities already suggested in the High Renaissance, his use of especially pastel for limbs – arms, legs, hands and feet – is completely new. It is interesting to note that these drawings seem to emerge the first time that Barocci had to deal extensively with a nude figure (*Crucifixion*), for they are not found in the contemporary paintings peopled by clothed figures (*Madonnas of Saint John* and *Saint Simon*). For in the preparation for the *Crucifixion* there exists a chalk study of the left putto's leg (Berlin, 20136), as well as an arm study for Christ that is nearly life sized (Berlin, 20263) (**Fig. 87**).[350] From that point on, Barocci extended the same logic for head studies. Tellingly, where earlier generations might have been concerned to capture a likeness, Barocci is instead concerned with flesh tones, with warm reds balanced with cool blues. Accordingly, only full-size drawings of limbs for exposed flesh exist for the painting. In paintings with much drapery, the amount of full size pastels decreases.

This correlation of flesh and full-sized drawings is born out in the Perugia *Deposition*. Barocci uses chalk for two sketches of the Virgin's feet and one of the Mary's hands (**Fig. 88**). The figures are mostly clothed; in the case of Christ, we recall he had already been studied in half-scale chalk drawings. Pastel is only used for head studies of the same Mary and the aforementioned study of the *Woman Supporting the Virgin* in Besançon (**Fig. 85**). As pointed out in Chapters 2 and 5, it is with the *Madonna del Popolo* that Barocci begins to render full-size body parts in colored pastel.[351]

The sheer extent of Barocci's commitment to these full-sized pastel drawings and oil sketches is revealed by looking at those related to the *Visitation*. At least twelve survive (**Fig. 89**): two pastel studies of the arm of the maid who carries a basket on the right (Berlin, 20535r, 20537); three studies for Joseph's hand, gripping the bag that he is

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[348] McCullagh (1991), 57.

[349] Pillsbury (1976); Pillsbury (1978), 172; Pillsbury (1987); Pillsbury and Richards (1978), 7-10.

[350] Berlin inv. 20136, 26 x 18.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:42, fig. 65; (2008), 1:173, fig. 19.28.
Berlin inv. 20263, 25.6 x 41.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:43, fig. 67; (2008), 1:173, fig. 19.23.

[351] On exception to this rule perhaps lies in full-sized sketches for workshop pictures, which at least in one case - Berlin inv. 20158 for the Alessandro Vitali *Nativity of the Virgin* (San Sempliciano, Milan) - uses only black and white chalk; Olsen (1962), 232; Verstegen (2015), 106. Another example - the quickly drawn Berlin inv. 20513 - is reported in the next note.

leaning down to lift (Berlin 20532, 20520, 20536); and hand studies for Elizabeth and the Virgin (Berlin 20513, 27468).[352] In addition, there are numerous head studies both in pastel and oil. The Louvre has a head of Joseph, Vienna one for Zacharias - 4:3 over-life size - the National Gallery, Washington, another for the maid in the foreground.[353] This head study is particularly interesting because its pose matches more closely the cartoon than the final painting, suggesting that Barocci permitted himself to begin head studies early in the preparation process. Finally, there are two fine head studies for Elizabeth and Joseph in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Getty, respectively.[354]

A similar situation exists for the same church with Barocci's *Presentation*. Fewer full sized drawings seem to survive than for the *Visitation*, and this is especially true for pastel (and oil) heads. One can imagine that drawings were certainly produced for the young Virgin Mary. As with the *Visitation*, there are a number of drawings of the exposed flesh of arms. For the maid in the lower right, there are four surviving drawings (Berlin, 20504, 20505, 20491, 20492).[355] There are other drawings for the putti (Uffizi 11433; Berlin 20506), and the shepherd in the right foreground (Uffizi 11320), and Saint Ann on the left (Uffizi 11391)**.**[356] Pastel drawings that survive include Louvre 2885, for Zachariah **(Fig. 90)**.[357]

Finally, and somewhat surprisingly, Barocci extends his practice of the full size pastel drawing to animals. Examples include the bull in the Prado *Nativity* (Berlin 20317), the falcon from the Urbino *Stigmatization* (Berlin 20350), and the ram (Berlin, 15227) and a calf (Berlin, 20486) from the Chiesa Nuova *Presentation* (1603) **(Fig. 90)**.[358] Each animal is worked out in substantial detail and, like the heads, each is never exactly like the final

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[352] Berlin inv. 20513, 25.2 x 19.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:220, fig. 452; (2008), 2:46, fig. 45.13.
Berlin inv. 20535r, 38.8 x 25.9 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:224, fig. 464; (2008), 2:49, fig. 45.23.
Berlin inv. 20537, 39.0 x 24.3 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2: 49, fig. 45.22.
Berlin inv. 20536, 27.2 x 41.5 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:54, fig. 45.29.
Berlin inv. 20532, 41.4 x 27.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:226, fig. 468; (2008), 2:57, fig. 45.39.
Berlin inv. 20520, 20.4 x 27.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:226, fig. 469; (2008), 2:54, fig. 45.30.
Berlin inv. 27468, 27.5 x 19.7 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:46, fig. 45.14.
[353] Louvre inv. 2884, 39.1 x 25.1 cm; Emiliani (2008), 2:55, fig. 45.32; Mann and Bohn (2012), 208.
Vienna inv. 556, 34.3 x 23.2 cm; Emiliani (2008), 2:52, fig. 45.26; Mann and Bohn (2012), 206, fig. 10.8; Bohn (2018), 100, fig. 6.11.
National Gallery, Washington, inv. 1989.76.1, 39 x 27 cm; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), 75, fig. 52; Emiliani (2008), 2:48, fig. 45.19; Mann and Bohn (2012), 210, fig. 10.12.
[354] Metropolitan inv. 1976.87.2, 39.1 x 27.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:223, fig. 446; not in (2008); Mann and Bohn (2012); 203-4, fig. 10.6
Getty inv. 2017.104, 39.5 x 30.8 cm; Mann and Bohn (2012), 209, fig. 10.11.
[355] Berlin inv. 20504, 28.2 x 42.4 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:263, fig. 72.48;
Berlin inv. 20505, 27.0 x 41.0 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:263, fig. 72.47; 20491;
Berlin inv. 20492, 26.5 x 35.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:355, fig. 775; Emiliani (2008), 2:259, fig. 72.28.
Berlin inv. 20491, 27.3 x 41.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:355, fig. 776; (2008), 2:259, fig. 72.27 (not illustrated).
[356] Berlin inv. 20506, 29.5 x 40.5 cm; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 2:264, fig. 72.50;
Uffizi inv. 11320, 26.6 x 40.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:356, fig. 781; Emiliani (2008), 2:260, fig. 72.32;
[357] Louvre inv. 2885, 37.0 x 30.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:352, fig. 769; Emiliani (2008), 2:258, fig. 72.22.
[358] Berlin inv. 20317, 24.8 x 20.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:328, fig. 709; (2008), 2:200, fig. 63.34;
Berlin inv. 20350, 32 x 25.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:297, fig. 629; (2008), 2:161, fig. 57.5;
Berlin inv. 15227, 26.5 x 31.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:358, fig. 789; Emiliani (2008), 2:262, fig. 72.40;
Berlin inv. 20486, 40.5 x 27.9 cm; Emiliani (1985) 2:359, fig. 792; Emiliani (2008), 2:262, fig. 72.41.

product. But Barocci has taken advantage of the scale to judge the full impact of his initial solution.

Larger than Life-Sized Drawings

The foregoing discussion did not enumerate paintings according to chronology because there are simply too many full-size drawings to discuss. Instead, by focusing on salient categories, principles can be developed that are applicable to all paintings. Here, in conclusion, it is worth mentioning exceptions that prove the rule. Once again, one must remember that the paper Barocci used was more or less a constant size. Faced with an extremely large painting like the Genoa *Crucifixion*, individual sheets of paper were thus quite small next to the five-meter painting. Unsurprisingly, Barocci merely chose to draw a few hands and heads only. Feet also might have been a possibility, but limbs were out of the question; each limb would have been bigger than the standard paper could hold.

This situation also explains a few drawings that are *larger than life*. The fact that Barocci could reduce drawings from a painting also permitted him to enlarge them, and he did so on several occasions. The most prominent example that has been mentioned is the head study of Saint Peter in the Albertina for *The Calling of Saint Andrew*. In this painting, Peter is a small figure in the middle ground. It is a worthwhile exercise to transpose the figure at full size to the standard 40 x 25 cm paper that Barocci uses, because the exercise demonstrates that the figures are swallowed up. Instead, Barocci scales up 1.333, a simple 4:3 ratio **(Fig. 21).** Reproducing the head of the figure to this ratio it then matches perfectly the paintings. To this category can be added those pastel drawings for the *Entombment* just discussed.

Of those already mentioned, the *Head of a Bearded Man with a Turban who supports Christ (Joseph of Arimathea)*, the *Head of Woman who Comforts the Virgin* (private collection) and the *Bearded Man Who Supports Christ (Nicodemus)* (Washington, National Gallery of Art) are all executed at 4:3 scale **(Fig. 91)**. Each is larger than the painted heads, but in each case if the drawing is reduced by 1:4, each then closely matches the figure in the painting. Whereas with the chalk drawings, Barocci scaled down to make a limb fit properly, with the chalk heads he scaled up to make the head fit the paper. As the forthcoming discussion of Barocci's workshop will demonstrate, this ratio was also common for converting previously completed works to another format suitable for copies and elaborations; these include the Metropolitan *Stigmatization of Saint* Francis or the Vatican Pinacoteca *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*.

Confirming Drawings

Naturally, my procedure can do more than confirm which of the already attributed drawings are true auxiliary cartoons; it can also be used to assess new proposals. For example, David McTavish has suggested that a drawing of a friar in the Louvre (4634) is both by Barocci and is more precisely a head study for Saint Dominic in the *Madonna of the Rosary*.[359] It is an attractive proposal from the point of view of the drawing, that is, stylistically the drawing is not far from Barocci's work. When compared to the head in the painting, however, it can be seen that the scale is not right. One might use this

[359] Louvre, inv. 4634, 38.7 x 26.8 cm; McTavish (2008).

argument to discount the drawing if too rigidly wed to the notion that auxiliary heads are always at 1:1 scale.

However, when following the procedure suggested above, and reducing the drawing by one quarter (to 3:4), and tilting it, the drawing fits to Barocci's working procedure in a predictable way. Nevertheless, the drawing does look rather preliminary in relation to the final solution arrived at in the *Madonna of the Rosary*. For that reason, it is worthwhile proposing an alternative drawing – Louvre 2876 – as representing the next step towards finalizing the figure of Dominic (**Fig. 92**).[360] Normally associated with the *Stigmatization* (to which it also corresponds in size and orientation), the scaled reading of the work raises the possibility that it was used for both paintings.

Drawings might be reused but are still strictly related to scale. In viewing the myriad drawings related to the figures of Mary in commissions like the *Madonna del Popolo* and the *Madonna del Gatto*, one must remember that the head studies would match the scale of the paintings for which they were originally made. This is not to say that a drawing could not be the basis for one painting but then be recycled years later. Barocci might base a preparatory study on a drawing made for an earlier painting, but the new study would match the scale of the later painting. Difficulty in connecting preparatory studies to paintings would arise if Barocci simply reused earlier drawings and went directly to paintings at a larger scale, rather than making a new study; I am not, however, aware of such a case. Nonetheless, given Barocci's reuse of cartoon fragments, and presumably also the pastels and oils that went with those fragments, further patient study of many drawings alongside several paintings, and not just one at a time, is required.

Heads for Sale

Barocci's unique and beautiful head studies – whether in pastel or oil – must have been highly prized in their own time. However, it is clear that they were not widely dispersed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When Barocci died in 1612, his studio inventory listed 120 pastel heads and 14 in oil.[361] As late as the mid-seventeenth century, Giovanni Lavalas corresponded with the secretary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopoldo de' Medici, in 1673 trying unsuccessfully to negotiate a price for their sale.[362]

Babette Bohn has recently suggested that Barocci was in the habit of copying heads – especially those of a size not matching the paintings – and selling or giving them to collectors and friends. She notes that one of Barocci's patrons, Simonetto Anastagi, owned four of Barocci's pastel heads.[363] This would explain, she argues, the great number of such heads and Barocci's famous, apparent duplication of work. While Barocci undoubtedly awarded his major patrons – of which Anastagi was one – with traces of his creative process, John Marciari has more economically suggested that many of the

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[360] Louvre, inv. 2876, 28 x 24.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:301, fig. 639; Emiliani (2008), 2:166, fig. 57.15. As pointed out by Marilyn Lavin, but not subsequently followed up: Lavin (1956). She does not note, however, the possibility of multi-use of the drawing.

[361] Calzini (1913), 80: "*Teste di pastelli finite numero cento, tra quali ven'è d'ogni età d'ogni sesso*;" 77: "*Vi sono quatordici teste colorite a olio di mano di S.or Baroccio, di vecchi, di donne, di giovani*." Mann (2018), 176: "One hundred finished heads in pastel, of every sex and age;" 175: "There are fourteen heads, colored in oil, from the hand of Signor Barocci, of old men, of women, of children."

[362] The letters are reprinted in Baldinucci (1975), 4:105.

[363] Bohn (2012), 48; (2018).

heads are simply not by Barocci.[364] For example, the *Head Study for Saint John the Evangelist* (for the Senigallia *Entombment*) in a private collection does not seem to be by Barocci at all.[365]

More promising are a number of extracted versions of Barocci's paintings that have been known for a long time, which seem to have been reuses of auxiliary heads for the market. For example, a *Salvator Mundi* in the Pitti Palace is obviously derived from Christ in the Urbino *Last Supper* but it services quite nicely for an individual devotional picture.[366] Another is a *Head of Christ* **(Fig. 93)** in the Chiesa del Gesù in Perugia, which is the head of Christ from the Prado *Crucifixion*.[367] Tellingly, in this example the eyes of the Christ are exaggerated – almost impossibly – indicating the intervention of the workshop.

Nevertheless, the greater ease of movement of such images suggests they served to make Barocci, and his style, even more well known that it might at first appear, as these oil heads served as bridges between public altarpieces in big cities and drawings only seen in private hands. Such heads were probably not terribly expensive and, especially in the case of the *Ecce Homo,* becomes a very tangible link to Guido Reni's private devotional heads **(Fig. 94; Figs. 4 & 5)**.[368]

Barocci's overly explicit use of pastel and oil was not necessary for the later artists to follow. Barocci's "followers" Vanni, Salimbeni, and Cigoli, for example, relied on the traditional red and black chalk, as did the Carracci. Most of these artists, it bears remembering, knew Barocci's works more than the artist himself; they were influenced by him, but did not study with him. In their case, nonetheless, this usage of High Renaissance standards might even have carried a competitive element of *omaggio*. Thomas McGrath has pointed how market demand for collectible drawings created a niche for black and white chalk drawings by Federico Zuccaro and others, where the colors were used selectively to represent flesh and garments.[369] Barocci, then, worked through pastels and for personal reasons, demanded more precise control, while later artists were able to learn from him and move on to more economical solutions. But once again, the descriptive function is shared even if the if the exact material is not.

In addition, Barocci's literalism—his steadfast dependency of the auxiliary painted head on the cartoon—is what is also absent from the head studies by successive artists. While painted head studies become the norm in the seventeenth century, they rarely ever again were so irrevocably chained to a precise process.[370] More likely, chalks, pastels and

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[364] Marciari (2013), 3.

[365] Mann and Bohn (2012), 172; Mann (2018), 103. Marciari (2013). See also Jeffrey Fontana's critical remarks in *caa-reviews* (August 22, 2013).

[366] *Salvator Mundi*, 60 x 48 cm; Pitti Palace, Florence; Olsen (1962), 229-230; Chiarini and Padovani (2003), 2:65, no. 77; Emiliani (2008), 2:239, fig. 66.68 (as Antonio Viviani). Emiliani lists other versions, clearly from the workshop. Another version seems to have been in the Corsini collection; Bodart (1992), 20.

[367] A *Head of Christ*, dimensions unknown; Church of the Gesù, Perugia; Krommes (1912), 83. Emiliani lists another version in a Milan private collection; (2008), 2:276, fig. 74.2.

[368] For more on Barocci and Reni, see Verstegen (2015), 135-141.

[369] McGrath (2001), 235-241, esp. 236-7.

[370] There are, nonetheless, a few examples. Some of Francesco Vanni's head studies—that for his San Bernardino in the Arcidosso *Madonna and Child with Saints*, for example (formerly with Jean-Luc Baroni)—do correspond to the size of the final painting. See also Vanni's *Head of a Girl* (Monte dei Paschi di Siena;

oils would be used to draw from life, as in Carletto Caliari's *Head of a Bearded Man with a Ruff*.[371] Carletto still explores local color and freshness of appearance, but this explorations begins from the details rather than the whole of the composition, as in Barocci's case.

With full knowledge of Barocci's working methods, Peter Paul Rubens demonstrated the way that future artists would work. They would paint head studies because it was important to work out the appearance of the head before beginning the final picture. But these future artists would do so without a cartoon, and paint *alla prima* without extensive graphic preparation. Such an example is Rubens' Saint Domitilla painted in preparation for his High Altar of the Chiesa Nuova, the same church hosting works by Barocci and Caravaggio.[372] In this context, the six heads in the Palazzo Corsini, Florence, associated with Cigoli become interesting. Apparently painted in anticipation of the dome of the Pauline chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, they may or may not have derived from the cartoons that would have been obligatory for such a venture **(Fig. 7)**.[373]

* * *

As noted above, the distinction of monochrome/drawing vs. color/painting do not adequately describe the preparatory-execution divide in the Early Baroque period. Artists thought about color and painted before the painting was done. In Caravaggio's case the final painting could be sketch-like, ensuring freshness but holding the same limitations of sketches in potential error. In Barocci's case he used color throughout the preparatory process, while painting early and drawing late. Barocci's interlocking system provided him with a great deal of flexibility, which could be utilized when reusing or recombining features of past paintings.

Ciampolini (2002), 117, formerly identified as being for the *Madonna Enthroned and Child with Sts. Lawrence, Gregory, Nicholas and Agnes* in San Niccolò in Sasso, Siena, but actually a study for the angel in the *Madonna della Pappa* at the Yale University Art Gallery; Marciari and Boorsch (2013).

[371] Pillsbury (1974), no. 50.

[372] Oil on paper, mounted on wood, 75 by 56 cm. Inv. No.447, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo; Ferrari (1990), 28-29, 221-227. Rubens presents a further fascinating but difficult case because many works that seem to have been originally made as head studies were later cleaned up (in some cases surely by the studio) to be turned into independent saleable works.

[373] Faranda (1986), 170.

Fig. 82
Arm and Leg Studies for the Senigallia *Entombment*, c. 1582,
Berlin (inv. 20365)

Fig. 83
Leonardo da Vinci, *Isabella d'Este* (1499-1500), Louvre, Paris

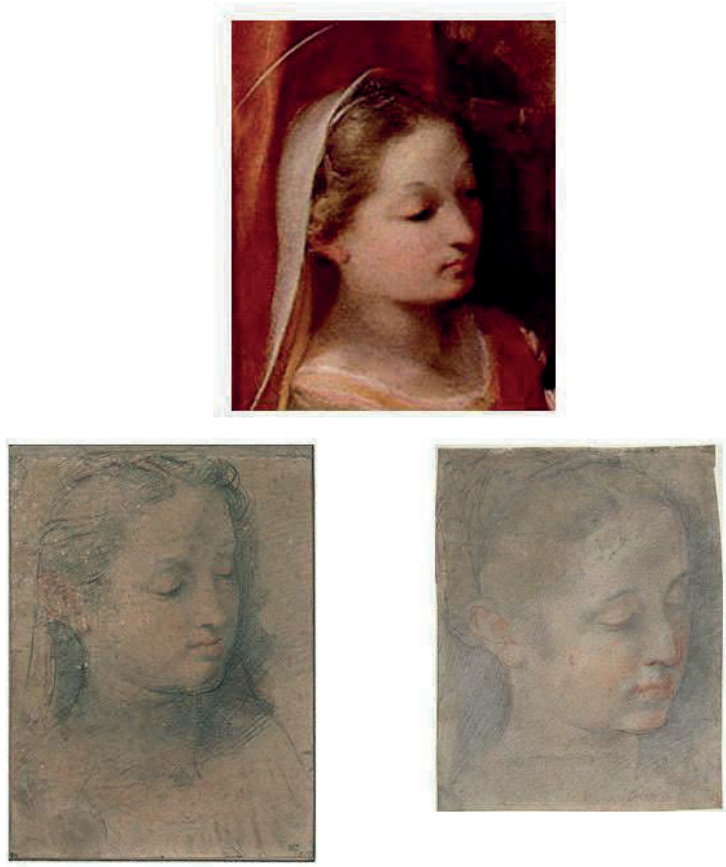

Fig. 84
Absolute scale comparison of detail of *Madonna of Saint John* with Louvre inv. 2864 (bottom left) and Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 64.136.3 (bottom right)

Fig. 85
Head of One of the Three Marys, c. 1568, Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

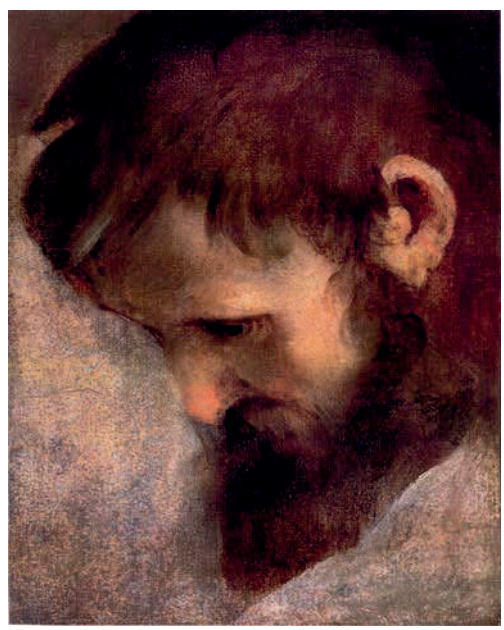

Fig. 86
Head of Moses, c. 1563, oil on paper, New York, Bob Haboldt collection

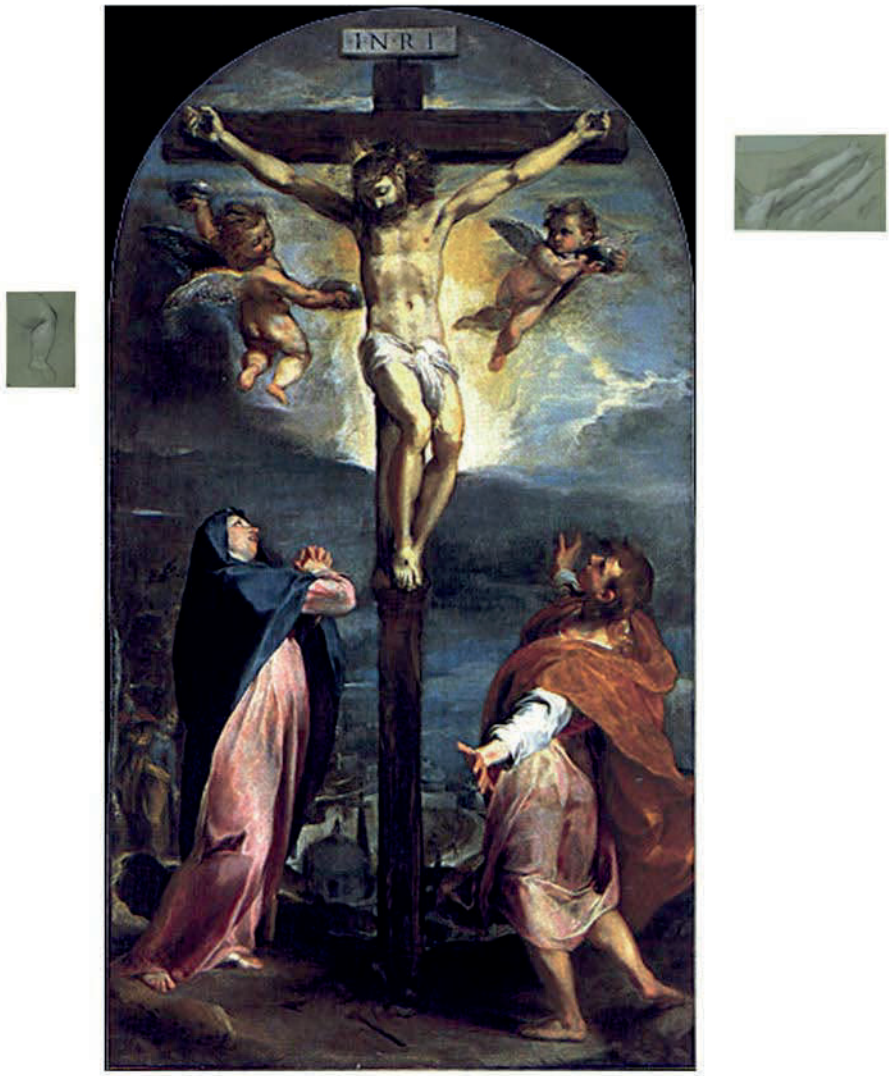

Fig. 87
Absolute scale comparison of Urbino *Crucifixion* and Berlin inv. 20136 (left) and Berlin inv. 20263 (right)

Fig. 88
Absolute scale juxtaposition of Perugia *Deposition* and (clockwise, from bottom left) Berlin, invs. 20452, 20451, 20470, Albertina inv. 554, (top, right) Besancon inv. 1516, Albertina inv. 2287, Art Institute of Chicago inv. 22.5406, Berlin inv. 20456

Fig. 89
Absolute scale juxtaposition of Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* and (clockwise, from bottom left) Berlin 20532, 20536, 20520, Getty 2017.104 (*Head of Joseph*), Louvre inv. 2884 (*Head of Joseph*), Berlin inv. 20513 (hand of the Virgin), Metropolitan Museum of Art (Head of Elizabeth), (top right) Albertina (*Head of Zacharias*), Berlin inv. 27468 (*Hand of Elizabeth*), National Gallery of Art inv. , Berlin invs. 20535 & 20537

Fig. 90
Absolute scale juxtaposition of Chiesa Nuova *Presentation* and (clockwise, from bottom left): Berlin invs. 20492, 20491, 20505, 20504, Uffizi 11391, Louvre 2885 (Head of an Old Man), Uffizi 11433 (Putto), (top right) Berlin 20506 (Putto), Uffizi 11320 (shepherd's shoulder), Berlin 20254 (calf's head), 15227 (ram's head)

Fig. 91
Absolute scale comparison of New York, private collection (upper left), 3:4 reduction in black and white and full sized; Institut Néerlandais inv. 5681 (lower left), full sized and 3:4 reduction in black and white; Senigallia *Entombment* (detail); and National Gallery inv. 1991.182.16 (right), 3:4 reduction in black and white and full sized

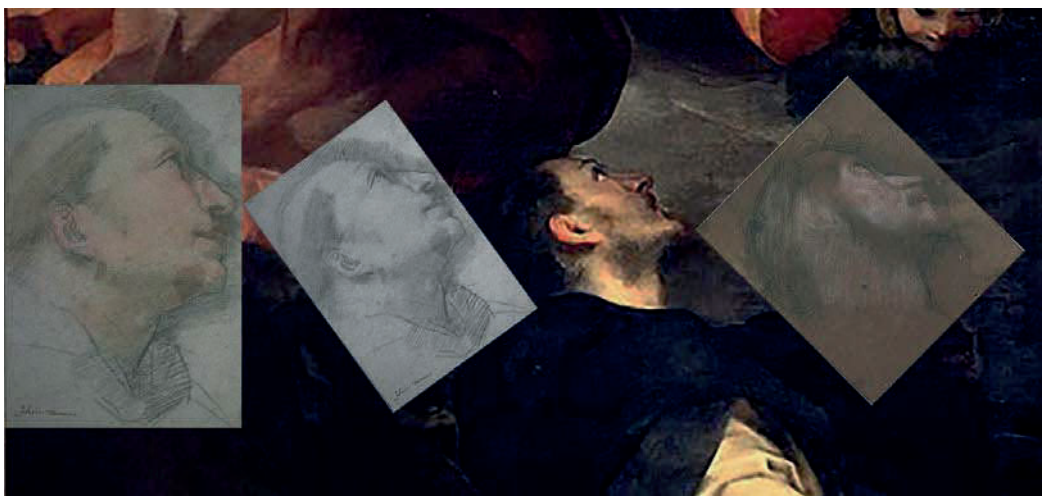

Fig. 92
Absolute scale comparison of Louvre inv. 4634 (from left to right; full sized and 3:4 reduction in black and white), *Madonna of the Rosary* (detail), and Louvre inv. 2876

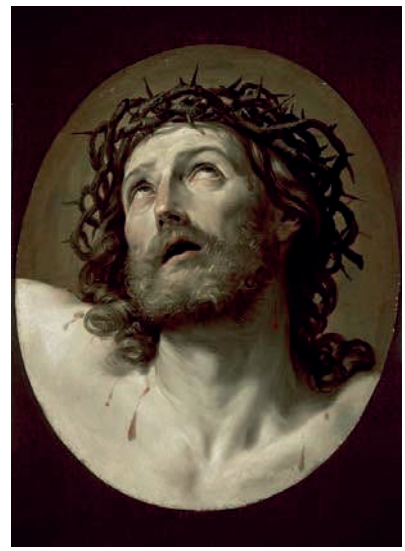

Fig. 93, Workshop of Federico Barocci, *Head of Christ* (from the Prado Crucifixion), 1603-12, Church of the Gesù, Perugia (left)

Fig. 94, Guido Reni, *Head of Christ*, early 1630s, Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit (right)

Chapter 8

Copies and Workshop Pictures

Ironically, the artist of the early seventeenth century most popular in the public imagination – Caravaggio – tends to undermine the understanding of the careful, diligent attention to sacred themes we have been exploring in this book. But while many truisms about Caravaggio may be challenged, the same is true of Barocci. The would-be neurotic artist actually ran a large workshop and was far from being bedridden, in the image of a bohemian with tuberculosis. Rather, Barocci managed to overcome, or at least successfully manage, whatever malady he suffered. Indeed, the predominant theme of Counter-Reformation workshops is one of collaboration and subordination to a decorative theme, whether it be the Carracci's fresco projects or the papal decorative schemes for Sixtus V in Rome.

The recent publication of a number of works devoted to Barocci's own workshop and its influence has catapulted studies of Barocci's workshop forward.[374] By outlining the classes of direct students like Antonio Cimatori (c. 1550-1623), Ventura Mazzi (1560-1638), Antonio Viviani (1560-1620) and Alessandro Vitali (1580-1630), those who worked in the Urbino-Pesaro milieu (Cesare Maggeri, Filippo Bellini, Giorgio Picchi, and others) and imitators such as Francesco Vanni and Ventura Salimbeni, it is now possible to truly gauge the extent of Barocci's great artistic influence in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

As for the first category of direct students, authors have even begun to assemble distinct painterly personalities for Cimatori, Mazzi, Viviani and Vitali, allowing them to attribute unsigned works. The new access to the personalities is especially useful in the case of those many works that repeat motifs from Barocci's earlier altarpieces. While attributing hands to assistants is great progress, it risks obscuring the basic facts about Barocci's workshop: why would the master have allowed such free reuse of his *invenzioni*? By focusing too much on individuals who may have done some of the painting of certain works, one loses the sense of the structure of the repetitions in the first place, their profit motive and market function. Moreover, it was not in Barocci's interest to allow his students to copy from his works.

With the question of the benefit to Barocci of sharing his works in our minds, the practices investigated earlier provide the possibilities and limitations for a workshop practice. Continuing to use the computer paradigm of the rest of the book, this chapter demonstrates that many of the resuses of Barocci's motifs are direct tracings from the cartoons, necessitating even more cooperation between master and pupil. I challenge the idea that these are independent commissions but eagerly sought out by Barocci to expand his impact on the artistic sphere. There are three categories that I will especially challenge; directly copied works, paintings by Alessandro Vitali, and then the famous workshop pictures consisting of a cut and paste of various elements from earlier Barocci pictures.

[374] Massari and Cellini (2005); Giannotti and Pizzorusso (2009); Mancini (2010).

Reconsidering the workshop will expose a particular prejudice in scholarly discussion of Barocci and his art. In general, I suspect that Barocci's was special kind of workshop, quite different from that of Titian or Rubens, where the artist provides an idea that assistants work out and the master touches up. As repeatedly demonstrated, Barocci was not an *alla prima* painter and was extremely conservative in his techniques, most importantly in this discussion for his use of cartoons.

Therefore, one needs to reconsider the idea of authorship in relation to Barocci's central Italian method of working. Richard Spear has provided a useful scale of works from the master's hand versus those of the workshop, to which one may refer.[375] They are in order of desirability:

1) Original, by artist completely for original commission.
2) Copy by artist of original commission.
3) Touched-up original, by studio for original commission but touched up.
4) Touched-up copy of original commission.
5) School or studio, by studio for original commission.

Scholarship possesses no vocabulary to capture these gradations for Barocci, for the choices are either exclusively by Barocci (1) or by pupil (5). This chapter intends to show ways to enrich this picture in light of Barocci's unusual working practice.

Titian did not trace to construct his original paintings, as he worked the compositions out on the canvas. But for his replicas he certainly did trace. For the "replicas," Barocci too traced, but from his cartoons, consequently, the question of construction is not about tracing, as everybody traced.[376] However, in Titian's case one traces from one completed work to the next, while in Barocci's case, one traces directly from the cartoons, which are lying in the workshop.[377] This process means that overcoming the prejudice against a painter who uses cartoons requires a reassessment of these works on the same grounds that other pictures are judged, by optical quality or connoisseurship.[378]

This method based on optical quality is already done for Barocci's very late works, where he works up new compositions from modestly reused elements; accordingly, this charity must extend to the workshop. Barocci's practice arose out of his training and the circumstances of his career. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, numerous cartoons survive for Barocci's paintings, giving the assurance to posit that for every major work he created a respective cartoon. Furthermore, this method is confirmed by the large number of 'auxiliary cartoon' studies that survive of heads drawn in pastel or painted in oils. All together, they demonstrate that Barocci strongly worked with the notion of

[375] Spear (1997), 210-224.
[376] For evidence of tracing in the Renaissance, see Bauer (1986), (1995); Bauer and Colton (2000).
[377] Barocci held on to cartoons until his death, as they are recorded in the inventory of his studio after his death; Calzini (1913), 77-80; Mann (2018), 175-176.
[378] Arcangeli (1998), 192, pertinently writes how these borrowing "*ha portato a trascurare questo aspetto di diffusione del patrimonio semantico del grande urbinate…vedendone solo la meccanisca repetitvità.*"

absolute size, as it is carried from the cartoon, to head studies, and ultimately on to the final painting.[379]

In Chapter 4, Barocci's early creation of new versions of his work was already reviewed. When creating new versions of the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* Barocci inevitably introduced variations. In the case of the *Martyrdom of San Vitale*, Barocci loosely repeated the figure of the woman in the foreground from the *Madonna del Popolo*. From all that has been said in this book, it can seen that Barocci's very procedure called out for the creative reuse of elements, especially given the fact that the very figures he was creating in different altarpieces were often of approximately the same size.

There is an inevitable consequence to recognizing the creation of such versions. If understanding Barocci's conservative technique changes what one needs to search for as a new work, then his number of works significantly expands. Subsequently, Barocci – like Titian – did more work than one man alone could feasibly accomplish in one lifetime.

Studio Replicas

Even though Barocci had a different conception of the workshop than the norm, he had a larger studio than scholarship usually admits, because the number of good replicas that came from Barocci's workshop tend to be discounted. Titian or Rubens famously made works in several versions. Based on previous scholarship, Barocci appears to have worked in a different method, but looking closely at the drawings from his workshop indicates otherwise. In the case of this book, "replica" refers to a supervised copy, not simply one churned out by the studio or a copyist. Thus there are numerous copies often given to names that circulate around Barocci, not to mention simply copies made by unaffiliated artists at different periods of time.[380] The issue is also unduly complicated by the reuse of cartoons by Barocci's students who inherited many of his drawings at his death.[381] Both Mazzi and Viviani possessed drawings by Barocci, and both reuse them again and again in their own work.[382] However, I am interested in those that are official in some sense, those which are of high quality and issued from the workshop with Barocci's stamp of approval.

The most famous cases of replicated work are the the replica of the *Flight of Aeneas from Troy* that was originally made for Rudolf II and is only known from the replica in the Galleria Borghese that was given by Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere to Cardinal Scipione Borghese,[383] and the just-mentioned *Rest on the Return from Egypt*. As these works are so well documented, many simply consider them as autograph works; in fact, the *Flight of Aeneas* is signed and dated by Barocci. For Simonetto Anastagi's copy of the *Rest*, Barocci's autograph letter records his great efforts, as if he considered the replica

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[379] On cartoons, see Chapter 4 and Verstegen (2003), 378-383; on 'auxiliary cartoons,' see Pillsbury (1978), 170-173.

[380] These copies are still best referred to in Olsen's (1962) catalogue.

[381] Here I must stress that it is not the purpose of this chapter to record all of the variations of reused compositions by artists associated with Barocci but rather with works that must have issued, in some sense, as a 'Barocci.' One way to limit this search is to find works documented as produced only *before* Barocci's death.

[382] For Mazzi's drawings, see Sangiorgi (1982), 66-67; for Viviani's, see Pezzini Bernini *(*1984).

[383] The original was commissioned by Rudolf II in 1586 and completed in 1589; c.f., Olsen, *(1962),* 190-182; Emiliani (2008), 2:230-237.

just as much of a challenge.[384] As noted, for this copy Barocci also altered the design from the original by adjusting the pose of Saint John, as demonstrated from the etching by Raffaelle Schiamimossi. Equally well documented is the *The Calling of Saint Andrew* (Brussels, Musée Royaux des Beaux Arts), painted for a Confraternity in Pesaro, and the *Annunciation* (Vatican, Pinacoteca Vaticana) for Loreto Cathedral, both of which were quickly copied by Barocci for King Philip II of Spain.[385] Naturally, for these royal commissions the artist would wish to reflect himself in the best possible light.

These seem like anomalous works, but it is more likely that they are simply well documented because they came into illustrious hands. Upon closer inspection, it could be argued that many other works – all unsigned – fall into the same category. For example, consider the Ambrosiana *Nativity*,[386] given over to the workshop (and usually Vitali). The painting is considered a copy of the Prado original version but its conservator has noted its high quality, suggesting that it is the original and the version in the Prado is the copy.[387]

Cimatori, Mazzi, Viviani and Vitali all have recorded payments for copies. Even if the handling of an unsigned painting allows scholarship to match it to the personality, this is only the beginning of an analysis. Moreover, when they paint a Baroccesque work, one can *always* find a prototype in Barocci's works. Often, for example in the case of Cimatori and Viviani, when they paint independent works they look quite unlike Barocci; in fact, the Roman maniera style *Annunciations* of each have more in common with each other than with Barocci.[388] Therefore, although it is useful to know which artist painted which painting, it should not obscure the fact that each workshop artist molded their style to Barocci for the copy.

To proceed in chronological order, take a second look at the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* (Pinacoteca, Vatican; Santo Stefano, Piobbico), which is copied in Saint Petersburg;[389] the *Madonna del Gatto* (National Gallery, London) that bears good copies in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (Palazzo Barberini), Rome, and the Museo Albani, Urbino; the *Annunciation*, which in addition to the lost copy in Spain is supplemented by another from the Duomo of Pesaro and now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy,[390] the *Christ Appearing to the Magalene* (Munich, Pinakothek), which has a good copy in storage at the Galleria Corsini, Rome;[391] the

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[384] The letter of 2 October 1573 (Bottari and Ticozzi, 3: 84-85) is mentioned in Pillsbury and Richards (1978); Mann and Bohn (2012), 110.

[385] The copy of the *Calling of St. Andrew* was made from 1584-1588 for King Philip II, perhaps after Francesco Maria II was given the Golden Fleece. The copy of the *Annunciation* was sent in 1593 for King Philip II but was lost in the Napoleanic wars; Allen and Nesselrath (1998).

[386] Falchetti (1969), 222.

[387] Pinin Brambila Barcilon, unpublished "Scheda di Restauro," kindly provided to me by Monsignore Marco Maria Navoni, writes of "*una tecnica molto raffinata*." Barocci's authorship of the Ambrosiana version is accepted in Verstegen (2015, 90) and Mann (2018), 127, 135-6.

[388] Compare Cimatori's *Annunciation with St. Anthony Abbot* in the Chiesa della Santissima Resurrezione o di Sant'Ubaldo; Massari and Cellini (2005), 98, or his *Annunciation* in the Chiesa di San Biagio, Roncofreddo (101), and Viviani's *Annunciation* in the Oratorio del Gonfalone, Fabriano (118).

[389] Kustodieva (1994).

[390] Arcangeli (1998), 192; Costamagna (1973-4), 249-52, fig. 3.

[391] *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene*, Rome, Galleria Corsini; Emiliani (2008), 2:87, fig. 47/C.23. I have only seen this in photographs. Some evidence that this was in Roman collections early on, is suggested by the

Madonna della Gatta (Florence, Uffizi) that has a recently discovered copy in Mondolfo;[392] the *Last Supper* (Urbino Cathedral) for which there is a little known copy in the Episcopio, Pergola,[393] the *Crocifisso Spirante* (Prado) that was copied in Urbania,[394] and the *Institution of the Eucharist* (Sta Maria sopra Minerva, Rome) that has an aforementioned copy ascribed to Vitali in Bologna.[395]

Perhaps if Barocci's reputation was anything like it should be, these copies might be better known, like the numerous Titians and Rubens that are proudly claimed by many museums. When enumerated, these works lead to the belief that Barocci might have done more than one of each of his major commissions.

These works can be considered replicas because, as stated, they are of good quality. Why could not have Barocci's workshop executed them without his help? They are also at least partly autograph because of the nature of Barocci's technique. He expended great effort on the design and then the cartoon. All of the replicas noted above are of the exact dimensions of the originals, relying on the original cartoon. The workshop artists would have indeed blocked these works in on the canvas. But this preliminary procedure precisely allows Barocci more time to attend to the painting. A cartoon can allow an assistant to copy a head but this only helps so much. When Mazzi finished the heads of Barocci's Gubbio *Annunciation* left incomplete at his death, the result was not felicitous. So the quality must be directly ascribed to Barocci twice, both for the quality control of the drawing and the quality of painting, even if he was aided through the intermediate stages of painting.

My comments, incidentally, could also be applied to small replicas of paintings (*Annunciation*, Uffizi; *Holy Family* from Madonna of Saint Simon, Pinacoteca, Ancona) and portraits (Guidobaldo del Monte, Pesaro, Museo Civico; Florence, Uffizi).[396] A second portrait could easily be traced from the first and the reduced versions could be mechanically reduced or traced from a *modello* or *bozzetto* that Barocci had used.

Alessandro Vitali's Output

There also exists a significant amount of quality work put out by Alessandro Vitali (1580-1630). Like most of the replicas, these works fall quite late in Barocci's career. Vitali's creations, above both Mazzi and Viviani, appear to possess some special relationship to the master. Vitali was referred to as “messer Alesandro, che sta in casa del signor

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Ludovisi inventory of 1623: Wood (1992), 515-523, 520: “Un noli me tangere alto p.i 12 Cornice dorate et intag.te del Baroccio.”

[392] See Natali (2003).

[393] *Restauri nelle Marche* (1973), 437-439. Franca Bizzotto Abdalla doubts the authenticity noting the "ombreggiature troppo intense e un diverso impasto cromatico" (439). In conversation with Dott. Isidoro Bacchiocca, however, he noted the quality of the original. According to Sebastianelli, Barocci was even paid to make it. However, he never published the documentation in the succeeding years.

[394] It is mentioned by Venturi (Calzini, 1913, fig. 39). It was restored by the I.C.R., Rome. It is reproduced in color in Marchi (2000), 14.

[395] *Institution of the Eucharist*, c. 1609, San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna; Emiliani (2008), 2:299, fig. 81.a.

[396] *Portrait of Guidobaldo del Monte* (Florence, Uffizi); Olsen (1962), no. 57, 204-5; and *Portrait of Guidobaldo del Monte*, 67 x 53 cm; Pesaro, Museo Civico. Enrico Gamba, mentioning the version in Pesaro, presumes the Roman version lost (1998, 2:88).

Barocci."[397] Moreover, he is the one artist close to Barocci who did not, to scholarly knowledge, travel and win independent commissions prior to the master's death. Vitali is also often credited with copies, which raises the same problem as Barocci's replicas. A couple of the copies described above are actually linked to Vitali, such as the *Nativity* (Milan, Ambrosiana, 1598). In addition, Duke Francesco Maria's expense book records payments to Vitali for copies of Barocci's works.

The most tangible evidence of Vitali's closeness to Barocci are the child portraits of Prince Federico Ubaldo della Rovere (1605-1622). The two best known are the *Portrait of Federico Ubaldo at his Birth* (Florence, Pitti Palace) and the *Portrait of Federico Ubaldo at Two* (Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi). In the first case, there is a payment to Vitali; however, both are of high quality and traditionally given at least partially to Barocci.[398] Moreover, one can imagine that Duke Francesco Maria II would appreciate Barocci's intervention on behalf of his son's likeness.

Now, one can point to proof of the derivation of at least some of these portraits from prior works by Barocci. The Lucca portrait of the prince as an infant bears some superficial similarities to the Christ child in the Prado *Nativity*, although they are of different sizes. However, if the size of the *Nativity* figure is doubled, or alternatively the size of the prince Federico Ubaldo figure is halved, the two match perfectly **(Fig. 95)**. Therefore, Vitali relied on Barocci's prior cartoon to speed him on the way toward completion of the portrait.

Scholarship typically ascribe works to Vitali and then forgets about the attributions; the *Saint Ambrose's Pardon of Theodosius* (Milan, Duomo) or the *Fall of Manna* (lost, Urbino, Duomo) both follow such a pattern. But these works were conceived in pairs with Barocci's and he had a reason to ensure their quality. In the case of *Ambrose* the documents are ambiguous between Vitali and Barocci but there are other cases where there is no question that Barocci was implicated in Vitali's works.[399] These examples are the *Santa Agnese* (1605; **Fig. 96,** right), formerly of the church of S. Agata di Pian di Mercato, and now in the Museo Albani, Urbino,[400] and the *Santa Agata in Prison* (c. 1598, Museo Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; **Fig. 97,** left).[401] The latter painting's commission was published some years ago and revealed the remarkable fact that it was jointly commissioned to Vitali and Barocci, thereby providing the model of the famous *Beata Michelina.*[402] The beautiful still-life elements of prison shackles in the foreground are of the highest quality and must have been painted by Barocci himself. The former painting

[397] Sangiorgi (1982), 35.

[398] For a review of these works see Dal Poggetto and Montevecchi (2000), nos. 6 & 7; Bissell, Miller and Derstine (2005), nos. 68 & 69.

[399] Bandera (1994); Verstegen (2015), 91-94.

[400] *Santa Agnese*, Museo Albani, Urbino, 1.9 x 1.89 m; Serra (1932), 150; Sangiorgi (1982, table xvii. It was cleaned in 1970 by Silvestro Castellani (*Mostra di Opere*, 1970), who wrote positively of the painting's quality.

[401] *Santa Agata in Prison*, 253 x 187 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche; Calzini (1906).

[402] Negroni (1979), 89-92: "*dati a ms. Alissandro Vitali discepolo del Baroccio per la pittura del quadro di S. Agata inventione di detto Baroccio, e ancho in parte dipinta da lui scudi 120.*"

was referred to in documents published by Fert Sangiorgi as the work of "gli autori," suggesting once again a collaboration.[403]

Vitali's works are characteristically variations of Barocci works that rely on Barocci's overall layout while substituting personages. The lost *Fall of Manna* of Urbino Cathedral was undoubtedly based on its matching *Last Supper*. Consequently, the *Saint Ambrose's Pardon of Theodosius* is literally based on the contemporary *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (Rome, Chiesa Nuova), because it follows its exact dimensions **(Fig. 98,** right**)**. Although there is a thematic similarity with the blessing patriarchal figures (priest-Saint) and blessee (Virgin, Theodosius), these figures, as well as the architectonic backgrounds match closely at identical scale (**Fig. 98**).[404]

With the publication of its documentation by Negroni, the *Santa Agata in Prison* now, ironically, is proven to be the prototype for the wholly autograph *Beata Michelina*.[405] Juxtaposing the two paintings, one can observe that apart from the obvious differences in hand position and drapery, the two female saints are identical in pose and size (**Fig. 97**). Furthermore, according to the same analysis, one can recognize that the *Saint Catherine in Ecstasy* (1610; Santa Margherita, Cortona) is also derived from the same cartoon.[406] Finally, a same-scale comparison of the Sta Agnese demonstrates that the figure is derived perfectly from the Urbino *Immaculate Conception* **(Fig. 96)**.

Vitali worked so closely with Barocci that it is often difficult to determine his own artistic abilities. It is natural to call Vitali a talented artist, until one attempts to think of projects he did on his own. For example, the unpublished *Vision of Saint John of Patmos* (1601) in Fermo Cathedral might appear to be an independent creation. Firmly attributable to Vitali based on a contract he signed in Barocci's house, the painting also derived doubly from the *Last Supper*, for the head of the saint, and the *Stigmatization*, for the body of the saint (when enlarged 1:5; **Fig. 99**).[407]

Following the complicated history of the *Nativity of the Virgin* in San Simpliciano, Milan, also attributes the work to Vitali. The painting seems to have been begun by Barocci in the 1580s and then left unfinished. Later, Barocci may have offered it to S. Paolo Conversa in Milan and next to the Oratorians in Rome.[408] When the Oratorians did

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[403] Sangiorgi (1982), 47. Could this be the work commissioned on December 1605 by Francesco Maria Mamiani (with Muzio Oddi present); Negroni (1993), 85-6.

[404] Various borrowings are easily sought out. The kneeling soldier in the lower left is derived from the *Circumcision* of 1590; the kneeling woman on the right is from the *Madonna del Popolo*. Sandrina Bandera (*Nuova ragguagli*, cit.) has noted further reuses of figures. Christ's profile from the *Noli me tangere* (ruined, 1590) is used for the standing figure on the far left and Mary's profile reversed from the *Annunciation* (1584, Vatican, Pinacoteca) is used for the woman holding a baby. None of these, however, are to scale.

[405] The new understanding of the chronology of these works also clarifies drawings. The *bozzetto* in the Uffizi (19104) can be seen to be closer to the Agata than the Michelina (the left arm is the same as the Agata and the right arm is as it will appear in the Michelina). Also the *Head of a Saint* formerly in the Castebarco Albani collection (sold 1977?) is very close to Sant'Agata. Given that the cartoon ascribed to the Beata Michelina survives in the collection of the Albani family (Casa Castelbarco Albani, Milan) and was used for all the commissions, The interesting possibility arises that the cartoon was made instead for the Sant'Agata; c.f. Nardini (1931), 5.

[406] Maetzke (1979), 73-6. It was mentioned by Bellori as a work for the "Zoccolanti" (Observant Franciscans) but presumed lost until recently.

[407] *Vision of Saint John of Patmos*, 272 x 180 cm, 1601; Calzini (1906); Dania (1967), 72-73.

[408] Sangiorgi (1982); and especially Verstegen (2016), 95-116.

not have enough money, it seems to have fallen to Vitali for San Paolo Converso. Although a Barocci invention, the heads of Saint Ann and her attendant must be by Vitali, and the result is not impressive. Similarly, the faces of the *Saint Ambrose's Pardon of Theodosius* are more simplistic than Barocci's. But the real proof lies the works completed after Barocci's death, which prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that although a talented painter and colorist, Vitali severely lacked in his ability as draftsmanship. His shortcomings are apparent in a pair of paintings from Fano's duomo, as well as a *Birth of the Virgin* in Fermo, both of which demonstrate figures that are far too clumsy to have been conceived by Barocci.[409]

The situation is summed up by Duke Francesco Maria II Della Rovere who chose Vitali to complement the overburdened Barocci's *Last Supper* in the chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament by painting a now-lost *Fall of Manna*: "Both for his own sufficiency, as also for the help that we can hope Barocci will give him...and that we will spend less."[410]

Thus, Vitali's close connection to Barocci is not to be ignored. Another way of appreciating how much Vitali (or his access to Barocci) was esteemed, one need only look to the few surviving payments made to Vitali by patrons: 120 *scudi* for the single-figure *Santa Agata*, 250-300 *scudi* for the *Fall of Manna* (Duomo, Urbino) and finally at least 367.5 *scudi* for the *Pardon by Saint Ambrose of Theodoric*.[411] These numbers actually surpass those of prominent Roman painters like Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci and others. Vitali is not Barocci. But we have to give his collaborative works – which are not reproduced by Emiliani, Turner or in the St. Louis exhibition – a major rehabilitation. Vitali was contracted because he was the next best thing, and when he worked with Barocci, he could be counted on to produce something that would leave the workshop with the stamp of approval of the master on it.

'Workshop' Pictures

Finally, there exists the group of works given over to the workshop, like the *Virgin and Child with Saints Geronzio and Mary Magdalene and Donors* (c. 1590, Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome),[412] the *Crucifixion* (c. 1603, Urbino, Oratorio della Morte),[413] the *Madonna of Saint Lucy* (c. 1588, Louvre, Paris),[414] and the *Annunciation* (c. 1596, Assisi, Santa Maria degli Angeli).[415] Others could be mentioned, and the methods introduced here can no doubt be

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[409] Dania (1967), 73-4, fig. 24.

[410] Negroni (1993), 102: "*si per la sufficientia sua, come anco per l'aiuto che si potrebbe sperare darli esso Baroccio…oltre che si spenderà anco meno.*"

[411] This number is based on my calculations of Milanese currency into Roman silver scudi: 8.5 silver scudi (7 ducatoni and 20 pauli) (24/6/01); 61 silver scudi (300 lire) (20/12/01); 116 silver scudi (570 lire) (20/3/03); 81 scudi (200 ducatoni) (14/7/03).

[412] *Virgin and Child with Saints Geronzio and Mary Magdalene and Donors*, 270 x 213 cm, formerly the Church of San Francesco, Cagli, c. 1590 (Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome; Olsen (1962), 226-227; Emiliani (1985), 2:368-371; (2008), 2:119, fig. 51.

[413] *Crucifixion*, 360 x 297 cm, c. 1603, Urbino, Oratorio della Morte; Olsen (1962), 206-207; Emiliani (1985), 2:309; (2008); 2:269, fig. 73.

[414] *Madonna of Saint Lucy*, 285 x 220 cm, Louvre, Paris, formerly in the Danzetta chapel in the Church of S. Agostino, Perugia; Olsen (1962), 224-226; Di Giampaolo (1996); Emiliani (1985), 2:276-281; (2008): 2:128-135.

[415] *Annunciation*, 428 x 249 cm, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi; Mancini (1983); Emiliani (1985), 2:204; (2008), 2:34, fig. 42.31.

applied to these works as well.[416] Many are connected to Barocci's pupils through style or documentation, but once again we must pause at the free distribution of Barocci's inventions. In some cases like the *Virgin and Child with Saints Geronzio and Mary Magdalene and Donors* and the *Madonna of Saint Lucy,* there is ample preparatory drawing by Barocci. Nevertheless, the compositions are pastiches of earlier compositions that lead commentators to discount their autograph status. For the first time one can confirm that the borrowings that have been noted by previous scholarship are actually derived from the cartoons still available in Barocci's workshop.

The Porziuncola *Annunciation* dated to 1596 (**Fig. 100**, right) is demonstrably a literal copy of the Loreto *Annunciation*. This work is really an elaborated copy, because it is amplified in the vertical dimension with God the Father and angels borrowed from earlier compositions, the *Madonna of Saint Simon* and *Martyrdom of San Vitale*. The painting's contract survives, and the work itself is of a high quality. The painting required a larger upright format so Barocci added some details, and there is also a literal lifting of the original composition at the same scale (**Fig. 100**).

The Oratorio della Morte *Crucifixion* (**Fig. 101**) reuses Christ from the *Crocifisso Spirante* (1604, Escorial), Mary Magdalene from the *Entombment* as well as the Mary and Saint John group, Christ's head and the *putti* from the Genoa *Crucifixion with Saint Sebastian* (1596, Genoa, Duomo). The Genoa *Crucifixion*, for the wealthy nobleman Matteo Senarega, and the Prado *Crucifixion*, originally for the Duke of Urbino (but then given as a gift to Philip III), have always seemed more prestigious than the Oratorio della Morte work painted for a local (if wealthy) confraternity in Urbino. Nevertheless, juxtaposition of all three paintings together points precisely to the way in which the workshop Morte's body of Christ is taken exactly from the Prado *Crucifixion*, while Christ's head is exactly taken from the Genoa *Crucifixion*. Mary and Saint John are copied and reversed from the Genoa crucifixion **(Fig. 101)**. Subsequently, not only is the Oratorio della Morte *Crucifixion* derivative, but so is the Prado *Crucifixion*, because the painting's figures are constructed not identically but with the lessons learned from the Genoa *Crucifixion*. Furthermore, the head of the Prado work is derived from the head of Christ in the Urbino *Last Supper* (1599, Urbino, Cathedral).

The central Madonna and Child of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Geronzio and Mary Magdalene and Donors* is derived from the *Madonna of Saint Simon* (**Fig. 102**). In this case, the reused figures are in a studio picture that originally was placed in the Franciscan church of Cagli but is now found in the Sodalizio dei Piceni in via Rione Parione in Rome. Scholars have dated the picture to about 1590. Judging from the juxtaposition of both pictures it is easy to confirm that the derivation of the central Madonna and Child group is in fact to absolute scale (although obviously reversed). Further copies after the central group are in deposit at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica at the Palazzo Barberini, Rome, proving the circulation of the cartoon. The recent

[416] See for example the *Madonna di S. Agostino*, 294 x 180 cm, Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, formerly in the Church of S. Agostino, Cagli; Olsen (1962), 227-228.
Madonna della Misericordia, San Martino, Milan, formerly in the Oratorio di Misericordia, Pesaro; Emiliani, (1985), 2:282-283; (2008), 2:136-137.

identification of cartoon fragments makes it credible that these later compositions were taken directly from the cartoons in the studio.[417]

The *Madonna di Saint Lucy* (Louvre, Paris) is also loosely derived from various pictures. Originally painted for the Danzetta Chapel, S. Agostini, Perugia, the picture has long been debated as to Barocci's exact role in its authorship; Romina Vitali links its painting style to Cimatori[418]. The Saint Lucy at the bottom right is obviously taken from the Vatican *Annunciation*. However, distinct complications emerge with this picture. Even if Cimatori painted it, Barocci still provided the main impetus. Furthermore, when comparing the Virgin and Child group with the slightly later *Madonna del Rosario*, we see strong similarities. This suggests the possibility that Barocci – not unlike the case of the joint-Vitali execution of the *Saint Agatha in Prison* – used a workshop picture to work out major ideas for later works! For indeed the figure group is extremely close on inspection **(Fig. 103)**.

For that matter similar complications emerge with other examples. For example, we might note that the Oratorio della Morte *Crucifixion* uses the same pose as for the Christ figure as the *Croficisso Spirante* but they were executed almost simultaneously. Therefore, this chronology means that Barocci was immediately 'reusing' a recently created figure of Christ alongside his other borrowings. Accordingly, even in the Prado work, Barocci relied on the drawing of Christ's head from the Urbino Cathedral *Last Supper*, except now a crown of thorns is added.

The idea that workshop pictures are crucial elements in reconstructing Barocci's original *oeuvre* can be seen in two nearly identical paintings reproduced in *Nel Segno di Barocci*, the *Madonna and Child with Saints Ubaldo, Francis and Prince Federico Ubaldo* (chiesa dei Santi Pietro e Paolo, Frontino), attributed by Romina Vitali to Cimatori, and the *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Ubaldo* (1609, Pergola, Museo dei Bronzi Dorati), commissioned to Ventura Mazzi (**Fig. 104**).[419] The fact that the latter painting is documented, in addition to the two anomalous figures of Ubaldo that do not find ready exemplars in Barocci's works, begs the question of their derivation from a common cartoon. Silvia Blasio follows Olsen in suggesting that the Pergola picture derived from a Barocci "prototipo," and in fact on closer inspection it can be seen that some of the figures must find precedence in other works by Barocci, for example, the kneeling figures in the Sodalizio dei Piceni *Madonna and Child and Saints*. It is likely that only *after* the death of Barocci, when the workshop artists were on their own, did they introduce new figures. The *Madonna and Child with Saints Hyacinth, Augustine and Crescentino* that graces the cover of *Nel segno di Barocci* – already suggested by Olsen to be by Mazzi – has a wooden soldier figure of Crescentino that must postdate 1612.[420]

No one has doubted that workshop followers partially executed these paintings but the same point can be made as for the studio replicas. The fact that some paintings were

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[417] The two fragments are in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica; c.f. Verstegen (2003b).

[418] Massari and Cellini (2005), 97.

[419] *Madonna and Child with Saints Ubaldo, Francis and Prince Federico Ubaldo*, 245 x 145 cm (chiesa dei Santi Pietro e Paolo, Frontino); Massari and Cellini (2005), 97; *Madonna and Child with Saints Ubaldo and Francis*, 223 x 160 cm, Palazzo Comunale, Pergola, formerly altar of S. Ubaldo, Chiesa dei Cappuccini, Pergola; *Mostra di Opere* (1967), 29-30; Massari and Cellini (2005), 109.

[420] *Madonna and Child with Saints Hyacinth, Augustine and Crescentino* (private collection); Olsen (162), 32.

aided by cartoons precisely means that Barocci had more time to spend on the final painting. For many of the works have been discounted by the derivative nature of the composition or the lack of preparatory drawings when the treatment of individual figures is of quite high quality. The situation is again similar to the studio replicas. These works have good draftsmanship but it is often a draftsmanship that is 'delayed' from an earlier graphic stage (sometimes many years before). In addition, they often have very strong painting skills. So, by applying a central Italian bias (no drawings) one thereby suspends the test of connoisseurship (good painting) that otherwise would elect these as important works.

Conversely, these criteria indicate that works not derived directly from cartoons, like the derivative small meditational paintings of the *Stigmatization of St Francis* (**Fig. 105**; c. 1577, Vatican, Pinacoteca; **Fig. 106;** c. 1605, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) have a good chance at being completely autograph since they do not match in size the works from which they are drawn. However, I have discovered that the Vatican painting is exactly half and three quarter the size of the figures in the *Perdono of San Francesco* (Urbino, San Francesco) and the *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (Chantilly, Musée Condé), respectively. Such mechanical enlargement or reduction once again reduces workshop intervention and in fact examination of both has revealed a very refined painting technique.[421]

Further Evidence

In all the cases discussed above – replicas, Vitali works and studio pictures – the unique rigidity of Barocci's working procedure still is confusing. The literality of the works throws us off and causes us to reduce the works to mere copies, almost mechanical works done alone. But one has to acclimate to the way that Barocci creates with a rigid cartoon and lack of *alla prima* painting. Fortunately, there is some interesting evidence that betrays how copies were made by Barocci's workshop showing that the cartoon was almost a perquisite for the execution of these studio works, demanded by patrons. A letter of 21 May 1597 from Guidobaldo Vicenzi in Urbino to his brother Ludovico in Milan refers to an ordering of a *Rest on the Return from Egypt* from Barocci's pupil Ventura Mazzi. Guidobaldo says that the copy "is of the same size as that of Barocci, so that it will come out better."[422] This mention of size could refer to a tracing of the picture but owing to Mazzi's intimacy in Barocci's workshop probably refers to the use of the original cartoon.

Similarly, when the nuns of San Paolo Converso in Milan requested a replica from Barocci's workshop (because they probably couldn't afford an original or stand to wait for it) in a letter of Guidobaldo Vincenzi to Ludovico (12 April 1600) they specifically sent the dimensions of the chapel space.[423] Barocci sent the dimensions of his recently completed *Last Supper* (1599) in Urbino Cathedral, and they replied that it was the wrong

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[421] Mancinelli (1982), 158-159. This catalogue dates the work to c. 1595, the date of the Urbino Cappuccini *Stigmatization*; K. Christiansen (2005), 722-728.

[422] Sangiorgi (1982), 10: "*Di quella Madonna ch'io vi scrissi avisatemi se quel giovane la vorrà fare. et volendola fare diteli che cominci a sua posta, et perché mi pare che mi habbiate scritto che il singor Barocci ne fa due bellissime, se si possa farmene la copia di tutte due mi sarà caro, et fate che siano dell'istessa grandezza di quelle del signor Barocci perché così credo riusciranno meglio.*"

[423] Sangiorgi (1982), 28: "*Son ricercato a scrivere là per intendere se si potesse havere una tavola alta quattro braccia in circa et larga tre.*"

size. The matter was dropped because there was never any idea that Barocci might consider a work *ex novo*. The operative idea was a specific replication of a composition at its original scale for the ability of assistants to contribute to it.

This rigid reliance on prior works raises the possibility of the *anticipated* reuse of earlier elements, that is, the creation of elements with the expectation that they might in the future be used. This assumption may sound absurd but is not so, especially when we recall the coincidence in the case of the *Madonna di Santa Lucia* in which both the Virgin and Child group, as well as the saint on the right are both derived again *to scale*. To take one example, there is the reuse of Mary Magdalene from his Senigallia *Entombment* (1582) in the already-mentioned Oratorio della Morte *Crucifixion* (c. 1604) **(Fig. 107)**. Recalling that the figures of John the Evangelist and Virgin were simply flipped to scale from the Genoa *Crucifixion* (1596) it is indeed remarkable that the Mary Magdalene is not only repeated but is repeated *to scale*. I do not mean to suggest that Barocci rigidly planned to produce all his figures to the same scale in anticipation of future reuses. However, once Barocci became accustomed to reusing elements, he must have been confirmed in his approximate use of scale from commission to commission when he realized he might be able to reuse one. Barocci had no idea he would reuse the Mary Magdalene twenty-two years later. In fact, he only used this figure once again. Nonetheless, his general practice lent this unique flexibility to his workshop direction.

The Borghese *Saint Jerome*: The Accidental Birth of a Painting

Barocci's practice has within it the possibility of using false starts and dead-ends for new projects. Such a case occurred with early versions of his *Nativity* now in the Prado and Ambrosiana.[424] An earlier figure grouping contributed substantially to the creation of one of his most breathtaking works, the *Penitent Saint Jerome* in the Borghese collection. The 'accidental' birth of this painting gives important insight into Barocci's working method, and also contributes toward dating the painting.

Uffizi 11485 records accurately the solution the Rasini *Nativity* would approach, although in reversed direction: Joseph is nearby to the crib and Mary leans away. Barocci expressed his dissatisfaction with this composition because he left the Rasini painting unfinished. Next, he kept the Christ child, framed by the bull and ass, and experimented further with the poses of Mary and Joseph. Mary now leans forward in various drawings, while Joseph has moved to the background, to greet the astonished shepherds. This is the way the composition remained, except for the wholesale changes to Mary's pose. For the final versions found in the Prado and Ambrosiana collections, Mary stands backward and beholds the Christ child in a manner appropriate to a God, a true epiphany. The earlier genre-like treatments are definitively rejected in favor of this more universal interpretation **(Fig. 108)**.

Here things could stand, except that Barocci did not forget the effort he had expended, especially with the middle idea for the painting that appears in the *modello* (Uffizi 11432), in which Mary leans forward while Joseph is away in the background.[425] This pose is remarkably like that of the beautiful *Saint Jerome* in the Borghese collection,

[424] Emiliani (2008), 2:188-208.

[425] Uffizi inv. 11432, 51.7 x 44.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:320, fig. 679, (2008), not illustrated, fig. 63.3; Mann and Bohn (2012), 264, fig. 83.

and an examination of the drawings surrounding the *modello* prove definitively that they are related. It has long been recognized that the style of the Jerome is much like that of the Prado and Ambrosiana Nativities. Not only is the pose similar between the Jerome and Uffizi *modello*, they have a scale relationship. First, the *modello* is a third the size of the *Nativity*. Because Barocci wanted to make a slightly smaller devotional work, he only doubled the figure in the model this time. Thus, the *Jerome* is two thirds the size of the final Rasini (or Prado or Ambrosiana) painting.

Considered in retrospect, the new chronology makes sense. Just at this time Barocci was painting the replica of the *Flight of Aeneas from Troy* for Monsignore Giuliano della Rovere, who in turn would give it to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. The Jerome, whose head is borrowed from Anchises of the Aeneas picture, probably accompanied the latter work when it was given to the Cardinal as a favor. The Monsignore had a good chance to meet Cardinal Borghese in 1592, when he was ambassador to Rome for his cousin, Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere.

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The existence of reused elements from Barocci's paintings throughout the Marche, coupled with documented payments (and distinct artistic personalities gleaned through style) has confused the issue of a functioning Barocci workshop. By following the literal tracing of elements at the same scale we have to question the motivation on Barocci's part for sharing these same elements. No doubt artists like Cimatori, Mazzi, Viviani and Vitali remained close to the master to split revenues. In Vitali's case, the cited payments prove a worth far beyond his reputation, indicating that some of the value derived from Barocci's influence. Such studies of payments ought to be further undertaken as should further computer manipulations of reused elements in different Baroccesque paintings. Once the Venetian bias of a master touching up paintings roughed out by the studio is abandoned, Barocci's workshop can be appreciated for its size and ability to efficiently make work available to a large number of clients through the creative reassemblage of different parts of previous works that enable Barocci to control the quality through a concentration on painted effects.

Fig. 95
Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *Portrait of Prince Federico Ubaldo at Birth*, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, and detail of Christ child from the Prado *Nativity*, doubled in size (2:1).

Fig. 96
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Immaculate Conception*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *St. Agnes*, Museo Albani, Urbino

Fig. 97
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *St. Agatha in Prison*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Federico Barocci, *Beata Michelina*, Pinacoteca, Vatican; Federico Barocci, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, Santa Margherita, Cortona

Fig. 98
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Presentation of the Virgin*, Chiesa Nuova, Rome; Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *St. Ambrose's Pardon of Theodoric*, Duomo, Milan

Fig. 99
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Stigmatization*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *Vision of John on Patmos*, Duomo, Fermo

Fig. 100
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Annunciation*, Pinacoteca, Vatican; Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Annunciation*, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi

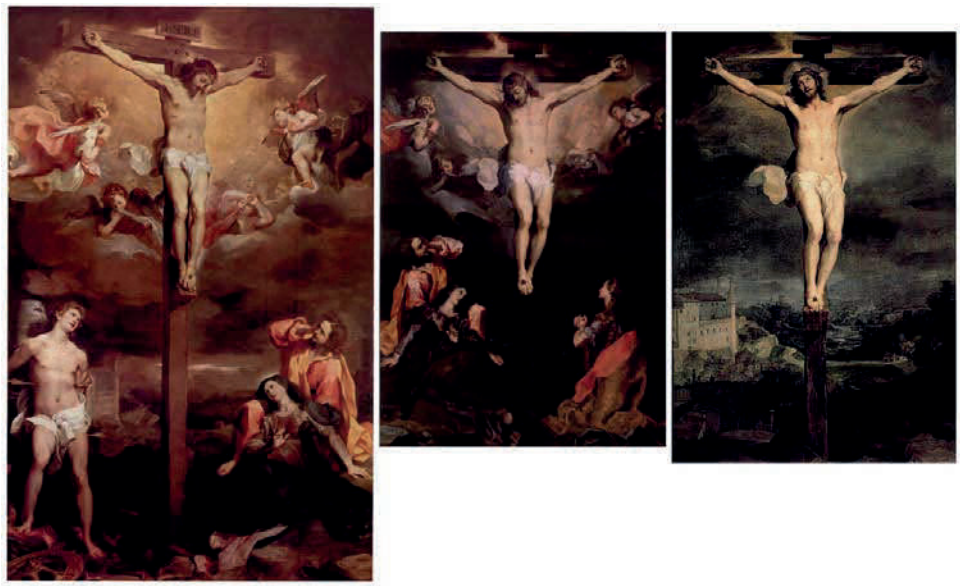

Fig. 101
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Crucifixion with Mary, John and St. Sebastian*, Duomo, Genova; Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Crucifixion with Mary, John and Mary Magdalene*, Oratorio della Morte, Urbino; and Federico Barocci, *Crucifixion (Cristo Vivo)*, Prado, Madrid;

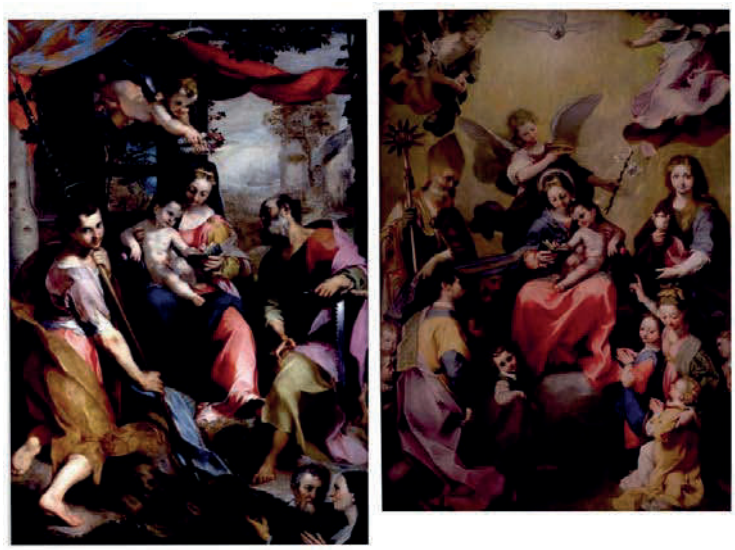

Fig. 102
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Madonna of St. Simon*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Madonna and Child and Saints*, Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome

Fig. 103
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Madonna of St. Lucy*, Paris, Louvre, Federico Barocci, *Madonna of the Rosary* (detail), Palazzo Episcopale, Senigallia; Federico Barocci, *Annunciation* (detail), Pinacoteca, Vatican

Fig. 104
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Madonna and Child with Saints Ubaldo, Francis and Prince Federico Ubaldo*, Santi Pietro e Paolo, Frontino, and Federico Barocci and Ventura Mazzi, *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Ubaldo*, Museo dei Bronzi Dorati, Pergola

Fig. 105
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Perdono* (detail), San Francesco, Urbino, Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, Pinacoteca, Vatican, doubled (2:1) in size, and actual work

Fig. 106
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Christ Taking Leave of his Mother* (detail), Musée Condé, Chantilly, and Federico Barocci, *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reduced by one fourth (1:4), and actual work

Fig. 107
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Entombment*, Chiesa del Crocifisso e Sacramento, Senigallia; Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Crucifixion with Mary, John and Mary Magdalene*, Oratorio della Morte, Urbino

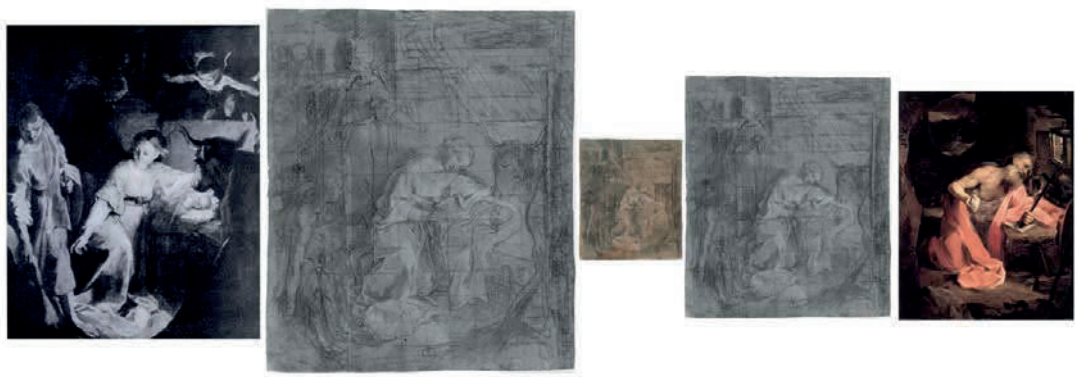

Fig. 108
Federico Barocci, *Nativity*, Rasini Collection, Milan, Uffizi inv. 11432 enlarged three times (3:1), Uffizi inv. 11432, Uffizi inv. 11432 enlarged two times (2:1), Federico Barocci, *Penitent St. Jerome*, c. 1597, Rome, Galleria Borghese

Conclusion

The quick and easy adaption of figures into new ones or complex compositions in Barocci's works has its roots very deep in his practice. It begins, first, with the approximately similar size of figures in monumental altarpieces, which already populate a world of potential protagonists in all future paintings. It is reinforced by the use of the cartoon, which is the basis for any kind of auxiliary preparatory activity (pastel or oil heads).

But it is Barocci's innovation in the establishment of the final dimensions of the work from which he can begin to scale down a number of preparatory studies that allows his truly dizzying proliferation of studies. Beginning definitely with the Perugia *Deposition*, Barocci works in strict scales, first for the model, created at about 1:8-1:5 the size of the final work, and then for a reduced cartoon (1:4-1:2) and half scale drawings (1:2). Barocci maintained this practice almost to the end of his career.

By clustering drawings according to scale, this book has shown how to accurately follow the procedure for execution of drawings. Before the model Barocci investigates the full variety of compositions. At the stage of the preparation of the model, itself, Barocci varies poses of figures, settling on their basic orientation, and finalizing the composition with an ink, wash, and white-heightened drawing. From the model Barocci prepares the full-size cartoon in charcoal and chalk, which reveals potential problems and leads to new corrections at the next stage, the reduced cartoon (and *bozzetto*) stage. Here, Barocci continues to refine minor details of figures whose poses are more or less fixed. In some cases, it appears that he goes on to paint oil sketches, which explore overall massing of figures and color balance and harmony.

For his larger paintings, Barocci chooses to prepare areas of exposed flesh – arms, legs and hands mostly – with black and white chalk at half scale. Barocci reduces these studies in order to fit on a single sheet of paper. These drawings do not move contours at all and the artist has definitively moved on to the fall of light. Such drawings lead eventually to the celebrated pastel and sometimes oil heads. The heads are in full pastel with natural and manufactured colors and are either full size (1:1) or larger than life (4:3). Enlarging heads allowed Barocci to fill more of the page and study the heads in more detail. The oil heads are always to the size of the painting.

Because not only felt the freedom to vary paintings from version to version, his loose combinatory procedure actually fueled his autograph painting production. In a couple of cases (Saint Agatha in Prison, Oratorio della Morte Crucifixion) he used innovations in workshop pictures to proceed to new paintings. This hybridized approach to creation, including the use of an in-house executant like Alessandro Vitali, allowed Barocci a high volume of production and the ability to make a strong mark in the art world of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

All of this was made possible by the reduction compass, and the overall analytic technical culture promoted within Barocci's own family and rife in contemporary Urbino. Barocci's restless personality when immersed in the demands of the reforming church in a city which valued technical innovation and achievement created a truly remarkable graphic production imbued with a geometrical spirit.

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Federico Barocci has firmly entered the canon of late Renaissance and early Baroque art history. Yet even after monographs and exhibitions, his working procedure still resists complete understanding. The following book is a *structural* examination of the working practice of Federico Barocci, shedding light on each of the kinds of drawings he produced in the execution of a typical painting. The usual monograph engages with canonical works or else sifts the evidence to separate autograph works from those by the workshop. I do neither. Instead, I seek out the logic of his practices, which may seem idealized but is nonetheless quite real. In addition, I consider problems of attribution but do not disregard works associated with Barocci's studio because they may give hints to lost works or reveal traces of his working procedure. In the end, this book provides a tool kit for understanding the function and constitution of Barocci's remarkable graphic production.

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