

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

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 then 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

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 riuscì unico, sfumandoli con pochi tratti. Prima concepiva l'azione da rappresentarsi ed avanti di formarne lo schizzo, poneva al modello i suoi giovini, e li faceva gestire conforme la sua immaginazione, 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 ovvero 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'imprimatura della tela, segnava con lo stilo i dintorni, accioché mai si smarrisse il disegno da esso con tanta cura tirato e perfezione. . . 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 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 Néerlandais, 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

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

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

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 <i>Perdono</i> (427 x 236 cm) vs. Urbino (110 x 71 cm) ¹⁶⁴	= 1:4
Perugia <i>Deposition</i> (412 x 232 cm) vs. <i>Hypothetical</i> (103 cm)	= 1:4
Rome <i>Presentation</i> (383 x 247 cm) vs. <i>Hypothetical</i> (95.75 cm)	= 1:4
Louvre <i>Circumcision</i> (356 x 252 cm) vs. New York private (81 x 64 cm) ¹⁶⁵	= 1:4
Urbino <i>Stigmatization</i> (360 x 245 cm) vs. Bologna private (102 x 77 cm) ¹⁶⁶	= 1:3
Uffizi <i>Madonna del Popolo</i> (359 x 252 cm) vs. <i>Hypothetical</i> (89.75 cm)	= 1:4
Brussels <i>Saint Andrew</i> (315 x 235 cm) vs. ex-Contini Bonacossi (78 x 59 cm) ¹⁶⁷	= 1:4
Senigallia <i>Entombment</i> (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

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 Rijksmuseum 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

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 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 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.

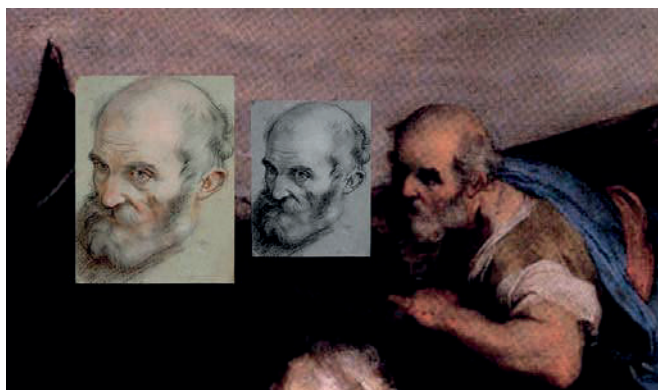


Fig. 21

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

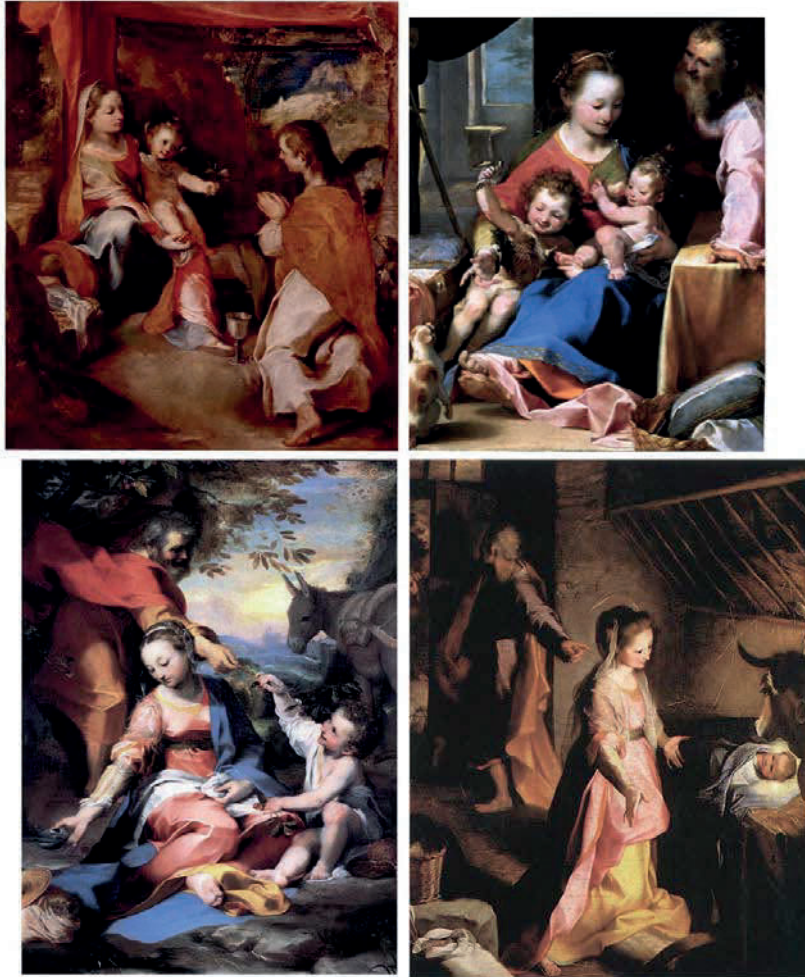


Fig. 31

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)