

## Chapter 5

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>255</sup> Bellori (1978), 23-4; (1972), 205-6: “*compartiva le qualità de' colori con le loro proporzioni; e cercava di trovarle tra colore e colore; acciuché tutti li colori insieme avessero tra di loro concordia ed unione.*”

<sup>256</sup> Calzini (1913), 78; Mann (2018), 175, 176.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>257</sup> Bohn (2012); Mann and Bohn (2012). The oil sketch was a prominent feature of Andrea Emiliani's (1992; 1994; 2008) treatment of the artist and continues to feature in Nicholas Turner's (2000) works.

<sup>258</sup> Verstegen (2002); Marciari and Verstegen (2008); following Emiliani in this regard: Emiliani (1992); Emiliani (1994).

<sup>259</sup> Marciari (2013).

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

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

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

### The Color Sketch before Barocci

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

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

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

<sup>261</sup> The three sketches are now in the Palazzo Cancellaria, Rome; Capodimonte, Naples; and the Pouncey private collection, London; c.f., Ferrari (1990), 204.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Beginnings

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **The *Perdono***

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

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

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<sup>266</sup> Berlin inv. 20266, 40.9 x 25.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:37, fig. 54; (2008), 1:164, fig. 19.7.

Berlin inv. 20502, 40.4 x 26.4 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:37, fig. 55; (2008), 1:164, fig. 19.8.

Berlin inv. 27465, 40.3 x 24.9 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:38, fig. 56; Mann and Bohn (2012), 85, fig. 2.4;

National Gallery of Art, Washington; 1983.17.1.a, 40.0 x 27.4 cm; Olsen (1962), 147-8; Pillsbury and Richards (1978), fig. 18; not in Emiliani (1985); (2008), 1:166, fig. 19.11.

Fitzwilliam inv. 1978, 51.5 x 41.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:40, fig. 61; (2008), 1:170, fig. 19.19.

<sup>267</sup> Berlin inv. 20462, 39.3 x 24.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:74, fig. 124; (2008), 1:212, fig. 22.38; Mann and Bohn (2012), 99, fig. 3.5.

Uffizi inv. 11595 F (recto), 42.7 x 27.1; Emiliani (1985), 1:65, fig. 98; (2008), 1:202, fig. 22.18;

Uffizi inv. 11383 F (recto), 42.1 x 28.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:72, fig. 120; (2008), 1:210, fig. 22.32; Mann and Bohn (2012), 105, fig. 3.10.

Uffizi inv. 11341 (recto), 35.6 x 26.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:64, fig. 95; (2008), 1:195, 197, fig. 22.6.

<sup>268</sup> Lavin (2006).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>269</sup> Verstegen (2002), fig. 46; (2007).

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

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

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

### ***The Entombment***

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

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

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

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

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<sup>272</sup> Marciari and Versteegen (2008), fig. 12.

<sup>273</sup> Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, 125 x 100 cm; Emiliani (1992), 26, fig. 17; (2008), 2:352-3, fig. 39.1; Marciari and Versteegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(b); Mann and Bohn (2012), 177, fig. 8.16.

New York private collection, 89.7 x 57.7 cm; Emiliani (1992), 28, fig. 20; (2008), 2:354-5, fig. 39.2; Marciari and Versteegen (2008), 303, fig. 10(d); Mann and Bohn (2012), 176, 8.15.

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

<sup>275</sup> Bohn and Mann (2012); Bohn and Mann (Mann, 2018).



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

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

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

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

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<sup>276</sup> Marciari and Verstegen (2008), 313.

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

<sup>278</sup> Uffizi inv. 11301, 26.0 x 19.9 cm; Emiliani (2008), 2:291, fig. 78.8.

Pushkin Museum, Moscow (formerly Boymans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, inv. 1-428), 25.6 x 37.3 cm; Emiliani, (2008), 1:373, fig. 39.41.

Berlin inv. 20357, 25.5 x 20.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:156, fig. 303; (2008), 1:373, fig. 39.39.

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

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

### *Calling of Saint Andrew*

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>280</sup> Verstegen (2002).

<sup>281</sup> Borea (1976): 55; Emiliani (2008), 2:14, fig. 41.23.

<sup>282</sup> Berlin inv. 20133, 42.0. x 25.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:192, fig. 398; (2008), 1:10-11, fig. 41.5. Berlin inv. 20134, 42.0 x 26.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:196, fig. 408; (2008), 1:14, fig. 41.12.

<sup>283</sup> Bohn (2012), 61.

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

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

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

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

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

### Strange Exceptions

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

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<sup>284</sup> Giovanni Battista Staccoli to Leopoldo de' Medici, (1658); reprinted in Baldinucci (1686/1975), III:70.

<sup>285</sup> Pillsbury (1976); Emiliani (2008), 2:74, fig. 47/B.

<sup>286</sup> Staccoli to de' Medici, 70: “*la Madalena e' finite dal signor Ambrosio nipote del Baroccio.*”

<sup>287</sup> Emiliani (1975), fig. 190; (1994), 460; (2008), 2:91, fig. 49.1.

<sup>288</sup> Uffizi inv. 11342, 41.0 x 2.66 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:256, fig. 534; (2008), 2:99, fig. 49.12.

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

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

### Lost Works

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

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

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

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Uffizi inv. 11412, 38.7 x 25.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 530; (2008), 2: 98, fig. 49.10.

Uffizi inv. 11295, 40.7 x 26.9 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:259, fig. 543; (2008), 2:102, fig. 49.21.

Berlin inv. 20023, 13.4 x 9.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:260, fig. 548; (2008), 2: 103, fig. 49.26.

Berlin inv. 20028, 31.7 x 22.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 532; (2008), 2:96, fig. 49.5.

Berlin inv. 20012, 28.3 x 20.2 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 531; (2008), 2:97, fig. 49.8.

Courtauld inv. 2329, 33.5 x 23.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:254, fig. 527; (2008), 2:97, fig. 49.9.

<sup>289</sup> Uffizi inv. 11603, 24.0 x 22.0 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:146, fig. 279; (2008), 1:332, fig. 38.56.

Uffizi inv. 11348, 19.1 x 23.1 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:142, fig. 264; (2008), 1:326, fig. 38.37.

Berlin inv. 20428, 22.0 x 32.7 cm, Emiliani (1985), 1:141, fig. 257; (2008), 1:323, fig. 38.27.

Rijksmuseum (ex-Regteren Altena) inv. 1981-31 recto and verso, 27.4 x 22.9 cm; 1:138, figs. 245 and 246; recto in (2008), 1:316, fig. 38.6, and Mann and Bohn (2012), 45, fig. 31.

<sup>290</sup> Berlin inv. 20489, 42.3 x 27.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:353, fig. 767;(2008), 1:257, fig. 72.17.

Berlin inv. 20477, 24.6 x 15.6 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:350, fig. 763; (2008), 1:254, fig. 72.8.

Berlin inv. 20488, 38.0 x 28.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:350, fig. 762; (2008), 1:254, fig. 72.10.

Berlin inv. 20490, 41.0 x 37.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:350, fig. 761; (2008), 1:254, fig. 72.7.

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

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

### Discovering Lost Works

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

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

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Berlin inv. 20501, 40.2 x 28.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:356, fig. 778; (2008), 2:259, fig. 72.24.

There are in addition a couple more in the Uffizi.

<sup>291</sup> Berlin inv. 20334, 41.2 x 24.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:382, fig. 835; (2008), 2:305, fig. 81.11.

Getty inv. 83.GB.279, 30 x 27.1 cm; not in Emiliani (1985) or (2008); Turner (2000), 130, fig. 119.

Berlin inv. 20329, 28.0 x 41.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:381, fig. 832; (2008), 2:303, fig. 81.8.

Berlin inv. 20331, 40.5 x 24.8 cm; Emiliani (1985), 1:381, fig. 833; (2008), 2:303, fig. 81.9.

<sup>292</sup> Berlin inv. 20527, 26.6 x 21.4 cm; not in Emiliani (1985), (2008), 2:56, fig. 45.36.

Berlin inv. 20531, 28.4 x 18.5 cm; not in Emiliani (1985), (2008), 2:56, fig. 45.37.

Chatsworth inv. 918r, 38.1 x 25.3 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:220, fig. 449, (2008), 2:46, fig. 45.15.

Chatsworth inv. 918v, 38.1 x 25.3 cm, Emiliani (1985), 2:220, fig. 453, (2008), 2:45, fig. 45.10.

Uffizi inv. 11420, 41.3 x 22.2 cm, Emiliani (1985), 2:220, fig. 450, (2008), 2:45, fig. 45.11.

Uffizi inv. 11400, 40.0 x 28.3 cm, Emiliani (1985), 2:225, fig. 466; Bohn and Mann (2012), 205, fig. 10.7.

In Verstegen (2015), 75, I misidentified this ratio as 1:5 and argued that the results suggested a “another provisional model” which is clearly wrong. The ratio makes it much clearer that the drawings served a lost *bozzetto*.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>294</sup> Berlin inv. 7707, 42 x 27.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:289, fig. 621; (2008), 2:144, fig.54.14.

Berlin inv. 20229, 39.0 x 24.5 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:288, fig. 617; (2008), 2: 143, no. 54.10 (not illustrated).

Berlin inv. 20443, 21.8 x 33.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:286, fig. 613; (2008), 2:142, fig. 54.6.

Berlin inv. 20444, 21.5 x 21.7 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:286, fig. 612; (2008), 2:142, fig. 54.5.

Berlin inv. 20460, 40.5 x 27.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:286, fig. 610; (2008), 2:140, fig.54.3.

Berlin inv. 20467, 40.3 x 29.0 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:288, fig. 619; (2008), 2:143, fig. 54.11.

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

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

<sup>297</sup> For Cigoli, see Contini (1991); Ferrari (1990), 16-17, 111-113; for Allori, Ferrari (1990), 75-80.

<sup>298</sup> For Cavaliere d'Arpino, see Ferrari (1990), 17, and Röttgen (2002), fig. 12; for Roncalli, see Ferrari (1990), 17.

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

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

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<sup>299</sup> DeGrazia (1995), 179; Spear (1982), 1:140-141, fig. 41.







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

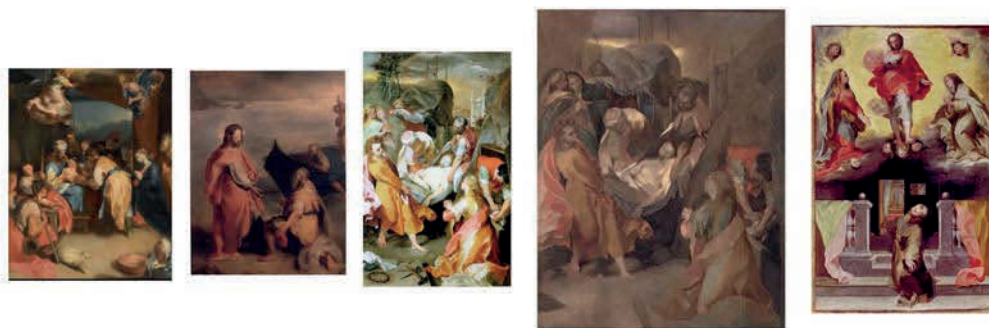


Fig. 56  
 Same-scale diagram showing all the *bozzetti* or suspected *bozzetti* in reverse chronological order



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



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



Fig. 59

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



Fig. 60

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



Fig. 61

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

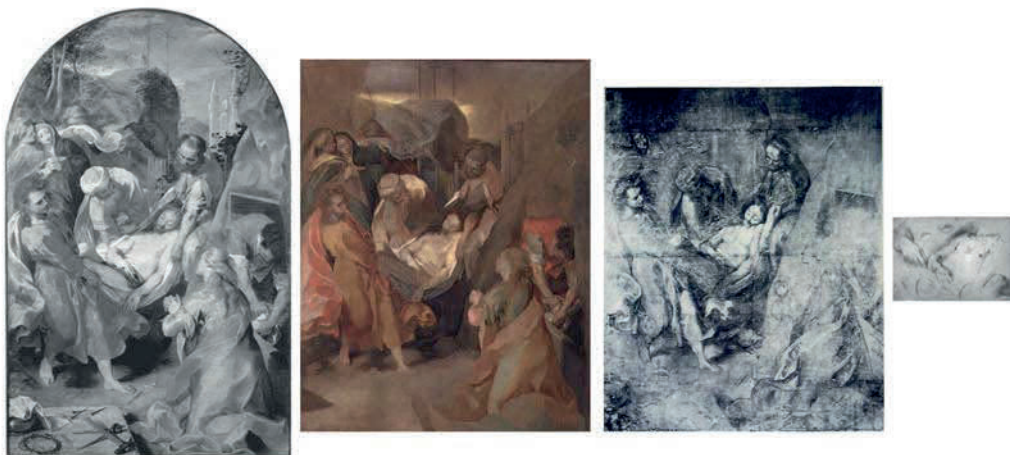


Fig. 62

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



Fig. 63

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



Fig. 64

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



Fig. 65

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



Fig. 66

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



Fig. 67

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



Fig. 68

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



Fig. 69

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



Fig. 70

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