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

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[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)**.

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[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.

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[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

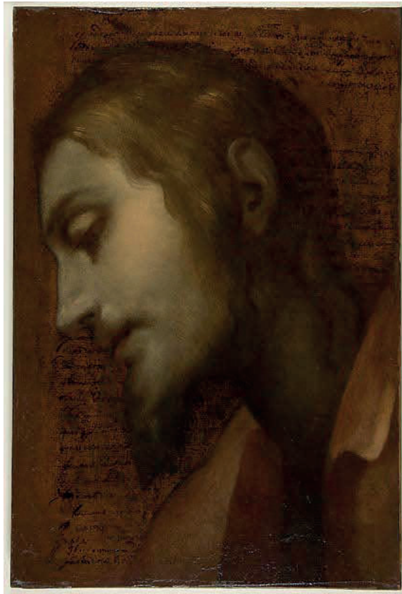

Fig. 7
Ludovico Cigoli, oil sketch of *Head of Christ*, 1599–1600, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

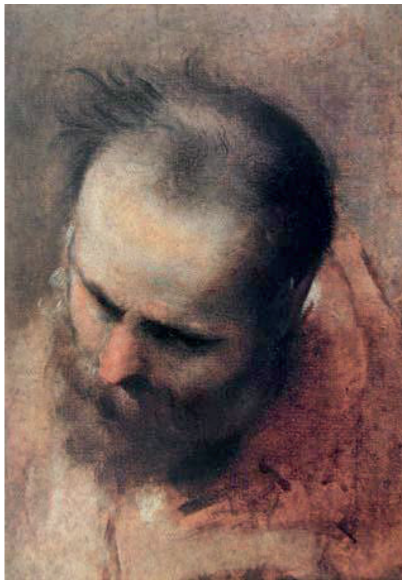

Fig. 8
Federico Barocci, oil sketch of *Head of Man who Supports Christ* (Nicodemus) for the Senigallia *Entombment*, 1582, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York