Chapter 7

Full Size (1:1) Oil and Pastel Drawings

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

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

The Pastel Medium

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[332] McGrath (1998).

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

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

Heads, and Limbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[348] McCullagh (1991), 57.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Larger than Life-Sized Drawings

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

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

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

Confirming Drawings

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

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

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

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

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

Heads for Sale

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[364] Marciari (2013), 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[373] Faranda (1986), 170.

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

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

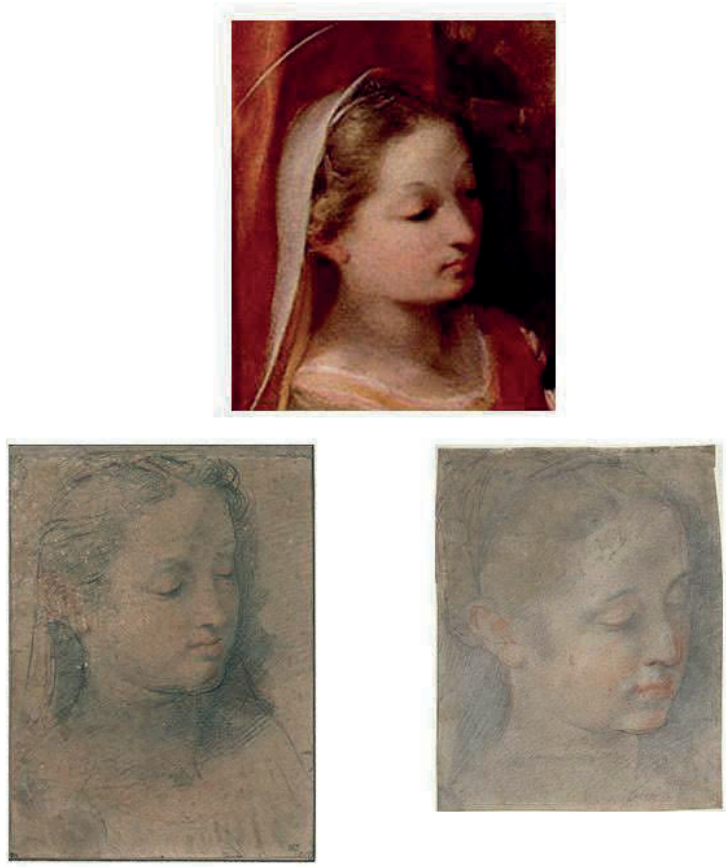

Fig. 84
Absolute scale comparison of detail of *Madonna of Saint John* with Louvre inv. 2864 (bottom left) and Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 64.136.3 (bottom right)

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

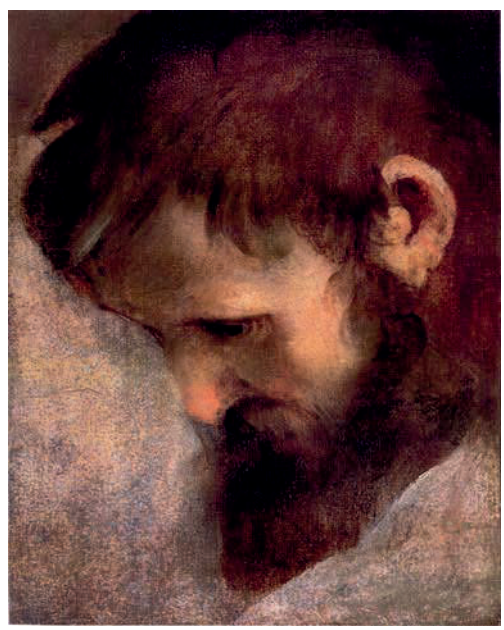

Fig. 86
Head of Moses, c. 1563, oil on paper, New York, Bob Haboldt collection

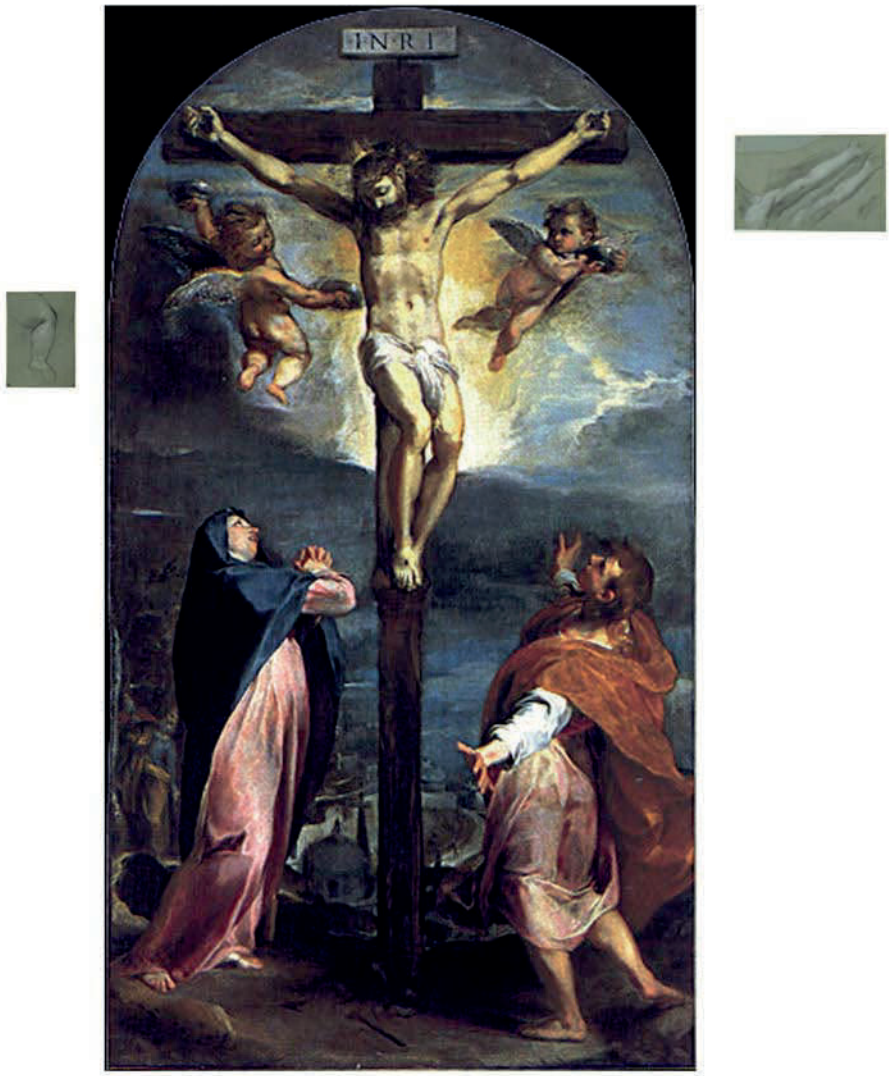

Fig. 87
Absolute scale comparison of Urbino *Crucifixion* and Berlin inv. 20136 (left) and Berlin inv. 20263 (right)

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

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

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

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

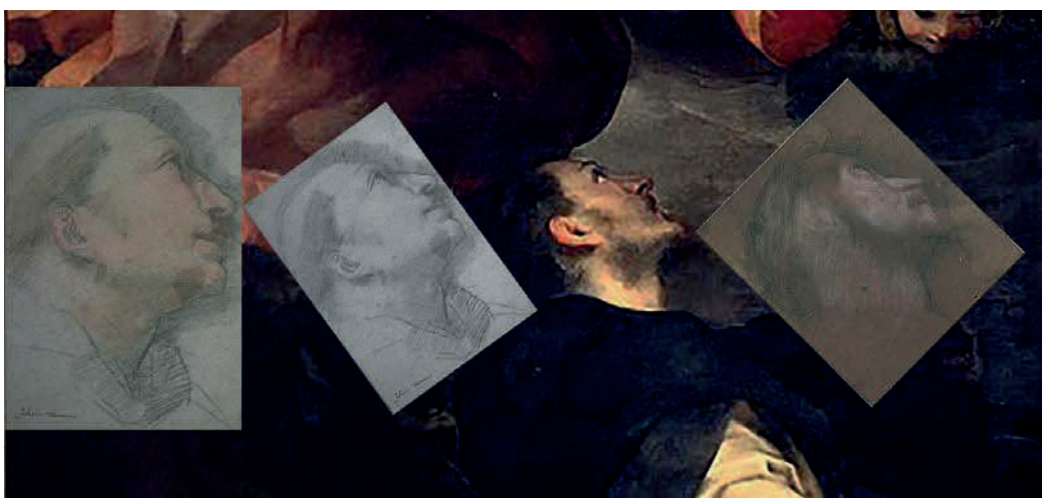

Fig. 92
Absolute scale comparison of Louvre inv. 4634 (from left to right; full sized and 3:4 reduction in black and white), *Madonna of the Rosary* (detail), and Louvre inv. 2876

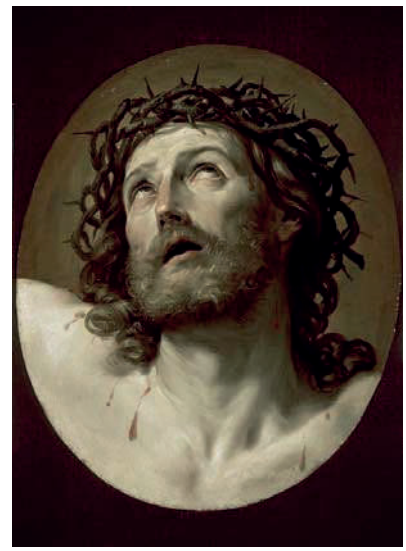

Fig. 93, Workshop of Federico Barocci, *Head of Christ* (from the Prado Crucifixion), 1603-12, Church of the Gesù, Perugia (left)

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