Chapter 8

Copies and Workshop Pictures

Ironically, the artist of the early seventeenth century most popular in the public imagination – Caravaggio – tends to undermine the understanding of the careful, diligent attention to sacred themes we have been exploring in this book. But while many truisms about Caravaggio may be challenged, the same is true of Barocci. The would-be neurotic artist actually ran a large workshop and was far from being bedridden, in the image of a bohemian with tuberculosis. Rather, Barocci managed to overcome, or at least successfully manage, whatever malady he suffered. Indeed, the predominant theme of Counter-Reformation workshops is one of collaboration and subordination to a decorative theme, whether it be the Carracci's fresco projects or the papal decorative schemes for Sixtus V in Rome.

The recent publication of a number of works devoted to Barocci's own workshop and its influence has catapulted studies of Barocci's workshop forward.[374] By outlining the classes of direct students like Antonio Cimatori (c. 1550-1623), Ventura Mazzi (1560-1638), Antonio Viviani (1560-1620) and Alessandro Vitali (1580-1630), those who worked in the Urbino-Pesaro milieu (Cesare Maggeri, Filippo Bellini, Giorgio Picchi, and others) and imitators such as Francesco Vanni and Ventura Salimbeni, it is now possible to truly gauge the extent of Barocci's great artistic influence in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

As for the first category of direct students, authors have even begun to assemble distinct painterly personalities for Cimatori, Mazzi, Viviani and Vitali, allowing them to attribute unsigned works. The new access to the personalities is especially useful in the case of those many works that repeat motifs from Barocci's earlier altarpieces. While attributing hands to assistants is great progress, it risks obscuring the basic facts about Barocci's workshop: why would the master have allowed such free reuse of his *invenzioni*? By focusing too much on individuals who may have done some of the painting of certain works, one loses the sense of the structure of the repetitions in the first place, their profit motive and market function. Moreover, it was not in Barocci's interest to allow his students to copy from his works.

With the question of the benefit to Barocci of sharing his works in our minds, the practices investigated earlier provide the possibilities and limitations for a workshop practice. Continuing to use the computer paradigm of the rest of the book, this chapter demonstrates that many of the resuses of Barocci's motifs are direct tracings from the cartoons, necessitating even more cooperation between master and pupil. I challenge the idea that these are independent commissions but eagerly sought out by Barocci to expand his impact on the artistic sphere. There are three categories that I will especially challenge; directly copied works, paintings by Alessandro Vitali, and then the famous workshop pictures consisting of a cut and paste of various elements from earlier Barocci pictures.

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[374] Massari and Cellini (2005); Giannotti and Pizzorusso (2009); Mancini (2010).

Reconsidering the workshop will expose a particular prejudice in scholarly discussion of Barocci and his art. In general, I suspect that Barocci's was special kind of workshop, quite different from that of Titian or Rubens, where the artist provides an idea that assistants work out and the master touches up. As repeatedly demonstrated, Barocci was not an *alla prima* painter and was extremely conservative in his techniques, most importantly in this discussion for his use of cartoons.

Therefore, one needs to reconsider the idea of authorship in relation to Barocci's central Italian method of working. Richard Spear has provided a useful scale of works from the master's hand versus those of the workshop, to which one may refer.[375] They are in order of desirability:

1) Original, by artist completely for original commission.
2) Copy by artist of original commission.
3) Touched-up original, by studio for original commission but touched up.
4) Touched-up copy of original commission.
5) School or studio, by studio for original commission.

Scholarship possesses no vocabulary to capture these gradations for Barocci, for the choices are either exclusively by Barocci (1) or by pupil (5). This chapter intends to show ways to enrich this picture in light of Barocci's unusual working practice.

Titian did not trace to construct his original paintings, as he worked the compositions out on the canvas. But for his replicas he certainly did trace. For the "replicas," Barocci too traced, but from his cartoons, consequently, the question of construction is not about tracing, as everybody traced.[376] However, in Titian's case one traces from one completed work to the next, while in Barocci's case, one traces directly from the cartoons, which are lying in the workshop.[377] This process means that overcoming the prejudice against a painter who uses cartoons requires a reassessment of these works on the same grounds that other pictures are judged, by optical quality or connoisseurship.[378]

This method based on optical quality is already done for Barocci's very late works, where he works up new compositions from modestly reused elements; accordingly, this charity must extend to the workshop. Barocci's practice arose out of his training and the circumstances of his career. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, numerous cartoons survive for Barocci's paintings, giving the assurance to posit that for every major work he created a respective cartoon. Furthermore, this method is confirmed by the large number of 'auxiliary cartoon' studies that survive of heads drawn in pastel or painted in oils. All together, they demonstrate that Barocci strongly worked with the notion of

[375] Spear (1997), 210-224.
[376] For evidence of tracing in the Renaissance, see Bauer (1986), (1995); Bauer and Colton (2000).
[377] Barocci held on to cartoons until his death, as they are recorded in the inventory of his studio after his death; Calzini (1913), 77-80; Mann (2018), 175-176.
[378] Arcangeli (1998), 192, pertinently writes how these borrowing "*ha portato a trascurare questo aspetto di diffusione del patrimonio semantico del grande urbinate…vedendone solo la meccanisca repetitvità.*"

absolute size, as it is carried from the cartoon, to head studies, and ultimately on to the final painting.[379]

In Chapter 4, Barocci's early creation of new versions of his work was already reviewed. When creating new versions of the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* Barocci inevitably introduced variations. In the case of the *Martyrdom of San Vitale*, Barocci loosely repeated the figure of the woman in the foreground from the *Madonna del Popolo*. From all that has been said in this book, it can seen that Barocci's very procedure called out for the creative reuse of elements, especially given the fact that the very figures he was creating in different altarpieces were often of approximately the same size.

There is an inevitable consequence to recognizing the creation of such versions. If understanding Barocci's conservative technique changes what one needs to search for as a new work, then his number of works significantly expands. Subsequently, Barocci – like Titian – did more work than one man alone could feasibly accomplish in one lifetime.

Studio Replicas

Even though Barocci had a different conception of the workshop than the norm, he had a larger studio than scholarship usually admits, because the number of good replicas that came from Barocci's workshop tend to be discounted. Titian or Rubens famously made works in several versions. Based on previous scholarship, Barocci appears to have worked in a different method, but looking closely at the drawings from his workshop indicates otherwise. In the case of this book, "replica" refers to a supervised copy, not simply one churned out by the studio or a copyist. Thus there are numerous copies often given to names that circulate around Barocci, not to mention simply copies made by unaffiliated artists at different periods of time.[380] The issue is also unduly complicated by the reuse of cartoons by Barocci's students who inherited many of his drawings at his death.[381] Both Mazzi and Viviani possessed drawings by Barocci, and both reuse them again and again in their own work.[382] However, I am interested in those that are official in some sense, those which are of high quality and issued from the workshop with Barocci's stamp of approval.

The most famous cases of replicated work are the the replica of the *Flight of Aeneas from Troy* that was originally made for Rudolf II and is only known from the replica in the Galleria Borghese that was given by Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere to Cardinal Scipione Borghese,[383] and the just-mentioned *Rest on the Return from Egypt*. As these works are so well documented, many simply consider them as autograph works; in fact, the *Flight of Aeneas* is signed and dated by Barocci. For Simonetto Anastagi's copy of the *Rest*, Barocci's autograph letter records his great efforts, as if he considered the replica

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[379] On cartoons, see Chapter 4 and Verstegen (2003), 378-383; on 'auxiliary cartoons,' see Pillsbury (1978), 170-173.

[380] These copies are still best referred to in Olsen's (1962) catalogue.

[381] Here I must stress that it is not the purpose of this chapter to record all of the variations of reused compositions by artists associated with Barocci but rather with works that must have issued, in some sense, as a 'Barocci.' One way to limit this search is to find works documented as produced only *before* Barocci's death.

[382] For Mazzi's drawings, see Sangiorgi (1982), 66-67; for Viviani's, see Pezzini Bernini *(*1984).

[383] The original was commissioned by Rudolf II in 1586 and completed in 1589; c.f., Olsen, *(1962),* 190-182; Emiliani (2008), 2:230-237.

just as much of a challenge.[384] As noted, for this copy Barocci also altered the design from the original by adjusting the pose of Saint John, as demonstrated from the etching by Raffaelle Schiamimossi. Equally well documented is the *The Calling of Saint Andrew* (Brussels, Musée Royaux des Beaux Arts), painted for a Confraternity in Pesaro, and the *Annunciation* (Vatican, Pinacoteca Vaticana) for Loreto Cathedral, both of which were quickly copied by Barocci for King Philip II of Spain.[385] Naturally, for these royal commissions the artist would wish to reflect himself in the best possible light.

These seem like anomalous works, but it is more likely that they are simply well documented because they came into illustrious hands. Upon closer inspection, it could be argued that many other works – all unsigned – fall into the same category. For example, consider the Ambrosiana *Nativity*,[386] given over to the workshop (and usually Vitali). The painting is considered a copy of the Prado original version but its conservator has noted its high quality, suggesting that it is the original and the version in the Prado is the copy.[387]

Cimatori, Mazzi, Viviani and Vitali all have recorded payments for copies. Even if the handling of an unsigned painting allows scholarship to match it to the personality, this is only the beginning of an analysis. Moreover, when they paint a Baroccesque work, one can *always* find a prototype in Barocci's works. Often, for example in the case of Cimatori and Viviani, when they paint independent works they look quite unlike Barocci; in fact, the Roman maniera style *Annunciations* of each have more in common with each other than with Barocci.[388] Therefore, although it is useful to know which artist painted which painting, it should not obscure the fact that each workshop artist molded their style to Barocci for the copy.

To proceed in chronological order, take a second look at the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* (Pinacoteca, Vatican; Santo Stefano, Piobbico), which is copied in Saint Petersburg;[389] the *Madonna del Gatto* (National Gallery, London) that bears good copies in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (Palazzo Barberini), Rome, and the Museo Albani, Urbino; the *Annunciation*, which in addition to the lost copy in Spain is supplemented by another from the Duomo of Pesaro and now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy,[390] the *Christ Appearing to the Magalene* (Munich, Pinakothek), which has a good copy in storage at the Galleria Corsini, Rome;[391] the

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[384] The letter of 2 October 1573 (Bottari and Ticozzi, 3: 84-85) is mentioned in Pillsbury and Richards (1978); Mann and Bohn (2012), 110.

[385] The copy of the *Calling of St. Andrew* was made from 1584-1588 for King Philip II, perhaps after Francesco Maria II was given the Golden Fleece. The copy of the *Annunciation* was sent in 1593 for King Philip II but was lost in the Napoleanic wars; Allen and Nesselrath (1998).

[386] Falchetti (1969), 222.

[387] Pinin Brambila Barcilon, unpublished "Scheda di Restauro," kindly provided to me by Monsignore Marco Maria Navoni, writes of "*una tecnica molto raffinata*." Barocci's authorship of the Ambrosiana version is accepted in Verstegen (2015, 90) and Mann (2018), 127, 135-6.

[388] Compare Cimatori's *Annunciation with St. Anthony Abbot* in the Chiesa della Santissima Resurrezione o di Sant'Ubaldo; Massari and Cellini (2005), 98, or his *Annunciation* in the Chiesa di San Biagio, Roncofreddo (101), and Viviani's *Annunciation* in the Oratorio del Gonfalone, Fabriano (118).

[389] Kustodieva (1994).

[390] Arcangeli (1998), 192; Costamagna (1973-4), 249-52, fig. 3.

[391] *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene*, Rome, Galleria Corsini; Emiliani (2008), 2:87, fig. 47/C.23. I have only seen this in photographs. Some evidence that this was in Roman collections early on, is suggested by the

Madonna della Gatta (Florence, Uffizi) that has a recently discovered copy in Mondolfo;[392] the *Last Supper* (Urbino Cathedral) for which there is a little known copy in the Episcopio, Pergola,[393] the *Crocifisso Spirante* (Prado) that was copied in Urbania,[394] and the *Institution of the Eucharist* (Sta Maria sopra Minerva, Rome) that has an aforementioned copy ascribed to Vitali in Bologna.[395]

Perhaps if Barocci's reputation was anything like it should be, these copies might be better known, like the numerous Titians and Rubens that are proudly claimed by many museums. When enumerated, these works lead to the belief that Barocci might have done more than one of each of his major commissions.

These works can be considered replicas because, as stated, they are of good quality. Why could not have Barocci's workshop executed them without his help? They are also at least partly autograph because of the nature of Barocci's technique. He expended great effort on the design and then the cartoon. All of the replicas noted above are of the exact dimensions of the originals, relying on the original cartoon. The workshop artists would have indeed blocked these works in on the canvas. But this preliminary procedure precisely allows Barocci more time to attend to the painting. A cartoon can allow an assistant to copy a head but this only helps so much. When Mazzi finished the heads of Barocci's Gubbio *Annunciation* left incomplete at his death, the result was not felicitous. So the quality must be directly ascribed to Barocci twice, both for the quality control of the drawing and the quality of painting, even if he was aided through the intermediate stages of painting.

My comments, incidentally, could also be applied to small replicas of paintings (*Annunciation*, Uffizi; *Holy Family* from Madonna of Saint Simon, Pinacoteca, Ancona) and portraits (Guidobaldo del Monte, Pesaro, Museo Civico; Florence, Uffizi).[396] A second portrait could easily be traced from the first and the reduced versions could be mechanically reduced or traced from a *modello* or *bozzetto* that Barocci had used.

Alessandro Vitali's Output

There also exists a significant amount of quality work put out by Alessandro Vitali (1580-1630). Like most of the replicas, these works fall quite late in Barocci's career. Vitali's creations, above both Mazzi and Viviani, appear to possess some special relationship to the master. Vitali was referred to as “messer Alesandro, che sta in casa del signor

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Ludovisi inventory of 1623: Wood (1992), 515-523, 520: “Un noli me tangere alto p.i 12 Cornice dorate et intag.te del Baroccio.”

[392] See Natali (2003).

[393] *Restauri nelle Marche* (1973), 437-439. Franca Bizzotto Abdalla doubts the authenticity noting the "ombreggiature troppo intense e un diverso impasto cromatico" (439). In conversation with Dott. Isidoro Bacchiocca, however, he noted the quality of the original. According to Sebastianelli, Barocci was even paid to make it. However, he never published the documentation in the succeeding years.

[394] It is mentioned by Venturi (Calzini, 1913, fig. 39). It was restored by the I.C.R., Rome. It is reproduced in color in Marchi (2000), 14.

[395] *Institution of the Eucharist*, c. 1609, San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna; Emiliani (2008), 2:299, fig. 81.a.

[396] *Portrait of Guidobaldo del Monte* (Florence, Uffizi); Olsen (1962), no. 57, 204-5; and *Portrait of Guidobaldo del Monte*, 67 x 53 cm; Pesaro, Museo Civico. Enrico Gamba, mentioning the version in Pesaro, presumes the Roman version lost (1998, 2:88).

Barocci."[397] Moreover, he is the one artist close to Barocci who did not, to scholarly knowledge, travel and win independent commissions prior to the master's death. Vitali is also often credited with copies, which raises the same problem as Barocci's replicas. A couple of the copies described above are actually linked to Vitali, such as the *Nativity* (Milan, Ambrosiana, 1598). In addition, Duke Francesco Maria's expense book records payments to Vitali for copies of Barocci's works.

The most tangible evidence of Vitali's closeness to Barocci are the child portraits of Prince Federico Ubaldo della Rovere (1605-1622). The two best known are the *Portrait of Federico Ubaldo at his Birth* (Florence, Pitti Palace) and the *Portrait of Federico Ubaldo at Two* (Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi). In the first case, there is a payment to Vitali; however, both are of high quality and traditionally given at least partially to Barocci.[398] Moreover, one can imagine that Duke Francesco Maria II would appreciate Barocci's intervention on behalf of his son's likeness.

Now, one can point to proof of the derivation of at least some of these portraits from prior works by Barocci. The Lucca portrait of the prince as an infant bears some superficial similarities to the Christ child in the Prado *Nativity*, although they are of different sizes. However, if the size of the *Nativity* figure is doubled, or alternatively the size of the prince Federico Ubaldo figure is halved, the two match perfectly **(Fig. 95)**. Therefore, Vitali relied on Barocci's prior cartoon to speed him on the way toward completion of the portrait.

Scholarship typically ascribe works to Vitali and then forgets about the attributions; the *Saint Ambrose's Pardon of Theodosius* (Milan, Duomo) or the *Fall of Manna* (lost, Urbino, Duomo) both follow such a pattern. But these works were conceived in pairs with Barocci's and he had a reason to ensure their quality. In the case of *Ambrose* the documents are ambiguous between Vitali and Barocci but there are other cases where there is no question that Barocci was implicated in Vitali's works.[399] These examples are the *Santa Agnese* (1605; **Fig. 96,** right), formerly of the church of S. Agata di Pian di Mercato, and now in the Museo Albani, Urbino,[400] and the *Santa Agata in Prison* (c. 1598, Museo Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; **Fig. 97,** left).[401] The latter painting's commission was published some years ago and revealed the remarkable fact that it was jointly commissioned to Vitali and Barocci, thereby providing the model of the famous *Beata Michelina.*[402] The beautiful still-life elements of prison shackles in the foreground are of the highest quality and must have been painted by Barocci himself. The former painting

[397] Sangiorgi (1982), 35.

[398] For a review of these works see Dal Poggetto and Montevecchi (2000), nos. 6 & 7; Bissell, Miller and Derstine (2005), nos. 68 & 69.

[399] Bandera (1994); Verstegen (2015), 91-94.

[400] *Santa Agnese*, Museo Albani, Urbino, 1.9 x 1.89 m; Serra (1932), 150; Sangiorgi (1982, table xvii. It was cleaned in 1970 by Silvestro Castellani (*Mostra di Opere*, 1970), who wrote positively of the painting's quality.

[401] *Santa Agata in Prison*, 253 x 187 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche; Calzini (1906).

[402] Negroni (1979), 89-92: "*dati a ms. Alissandro Vitali discepolo del Baroccio per la pittura del quadro di S. Agata inventione di detto Baroccio, e ancho in parte dipinta da lui scudi 120.*"

was referred to in documents published by Fert Sangiorgi as the work of "gli autori," suggesting once again a collaboration.[403]

Vitali's works are characteristically variations of Barocci works that rely on Barocci's overall layout while substituting personages. The lost *Fall of Manna* of Urbino Cathedral was undoubtedly based on its matching *Last Supper*. Consequently, the *Saint Ambrose's Pardon of Theodosius* is literally based on the contemporary *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (Rome, Chiesa Nuova), because it follows its exact dimensions **(Fig. 98,** right**)**. Although there is a thematic similarity with the blessing patriarchal figures (priest-Saint) and blessee (Virgin, Theodosius), these figures, as well as the architectonic backgrounds match closely at identical scale (**Fig. 98**).[404]

With the publication of its documentation by Negroni, the *Santa Agata in Prison* now, ironically, is proven to be the prototype for the wholly autograph *Beata Michelina*.[405] Juxtaposing the two paintings, one can observe that apart from the obvious differences in hand position and drapery, the two female saints are identical in pose and size (**Fig. 97**). Furthermore, according to the same analysis, one can recognize that the *Saint Catherine in Ecstasy* (1610; Santa Margherita, Cortona) is also derived from the same cartoon.[406] Finally, a same-scale comparison of the Sta Agnese demonstrates that the figure is derived perfectly from the Urbino *Immaculate Conception* **(Fig. 96)**.

Vitali worked so closely with Barocci that it is often difficult to determine his own artistic abilities. It is natural to call Vitali a talented artist, until one attempts to think of projects he did on his own. For example, the unpublished *Vision of Saint John of Patmos* (1601) in Fermo Cathedral might appear to be an independent creation. Firmly attributable to Vitali based on a contract he signed in Barocci's house, the painting also derived doubly from the *Last Supper*, for the head of the saint, and the *Stigmatization*, for the body of the saint (when enlarged 1:5; **Fig. 99**).[407]

Following the complicated history of the *Nativity of the Virgin* in San Simpliciano, Milan, also attributes the work to Vitali. The painting seems to have been begun by Barocci in the 1580s and then left unfinished. Later, Barocci may have offered it to S. Paolo Conversa in Milan and next to the Oratorians in Rome.[408] When the Oratorians did

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[403] Sangiorgi (1982), 47. Could this be the work commissioned on December 1605 by Francesco Maria Mamiani (with Muzio Oddi present); Negroni (1993), 85-6.

[404] Various borrowings are easily sought out. The kneeling soldier in the lower left is derived from the *Circumcision* of 1590; the kneeling woman on the right is from the *Madonna del Popolo*. Sandrina Bandera (*Nuova ragguagli*, cit.) has noted further reuses of figures. Christ's profile from the *Noli me tangere* (ruined, 1590) is used for the standing figure on the far left and Mary's profile reversed from the *Annunciation* (1584, Vatican, Pinacoteca) is used for the woman holding a baby. None of these, however, are to scale.

[405] The new understanding of the chronology of these works also clarifies drawings. The *bozzetto* in the Uffizi (19104) can be seen to be closer to the Agata than the Michelina (the left arm is the same as the Agata and the right arm is as it will appear in the Michelina). Also the *Head of a Saint* formerly in the Castebarco Albani collection (sold 1977?) is very close to Sant'Agata. Given that the cartoon ascribed to the Beata Michelina survives in the collection of the Albani family (Casa Castelbarco Albani, Milan) and was used for all the commissions, The interesting possibility arises that the cartoon was made instead for the Sant'Agata; c.f. Nardini (1931), 5.

[406] Maetzke (1979), 73-6. It was mentioned by Bellori as a work for the "Zoccolanti" (Observant Franciscans) but presumed lost until recently.

[407] *Vision of Saint John of Patmos*, 272 x 180 cm, 1601; Calzini (1906); Dania (1967), 72-73.

[408] Sangiorgi (1982); and especially Verstegen (2016), 95-116.

not have enough money, it seems to have fallen to Vitali for San Paolo Converso. Although a Barocci invention, the heads of Saint Ann and her attendant must be by Vitali, and the result is not impressive. Similarly, the faces of the *Saint Ambrose's Pardon of Theodosius* are more simplistic than Barocci's. But the real proof lies the works completed after Barocci's death, which prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that although a talented painter and colorist, Vitali severely lacked in his ability as draftsmanship. His shortcomings are apparent in a pair of paintings from Fano's duomo, as well as a *Birth of the Virgin* in Fermo, both of which demonstrate figures that are far too clumsy to have been conceived by Barocci.[409]

The situation is summed up by Duke Francesco Maria II Della Rovere who chose Vitali to complement the overburdened Barocci's *Last Supper* in the chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament by painting a now-lost *Fall of Manna*: "Both for his own sufficiency, as also for the help that we can hope Barocci will give him...and that we will spend less."[410]

Thus, Vitali's close connection to Barocci is not to be ignored. Another way of appreciating how much Vitali (or his access to Barocci) was esteemed, one need only look to the few surviving payments made to Vitali by patrons: 120 *scudi* for the single-figure *Santa Agata*, 250-300 *scudi* for the *Fall of Manna* (Duomo, Urbino) and finally at least 367.5 *scudi* for the *Pardon by Saint Ambrose of Theodoric*.[411] These numbers actually surpass those of prominent Roman painters like Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci and others. Vitali is not Barocci. But we have to give his collaborative works – which are not reproduced by Emiliani, Turner or in the St. Louis exhibition – a major rehabilitation. Vitali was contracted because he was the next best thing, and when he worked with Barocci, he could be counted on to produce something that would leave the workshop with the stamp of approval of the master on it.

'Workshop' Pictures

Finally, there exists the group of works given over to the workshop, like the *Virgin and Child with Saints Geronzio and Mary Magdalene and Donors* (c. 1590, Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome),[412] the *Crucifixion* (c. 1603, Urbino, Oratorio della Morte),[413] the *Madonna of Saint Lucy* (c. 1588, Louvre, Paris),[414] and the *Annunciation* (c. 1596, Assisi, Santa Maria degli Angeli).[415] Others could be mentioned, and the methods introduced here can no doubt be

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[409] Dania (1967), 73-4, fig. 24.

[410] Negroni (1993), 102: "*si per la sufficientia sua, come anco per l'aiuto che si potrebbe sperare darli esso Baroccio...oltre che si spenderà anco meno.*"

[411] This number is based on my calculations of Milanese currency into Roman silver scudi: 8.5 silver scudi (7 ducatoni and 20 pauli) (24/6/01); 61 silver scudi (300 lire) (20/12/01); 116 silver scudi (570 lire) (20/3/03); 81 scudi (200 ducatoni) (14/7/03).

[412] *Virgin and Child with Saints Geronzio and Mary Magdalene and Donors*, 270 x 213 cm, formerly the Church of San Francesco, Cagli, c. 1590 (Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome; Olsen (1962), 226-227; Emiliani (1985), 2:368-371; (2008), 2:119, fig. 51.

[413] *Crucifixion*, 360 x 297 cm, c. 1603, Urbino, Oratorio della Morte; Olsen (1962), 206-207; Emiliani (1985), 2:309; (2008); 2:269, fig. 73.

[414] *Madonna of Saint Lucy*, 285 x 220 cm, Louvre, Paris, formerly in the Danzetta chapel in the Church of S. Agostino, Perugia; Olsen (1962), 224-226; Di Giampaolo (1996); Emiliani (1985), 2:276-281; (2008): 2:128-135.

[415] *Annunciation*, 428 x 249 cm, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi; Mancini (1983); Emiliani (1985), 2:204; (2008), 2:34, fig. 42.31.

applied to these works as well.[416] Many are connected to Barocci's pupils through style or documentation, but once again we must pause at the free distribution of Barocci's inventions. In some cases like the *Virgin and Child with Saints Geronzio and Mary Magdalene and Donors* and the *Madonna of Saint Lucy,* there is ample preparatory drawing by Barocci. Nevertheless, the compositions are pastiches of earlier compositions that lead commentators to discount their autograph status. For the first time one can confirm that the borrowings that have been noted by previous scholarship are actually derived from the cartoons still available in Barocci's workshop.

The Porziuncola *Annunciation* dated to 1596 (**Fig. 100**, right) is demonstrably a literal copy of the Loreto *Annunciation*. This work is really an elaborated copy, because it is amplified in the vertical dimension with God the Father and angels borrowed from earlier compositions, the *Madonna of Saint Simon* and *Martyrdom of San Vitale*. The painting's contract survives, and the work itself is of a high quality. The painting required a larger upright format so Barocci added some details, and there is also a literal lifting of the original composition at the same scale (**Fig. 100**).

The Oratorio della Morte *Crucifixion* (**Fig. 101**) reuses Christ from the *Crocifisso Spirante* (1604, Escorial), Mary Magdalene from the *Entombment* as well as the Mary and Saint John group, Christ's head and the *putti* from the Genoa *Crucifixion with Saint Sebastian* (1596, Genoa, Duomo). The Genoa *Crucifixion*, for the wealthy nobleman Matteo Senarega, and the Prado *Crucifixion*, originally for the Duke of Urbino (but then given as a gift to Philip III), have always seemed more prestigious than the Oratorio della Morte work painted for a local (if wealthy) confraternity in Urbino. Nevertheless, juxtaposition of all three paintings together points precisely to the way in which the workshop Morte's body of Christ is taken exactly from the Prado *Crucifixion*, while Christ's head is exactly taken from the Genoa *Crucifixion*. Mary and Saint John are copied and reversed from the Genoa crucifixion **(Fig. 101)**. Subsequently, not only is the Oratorio della Morte *Crucifixion* derivative, but so is the Prado *Crucifixion*, because the painting's figures are constructed not identically but with the lessons learned from the Genoa *Crucifixion*. Furthermore, the head of the Prado work is derived from the head of Christ in the Urbino *Last Supper* (1599, Urbino, Cathedral).

The central Madonna and Child of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Geronzio and Mary Magdalene and Donors* is derived from the *Madonna of Saint Simon* (**Fig. 102**). In this case, the reused figures are in a studio picture that originally was placed in the Franciscan church of Cagli but is now found in the Sodalizio dei Piceni in via Rione Parione in Rome. Scholars have dated the picture to about 1590. Judging from the juxtaposition of both pictures it is easy to confirm that the derivation of the central Madonna and Child group is in fact to absolute scale (although obviously reversed). Further copies after the central group are in deposit at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica at the Palazzo Barberini, Rome, proving the circulation of the cartoon. The recent

[416] See for example the *Madonna di S. Agostino*, 294 x 180 cm, Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, formerly in the Church of S. Agostino, Cagli; Olsen (1962), 227-228.
Madonna della Misericordia, San Martino, Milan, formerly in the Oratorio di Misericordia, Pesaro; Emiliani, (1985), 2:282-283; (2008), 2:136-137.

identification of cartoon fragments makes it credible that these later compositions were taken directly from the cartoons in the studio.[417]

The *Madonna di Saint Lucy* (Louvre, Paris) is also loosely derived from various pictures. Originally painted for the Danzetta Chapel, S. Agostini, Perugia, the picture has long been debated as to Barocci's exact role in its authorship; Romina Vitali links its painting style to Cimatori[418]. The Saint Lucy at the bottom right is obviously taken from the Vatican *Annunciation*. However, distinct complications emerge with this picture. Even if Cimatori painted it, Barocci still provided the main impetus. Furthermore, when comparing the Virgin and Child group with the slightly later *Madonna del Rosario*, we see strong similarities. This suggests the possibility that Barocci – not unlike the case of the joint-Vitali execution of the *Saint Agatha in Prison* – used a workshop picture to work out major ideas for later works! For indeed the figure group is extremely close on inspection **(Fig. 103)**.

For that matter similar complications emerge with other examples. For example, we might note that the Oratorio della Morte *Crucifixion* uses the same pose as for the Christ figure as the *Croficisso Spirante* but they were executed almost simultaneously. Therefore, this chronology means that Barocci was immediately 'reusing' a recently created figure of Christ alongside his other borrowings. Accordingly, even in the Prado work, Barocci relied on the drawing of Christ's head from the Urbino Cathedral *Last Supper*, except now a crown of thorns is added.

The idea that workshop pictures are crucial elements in reconstructing Barocci's original *oeuvre* can be seen in two nearly identical paintings reproduced in *Nel Segno di Barocci*, the *Madonna and Child with Saints Ubaldo, Francis and Prince Federico Ubaldo* (chiesa dei Santi Pietro e Paolo, Frontino), attributed by Romina Vitali to Cimatori, and the *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Ubaldo* (1609, Pergola, Museo dei Bronzi Dorati), commissioned to Ventura Mazzi (**Fig. 104**).[419] The fact that the latter painting is documented, in addition to the two anomalous figures of Ubaldo that do not find ready exemplars in Barocci's works, begs the question of their derivation from a common cartoon. Silvia Blasio follows Olsen in suggesting that the Pergola picture derived from a Barocci "prototipo," and in fact on closer inspection it can be seen that some of the figures must find precedence in other works by Barocci, for example, the kneeling figures in the Sodalizio dei Piceni *Madonna and Child and Saints*. It is likely that only *after* the death of Barocci, when the workshop artists were on their own, did they introduce new figures. The *Madonna and Child with Saints Hyacinth, Augustine and Crescentino* that graces the cover of *Nel segno di Barocci* – already suggested by Olsen to be by Mazzi – has a wooden soldier figure of Crescentino that must postdate 1612.[420]

No one has doubted that workshop followers partially executed these paintings but the same point can be made as for the studio replicas. The fact that some paintings were

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[417] The two fragments are in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica; c.f. Verstegen (2003b).

[418] Massari and Cellini (2005), 97.

[419] *Madonna and Child with Saints Ubaldo, Francis and Prince Federico Ubaldo*, 245 x 145 cm (chiesa dei Santi Pietro e Paolo, Frontino); Massari and Cellini (2005), 97; *Madonna and Child with Saints Ubaldo and Francis*, 223 x 160 cm, Palazzo Comunale, Pergola, formerly altar of S. Ubaldo, Chiesa dei Cappuccini, Pergola; *Mostra di Opere* (1967), 29-30; Massari and Cellini (2005), 109.

[420] *Madonna and Child with Saints Hyacinth, Augustine and Crescentino* (private collection); Olsen (162), 32.

aided by cartoons precisely means that Barocci had more time to spend on the final painting. For many of the works have been discounted by the derivative nature of the composition or the lack of preparatory drawings when the treatment of individual figures is of quite high quality. The situation is again similar to the studio replicas. These works have good draftsmanship but it is often a draftsmanship that is 'delayed' from an earlier graphic stage (sometimes many years before). In addition, they often have very strong painting skills. So, by applying a central Italian bias (no drawings) one thereby suspends the test of connoisseurship (good painting) that otherwise would elect these as important works.

Conversely, these criteria indicate that works not derived directly from cartoons, like the derivative small meditational paintings of the *Stigmatization of St Francis* (**Fig. 105**; c. 1577, Vatican, Pinacoteca; **Fig. 106;** c. 1605, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) have a good chance at being completely autograph since they do not match in size the works from which they are drawn. However, I have discovered that the Vatican painting is exactly half and three quarter the size of the figures in the *Perdono of San Francesco* (Urbino, San Francesco) and the *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (Chantilly, Musée Condé), respectively. Such mechanical enlargement or reduction once again reduces workshop intervention and in fact examination of both has revealed a very refined painting technique.[421]

Further Evidence

In all the cases discussed above – replicas, Vitali works and studio pictures – the unique rigidity of Barocci's working procedure still is confusing. The literality of the works throws us off and causes us to reduce the works to mere copies, almost mechanical works done alone. But one has to acclimate to the way that Barocci creates with a rigid cartoon and lack of *alla prima* painting. Fortunately, there is some interesting evidence that betrays how copies were made by Barocci's workshop showing that the cartoon was almost a perquisite for the execution of these studio works, demanded by patrons. A letter of 21 May 1597 from Guidobaldo Vicenzi in Urbino to his brother Ludovico in Milan refers to an ordering of a *Rest on the Return from Egypt* from Barocci's pupil Ventura Mazzi. Guidobaldo says that the copy "is of the same size as that of Barocci, so that it will come out better."[422] This mention of size could refer to a tracing of the picture but owing to Mazzi's intimacy in Barocci's workshop probably refers to the use of the original cartoon.

Similarly, when the nuns of San Paolo Converso in Milan requested a replica from Barocci's workshop (because they probably couldn't afford an original or stand to wait for it) in a letter of Guidobaldo Vincenzi to Ludovico (12 April 1600) they specifically sent the dimensions of the chapel space.[423] Barocci sent the dimensions of his recently completed *Last Supper* (1599) in Urbino Cathedral, and they replied that it was the wrong

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[421] Mancinelli (1982), 158-159. This catalogue dates the work to c. 1595, the date of the Urbino Cappuccini *Stigmatization*; K. Christiansen (2005), 722-728.

[422] Sangiorgi (1982), 10: "*Di quella Madonna ch'io vi scrissi avisatemi se quel giovane la vorrà fare. et volendola fare diteli che cominci a sua posta, et perché mi pare che mi habbiate scritto che il singor Barocci ne fa due bellissime, se si possa farmene la copia di tutte due mi sarà caro, et fate che siano dell'istessa grandezza di quelle del signor Barocci perché così credo riusciranno meglio.*"

[423] Sangiorgi (1982), 28: "*Son ricercato a scrivere là per intendere se si potesse havere una tavola alta quattro braccia in circa et larga tre.*"

size. The matter was dropped because there was never any idea that Barocci might consider a work *ex novo*. The operative idea was a specific replication of a composition at its original scale for the ability of assistants to contribute to it.

This rigid reliance on prior works raises the possibility of the *anticipated* reuse of earlier elements, that is, the creation of elements with the expectation that they might in the future be used. This assumption may sound absurd but is not so, especially when we recall the coincidence in the case of the *Madonna di Santa Lucia* in which both the Virgin and Child group, as well as the saint on the right are both derived again *to scale*. To take one example, there is the reuse of Mary Magdalene from his Senigallia *Entombment* (1582) in the already-mentioned Oratorio della Morte *Crucifixion* (c. 1604) **(Fig. 107)**. Recalling that the figures of John the Evangelist and Virgin were simply flipped to scale from the Genoa *Crucifixion* (1596) it is indeed remarkable that the Mary Magdalene is not only repeated but is repeated *to scale*. I do not mean to suggest that Barocci rigidly planned to produce all his figures to the same scale in anticipation of future reuses. However, once Barocci became accustomed to reusing elements, he must have been confirmed in his approximate use of scale from commission to commission when he realized he might be able to reuse one. Barocci had no idea he would reuse the Mary Magdalene twenty-two years later. In fact, he only used this figure once again. Nonetheless, his general practice lent this unique flexibility to his workshop direction.

The Borghese *Saint Jerome*: The Accidental Birth of a Painting

Barocci's practice has within it the possibility of using false starts and dead-ends for new projects. Such a case occurred with early versions of his *Nativity* now in the Prado and Ambrosiana.[424] An earlier figure grouping contributed substantially to the creation of one of his most breathtaking works, the *Penitent Saint Jerome* in the Borghese collection. The 'accidental' birth of this painting gives important insight into Barocci's working method, and also contributes toward dating the painting.

Uffizi 11485 records accurately the solution the Rasini *Nativity* would approach, although in reversed direction: Joseph is nearby to the crib and Mary leans away. Barocci expressed his dissatisfaction with this composition because he left the Rasini painting unfinished. Next, he kept the Christ child, framed by the bull and ass, and experimented further with the poses of Mary and Joseph. Mary now leans forward in various drawings, while Joseph has moved to the background, to greet the astonished shepherds. This is the way the composition remained, except for the wholesale changes to Mary's pose. For the final versions found in the Prado and Ambrosiana collections, Mary stands backward and beholds the Christ child in a manner appropriate to a God, a true epiphany. The earlier genre-like treatments are definitively rejected in favor of this more universal interpretation **(Fig. 108)**.

Here things could stand, except that Barocci did not forget the effort he had expended, especially with the middle idea for the painting that appears in the *modello* (Uffizi 11432), in which Mary leans forward while Joseph is away in the background.[425] This pose is remarkably like that of the beautiful *Saint Jerome* in the Borghese collection,

[424] Emiliani (2008), 2:188-208.

[425] Uffizi inv. 11432, 51.7 x 44.1 cm; Emiliani (1985), 2:320, fig. 679, (2008), not illustrated, fig. 63.3; Mann and Bohn (2012), 264, fig. 83.

and an examination of the drawings surrounding the *modello* prove definitively that they are related. It has long been recognized that the style of the Jerome is much like that of the Prado and Ambrosiana Nativities. Not only is the pose similar between the Jerome and Uffizi *modello*, they have a scale relationship. First, the *modello* is a third the size of the *Nativity*. Because Barocci wanted to make a slightly smaller devotional work, he only doubled the figure in the model this time. Thus, the *Jerome* is two thirds the size of the final Rasini (or Prado or Ambrosiana) painting.

Considered in retrospect, the new chronology makes sense. Just at this time Barocci was painting the replica of the *Flight of Aeneas from Troy* for Monsignore Giuliano della Rovere, who in turn would give it to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. The Jerome, whose head is borrowed from Anchises of the Aeneas picture, probably accompanied the latter work when it was given to the Cardinal as a favor. The Monsignore had a good chance to meet Cardinal Borghese in 1592, when he was ambassador to Rome for his cousin, Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere.

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The existence of reused elements from Barocci's paintings throughout the Marche, coupled with documented payments (and distinct artistic personalities gleaned through style) has confused the issue of a functioning Barocci workshop. By following the literal tracing of elements at the same scale we have to question the motivation on Barocci's part for sharing these same elements. No doubt artists like Cimatori, Mazzi, Viviani and Vitali remained close to the master to split revenues. In Vitali's case, the cited payments prove a worth far beyond his reputation, indicating that some of the value derived from Barocci's influence. Such studies of payments ought to be further undertaken as should further computer manipulations of reused elements in different Baroccesque paintings. Once the Venetian bias of a master touching up paintings roughed out by the studio is abandoned, Barocci's workshop can be appreciated for its size and ability to efficiently make work available to a large number of clients through the creative reassemblage of different parts of previous works that enable Barocci to control the quality through a concentration on painted effects.

Fig. 95
Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *Portrait of Prince Federico Ubaldo at Birth*, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, and detail of Christ child from the Prado *Nativity*, doubled in size (2:1).

Fig. 96
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Immaculate Conception*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *St. Agnes*, Museo Albani, Urbino

Fig. 97
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *St. Agatha in Prison*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Federico Barocci, *Beata Michelina*, Pinacoteca, Vatican; Federico Barocci, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, Santa Margherita, Cortona

Fig. 98
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Presentation of the Virgin*, Chiesa Nuova, Rome; Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *St. Ambrose's Pardon of Theodoric*, Duomo, Milan

Fig. 99
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Stigmatization*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Federico Barocci and Alessandro Vitali, *Vision of John on Patmos*, Duomo, Fermo

Fig. 100
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Annunciation*, Pinacoteca, Vatican; Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Annunciation*, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi

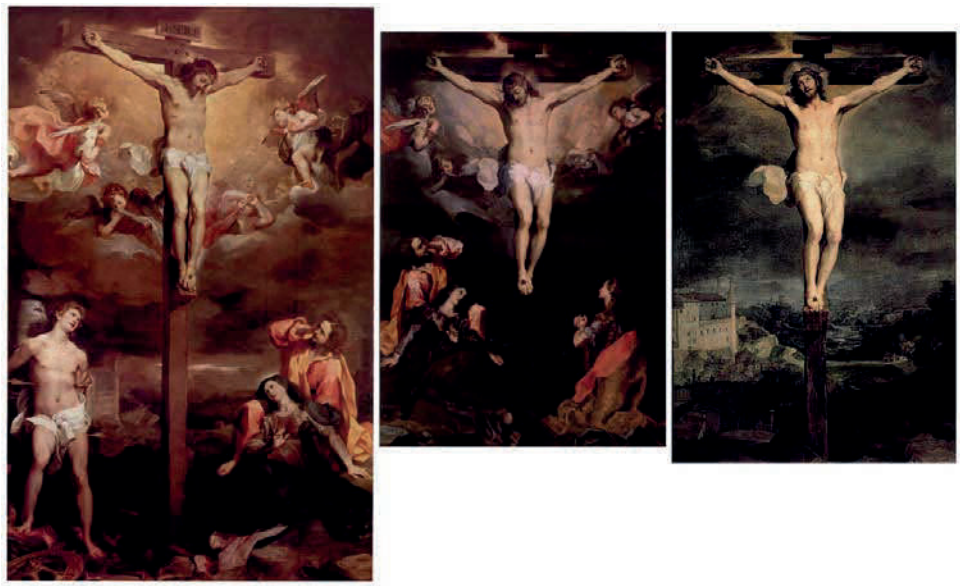

Fig. 101
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Crucifixion with Mary, John and St. Sebastian*, Duomo, Genova; Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Crucifixion with Mary, John and Mary Magdalene*, Oratorio della Morte, Urbino; and Federico Barocci, *Crucifixion (Cristo Vivo)*, Prado, Madrid;

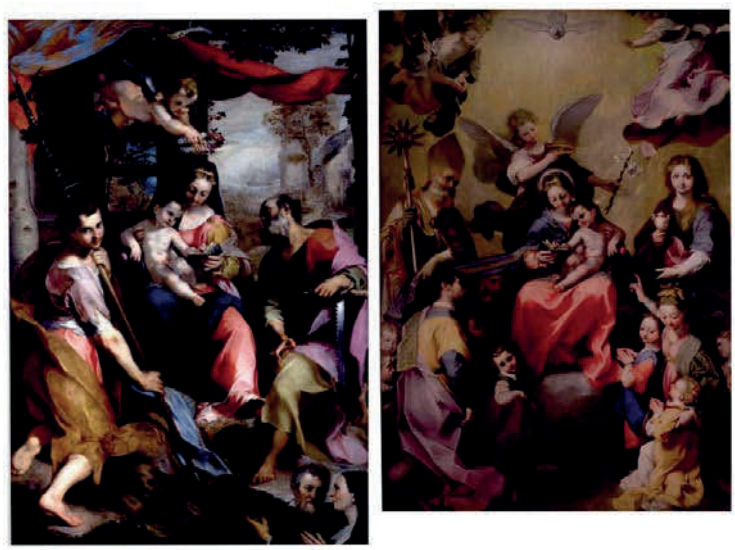

Fig. 102
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Madonna of St. Simon*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Madonna and Child and Saints*, Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome

Fig. 103
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Madonna of St. Lucy*, Paris, Louvre, Federico Barocci, *Madonna of the Rosary* (detail), Palazzo Episcopale, Senigallia; Federico Barocci, *Annunciation* (detail), Pinacoteca, Vatican

Fig. 104
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Madonna and Child with Saints Ubaldo, Francis and Prince Federico Ubaldo*, Santi Pietro e Paolo, Frontino, and Federico Barocci and Ventura Mazzi, *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Ubaldo*, Museo dei Bronzi Dorati, Pergola

Fig. 105
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Perdono* (detail), San Francesco, Urbino, Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, Pinacoteca, Vatican, doubled (2:1) in size, and actual work

Fig. 106
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Christ Taking Leave of his Mother* (detail), Musée Condé, Chantilly, and Federico Barocci, *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reduced by one fourth (1:4), and actual work

Fig. 107
Absolute scale comparison of Federico Barocci, *Entombment*, Chiesa del Crocifisso e Sacramento, Senigallia; Federico Barocci and Workshop, *Crucifixion with Mary, John and Mary Magdalene*, Oratorio della Morte, Urbino

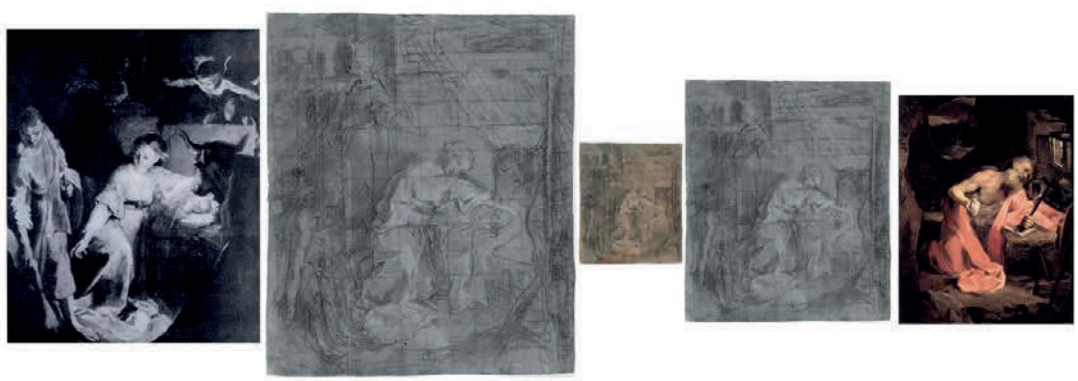

Fig. 108
Federico Barocci, *Nativity*, Rasini Collection, Milan, Uffizi inv. 11432 enlarged three times (3:1), Uffizi inv. 11432, Uffizi inv. 11432 enlarged two times (2:1), Federico Barocci, *Penitent St. Jerome*, c. 1597, Rome, Galleria Borghese