Chapter 3

Ink Models (1:3-1:8)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[189] Tomasi Velli (1997).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beginnings

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Half-Meter *Modello*

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

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

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

[194] Berlin inv. 27466, 28.1 x 42.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:37, fig. 53 (2008), 1:164, fig. 19.6; Mann & Bohn (2012), fig. 2.5.
[195] Louvre inv. 2851v, 20.4 x 27 cm; Olsen (1962), 148.
[196] Berlin inv. 27465v, 40,3 x 24,9 cm; Not in Emiliani (1985); Louvre 2928, 25.3 x 16.3 cm; unpublished.
[197] Uffizi inv. 9348, 58 x 33.4 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:61, fig. 90; (2008), 1:193, fig. 22.1; Mann and Bohn (2012), fig. 3.2.
[198] Bohn, in contrast, suggests Barocci "probably employed this large sheet as a presentation drawing, to obtain final approval from the patron for his design" (Mann and Bohn, 2012, 106).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Strange Exceptions

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

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

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

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

The End of the System

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

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

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

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

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

Lost Works

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Invalidating Works

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

Works for the Workshop

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

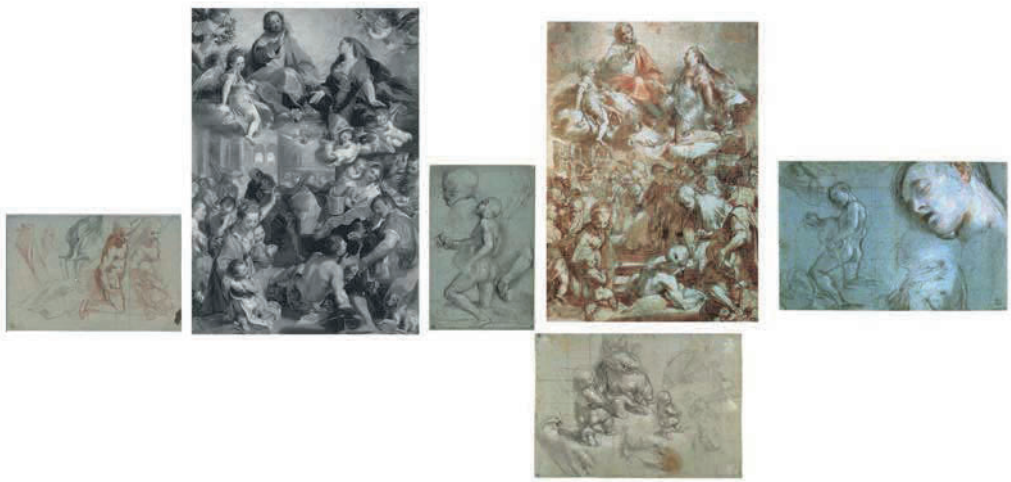

Fig. 36
Madonna del Popolo (Florence, Uffizi) reduced one sixth (1:6) with (left to right) Uffizi inv. 1401, Berlin inv. 20431, ex-Chatsworth, Berlin inv. 7705 (beneath) and Uffizi inv. 11359F (right)

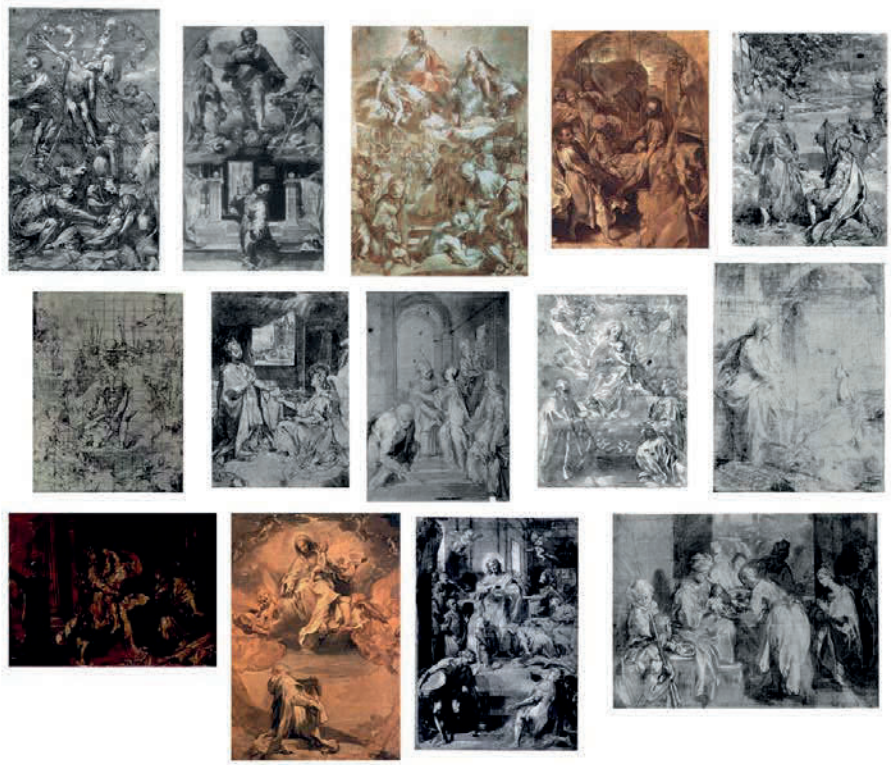

Fig. 37
Ink models associated with Barocci (from top to bottom, left to right): Uffizi (*Deposition from the Cross*), St. Petersburg (*Perdono*), Chicago (*Madonna del Popolo*), Getty (*Entombment of Christ*), Royal Collection/Windsor Castle (*Calling of St. Andrew*), Walker/Liverpool (*Martyrdom of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

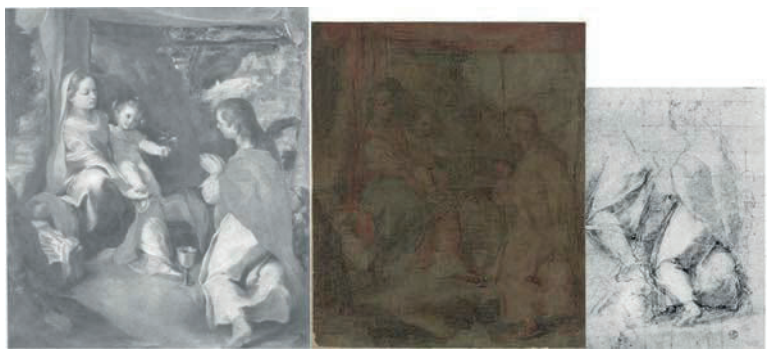

Fig. 38
Urbino *Madonna of Saint John* reduced a third (1:3) with Morgan drawing (center) and Uffizi inv. 11373 (right)

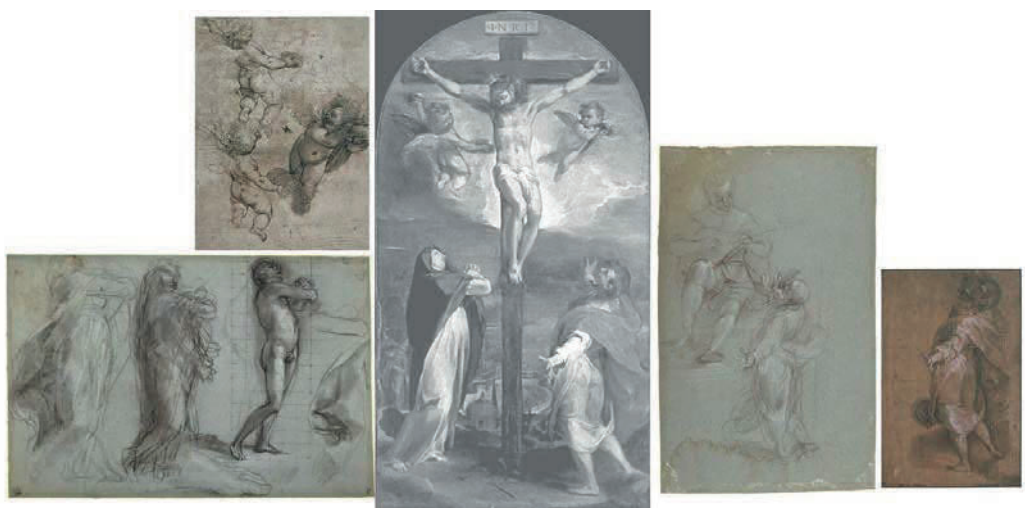

Fig. 39
Urbino *Crucifixion* reduced a sixth (1:6) with from bottom left Berlin 27466, (top left) Louvre inv. 2851, (right) Berlin inv. 27465v and far right Louvre inv. 2928

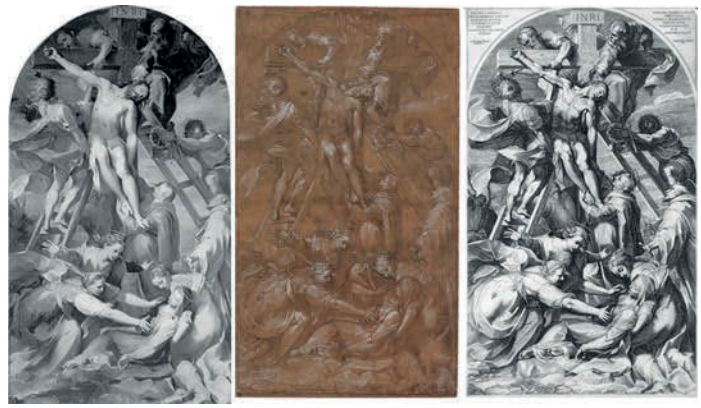

Fig. 40
Perugia *Deposition* reduced a seventh (1:7) next to Uffizi *modello* (inv. 9348, center) and Villamena print (1609, right)

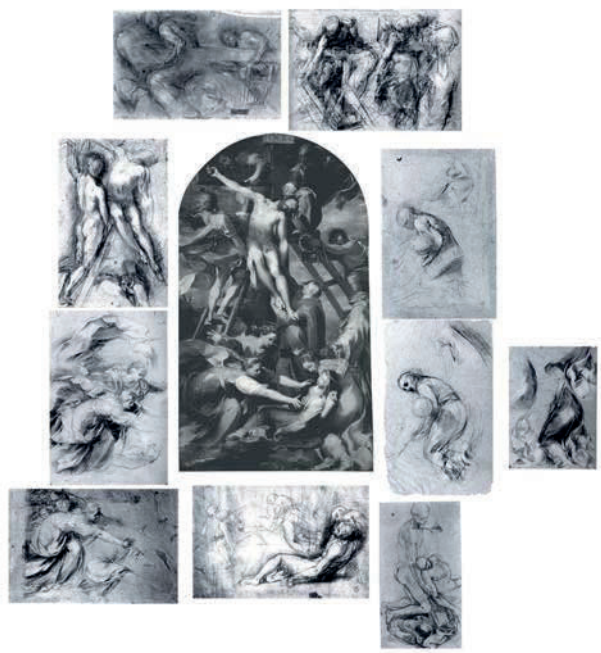

Fig. 41
Perugia Deposition reduced a fifth (1:5) next to (clockwise from center right): Uffizi 11312 verso, Uffizi 11595, Berlin 20469, Urbino 1652, Uffizi 11312 recto, Hertziana 3 verso, Chantilly G D XI 142, Hertziana 3 recto, Urbino 1658, Uffizi 11321F

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

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

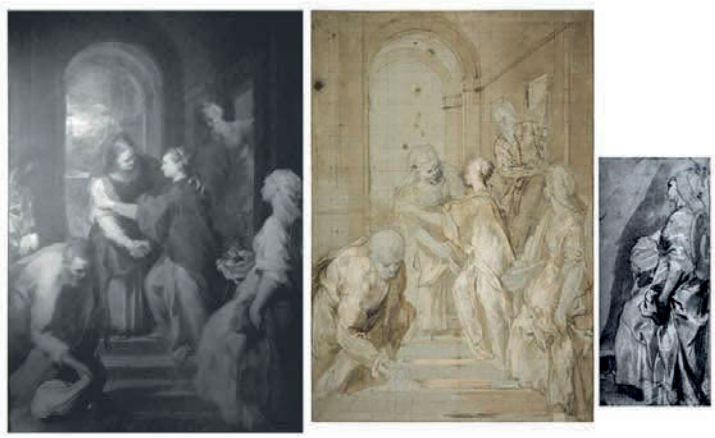

Fig. 44
Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* reduced a sixth (1:6) next to Edinburgh *modello*, and Berlin inv. 20522

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

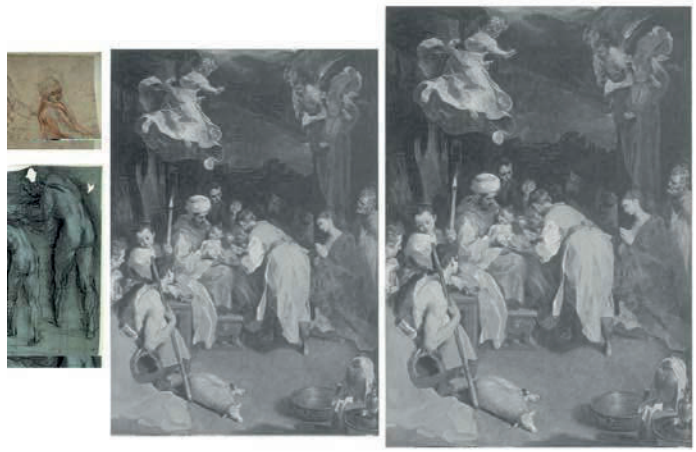

Fig. 46
Louvre *Circumcision* reduced an eighth (1:8, center) and a seventh (1:7, right) with Berlin inv. 20024 (left top) and inv. 20026 (left bottom)

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

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

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

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

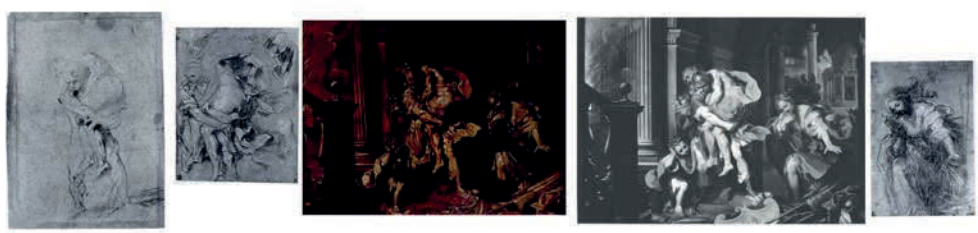

Fig. 51
Borghese *Flight of Aeneas* reduced a fifth (1:5) with (from left to right) Uffizi inv. 11642m Berlin inv. 20294, Windsor Castle and (on right) Berlin inv. 4588

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