

Federico Barocci

Reviewers of a recent exhibition termed Federico Barocci (ca. 1533–1612), ‘the greatest artist you’ve never heard of’. One of the first original iconographers of the Counter Reformation, Barocci was a remarkably inventive religious painter and draftsman, and the first Italian artist to incorporate extensive color into his drawings. The purpose of this volume is to offer new insights into Barocci’s work and to accord this artist, the dates of whose career fall between the traditional Renaissance and Baroque periods, the critical attention he deserves. Employing a range of methodologies, the essays include new ideas on Barocci’s masterpiece, the *Entombment*; fresh thinking about his use of color in his drawings and innovative design methods; insights into his approach to the nude; revelations on a key early patron; a consideration of the reasons behind some of his most original iconography; an analysis of his unusual approach to the marketing of his pictures; an exploration of some little-known aspects of his early production, such as his reliance on Italian majolica and contemporary sculpture in developing his compositions; and an examination of a key Barocci document, the post mortem inventory of his studio. A translated transcription of the inventory is included as an appendix.

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Federico Barocci

Inspiration and Innovation
in Early Modern Italy

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- 5 Workshop of Barocci, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1597–1604, oil on canvas, 360 × 297 cm, Oratorio della Morte, Urbino.
- 6 *La Madonna del Gatto (The Madonna of the Cat)*, ca. 1575–76, oil on canvas, 112.7 × 92.7 cm, The National Gallery, London. Bequeathed by Revd Holwell Carr, 1831, inv. NG29 (Cat. 7).
- 7 *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, 1575–76, distemper and oil on canvas, 190 × 125 cm, Church of Santo Stefano, Piobbico (Figure 52).
- 8 *Saint Cecilia with Saints Mary Magdalen, Saint John the Evangelist, Paul, and Catherine*, ca. 1556, oil on canvas, 200 × 145 cm, Cathedral, Urbino (Figure 42).
- 9 *Anatomical Study*, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11569 F. recto.
- 10 *Copy after Michelangelo's Last Judgment*, black chalk on cream paper, 37.3 × 24.3 cm, Biblioteca e Museo Civico, Urbania, Collezione Ubaldini, inv. II. 158.445 recto.
- 11 *Studies for female figures preparing to help the Virgin who has fainted, study for the Deposition (Perugia)*, black and white chalk on blue paper, 42.9 × 28.5 cm, Musée Condé Chantilly inv. DE-161.
- 12 *Landscape Study*, black chalk with brown wash heightened with white, 42.3 × 27.7 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 418 P recto.
- 13 *Landscape with Trees and a House*, black chalk and brown wash heightened with white, laid down, 32.2 × 28.3 cm, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 396.
- 14 *Calling of Saint Andrew*, 1580–83, oil on canvas, 315 × 235 cm, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, inv. 254.

- 15 *Studies of a man's head and of his hands*, black and red chalk, highlighted with white on blue-gray paper, 28 × 41.3 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, inv. 50.143.
- 16 *Preliminary compositional study for the Institution of the Eucharist*, black chalk, pen, and brown ink with brown wash heightened with white, partially squared (faint) in black chalk on paper washed brown, laid down on old mount, 48 × 34.3 cm, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, inv. 361 (Cat. 18.1).
- 17 *Cartoncino per il chiaroscuro*, black chalk, pen and brown ink with ocher-brown wash heightened with white, arched top drawn in brown ink at top, some incisions, lightly squared in black chalk in one small area, on ocher-brown paper, laid down, 58 × 33 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 9348 S. 822 E. (Cat. 3.2).
- 18 *Il Perdono*, 1571–76, oil on canvas, 427 × 236 cm, Church of San Francesco, Urbino (Figure 54).
- 19 *Entombment Study of Praying Hands (Mary Magdalen)*, black and white chalk with red and pink pastel on faded blue paper, 12.6 × 17.8 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, KdZ 20354 (4245).
- 20 *Annunciation*, 1582–84, oil on canvas, 248 × 170 cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, inv. 40376 (Cat. 9).
- 21 *Studies for the Virgin's hands*, charcoal with red and pink pastel heightened with white on blue paper, 27.4 × 39.4 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 20453 (4190) (Cat. 9.5).
- 22 *Head of the Virgin Mary*, black, white, and red chalk with pink and orange-peach pastel on blue paper, made up in all four corners, laid down, 29.9 × 23 cm, The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, inv. 5231 (Cat. 9.6).
- 23 *Visitation*, 1583–86, oil on canvas, 300 × 205 cm, Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova), Rome (Cat. 10).
- 24 *Compositional study for the Crucifixion*, pen and ink and black and red chalk with brown wash heightened with white, 37.2 × 23.1 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11416 F.
- 25 *Madonna of Saint John*, ca. 1565, oil on canvas, 151 × 115 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, inv. 1990 D 88.
- 26 *Primo Pensiero for the Visitation*, pen, ink and wash on yellowed paper, 11.5 × 16.5 cm, Rijksprentenkabinett, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. 1964–790.
- 27 *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1593–1603, oil on canvas, 383 × 247 cm, Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova), Rome.
- 28 *Nativity*, 1597–99, oil on canvas, 134 × 106 cm, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.
- 29 *Christ Appearing to the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen* (formerly titled *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*), ca. 1604–12, oil on canvas, 219 × 191 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. PE 57 (Figure 20).
- 30 *Study for Christ and Mary Magdalen*, black chalk with white heightening, incised, 40.5 × 28 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11269 F. recto.

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This volume is the happy culmination of a gathering of friends and colleagues in St. Louis in January of 2013 to talk about Federico Barocci. It was planned together with Babette and Carol Plazzotta, my teammates on the exhibition and my sage advisors on the symposium. I also must extend appreciation to Virginia Napoleone, the McKrindle Fellow at the National Gallery, London, who was also part of our team. The symposium was a huge success, and to that I owe thanks not just to Babette and Carol, but to the other speakers (and now authors) as well. I should also extend my gratitude to Suzanne Folds McCullagh who wasn't able to participate in the volume, but who offered her insights into Barocci's process with us at the conference. Finally, I should thank Claire Barry, who joined us for the panel discussion at the end of the last session, where she shared her deep understanding of the process and materials of Old Master technique.

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As with any such event, it only happened through the hard work and kind spirits of many wonderful staff people at the Saint Louis Art Museum and Washington University in St. Louis. The symposium took place when the Museum was undergoing a major expansion and renovation project. The Barocci exhibition had the dubious distinction of being the last exhibition to be mounted in the former Special Exhibition Galleries in our venerable Cass Gilbert building. It proved a good thing given the sympathetic proportions and architectural detail that served the pictures quite well. The timing meant, however, that we had no auditorium. We were fortunate to have generously collegial friends at Washington University in St. Louis who allowed us the use of their facilities. For that, we are very appreciative, especially to Carmon Colangelo, Dean of the Sam Fox School of Design & Visual Arts. I must also thank Elizabeth Childs, Etta and Mark Steinberg Professor of Art History, Department of Art History and Archaeology, School of Arts and Sciences, who makes any collaborative effort memorable and rewarding.

Hosting an off-site event added to the workload for a number of SLAM employees, most notably the research assistant who was the backbone of the effort,

Chris Naffziger. I am not sure he understood what he was in for when he started working on the Barocci exhibition back in 2008, dedicated as he was to museum work and to the study of sixteenth-century Italian art. Restaurant reservations, van schedules, and the inevitable last-minute schedule changes were probably not on his radar. He met the challenges cheerfully and resourcefully, to the benefit of all.

A number of our staff members were very involved and enormously helpful, including Sabrena Nelson, our former Head of Adult Programs, who shouldered a lot of the work, along with cherished colleagues Narni Cahill and Bill Appleton (Bill and Narni have both moved on). Jeanne Rosen, a former assistant in the curatorial division who now works in the Director's Office, was also part of the dedicated team who insured the success of the symposium through her incredibly kind spirit and warm heart. I must also thank the many hours of time that Linda Thomas, our former Assistant Director of Collections and Exhibitions, and our former Exhibitions assistant Molly Perse put into the planning, logistics, and moral support for the conference.

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Note to readers

This volume is intended to accompany the catalogue for the 2012–2013 Barocci exhibition, Judith W. Mann and Babette Bohn with Carol Plazzotta, *Federico Barocci: Renaissance Master of Color and Line*. Exh. cat., New Haven and London, 2012.

Unless otherwise specified, all catalogue entries cited in this essay reference this catalogue. Furthermore, decisions concerning the illustration of some of Barocci's work in the current publication were based on what was readily available to readers in that volume.

1 Introduction

New insights into Federico Barocci's *Senigallia Entombment* and suggestions on his late workshop practice

Babette Bohn and Judith W. Mann

Barocci and the recent exhibition

This book of essays is devoted to Federico Barocci (ca. 1533–1612), the greatest Italian artist of his generation and a remarkably inventive religious painter and draftsman. Patronized throughout his lifetime by the duke of his native Urbino, Barocci became known as a distinguished religious painter, producing important works for churches in Urbino and the surrounding region as well as in Rome and other Italian cities. One of the first original iconographers of the Catholic Reformation, Barocci developed compelling and influential imagery for traditional religious narratives, such as the Annunciation, and complicated religious themes such as the Immaculate Conception. He was also the first Italian artist to incorporate extensive color into his drawings, employing pastel and oil paint in his beautiful preparatory studies for paintings.

In spite of his innovations, apart from a few fine modern publications,¹ he has not received the critical attention or popular recognition that he deserves, for several reasons. Barocci spent most of his life in Urbino, far from major art centers, and the dates of his career fall between the traditional Renaissance and Baroque periods. His surviving oeuvre as a painter is relatively small (about 70 pictures), and most of his extant paintings are in Italy, many of them in remote locations in the Marches. Furthermore, for mid-twentieth-century scholars who were beginning to investigate the dynamic baroque styles of his successors, the sweetness of Barocci's aesthetic was less appealing than the exuberant styles of such artists as Caravaggio and Guercino. For modern audiences for whom Caravaggio is now a household word, it may come as a shock to learn that Barocci was often more appreciated by his contemporaries, as evidenced by his considerably higher prices, which averaged more than two and a half times Caravaggio's typical compensation.²

In January 2013, the Saint Louis Art Museum invited a group of scholars to participate in a symposium in conjunction with *Federico Barocci: Renaissance Master*, an exhibition that opened in St. Louis (Oct. 21, 2012–Jan. 20, 2013) and subsequently traveled to the National Gallery London (Feb. 27, 2013–May 19, 2013) for its second and final venue.³ The project was initially conceived as a monographic exhibition to highlight the beauty and power of Barocci's paintings. Due both to loan limitations and to the recognition that Barocci was a prolific

draftsman who experimented with new media, invented novel preparatory instruments, and produced more preliminary studies for his paintings than any other Italian Renaissance artist, the exhibition was reformulated to focus on his fascinating preparatory process.⁴ In consequence, most of the 109 drawings and eight oil sketches of heads shown at the two venues were selected to illustrate the artist's preparation of individual paintings, primarily focusing on the 23 chosen for display. The symposium, designed to complement the exhibition, was part of the Saint Louis Art Museum's commitment to providing varied opportunities for scholars and the general public to learn about this under-appreciated master. The symposium papers dealt with topics about the artist that were not addressed in the show itself and expanded on some of the questions raised by the exhibition, leading us to the conclusion that we should publish them in another volume. Moreover, since the exhibition itself had inspired new insights into Barocci, we welcomed the opportunity to develop and refine our earlier discoveries, as recorded in the catalogue, in an updated publication. The *Entombment of Christ* (Color Plate 1) was one painting that occasioned much discussion and debate during the course of the exhibition. Our reconsideration of that work in this essay illustrates how scholarship based on insights gleaned from an exhibition but completed after it closes can yield new understanding.

The *Entombment* as the culmination of Barocci's early career

Barocci's *Entombment of Christ*, an altarpiece completed in 1582 for the Chiesa della Croce in the seaside town of Senigallia, encapsulates many of his most important accomplishments as a designer of religious paintings. By the late 1560s, Barocci had blossomed into the most naturalistic painter of his generation, an achievement predicated upon the artist's increasing reliance on drawing from life. Barocci had also honed his skills as a designer of dramatically effective compositions and emotionally diversified figures, as is first evident in the *Deposition* altarpiece of 1568–69 for the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Perugia (Color Plate 2), arguably his first masterpiece.⁵ The numerous preparatory studies, focusing in particular on the emotional faces and dramatically posed extremities, anticipate many aspects of the later *Entombment*. The same may be said of the *Deposition*'s masterful composition, which breaks up the expressive individual figures into smaller, balanced groups and unifies everyone into a larger, X-shaped design. As in all of Barocci's mature compositions, none of the subgroups within this overall arrangement could be eliminated without compromising the sense of harmony in the picture. Christ's extended right arm, still nailed to the Cross, is paralleled by the extended left arm of Saint Bernardino below and by the backward tilt of the adjacent young soldier on a ladder; the circular group of gesticulating women in the foreground offsets the verticality of the male figures above them; and so it goes. Such integrated designs were devised as the result of a lengthy preparatory process that included many compositional studies, including no less than ten early compositional sketches for the *Deposition*, probably only a fraction of the number the artist originally created. The *Deposition* is the first of Barocci's altarpieces to have been designed in 50 or more extant preliminary drawings, a truly staggering number when compared to the production of other Renaissance artists, testament to his lengthy design process that culminates, in many respects, in his *Entombment*.⁶

Commissioned by the Confraternity of the Santissimo Sacramento e della Croce for its church in Senigallia, the *Entombment of Christ* was one of the artist's most famous paintings—so admired by other artists, in fact, that enthusiastic copyists seriously damaged the work early in its history, necessitating Barocci's restoration of the picture in 1607–1608. The *Entombment* was the centerpiece of the exhibition in St. Louis, where it occupied an entire gallery, together with selected preparatory studies and other related works. The decision to highlight this painting stemmed from several motivations. To begin with, it is one of the most breathtakingly beautiful paintings the artist ever created, a symphony of richly varied colors and emotionally expressive figures, grouped gracefully and rhythmically around the pale body of the dead Christ and set into an evocative landscape. The work capped Barocci's early career and marked his emergence as one of the premier painters of sixteenth-century Italy. Stylistically and iconographically, the picture both demonstrates Barocci's links to earlier Raphaellesque traditions and illustrates his originality, a synthesis of the old and the new that is at the heart of his artistry.⁷ Moreover, the 50 surviving preparatory studies associated with the painting represent the most diverse and innovative group related to any of Barocci's works. The exhibition included 13 of them, as well as three other works connected with the altarpiece. Since the goal of the exhibition was to examine how Barocci used drawings in the preparation of his finished works, it made sense to focus on a picture for which he developed new and varied instruments for devising and refining his composition.

The repainting of the *Entombment* as an indicator of Barocci's late workshop practices

The alleged repainting of the *Entombment* in Barocci's studio in 1607–1608 adds to the interesting character of this picture.⁸ Several visitors to the exhibition observed that it bore little resemblance to Barocci's other paintings done after 1600, a perplexing circumstance if indeed it was substantially reworked in Barocci's studio, as scholars have generally believed. Moreover, a close examination of the painting by conservators, including the use of infrared reflectography, yielded little evidence of extensive repainting.⁹ We think it is worth revisiting the early accounts that describe the circumstances of its repainting to consider possible explanations. The earliest and one of the most important is Giovanni Pietro Bellori's biography, written 60 years after the artist's death, based on information he received from Pompilio Bruni (1605–68), a maker of mathematical instruments who was the student of a pupil of Barocci's brother Simone. Bellori wrote that the picture's surface was damaged through irresponsible tracing. He noted that the painting was so popular that it was constantly copied and that one overzealous copyist had “practically destroyed it all.”¹⁰ The verb Bellori used to describe the copyist's action, “*lucidare*,” has occasioned some discussion. Pillsbury translated it as “polish,” whereas Turner used “trace” instead, suggesting that Bellori may have been referring to a common practice for tracing that involved using oil-saturated (and therefore translucent) paper held against the surface of the picture.¹¹ Problems with the oil or its improper application may have resulted in surface damage, or the copyist may have applied too much pressure in transferring the outlines of the figures to his paper. The damage had evidently already occurred by 1587, since notes from a confraternity meeting in that year reveal that the painting had been injured and that a proposal was made to limit

access to the altar, suggesting that overly attentive visitors may have also endangered the altarpiece.¹² The confraternity wrote Barocci in 1588, asking him to repaint the damaged picture, although he didn't agree to do so until 1606.¹³ Further problems were documented in other confraternity records that describe the infestation of the church by mice, the re-backing of the painting to repair damage (presumably the mice had gnawed the canvas), and additional injury caused by their urination.¹⁴ Thus, there is little doubt that the painting sustained some damage, as is confirmed by Barocci's own observation in his letter to the confraternity on June 2, 1607, when he noted, "I've seen the picture that they sent to me and to tell the truth, it was very poorly maintained and mistreated."¹⁵

The most conspicuous damage discernible today is the wear in the brocade pattern on Mary Magdalen's drapery. In a copy painted by Felice Pellegrini in 1593 (Figure 8.2), a pineapple design on Mary's robe is quite legible, although it is no longer decipherable in Barocci's altarpiece. The date on Pellegrini's picture indicates that this design was still intact in 1593 and therefore could not have been part of the damage that had appeared by 1587.¹⁶

The amount of actual harm that had occurred by 1587 is difficult to determine today. The 150-*scudi* fee, half of the 300 *scudi* he received for the original commission, has been interpreted as proof that Barocci did considerable work on the altarpiece. Given the high prices that Barocci negotiated for some of his late works (800 *scudi* for the *Last Supper*, 1590–99 and 1,483 for the *Institution of the Eucharist*, 1603–1607); however, 150 *scudi* no longer constituted a high fee, and one might plausibly conclude that the artist repainted only some portion of the altarpiece but not the entire surface. The absence of obviously repainted sections may initially seem to confirm this conclusion. On the other hand, one might expect some discontinuity of surface had the reworking been limited in scope; and the visual coherence of the picture conflicts with such a conclusion. Two explanations seem possible. One is that Barocci repainted a significant portion of the picture and was willing, in this special case, to rework much of the surface for comparatively little money. A second explanation is that he worked hard to disguise the areas of repair, however limited they were.

Fifty years ago, Harald Olsen argued that the Senigallia altarpiece was substantially repainted in 1607–1608 by Barocci himself, based on what Olsen perceived as a close relationship between the *Entombment* and the *Institution of the Eucharist* (Figure 1.1), "especially in the treatment of light and color."¹⁷ Seeing the picture in the London presentation of the exhibition where the *Institution* was also displayed, however, confirmed our sense that the *Entombment* has much more in common with Barocci's earlier paintings (for example, *Il Perdono*, 1571–76 and the *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, 1570–73) than with the altarpieces from the first decade of the seventeenth century. The luminous palette used in the *Entombment* does not recur in any pictures painted after the early 1590s. Furthermore, color concentrations in the late pictures are more localized, and unlike the early pictures, they display few sequences of three and four pastel tones within a confined area. The later works employ dark backgrounds and nocturnal settings, differentiating them even more from the *Entombment*. Therefore, although we agree with Olsen that only one hand is evident in the *Entombment*, that picture does not mesh with the artist's late style. If Barocci did substantially repaint a portion or even most of the Senigallia altarpiece, might there be another explanation as to why there is so little evidence of his later manner?



Figure 1.1 *Institution of the Eucharist*, 1603–1609, oil on canvas, 290 × 177 cm, Aldobrandini Chapel, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome (Cat. 18).

Photo: Fondo Edifici di Culto, amministrato dal Ministero dell'Interno – Dipartimento per le Libertà civili e l'Immigrazione – Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto.

Barocci's paintings during his late career were not of uniform quality. On the one hand, he continued to produce works of poetic grace and rich color, such as the *Institution of the Eucharist*. Yet, on the other, he made paintings that have been relegated to a second-class status, based on evidence of execution by studio assistants. An often-cited example is *Christ Appearing to the Virgin and to Mary Magdalen* (traditionally known as *Christ Taking Leave of his Mother*, Musée Condé, Chantilly, ca. 1604–12, Color Plate 29) that includes passages such as the hard contour of Mary Magdalen's face that are dissimilar to Barocci's characteristic style.¹⁸ A more obvious case is the *Lamentation* (Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, 1600–12, Figure 1.2), left unfinished at the artist's

death, in which major parts of the composition were executed by studio assistants. The kneeling Mary Magdalen, the woman attending the Virgin Mary, and Saint Michael all display heavily worked contours and physiognomies that recall the faces of the Madonna in workshop productions such as the *Madonna di Santa Lucia*.¹⁹ Sensitive studies for the body of Christ, the pose of Saint Michael, and some of Christ's attendants testify to Barocci's involvement in the picture's design, but its uneven quality, discrepancies in scale, and unresolved composition make clear that he was not the sole executant on the painting.²⁰ The *Institution* and the *Lamentation* thus represent two ends of Barocci's spectrum during these last years, suggesting some considerable differences among his pictures in the amount and type of involvement by studio assistants.



Figure 1.2 *Lamentation*, 1600–12, oil on canvas, 410 × 288 cm, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, inv. P 673 (Figure 21).

Photo: Collezioni Comunali d'Arte, Bologna, Italy.

An analysis of three *Crucifixion* paintings may help to clarify the differing degrees of Barocci's participation on individual pictures, as each displays a different level of his involvement. They include his Bonarelli *Crucifixion* (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, 1566–67, Color Plate 3), the Senarega *Crucifixion* (Senarega Chapel, Cathedral, Genoa, 1590–96, Color Plate 4), and the *Crucifixion* of 1597–1604 in the Oratorio della Morte, Urbino (Color Plate 5). The early Bonarelli *Crucifixion* displays the careful relationships among the figures that are a hallmark of Barocci's autograph works. Saint John the Evangelist's pose is not self-contained, but rather echoes that of the airborne angel at upper left, and John's open and assertive pose contrasts powerfully with the closed and more static posture of the Virgin. The *Crucifixion* in the Oratorio della Morte is quite different and seems to be a workshop production.²¹ The drapery of the three figures below the Cross is awkwardly painted with incomprehensible folds and shadows, and the right foot and hand of the Virgin Mary are anatomically unconvincing. The composition includes a pastiche of figures from other paintings that are less dramatically effective in their adapted positions than in the original pictures for which they were designed. The kneeling Magdalen, reused from the *Entombment*, looks straight ahead rather than up towards Christ on the Cross, as the *Crucifixion* narrative demands, since her pose was initially designed to look at a figure directly before her. The Virgin and Saint John were repurposed from a *Crucifixion* completed in 1596 (see below). Designed to be placed on the right side of the Cross, where the Virgin's hand reached out to entering visitors, the new position on the left of the Cross eliminates such effective meaning. Furthermore, in the 1596 *Crucifixion* Mary gazes gracefully up at her son, whereas in the Oratorio picture the Virgin's pose appears forced and uncomfortable. Thus, nothing about the Oratorio della Morte painting suggests the mind of Barocci who, when he reused figures from previous works in his fully autograph paintings, integrated them meaningfully into the compositions, imbuing each part and the whole with significance.

The adaptation of the Mary/John pair to the Oratorio *Crucifixion*, however, elucidates Barocci's late practice. The already-cited Senarega *Crucifixion* (Color Plate 4, finished in 1596) was commissioned by the doge of Genoa, Matteo Senarega. Extremely pleased with the picture, he wrote Barocci an adulatory letter and paid the very high price of 1,000 *scudi*.²² That fee was undoubtedly due both to the work's large size (it measures over 16 feet high) and to the artist's fame, but it may also have been inflated to overcome Barocci's reluctance to undertake such a large painting when his chronic health problems were increasing.²³ The picture is filled with evidence of Barocci's design, and it includes novel interpretations of the well-known biblical narrative. Barocci turned the Cross to face chapel visitors who enter from the right side. Christ's left foot has been placed over his right, an unusual depiction that evokes the account of Christ's *Crucifixion* by Saint Bridget of Sweden (1303–73), who described such an arrangement.²⁴ Furthermore, Mary's hand seems to emerge out into the chapel space, since the only source that could possibly illuminate her downturned palm would have to come from the chapel itself rather than any light source within the picture. Nonetheless, the three figures beneath the Cross seem emotionally disconnected rather than responding to one another as they do in the early Bonarelli painting. They have the self-contained quality characteristic of the late paintings with studio intervention, such as the *Lamentation*.

Thus, it seems likely that the Genoese painting includes some workshop involvement, an observation further supported by Saint Sebastian's uncharacteristically saccharine face and those of a number of angels that resemble the sweet heads in workshop copies of the *Annunciation*.²⁵ Although Mann previously argued that the 1590s was an ambitious and productive decade for the artist, and that he did not utilize studio help until 1604 or later,²⁶ he was 63 years old and in poor health in 1596, the year the Senarega commission was completed. Therefore, it seems probable that he had begun to assign work to assistants, and a huge canvas such as the Senarega picture would have been just the type of painting on which he would have needed to solicit help.

Moreover, it seems likely that Barocci designed some later paintings with the idea of using workshop helpers in mind from the outset, creating compositions that could be executed by one or several assistants. Among the paintings on which his assistants



Figure 1.3 Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1603–12, oil on canvas, 259 × 190 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, inv. 1990 D 83 (Figure 22).

Photo: Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. Scala/Art Resource, NY.

helped, there is a range in the amount of intervention, and evidently Barocci executed only the most important entirely himself, pictures such as the *Institution of the Eucharist* (Figure 1.1) and the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Figure 1.3, Galleria Nazionale della Marche, Urbino, ca. 1603–12). The importance of the commission and the nature of the subject were undoubtedly factors that determined the degree of Barocci's participation. For the *Institution*, a papal commission, Barocci's prioritization of the work requires no additional explanation. The *Assumption* is more perplexing, since we have no information about its patron or destination.²⁷ Although unfinished, the canvas displays the coloristic bravura, fluidity of drapery, and dynamic movement that distinguish the artist's autograph works. Although in designing the four apostles on the far right side, Barocci did adopt a complete grouping that was first devised in two finished compositional studies for the *Institution of the Eucharist* (one in Chatsworth and the other in the Fitzwilliam Museum),²⁸ they have been integrated gracefully and effectively into the *Assumption*. Therefore, it appears that Barocci continued to undertake some commissions singlehandedly. We believe that he took on this role in repainting the *Entombment of Christ*, an important picture in which he had a good deal to gain by endeavoring to match the picture's earlier style.

Revisiting Barocci's design process for the *Entombment* and the question of painted replicas

The opportunity to view the altarpiece together with so many of its related drawings in the exhibition also made clear the importance of this picture for understanding the artist's design process. Barocci's 50 surviving preparatory studies for the *Entombment* illustrate his remarkable variety, inventiveness, and thoroughness in designing his major altarpieces by this date. The studies include numerous full-figure drawings, both nude and draped, many of them drawn from life, and an even greater number of anatomical detail studies that examine the arms, legs, feet, and hands of most figures. Although Barocci surely made more of the latter than any of his predecessors, all these figure studies, like the early compositional sketches that are also known for the *Entombment*, are traditional preparatory instruments that reflect his links to Raphael and the High Renaissance tradition.

The same cannot be said, however, for some of the other works that Barocci used to design this painting, which are among his most interesting inventions. The four head studies in chalk and pastel and the four heads in oil on paper, for example, introduce truly ground-breaking innovations, in terms of both new media and expanded preparatory procedures. The discrepancies in scale and finish among these heads raise crucial questions about whether they should all be considered preparatory, as past scholars have believed, or whether some might have been made after completion of the final painting, for sale to collectors, a subject discussed more fully in Bohn's essay.²⁹ Two equally innovative drawings included in the exhibition are a "small cartoon" and a reduced cartoon for the *Entombment* (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). These works represent new types of drawings and introduce new drawing media, expanding our notions of what constituted a preparatory process for an Italian artist at this date. They were produced in addition to the full-scale cartoon used for direct transfer to the surface of the painting (now lost but mentioned in the post-mortem inventory) that was a standard preparatory instrument for many Italian painters.³⁰

Finally, the exhibition also included two small replicas of the painting, both formerly considered preparatory for the altarpiece (Figures 1.6 and 1.7). After the opportunity to

examine all these works closely and in proximity to each other during the exhibition of 2012–13, we can now propose some new conclusions about these paintings and drawings and offer new insights into Barocci's preparatory process and workshop procedures.

The reduced cartoon in Amsterdam (Figure 1.5), the small cartoon in Los Angeles (Figure 1.4), and the two small replicas of the *Entombment* (Figures 1.6 and 1.7) raise important issues concerning the workings of Barocci's studio. Bellori's comments on Barocci's use of cartoons at the end of his long design process for a painting are of particular interest in this context. The writer explained that in preparing a painting, the artist produced a small cartoon to study the light and dark ("*cartoncino per il chiaroscuro*"), followed by a full-scale cartoon, the same size as the final painting.³¹ In the exhibition catalogue, Bohn argued that 13 surviving works can be considered *cartoncini per il chiaroscuro*, one of them the Getty study for the *Entombment* (Figure 1.4).³² Whereas these works clearly correlate to Bellori's account of Barocci's process, the biographer did not say anything about an additional cartoon of intermediate scale. Nevertheless, two proportionately larger examples, better termed reduced cartoons, are known today. These include the Amsterdam study for the *Entombment* (Figure 1.5), which is about half the size of the altarpiece, and a large sheet connected to the *Lamentation*.³³ The existence of both the Amsterdam reduced cartoon and the Getty *cartoncino* make the *Entombment* the only known painting in Barocci's oeuvre to have two such related works.



Figure 1.4 *Cartoncino per il chiaroscuro*, black chalk and oil on oiled paper, incised and laid down, made up at the bottom and on the left, 47.7 × 35.6 cm, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. 85.GG.26 (Cat. 8.14).

Photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.



Figure 1.5 Barocci workshop, *Reduced cartoon*, black chalk and charcoal with white chalk, squared in black chalk, on several sheets of brown prepared paper glued together, laid down on linen, 113 × 90.4 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-T-1977-137 (Cat. 8.13).

Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 1.6 Federico Barocci and Assistant, *Copy of the Entombment in reduced format*, oil on canvas, 89.7 × 57.8 cm, Private collection (Cat. 8.15).

Photo: Courtesy of Wildenstein & Co., Inc., New York.

Two small paintings (Figures 1.6 and 1.7) have generally been considered preparatory studies for the *Entombment*, and both have been termed *cartoncini per i colori*, a second type of small cartoon to study the colors that Bellori described as following the creation of the full-scale cartoon.³⁴ Challenging the views of modern scholars who had all accepted Bellori's account of the *cartoncini per i colori*, Bohn argued in the catalogue that Barocci did not employ any of these small colored works (including the two *Entombment* pictures) as preparatory studies for his paintings. Basing this argument on documentary evidence, such as the absence of such works in the inventory of the artist's studio, as well as on comparisons of style and function to Barocci's other preliminary studies, we suggested in the catalogue that the two small *Entombment* replicas were both produced in the artist's studio, one by Barocci himself and the other by an assistant. We argued that both of these works should be considered small replicas, made for sale to private collectors after the completion of the altarpiece, rather than as preparatory studies.

After studying these reduced copies in the exhibition, we have refined our view of these paintings. We still firmly believe that they are replicas made after completion of the altarpiece, not as part of the preparatory process. We are convinced that the picture in a private collection (Figure 1.6), the finest of all these works, was made in Barocci's studio, in the presence of the altarpiece, given the very close correspondence in composition and color between the two paintings. But we now believe that the execution, although very fine in some areas, such as the figures of Nicodemus and Christ, is more pedestrian in other passages such as the landscape background, indicating that Barocci collaborated with an assistant on the execution of this picture.³⁵ Incisions, typically used by Barocci to transfer the designs of his figures to the canvas, are employed here even for small landscape details, such as the shadows in the foreground, suggesting some workshop execution. This hypothesis is confirmed by another small replica, *Il Perdono* (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, ca. 1576), which relies similarly on incision and other techniques characteristic of Barocci (such as red outlining) and was also, as Bohn argued in the catalogue, executed by Barocci and an assistant.

The second reduced copy of the *Entombment*, from Urbino (Figure 1.7), is unfinished and of much lower quality than the private collection replica. Although it can probably be traced back to the artist's studio, since a work cited as a copy after the *Entombment* is listed in Barocci's inventory, this weak picture, with its atypically angular figure style and uncharacteristic technique, lacking any incision or red outlining, shows no evidence of Barocci's hand.³⁶ Although most earlier scholars credited Barocci with the authorship of this picture, we remain convinced, as we argued in the catalogue, that it is an unfinished copy of the *Entombment* by a member of his workshop.

Viewing this work adjacent to the Amsterdam reduced cartoon, as it was displayed in St. Louis, allowed us to appreciate the connection between the two works and to reevaluate the Amsterdam sheet. Although we previously accepted this drawing's attribution to Barocci, after studying it further, we now think that it too was created by a workshop assistant. Comparing the Amsterdam drawing to the autograph Getty *cartoncino* is revealing. The Amsterdam sheet seems dry and mechanical in its execution, and the figures lack the vitality and anatomical precision of Barocci's autograph creations. Our new hypothesis is that this drawing was produced by an assistant, working from autograph studies by the master and that this "reduced cartoon," instead of being made to prepare the altarpiece, was made for the express purpose of producing small-scale, painted replicas. This hypothesis is in some measure corroborated by a



Figure 1.7 Barocci workshop, *Copy of the Entombment*, oil on canvas, 122 × 92 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, inv. 1990 DE 187 (Cat. 8.16).

Photo: Palazzo Ducale, Urbino, Italy/Bridgeman Images.

document recording that Barocci consigned a cartoon of the *Entombment* in 1590 as a model for a different type of copy by another artist, a reproductive engraving.³⁷ Moreover, the size of this sheet also supports a later date. There is only one other compositional drawing of comparable scale, the reduced cartoon related to the *Lamentation* mentioned above. Since the latter was made during the last decade of Barocci's life, it seems probable that this type of drawing was produced exclusively during the artist's last years, when he was consigning more work to assistants.³⁸

During the course of the exhibition, a tracing was made of the Rijksmuseum study, which was then compared to the *Entombment* replica in Urbino.³⁹ The two were remarkably close in size, a correspondence that confirms Harald Olsen's hypothesis that

the Urbino painting was based on the Amsterdam sheet, an opinion that has been supported by other writers, including us.⁴⁰ The only area of significant difference is in the location and some of the details in the figure of Mary Magdalen. In the Amsterdam drawing, she is closer to the central group around Christ than she is in the Urbino oil. Barocci seems to have struggled with this figure, since even in the Getty *cartoncino* she is both unfinished and placed differently in relationship to the rocky bluff. If the Amsterdam drawing was in fact a preparatory study for the Urbino replica, made after completion of the altarpiece, what accounts for these discrepancies in the placement of the Magdalen? The drawing was probably based on an earlier version of Barocci's composition (presumably a lost drawing), but perhaps it attempted to revise a part of the composition with which Barocci himself was not pleased. This hypothesis is also suggested by a head study in Bayonne (Figure 6.18) that portrays Mary Magdalen in a slightly different position, farther removed from the center of the composition than in the altarpiece. Perhaps under Barocci's supervision, workshop assistants produced the Amsterdam drawing, offering a different position for the kneeling saint in hopes of finally satisfying the artist. It seems, however, that this solution was found unsatisfactory, since when it was copied onto the canvas in the Urbino replica, it was changed yet again. The Urbino canvas was never finished, perhaps because it was judged to be unsatisfactory.

Taken together, these new observations regarding Barocci's *Entombment* may elucidate how Barocci ran his workshop during his late years. We are convinced that Barocci himself worked on the *Entombment* when it was returned to his studio, and it may be that one motivation for bringing the celebrated altarpiece back to his workshop was the opportunity it offered for creating new copies. Barocci's role in the workshop productions of this late period was variable, ranging from full execution in works of personal importance (such as the *Entombment*) or patronal significance (such as the *Institution*), to a large role for his assistants in less important works, such as the *Crucifixion* in the Oratorio della Morte.

Furthermore, we believe that these ideas about Barocci's workshop practices should be expanded beyond the completion of altarpieces to include the production of copies for collectors, both copies of individual heads by the master himself and replicas of the full composition executed partially or wholly by assistants. This seems the most logical assessment of the role of the reduced cartoon in Amsterdam and would explain the different scale and palette (and possibly later date) of one of the most recently discovered heads by Barocci, that of Saint John the Evangelist in a private collection (Figure 6.17).

Other essays in this volume

Whereas the *Entombment* is one work that offers rich prospects for further understanding, the essays in this volume offer other new ideas on the artist that were inspired by the exhibition. Carol Plazzotta, the London curator who wrote the catalogue entry on the *Madonna del Gatto*, has continued her archival research on this painting and offers further insights here. Examining the iconography of this private devotional painting in the context of specifically feminine spaces within a Renaissance palace, Plazzotta argues that the picture was commissioned for the private apartment of Laura Capello, wife of Count Antonio Brancaloni of Piobbico, a feudal vassal of the Della Rovere dukes of Urbino. She interprets the painting's ambiance of domestic felicity in the context of its feminine domestic sphere and explores Barocci's innovative references to his patrons' names and heraldry. These discoveries expand our

understanding of a key early patron and confirm the artist's early skills as a creative iconographer, capable of crafting religious subjects to make them suitable for the familiar realm of the everyday.

The *Madonna del Gatto* is one of several works in the exhibition from Barocci's early years, the least well-documented portion of his career. Two other essays in this book tackle this challenging period and reaffirm Barocci's proclivities toward naturalism. Claudio Pizzorusso's contribution begins at the beginning, taking on the crucial question of Barocci's (undocumented) date of birth and building on earlier scholarship to support its placement in 1533, rather than the traditional 1535.⁴¹ He also explores three crucial early artistic relationships during Barocci's youth: with Battista Franco, the Venetian painter who visited Urbino and was probably Barocci's teacher; Francesco Menzocchi, a Mannerist artist who also visited Barocci's native city and influenced the young man's early paintings and drawings; and Taddeo Zuccaro, a compatriot whom Barocci encountered in Rome, whose singular talents as a painter and draftsman also helped to shape the style of his younger countryman.

Alessandra Giannotti's contribution takes the question of Barocci's early formative influences in some exciting new directions. Although it has been suggested that Barocci may have provided designs for ceramics, she is the first scholar to argue for the importance of maiolica as a crucial formative influence on the young Barocci, a hypothesis whose plausibility is strengthened by the region's status as a distinguished center for maiolica production before and during Barocci's lifetime. In addition, she argues for the impact of terracotta sculpture on Barocci's art and suggests that the works of the little-known local landscape painter Gherardo Cibo, a member of the ruling family of Urbino, also provided inspiration for his young compatriot.

Two contributions to this volume explore key issues about the artist's drawing practices. Stuart Lingo's essay examines some apparent contradictions in Barocci's works, made evident in the exhibition, where drawings of nude males for female protagonists were juxtaposed with one drawing that some scholars have argued may suggest that Barocci used live female models.⁴² Lingo has previously noted other incongruities in the artist's oeuvre: devout yet sensual, traditional but also original. His essay in this volume focuses on another inconsistency: Barocci's commitment to the practice of life drawing, despite producing paintings that generally eschew the depiction of nude figures. Investigating the vigorous naturalism of Barocci's figures, Lingo explores these contradictions, elucidating the artist's relationship to High Renaissance practices and his balance between relying on art and on nature as models.

Babette Bohn examines Barocci's unusual procedures for designing paintings, surely the lengthiest and most inventive process employed by any Italian Renaissance artist. Barocci's mastery of *disegno* and *colore* was exceptional for his generation, prefiguring the balance between these two allegedly opposing principles during the Seicento. His use of color for preparatory studies in pastel, oil paint, and colored chalks was highly original, incorporating coloristic considerations into the creative process to an unprecedented degree. Two types of colored preliminary studies the exhibition included are the artist's large-scale head studies in pastel and in oil on paper. Considering new information on the relative sizes of these studies in comparison to the final paintings, Bohn argues that some were made not to prepare paintings but were rather produced after completion of the paintings, for sale to private collectors. Her hypotheses are given additional support by new investigations into early inventories of collectors who owned heads in both pastel and oil.

Judith Mann's essay explores Barocci's role as an innovative iconographer by examining his representations of the Virgin Mary, based on a recognition that Barocci's portrayal of Mary was always very personal and often resulted in novel interpretations of traditional Marian subjects. Through an expanded analysis of Barocci's preparations for the Virgin Mary in the early Bonarelli *Crucifixion*, and new observations on Barocci's development of the Virgin in *Il Perdono*, the *Visitation*, and the *Annunciation*, this paper revises our understanding of the role Marian devotion played in Barocci's imagery and identifies new iconographical sources the artist used. Her essay also addresses two important pictures that were not part of the 2012–13 exhibition, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* and *Christ Appearing to the Virgin and to Mary Magdalen*, and offers new interpretations of these works.

The question of Barocci's relationship to his patrons and the art market is examined by Richard Spear, who explores the artist's singularly high prices in comparison to other artists of his day. Famously difficult, chronically late in completing his commissions, and yet highly paid despite his remote domicile in Urbino, Barocci clearly managed to manipulate the market to his advantage. Spear considers the reasons behind this improbable success, considering such diverse factors as the artist's ongoing health problems, slow production, and considerable talent.

David Ekserdjian provides a thorough reconstruction and analysis of the inventory of Barocci's studio after the artist's death. Considering the inventory in comparison to known inventories of other sixteenth-century artists and collectors, Ekserdjian expands our understanding of Barocci's artistic production, identifying many of the paintings and drawings to which the inventory refers. He also extrapolates from those works that are lost (especially drawings) to suggest how these missing pieces of evidence have distorted our understanding of the artist.

Finally, this volume includes a translation of the post-mortem inventory of Barocci's studio, making this key document (last published in 1913) readily accessible for the first time to modern students and scholars. In combination with the many fresh insights into the artist supplied by the eight scholars whose essays are included here, we hope to shed new light on the impressive artistry of this great painter-draftsman.

Notes

- 1 Harald Olsen, *Federico Barocci*. Copenhagen, 1962; Edmund S. Pillsbury and Louise S. Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci: Selected Drawings and Prints*. Exh. cat., New Haven, 1978; Andrea Emiliani, ed., *Mostra di Federico Barocci*. Exh. cat., Bologna, 1975; *Ibid.*, *Federico Barocci (Urbino 1535–1612)*. Bologna, 1985; *Ibid.*, *Federico Barocci (Urbino 1535–1612)*. Ancona, 2008; Nicholas Turner, *Federico Barocci*. Paris, 2000; Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting*. New Haven and London, 2008; John Marciari and Ian Verstegen, "'Grande quanto l'opera': Size and Scale in Barocci's Drawings," *Master Drawings*, 46/3 (Autumn 2008), 291–321; Peter Gillgren, *Siting Federico Barocci and the Renaissance Aesthetic*. Surrey, 2011.
- 2 For a fuller discussion of Barocci's high prices, see the essay by Richard Spear in this volume.
- 3 The title of the London exhibition was "Barocci: Brilliance and Grace." The exhibition catalogue is Judith W. Mann and Babette Bohn with Carol Plazzotta, *Federico Barocci: Renaissance Master of Color and Line*. Exh. cat., New Haven and London, 2012.
- 4 Barocci's design process is discussed in each of the individual entries, with a comprehensive view of his procedures offered in Babette Bohn's essay, "Drawing as Artistic Invention: Federico Barocci and the Art of Design," Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 33–69.

- 5 Although we were unable to obtain the loan of this picture, the exhibition included 11 of the 56 drawings Barocci made to prepare this major work.
- 6 Significantly, the *Entombment* is one of only six paintings (all altarpieces) for which Barocci produced 50 or more extant preparatory studies. The other paintings are the *Deposition* (cat. 3); the *Madonna del Popolo* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence); the *Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis* (Pinacoteca Nazionale di Brera, Milan); the *Last Supper* (cat. 12); and the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (Chiesa Nuova, Rome).
- 7 On this issue, see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 13–31. On the innovative iconography, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 158–62.
- 8 The altarpiece must have been taken to Barocci's studio in late 1606 or early 1607. The final decision to send it from Senigallia to Urbino was made by the assembly on December 7, 1606, and the picture was in the artist's studio on June 2, 1607, since he referred to its presence in a letter to the confraternity on that day. Barocci's restoration of the painting was completed on April 20, 1608, as confirmed in confraternity records, which also report that Barocci asked them for 150 *scudi*. The confraternity accepted this price. The altarpiece was returned to Senigallia on May 4, 1608. See Gianluca Quaglia, ed., *La Chiesa della Croce e la sua Confraternità*. Senigallia, 2009, 81–82.
- 9 Although we were unable to X-ray the work, as we had hoped, the picture was examined closely, both by Claire Barry, the consulting conservator for the exhibition in St. Louis, and by conservators at the National Gallery, who performed the infrared reflectography.
- 10 Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*. ed. Evelina Borea, Turin, 1672 (1976), 189; *Ibid.*, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*. trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl, with notes by Hellmut Wohl, New York, 2005, 164.
- 11 Pillsbury and Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, 1978, 17, n. 23; Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 2000, 181, n. 32, who cited Nicholas Penny as the source of this idea.
- 12 Emilio Vecchioni, "La Chiesa della Croce e Sacramento in Senigallia e la 'Deposizione' di Federico Barocci," *Rassegna Marchigiana*, 5 (1926–27), 500–01.
- 13 Quaglia, *La Chiesa della Croce*, 2009, 77.
- 14 Vecchioni, "La Chiesa della Croce," 1926–27, 501.
- 15 "Ho visto il quadro che mi hanno mandato che per dire il vero è stato molto male tenuto e trattato." Quaglia, *La Chiesa della Croce*, 2009, 82.
- 16 On Pellegrini's painting, see Francesco Federico Mancini, ed., *Federico Barocci e la pittura della maniera in Umbria*. Milan, 2010, 36–37, no. 4, with further bibliography.
- 17 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 170.
- 18 See Keith Christiansen, "Barocci, the Franciscans and a Possible Funerary Gift," *Burlington Magazine*, 147 (November 2005), 727–28. Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 98, suggested it was unfinished and then retouched by an assistant, noting that it lacks spontaneity. Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 2000, 133, noted the hardness of the figures.
- 19 On the *Madonna di Santa Lucia*, see Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 128–35, no. 52.
- 20 Forty studies for the *Lamentation* are still known, including a fine group in Berlin examining the body of Christ, [e.g., inv. KdZ 20360(4144) and 20510 (3758)], and an interesting early compositional study in Urbania (inv. II 187.617). There is evidence of Barocci's involvement in the design of the picture. For example, the kneeling bishop (San Giovanni del Buono), and Mary Magdalen flank the protruding corner of the stone from Christ's tomb, referring both to the altar and the stone of unction. This reflects Barocci's thinking and indicates that the picture was not entirely designed by a studio assistant.
- 21 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976) 194; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005) 166, attributed the "figures at the bottom" to Alessandro Vitali. Emiliani (in Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari and Marina Cellini, eds., *Nel segno di Barocci. Allievi e seguaci tra Marche, Umbria, Siena*. Milan, 2005, 15) argued for some participation by Barocci, most notably in the body of Christ, although he cited the contract of January 5, 1597, calling for the work to be Barocci's invention. Later, Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 268, no. 73, gave the picture to Barocci but noted the collaboration of the workshop.
- 22 The letter was transcribed in Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 193–94; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 166. In a letter that Barocci wrote in 1590 to Duke Francesca Maria II's secretary, he noted the high sum. See Johann Wilhelm Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI. III*. Florence, 1840, 510–11, n. CCCCIX.

- 23 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 199; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 168–69, is explicit about the limitations caused by Barocci's stomach condition: he was only able to paint for periods of two hours, he was subject to continual vomiting, and he did not sleep well at night.
- 24 Most depictions of the Crucifixion, prior to Barocci's, depict Christ's right foot on top of his left. By selecting such an unusual position, Barocci evidently intended to evoke the writings of Saint Bridget, a source he used on a number of occasions. This positioning was most likely intended to remind knowledgeable viewers of Christ's suffering. See *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta of Sweden*. Trans. Denis Searby, intro. and notes by Bridget Morris, 2 vols., New York, 2008, 169, 1:23.
- 25 See for example, the *Annunciation* altarpiece in Santa Maria degli Angeli, in Mancini. *Federico Barocci*, 2010, 46, cat. 9.
- 26 Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 19–24.
- 27 For the *Assumption*, see Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 328–41, no. 84.
- 28 On the Chatsworth sheet (inv. 361), see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 291; for the Fitzwilliam study (inv. PD.1-2002) see *Ibid.*, 291–92; and David Scrase, *Italian Drawings at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, together with Spanish Drawings*. Cambridge, 2011, 32–33, no. 34.
- 29 For example, seeing the oil head of Saint John the Evangelist (private collection) juxtaposed to the oil head of the same figure from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, with their disparate palettes and scale, raised questions as to whether the two were made at the same time and for the same purpose. This issue is explored further in Bohn's essay in this volume.
- 30 Egidio Calzini, "Lo 'studio' del Barocci (documenti)," *Studi e notizie su Federico Barocci*. Florence, 1913, 78: "Un altro cartone di chiaro oscuro in carta bianca con dentro un Cristo portato al Sepolcro, con la Madre, e altre figure come quello che è in stampa, ma le teste son tutte di pastelli." (See Appendix I.)
- 31 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 206; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 171.
- 32 See Bohn's essay in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 53–60.
- 33 On the Lamentation drawing, see *Ibid.*, 56; and Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 315, no. 83.1.
- 34 On these and the eight other pictures that earlier scholars have grouped into this category, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 60–61.
- 35 A number of art historians who visited the exhibition concurred with the notion that the picture was a replica rather than a preparatory study, although there were disagreements concerning its authorship.
- 36 Calzini, "Lo 'studio' del Barocci," 1913, 77. See the fuller discussion of this picture in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 169–72.
- 37 The document, first discovered by Bonita Cleri, records an agreement between Barocci and the Flemish merchant Giovanni Paoletti; Barocci supplied his cartoon so that Paoletti could engage Giovanni Stradano to make an engraving after it (Bohn, "Drawing as Artistic Invention," in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 56; Bonita Cleri, "Vertenze sul cartone del Trasporto di Cristo di Federico Barocci," *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 22–29, (1993–2000), 165–75.
- 38 See Bohn in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 56.
- 39 We wish to thank Claire Winfield, the assistant paintings conservator at the Saint Louis Art Museum, who spent many hours in the exhibition, tracing and measuring the glazed pastel and oil heads as well as the Rijksmuseum reduced cartoon.
- 40 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 170.
- 41 Although 1535 is still used by a number of scholars, Mann (in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 1) argued for 1533.
- 42 The drawing in question was made to develop the pose of the Virgin Mary for the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* (Uffizi inv. 11284 F., cat. 4.4). Some exhibition visitors wondered whether a drawing for the *Immaculate Conception* (Uffizi inv. 11339 F., Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, cat. 6.5) was also based on a living, nude female model. Bohn and some other scholars have argued that this sheet derived from an antique sculpture.

2 From altar to hearth

Barocci and the Brancaleoni of Piobbico

Carol Plazzotta

When Judy Mann first invited me to participate in the project of a Barocci exhibition, I imagined it would be a relatively straightforward matter to catalogue the National Gallery's single painting by the artist, the *Madonna del Gatto* (Color Plate 6). Barocci's first biographer Giovan Pietro Bellori stated that it had been painted for Antonio Brancaleoni, count of Piobbico, but when I began to look into the literature further, I was surprised to find that there was no firm evidence to support Bellori's assertion.¹ In fact, next to nothing else was known about the history of this beautiful painting, which depicts the Holy Family absorbed in a scene of cozy domesticity. Apart from a single reference in a guide to Perugia of 1784, when it was in the collection of Count Giulio Cesarei, the whereabouts of this painting were completely unrecorded until its purchase in 1805 by the Reverend Holwell Carr, who bequeathed it to the recently founded National Gallery shortly afterwards.²

The scene is set in the bedchamber of a Renaissance palace, the bright glow cast over the figures suggesting they have gathered by the hearth. Through a doorway in the background, from which a green curtain is drawn back, an open window reveals a twilight sky, the setting sun reflected on the elegant stone window seat. Seated on a low stool, her sandaled feet extended as if to warm them at the unseen fire, the Virgin breastfeeds the Christ Child, having lifted him from his wicker cot (the turned back bedcover and the silk pillow still bear the imprint of his head). Having set aside her embroidery and a small devotional book, both of which can be seen in her workbasket in the foreground, she cradles her baby to her breast, her other arm protectively around the Infant Saint John the Baptist, perched beside her on the stool. Instinctively clutching his cousin's chubby foot, John holds up an alarmed goldfinch to tease the family cat, prompting it to rise onto its haunches ready to spring. The Virgin points out the cat to Christ who pauses from suckling to watch. Old Saint Joseph peers over her shoulder, joining in the general merriment provoked by the Baptist's game.

Bellori wrote that Barocci painted two pictures for Count Antonio. One, a *Rest on the Return from Egypt* painted in distemper, was for his parish church of Santo Stefano in Piobbico, and remains in situ to this day (Color Plate 7).

And because the invention [of the Rest on the Return] was popular, he made several other versions, one of which he painted in gouache, with life-size figures, which was sent by Count Antonio Brancaleoni to the parish church of his castle at Piobbico.³

The biographer did not specify the destination of the second picture, the *Madonna del Gatto*, which he referred to as a *scherzo* (or playful piece).

For this gentleman he painted another *scherzo*, the Virgin seated in a room with the Child to her breast, to whom she points out a Cat, about to spring at a Swallow tied by a string and held aloft by Infant Saint John; behind them, Saint Joseph supporting himself with his hand on a little table, leans forward to watch.⁴

In Barocci's painting, the bird is identified by its coloring as a goldfinch rather than a swallow, and it is untethered. These discrepancies suggest that Bellori based his description not on the painting, but on Cornelius Cort's print after it (Figure 2.1), misidentifying the monochrome bird and mistaking the line of the background floor tiles for a string, a common feature in scenes of this subject.



Figure 2.1 Cornelius Cort, *The Madonna of the Cat*, 1577, engraving, state ii, 33.4 × 24.5 cm, inscribed at the bottom: “Di. Greg. PP.xij ex Privil.p. an. X. Corneli. Cort fec. 1577.” The British Museum, London, inv. V.8.159 (Cat. 7.7).

Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Bellori's account was not much to go on, but it was a start, and we shall see that his pairing of these two compositions—the *Madonna del Gatto* and the *Rest on the Return*—has greater significance than was hitherto thought. It seemed obvious that my quest for clues about the picture's history should begin in Count Antonio's domain of Piobbico, a medieval stronghold straddling a mountain pass about 20 miles west of Urbino. My trip to the town confirmed that few scholars who had written about the picture had actually been there.⁵ The Palazzo Brancaleoni dominates the village of Piobbico from the top of a small hill, with the mighty Monte Nerone looming behind (Figure 2.2). My first memorable visit to the palace in 2011 helped to clarify when and why the *Madonna del Gatto* might have been painted and where it originally hung. My research took me on a fascinating journey through the local archives of Urbino and Perugia, and further afield to Paris, helping to establish that the Brancaleoni really were the patrons both of the *Madonna del Gatto* and a previously unrecorded companion piece by Barocci; that these paintings remained the property of the female members of the family; and that for generations they passed from mother to daughter as their most highly prized possessions. Understanding the original context of the *Madonna del Gatto* sheds new light on its character, subject, and symbolism.

The interesting figure of Count Antonio has received little attention in the Barocci literature, and indeed few facts can be gleaned about him.⁶ The only known portrait of him appears in a naïve fresco portraying him and his family on one of the ceilings of his private apartment (Figure 2.3). His birthdate is unknown, but he was probably born around 1532/33.⁷ Like his forebears, he took up arms from a young



Figure 2.2 Exterior view, Palazzo Brancaleoni, Piobbico.
Photo: Courtesy of the author. © Professor Sante Fini, Piobbico.

age and was a talented horseman, as commemorated in a stucco relief showing him on horseback in the main reception room of his apartment (Figure 2.4). He fought in many wars, including the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, on which trip he would probably have been companion in arms to the slightly younger Francesco Maria della Rovere, soon to become Duke of Urbino and thus his feudal Lord.⁸ In 1552, Antonio married Laura Cappello (see Figure 2.3), daughter of the exiled Venetian poet and diplomat Bernardo Cappello (1498–1565) who was close friends with the poet Bernardo Tasso at the Della Rovere court.⁹ The cultured young Laura had been lady-in-waiting to Vittoria Farnese (1521–1602), duchess of Urbino, who was instrumental in her match with Count Antonio, and who contributed the substantial sum of 1,000 *scudi* to her dowry.¹⁰ Between 1555 and about 1569, Laura bore Antonio 14 children, of whom eight sons and a daughter survived into adulthood.¹¹ Two of their sons (Monaldo and Torquato) were pages at the courts of Vittoria Farnese and Francesco Maria della Rovere respectively, the ducal couple having by then separated.¹²



Figure 2.3 Felice Damiani da Gubbio, *Portrait of Count Brancaleoni, Laura Cappello, and Nine of Their Children*, 1574, fresco, Camera Romana, Palazzo Brancaleoni, Piobbico.

Photo: Courtesy of Sante Fini and the Comuni di Piobbico.



Figure 2.4 Federico Brandani, *Equestrian Portrait of Count Antonio Brancaleoni*, 1575, stucco, Sala del Leon d'Oro, Palazzo Brancaleoni, Piobbico.

Photo: Courtesy of the author.

As the eldest son of Count Monaldo Brancaleoni, Antonio inherited the lordship of Piobbico in 1556, when his father was murdered by the rival Ubaldini clan of nearby Apecchio.¹³ He and his family lived in the castle, which had been transformed in the 1470s by his great-grandfather, Guido Brancaleoni, from a medieval fortified house into a stylish Renaissance palace on the model of the Ducal Palace in Urbino.¹⁴ It was our Count Antonio who undertook the next significant campaign to extend and decorate the structure a century later, in the mid-1570s.¹⁵ It is exactly to this period, in which he was actively re-establishing favor with the Della Rovere in Urbino, that the *Madonna del Gatto* can be dated on stylistic grounds. Additional support for this date comes from the fact that several of the more than 30 surviving associated drawings have studies relating to other works of that period on their rectos.¹⁶

The purpose of Brancaleoni's extension was to provide the Count and his consort with an elegant new apartment on the main floor, comprising the finest rooms in the palace to this day. The new suite consisted of a central reception room, the Sala del Leon d'Oro (Figure 2.5), flanked by the count and countess's separate bed-chambers, each with its own private chapel.¹⁷ These were decorated with exemplary scenes from Greek and Roman history, respectively, and they are thus known as the *Camera Greca* and the *Camera Romana*. The rooms were embellished with stucco ceiling moldings and reliefs by the Urbinate stuccoist Federico Brandani (1522/25–1575) and somewhat naïve ceiling frescoes attributed to the local painters Felice Damiani da Gubbio (active 1584–1606) and Giorgio Picchi of Casteldurante (ca. 1555–1605).¹⁸



Figure 2.5 Sala del Leon d'Oro, Palazzo Brancaleoni, Piobbico.
Photo: Courtesy of the author.

It is likely that the *Madonna del Gatto*, dated to the mid-1570s and therefore coinciding with the conclusion of Brancaleoni's building campaign, was destined for the new apartment. While the larger, oblong *Rest* was for a side altar in the parish church of Piobbico, the smaller scale and nearly square shape of the *Madonna del Gatto* suggest that it was destined instead for the household. Its domestic subject confirms such placement. Indeed, features found in the newly decorated interiors are echoed in the *Madonna del Gatto*. It has often been pointed out that the window embrasure in the background of the painting, adorned with a stone seat supported by a single baluster leg is based on those designed by Luciano Laurana for the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino.¹⁹ While this is true, the Palazzo Brancaleoni has similar window seats. In Piobbico, however, they were designed in a more contemporary, Mannerist style with lion's paw feet, a feature to which we will return.

In early drafts of my entry on the painting for the catalogue, I speculated that the *Madonna del Gatto*, with its unusual emphasis on the feminine, the maternal, and the domestic, might have been destined for Laura Cappello's bedchamber. There were good reasons to suppose this, not just because of the picture's intimate character and hearth-side theme. It was Laura after all who had the closest ties to Urbino through her friendship with the Duchess Vittoria Farnese, whose arms surmount those of the Brancaleoni above the entrance to the new apartment, and whose bedchamber in the Palazzo Ducale in Pesaro provided a model for the stucco decorations in Laura's room. The chronology of the apartment's internal decoration also favors this hypothesis regarding the painting's original location, for it seems that the Contessa's room was the first in the suite to be finished.²⁰ Its ceiling stuccoes by Brandani and frescoes by Damiani are dated 1574, while the painted decorations in the count's *Camera Greca*, which lack Brandani's

playful stuccoes, were not completed until a decade later, bearing a date of 1585.²¹ The room had a window seat, a fireplace, and green damask wall hangings, in contrast to the leather wall hangings recorded in the other rooms.²² It is on the ceiling of the Contessa's apartment that we find the frescoed family portrait mentioned earlier (Figure 2.3), the group completed by the presence of their two somewhat comical pet dogs. This is mirrored by another fresco (Figure 2.6), showing the male members of the Brancaleoni family hunting in the countryside around Piobbico, in the background of which is an accurate depiction of the *palazzo* with its newly laid-out gardens and half-completed buildings.²³ The personal and light-hearted themes in these two frescoes are consonant with the jovial mood, domestic subject, and setting of the *Madonna del Gatto*.

A further argument in favor of the picture's connection with Laura Cappello is the fact that the painting passed down the female line of the family, evidently having been inherited by the countess's daughter Isabella (the little girl whose hand Laura Cappello holds in the fresco), who married the Perugian merchant Bernardino Ansidei (1565–1625) in 1585.²⁴ Bernardino was the great-nephew of Nicolò Ansidei, patron of the *Ansidei Madonna* painted by Raphael for the family chapel in San Fiorenzo, Perugia, which is now in the National Gallery (NG1171). Indeed Isabella, and her daughter Angela after her, retained a share in the patronage of the chapel that housed Raphael's altarpiece.²⁵

Buried in an old file at the National Gallery was a catalogue issued by the antiquarian book dealer Bernard Quaritch in the early 1990s, entitled *Autograph letters of Italian Artists*. Item 26 describes a manuscript portfolio containing an inventory and other papers relating to the contents of the palazzo of Angela Ansidei degli Oddi in Perugia making specific reference to two paintings by Barocci, one of which was



Figure 2.6 Felice Damiani da Gubbio, *Count Antonio Brancaleoni and other Male Members of the Family Hunting*, 1574, fresco, Camera Romana, Palazzo Brancaleoni, Piobbico.

Photo: Courtesy of the author.

the *Madonna del Gatto*.²⁶ Knowing that Isabella had married Bernardino Ansidei and quitted Piobbico for Perugia, I decided it was worth following this lead. Upon calling Quaritch, I discovered that the documents had fortunately been bought by the Fondation Custodia in Paris for its extensive collection of artists' letters. Coincidentally the Fondation also happened to be the generous lender of four drawings to our exhibition.²⁷ The Fondation Custodia documents contained a number of important leads including the post-mortem inventory of the town and country houses of Angela Ansidei degli Oddi, who, it became clear, was Isabella's unusually long-lived daughter who died in 1671, probably aged 83.²⁸ In 1639, Angela's husband, Diomide degli Oddi, had bought a fine palazzo built in the early seventeenth century by the Montemelini family, prestigiously located just north of the Duomo on Piazza Chiesa della Morte (now Piazza Piccinino).²⁹ It was in this house that Angela lived on after Diomide's death, and that she eventually bequeathed to her eldest daughter Laura. The room-by-room post-mortem inventory lists the furniture scattered through the house and many pictures, mainly religious, as well as a few portraits and landscapes. Among the furnishings in the main apartments on the first floor were:

Two paintings by Baroccio, the *Flight into Egypt* and the *Madonna del Gatto* in carved and gilded frames.³⁰

In the same room there was a *Saint Jerome* by Barocci in a small black and gilt frame (not the Borghese picture, as the Ansidei version was still in the family's possession until the early nineteenth century, but perhaps a version of it) and a *Madonna* by Luigi Pellegrino Scaramuccia, the Perugian painter, engraver and writer on art.³¹ There were other pictures, mainly religious, scattered through the house, as well as a few portraits and landscapes.

This was already very interesting as it indicated that the Brancaleoni had not only commissioned the altarpiece of the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* for Santo Stefano, Piobbico, as Bellori correctly recorded, but also an easel picture of the same composition for their home (similar to the version Barocci painted for his friend Simonetto Anastagi of Perugia in 1573, now in the Vatican).³² As we have seen, Bellori reported that Barocci made at least three versions of the *Rest on the Return*, because the picture was so admired. Angela Ansidei's inventory constitutes evidence of a fourth, though all trace of it is lost today. It is worth noting that the first recorded version of the composition, which is also lost but chronicled in an eighteenth-century print (Figure 2.7), was conceived with a female recipient in mind as well, since it was given by Duke Guidubaldo della Rovere of Urbino to his daughter-in-law Lucrezia d'Este, in honor of her marriage to his son Francesco Maria in 1571. Interestingly, this picture was recorded as covered by a green curtain in Lucrezia's bedchamber in the Este palace in Ferrara, offering further proof that these jewel-like devotional subjects by Barocci were ideal ornaments for the private quarters of the female aristocracy.³³ It seems probable that Cornelis Cort's print, which conforms in certain details to the altarpiece in the Brancaleoni parish church (the bridled donkey and the hat in the bottom left corner being top up), as well as to a little frescoed copy of the composition on the ceiling of the Count's private chapel (Figure 2.8), were both made to record the lost Brancaleoni easel painting.³⁴ Cort's engravings after the *Rest on the Return* and the *Madonna del Gatto* (the latter dated 1577) are the only prints Cort made after Barocci's compositions, probably soon after each painting was finished, perhaps to document works that were about to disappear to a remote location.³⁵



Figure 2.7 Antonio Capellan, after Federico Barocci, *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, 1772, etching and engraving, 31.4 × 25.4 cm, The British Museum, London, inv. 1856,0510.221 (Figure 51).

Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.8 Giorgio Picchi, after Federico Barocci, *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, 1585, Count's Private Chapel, Palazzo Brancaleoni, Piobbico.

Photo: Courtesy of the author.

Barocci probably made the *Madonna del Gatto* for the Brancaleoni as a companion piece to the *Rest on the Return*. It was notable how good the two compositions looked when displayed side by side in the exhibition. This suggestion is supported by the fact that they are always mentioned together in the new documents—from Angela Ansidei’s will, to the inventory of her house, where they hung in the same room, through subsequent records of ownership. Significant for our thesis is the fact of their passage down the female line of the family, despite the survival of male heirs in each generation. This suggests a binding trust, or *fidecommesso*, perhaps first instituted by the Countess Brancaleoni, Laura Cappello. She died in her forties—worn out by childbearing—in 1582, three years before her daughter Isabella’s marriage to Bernardino Ansidei.³⁶ We might speculate that she bequeathed the pictures to her daughter Isabella as a dowry, as her female descendants may later have done, which would explain how they came to Perugia. Incidentally, there is no mention of them in the will of Count Antonio of 1597. He left his entire estate, including the Palazzo Brancaleoni, to his eldest surviving son Torquato, stating that it should pass to the female line only in the absence of surviving male heirs.³⁷

The two pictures remained in Angela Ansidei’s palace until her death. Thanks to the documents in the Fondazione Custodia, which mention the name of the notary who drafted it, I was able to find her will in the state archive in Perugia.³⁸ Highly unusually, Angela did not leave her estate to her son, who seems to have accumulated numerous debts that his mother paid off over the years, but to her two ‘beloved daughters’ Laura and Maria Francesca. Laura, the eldest (named after her maternal grandmother Laura Cappello), inherited the majority of her mother’s estate, including the town house in Perugia and a country house with a vineyard in the suburbs. But Angela made an emphatic exception of the two paintings by Barocci, which were to go to her younger daughter Maria Francesca. The Paris documents include Maria Francesca’s written receipt for them, which bound her to collect the works within three days of her mother’s death.³⁹

Despite Angela’s attempt to avoid posthumous squabbling over her estate, the division of her property led to conflict between her daughters, prompted by the very high valuation placed on Barocci’s two paintings. In the legal battle that ensued over their ownership, the works were judged to be worth more than 2,000 *scudi*, a huge sum. The valuation attested to their quality and was an indication of the esteem in which they were held in Perugia where Barocci’s spectacular *Deposition* still hung in the Cathedral.⁴⁰ This high valuation prompted Laura’s husband, Pompeo Eugenio, to attempt to reabsorb the pictures into his wife’s estate, a process resulting in the documentation that has so fortunately been preserved. On Maria Francesca’s death, Pompeo and Laura took advantage of a small debt of 200 *scudi* to seize the Barocci for their own daughter, Angelina.⁴¹ Angelina was married to Antonio Cesarei and their son was Giulio Cesarei (1744–1829), a liberal mayor under Napoleon in whose collection in the Palazzo Cesarei, at no. 5 via Cesarei, the *Madonna del Gatto* was recorded in Orsini’s 1784 guidebook to Perugia (itself commissioned by the Count).⁴² By this date, there is no mention of the *Rest on the Return*, which must have been sold in the eighteenth century. But the history of the *Madonna del Gatto* is now satisfyingly complete.

Sharing as I do a love of cats with Barocci, who was almost certainly the owner of several of the models that recur so frequently in his drawings, I want to conclude with a brief discussion of the cat in Barocci's painting.⁴³ Why is it there? The cat is a relatively unusual motif in representations of the Virgin and Child or Holy Family, so the reason for its presence is worth investigating. As in Barocci's *Madonna della Gatta* (Figure 4.1) precedents in Italian painting usually allude to the medieval legend that a cat had given birth at the very moment Christ was born—clearly not the primary reference here.⁴⁴ Nor is Barocci's cat a passive domestic presence as in his Vatican *Annunciation* (Color Plate 20), for here it is poised, ready to pounce on the goldfinch, a traditional symbol of Christ's Passion.⁴⁵ Deriving its Latin name (*Carduelis*) from its love of thistle and thorn seeds, the goldfinch, according to legend, acquired its red head from a drop of blood that fell as it drew a thorn from Christ's brow on his way to Calvary.⁴⁶ The caption to Cornelis Cort's engraving after the *Madonna del Gatto* (Figure 2.1) offers a contemporary interpretation of Barocci's picture: through the Baptist's innocent game, the child becomes aware of mankind's expulsion from Paradise, thus comprehending his future role as Redeemer.⁴⁷ The cat, often wrongly associated with evil, is not specifically malevolent in this situation, but its reaction to the bird epitomizes the disruption, following the Fall, of the natural harmony that had previously reigned in God's creation.

There may, however, be a further dimension to the cat's presence. The main reception room of the Palazzo Brancaleoni is today known as the *Sala del Leon d'Oro* after the elegant stucco cartouche in the center of the ceiling. The cartouche contains the Brancaleoni coat of arms—a lion rampant surmounted by a recumbent cross (Figure 2.9). *Brancaleone* literally means “lion's claw,” and, indeed, some older versions of the family's coat of arms comprised a raised paw with claws extended, combined with a cross.⁴⁸ The coat of arms with the lion rampant and other witty allusions to lions and lions' paws and jaws proliferate in different media all over Palazzo Brancaleoni—in ceiling and wall decorations, over doorways and gates, adorning fireplaces, and serving as corbels for vaults. It is even on the family crockery. The ubiquity of the lion rampant in the Brancaleoni residence suggests that the cat in Barocci's painting may likewise be an allusion to the family arms. Not only is it effectively rampant, but directly above it, the Baptist's reed cross leans against the green curtain, thus reproducing the same two elements as the family coat of arms. The inclusion of such playful quasi-heraldic allusions was not unusual in Renaissance domestic commissions. This idea made me wonder—just to stimulate discussion—whether Laura Cappello's name (*cappello* means hat in Italian) might also provide an answer to the mystery of why, uniquely in the Brancaleoni versions of the *Rest on the Return* (Color Plate 7), the Virgin's hat has become much more prominent by being turned top up? The presence of such heraldic puns in these images of sacred domesticity would make Bellori's choice of the term *scherzo* for the Brancaleoni pictures more appropriate than he could ever have known. But these hidden emblems of ownership would have been enjoyed on a daily basis as the Brancaleoni—and particularly the female members—gathered at the hearthside and basked in the warmth of Barocci's delightful visions of happy family life.



Figure 2.9 Coat of Arms of Brancaleoni Family, Sala del Leon d'Oro, Palazzo Brancaleoni, Piobbico with *La Madonna del Gatto* (*The Madonna of the Cat*), detail, ca. 1575–76, oil on canvas, 112.7 × 92.7 cm, The National Gallery, London, inv. NG29.

Photo: Courtesy of Sante Fini and the Comuni di Piobbico.

Notes

- 1 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 203; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 170.
- 2 Baldassare Orsini, *Guida al forestiere per l'augusta città di Perugia*. Perugia, 1784, 242–43; Orsini, 1788, 260f; Serafino Siepi, *Descrizione topologico-istorica della Città di Perugia*. Perugia, 1822, 382–83; William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England Since the French Revolution*. London, 1824, II, 166; Cecil Gould, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools*. London, 1975, 11–12.
- 3 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 203 (author's trans).
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 For a full bibliography, see Plazzotta, in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 157 (under no. 7). The painting was previously catalogued by Harald Olsen, *Federico Barocci: A Critical Study in Italian Cinquecento Painting*. Stockholm, 1955, 123–25; Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 157–59; Gould, *Italian Schools*, 1975, 11–12; Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 1985, I, 93–103, [note: there are no catalogue nos. in the 1985 edition.]; Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, 248–63, no. 33.
- 6 The principal sources are a contemporary manuscript account (1582) of the Brancaleoni family by Costanzo Felici, a doctor and botanist who resided at the Brancaleoni court

- at Piobbico (published by Delio Bischi, *I Brancaleoni di Piobbico in Costanzo Felici e Francesco Sansovino*. Rimini, 1982, esp. 71); Felici's account was the basis of Sansovino's genealogy (Francesco Sansovino, *Della origine et de' fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia*. 4 vols., Venice, 1582, I, 347v–348r); further information was gleaned from family papers assembled by the local historian Don Antonio Tarducci, *Piobbico e i Brancaleoni*, Cagli, 1897(2003), 123–42.
- 7 I have calculated his birthdate from family trees preserving the dates of marriage of his parents Monaldo di Roberto to Pantasilea di Tancredi da Sorbello in 1531 and his own marriage to Laura Cappello in 1552 (Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino [henceforth BUU], Fondo Antico, busta 112, fasc. 3; and Pietro Paolo Torelli, Brancaleoni papers, BUU, Fondo Antico, ms. vol. Univ. 157, 2, tav. II. In 1549, Antonio committed a murder, for which crime he was exiled for three years (Tarducci, *Piobbico*, 1897 (2003), 123, and docs. XV–XVII), which would push his date of birth as early as possible in that period.
 - 8 Felici, in Bischi, *I Brancaleoni*, 1982, 72 (Sansovino, *Della origine*, 1582, I, 347v).
 - 9 Franco Fasulo and Claudio Mutini, entry on Bernardo Cappello in *Dizionario biografico italiano*, 18 (1975), 765–67.
 - 10 Torelli, Brancaleoni papers, BUU, ms. vol. Univ. 157, 47.
 - 11 Felici in Bischi, *I Brancaleoni*, 1982, 72, who notes that in 1582, she had died young.
 - 12 Ibid. (Sansovino, *Della origine*, 1582, I, 347v–348); Torelli, Brancaleoni papers, BUU, ms. vol. Univ. 157, 50–51.
 - 13 Tarducci, *Piobbico*, 1897(2003), 116–22.
 - 14 Sante Fini, *Piobbico: Antica contea Brancaleoni. Storia—arte—natura*. Piobbico, 2011, 52 ff.
 - 15 Felici in Bischi, *I Brancaleoni*, 1982, 72 (Sansovino, *Della origine*, 1582, I, 347v); Torelli, Brancaleoni papers, BUU, ms. vol. Univ. 157, 48.
 - 16 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, no. 33. See the excellent online resource, *Barocci. A Lesson in Drawing*, compiled by Virginia Napoleone, on the National Gallery website.
 - 17 Fini, *Piobbico*, 2011, 70–79.
 - 18 For Brandani at Piobbico, see Luisa Fontebuoni, “Gli stucchi di Federico Brandani e il loro restauro,” in *I Brancaleoni e Piobbico*, 1985, 237–83; for Damiani, see Brunella Teodori, entry in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 32 (1982), 328–31; for the attribution to Picchi of the frescoes in the *Camera Greca*, see Luciano Arcangeli, “Contributi per Giorgio Picchi,” *Scritti in ricordo di Giovanni Previtali*. Florence, 1990, 108–16, and on Picchi in general, see entry by Massimo Moretti in Ambrosini Massari and Cellini, *Nel segno di Barocci*, 2005, 198–219 (esp. 202–03).
 - 19 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 1985, I, 96, fig. 162b; Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 2000, 55–58, 140–43; Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, 248.
 - 20 Bischi, *I Brancaleoni*, 1982, 35 and 50–51.
 - 21 Fini, *Piobbico*, 2001, 76.
 - 22 Tarducci, *Piobbico*, 1897 (2003), 238, n. 2.
 - 23 Bischi, *I Brancaleoni*, 1982, 35, and 50–51.
 - 24 Felici, in Ibid., 72, referred to Isabella as ‘putta di bellissimo ingegno’ (a highly intelligent little girl); Bernardino's dates are given in Pericle Ansidei, *Gli Ansidei di Catrano famiglia perugina: memorie storico-genealogiche*, Perugia, 1876, 37.
 - 25 Donal Cooper and Carol Plazzotta, “Raphael's Ansidei altarpiece in the National Gallery,” *Burlington Magazine*, 146, no. 1220 (November 2004), 731.
 - 26 Bernard Quaritch, *Autograph letters of Italian Artists*, catalogue 1118, London, 4, no. 26. Gabriele Finaldi, then Curator of Italian and Spanish Paintings 1600–1800 at the National Gallery, had spotted the reference to the *Madonna del Gatto* and noted in the margin, “very likely our picture....”
 - 27 Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Barocci 1990-A.25–1990-A.32.
 - 28 Angela's birthdate is given as 1573 in the family genealogy compiled by Pericle Ansidei, *Degli antichi signori e conti di Catrano, nobili Perugini*, 1884, 37, no. 82. However, this would mean that she was born when her mother Isabella and father Bernardino were both only nine years old; indeed the couple did not marry until 1585 (Torelli, Brancaleoni papers, BUU, ms. vol. Univ. 157, busta 122, fol. 194v). She was probably born in 1593, as she had a sister, Cleopatra, born 1588 and a brother Annibale (1594–1617) (see Ansidei, *Degli antichi signori*, 1884, 37, nos. 82–83).

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- 29 Siepi, *Descrizione*, 1822, 366–68. The Palazzo Bourbon di Sorbello, named after its subsequent owners, survives to this day as a “house museum,” accommodating the Fondazione Ranieri Sorbello.
- 30 Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Barocci, 1990-A.25, fol. 251v.
- 31 For Barocci’s *Saint Jerome* in the Borghese, see Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 168–69, no. 58.
- 32 For the Vatican *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, cat. 4.
- 33 For the display of Lucrezia d’Este’s picture, see the inventory of her possessions of 1592 in Paola Della Pergola, *Galleria Borghese: I Dipinti, Vol. II*, Rome, 1959, fol. 14, 347, no. 132: ‘Una Madonna con Nro Sigre et Santo Gioseppo di mano del Barozzo cornisati di legno dorati con Una coltrina di tenda verde e al pinti nella camera dove dorme S.A.’
- 34 For Cort’s print, see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 226.
- 35 For a discussion of the dating of the *Madonna del Gatto*, see Plazzotta in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2013, cat. 7, 147.
- 36 Felici, in Bischì, *I Brancaleoni*, 1982, 72.
- 37 Torelli, Brancaleoni papers, BUU, ms. vol. Univ. 157, 55–56.
- 38 Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Prot. 4009, fols 156a-h.
- 39 Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Barocci 1990-A.27 (1), receipt dated 16 December 1671.
- 40 For the valuation, see Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Barocci 1990-A.26 (1).
- 41 *Ibid.*, 1990.A.28.
- 42 Orsini, *Guida*, 1784, 242–43. Very little is otherwise known about the Cesarei collection as the family papers were destroyed in the nineteenth century (information kindly provided by dott.ssa Erminia Irace, Professore associato in storia moderna, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, University of Perugia).
- 43 For Barocci’s interest in cats and studies of them, see Plazzotta in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2013, 157, n. 74.
- 44 Antonio Natali, *Federico Barocci: Il miracolo della Madonna della gatta*, Milan, 2003, 55–65.d
- 45 For a discussion of the cat in Barocci’s Annunciation, see Mann’s essay in this volume, “Drawing the Virgin,” []
- 46 Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch: Its History and Significance in European Devotional Art*, New York 1946, 9.
- 47 The inscription reads: Ludit Joannes, tacitus miratur JESVS./Utriusq notat symbolu uterq parens./Ille refert hominem paradisj e limine pulsum./Quam ferat hic pulso jam meditatur opem.
- 48 Sansovino, *Della origine*, 1582, 1, 345v, discussed the various coats of arms of the different branches of the Brancaleoni family; engravings of these were first published in Hieronymus Henninges, *Theatrum genealogicum ostentans omnes omnium aetatum familias*, 4 vols. Magdeburg, 1598, 4.2, 1408–1409; reproduced in Bischì, *I Brancaleoni*, 1982, 33; and Fini, *Piobbico*, 2011, 50.

3 Just what is it that makes Barocci's painting so different, so appealing?

*Claudio Pizzorusso**

Many readers will recognize that my title is borrowed from the artist Richard Hamilton, a great master of modern daily life. It seems appropriate for an artist like Barocci who, by making note of small everyday occurrences, knew how to compose the episodes he captured in his paintings in such a way as to fascinate our senses as well as our spirit.

I might also have chosen a title based on Woody Allen's 1972 comedy about sex, "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Barocci (But Were Afraid to Ask)." Barocci might not have appreciated the allusion, and I would need to acknowledge that the comic references to sex would not necessarily be appropriate for the intensely religious Barocci. My point is simply to emphasize that there remain many unanswered questions about this artist. Consequently, I will simply attempt to understand—along with you, the reader "How Federico Barocci became Federico Barocci."

The first thing we need to know is when he was born. The most complete and reliable source of information is Giovan Pietro Bellori, and even though he wrote 60 years after Barocci's death, he did not hesitate to indicate the birth year as 1528.¹ In 1642, 30 years before Bellori's work, Giovanni Baglione had already indicated that exact same year, writing that in 1612 Barocci "died at the age of 84."² In 1588, Duke Francesco Maria II Della Rovere, his sovereign and friend, stated that Barocci was close to 60 years old.³ Thus, the Duke's account also suggests a birth year of 1528.

Several factors, however, indicate that this date cannot be correct. One such factor that is not mentioned very often concerns Barocci's relationship to Taddeo Zuccaro and is, in my opinion, decisive in Barocci's training. If our artist had been born in 1528, he would have been one year older than Taddeo Zuccari. This is inconsistent with the protective role that Zuccari took toward the young Barocci. As Bellori told it, Taddeo was an older brother figure, just as he was toward his own younger sibling, Federico.⁴

It would be tedious to go through all the other possible hypotheses for birthdates that have emerged over time, including the years 1539, 1536, and 1535. It is the last of these three that has been accepted generally (and that Alessandra Gianotti and I used when we mounted our 2009 Barocci exhibition in Siena).⁵ I can now state that, based on documents published by Fert Sangiorgi in 1982, the most likely year seems to be 1533 (or at the earliest, sometime during the last three months of 1532).⁶ Judith Mann would undoubtedly agree since she used this date, albeit somewhat judiciously, in her essay for the 2012 exhibition catalogue.⁷ We will see how all the most

* I would thank Joan Reifsnnyder and Carl Strehlke, who provided the translation of my text.

important events in Barocci's youthful career, as recounted by Bellori, fit in perfectly with this chronology.

Much has already been said on the importance of Barocci's family, with its tradition of artists and scientists, and on Federico's natural inclinations in these areas. The most recent discussion took place at the 2012 conference in Urbino dedicated to this topic.⁸ Therefore, we can move on to the first episode Bellori gives us about early influences on Barocci:

...and his father, who worked with molds and in relief, making models, seals, and astrolabes, started him on drawing, to which he applied himself with so much incentive and extraordinary grace that when Francesco Menzocchi of Forli happened by on the occasion when he brought his picture of the Deposition of Christ to the Confraternity of the Holy Cross, he conceived high hopes for the boy and urged him to devote himself entirely to painting.⁹

The execution and delivery of Menzocchi's *Deposition* for the Confraternita della Santa Croce is well documented as having occurred between October 1543 and May 1544.¹⁰ Menzocchi was a relatively famous artist in Pesaro and Urbino and was well established at the Della Rovere court. Menzocchi's own stylistic persona was created by Girolamo Genga, and consequently he was the beneficiary of a Roman Raphaelism often approaching that of Raffaellino del Colle, with whom Menzocchi collaborated for the decorative cycle at the Villa Imperiale in Pesaro. Menzocchi also maintained close ties to the Veneto Region. In fact, he arrived in Urbino just after his participation in the most extraordinary confluence of the *maniera moderna* at Palazzo Grimani in Venice, where he worked side by side with Francesco Salviati, Giovanni da Udine, and Camillo Mantovano.¹¹

Menzocchi's passage through Urbino was brief, allowing him just enough time, outside his own work, to notice the talent of that ten-year-old child. But just how might he have influenced the youngster? Andrea Emiliani (and Babette Bohn, as confirmed in the 2012 St. Louis catalogue) pointed to a few drawings by Menzocchi that may have been welcome examples for the young apprentice. Due to Menzocchi's technique using pen and ink highlighted with white, these studies appear quick, blotched, and radiant, similar to those of the younger painter. In discussing Barocci's first known work, the *Saint Cecilia* at Urbino Cathedral (Color Plate 8), Emiliani also saw a trace of that same iridescence that Menzocchi achieved in his *Magdalen* in the Urbino *Deposition*.¹²

It seems to me that in addition to the obvious references to Raphael and to Marcantonio Raimondi, Barocci's *Saint Cecilia* and its renowned preparatory drawing in Stuttgart¹³ (Figure 3.1) were strongly influenced by the presence of Raffaellino del Colle. That artist was active in the Duchy of Urbino for about 30 years, between 1525 and 1555. Specifically, Raffaellino's impact can be seen in the *Magdalen* with her bare shoulder and in *Saint Catherine* with her classically styled torso veiled in transparencies (Color Plate 8), evident when Barocci's early *Santa Cecilia* is compared to Raffaellino's *Calumny* in the Villa Imperiale in Pesaro.¹⁴ It is worth noting that I believe *Saint Catherine's* torso is based on a study, done after the antique, that is found on the right portion of a sheet in the Uffizi that was later reused to draw the right leg of *Saint Jude* (in reverse) for the *Madonna of Saint Simon* (Figure 3.2).¹⁵



Figure 3.1 Saint Cecilia with Saints Mary Magdalen, John the Evangelist, Paul, and Catherine, ca. 1556, pen and brown ink with brown wash heightened with white over black and some red chalk, laid down, 31.8 × 23 cm, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart/Graphische Sammlung, inv. 1338 (Cat. 1).

Photo: Staatsgalerie Stuttgart/Graphische Sammlung.



Figure 3.2 Study of a female torso after the antique and a leg for Saint John in the Madonna of Saint Simon, ca. 1567, red and black chalk, 20.8 × 18.3 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11521 F (Figure 32).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 3.3 Francesco Menzocchi, *Study for a Deposition*, recto, brown ink and black chalk, 17.8 × 24 cm, Private collection.

Photo: Courtesy of Colnaghi, London.

In getting back to Menzocchi, it should be remembered that he traveled between Romagna, Pesaro, and Loreto until at least 1555 and would have been able to follow young Barocci's progress. Furthermore, he would certainly have emphasized to his pupil the importance of modeling, since Menzocchi was known to have been an excellent sculptor of stucco work. Then (presumably while smiling,) Menzocchi would have urged the young Barocci to place prominently, even in religious stories, the small episodes of pleasure, those *bagatelle* for which Barocci would become famous.¹⁶

Finally, Barocci's memory was imprinted with a few of the more unforgettable moments in Menzocchi's Santa Croce *Deposition*, such as the youth climbing up the ladder with his cloak fluttering in the breeze or the group of the three sorrowful women to one side of Christ's body. On the recto of a preparatory drawing for the *Deposition* (Figure 3.3), Menzocchi sketched out what seems to be a starting point for Barocci's *Entombment of Christ* at Senigallia—especially when we keep in mind that until the final moment, Barocci seems to have planned his composition in the opposite orientation. With some surprise, we discover that on the reverse of that drawing (Figure 3.4), Menzocchi had laid out an initial idea that was iconographically different from his work on the recto. Most important for us, Barocci might have looked to this composition when he began to think about the Perugia *Deposition* (Color Plate 2), especially the poses for Christ and for the youth with his back turned on the ladder at the left. One could even imagine that this sheet may have been part of the personal collection of drawings “di diversi valenthuomini,” carefully kept by Barocci in his workshop and inventoried at his death.¹⁷



Figure 3.4 Francesco Menzocchi, *Study for a Deposition*, verso, brown ink and black chalk, 17.8 × 24 cm, Private collection.

Photo: Courtesy of Colnaghi, London.

Menzocchi left Urbino in mid-1544, which brings us to the second episode in Bellori's story:

Federico's resolve received the approval of his uncle Bartolomeo Genga, the architect of Duke Guidobaldo, and he placed him with Battista Veneziano, whom that prince had summoned on his advice to paint the vault of the choir of the cathedral.¹⁸

Again, we have an episode that is fairly well documented. The Venetian Battista Franco (Bellori's Battista Veneziano) had undergone solid training both in Rome and in Florence. In Florence, he became good friends with Bartolomeo Ammannati and with Bartolomeo Genga, Barocci's so-called uncle, who in reality was his father Ambrogio's cousin.¹⁹ Franco was called to Urbino by Genga to take up painting for the vault in the cathedral choir. He worked uninterrupted on this and other projects given him by Duke Guidobaldo from mid-1544 to mid-1546.²⁰

According to Giorgio Vasari, it seems that the frescoes in the cathedral, which were almost completely destroyed in an earthquake in 1789, did not enjoy great success. Nonetheless, in painting the cathedral frescoes that were made "in imitation of the Last Judgment by Buonarroti" (Figures 3.5 and 3.6), as retold by Vasari who saw the frescoes in 1548,²¹ Franco introduced into the balanced world of Urbino—stylistically suspended at the time between Raphael and Titian—the Michelangesque manner in which he excelled, especially evident in his drawings (Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.5 Battista Franco, *Angels*, 1544–46, fresco, Cathedral, Urbino.
Photo: Courtesy of the author. Permission by Museo Albani.



Figure 3.6 Michelangelo, *Ignudo*, reversed, Sistine Chapel, Vatican.
Photo: Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.

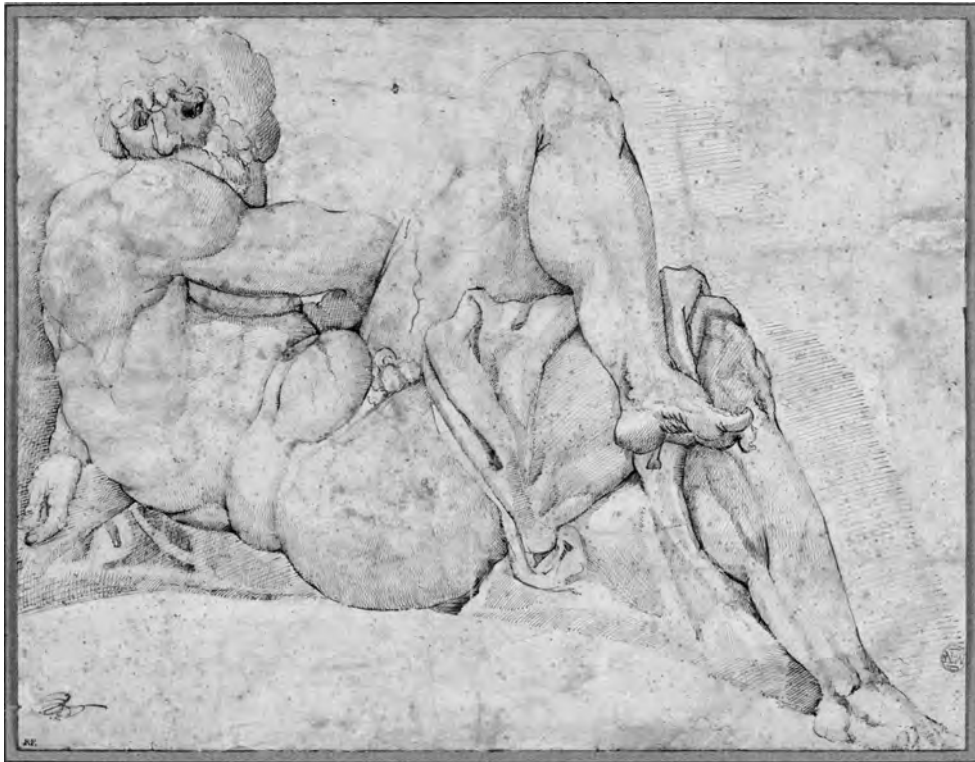


Figure 3.7 Battista Franco, *Copy after Michelangelo's 'Il Giorno,'* ca. 1536, brown ink and black chalk, 26.5 × 34.2 cm, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris, inv. 751 recto.

Photo: © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Thierry Le Mage/Art Resource, NY.

At his side was his young pupil Barocci, at the time between 11 and 13 years old, whom he instructed first in the practice of drawing sculpture, allowing the boy to develop a complete mastery of relief, understanding lights and shadows and also anatomy (Color Plates 9 and 10). “And because Battista had a great love of ancient statues, he made Federico practice constantly drawing plaster casts and reliefs, to which study he applied himself with love and diligence....”²² For Barocci, his manner of *sculptural* drawing,²³—meticulous, with close cross-hatching in the shadows so the light areas would stand out—was enormously useful around 1580 when he decided to take up etching.

The artist never abandoned anatomical study. So apparently cold, these forms seem almost incompatible with the supple sense of the skin he used in what we might term the “patination” of his bodies. This is precisely what will become one of Barocci's strengths, the transient rendering of surfaces, gestures, and sentiments that will meld into a casing that seems to perfectly control the internal supporting structures, invisible once the work is completed but essential for the architectonic solidity of the

composition (Figures 3.8 and 3.9). We should not forget that the personal physician to Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere, and consequently, the physician who cared for Barocci during his famous illness that caused his retreat from Rome in 1563, was Bartolomeo Eustachi. The fame of this great scholar is tied not only to the *Eustachian tube*, but also to the *Tabulae anatomicae*, whose drawings were attributed to various artists from Giulio Romano to Titian, and which must have been known to the artistic and scientific community in Urbino.²⁴

The Michelangelesque training from Battista Franco inevitably left its mark. In his excellent work on Barocci's drawings, Edmund Pillsbury identified the copying process and adaptation from Michelangelo's head of Adam in the Sistine Ceiling that Barocci used in preparing one of the apostles for his *Last Supper* (see Color Plate 15).²⁵ When Barocci began what can be considered his true *opera prima*, the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* for the Urbino Cathedral dating from 1557–58, his compositional point of departure came from Sebastiano del Piombo's *Martyrdom of Saint Agatha*, at the time in Pesaro in the Della Rovere collection.²⁶ But the idea of the *double face* between the saint and his executioner, the symmetrical and inverted contrapositioning of the two figures, appears to be Barocci's reflection on Michelangelo and on how painting—to the same degree as sculpture—can represent the human body as a three-dimensional reality, a central issue of the *Paragone*.²⁷



Figure 3.8 Battista Franco, *Study for Fighters*, brown ink and black chalk, 17.8 × 15.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris, inv. 4969.

Photo: © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Suzanne Nagy/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 3.9 *Study for Saint John, Nicodemus, and Christ*, pen and brown ink with brown wash and one stroke of black chalk, 27.3 × 16.1 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1417 E. recto (Cat. 8.4 recto).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

So, I think that Battista Franco's knowledge of drawing—which Vasari said was second to none—and some of his adaptations taken from Michelangelo of surging figures, must have had a profound influence on the young Barocci, so much so that they were not soon forgotten. For example, clear correlations with such figures by Franco appear in his *Saint Sebastian*. Later, when he worked on the preparatory drawings for his *Deposition* (Color Plate 11), in conceptualizing the woman at the base of the Cross with outstretched arms, he was undoubtedly recalling a similar expressive female figure with open arms that Franco had studied (Figure 3.10).²⁸ The method Franco often used to convey the pose of a head, with black chalk on blue paper, is so similar to a fully developed Barocci that they might easily be confused.²⁹ If my impression is correct, and this method is indeed characteristic of Barocci's early work, it may help us to resolve the subsequent chronology problem. Bellori wrote: "When Battista left Urbino, Federico moved to Pesaro and stayed in the house of Genga."³⁰ But which departure did Bellori mean? There are three chronological possibilities for Battista's departure that would have inaugurated Barocci's third phase.

Franco left Urbino in mid-1546 to work in Fabriano and Osimo, returning in late 1547 to prepare the celebrations for the marriage of Duke Guidobaldo to Vittoria Farnese, which was to take place on January 26, 1548. By this date, however, Battista had already gone to Rome (at least according to Vasari) where he decorated the Gabrielli Chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva that was finished by 1550. He was



Figure 3.10 Battista Franco, *Study for a Figure*, reversed, ca. 1550, pen and ink, 15.5 cm × 15.5 cm, Private collection.

Photo: Courtesy of Jean-Luc Baroni

back in Urbino in 1551 and took on the commission for the frescoes in the Cappella del Sacramento in the Cathedral. But, in February 1552, he finally relocated to Venice.³¹ So, when was it: 1546, 1548, or 1552? I think we can settle on the middle solution. The first—when Barocci was only 13 years old—can easily be eliminated since the artist was too young. Since the last date seems to be too late, the evidence supporting the middle date is most compelling. Bellori stated that while Barocci was in Pesaro the Gengas “granted him permission to study the paintings of Titian and the works of the other principal masters that were then in the Duke’s Gallery there; and at the same time he [Genga] taught him geometry, architecture and perspective, in which subjects he [Barocci] became learned.”³² This description fits precisely with what was covered in a typical apprenticeship for a 15-to-20-year-old artist, making the middle date the most reasonable since it places Barocci’s move to Pesaro in his 16th year.

“Having reached the age of twenty and stimulated in his desire to succeed by the name of his compatriot, Raphael, he [Barocci] resolved to go to Rome.”³³ So, Bellori placed him in Rome at 20. Based on the hypothesis that he was born in 1533, it would mean 1553, as Judith Mann has affirmed.³⁴ And it could not have been a more appropriate year. In April 1553, Duke Guidobaldo went to Rome to officially take on his appointment as Captain General of the Church. His entourage included Bartolomeo Genga³⁵ who, at the time we will recall, had taken in Barocci. What better time than this to go to Rome? And as Bellori tells us, a few months later even Taddeo Zuccari returned from Urbino to Rome—where he took Barocci under his wing.³⁶

The intense solidarity between the two countrymen has been underscored many times, from Harald Olsen to Nicholas Turner.³⁷ Nevertheless, it is Bellori’s account

that makes us insistent on this. The concatenation of these episodes, which according to the biographer characterizes Barocci's youth, mirrors in a suspicious way the narrative of Taddeo Zuccari's youth, woven by Federico Zuccari in his famous *graphic novel* dedicated to his older brother.³⁸ Taddeo's activities were captured in several vignettes:

- Showing his assiduousness in studying by the light of night;
- the mortifications endured from makeshift and worthless *maestri* like Santagnolo and Pierleone Genga;
- Undertaking studies from antiquity;
- Making copies from Raphael in the loggia at the Farnesina;
- Copying from Polidoro and Maturino's painted façades;
- Copying from Michelangelo, including the widely known anecdote about meeting the old Maestro riding a mule;
- and finally, the return to his homeland due to illness or *stress* (as we would say today), opting for the consoling province as opposed to the grueling metropolis.

This narrative scheme used by Bellori constructs a sort of *parallel life* between Barocci and Zuccari, although it hides the tight bond that united the two painters; at least at this phase in their lives. We can be certain that Barocci did not stay in Rome beyond the first few months of 1555 because his first documented work—the *Martyrdom of Saint Margaret* for the Corpus Domini Church in Urbino—was paid for on January 1, 1556.³⁹ Therefore, his time in Rome amounted to a little less than two years.

In addition to his canonical studies on the *classics*, Barocci was able to frequent two worksites with Taddeo Zuccari. The first was at Villa Giulia, where Bartolomeo Genga's Florentine friend Bartolomeo Ammannati (by now something of an Urbiniate via his marriage to the poetess Laura Battiferri) oversaw a team of sculptors and stucco workers, among whom was Federico Brandani from Urbino.⁴⁰ Perhaps, as I have proposed elsewhere, the beautiful sheet in the Uffizi of a reclining river god records a visit by Barocci to the famous nymphaeum at the Papal Villa.⁴¹ At this same site, Taddeo Zuccari, working side by side with Prospero Fontana, solidified his knowledge of Emilian painting, with which he had some familiarity through his lessons from Daniele Porri from Parma.⁴² Perhaps Barocci was there to watch, thus contributing to his knowledge of other Parmesan artists such as Parmigianino and Correggio.

The second worksite was the Mattei Chapel in the Church of Santa Maria della Consolazione, Taddeo Zuccari's first completely autonomous work, where he labored from 1553 to 1556. Certainly up on the scaffolding, Barocci had time to observe the knowledgeable synthesis that Taddeo blended among the styles of Raphael, Sebastiano del Piombo, Michelangelo, and Daniele da Volterra. Barocci remained deeply impressed by this exposure—both in the short and long terms—especially when he undertook scenes with many figures.

These chapel walls mark the beginnings of a layering process and of reflections that carried Barocci to his first great masterpiece, the Perugia *Deposition* (Color Plate 2), where nothing he had seen before was forgotten or removed. There, it all melded into a single, inimitable expression. There we first experience the full art of Barocci. In response, all we can do is remain silent.

In conclusion, however, I would like to recall a little literary curiosity that I believe has been omitted from Barocci's official bibliography. It is a short eulogy in Latin composed by Pierleone Casella, an erudite man born in L'Aquila about 1540 and who died in Rome

in 1620. He was in contact with Cesare Ripa and the Urbino circles of the Gengas and the Zuccari. In 1606, Casella published *Elogia Illustrium Artificum* in Lyon, which was uncovered by Ernst Gombrich in 1987.⁴³ Among these illustrious artificers, under the category “Usus/Practice,” along with Tintoretto, Pordenone, and Francesco Salviati, is:

Federicus Barocius.

Gravitas, et venustas ex unius, coelesti tamen, pennicillo pendent.

O patria Urbinum, o nomen fidei, et germanitatis amabile!/
 Federicus Barocius.

Solemnity and beauty flow from this one man’s brush, but a heavenly brush.

O Urbino, his homeland, o beloved name for faith and brotherly concord!⁴⁴

Notes

- 1 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 180; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 160.
- 2 Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de’ pittori, scultori et architetti dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a’ tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642* (Rome, 1642), Jacob Hess and Herwarth Röttgen, eds., 3 vols., Vatican City, 1995, 1, 134.
- 3 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 20.
- 4 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 182–83; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 161.
- 5 Alessandra Giannotti and Claudio Pizzorusso, *Federico Barocci 1535–1612. L’incanto del colore. Una lezione per due secoli*, Exh. cat. (Siena), Cinisello Balsamo, 2009.
- 6 Fert Sangiorgi, *Committenze milanesi a Federico Barocci e alla sua scuola nel carteggio Vicenzi della Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino*, Urbino, 1982, 57–58.
- 7 Judith W. Mann, “Innovation and Inspiration. An Introduction to Federico Barocci,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 29 n. 5.
- 8 “I Barocci a Urbino tra arte e scienza,” International Conference, Urbino, October, 5–6, 2012.
- 9 “e ’l padre, che lavorava di cavo e di rilievo modelli, sigilli ed astrolabii, l’indirizzò al disegno, al quale egli si mossæ con tanto incitamento e grazia straordinaria, che essendo capitato quivi Francesco Mensocchi da Forlì, con occasione che portò alla Confraternità di Santa Croce il quadro della Deposizione di Cristo di sua mano, prese ferma speranza del giovinetto, e l’esortò ad applicarsi tutto alla pittura.” Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 180–81; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 160.
- 10 Matteo Ceriana, in Anna Colombi Ferretti and Luciana Prati, *Francesco Menzocchi. Forlì 1502–1574*, Exh. cat., Forlì, 2003, 243–48.
- 11 *Ibid.*, *passim*.
- 12 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 1, 39; Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 34–35.
- 13 Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 72–75.
- 14 For a photograph, see Giuseppe Marchini, *La Villa Imperiale di Pesaro*, Pesaro, [1968], pl. XXI.
- 15 Inv. no. 11521 F in the Uffizi. For the full sheet, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 46, Figure 32.
- 16 For instance, compare the Angels playing instruments in Barocci’s study for the *Madonna of Saint Simon* (Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 2849) and Menzocchi’s *Virgin with Child* (Florence, Uffizi, GDS, ill. in Colombi Ferretti and Prati, *Francesco Menzocchi*, 2003, 41, Figure 12).
- 17 Calzini, “Lo ‘Studio’ del Barocci,” 1913, 80. (See Appendix I.)
- 18 “Fu tale risoluzione di Federico [di applicarsi tutto alla pittura] approvata dal zio Bartolomeo Genga architetto del duca Guidobaldo, il quale accomodollo con Battista Veneziano, chiamato col suo mezzo da quel principe a dipingere la volta del Coro dell’Arcivescovato.” Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 181; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 160.
- 19 This observation was first made by Fert Sangiorgi, *Committenze milanesi a Federico Barocci alla sua scuola nel carteggio Vicenzi della Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino*. Urbino, 1982, 56–68.

- 20 Fabrizio Biferali and Massimo Firpo, *Battista Franco 'pittore veneziano' nella cultura artistica e nella vita religiosa del Cinquecento*, Pisa, 2007, chaps. 1–2; Anne Varick Lauder, *Battista Franco*, “Musée du Louvre. Département des Arts Graphiques. Inventaire général des dessins italiens,” 8, Paris-Milan, 2009, 19–36.
- 21 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, Florence, 1568 (1881), 6, 580–81, “a imitazione del Giudizio del Buonarroti.”
- 22 “E perché Battista era studioso delle statue antiche, faceva del continuo esercitar Federico in disegnare gessi e rilievi, al quale studio egli si diede con amore ed assiduità...” Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 181; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 160.
- 23 Claudio Pizzorusso, “Federico Barocci e il paradosso dell' ‘ottimo scultore’,” in Giannotti and Pizzorusso, *Federico Barocci*, 2009, 56–57.
- 24 Maria Muccillo, “Bartolomeo Eustachi,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 43, 1993, *ad vocem*.
- 25 Edmund P. Pillsbury, in Pillsbury and Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, 1978, 86–87.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 30–31. We should keep in mind that Sebastiano was one of the closest friends of Battista Franco. For an image of the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 4.
- 27 For the proposed links with Michelangelo see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 150–52, and Pizzorusso, in Giannotti and Pizzorusso, *Federico Barocci*, 2009, 59–60, 65 n. 53.
- 28 When the study was sold at Halls Fine Art Auctions, Shrewsbury, UK, in the March 24, 2010, sale, it was catalogued “Italian School 17th century, ‘Figure with arms outstretched’, sepia ink, bears signature ‘Battista Fra’,”
- 29 For instance, the magnificent *Study for a Figure*, Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 10921 (Lauder, *Battista Franco*, 2009, 275–76).
- 30 “Partitosi Battista da Urbino, Federico si trasferì a Pesaro in casa del Genga. / After Battista left Urbino, Federico moved to Pesaro into the house of Genga.” Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 181; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 160.
- 31 See above n. 17.
- 32 [Genga] gli [to Barocci] diede commodità di studiare nella galleria del duca le pitture che vi erano di Tiziano e di altri primi maestri; e nel tempo stesso gl'insegnava geometria, architettura, prospettiva, nelle quali discipline divenne erudite.” Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 181; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 160.
- 33 “Ma essendo egli pervenuto all'età di venti anni, stimolato dal desiderio di lode e dal nome di Raffaello suo compatriota, fece risoluzione di andare a Roma.” *Ibid.*
- 34 Mann, “Innovation and Inspiration,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 2.
- 35 Vasari, *Le vite*, 6, 328.
- 36 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 182–83; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 161; Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, Rome, 1998–99, 1, 31.
- 37 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 22–24, 43; Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 2000, 15, 19, 22–25.
- 38 Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari*, 1998–99, 1, 10–23.
- 39 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 138.
- 40 Julia Vicioso, “L'impiego dei materiali per Bartolomeo Ammannati nel ninfeo della Villa Giulia a Roma,” in *Bartolomeo Ammannati scultore e architetto 1511–1592*, International Conference (Florence-Lucca, March, 17–19th 1994), Niccolò Rosselli Del Turco and Federica Salvi, eds., Florence, 1995, 281–96.
- 41 Florence 11330 F. recto. See Pizzorusso, in Giannotti and Pizzorusso, *Federico Barocci*, 2009, 56–58.
- 42 Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari*, 1998–99, 1, 3, 14, 22 n. 59, 31.
- 43 Ernst H. Gombrich, “An Early Seventeenth-Century Canon of Artistic Excellence. Pierleone Casella's ‘Elogia Illustrum Artificum’ of 1606,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 227.
- 44 Ernst H. Gombrich, “An Early Seventeenth-Century Canon of Artistic Excellence. Pierleone Casella's ‘Elogia Illustrum Artificum’ of 1606,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 227.

4 Barocci and the legacy of the artistic tradition of his homeland

*Alessandra Giannotti**

Over decades of study dedicated to the art of Federico Barocci, multiple investigative strategies have been used in attempting to evaluate his artistic essence and to grasp its precise nature. Although the key interpretative approaches have covered a wide range, these inquiries have focused mainly on Barocci's extraordinary ability to produce evocative devotional paintings through his use of color, light, and naturalism. Barocci's name has most often invoked an association with "the enchantment of color,"¹ by which I mean not only the chromatic harmony that he sought, but also musical harmonies that recall the musical chapel at Urbino. It is almost as if Barocci's knowledge of Venetian tonal painting, achieved via his study of the Della Rovere collections, had induced in him a desire to search for a superior intonation of color. My essay, however, is designed to go beyond the image of Barocci the colorist to investigate Barocci as a naturalistic—and therefore modern—painter whom Giovan Battista Marino praised in 1620, beyond the traditional *topos* of art triumphing over nature:

So great a one Barocci was that you,
O Nature, emulous and criminal,
Killed him. Because he made your brushes his,
Jealously you did him in. For if
He could not fashion living men
He exposed the soulless with fanciful colors
And made others believe the depicted lived.²

Barocci's paintings contain simple narrative elements referring to daily life that are designed to render sacred iconography more approachable and emotionally engaging, as one sees in the *Madonna della Gatta* (Figure 4.1) with the still-life discretely placed in the foreground. Here one finds Joseph's axe and compass together with wood shavings and a cracked step made of the fragile stone from Cesane much used in Urbino. The quotidian thus permeates his paintings by way of an extraordinary variety of inventions: polished copper and a trussed lamb for the Pesaro *Circumcision* (Figure 8.10, now at the Louvre), busy boys fussing with crockery around the Apostles and Christ in the *Last Supper* (Figure 4.2) and the pungent basket of live hens in the Vallicella *Visitation* (Color Plate 23). In these

* I would thank Judith Mann and Andrew Hopkins who provided the translation of my text.

settings laden with *naïveté*, Barocci translated the visual features of his Urbino with its workshops and its artisans, deploying the same simple vocabulary that ceramicists converted into the miniature sculptures that animated courtly tables and desks beginning in the early 1550s. They were created for the Della Rovere by such maiolica-making families as the Fontana and Patanazzi (Antonio and Francesco).³ Including inkwells, little fountains, vases for liqueurs, and even a small portable chapel, these works were fashioned as delightful and pithy *tableaux-vivants* that reveal a narrative wit similar to Barocci's.⁴ They privilege the transitory and casual nature of certain scenes in which apparently insignificant narrative details—often captured in the middle of an action—are emphasized. Barocci's still-lives, with their concise and essential nature as seen in the Senigallia *Entombment of Christ* (Color Plate 1) and the *Madonna della Gatta* (Figure 4.1), recall the fragile tools of the trade that decorated the inkwells made in the Patanazzi workshop.⁵ Their protagonists eat, drink, sleep, and pray, exactly like Barocci's actors.⁶ So too do animals rise to play the role of protagonist, contributing to these domestic sculptural groupings with their soothing presence that renders the setting more affectively engaging.



Figure 4.1 *Madonna della Gatta*, ca. 1595–1600, oil on canvas, 233 × 179 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 5375.

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

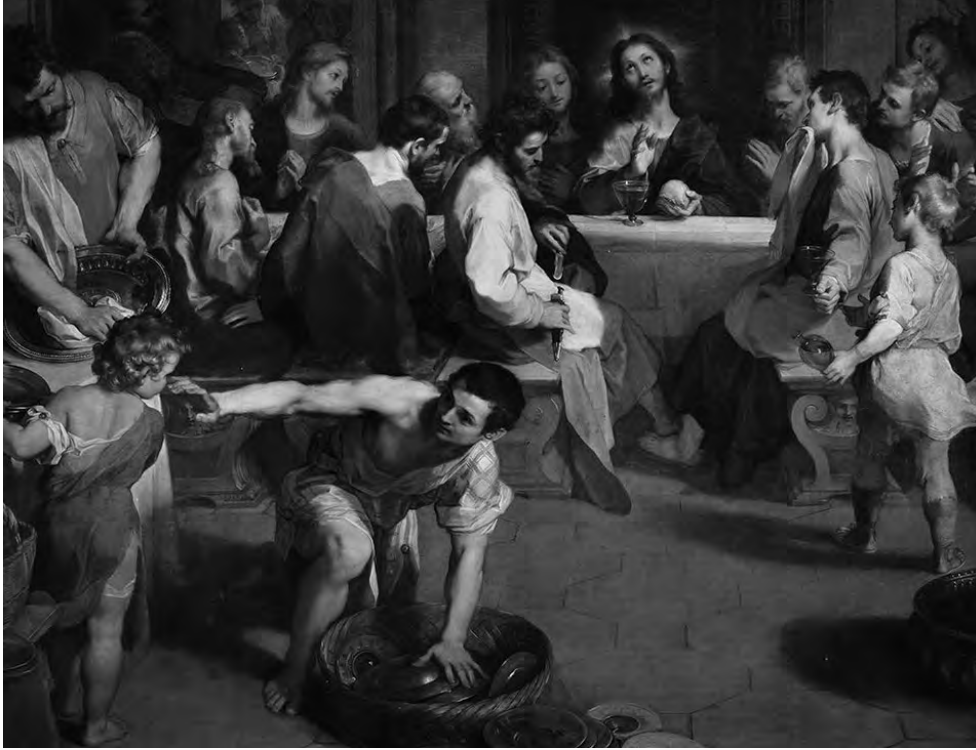


Figure 4.2 *Last Supper*, 1590–99, oil on canvas, 299 × 322 cm, Chapel of the Santissimo Sacramento, Cathedral, Urbino (Cat. 12)

Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Given that Federico had grown up in contact with the kilns of Casteldurante (today Urbania), Urbino, and Pesaro, his closeness to the Della Rovere pottery tradition is unsurprising. Indeed, since Girolamo Genga's time artists had been collaborating with the local potters and stucco workers, as demonstrated by Federico Brandani's emblematic case. That artist made the jump from stucco relief to monumental statuary with an Emilian flavor, as evidenced in his life-sized plasters in the Oratorio di San Giuseppe in Urbino (Figures 4.3 and 4.4).⁷ This same kind of attention to local custom would later enable Battista Franco, Barocci's second master, to create magnificent table services for the crowned heads of Europe. Even Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro (Taddeo having been a promoter of our painter on his first Roman sojourn) benefited from their mastery of Emilian ceramic tradition.⁸ Indeed, there are examples of painters who left the craft of painting and turned to maiolica. This was not, however, a one-way movement. There was also a flux of artists from Barocci's *milieu*, such as Antonio Viviani and Giorgio Picchi, who abandoned the well-remunerated family traditions of the ceramic workshops to become painters.⁹ This happened in the case of Ottaviano Viviani, author of the Santissimo Sacramento chapel stuccoes in the Duomo of Urbino, who was perhaps a relative of Barocci's most able assistant, Antonio Viviani.¹⁰



Figure 4.3 Federico Brandani, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1545–50, stucco, Oratory of San Giuseppe, Urbino.

Photo: Courtesy of the author.



Figure 4.4 Federico Brandani, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, detail, 1545–50, stucco, Oratory of San Giuseppe, Urbino.

Photo: Courtesy of the author.

In creating his figures, Barocci demonstrated an up-to-date knowledge of monumental statuary such as Emilian terracotta groups that offered noble, more classical models. Confirmation of Federico's much-discussed Emilian sojourn (and his encounter with Correggio in Parma) can be found in the visual links between his works and the terracottas of Guido Mazzoni and Antonio Begarelli (Figures 4.2 and 4.5). Further proof that Barocci was inspired by sculpture is revealed in the correspondence between Francesco Menzocchi's figurative models and those of the "Bolognese" sculptor Alfonso Lombardi.¹¹ Menzocchi was, after all, Barocci's first master. The fact that Menzocchi had not disdained the additive practice of sculpture (*per via di porre*) when he and Girolamo Genga fashioned stuccoes for the Vatican Sala Regia, suggests a reason for Barocci's attunement to the sculptor's art.¹² Despite not being a sculptor, Barocci seems to have acquired sufficient expertise in this field. Bellori noted that the artist usually tested the verisimilitude of his narrative constructions by creating small models in clay or wax and illuminating them with candle light: "Once he had made the design he would fashion models of the figures in clay or wax, of such beauty that they seemed made by the hand of an excellent sculptor; and sometimes he would not be satisfied with just one, but would make two or three wax models repeating the same figure."¹³

Given our better understanding of the young Federico's native figurative heritage, one can conjecture that his "bagatelle," those depictions of landscapes, animals, and fruits that are listed in the workshop at the moment of his death, would have been based, at least in part, on a strong local tradition.¹⁴ Babette Bohn, following Harald Olsen (1965), further explored this line of enquiry in her discussion of Barocci's landscape drawings. It isn't possible, however, to fully investigate them since only 30 of the nearly 170 landscapes that were documented in the inventory are extant.¹⁵



Figure 4.5 Antonio Begarelli, *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, detail, 1544, terracotta, San Domenico, Modena.

Photo: Arcidiocesi di Modena-Nonantola, Chiesa di San Domenico (archivio dell'Ufficio Diocesano per i Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici).

Only rarely can these works be linked to known paintings, such as the *Moses and the Serpent* frescoes in the Vatican (Figure 4.9) with their various trees that echo those in some of the artist's landscape studies.¹⁶ Instead, most of them should be seen as Barocci's botanical or petrographic investigations in which he used varying drawing techniques, demonstrating a particularly skillful judgment and an unusually inventive freedom that reflects widely disparate sources. Particularly important for our analysis is the contact with Venetian and Roman artists (most of whom Barocci met in Rome), as well as Federico's immersion in the culture of the Urbino court. For example, from 1530 onwards, Urbino had become the center for experimental approaches to and uses of landscape painting. Giovan Francesco Picenardi, called "The Poet," was referring to work being done in Urbino when he wrote the following words to Giovan Giacomo Calandra, secretary of Duke Federico of Mantua "Truly most excellent vases and painted with landscapes."¹⁷

Such decorations must have functioned as inspiration for local masters of maiolica such as Taviano di Bernardino and Nicola da Urbino (Figure 4.6), but also for foreigners who came to Urbino, such as Francesco Xanto Aveli from Rovigo (Figure 4.7).¹⁸ Nicola da Urbino was sensitive to the fascination for Raphaelesque historical scenes. He also responded to Northern prints, and although they were at times academic, they provided useful models of narrative insertions marked by an immediate freshness. Xanto, who only came to Urbino in 1530, was more strictly a naturalist, in accordance with his Venetian origins. Maiolica became the variegated *lingua franca* that Guido Durantino (alias Fontana) and his numerous progeny also employed. Girolamo and Giacomo Lanfranchi, who came from the port of Pesaro, also upheld and passed on the Della Rovere ceramic traditions, beginning in 1518, which was the year of the transfer of the ducal court to that coastal city.¹⁹ These masters aimed at providing a more approachable naturalistic context than could be gotten from etchings, which at the time were the indispensable figurative sources for pottery decoration. Indeed, master ceramicists were able to compare their work with the celebrated monumental frescoes in Pesaro, such as those created in the 1530s by Girolamo Genga and his team of collaborators who used a hybrid naturalistic formula at the Villa Imperiale and the Ducal Palace.²⁰ Camillo Mantovano and Francesco Menzocchi, Raffaellino dal Colle, Bronzino, and the two Dossi had established a new cultural mode. Building on a base of Raphaelism, their own Florentine, Venetian, and Paduan figurative elements developed and grew. This new cultural mode in turn spawned the imaginary botanical and zoological repertoires painted in the large landscapes in the Loggiato of the secret garden and the adjacent room in the Ducal Palace. Such imagery also appears in the room of the Caryatids, the room of the Labors of Hercules, and the Oath Room in the old Imperiale. In their way, these paintings may have served as a sort of "synoptic table," given the extensive variety of naturalistic details they encompassed. Barocci certainly could not have been ignorant of these works given his persistent presence at the ducal court, where he came because of his close links with Bartolomeo Genga, son of Girolamo, the master who had created those paintings.²¹

Because of his interest in landscape, Barocci may have also known the work of Gherardo Cibo who, in the middle of the 1560s, was deemed to be the best painter of plants by the famous botanist Pietro Andrea Mattioli.²² This is not to underestimate Taddeo Zuccaro's influence on Barocci's representation of landscape. We know that the older painter's nimble and atmospheric scenery in the frescoes of the Mattei



Figure 4.6 Nicola da Urbino workshop, *Cup with the Judgment of Paris*, 1530, tin-glazed earthenware, Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza.

Photo: Courtesy of MIC – International Museum of Ceramics in Faenza.



Figure 4.7 Attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli da Rovigo, *Plate with the Roman She-Wolf and Romulus and Remus*, 1533(?), tin-glazed lustrated earthenware, dia: 26.6 cm, depth: 4 cm, The British Museum London.

Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Chapel in Santa Maria della Consolazione in Rome (Figure 4.8) had already been completed by 1556.²³ Barocci demonstrated his adherence to Zuccaro's type of terrain in the Vatican *Moses and the Serpent* (Figure 4.9), which should be considered Barocci's first significant landscape.²⁴ But he also learned from Cibo, a descendant of Pope Innocent VIII and related to Vigerio Della Rovere, who had a brief ecclesiastical career before he joined the retinue of Francesco Maria I Della Rovere between 1527 and 1538. He was also involved in military campaigns.

From the moment of his arrival in Pesaro, Cibo cultivated a passion for graphic work, perhaps discovering landscape through exposure to the topography depicted in some of the large paintings there. This unusual interest was nourished by his journeys to Germany, France, Spain, and Flanders. Like Barocci but some decades before him, Cibo knowingly withdrew to the Marche after having experienced firsthand the glories of Rome, choosing to reside in Rocca Contrada, today Arcevia, a town about 40 miles from Urbino. It is legitimate to hypothesize that Gherardo and Federico knew each other since their mutual interests would have undoubtedly provided occasions for personal encounters; there are convincing analogies between their respective artistic and existential choices. At Senigallia, where the Cibo family dominated from 1476 until 1570, with at least three Vigerio Della Rovere bishops,²⁵ Barocci worked on two commissions, although he stayed there only sporadically. Gherardo surely played a significant role there, beyond simply the Bishopric. Beginning in the fourteenth century, Cibo bishops retreated to Arcevia in the summer months and there, at the end of the fifteenth century, Marco I Vigerio Della Rovere erected a new bishop's palace.²⁶



Figure 4.8 Taddeo Zuccaro, *Capture of Christ*, ca. 1556, fresco, Cappella Mattei, Santa Maria della Consolazione, Rome.

Photo: ICCD eFoto.



Figure 4.9 Moses and the Serpent, 1563, fresco, Museo Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Rome. Photo: © Vatican Museums.

Did Cibo know about Barocci's work in Senigallia and the Bishop's mediation between the artist and the Brothers of the Cross regarding the execution of the *Entombment* for their Oratory?²⁷ Senigallia could perhaps be considered the theater for a virtual encounter between the two painters, although both Fossombrone and the court at Urbino are equally probable venues for their artistic exchange. Cibo went to Fossombrone because of his sister Maddalena's marriage to Domenico Passionei—the reason his papers are today preserved in the eponymous archival collection in that city. Federico went there in the 1560s to work for the local Cappuchin community.²⁸

The Della Rovere court, however, was the most likely place for an intellectual encounter to have happened, where Federico was literally at home and Gherardo appears to have been highly regarded. After 1568, Cibo sent two copies of A. Mattioli's *I discorsi...nelli sei libri di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo delle materie medicinale* (Venice, 1568) to Urbino, precious scientific books that he had personally colored and furnished with magnificent landscape illustrations. He gave one to Giulio Della Rovere, Cardinal of Urbino, and a second to Duke Guidobaldo II, son of his long-time protector.²⁹ Such illustrations, habitual practice for naturalist *dilettanti* like

Gherardo, provided excellent proof of his unusual botanical and artistic skills. Not limited to the years passed at Pesaro, Cibo's engagement with the Della Rovere court covered the entire span of his life. This relationship is confirmed by a series of drawings with views of churches of the region that he executed for the city's bishop, as well as the correspondence that he undertook with the architect Girolamo Arduini.³⁰ In 1579, Gherardo sent Arduini his large book of landscapes in pen. Some years later (1591) he received in exchange a drawing by the court painter Giovanni Fiammingo. Within the Della Rovere *milieu*, Gherardo and Federico would have had many opportunities to expand their knowledge of northern European ideas about landscape, particularly from the massive numbers of Northern prints that crammed the workshops of the maiolica makers. These were sources that Cibo also knew from his early years when he assiduously studied the work of Hieronymus Cock and Cornelis Massys.³¹ These influences were reinforced by the prevalent taste for Flemish work at the Pesaro court. For example, starting in 1567, a Flemish painter called Zanino is documented there in contact with the Pandolfi family of painters.³² The personal tastes of Duke Francesco Maria II for northern artists was strongest between 1589 and 1603, when he provided a stipend to Jan Schepers, alias Giovanni Fiammingo, author of the landscapes sent to Cibo in 1591.³³ A close relationship between Cibo and Barocci gets further support when one considers the deep commitment each artist had to Franciscan spirituality. In both cases, their strong attachment to Franciscan ideals led them to choose a burial site in a church dedicated to Saint Francis in their respective cities of residence.³⁴ Gherardo had a strong family tradition in Franciscan devotion: Sixtus IV Della Rovere was General of the Order, and Marco Vigerio Della Rovere was nominated Protector. Furthermore, at the end of the sixteenth century, Gherardo's nephew Marco Passionei became a Cappuchin at Fossombrone with the name of Fra Benedetto, having been designated "blessed" for his evangelizing work.³⁵ Simple and sincere Assisian observance of religious feeling animated Cibo beginning in his early years in Flanders, prompting his dedication to fighting Protestant Reform based on the moral example of his uncle, the bishop of Senigallia Francesco Maria II Vigerio Della Rovere, who played an important role during the Council of Trent.³⁶ The mutual religious vocation shared by Barocci and Cibo was probably consummated and consolidated in the shadow of the Della Rovere court thanks to Cardinal Giulio Feltrio Della Rovere, nominated by Carlo Borromeo as the Protector of the Franciscan Order in 1564.³⁷ It was precisely at Rocca Contrada that the cardinal ordered a Crucifix with the Virgin and Saints from Barocci, today believed lost, but certainly known by Gherardo.³⁸

Cibo, although something of a *dilettante* landscape painter, can still be considered one of the most significant masters in this specialist *genre* before the Brill brothers arrived in Italy. Both Barocci's and Cibo's designs betray a similar love of nature in its multiple manifestations, privileging spontaneity and a naturalness of approach in their choices of framing and painterly method. In the absence of concrete evidence of encounters between Cibo and Barocci, the latter's works can be taken as proof of his knowledge of the former's landscapes. The experimental technique found in Cibo's drawings appears analogous to that which Barocci developed. Both regularly used pen and brown wash with dense blobs of lead white on cerulean-colored paper; sometimes they employed tempera on white paper. This is evident in Cibo's sketchbooks when one studies individual details. When they are isolated and examined closely, one can see how subtly and sensitively they have been rendered.

Analogies between the two draftsmen are just as strong in terms of their varying and elaborate compositional method (Figure 4.10 and Color Plate 12), marked by a strong and painterly execution. Alongside ample panoramic views of Northern inspiration (Figures 4.11 and 4.12), trees act as lateral elements that set off perfectly ordered compositions distinguished by a vibrant and nervous luminosity. The artists used soft parallel strokes to depict scenes of almost documentary verisimilitude in which the inhabitable spaces have undergone a rigorous process of volumetric simplification. The trees appear isolated and entirely decontextualized from any sense of space: their trunks are knotty and the leafy foliage branches out (Figure 4.13 and Color Plate 13). Both artists took their figurative models from Titian, following the style of Domenico Campagnola and Lambert Sustris. Federico also overlaid these with Muziano's very up-to-date modern synthesis of landscape and figure, perhaps something that was conveyed to him by Battista Franco. In fact, Franco might have brought to Urbino the naturalistic lessons he learned in Rome in 1549 when he worked with Muziano at the Gabrielli chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.³⁹ Certainly in Rome during his early sojourns, Barocci was ultimately provided with the possibility of widening his knowledge of the naturalism of northern art, bringing him close to Cornelis Cort who, following his magnificent engravings after Muziano's imaginative natural inventions of the 1560s, even spread Barocci's ideas.

Barocci was not only a naturalistic painter; he was a baroque painter too, as August Schmarsow demonstrated.⁴⁰ He was also a reformer as specified by Luigi Lanzi who, already in 1792, recognized a modernity that was born with Barocci in the Cinquecento and then flowered among the masters of the successive century.⁴¹ Barocci's preference

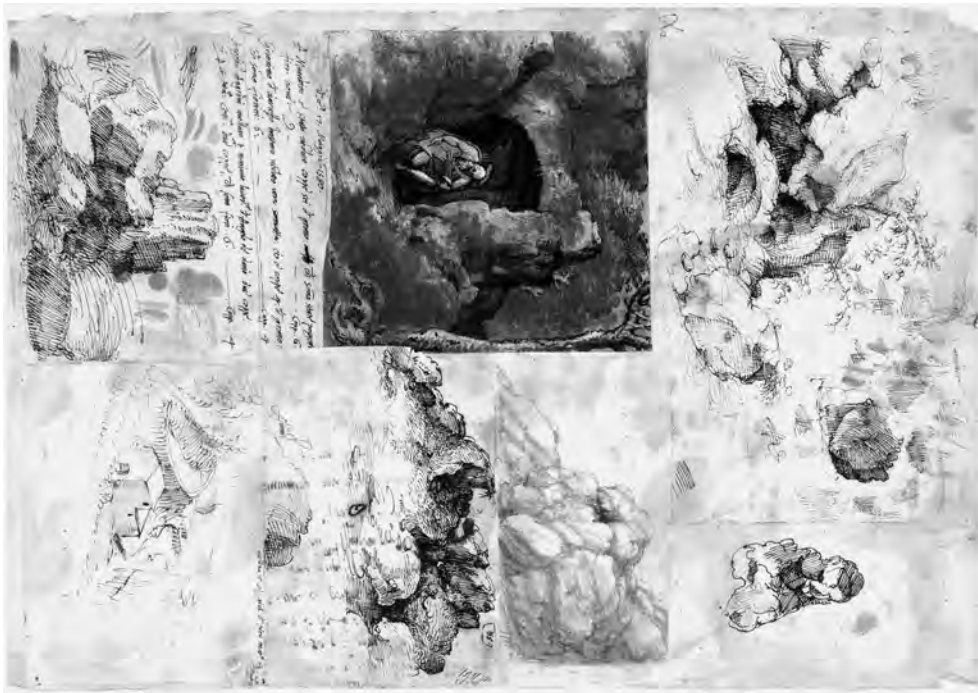


Figure 4.10 Gherardo Cibo, *Saint Jerome*, 1570s, pen and brown ink, brown wash, blue tempera heightened with white, 13.6 × 13.6 cm, Biblioteca Comunale, Jesi, Album C recto. Photo: Biblioteca comunale Planettiana di Jesi, Fondo disegni Gherardo Cibo. Photo by Ubaldi Fotovideo.



Figure 4.11 Gherardo Cibo, *Landscape with River and a Man*, 1570s, brown pen and wash, 23.7 × 34.3 cm, Biblioteca Passionei, Fossombrone, inv. Disegni, vol. 4, c. 45.
Photo: Comune di Fossombrone, Biblioteca Civica Passionei.



Figure 4.12 *Mountain Landscape with River*, 1565, pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash with white heightening on blue paper, 27.4 × 40.8 cm, Hamburger Kunsthalle inv. 21056.
Photo: bpk, Berlin/Hamburgerer Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Germany/Christoph Irrgang/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 4.13 Gherardo Cibo, *Landscape with Saint Mary Magdalen*, 1590s, black pen and brown wash, 28.3 × 41.5 cm, Biblioteca Comunale, Jesi, Album A.
 Photo: Biblioteca comunale Planettiana di Jesi, Fondo disegni Gherardo Cibo. Photo by Ubaldi Fotovideo

for spatial constructions based on textures of light and color combined with glances and gestures, rather than on a conventional geometric structure normally practiced by sixteenth-century artists, was certainly pioneering. No less modern was his innate sense of dynamism that mirrored the interior emotion of his figures in their gestures and expressions. In 1672, Giovan Pietro Bellori described Barocci's figures as all moving together in action, demonstrated in an exemplary way by the Perugia *Deposition* (Color Plate 2) to which Bellori referred.⁴² There, as elsewhere, Barocci drew upon the affecting circulation found in Emilian sculpture, something confirmed by the many analogies between Barocci's *Deposition* and the *Lamentation* of Alfonso Lombardi and Antonio Begarelli. It can be seen also in the correspondence between the heart-breaking *Madonna del Gatto* and the now-destroyed *Madonna and Child with Saint Giovannino* by Begarelli, formerly in Berlin.⁴³ One is best able to grasp the "Baroque Barocci" in the acquired capacity the artist exhibited to effect the formal dematerialization of his Saints and holy figures. In the Vatican *Blessed Michelina*, as in the Saint Francis of *Il Perdono* (Color Plate 18), the artist codified the depiction of "the internal fire of celestial love" and sweet ecstasy, a cardinal theme of seventeenth-century art. These understandings were based on his own unique experience and allowed Barocci to serve as the conduit and to pass this language of internal spirituality along to succeeding generations.⁴⁴ It is hoped that by looking at the full range of sources that Barocci drew upon for his figures and their accompanying props and landscape backgrounds, it is possible to appreciate how he managed to craft out of a wide range of Renaissance sources such affecting and novel compositions that led the way for baroque innovations of the next century.

Notes

- 1 Giannotti and Pizzorusso, *Federico Barocci*, 2009.
- 2 Giovan Battista Marino, *La Galeria. Distinta in Pitture, e Sculture* (1620), Venice 1675, 200.
 “Il gran Barozzi è questi,
 L’uccidesti Natura invida, e rea,
 Perché tolti I pennelli egli t’Havea,
 Invida l’uccidesti,
 Chè se crear non seppe huomini vivi,
 Benché d’anima privi, Fece à credere altrui con colori finti,
 Ch’eran vivi i dipinti.”
- 3 On this topic see Giuseppe Pagani, *La maiolica del Rinascimento in Casteldurante, Urbino e Pesaro da Pellipario ed i Fontana ai Patanazzi*, Fano, [1980]; Franco Negroni, “Una famiglia di ceramisti Urbinati: i Patanazzi,” *Faenza*, 84, no. 1–3 (1998), 104–15; Francesco Vossilla, “Maioliche urbinati dai Fontana ai Patanazzi,” *La maiolica*, ed. Gian Carlo Bojani, Florence, 2001, 92–102; Michael Brody, “An Unrecorded Documentary Work by Alfonso Patanazzi: A Dish Dated 1610 with the ‘Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines’,” *Faenza*, 89, no. 1–6 (2003), 9–23; Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi, “Alla ricerca di Antonio Patanazzi,” *Faenza*, 95, no. 1–6 (2009), 64–80. For an overview on Urbino and Casteldurante *maiolica* see Gian Carlo Bojani, ed., *Arte della maiolica. I Della Rovere nell’Italia delle corti*, volume 4, Urbino, 2002.
- 4 For delightful and pithy maiolica *tableaux-vivants* see Jeanne Giacomotti, *Catalogue des majoliques des musées nationaux. Musées du Louvre et de Cluny. Musée national de céramique à Sèvres. Musée Adrien-Dubouché à Limoges*, Paris, 1974, 373, 374 n. 1197, 376 n. 1119; Maria Mancini Della Chiara and Luisa Fontebuoni, *Maioliche del Museo Civico di Pesaro*. Exh. cat., Pesaro, 1979, 78, 235; Claudio Giardini, *Pesaro: Museo delle ceramiche*, Bologna, 1996, 89, 90.
- 5 Timothy Wilson, *Italian Maiolica of the Renaissance*, Milan, 1996, 385, 387–88.
- 6 See for example Carola Fiocco, Gabriella Gherardi, and Erika Terenzi, *Due personaggi a tavola*, in Paolo Dal Poggetto, ed., *I Della Rovere: Piero Della Francesca, Raffaello, Tiziano*, Exh. cat., Milan, 2004, 422.
- 7 On Genga and plaster see Vasari, *Le Vite*, 1568 (1881), 6, 321; Luigi Pungileoni, “Notizie storiche di Federico Brandani d’Urbino celebre plasticatore del secolo XVI,” *Giornale arcadico di Roma*, 31 (1826), 360; Colombi Ferretti, “Percorso...,” in Colombi Ferretti and Prati, *Francesco Menzocchi*, 2003, 26. On the topic of Genga and maiolica see Giuseppe Liverani, “Un frammento di maiolica faentina del primo Cinquecento,” *Faenza*, 36, no. 5 (1950), 104–07; Timothy Wilson, “Girolamo Genga Designer for Maiolica,” in Timothy Wilson, *Italian Renaissance Pottery: Papers Written in Association with a Colloquium at the British Museum*, London, 1991, 157–65. On Brandani see Paola Hoffmann, “Scultori e stuccatori a Villa Giulia. Inediti di Federico Brandani,” *Commentari*, 18 (1967), 48–66; Dariusz J. Sikorski, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino sotto Guidubaldo II (1538–74). Bartolomeo Genga, Filippo Terzi e Federico Brandani*. Urbino, 1985; Fontebuoni, “Gli stucchi di Federico Brandani,” 1985; Anna Fucili Bartolucci, “Architettura e plastica ornamentale nell’età roveresca dal Genga al Brandani,” in Franco Battistelli, ed., *Arte e cultura nella provincia di Pesaro e Urbino*, Venice, 1986, 281–92; Luciano Arcangeli, “Federico Brandani: allievi e continuatori,” in Pietro Zampetti, ed., *Scultura nelle Marche*, Florence, 1993, 333–59; Anna Maria Massinelli, “Bianco Natale. Il presepe di Federico Brandani. Betlemme a Urbino,” *FMR*, 12 (December 1993), 41–52; Dariusz Sikorski, “Brandani e il segreto dell’Età dell’Oro. Verso una ricostruzione della cronologia e decodificazione dei significati nel Palazzo di Pesaro,” in *Pesaro nell’età dei Della Rovere*, Venice, 2001, 2, 247–306; Giovanni Santucci, “Federico Brandani’s Paper Model for the Chapel of the Dukes of Urbino at Loreto,” *The Burlington Magazine*, 156 (January 2014), 4–11. The connection of Brandani with the style of Antonio Begarelli is well known. On the topic of Brandani and pottery see Timothy Clifford, “Disegni di Taddeo e Federico Zuccari e dei loro contemporanei per la maiolica,” in Marino Marini, ed., *Fabulae Pictae. Miti e storie nelle maioliche del Rinascimento*, Exh. cat., Florence, 2012, 95.

- 8 On painters and pottery, see Timothy Wilson, "Figulus et Pictor: alcune osservazioni sui pittori 'veri' e pittori di maiolica dal Quattrocento al Settecento," in *Atti del convegno internazionale della ceramica* (Albisola, 2004), Borgo San Lorenzo, 2006, 155–63. On painters and pottery close to Barocci, see John A. Gere, "Taddeo Zuccaro as a Designer for Maiolica," *The Burlington Magazine*, 105 (September 1963), 306–15; Timothy Clifford and John V.G. Mallet, "Battista Franco as a Designer for Maiolica," *The Burlington Magazine*, 118 (June 1976), 386–410; Wendy M. Watson, "Taddeo Zuccaro's Earliest Drawings for Maiolica," in Timothy Wilson, ed., *Italian Renaissance Pottery*, 1991, 177–82; Timothy Clifford, "Some Unpublished Drawings for Maiolica and Federico Zuccaro's Role in the 'Spanish Service,'" in *Ibid.*, 166–76; Clifford, "Disegni di Taddeo e Federico Zuccaro," 2012, 95–109.
- 9 Antonio Viviani, the most famous follower of Barocci, was the son of a "tornaio" (master of maiolica). See Maria Rosaria Valazzi, "Antonio Viviani detto il Sordo di Urbino," in Ambrosini Massari and Cellini, *Nel segno di Barocci*, 2005, 114–33, in particular 114. On Picchi, see Massimo Moretti, "Giorgio Picchi da Casteldurante," in *Ibid.*, 198–219, in particular 198. He was the son of Angelo di Giorgio Picchi, a master of maiolica. His grandfather Giorgio Picchi the elder was a master of maiolica, too.
- 10 Valazzi, "Antonio Viviani...," 2005, 115.
- 11 Colombi Ferretti and Prati, *Francesco Menzocchi*, 2003, *passim*. Such a designation of school is difficult for Lombardi. He spent his time working in Bologna although his origin is nowadays problematic.
- 12 Colombi Ferretti, "Percorso di Francesco Menzocchi," in *ibid.*, 26, 63, n. 4; Annalisa Bis-trot and Matteo Ceriana, "In Venetia ricetta di tutto il ben humano et divino: Francesco Menzocchi e il Veneto," in *ibid.*, 94.
- 13 "Fatto il disegno [Barocci] formava li modelli delle figure di creta o di cera, tanto belli che parevano di mano di ottimo scultore, non contentandosi alle volte di uno solo, ma replicando due o tre modelli di cera della stessa figura." Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 205; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 171.
- 14 For the inventory of Barocci's studio see, "Lo studio del Barocci," 1913, 73–85. (See Appendix I.)
- 15 Bohn, "Drawing as Artistic Invention," in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 33–69; Harald Olsen, "Some Drawings by Federico Barocci: 1. Drawings in East-Berlin; 2. Studies of Landscapes," *Artes: Periodical of the Fine Arts*, 1 (1965), 17–32.
- 16 See Figure 145, and Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, Cats. 14.1, 14.2, and 14.4.
- 17 John V.G. Mallet, "Mantua and Urbino. Gonzaga Patronage of Maiolica," *Apollo*, 114 (September 1981), 162–69, in particular 167.
- 18 Francis Ames-Lewis, "Nicola da Urbino and Raphael," *The Burlington Magazine*, 130 (September 1988), 690–92; Francesco Cioci, *Xanto e il Duca di Urbino: Francesco Maria I Della Rovere e Francesco Xanto Avelli da Rovigo; il 'Ritratto'; una collana di sonetti e di maioliche*, Milan, 1987; *Francesco Xanto Avelli da Rovigo*, International Symposium (Rovigo, 1980), Stanghella, 1988; Mirella Benini, "Il servito di piatti d'Isabella d'Este e Nicola da Urbino," *Antichità Viva*, 30 (1991), 3, 39–44; Julia Triolo, *The Armorial Maiolica of Francesco Xanto Avelli*, PhD diss., University Park, Pennsylvania State University, 1996; Otto Mazzuccato, "Gli istoriati e Nicola da Urbino: una problematica attributiva sempre aperta," *Ceramica antica*, 14 (2004), 22–35; John V.G. Mallet and Giovanna Hendel, *Xanto: Pottery-Painter, Poet, Man of the Italian Renaissance*, Exh. cat., London, 2007; John V.G. Mallet, "Nicola da Urbino and Francesco Xanto Avelli," *Faenza*, 93 (2007), 199–250.
- 19 On the Fontana family, see above, note 3. On Girolamo and Giacomo Lanfranchi, see Riccardo Gresta and Piero Bonali, "La maiolica pesarese della seconda metà del Cinquecento," in *Pesaro nell'età dei Della Rovere*, 2 (2001), 335–73, in particular 336 ff. After 1540, there was an enormous interest in landscape within the Lanfranchi workshop.
- 20 On the topic see Sabine Eiche, "The Architect. An Inquiry into His Background," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXXV (1991), 2/3, 317–24; *Idem.*, "Prologue to the Villa Imperiale Frescoes," *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, 20 (1991), 99–119; Paolo Dal Poggetto, "Inedite pitture murali nel loggiato del giardino segreto del Palazzo Ducale di Pesaro," in *Studi di storia dell'arte sul Medioevo e il Rinascimento nel centenario della nascita di Mario Salmi*, Symposium (Arezzo-Florence 1989), 2, Florence,

- 1993, 353–75; *Idem.*, “La diffusione del verbo raffaellesco: la villa Imperiale. L’attività di Raffaellino del Colle,” in *Pesaro nell’età dei Della Rovere*, 2001, 2, 203–46; Maria Rosaria Valazzi, “Nuove considerazioni su Francesco Menzocchi e i cantieri rovereschi,” in Colombi Ferretti and Prati, *Francesco Menzocchi*, 2003, 71–89.
- 21 Bellori informed us that Bartolomeo Genga was a relative of Barocci. Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 181; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 160. Bartolomeo was the son of Girolamo Genga.
- 22 On Gherardo Cibo, see Jaap Bolten, “Messer Ulisse Severino da Cingoli, a By-Path in the History of Art,” *Master Drawings*, 7 (Summer 1969), 123–47; Stefano Papetti, “Un artista ritrovato: Gherardo Cibo,” *Paragone*, 40/17 (1989), 73–84; Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, “Giardino segreto, un ‘dilettante’ del Cinquecento,” *FMR*, 8 (August 1989), 51–64; *Idem.*, “Gherardo Cibo: Visions of Landscape and the Botanical Sciences in a Sixteenth-Century Artist,” *Journal of Garden History*, 9 (1989), 199–216; Arnold Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo alias “Ulisse Severino da Cingoli,”* Exh. cat. (San Severino Marche), Florence, 1989; *Idem.*, *Discorsi sulle piante e sugli animali. Il Dioscoride colorito e miniato da Gherardo Cibo per Francesco Maria II della Rovere Duca d’Urbino*, Rome, 1991; *Idem.*, *Das Fossombrone Skizzenbuk*, London, 1993; Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, “...La leggiadria di quei paesetti ameni, Immagini botaniche e di paesaggio di Gherardo Cibo,” in Allen J. Greco, Odillon Redon, and Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, *Le Monde végétal (XIIe-XVIIe Siècles). Savoir et usages sociaux*, Paris, 1993, 107–22; Stefano Papetti, “Fra arte e scienza: Gherardo Cibo da Roccacontrada,” in *Atti della XXXIV Tornata dello Studio Firmiano per la storia dell’arte medica*, Fermo, 2000, 129–36. After my paper at the St. Louis symposium, another relevant study appeared, Giorgio Mangani and Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, *Gherardo Cibo. Dilettante di Botanica e Pittore di “Paesi”* *Arte, scienza e illustrazione botanica nel XVI secolo*, Ancona, 2013. On a connection between Barocci and Cibo, brief comments were made by John T. Spike, “Barocci in Urbana,” in *Federico Barocci, Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri, Domenico Peruzzini. Tre disegnatori delle Marche nella collezione Ubaldini*. Exh. cat. (Urbana), Urbana, 1994, 39–97, in particular 58, 86. Further publications on the same topic include Anna Cerboni Baiardi, “Barocci e barocceschi nei disegni della Collezione Antaldi: fogli conosciuti, inediti, precisazioni. Rileggendo Olsen,” in Bonita Cleri, ed., *Barocci in bottega*, Acta of the Symposium (Urbino, 2012), Macerata Feltria, 2013, 113–49, in particular 118; Stefano Rinaldi, “Nel laboratorio paesaggistico di Gherardo Cibo. Osservazioni a margine di un catalogo,” in Mangani and Tongiorgi Tomasi, *Gherardo Cibo*, 2013, 107–30, in particular 108, 116.
- 23 On the Roman fresco by Taddeo Zuccari in the Mattei Chapel, see Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari*, 1998–99, 44–50.
- 24 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 1, 142–43.
- 25 Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo*, 1989, 5–35, in particular 5–12. On the three bishops (Marco Vigerio Della Rovere, Marco Quinto Vigerio Della Rovere, and Urbano Vigerio Della Rovere), see Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, 100, Venice, 1860, 97–98; Nesselrath, *Ibid.*, 7, 14; Marinella Bonvini Mazzanti, “I Della Rovere a Senigallia,” in Gabriele Barucca, *La luce e il mistero. La Madonna di Senigallia nella sua città*. Exh. cat. (Senigallia), Ostra Vetere, 2011, 47–69, in particular 50.
- 26 Paolo Santini, *Arcevia. Itinerario nella storia dell’arte*, Arcevia, 1987, 161; Christiane Denker Nesselrath, “Rocca Contrada – La città di Gherardo Cibo,” in Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo*, 1989, 59–74, in particular 60, 69.
- 27 Andrea Emiliani, “La sepoltura di Cristo di Federico Barocci in Santa Croce di Senigallia un inedito ‘bozzetto per i colori’ e altri contributi alla conoscenza dell’artista,” *Artibus et Historiae*, 13, no. 25 (1992), 9–46.
- 28 Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo*, 1989, 7; Giuseppe Avarucci, “Per una biografia del B. Benedetto Passionei fonti archivistiche autobiografiche ed agiografiche,” in Giuseppe Avarucci, *Benedetto Passionei da Urbino (1560–1625)*, Acta of the Symposium (Fossombrone), Collana Bibliotheca Seraphico-capuccina, 95, Rome, 2012, 171–209, in particular 174. On Barocci and the Fossombrone Cappuchins, see Edmund P. Pillsbury, “Federico Barocci’s Fossombrone Madonna. An Unknown Drawing,” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, 36, no. 1 (Fall 1976), 20–25; Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 1, 185–186, 292–293.

- 29 On the two presents see Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo*, 1989, 23, and cat. nos. 99–100; Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, “Arte e scienza negli erbari dipinti di Gherardo Cibo,” in Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo*, 1989, 42.
- 30 For the drawings realized by Cibo based on landscapes around Urbino, see Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo*, 1989, 10–13. In 1579 Arduini received from Cibo the “libro grande de’ paesi a penna” drawn by him. He sent him in 1591 a drawing by the Flemish artist Giovanni Scheper active at the Della Rovere court in Urbino (*Ibid.*, 17; Lucio Tribellini, “Album amicorum. Gli amici, I parenti e corrispondenti,” in *Gherardo Cibo dilettante*, 2013, 315, 333). Scheper, who died in 1600, specialized in painting landscapes. He was in Pesaro in 1587 and spent ten years there.
- 31 Bolten, “Messer Ulisse Severino,” 1967, 129–30; Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo*, 1989, 12.
- 32 Grazia Callegari, “Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi (Pesaro, 1567-post 1636),” in Ambrosini Massari and Cellini, *Nel segno di Barocci*, 2005, 220.
- 33 Silvia Meloni Trkulja, “I miniatori di Francesco Maria II Della Rovere,” in *1631–1981. Un omaggio ai Della Rovere*. Exh. cat. (Urbino, Urbino 1981, 33–38, in particular 34–36. In 1603 Giovanni Fiammingo (alias Jan Scheper) worked as “officinelle dette botteghini” for the Della Rovere in Pesaro. He specialized in landscape painting (Maria Rosaria Valazzi, “Artisti opere congiunture nella Pesaro roveresca,” in *Pesaro nell’età dei Della Rovere*, 2001, 2, 127–35, in particular 132). Francesco Maria II Della Rovere was very interested in the “maniera di far paesi come quelli di Fiandra/in making landscapes in the Flemish manner” (Benedetta Montevecchi, “Arti rare’ alla corte di Francesco Maria II,” in *Pesaro nell’età dei Della Rovere*, 2001, 2, 323–34, in particular 324.
- 34 On the topic of Barocci and the Franciscan order, see Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 1, in particular 264 ff.; Giannotti and Pizzorusso, *Federico Barocci*, 2009, 324 ff.; Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 120–33, 238–51. On Cibo and the Franciscan order see Nesselrath, *Gherardo Cibo*, 1989, 16.
- 35 Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione*, 67 (1854), 65; *Ibid.*, 100 (1860), 97; Avarucci, *Benedetto Passionei da Urbino*, in particular Avarucci, “Per una biografia del B. Benedetto,” 171–209.
- 36 Alberto Polverari, *Senigallia nella storia, III, Evo moderno*, Senigallia 1985, 166 ff.; Denker Nesselrath, “Rocca Contrada...,” 1989, 69.
- 37 Ian Verstegen, “Reform and Renewed Ambition. Cardinal Giulio Feltrio Della Rovere,” in Ian F. Verstegen, *Patronage and Dynasty. The Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, Kirksville, MO, 2007, 89–108, in particular 94.
- 38 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 26, 149.
- 39 On the Gabrielli Chapel, see Patrizia Tosini, *Girolamo Muziano 1532–1592. Dalla maniera alla natura*, Rome, 2008, 314–19.
- 40 August Schmarsow, *Federico Barocci: un capostipite della pittura barocca* (1909), ed. Luigi Bravi, trans. Ludovica Pampaloni, Urbino, 2010.
- 41 “Federigo Barocci potrebbe per la età collocarsi nell’epoca precedente ma il suo merito lo fa ascrivere a questa, ove io racchiudo i riformatori dell’arte” (Luigi Lanzi, *La storia pittorica della Italia inferiore o sia delle scuole fiorentina senese romana napoletana*, Florence, 1792, 270).
- 42 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 185–86; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 162.
- 43 For an image, see Giorgio Bonsanti, *Antonio Begarelli*, Modena, 1992, 188.
- 44 About *Il Perdono*, Bellori wrote that Saint Francis “spira il fuoco interno del suo amore celeste./emanates the inner fire of his heavenly love.” Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976), 187; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 163.



Color Plate 1 Entombment of Christ, 1579–82, oil on canvas, 295 × 187 cm, Chiesa della Croce, Senigallia (Cat. 8).

Photo: Chiesa della Croce. Scala/Art Resource, NY.

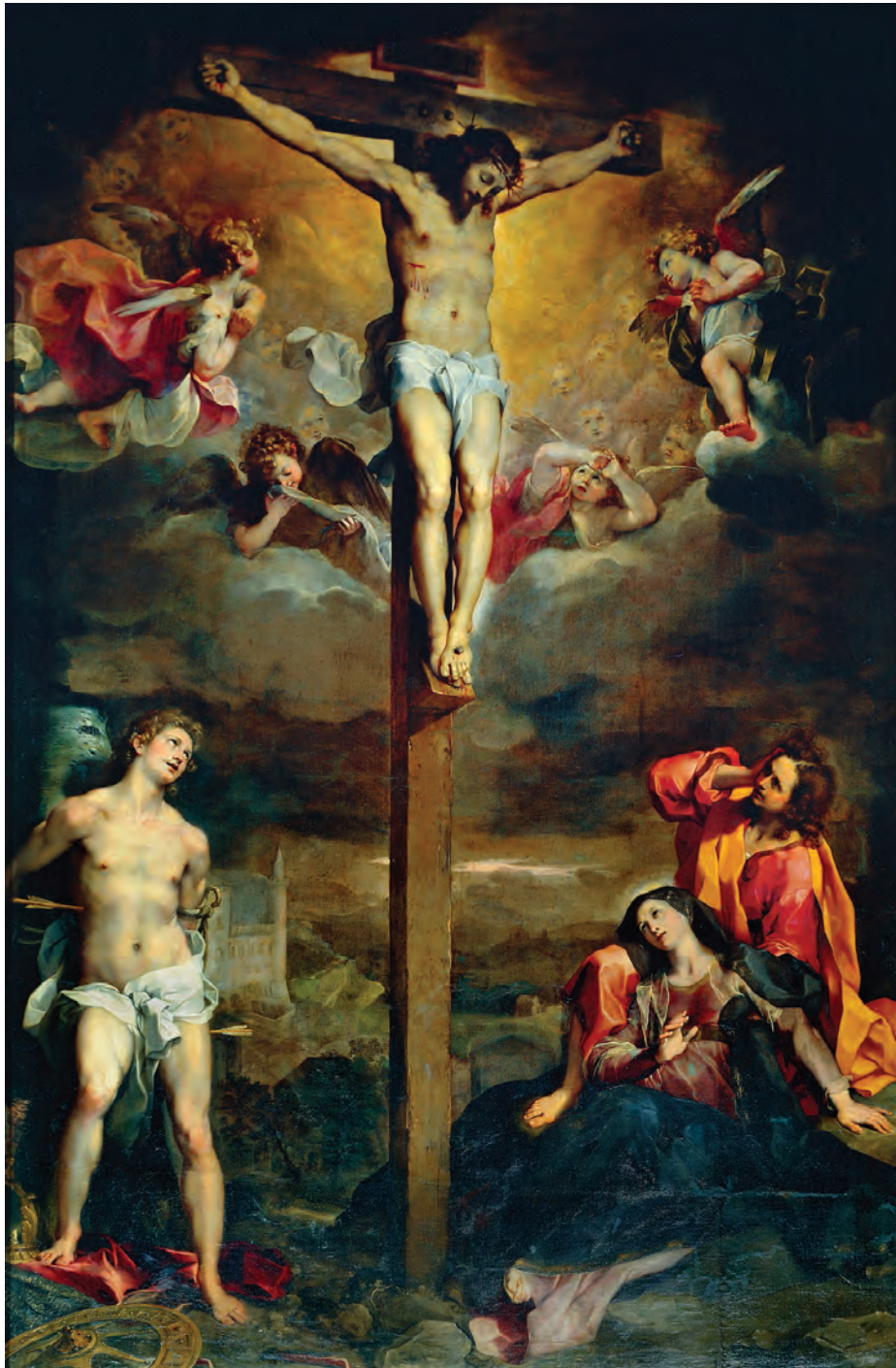


Color Plate 2 Deposition, 1568–69, oil on canvas, 412 × 232 cm, Chapel of San Bernardino, Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Perugia (Figure 47).
Photo: Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Perugia, Italy. Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 3 *Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*, 1566–67, oil on canvas, 288 × 161 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, inv. 1990 D85 (Cat. 2).

Photo: Palazzo Ducale, Urbino, Italy/Bridgeman Images.



Color Plate 4 Barocci and Assistant(s), *Crucifixion with Mourners and Saint Sebastian*, 1596, oil on canvas, 500 × 318.5 cm, Senarega Chapel, Cathedral, Genoa. Photo: Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Genoa, DeA Picture Library, licensed by Alinari.



Color Plate 5 Workshop of Barocci, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1597–1604, oil on canvas, 360 × 297 cm, Oratorio della Morte, Urbino.

Photo: Confraternità della Buona Morte-Urbino.



Color Plate 6 *La Madonna del Gatto (The Madonna of the Cat)*, ca. 1575–76, oil on canvas, 112.7 × 92.7 cm, The National Gallery, London. Bequeathed by Revd Holwell Carr, 1831, inv. NG29 (Cat. 7).

Photo: © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 7 Rest on the Return from Egypt, 1575–76, distemper and oil on canvas, 190 × 125 cm, Church of Santo Stefano, Piobbico (Figure 52).

Photo: By permission of the Ufficio Arte Sacra e Beni Culturali Diocesi di Urbino.



*Color Plate 8 Saint Cecilia with Saints Mary Magdalen, Saint John the Evangelist, Paul, and Catherine, ca. 1556, oil on canvas, 200 × 145 cm, Cathedral, Urbino (Figure 42).
Photo: Cathedral, Urbino. By permission of the Ufficio Arte Sacra e Beni Culturali della Diocesi.*



Color Plate 9 Anatomical Study, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11569 F. recto.

Photo: Ex Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze.



Color Plate 10 Copy after Michelangelo's Last Judgment, black chalk on cream paper, 37.3 × 24.3 cm, Biblioteca e Museo Civico, Urbana, Collezione Ubaldini, inv. II. 158.445 recto.

Photo: By permission of the Ufficio Arte Sacra e Beni Culturali Diocesi di Urbino.



Color Plate 11 Studies for female figures preparing to help the Virgin who has fainted, study for the Deposition (Perugia), black and white chalk on blue paper, 42.9 × 28.5 cm, Musée Condé Chantilly inv. DE-161.

Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 12 Landscape Study, black chalk with brown wash heightened with white, 42.3 × 27.7 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 418 P recto.

Photo: © 2014 Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze. All rights reserved.



Color Plate 13 Landscape with Trees and a House, black chalk and brown wash heightened with white, laid down, 32.2 × 28.3 cm, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 396.

Photo: Albertina, Vienna.



Color Plate 14 Calling of Saint Andrew, 1580–83, oil on canvas, 315 × 235 cm, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, inv. 254.

Photo: © Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels [dig. photo: J. Geleyns/www.roscaan.be].



Color Plate 15 Studies of a man's head and of his hands, black and red chalk, highlighted with white on blue-gray paper, 28 × 41.3 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, inv. 50.143.

Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 16 Preliminary compositional study for the Institution of the Eucharist, black chalk, pen, and brown ink with brown wash heightened with white, partially squared (faint) in black chalk on paper washed brown, laid down on old mount, 48 × 34.3 cm, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, inv. 361 (Cat. 18.1).

Photo: Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, UK/© Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth/Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees/The Bridgeman Art Library.



Color Plate 17 *Cartoncino per il chiaroscuro*, black chalk, pen and brown ink with ocher-brown wash heightened with white, arched top drawn in brown ink at top, some incisions, lightly squared in black chalk in one small area, on ocher-brown paper, laid down, 58 × 33 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 9348 S. 822 E. (Cat. 3.2).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 18 Il Perdono, 1571–76, oil on canvas, 427 × 236 cm, Church of San Francesco, Urbino (Figure 54).

Photo: By permission of the Ufficio Arte Sacra e Beni Culturali Diocesi di Urbino.



Color Plate 19 Entombment Study of Praying Hands (Mary Magdalen), black and white chalk with red and pink pastel on faded blue paper, 12.6 × 17.8 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, KdZ 20354 (4245).

Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Volker H. Schneider.



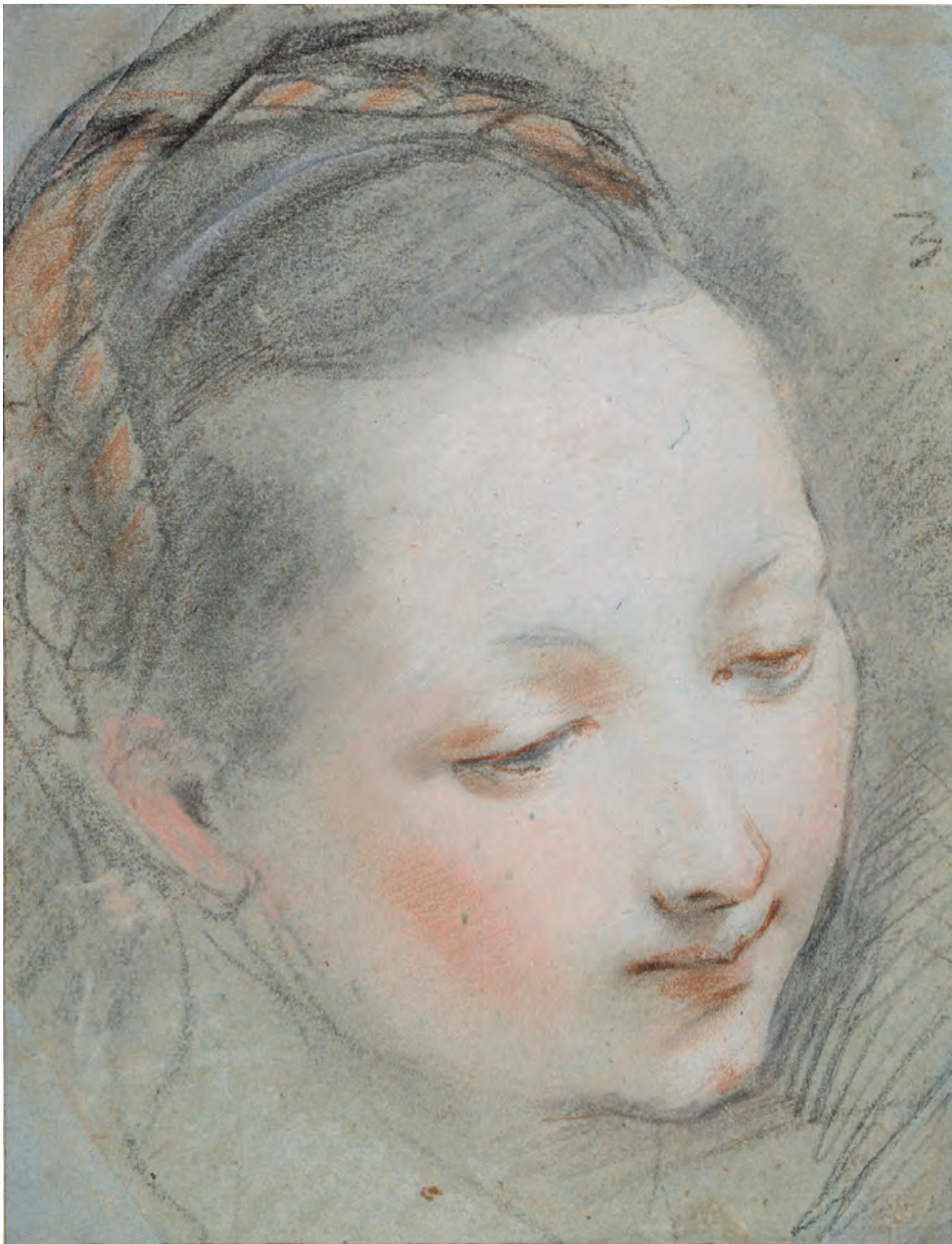
Color Plate 20 Annunciation, 1582–84, oil on canvas, 248 × 170 cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, inv. 40376 (Cat. 9).

Photo: Photo © Vatican Museums.



Color Plate 21 Studies for the Virgin's hands, charcoal with red and pink pastel heightened with white on blue paper, 27.4 × 39.4 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 20453 (4190) (Cat. 9.5).

Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Volker-H. Schneider.



Color Plate 22 Head of the Virgin Mary, black, white, and red chalk with pink and orange-peach pastel on blue paper, made up in all four corners, laid down, 29.9 × 23 cm, The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, inv. 5231 (Cat. 9.6).
Photo: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2014/Bridgeman Images.



Color Plate 23 Visitation, 1583–86, oil on canvas, 300 × 205 cm, Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova), Rome (Cat. 10).

Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 24 *Compositional study for the Crucifixion*, pen and ink and black and red chalk with brown wash heightened with white, 37.2 × 23.1 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11416 F.
Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 25 Madonna of Saint John, ca. 1565, oil on canvas, 151 × 115 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, inv. 1990 D 88.

Photo: Palazzo Ducale, Urbino, Italy/Bridgeman Images.



Color Plate 26 Primo Pensiero for the Visitation, pen, ink and wash on yellowed paper,
11.5 × 16.5 cm, Rijksprentenkabinett, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. 1964–790.
Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Color Plate 27 Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, 1593–1603, oil on canvas, 383 × 247 cm, Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova), Rome.

Photo: Fondo Edifici di Culto, amministrato dal Ministero dell'Interno – Dipartimento per le Libertà civili e l'Immigrazione – Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto.



Color Plate 28 Nativity, 1597–99, oil on canvas, 134 × 106 cm, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

Photo: © Dea/Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 29 Christ Appearing to the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen (formerly titled Christ Taking Leave of His Mother), ca. 1604–12, oil on canvas, 219 × 191 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. PE 57 (Figure 20).

Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



Color Plate 30 Study for Christ and Mary Magdalen, black chalk with white heightening, incised, 40.5 × 28 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11269 F. recto.

Photo: Ex Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze.

5 Federico Barocci and the corpus of High Renaissance art

Stuart Lingo

The recent exhibition *Federico Barocci: Renaissance Master of Color and Line* and the attendant symposium in St. Louis in January 2013 offered exceptional occasions for reflection on Barocci's art, his historical position, and in particular his preparatory process. In preparing a lecture for the symposium, and then in discussing my observations with colleagues before Barocci's works in the galleries, I found myself compelled by what I perceived to be some implications of Barocci's investment in life drawing, his recourse to drawing from the nude, and the relation of these practices to his choice—little-noted in scholarly discussion of his work—to introduce partially nude figures into prominent positions in a few significant paintings.¹

My previous engagement with Barocci's art had culminated in my 2008 book *Federico Barocci. Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting*, which developed from the premise that we might deepen our understanding of the artistic, historical, and religious import of the painter's work by attending carefully to period perceptions of the evident distinctiveness of his accomplishment. The years of Barocci's maturity, the fraught decades of religious and cultural crisis during the 1560s, '70s, and '80s, have long been viewed as years of profound predicament for much Italian religious art. Michelangelo was dead, and his investment in the nude increasingly untenable; Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio had yet to appear with the proposals that spurred so much innovation during the seventeenth century; and artists, particularly in the once-culturally dominant regions of Central Italy, labored in confusion as they wrestled to accommodate polemical demands for religious reform with the powerful new canons of "modern" art. In recent decades, the oversimplifications of this view have been increasingly recognized. The grain of truth it contains, however, is that the practice of public religious art in this period presented artists at once with their greatest opportunities for high visibility—and with a minefield. For how might the sensuality that had come to be so desired in ambitious art during the preceding decades be reconciled with decorum, devotion, and sensitivity to the traditions of Christian image making?

Occasional artistic experiments, usually driven by reformist religious orders, went so far as to attempt to recover critical aspects of the pre-Renaissance images held to be more devout than much modern art by some reform-minded ecclesiastics. Nonetheless, even most reformers assumed the artistic superiority of modern styles. Yet rendering that artfulness spiritual presented a recalcitrant challenge. In this cultural crisis, Barocci's unparalleled ability to marry such apparently divergent qualities came to be particularly admired. His painting was celebrated as at once "*vago, e divoto*," in the memorable summation of the early seventeenth-century artist and

biographer Giovanni Baglione. The “Allure and Devotion” in the title of my book is a loose translation of this resonant phrase: “*vago*” and “*vaghezza*,” while often translated as “lovely” or “loveliness,” were potent period critical terms indicating an allure that might be overtly sensual.² One might not think such a quality requisite, or even possible, in a religious image. Indeed, when Federico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, engaged Baldassare Castiglione to solicit a work from Sebastiano del Piombo in 1524, he expressed complete flexibility concerning the subject “so long as it is not about saints, but is a *vago* painting.”³ Such a remark brings to mind the erotic mythological paintings Giulio Romano was to create for the Mantuan court: in short, works that were the antithesis of the “*divoto*.” Despite such categorical distinctions, however, the pervasive desire for alluring artistic style made the *vago* an ever more salient, if problematic, element of religious art. A letter of 1540 highlights the conundrum: “in truth to treat matters of religion in alluring fashion most often simply makes the sacred profane, and I believe it is a difficult thing to do it well, and with dignity.”⁴

The ecclesiastical critic Giovanni Andrea Gilio, attacking the religious art of Michelangelo and his followers in his *Dialogue ... on the Errors and Abuses of Painters* of 1564, exposed the crux of the problem: “the painter that delights in making the figures of saints nude always strips away much of the reverence one owes them. For he is more taken by the *vaghezza* of art than by uprightness and appropriate decorum.” For modern painters, *vaghezza* had become bound up with the beauty of the bodies so admired in ancient Greek and Roman sculpture. Yet for Gilio such figures, products of a “carnal” pagan religious culture rooted in “rape, adultery, and incest,” could have no place in Christian sanctuaries.⁵ From this perspective, the canons of art and the requirements of religion appeared intractably at odds. Yet neither could be abandoned in the sophisticated culture of the later Cinquecento, in which even many reformers critical of the nude in religious art acknowledged the power, and potential efficacy, of modern painting’s capacity to allure—*vagheggiare*—the viewer. A religious picture, however, had to entice viewers univocally toward devotion.

For contemporaries, Barocci’s achievement was to fashion images so filled with *vaghezza* that the senses were ravished, while avoiding what a Gilio would understand as the “lascivious” figural *vaghezza* that articulated much ambitious modern painting. To accomplish this feat, Barocci displaced the sensuousness of painting from alluring adult bodies and offered instead more innocent seductions to the eye in the sparkling illusionism with which he rendered the children, animals, and still-life details that animate the foregrounds of many of his paintings. Critically, however, he also laid an innovative claim to the sensuality of painting itself, alluring viewers with a *sfumato* that encouraged sustained looking, with the lushness of oil textures and glazes, with enveloping light, and with brilliant colorism.⁶

Barocci frequently employed the innocent “*vaghezze*” of those lustrous still-life details or charming animals with which he so often attracted viewers’ attention to facilitate reflections that moved from the pictorial to the spiritual. In the renowned *Visitation* of 1583–86 (Color Plate 23), for instance, we are immediately struck by the luminous verisimilitude of the chickens in their basket, by the riveting gaze of the donkey, and by the bag and pitcher that Joseph deposits onto the lower frame. These marginal details—sometimes called in the period “*cose piccole*” (little things)—offer what contemporary theologians acknowledged as innocent sensual delight; we find the creatures and objects of the world intriguing and are doubly stimulated by the painter’s skill in representing them. But as we enjoy such details, they also coax us

into contemplation. Is that wine and a sack of bread that Joseph lays down so close to the altar, on which the bread and wine that represent Christ's body are consecrated? Barocci's handling of still-life repeatedly poses such questions and occasionally offers partial responses. In the lovely *Rest on the Return from Egypt* of 1570–73 (Figure 5.1), an analogous sack in fact opens to reveal bread, and since the Virgin seeks her cup of water from the stream, the little barrel by her hat must contain wine.⁷

Barocci at times employed quotidian details to reveal what Saint Bonaventure had termed the “footprints of God in the world” in even more arresting ways. In a centerpiece of the exhibition, the altarpiece of the *Entombment of Christ* of 1579–82 (repainted 1607–1608, Color Plate 1), the dramatic composition is anchored through insistent centering around a resonant axis that runs from the crosses on the distant



Figure 5.1 Rest on the Return from Egypt, 1570–73, oil on canvas, 133 × 110 cm, Musei Vaticani (Cat. 4).

Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

twilit hill, through the luminous body of Christ, to something beyond the painting: the actual Cross that would have stood at the center of the altar. As we contemplate the altarpiece, we may become aware of stray pieces of straw, precisely on this axis, near the striding feet of Saint John. In the *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, similar pieces float by in the purling stream. But in the *Entombment*, the bits have somehow come to form a cross that points back toward the tomb and forward toward the stone that will close the chamber; on this stone, meanwhile, nails and a pincer and hammer have been laid to rest in arrangements that suggest further crosses. Once we become sensitive to such details, we easily find examples elsewhere in Barocci's works. Consider for instance the cluster of crosses formed by illuminated stalks of hay – including two with the heads of wheat that intimate the bread of the Eucharist—that glisten above the head of the Christ Child in the *Nativity* of 1597 (Figure 6.10), which as a devotional painting would actively solicit the sustained spiritual reflection such details would reward. Repeatedly, Barocci coaxed the viewer to perceive in the apparent accidents of quotidian existence the structure and symbolic valence of the divine plan.

In none of these paintings do the sacred actors regard us. Despite their intimate proximity, they remain of another realm. Yet Renaissance pictorial theory often advocated a painted interlocutor who would connect beholders to the picture. In the *Nativity*, it is the innocent sheep introduced into the manger through the doorway in the shadowy depths of the painting whose eye catches our own. In the *Visitation* and the *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, our interlocutor is rather the donkey, the humble creature celebrated by Saint Francis—to whose followers Barocci was demonstrably devoted—as “Brother Ass,” the ideal emblem of the human body: stubborn, abject, and subject to temptation, yet potentially the bearer of the sacred.⁸ Here, we are far from the bold *all'antica* nudes of much of the ambitious painting Barocci would have known.

Beyond the figural associations of *vaghezza*, and the more innocent *vaghezze* of “*cose piccole*,” the sensual allure of the *vago* could be distinctively associated with color in period art criticism; ultimately, it was this non-corporeal association that proved fundamental to Barocci's cultivation of a “chaste” *vaghezza*. On occasion Barocci even manipulated the rich colors that play *vagamente* across his works, luring the glance into gazing, to register a figure's passion or to stimulate a translation from visual delight to contemplative insight. Such strategies are yet more arresting than the transformations the painter works with marginal details, as we do not expect color to reveal character. An exemplary instance occurs in the Brussels *Calling of Saint Andrew* of 1580–83 (Color Plate 14). Drawings indicate that the composition was initially conceived with Saint Andrew facing us; we would have seen in his expression the experience of conversion as Christ addressed him. In this arrangement, however, Christ perforce turns away from us. In the finished painting, we see Christ's face and the light upon Him; but the price is that Andrew turns slightly away as he gazes longingly at his Savior. How then to register the depth of the saint's emotion? It dawns on us that Andrew's yellow robe takes on an uncanny ruddy glow in the shadows on his chest. We seem to be seeing reflected light from Christ's robe. But the intensity of the effect is supra-natural; it is as if we can see the very glow of Andrew's heart within his breast as he responds to Christ's call.⁹ Having our attention now riveted on Andrew, we may eventually notice the shadowy, diagonal cross, shaped by detritus on the rocky beach, over which the entranced saint kneels as he embraces his new life and his fate.

Thus, with painstaking figural and compositional planning effected through drawing, and with a nearly unprecedented fusion of this planning with a profoundly calculated manipulation of color, Barocci produced a new kind of religious art that responded to the desire for pictorial *vaghezza*—indeed harnessed it to enhance meaning—while also observing demands for appropriate narrative clarity and figural decorum. For Barocci, however, the cultivation of a chaste *vaghezza* was only one aspect, if a critical one, in the achievement of a moving modern religious art; the cultivation of *devozione* demanded reflection as well and was not satisfied simply by avoiding abstruse artfulness or lascivious nudity. Evidence suggests that Barocci considered at length how he might distill compelling characteristics of traditional Christian images into his very modern paintings. He would not incorporate overtly archaic features into finished works. Yet while an ambitious painter, he was devout, and associated by both spiritual inclination and patronage with religious institutions invested in traditional images. On occasion, in altarpieces for such patrons, Barocci painstakingly reconceptualized an archaic image type as the core of a distinctively innovative work of art.¹⁰ Paradoxically, in these works his very cultivation of *vaghezza* facilitated the presentation of a visually alluring case for the enduring power of traditional image-types, reimagined for a new age.

Barocci's process is exceptionally well documented in the case of an important altarpiece of his early maturity, the *Immaculate Conception* (Figure 5.2), executed in the mid-1570s for the Compagnia della Concezione, a lay brotherhood associated with San Francesco, the dominant Franciscan church in Urbino. In this context, it is telling that some of the most radical period experiments in overtly archaizing styles emerged from Franciscan environments.¹¹ The Immaculate Conception—the contention that God had spared the Virgin the taint of original sin, making her a uniquely pure vessel for Christ—was a sacred mystery that proved challenging to visualize. Barocci dramatized the concept by depicting the windswept apparition of a luminous Virgin, balanced on clouds and the crescent moon that was the emblem of her purity, to an intimate group of devotees who perhaps represent members of the brotherhood and their families. In so doing, he made of a static, symbolic subject an image that responded to demands in Renaissance art theory for narrative drama comprising varied actors: men, women, old, young. Nonetheless, the altarpiece retains an elusive “iconic” or cultic quality. The Virgin is raised up, centralized, frontal. Despite her animation, she appears to hover as much as to advance; the drama central to the discourses of art and the cultic qualities central to pre-Renaissance Christian image making seem held here in what might be termed suspended animation.

We can reconstruct how Barocci arrived at this synthesis thanks to his commitment to drawing. An elaborate study, evidently well into the design process, offers the striking revelation that Barocci meditated on the archaic composition of the *Misericordia*, or Virgin of Mercy, a venerable image type frequently associated with confraternities (Figure 5.3). By the 1570s, this composition was inherently problematic for an ambitious modern artist, for it depended on non-naturalistic spatial arrangements and hierarchies of figural scale; traditionally, a monumental Virgin sheltered diminutive devotees with her mantle. It is precisely in reconsidering this interrelation that Barocci's drawing betrays particular frustration with modernizing a *Misericordia*. His solution represents the devotees as half-length figures standing on a ground plane close to our own. We are thus implicitly included in the



Figure 5.2 *Immaculate Conception*, ca. 1574–75, oil (and gouache?) on canvas, 222 × 150 cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, inv. 1990 D 86 (Cat. 6).

Photo: Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, Italy/Alinari/Bridgeman Images.

earthly group, while the cloud-borne Virgin—though of the same scale—appears larger and is elevated above the faithful. But in a graphic indication of discomfort, Barocci suddenly abandoned the white heightening with which he was fleshing out the rearmost figures beneath the Madonna’s robe, as if in recognition that registering their full corporeality would threaten to destabilize the fragile fiction of naturalistic space and scale he had labored to create. When the Confraternità di Santa Maria della Misericordia of Arezzo wrote to commission an altarpiece from Barocci as he was completing the *Immaculate Conception*, and suggested a *Misericordia*, his struggle with the Urbino painting appears to have impelled a swift reply: “the mystery of the *Misericordia* does not seem to me a subject that is very apt for making a beautiful painting.”¹²



Figure 5.3 *Compositional study for the Madonna della Misericordia*, recto, pen and brown ink with brown wash heightened with white, squared in black chalk, on blue-green paper, 27.3 × 18.8 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11446 F. (Cat. 6.1).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

Despite his frustrations, other drawings for the *Conception* reveal how an ambitious modern painter, sensitive to Christian image traditions and their significance for some of his patrons, managed to transform an archaic image type into a compelling modern work. In another drawing in the exhibition, Barocci abandoned overt allusions to *Misericordia* iconography and re-envisioned the theme as an apparition (Figure 5.4). The billowing clouds eliminate the need to depict most of the figures who may be behind the Virgin—one can see only a few hazy faces—and facilitate an emotional and dramatic focus on her appearance to the figures before her. In the

painting, Barocci nuanced this invention to balance its windswept spectacle with decorous cultic presence; he thereby created an altarpiece animated by the narrative drama of the Virgin's theophany, while preserving aspects of the iconicity associated with early image types. Barocci's clouds and putti even evoke a *mandorla*, the almond-shaped aureole that enshrines heavenly figures in many late medieval or fifteenth-century paintings. This marriage of icon and narrative certainly represented a sensitive response to the traditions of Christian image making within the framework of a contemporary pictorial practice. But it represented equally an homage to the epochal proposals for a modern yet profound religious art already advanced by Raphael in paintings such as the *Madonna di Foligno* of 1512 (Figure 5.5). The great "vision" altarpieces of Raphael would repeatedly inspire Barocci's meditations on altarpiece design, as evident in another highlight of the exhibition, the *Madonna of the Rosary* of 1589–93 (Figure 5.6). In such works, the compelling drama of modern painting melds seamlessly with the exaltation of the Virgin and Child as holy, otherworldly.¹³



Figure 5.4 *Compositional study*, pen and brown ink with brown wash heightened with white, 20.5 × 15 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 2855 (Cat. 6.2).

Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 5.5 Raphael, *Madonna di Foligno*, 1512, oil on panel transferred to canvas, 320 × 194 cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome.
Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 5.6 *Madonna of the Rosary*, 1589–93, oil on canvas, 290 × 196 cm, Pinacoteca Diocesana, Senigallia (Cat. 11).
Photo: Diocesi di Senigallia – Pinacoteca Diocesana, Senigallia.

But Barocci's recourse to Raphael—and to other leading artists of those remarkable decades around 1500, principally Leonardo and Michelangelo—was about more than compositional or figural templates. While it had become common in mid-sixteenth-century art to quote figures from the great modern masters, Barocci sought inspiration in their *manner* of making those figures, their elaborate process of invention. Indeed, what linked the very different leaders of what we still generally term the “High Renaissance” was not so much the similarity of their final products as their shared commitment to the visual research, expressed through drawing, through which they ideated works so innovative and persuasive as to become canonical. Central to this graphic research was the exploration of the human form; life drawing, drawing from the nude in particular, was explored even when figures were ultimately to be clothed in finished paintings.

As has been remarked in much recent scholarship, the actual practice of life drawing was flagging by mid-century. While it continued to be commended in theory, an artist-writer of the stature of Giorgio Vasari admitted that drawing from the model was particularly useful for the young artist who did not “yet feel himself strong enough to be able to produce [figures] from his own imagination.” For Vasari, life drawing early in one's career fixed the forms of the body in the memory, ensuring that as the artist matured he could be confident that “attitudes in any position can be drawn by help of the imagination (*di fantasia da se*) without one's having the living forms in view.”¹⁴

Vasari oversaw a well-trained group of assistants and collaborators on whom he could rely to produce a consistent body of work in a unified manner, as in the monumental fresco campaigns in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. By comparison, the situation in Rome during Barocci's sojourns in the city during the mid-1550s and very early 1560s was undisciplined and disorganized.¹⁵ As John Marciari has stressed, artists in Rome around mid-century (and into the later decades of the century) drew relatively little from life. Instead, they studied by drawing from antiquities and the modern masters, often with minimal assistance and training in the absence of many established workshops headed by major masters.¹⁶ Barocci's determined commitment to the practice of sketching from life and from the nude throughout his long career is thus all the more striking, particularly as he generally eschewed the nude in finished paintings, and he might superficially be read as an artist with little investment in the body. Beneath the coloristic allure of his dazzling surfaces, however, it is the legacy of High Renaissance drawing, and particularly its commitment to the exploration of the body—that very body of *vaghezza* that Barocci at first appears to reject—that ultimately structures his art and lends his figures their conviction.

If we now return to the *Immaculate Conception* we can begin to recover, even in one of Barocci's most apparently retrospective images, this body of High Renaissance art. For the drawing that privileges windswept apparition to animate the composition (see Figure 5.4) is not the whole story of Barocci's transformation of a *Misericordia* into an effective modern religious image. To arrive at his figure of the Virgin, Barocci did not simply rethink a *Madonna della Misericordia* by activating her pose and energizing her drapery; he reimagined her entire form. This observation may shed light on another drawing that might seem incongruous, even shocking, given the narrative of the composition's genesis and development I have sketched thus far. Integral to Barocci's invention of a Virgin at once venerable and vibrant was a chalk study of a female nude (Figure 5.7). As Babette Bohn has stressed, Barocci probably did not employ female models, who were frequently prostitutes and thus both troubling models for the Virgin and problematic presences in the studio of a pious painter and his male assistants. To circumvent this double indecorum, Barocci may well have turned instead to the sensual figures one could study in ancient sculpture.¹⁷ But the drawing remains striking, for two reasons.



Figure 5.7 *Studies for the Virgin Mary*, recto, black and red chalk heightened with white, 38 × 25.4 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11339 F. (Cat. 6.5).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

First, the very decision to explore the female nude in detail appears unexpected given what we know of Barocci's habitual practice. In projects both before and after the *Immaculate Conception*, Barocci employed adolescent males (perhaps studio assistants) as nude models for the ideation of female figures. Numerous drawings—studies for the *Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist* of 1566–67 (Figure 5.8) and the *Annunciation* of 1582–84 (Figure 5.9) may stand as examples—reveal the painter transforming nude male youths studied from life into ultimately clothed figures of the Virgin. Yet in the *Immaculate Conception*, Barocci seems to have become so committed to articulating a corporeal presence in the critical figure of Mary that he insisted on studying the female body, even if his “model” was a fragment of ancient sculpture. This attention to the female nude operates in a manner analogous to Barocci's re-envisioning of the composition itself; viewers of the finished altarpiece see neither a *Misericordia* nor a nude, but subliminally register both concept and corporeal presence in the harmony Barocci achieves in the Virgin between cult figure and animate figure. Even the manner in which the Virgin's outstretched right arm traces a curved arc of shadow across her robe functions to reveal the reality of her body beneath decorous drapery.

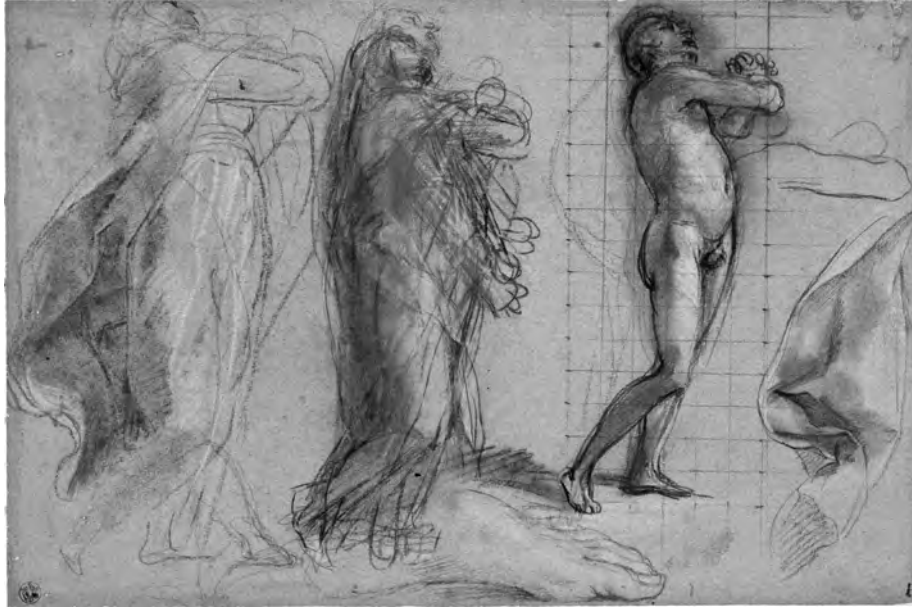


Figure 5.8 *Studies for the Virgin Mary and drapery*, 1566–67, black and white chalk on blue paper, laid down, 28.1 × 42.7 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 27466 (4176) (Cat. 2.5).

Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

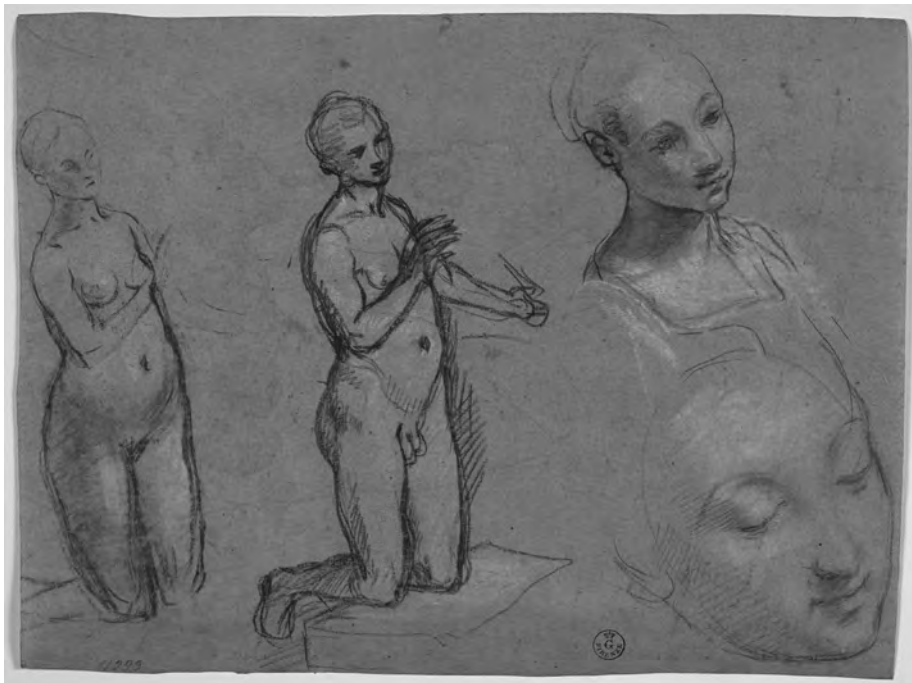


Figure 5.9 *Nude studies for the Virgin Mary; drawings for the Virgin's head*, recto, black chalk and charcoal with some incision and stump heightened with white on blue paper, 26.3 × 34.9 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11293 F. (Cat. 9.3 recto).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

There may be a theological point here given that the painting's subject concerns the purity of the Virgin as a physical creature. The nature of Barocci's commitment to this corporeality, however, raises a second striking issue; if we return to Barocci's study, we sense that if he began by considering an ancient statue he has made efforts to "naturalize" it. The palpable fullness of the belly, the wide dimple for the navel—these are not conventional features of most ancient female nudes.¹⁸ Further, as he reconsidered the position of the weight-bearing leg to the left of the central figure, Barocci hinted with his chalk at a particular interest in the bone structure of the knee area. While lightly sketched, Barocci's gesture evokes Raphael's determination, in a remarkable study of the fainting Virgin for the Perugia *Entombment*, to make good Alberti's dictum that the artist should construct figures from the skeleton up. Barocci's drawings rarely reveal clear evidence of such an investment; yet in these very years, a sheet of studies for the reclining beggar in the *Madonna del Popolo* includes a probing analysis of the shoulder that seems to derive from consideration of an anatomized figure, whether experienced firsthand or through prints or models.¹⁹

It was also during the 1570s when Barocci produced a drawing that exhibits an investigation of the female nude exceeding anything else in his career (Figure 5.10). This striking study for the Virgin in the *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, with its emphasis on the naturalistic fleshiness of the belly and hips, is surely the closest Barocci ever came to registering the experience of a living female model. Bohn has argued that Barocci's general preference to avoid life study from female nudes suggests that he must have fooled us here.²⁰ If this is true, however, what remains is the vivid sensation that Barocci sought the *effect* of a study from life. His desire is all the more arresting given that by this point in planning the composition he had evolved the figure of the Madonna into one that, to a remarkable degree, was a figure of art. Her pose descends ultimately from Michelangelo's *Doni Tondo* of ca. 1504–06 (Figure 5.11), already reinterpreted by Raphael in the Perugia *Entombment* of 1507 (Figure 5.12). Barocci would have had occasion to consider the *Entombment* often when he lived in Perugia while completing the great *Deposition* of 1568–69 (Color Plate 2) just before ideating the *Rest*.²¹ His drawing thus explores nuances of a pose that had already been thoroughly grounded in reflection upon canonical artistic exemplars. Near-definitive decisions have been established for the Virgin's upper body, gesture, and direction of gaze, and a study of her exposed foot at the top right corner of the sheet indicates that Barocci was also coming to envision her legs in something like their ultimate configuration after having experimented with quite different positions in earlier sketches. A related sketch for the entire composition, now in Chicago, confirms the state of the Virgin's pose and offers an intriguing gloss on the nude study (Figure 5.13).²² For in the compositional sketch, Barocci took pains to outline an unusually broad and fleshy form for the Virgin under her drapery, clearly delineating ample hips, belly, and breasts and even indicating navel and nipples. In the nude study, meanwhile, he experimented with hip contours yet more generous than those he finally determined with a stylus, delineating an incised contour, visible even in reproduction, inside the more expansive explorations sketched in black chalk. It is as though precisely when Barocci veered closest to evident artistic citation—and citation of Michelangelo's taut and muscled forms—he felt uniquely compelled to imagine what an actual female body would look like "under" the figure of art.



Figure 5.10 *Nude study for the Virgin*, recto, black, red, and white chalk on blue paper, 39 × 27.8 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11284 F. (Cat. 4.4 recto).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 5.11 Michelangelo, *Doni Tondo*, 1507, oil on panel, dia: 120 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890: no. 1456.

Photo: Nicolo Orsi Battaglini/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 5.12 Raphael, *Entombment*, 1507, oil on panel, 184 × 176 cm, Borghese Gallery, inv. 369.

Photo: Courtesy of the author.



Figure 5.13 *Compositional study*, black and red chalk with pen and brown ink(?), laid down, 18.8 × 13.9 cm, inscribed in pen and grayish-black ink lower center: “Baroccio F.” Collection of Steven and Jean Goldman, Chicago (Cat. 4.3).

Photo: © The Art Institute of Chicago.

Though it would not be incorrect to extrapolate from such examples the implication that Barocci's exhaustive design process reveals an artist committed to study from nature in an age of citation, this is only part of the story. In an equally compelling manner, Barocci could take figures from life and employ the study of the High Renaissance or antiquity to "perfect" them. While we might be struck by the nearly portrait-like faces of some devotees in the *Immaculate Conception*, Bohn has argued that the inclined profile of the woman at the far right relates to a drawing of what appears to be a sculpted, perhaps antique head (Figure 5.14). This head, as Claudio Pizzorusso has noted, inflected Barocci's ideation of the Virgin in the late, unfinished *Christ Appearing to the Virgin and to Mary Magdalen* (Color Plate 29) as well, and the master also worked up drawings of studio models based on the pose. The study may haunt the preparation of further works, such as the *Annunciation*, in which the head seems to inform Barocci's thinking about the angel in sheets of studies that even register the Adam's apple of an apparent model (Figure 5.15).²³ A particularly revealing example of this oscillation between art and life in Barocci's preparation of figures occurs late in the design process for the *Last Supper* of the 1590s. A highly advanced drawing, a "*cartoncino*," depicts the apostle before the doorway to our left in strict profile (Figure 5.16). In the final painting, his head assumes a more complex, graceful, and apparently natural turn and inclination. But a drawing reveals that the source for Barocci's reconceptualization was not nature, but a nude by Michelangelo himself: the head and neck of the Sistine Adam, lovingly recorded by Barocci as he reworked the pose of his figure's head and hands (Color Plate 15).²⁴



Figure 5.14 *Study of two female heads*, ca. 1574–75, black and red chalk, 25.8 × 24.8 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11307 F. recto. (Figure 58). Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 5.15 Study for the head of Gabriel, black chalk and charcoal with red, yellow, and peach pastel heightened with white, 35.9 × 25.4 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11391 F. (Cat. 9.1 verso).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 5.16 Cartoncino for the Last Supper, black chalk with gray, black, ochre, and white body color, squared in black chalk, 106.5 × 109.7 cm, inscribed (modern) in black ink lower center: "FEDERIGO BAROCCIO." Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 819 E (Figure 73).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

Barocci's devotion at once to study from life and from art—the method, after all, characteristic of Raphael—means that ultimately one cannot easily delimit the sources of his figures.²⁵ The Perugia *Deposition*, as noted, was executed for a chapel just blocks from the site of Raphael's *Entombment*. While the first inspiration for Barocci's composition has always been located in the dramatic *Deposition* of Daniele da Volterra, which Barocci would have seen in Rome, particular figures hint at his close attention to the local Raphael, and to other Raphaels and Titians as well. The figure on the ladder to our left is redolent of reflection on Raphael's struggling young bearer at the center of his altarpiece, particularly in the emotive charge, windswept hair, and strained backward lean that characterize both youths. Drawings make clear, however, that as Barocci transformed his bearer from an earlier, unrelated pose (Figure 5.17), he subjected the figure to such study in the nude that it becomes hard to read merely as an artistic citation. Even in the drawing in which the figure assumes the pose inflected by that of Raphael's bearer (Figure 5.18), Barocci seemed at pains to register the wrinkling and dimpling of flesh on the laboring back of a nude model. In analogous fashion, Barocci's emotive San Bernardino, mourning at the far right of the painting, could appear adapted from Raphael's Saint Francis from the *Madonna di Foligno* (or Titian's from the *Pesaro Madonna*); but here again, nude studies indicate that Barocci rethought a familiar pose from the skin out, so to speak (Figure 5.19).



Figure 5.17 *Compositional studies*, recto, pen and brown ink with dark brown wash, 28.1 × 21 cm, inscribed in brown ink lower right: “Barocci.” National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. 725 (Cat. 3.1 recto).

Photo: National Galleries of Scotland.



Figure 5.18 *Nude study for the man on a ladder*, 1568–69, black and white chalk with incision and stump, squared in black chalk, on blue paper, 39.5 × 24 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 20462 (3747) (Cat. 3.5).

Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Figure 5.19 *Studies for Saint Bernardino*, recto, black and white chalk with charcoal and stump, squared in black chalk, on blue paper, 42.5 × 28.1 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11383 F. (Cat. 3.10).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

In most of Barocci's work this commitment to revalue the achievements of the High Renaissance through an investment in extensive drawing, and in drawing from the nude in particular, remains veiled in finished paintings; it functions to impart such conviction to his figures and the compositions they animate that the results seem at once "natural" and preordained. In like manner, Barocci's sensitive response to archaic Christian images is usually only visible upon reflection on the elusive cultic presence of his central sacred figures, or from knowledge of his drawings. At times, however, the depth of Barocci's dedication to the *corpus* in and of Renaissance art achieves more overt registration. There are certainly many drawings in which we can sense an investment in the body—ironically, often the female body—emerging even when less than strictly necessary: consider the registration of the navel of the fainting Virgin in a quick pen sketch of clothed figures for the Perugia *Deposition* (Figure 5.20) or of the navel and underpants of the figure of Saint Elizabeth in a wash compositional study of draped figures for the *Visitation* (Figure 7.11) or the round belly, navel, and even nipples articulated in a clothed study for the Virgin in the *Nativity* (Figure 5.21). Given what we know of Barocci's character, these gestures cannot simply be motivated by the "lascivious" impulses Gilio excoriated in ambitious art. They do, however, certainly register Barocci's determination to probe the challenges set by such art, and they hint at a degree of investment in the earlier Renaissance celebration of the human figure that art history has not tended to associate with Barocci or "reform" art. Further, they recur throughout his career. Very early, in his first surviving painting, the *Saint Cecilia with Saints Mary Magdalen, John the Evangelist, Paul, and Catherine* for Urbino cathedral, a young artist touched by a *maniera* taste for figural *vaghezza* exceeded his Raphael model in the revelation of the female body; while the saints are clothed, Catherine of Alexandria wears diaphanous draperies that reveal her nipples and the rosy flesh tones of her body (some of these features are registered in the advanced compositional study in the exhibition, Figure 3.2). While such a figure did not reappear in a finished painting by Barocci, the study cited above for the Virgin of the *Nativity*—from 1597—confirms the painter's ongoing interest in the body beneath its clothing. To search out the sensuous body beneath drapery was not, that is to say, merely a "Mannerist" experiment of Barocci's youth.

This ongoing if ordinarily masked investment in the nude may explain why Barocci attempted to bring his commitments to the surface of painting in a critical late work, the *Institution of the Eucharist* of 1603–1609 for the family chapel of Pope Clement VIII in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome (Figure 1.1). In a drawing he presented to the Pope, Barocci did something unprecedented in his career; he anchored the foreground with the figure of an indigent mother with exposed breast, one of whose children holds a plate toward a servant attending the apostles at the Last Supper. Further, directly behind and above her the artist employed a muscular male nude to figure the devil who enters Judas as he kneels before Christ (Color Plate 16).²⁶ It is no surprise that the Pope rejected this idiosyncratic, even eccentric solution: the surprise is that Barocci even attempted it. Designing for the Pope himself, and for a prominent altar in a city Barocci would have seen as the artistic center of Italy, the aging painter seems to have felt the motivation, or the compulsion, to include a touch of that bodily *vaghezza* he had so often eschewed.²⁷ It would not have escaped him that, even in years marked by religious reform and the re-evaluation of religious art, many prominent patrons still wanted *art*, and often located it in the body. The fulsome letter Barocci received from Doge Matteo Senarega of Genoa as thanks for the *Crucifixion* installed in the Doge's family chapel in 1596 singled out the distinctive,



Figure 5.20 *Compositional studies*, verso, pen and brown ink with light brown wash over black chalk, 28.1 × 21 cm, inscribed: “Baroccio/no. 223” and “Federigo Ba-.” National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. 725 (Cat. 3.1 verso).

Photo: National Galleries of Scotland.



Figure 5.21 *Study for the Virgin Mary*, recto, pen and black ink with gray wash over black chalk, squared with black chalk, 27.6 × 16.2 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11550 F. (Cat. 15.1 recto).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

nearly nude figure of Saint Sebastian as embodying both the colors and the “proportions (*numeri*) of art, to a degree that perhaps the ancients never attained, nor the moderns.” Barocci’s achievement as a colorist is here neatly paired with an acute sense of his mastery of *disegno* and the figure—the *nude* figure.²⁸ Senarega’s praise, couched in the language of agonistic artistic *paragoni*, could well have been on the painter’s mind as he worked up the composition for the Pope.

Nonetheless, the hope that had animated much of the religious art of the first half of the sixteenth century—the hope that the sensual bodies of Greco-Roman art might become effective figures of Christian revelation—remained elusive and ultimately untenable in Barocci’s world. It is worth remarking that virtually all the nude or seminude figures that emerge into visibility in Barocci’s paintings are in some sense abject. They may be figures of suffering, like the Crucified Christ or young Saint Sebastian, martyred with arrows, who anchors not only the great Genoa *Crucifixion* but the early *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, an altarpiece for Urbino cathedral in which the youthful Barocci revealed his precocious ambitions in a forcefully Michelangelesque saint, derived perhaps from the figure of the crucified Haman in the spandrels of the Sistine Ceiling. They may even represent the Devil, embodying evil and artifice at the same moment, as in the study for the *Institution of the Eucharist*. Or they may be, finally, beggars. This seems the narrative rationalization for the presence of Charity and her children in the Chatsworth study and justifies the striking inclusion of a nearly nude man in the center of one of Barocci’s most important paintings, the *Madonna del Popolo* of 1575–79 (Figure 5.22)—the final result of the request for a Misericordia posed by the confraternity from Arezzo as Barocci labored on the *Immaculate Conception*. The surviving contract indicates that after much negotiation Barocci agreed to paint an image of the Virgin interceding with Christ for the people of Arezzo, who were to be depicted in “the said panel with decorum and beauty and grace, according to their conditions and quality.” As the patrons were a confraternity dedicated to the corporal acts of mercy, the figure of a beggar was a logical inclusion, and Barocci found a way to reveal in him “decorum and beauty and grace;” indeed, his expanse of flesh at the lower center of the altarpiece, near where the priest would elevate the host, has never to my knowledge even been remarked.

As a site of art, the beggar exemplifies an issue evident even in the works of prominent followers of Michelangelo such as Daniele da Volterra, whose *Presentation of the Virgin* exhibits indigent *ignudi* as its preeminent figures of artifice (Figure 5.23). If painters could no longer “make the figures of the saints nude,” to adapt Gilio’s trenchant phrase, they sought other ways to exhibit the body that ultimately grounded and structured their art, even if this might mean rationalizing its presence in figures of abjection and displacing it to the literal or conceptual margins of finished works.²⁹ Characteristically, however, in the *Madonna del Popolo* Barocci quietly found a way to make such a display count. While his beggar is what we might term a decorous figure of abjection, revealing the body while maintaining decorum through an artfully conceived pose, he is neither compositionally nor conceptually marginal. Rather, as an embodiment of the needy who subsist on the almsgiving that motivates Christ’s blessing on the citizens of Arezzo, he occupies the center foreground, right over the altar. And beyond his immediate significance for the acts of mercy, he becomes a figure in which the legacy of the Renaissance is both foregrounded and transformed for the exigencies of a new age. Christian art, Barocci seems to have admitted, cannot finally incorporate the bodies of Venuses and Apollos. But it can find space to exhibit—as a backdrop for the host itself—the bodies of the humble, or of the martyr: of those who understand their bodies as both beautiful and akin to Brother Ass.



Figure 5.22 *Madonna del Popolo*, 1575–79, oil on panel, 359 × 252 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890 no. 751. (Figure 8).
Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 5.23 Daniele da Volterra, *Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple*, 1550–53, Rovere Chapel, Trinità dei Monti, Rome, Italy.
Photo: Andrea Jemolo/Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Notes

- 1 I would like to offer particular thanks to Judy Mann and Babette Bohn—the symposium organizers—and to the other speakers for stimulating discussion during the symposium and in the exhibition. While the paper as presented here is inflected by those conversations, I have retained the structure, and the relatively informal phrasing, of the original lecture.
- 2 For extended discussion see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008; for the development of the words as critical terms, see in particular 125–41. For Baglione’s distinctive characterization of Barocci’s style, rarely employed again in his extensive *Vite* of artists except in reference to artists overtly influenced by Barocci, see Baglione, *Le Vite*, 1642 (1995), 1, 134. For archaizing artistic experiments, see n. 11 below.
- 3 For the letter, see Alessandro Luzio, *La galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all’Inghilterra nel 1627–1628*, Milan, 1974, 28. For contextual discussion, see Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art*, New York and Cambridge, 2000, 191, 278 n. 10.
- 4 Francesco della Torre to Donato Rullo, in *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini, et eccellentissimi ingegni scritte in diverse materie*, Venice, 1551, bk 2, 113r–13v: “... che per la verità queste materie della religione à trattarle vagamente si fanno spesso di sante prophane: e credo che sia difficil cosa à farlo bene, e con dignità.” Della Torre and Rullo operated in the reform circle of Cardinal Reginald Pole and Marcantonio Flaminio, and here discuss religious lyric poetry. Tellingly, della Torre notes that he will send Rullo some other, non-religious lyrics (“pastorali, et amorse”) which are more successfully “alluring and beautiful” (“son tanto piu vaghi et piu venusti”) because they “trattano di materie piu capaci di vaghezza.” See Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 128 for further discussion and references.
- 5 Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Dialogo nel quale si ragiona degli errori e degli abusi de’ pittori circa l’istorie* (1564), in Paola Barocchi, ed., *Trattati d’arte del cinquecento*, 3 vols., Bari, 1960–62, 2, 1–115, 60: “Tenga per fermo il pittor che far si diletta le figure de’ santi nude, che sempre gli leverà gran parte de la riverenza che se li deve. Però compiaciasi più tosto de l’onestà e del convenevol decoro, che de la vaghezza de l’arte....” For the characterization of ancient religion, 79.
- 6 For extensive discussion see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, particularly 125–242.
- 7 For Vasari’s use of the phrase “pittura di cose piccole” see *Ibid.*, 165; for period theology, 166–68; and for the conclusion that the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* represents this subject and not the more common *Rest on the Flight*, 226–28, and now Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 111. This catalogue also provides rich entries on most of the paintings and drawings referenced in the present essay.
- 8 For Barocci’s career-long engagement with the Franciscans (including provisions in his will), see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 5–6 and 18–24.
- 9 For the composition and the signifying potential of color in the *Saint Andrew* see *Ibid.*, in particular 189–208. It is in part in the use of coloring to signify that Barocci distinguishes his invention from Vasari’s *Calling of Saints Peter and Andrew* for the Pieve of Arezzo, which Barocci would have seen while in Arezzo during negotiations concerning his *Madonna del Popolo* and later at the painting’s installation in 1579, just before he commenced the *Calling of Saint Andrew*. Vasari’s work has been remarked upon for its subtle coloration: the background shoreline with the setting sun, while not as loosely painted as Barocci’s, may foreshadow Barocci’s eventual invention. See Rick Scorza, “Vasari’s *Calling of St. Peter and Andrew* and a Recent Acquisition by the Fitzwilliam Museum,” *Master Drawings* 49 (Summer 2011), 163–70, and further Charles Davis, Anna Maria Maetzke et al., *Giorgio Vasari: Principi, letterati e artisti nelle carte di Giorgio Vasari*. Exh. cat., Arezzo, 1981, no. 25, 340–41 (entry by Anna Maria Maetzke).
- 10 For extensive discussion see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 13–121.
- 11 Particularly from the Capuchins, the Order’s most radical reform branch, to whom Barocci was close: see *Ibid.*, 4–6, 18–24, and more at length Stuart Lingo, “The Capuchins and the Art of History. Retrospection and Reform in the Arts in Late Renaissance Italy,” PhD diss., Harvard University, 1998.
- 12 “Il voler fare il misterio della Misericordia non pare a me che sia soggetto troppo a proposito per fare una bella tavola....” For Barocci’s letter (November 5, 1574), Lingo, *Federico*

- Barocci, 2008, 38–39; the text is published in Michelangelo Gualandi, ed., *Nuova raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura*, 3 vols., Bologna, 1844–56, 1, 137–38. This was the beginning of the negotiations that would produce the *Madonna del Popolo*. See Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 13–61 for extensive discussion of the tensions between tradition and innovation in the *Immaculate Conception* and the *Madonna del Popolo*, and Barocci's revealing discussions with the Aretine confraternity. It is just possible that the Uffizi drawing may represent an early attempt by Barocci to accommodate the fraternity's desire for a traditional image of Misericordia; many details of the sheet, however, seem most closely related to planning for the *Immaculate Conception*.
- 13 Discussion of the development of the "vision altarpiece" and Barocci's contribution to the type can be found in Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 39–83; for the *Madonna of the Rosary*, 72 (see as well 205–07). Titian had already offered important responses to Raphael, exemplified in the *Ancona Madonna of 1520* (Lingo, fig. 46).
 - 14 See Florian Härb, "Dal vivo or da se: Nature versus Art in Vasari's Figure Drawings," *Master Drawings* 43 (Fall 2005), 326–39 (326 for the quotation). A re-orientation of the discussion of drawing in the *Vite* toward a greater investment in life drawing in the 1568 edition has been remarked and read as reflecting the taste of Vincenzo Borghini in Stefano Pierguidi, "Vasari, Borghini, and the Merits of Drawing from Life," *Master Drawings* 49 (2011), 171–74. Occasionally the relative lack of drawings identifiably from life in Vasari's work has been attributed to accidents of survival, and debate continues concerning how often Vasari's drawings of nudes are from life or "da se." For a review, see Scorza, "Vasari's Calling..." 2011.
 - 15 Bellori asserts that Barocci made two trips to Rome, one when about 20 (so in the mid-1550s) and one slightly later. To date, documentation has only come to light to place Barocci definitively in Rome between October of 1561 and June of 1563; see Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 2000, 22–23 for a discussion of the issues surrounding the question of two trips; see further Jeffrey Fontana, "Federico Barocci: Imitation and the Formation of Artistic Identity," PhD diss., Boston University, 1997, 36, n. 74.
 - 16 John Marciari, "Artistic Practice in Late Cinquecento Rome and Girolamo Muziano's Accademia di San Luca," in *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590–1635*, ed. Peter Lukehart, New Haven and London, 2009, 197–224. Marciari's essay is rich in observations concerning the practices of a number of artists based in Rome during the second half of the Cinquecento, and argues that not even in the early version of the Accademia promoted by Muziano was life drawing a significant practice.
 - 17 Bohn, "Drawing as Artistic Invention," in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 33–69, 44 (and 43–47 on the more general question of Barocci's resistance to life drawing from female models); see further 139.
 - 18 For a representative selection, see Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, with contributions by Susan Woodford, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture. A Handbook of Sources*, 2nd ed., London and Turnhout, 2010, plates 14–17 (Venus), 60 (Three Graces). Notably, while Barocci's drawing stands out for the degree to which it appears to naturalize a sculptural source, a drawing from the circle of Raphael (15b), and one by Marcantonio Raimondi (17a, see 66–67 for catalogue entries) both exhibit some tendency to round out the antique proportions of the hips and increase the size of the navel. This raises the possibility that Barocci was developing naturalizing tendencies he observed in drawings he owned by Raphael or his circle: some 80 "Raphael" sheets are recorded in the inventory of his studio. Further, evidence of related practices in Florence at the time Barocci was planning the *Immaculate Conception* may point at once to greater knowledge of Florentine practice on Barocci's part than hitherto discussed, and to a broader culture of the naturalization of antique sources. For a striking Florentine example, see Jacopo d'Empoli's sheet with two female figure studies evidently based on an antique sculpture (Empoli has registered the truncated arms, for instance) but quite literally "fleshed out" from the model; Larry J. Feinberg, with an essay by Karen-Edis Barzman, *From Studio to Studiolo. Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, Seattle and London, 1991, 100–101. Feinberg tentatively dates the drawing to the 1570s. It should

- be noted that occasional antique statues, particularly of Venus, exhibit more fleshy forms than typically associated with ancient sculpture.
- 19 The drawing (Berlin KdZ 20438 (4153)) is reproduced in Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 326, cat. 38.38. The detail has been acutely noted by Claudio Pizzorusso, “Federico Barocci e il paradosso dell’ ‘ottimo Scultore’,” in Giannotti and Pizzorusso, *Federico Barocci*, 2009, 59, who hypothesizes an écorché *modellino* as the source. The Raphael drawing of the skeletal Virgin is British Museum 1895, 0915.617
 - 20 Bohn in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 44.
 - 21 For further discussion of potential sources of the figure, see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 228–31. Jeffrey Fontana, “Evidence for an Early Florentine Trip by Federico Barocci,” *Burlington Magazine* 139 (July 1997), 471–75, 474 sees in Uffizi 1419E recto hints that Barocci indeed saw the *Doni Tondo* on his apparent trip to Florence near the end of the 1550s. While the painting remained in Casa Doni, it seems to have been relatively accessible: in a letter of 17 August 1549, Anton Francesco Doni advises a friend to spare no effort to see the tondo, by the “master of masters.” See Giovanni Bottari, ed., *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura scritte da’ più celebri personaggi del secolo XV, XVI, e XVII*, vol. 3, Milan, 1822, 347.
 - 22 See Mann in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 115 for more discussion (see 109–17 for a complete analysis of the complex genesis of the composition, of which Barocci ideated multiple versions with some variations).
 - 23 Bohn in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 138; Pizzorusso, “Federico Barocci...,” 2009, 57, 79.
 - 24 The citation of Adam has been noted by Pizzorusso, “Federico Barocci...,” 2009, 59; by Edmund Pillsbury in Pillsbury and Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, 1978, no. 64, 86–87; and by Mann in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 230, 237 n. 42.
 - 25 For a reading of Raphael’s integration of artistic sources with life drawing see Michael W. Kwakkelstein, “The Model’s Pose: Raphael’s Early Use of Antique and Italian Art.” *Artibus et Historiae*, 23, no. 46 (2002), 37–60.
 - 26 While the figure of the mother nursing her child in Barocci’s *Martyrdom of San Vitale* of 1580–83 could be read as a source for the Chatsworth figure, Barocci has taken pains to pose that mother and place the child at her breast in such a way as to prevent its full exposure and maintain a fragile decorum. The figure in the Chatsworth study is generally identified as Charity, but Judith Mann has concluded that she probably does not literally represent the virtue, but is rather a mother. See Mann, “Federico Barocci’s Faithful Fidos: A Study in the Efficacy of Counter-Reformation Imagery,” in Laura D. Gelfand, ed., *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, Leiden, 2016, pp. 159–61.
 - 27 For further discussion of this and related issues, see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 157–63.
 - 28 The original version of the Doge’s letter, published by Bellori with very slight adjustments, has been found and transcribed by Michael Bury, “The Senarega Chapel in San Lorenzo, Genoa: New Documents about Barocci and Francavilla,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 31 (1987), 327–56, 355–56. For discussion, see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 138.
 - 29 I will treat this issue at greater length in “Beggared *ignudi*,” an essay in preparation.

6 “Though this be madness, yet there is method in it”

Barocci's design process

Babette Bohn

Federico Barocci's surviving oeuvre includes some 1,500 drawings, most of them preparatory studies for paintings, constituting the largest extant corpus of preparatory drawings by any Italian Renaissance artist. Though he was trained in the Raphaelesque tradition in his native Urbino, Barocci's design process includes many anomalies, including a remarkably high number of preparatory studies for paintings; an unusual focus on extremities; a proclivity for compositional reversals and revisions, sometimes introduced late in the design process; a reliance on several types of full-scale studies; and an inventive approach to color, with new drawing types and media. Pastel, Barocci's favorite colored medium in drawings, was employed in hundreds of sheets. He also produced oil sketches for heads, enabling him to rehearse his heads before painting the finished works. Some oil and pastel studies for heads and all of the small color replicas of full compositions, hitherto considered preparatory works, were evidently made after completion of the full paintings, for use in the studio or sale to private collectors. These works confirm Barocci's popularity among collectors who found it increasingly difficult to obtain conventional works from the artist.

This essay will build on my study of Barocci's drawings in the St. Louis exhibition catalogue of 2012,¹ concentrating on his use of color and emphasis on heads and extremities in his preparatory process and providing new archival evidence that elucidates the early collecting of his drawings. Barocci's mastery of both *disegno* and *colore* was exceptional for his generation, prefiguring the balance between these two allegedly opposing principles during the Seicento. His large corpus of extant drawings includes two innovatively colored types: the first substantial group of pastel preparatory drawings by an Italian painter and a smaller number of oil sketches on paper, among the first examples of this type of work to be employed for preparatory purposes in the Italian peninsula. These heads illustrate a crucial aspect of Barocci's draftsmanship: as Shearman remarked long ago, neither paintings nor drawings in a conventional sense, these oil sketches on paper illustrate the indivisibility of drawing from painting for Barocci.² This blurring of the line between design and execution is also linked to the artist's inveterate revisionism, a willingness to rethink until the last moment, to a degree that is unprecedented in Italian art. Even after producing 50 or more studies for a painting, Barocci was quite capable of introducing further changes. Sometimes this eleventh-hour revisionism is confirmed by discrepancies between the painting and the cartoon, as exemplified by his *Visitation* of 1583–86, for which the final design, even after an unusually long series of compositional studies, was still not completely resolved in the cartoon.³

Barocci's lengthy pictorial preparation, like his birthplace of Urbino, qualified him as Raphael's heir, in the eyes of his principal early biographer, Giovanni Pietro Bellori.⁴ Nevertheless, Bellori's remarks on Barocci's preparatory procedures were

skewed by his critical stance as a dedicated classicist who privileged *disegno* over *colore*, and it will be argued here that Bellori misunderstood Barocci's process in some key respects that relate to the artist's approach to color.

One of the first questions one must pose with this artist is: why did he produce so many preparatory studies for paintings? There is simply nothing like it in Italian art. Barocci's prolific production has justifiably been partially explained by the traditional notion that he was the heir to Raphael, his famous compatriot who refined the multi-step design procedures of the Renaissance. Raphael, however, produced nothing like the numbers of drawings that Barocci made for his pictures, beginning with the *Deposition* of 1568–69 (Color Plate 2), with 56 extant preparatory studies and climaxing in the *Madonna del Popolo* a decade later, with at least 90. The studies for the *Deposition* exemplify the different types of preliminary drawings the artist used, beginning with rough compositional sketches such as a two-sided sheet from Edinburgh that records his early explorations for both the group of men taking Christ's body down from the Cross (Figure 5.17) and the group of lamenting women in the foreground (Figure 5.20).⁵ Barocci's studies for the *Deposition* also include numerous individual figure studies, some drawn from life (Figure 6.1);⁶ drawings of heads (Figure 6.2) and other anatomical particulars; a highly finished presentation drawing or "small cartoon" that corresponds precisely to the composition of the altarpiece (Color Plate 17);⁷ and, finally, a full-scale cartoon, used for direct transfer to the canvas, from which two fragments survive (Figure 6.3).⁸ Over the course of 50 years, Barocci produced between 40 and 90 preparatory studies for each of eight different paintings. These numbers are particularly remarkable since all these drawings prepared oil paintings. After his departure from Rome in 1563, Barocci painted no frescoes, a type of painting that typically necessitates a larger number of preparatory studies.



Figure 6.1 *Study for Christ's torso*, black and white chalk on blue paper, laid down, 42.6 × 27 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 20466 (4196) (Cat. 3.3).

Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Figure 6.2 Study for the head of the woman supporting the Virgin, red, black, and white chalk with peach pastel on blue-gray paper, laid down, 31.7 × 28.2 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, inv. D. 1516. (Cat. 3.7).
Photo: Musée des Beaux Arts © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 6.3 Cartoon fragment for the head of the woman supporting the Virgin, charcoal, black and white chalk with traces of red chalk and incision, 30 × 24.2 cm, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 2287 (Cat. 3.8).
Photo: Albertina, Vienna.

Another remarkable issue is the artist's proclivity for repetition—in two respects. First, Barocci frequently became obsessed with a detail, such as a hand, arm, or foot, drawing it repeatedly, sometimes with little variation from one to the next—as with his ten studies for Saint Joseph's right arm in the *Visitation* (Figure 6.4).⁹ When I first began working on Barocci, I assumed that some of these must be copies by other artists, rather than autograph studies by Barocci. This is certainly the case sometimes, as I have argued in the catalogue; but it is by no means always true. There is no escaping a couple of hypotheses: that Barocci prolonged the design process and postponed painting as long as possible, probably due in part to the health problems that allegedly limited him to two hours of painting a day; and also that the artist seems to have been literally training his hand, rehearsing for painting through drawing, to a degree for which there is no precedent in Italian art. Barocci embodies Leonardo's dictum: "Remember first to acquire diligence, rather than speed"—one of the many bits of evidence that he saw a manuscript of Leonardo's *Treatise on Painting*, then probably housed in the duke of Urbino's library.¹⁰



Figure 6.4 *Studies for Saint Joseph*, recto, black chalk and charcoal heightened with white, partially squared in black chalk, on blue-green paper, 40 × 28.3 cm, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11622 F. (Cat. 10.9).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

A second type of repetition involves Barocci's reuse of drawings for more than one painting. A study for the head of Anchises (Figure 6.5) was created in about 1586 for Barocci's first, lost version of *Aeneas fleeing Troy*; reused in his second version of this picture in 1598 (Figure 6.6); employed in reverse, for his *Saint Jerome* from the late 1590s; and yet again in the late *Lamentation* (Figure 1.2).¹¹ The head of a woman in Besançon (Figure 6.2) was used in four paintings datable over more than 40 years: first created for the *Deposition*; reused six years later in the *Immaculate Conception*; then a dozen years subsequently for Creusa in *Aeneas fleeing Troy*; and finally, more than a decade later, providing a generic model for Mary Magdalen in the *Lamentation*.¹² Many Renaissance artists repeated figures from one painting to another, a practice that is facilitated by drawings. For Barocci, such recycling depended upon his unusual reliance on full-scale drawings—in this case, both the pastel from Besançon and the cartoon fragment in the Albertina are about the size of the painted figure—which he transferred to the painted surface with incision. This process was employed throughout most of Barocci's career; he demonstrated a remarkable capacity to suggest varied affect with the same head, for a grieving woman in the *Deposition*, a loving mother in the *Immaculate Conception*, and a frantic *Creusa* fleeing the burning city of Troy. But in the late *Lamentation*, Barocci's reliance upon several figures created originally for other works suggests a diminished creative energy. This reminds me of Malvasia's lament, in his biography of Guido Reni, that the artist's late works suffered because they too often reused figures from earlier compositions in transpositions that were sometimes disappointingly ineffectual.¹³



Figure 6.5 *Head of Anchises*, black, red, and white chalk with peach and yellow pastel and incision on blue paper, laid down, 37.8 × 25.9 cm, The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, inv. 5233 (Cat. 16.2).

Photo: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2014/Bridgeman Imagesç.



Figure 6.6 Aeneas Fleeing Troy, 1598, oil on canvas, 179 × 253 cm, signed lower right: “FED. BAR. VRB./FAC. MDXCVIII.” Galleria Borghese, Rome, inv. 68 (Cat. 16).
 Photo: Galleria Borghese, Rome, Italy/Bridgeman Images.

Another striking feature of Barocci’s design process is his proclivity for reversing compositional elements. The frequency of this tendency, which occurs to some extent with almost every painting by the artist, is unusual. The *Entombment of Christ* (Color Plate 1) provides an extreme example of this phenomenon: it was fully designed before the entire composition was flipped, probably due to either liturgical or lighting considerations. I argued in the catalogue that Barocci’s creative process depends upon rotating forms through space. Sometimes this involves a single figure, as with Saint Francis in *Il Perdono*; in other instances, such as the *Entombment*, a full composition. As with his repetitions, Barocci’s reversals depend upon tracing and incision; he frequently transfers a figure from one drawing to another or from the recto of a drawing to the verso, to achieve this change of direction.

A critical issue for Barocci’s drawings, as for his paintings, is his inventive approach to color. This essay explores the use of color as a preparatory instrument in Barocci’s design process. I would like to distinguish, from the outset, between color usage that is conceived for preparatory purposes and color that is employed due to other motivations. Color in drawings can also be prompted, alternatively, by the desire to enhance a drawing’s salability to collectors, a demonstrable motive, for example, in Ludovico Carracci’s employment of colored sheets of various hues for many of his finished compositional drawings.¹⁴ Barocci generally used blue or gray paper and only rarely employed such prepared, individually colored sheets. One exception, a

composition on an ocher sheet (Color Plate 17), was made as a presentation drawing for his *Deposition*, so the ocher coloring was presumably motivated by the desire to enhance the work’s attractiveness to the patron. Colored paper was frequently utilized for such presentation drawings by many artists, from at least the Quattrocento on, to enhance the visual appeal of finished compositions to the patrons. Such motivations differ from true preparatory considerations, that is, incorporating color into drawings as a means of considering the role of color in a painting.

In this respect, Barocci’s most frequent choice of medium for introducing color into his drawings was pastel. His frequent reliance on this medium is confirmed both by extant examples and by the post-mortem inventory of his studio, which lists 370 pastels, amongst some 1,400 itemized drawings.¹⁵ Based on the evidence of surviving examples, Barocci’s earliest reliance on pastels coincides—not coincidentally—with the emergence of his commitment to drawing the human figure from life, during the mid- to late 1560s. The first sizeable group of pastel drawings to survive was made for the *Deposition*, painted for the Cathedral of Perugia in 1568–69. Six of these pastels are studies of heads; all employ peach-colored pastel in combination with black, white, and sometimes red chalk, deploying both the peach pastel and the red chalk to evoke a convincing sense of flesh tonality. Barocci’s naturalistic chalk and pastel heads, many of them drawn to the full size of their painted counterparts, enabled him to study closely the expressions of the emotional figures, and the introduction of naturalistic color reinforced this vibrant and convincing expressiveness.

Barocci’s growing reliance on pastel also correlates to a new command of paint in the *Deposition* and a new approach to applying color in his oil paintings: The *Deposition* is much more thickly painted than any earlier picture, with unprecedentedly rich passages of impasto, as in the striped scarf of the woman who supports the Virgin Mary. Moreover, here for the first time he relies extensively on the use of red underdrawing or outlining, particularly in the hands of several figures, a device that enhances the visibility and fleshy tonality of these extremities, which function as key rhetorical devices in conveying the affect of the figures. This red outlining, introduced in earlier paintings but here applied extensively for the first time, correlates to the red chalk and peach pastel of the drawings.¹⁶ For Barocci, just as the introduction of more color into his drawings animates his newly naturalistic figures, so the color in the paintings enhances their expressiveness and naturalism. Although two extant drawings for the *Deposition* employ bits of pastel for studies of extremities, it was only somewhat later that the full impact of pastel usage is evident in his studies of hands and feet.

Barocci’s obsessive concern with extremities was characteristic throughout his career. In his paintings, often the limbs play the critical role in constructing cohesive compositions, conveying emotion, and communicating the narrative action coherently. This obsession was reflected in the many preparatory studies of hands, arms, legs, and feet, a category that typically constituted about a third of the artist’s preliminary drawings for his paintings, even before he began to utilize pastels. In one marvelous sheet from Berlin for *Il Perdono* (1571–76, Color Plate 18 and Figure 6.7), for example, Barocci studied Christ’s feet again and again, to achieve the sense of weightlessness that conveys a key iconographic feature: that Christ is in his resurrected, divine form, as He floats over the heads of the cherubim while appearing to Saint Francis.¹⁷



Figure 6.7 Studies of Christ's legs and feet, black and white chalk with traces of red chalk and stump on blue paper, 32.2 × 43.3 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 20221 (4279) (Cat. 5.5).

Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Nowhere is the critical role of arms and hands more evident than in Barocci's *Entombment of Christ* for the Chiesa della Croce in Senigallia (1579–82, Color Plate 1). The praying hands of the Virgin and the Magdalen (Color Plate 19), both studied in extant drawings,¹⁸ convey their humility and devotion, whereas the hands and arms of all the male figures are more actively engaged in supporting the body of Christ, cleaning out the tomb, or—in one case—holding a cloth into which he weeps. Twenty-one of Barocci's 50 surviving studies for this picture examine extremities, and nine of these employ pastel in combination with black, white, and sometimes red chalk. A few sheets examine the feet or the women's praying hands, but most of both the black and white and the colored studies examine the complex arms and hands of the men. One fascinating sheet in Berlin (Figure 6.8) explores solutions for four different figures, in some—but not all—cases, before Barocci reversed the entire composition. Here we see the artist progressing from monochrome to flesh-coloration.¹⁹ The coloristic naturalism of these appendages was particularly important to the artist. The rosy tonality for the flesh of these living followers of Christ is critical to the iconography: Barocci's Savior, with his pallid coloring and limp posture, is manifestly dead, a status made brutally evident by the juxtaposition of his white skin with the rosy flesh of the arms that actively support his body, prepare his tomb, and mourn his

loss. A key aspect of Barocci’s genius is his capacity to convey these biblical narratives in believable, human terms; and this is one of many instances in which color plays a crucial role in accomplishing that goal. Barocci truly develops his iconography in the process of drawing, as he considers not only the possibilities of varied arrangements and poses for his figures, but also the role of color in conveying crucial elements of meaning.

The *Annunciation* (Color Plate 20) was painted for the duke of Urbino’s chapel in the Basilica of Loreto. Six of the 28 drawings for this work employ pastel. More preparatory studies are known for the Virgin Annunciate than for any other figure in Barocci’s career: 18, including a remarkable sheet of studies for her hands (Color Plate 21), which illustrates Barocci’s characteristic process.²⁰ He began with a simple black and white chalk rendering of the raised right hand. Moving from right to left, he created two more studies of the same hand, now colored with peach and bits of red pastel, in addition to the black and white chalk; the last study, at lower right, provides



Figure 6.8 *Studies for the Virgin and hands of Nicodemus, Saint John, and the tomb cleaner*, black and white chalk with red and pink pastel on blue paper, 47 × 41 cm [irregular], Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 20361 (4267) (Cat. 8.5).

Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

a single, colored depiction of the left hand holding a book. The three studies for the right hand show little variation in form, but they differ substantially in coloring and lighting. The central depiction, the most elaborated in these respects, closely considers the shadow that falls to the left, the illumination in the center, and carefully colors the rosy knuckles. In the final sketch, at left, Barocci chose stronger lighting that eliminated some of this anatomical detail and coloring but more successfully conveyed the divine presence, the Holy Spirit through which the Virgin is impregnated. Here again, color and light played a crucial role in the artist's conception, as he slowly devised his iconography through the process of drawing.

One of Barocci's best-preserved pastel heads is a study for the Virgin Mary, in which the peach tones of the flesh, the orange ribbon in the hair, and the illumination evoked by the white chalk are all vividly expressed (Color Plate 22). Marciari and Versteegen have convincingly demonstrated that Barocci often employed such full-scale pastel studies for heads, before transferring the design to his cartoon, used for direct transfer to the surface of the painting.²¹ But this head is actually slightly larger than the painted figure it allegedly prepared, and it is in such pristine condition that we should entertain the possibility that the drawing was made after completion of the painting, either for sale or as a gift to a private collector. The desirability of such works to collectors is confirmed, to some degree, by archival evidence. Although only one collection with pastel drawings by Barocci is documented during the artist's lifetime,²² a dozen Seicento inventories in Bologna and Rome include his drawings. Although these documents rarely supply details on media, three inventories specify that the drawings are *pastelli*; and one of these indicates that the work is a "testa di pastello."²³

Several other pastel drawings by Barocci are also larger than the paintings they prepared, including examples for the *Entombment* (see below), and many of these are also in pristine condition. One particularly fine example is the head of the Christ Child in Windsor Castle (Figure 6.9), produced in connection with Barocci's *Nativity* of 1597 (Figure 6.10).²⁴ Of course, it is possible that Barocci simply produced preparatory drawings that were larger than the paintings they prepared, to facilitate close study of the facial expressions. But these drawings may alternatively have been produced as finished works of art in their own right, for sale to private collectors, after completion of the paintings. As we shall see, Barocci also produced another type of head study that suggests such an inception.

Far less frequently than pastels, Barocci employed another type of colored head study that was also often full-scale: the oil study on paper. The inventory of his studio at the artist's death includes only 14 of these—a small number, amidst the 1,400 Barocci drawings that were itemized in the inventory; and today, such heads can be connected with only nine of Barocci's paintings.²⁵ Although most modern scholars have considered these works a small but important part of Barocci's production, these oil sketches of heads were entirely overlooked by the artist's early biographer Bellori. The earliest example of this practice is the head of Saint Jude for the *Madonna of Saint Simon* (ca. 1567), although this head has been variously characterized as in tempera or in oil, over red chalk. Like several later examples, the inception of the work, in chalk, and the support, on paper, firmly identify this study as a drawing.²⁶ Later examples are connected to *Il Perdono*, the *Entombment of Christ*, the *Visitation*, *Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalen*, the *Circumcision*, the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, the Genoa *Crucifixion*, and the *Beata Michelina*.²⁷



Figure 6.9 Study for the Christ Child, black, red, and white chalk with peach pastel on blue paper, made up on all four corners, laid down, 16 × 22.1 cm, The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, inv. 5223 (Cat. 15.5).

Photo: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2014/Bridgeman Images.



Figure 6.10 Nativity, 1597, oil on canvas, 134 × 105 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. P00018 (Cat. 15).

Photo: Prado, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images.

For his famous altarpiece of the *Visitation* for the Chiesa Nuova in Rome (1583–86; Color Plate 23), Barocci produced 45 preparatory studies that are still known today, including perhaps as many as ten head studies of various types.²⁸ Two drawings in chalk and pastel, which prepared the heads of Zaccharias (Figure 6.11) and the anonymous female spectator holding a basket of chickens, are somewhat larger than the painted heads they prepared; as we have already seen, this use of an over-sized chalk and pastel drawing was a common practice for the artist.²⁹ Three oil sketches of heads are also connected to the *Visitation*: one for Saint Elizabeth; and two for Saint Joseph (Figure 6.12 and Figure 6.13), a rare case in which the artist produced two oil studies for the same head. The first is larger (39.5 × 31.3 cm) and sketchier and was evidently created earlier. The second oil sketch is somewhat smaller (37 × 26.3 cm) and although dynamic in execution is only slightly less finished than the head in the altarpiece. There are two possible explanations for Barocci's creation of a second oil sketch for this head. One is that he employed this repetition to rehearse the appearance of Joseph's head before painting it on the canvas, a method consistent with his practice with other types of drawings. The other, more probable hypothesis is that he made the smaller and more finished head after completion of the altarpiece, for sale to a collector—effectively making this a finished work of art in its own right, rather than a preparatory study for a painting. This second hypothesis would explain both the more finished character of the second work and the discrepancy in scale.³⁰



Figure 6.11 Study for the head of Saint Zaccharias, black, red, and white chalk with peach and ocher pastel on blue-green paper, laid down, 34.8 × 23.5 cm, inscribed in brown ink lower right: “Guido.” Albertina, Vienna, inv. 556 (Cat. 10.8).

Photo: Albertina, Vienna.

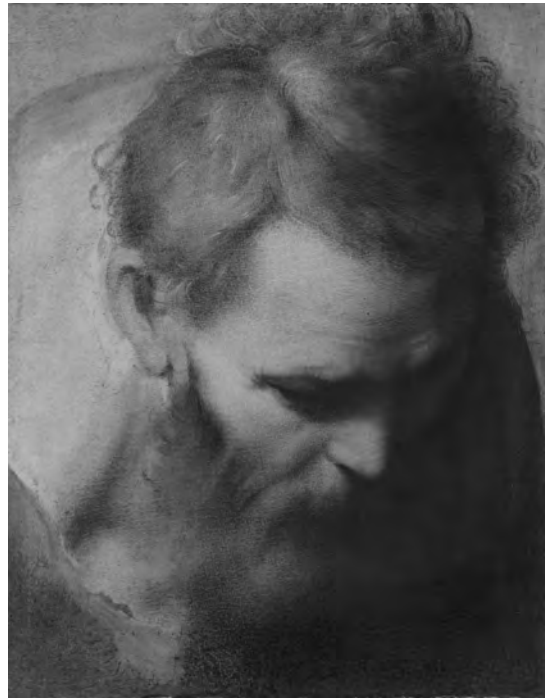


Figure 6.12 Oil study for the head of Saint Joseph, black, red, peach, and white oil paint (over traces of black chalk) on paper, laid down on canvas, 39.5 × 31.3 cm, Private collection (Cat. 10.11).

Photo: Private collection, courtesy of Jean-Luc Baroni.



Figure 6.13 Oil study for the head of Saint Joseph, black, white, red, and ocher oil paint over black and red chalk (and peach pastel?) on paper, laid down on canvas, 37 × 26.3 cm, Hester Diamond, New York (Cat. 10.10).

Photo: Collection Hester Diamond, New York.

Although colored oil studies of heads were made by some of his contemporaries, Barocci was the first to use such works to prepare paintings, and he may also have been the first to sell these as replicas of his own work. One factor was probably that although Barocci was very famous, and during his lifetime earned the highest prices of any painter in the Italian peninsula,³¹ his pictures were difficult to obtain. Although he lived to be about 79, a ripe old age for the time, he was seriously ill for most of his adult life. Barocci became notoriously reluctant to accept new commissions and was often years behind schedule in fulfilling them—so these oil sketches may have provided him with an easier means of meeting the high demand for his work. This theory is supported by a number of seventeenth-century inventories that suggest Barocci's oil sketches of heads, like his other drawings, were popular with Italian collectors.

Four head studies in oil are known for Barocci's *Entombment*—more than for any other painting by the artist; and an equal number of pastel studies for heads have also survived for this work. This group of eight head studies confirms that the artist continued to produce pastels, even when he also made oil sketches. Two of the pastel head drawings (for Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea) are somewhat larger than the paintings they prepared. Two studies for the head of Nicodemus—one in chalk and pastel (Figure 6.14), the other in oil (Figure 6.15)—demonstrate the artist's willingness to produce both types of full-scale studies for a single head. In the pastel, which is slightly larger than the head in the painting, Barocci resolved the pose and lighting, but the pastel is less finished than the oil study, which was clearly made later. In the oil, which corresponds precisely to the size of the painting, Barocci attends closely to the rosy coloring of the nose and cheek, a healthy, flushed complexion that characterizes all three of the male figures who support the pallid body of the dead Christ, a contrast whose iconographic significance is discussed above.



Figure 6.14 *Head study for Nicodemus*, black, red, and white chalk and red and ochre pastel with stump on gray paper, 38 × 26.3 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Woodner Collection 1991, inv. 1991.182.16 (Cat. 8.8).

Photo: Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Figure 6.15 *Head study for Nicodemus*, oil on paper, laid down on canvas, 38.7 × 27.3 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1976, inv. 1976.87.1 (Cat. 8.9).

Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org.

Two oil sketches are also related to the head of Saint John. Analogously to the two heads of Saint Joseph related to the *Visitation*, discussed above, one head of Saint John (Figure 6.16) is larger (42.2 × 31.9 cm) and sketchier, corresponding precisely to the size of the head in the altarpiece, whereas a second head (Figure 6.17) is smaller (39.4 × 29.9 cm) and more finished. In this instance as well, it seems likely that the smaller head was made, not for preparatory purposes, but after completion of the altarpiece, for sale to a private collector. The somewhat darker palette of this second head may reflect a later date of execution, when the altarpiece was returned to Barocci's studio for repairs during 1607–1608.³²

The final oil study for the *Entombment*, the Magdalen (Figure 6.18), is anomalous among these heads in several respects. It is the largest of Barocci's extant oil sketches (58 × 43 cm) and the only one to include so much of the shoulder and back. It is also the sole example to include some indication of setting; the rock formation that appears just beyond the figure in the painting is also indicated in the sketch. Although this indication of setting might suggest that the sketch was made after completion of the painting, this seems improbable, given its vigorous execution and exceptional quality, despite a somewhat abraded surface.³³

It is important to consider why Barocci sometimes employed full-scale head studies in oil, in addition to those in pastel, and why he apparently did so only infrequently. It seems plausible that he was more likely to produce such heads, if indeed they were intended for sale, in relation to his most famous altarpieces, such as the *Visitation* and *Entombment*. But even allowing for lost works, the low numbers in both the inventory and the extant corpus of works suggest that whereas Barocci relied



Figure 6.16 Head study for *Saint John the Evangelist*, oil on paper lined with linen, 42.2 × 31.9 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1979, inv. 1979.11.1. (Cat. 8.10).

Photo: Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Figure 6.17 Head study for *Saint John the Evangelist*, oil over traces of black chalk on paper, laid down on canvas, 39.4 × 29.9 cm, Private collection. (Cat. 8.11).

Photo: Private collection, courtesy of Jean-Luc Baroni.



Figure 6.18 *Head study for Mary Magdalen*, oil on paper, laid down on canvas, 58 × 43 cm, Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne, inv. RF 1997.3 (Cat. 8.12).

Photo: © Bayonne, Musée Bonnat-Helleu/cliché A. Vaquero.

consistently on heads in pastel to prepare his pictures from at least the later 1560s, he employed head studies in oil only occasionally. One factor may be novelty. Although other Italian painters, such as Annibale Carracci, also produced heads in oil on paper, Barocci was one of the first to employ such works as preparatory studies for paintings. Annibale's heads were independent exercises, not preparatory studies, and were created more often on canvas than on paper. Domenico Beccafumi produced such works for preparatory purposes earlier than Barocci, but his heads are much more monochromatic. Barocci was evidently the first Italian artist to incorporate fully colored oil studies of heads into the design process, innovatively recalibrating the line between drawing and painting. Although these works have sometimes been termed auxiliary cartoons, this terminology is inappropriate, since none of Barocci's oil heads were incised for transfer to the final painting. But it seems likely that, like Raphael's auxiliary cartoons, these heads were produced after he began painting the larger pictures, a hypothesis consistent with their scale and close correspondence to the final paintings.

Although early inventories rarely provide full information on the media of art works, some archival evidence suggests that many heads by Barocci, in oil on paper, were owned by early collectors.³⁴ None of these inventories dates from Barocci's lifetime, although 17 inventories from the Seicento list works that may well have been oil sketches of heads. The earliest, the inventory of Agostino Doria's collection in Genoa (1617–20), exemplifies the situation. In a list of paintings that clearly distinguishes

the few drawings (as nine cartoons, no. 20, or a pastel, no. 112), is included “a head by fedricho borosio...15.”³⁵ From this description, the work might have been either a finished portrait painting or an oil sketch of a head. Neither medium nor support is specified, although the fairly low valuation, of 15 *scudi*, makes it less likely that the work was a finished portrait.³⁶ Only a few Seicento inventories provide more specific information, confirming that the works listed were oil sketches of heads. Bonaventura Argenti’s inventory (Rome, February 8, 1697), for example, includes a head that was roughly finished or incomplete: “A head of an old man with a wood frame rough sketch (*sbozzo*) by Barocci.”³⁷ Appearing in a list of primarily paintings, in which the few drawings are clearly identified (as a *disegno*, or *disegnino in carta*) there is little doubt that this work by Barocci was an oil sketch rather than a finished portrait, although the vague description makes it impossible to identify specifically.

Of the 17 Seicento inventories (known to this writer) that include promising candidates for Barocci oil sketches, by far the largest number (nine) were in Rome. The earliest of this group was Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani’s inventory of 1638, which included in its list of paintings the head of an angel, an unlikely subject for a finished picture by Barocci.³⁸ In 1647, the inventory of Giuseppe Pignatelli listed the head of a female saint on paper amongst the paintings in the collection, an example in which the identification of the support, as paper, confirms that this work was also an oil sketch.³⁹

Several interesting issues arise with the inventory of Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán Carpio, VII Marqués de Eliche, Duque de Montoro, Conde-Duque de Olivares, VII Marqués del Conde de Morente. Carpio was the Neapolitan ambassador to Rome, and his collection was inventoried in 1682–83, when he was promoted to the viceroyalty of Naples. An avid art collector, Carpio owned 12 works ascribed to Barocci, many of them suggesting an interest in the artist’s drawings and unfinished works. Two items by Barocci are identified in the inventory as drawings in chiaroscuro, and one work is described as a *sbozzo* of Saint Christopher with the Christ Child. Four finished paintings are also listed, with valuations ranging from 40 to 250 *scudi*. Finally, Carpio’s inventory includes two probable oil sketches of heads, one of a child looking down and another portraying an old man in profile, both unlikely descriptions for finished portraits and both valued much lower than the finished pictures, at 18 and 20 *scudi* respectively.⁴⁰ Carpio’s inventory also lists a painting by Barocci representing a fish, a subject that clearly precludes its identification as a finished painting by the artist. Instead, this item may represent a valuable record of another of type of oil sketch that Barocci allegedly produced, to judge from the evidence of the artist’s post-mortem inventory, which included 28 oil sketches of landscapes, animals, fruit, and other subjects besides heads.⁴¹ None of Barocci’s oil sketches, apart from the heads, are still known today, and this reference in Carpio’s collection constitutes one of only two known instances of such a work in any inventory besides the artist’s.⁴²

In Bologna, where three Seicento inventories include Barocci drawings, two inventories feature items that may have been oil sketches of heads by the artist. The 1680 inventory of Andrea Danesi, a doctor of law, includes 133, principally modestly valued, paintings. One of these is described as a head by Barocci on paper; since it appears in a list of paintings without qualification, it was probably an oil sketch.⁴³ The second pertinent Bolognese inventory is that of Giulio Gurisi, a merchant who owned only 57 paintings and drawings, most of them unattributed and unvalued. Gurisi’s 1679 inventory, which seems to specify when the work in question is a

drawing rather than a painting, includes “A portrait/portrayal of an old man, hand of Barocci in the house with gilded frame very beautiful.”⁴⁴ It is impossible to determine conclusively from this description whether this work was a conventional portrait or an oil sketch; but since Barocci produced relatively few commissioned portraits, the latter seems likely.

In addition to these candidates in Rome and Bologna, two inventories of collections with heads ascribed to Barocci were in Amsterdam; others were in Genoa, Perugia, and Naples. Only one (apart from Barocci’s own post-mortem inventory) was in the artist’s native Urbino: that of Giovanni Lavalas in 1673, which included five of these heads.⁴⁵ This geographical diversity suggests that such works were of interest to various collectors; indeed, some of the inventories made in Rome were for Spanish collectors such as that of Carpio, discussed above. During the eighteenth century, only 13 known inventories include candidates for Barocci oil sketches of heads, but the list of cities grew to include Paris, Siena, Venice, and Florence. During the eighteenth century, Rome remained the most frequent location, with five heads attributed to Barocci in inventories. Interestingly, Siena, where Barocci’s style had strongly influenced local painters during the Seicento, boasted four eighteenth-century inventories with heads ascribed to the artist.

A third category of colored preparatory instrument that has been connected with Barocci is the *cartoncino per i colori*.⁴⁶ According to Bellori, Barocci produced two types of “small cartoons.” The first, the *cartoncino per il chiaroscuro*, was made in oil or gouache, immediately before the full-scale cartoon, a type that is documented in 13 extant examples, including the *Deposition cartoncino* in the Uffizi (Color Plate 17). These small cartoons are highly finished—much more so than the full-scale cartoons—but employ only very limited color, being intended, as Bellori’s terminology implies, to study the play of light and dark in the painting, always a crucial consideration with Barocci. Such finished compositions were evidently valued by collectors, as indicated by the 13 extant examples. This great regard is also suggested by the high valuation of 100 *scudi* given in the 1682–85 Carpio inventory for a “drawing in chiaroscuro” that was probably the *cartoncino* for *Il Perdono* in the Hermitage.⁴⁷

Challenging the views of earlier modern scholars who had all accepted Bellori’s account of the *cartoncini per i colori*, this writer argued in the catalogue that Barocci did not employ these works as preparatory studies for his paintings.⁴⁸ Basing this argument on the absence of such works in Barocci’s inventory, and on comparisons with his other preliminary studies, I argued that these works were small replicas, made for sale to private collectors after the completion of the related altarpieces, rather than as preparatory studies. The suggestions in the catalogue, that one replica of the *Entombment* was painted by Barocci himself, whereas the replica of *Il Perdono* was a collaborative work, by Barocci and an assistant, and a second replica of the *Entombment* was a workshop copy with no evidence of the master’s hand,⁴⁹ have since been refined in the introductory essay in this volume by Bohn and Mann. There we argue that, although we still believe that these are replicas made after completion of the related altarpieces, we are now convinced that none of these works is fully autograph. We believe that the *Entombment* replica, like that of *Il Perdono*, was made by Barocci and an assistant, a collaboration that became increasingly typical of the artist’s workshop practices in his later years. The introduction provides a fuller explanation of these issues, but I raise the issue here to make the point that these so-called *cartoncini per i colori* represent another category of Barocci’s production,

which suggests that we should expand our notions of his practices beyond the preparatory process to include works that were made either for private collectors or for future use as models in the studio.

The Barocci exhibition of 2012–13 provided an exceptional opportunity for re-considering Barocci's fascinating and innovative practices. Although the exhibition also offered an opportunity to revise my opinions on a few specific attributions,⁵⁰ I would like to conclude with some broader observations about the artist's drawings and preparatory procedures. Barocci's numerous preparatory studies and unconventional preparatory practices have always posed challenges to understanding his design procedures. In my view, earlier scholarship has too readily assumed that all drawings related to paintings necessarily served a preparatory function. As this essay has suggested, some oil sketches for heads, many heads in chalk and pastel, and all of the reduced replicas of full compositions were probably made after completion of the paintings, for sale to private collectors or for future use in the studio, rather than as preparatory studies. One corollary of this argument is that we should understand Barocci's employment of color in preparatory studies as one aspect of his focus on particulars such as heads and appendages, rather than full compositions. This hypothesis is consistent with all the evidence of his preparatory process, which records an extraordinary obsession with details such as extremities, to a degree unmatched by any other Italian artist. Barocci was a great innovator, in employing both pastel and oil paint in new ways to design his paintings, and it is key to understanding this artist to acknowledge that during his long design process, no decision was ever final until the paint was dry.⁵¹ Considerations of color, form, composition, and even fundamental iconography were constantly being worked out, even subsequent to the creation of cartoons. Barocci's dedication to color, integral to both his design process and his iconography, played an unprecedentedly central role in his creative considerations, influencing such great Seicento colorists as Rubens and Reni.

Notes

- 1 Bohn, "Drawing as Artistic Invention in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 33–69.
- 2 John Shearman, "Barocci at Bologna and Florence," *Burlington Magazine*, 118 (January 1976), 52.
- 3 See Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 198–211.
- 4 Bellori, *Le vite*, 1672 (1976). For two recent assessments of Bellori, see Bohn, "Drawing as Artistic Invention," in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 39–40 and John Marciari, review of Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, *Master Drawings*, 51/4 (2013), 521–22.
- 5 Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh, inv. D 725, in pen and brown ink with brown wash (on the verso, over black chalk), 28.1 × 21 cm). On several extant early compositional sketches for the *Deposition*, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 93–95 and Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, no. 22.
- 6 The *Study for Christ's Torso* (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 20466 [4196]) is in black and white chalk on blue paper, 42.6 × 27 cm.; Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, no. 3.3.
- 7 Uffizi inv. 9348 S. 822 E., in black chalk, pen and brown ink with ocher-brown wash heightened with white, partially squared in black chalk and some incision, on ocher-brown paper, 58 × 33 cm.; Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, no. 3.2.
- 8 The other extant cartoon fragment for the *Deposition* is the head of the Virgin in the Art Institute of Chicago (inv. 1922.5406), Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, cat. 3.9. Cartoons survive for only nine of Barocci's pictures, many in fragmentary form. He always used incision for transfer, so other cartoons were presumably destroyed. The inventory of

his studio includes seven cartoons that are lost, and some paintings for which no cartoon survives, such as the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino), have clearly visible incision marks. This collective evidence suggests that Barocci probably always made cartoons for paintings.

- 9 This drawing is in the Uffizi (inv. 11622 F. recto), in black chalk and charcoal heightened with white, partially squared in black chalk, 40 × 28.3 cm. The verso features further studies for the figure. See Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 207.
- 10 Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 38–39.
- 11 This drawing (Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, inv. 5233) is in black, red, and white chalk with peach and yellow pastel, incised, on blue paper, 37.8 × 25.9 cm.; Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 274–76.
- 12 Musée des Beaux-Arts et d’Archéologie, Besançon (inv. D. 1516), in red, black, and white chalk with peach pastel on faded blue-gray paper, 31.7 × 28.2 cm; Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 100–104 and Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, no. 22.16.
- 13 Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice, Vite de’ pittori bolognesi* (1678), II, ed. Giampietro Zanotti, Bologna, 1841, 37–38.
- 14 See, for example, Babette Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing*, Turnhout, 2004, nos. 113 and 121.
- 15 Calzini, “Lo studio del Barocci,” 1913, 80 (see Appendix I); Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 39–40.
- 16 Claire Barry, “Perfecting the Light: Barocci’s Red Outlining Technique,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 329–36.
- 17 Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. KdZ 20221 [4279]), in black and white chalk with traces of red chalk and stump on blue paper, 32.2 × 43.3 cm.
- 18 The evolution of Barocci’s design for the Virgin’s hands may be traced in two key drawings: Würzburg (inv. 7173 recto); and Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. KdZ 20356 [4466]). See Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 164 and 180, nn. 60, 61, and 64 and Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, 368, nos. 39.29, 39.33, and 39.28.
- 19 Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. KdZ 20361 [4267]), in black and white chalk with red and pink pastel on blue paper, 47 × 41 cm; Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, cat. 8.5.
- 20 Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. KdZ 20453 [4190]), in charcoal with red and pink pastel heightened with white on blue paper, 27.4 × 39.4 cm.
- 21 Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (inv. 5231), in black, white, and red chalk with pink and orange-peach pastel on blue paper, 29.9 × 23 cm. See Marciari and Versteegen, “Grande quanto l’opera,” 2008, 291–321.
- 22 Barocci’s patron Simonetto Anastagi, who commissioned a *Rest on the Return from Egypt* from the artist, owned four heads in pastel by Barocci that are listed in his account book (purchased in 1593) and in the 1602 inventory of his collection. See the discoveries of Giovanna Saponi noted by Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 48 and 67, n. 102.
- 23 The inventory of Cardinal Carlo Pio di Savoia (Rome, 1 March 1689, f. 468) includes “Altro simile d’un vecchio senza niente in testa alto palmi 1 on. 2 largo 1 1/4 testa di pastello del Barocci.” Two other inventories specifying that Barocci drawings were pastels are those of Cardinal Luigi Alessandro Omodei (2 May 1685, f. 22v: “Due pastelli di mano del Baroccio misura greca con cornice tinte di noce e profili d’oro”) and Cardinal Domenico Maria Corsi (11 December 1697, no. 95: “Un quadro con la figura d’un Cristo in pastello con cristallo sopra con cornice intagliata, e dorata di palmi tre e mezzo del Barocci”). Both inventories were published online by the Getty Provenance Index.
- 24 Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, inv. 5223, in black, red, and white chalk with peach pastel on blue paper, 16 × 22.1 cm. On the *Nativity*, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 262–71 and Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, no. 63.
- 25 Calzini, “Lo studio del Barocci,” 1913, 77 (see Appendix I); see also Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 49–52, where I reject the attributions to Barocci of many oil sketches ascribed to the artist by other authors.
- 26 Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 51–52 and fig. 34.

- 27 Ibid.
- 28 See the discussion of these drawings in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 198–211.
- 29 On the studies for the head of Saint Zaccharias in the Albertina, Vienna (inv. 556), in black, red, and white chalk with peach and ocher pastel on blue-green paper, 34.8 × 23.5 cm; and the head of a woman in the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC (inv. 1989.76.1), in red, black, and white chalk with peach pastel and stump on blue paper, 39 × 26.8 cm, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, cats. 10.8 and 10.12.
- 30 A third hypothesis, proposed by Marciari (review of Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2013, 523), is that the second head is a copy by another artist.
- 31 See the Spear essay (Chapter 8) in this volume.
- 32 See Bohn and Mann, “Introduction: New Insights into Federico Barocci’s Senigallia *Entombment*, and Suggestions on his Late Workshop Practice,” (Chapter 1) in this volume.
- 33 On this work, see Bohn and Mann, “Introduction,” (Chapter 1) in this volume.
- 34 The following information is based on my archival research in Urbino and Bologna and consultation of the inventories published by the Getty Provenance Index and a few other publications. This group is representative but not comprehensive; future research will doubtless turn up more works by Barocci in Seicento inventories.
- 35 “una testa de fedricho borosio...15.” (Getty Provenance Index).
- 36 Agostino Doria’s inventory primarily includes works that are valued under 50 *scudi*, but at least six finished portraits were appraised between 50 and 200 *scudi*. The inventory is in the Archivio di Stato of Naples (Archivio Doria d’Angri, parte I, 52, busta 7, ff.2–22) (see Getty Provenance Index).
- 37 “Una testa di un Vecchio con Cornice noce sbizzo del Barocci.” This Roman inventory, in the Archivio di Stato, Rome, Notai Auditor Camerae, 1697, ff.271–86, lacks any valuations (see Getty Provenance Index).
- 38 3 February 1638, f. 804 v. 163: “Un quadro con una testa d’un Angelo depinta in tela alta palmi 2. Larga 1.1/2 in circa [si crede mano del Barocci] con cornice nera e profilo d’oro” (Getty Provenance Index). See also Luigi Salerno, “The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani III: The Inventory, Part II,” *Burlington Magazine*, 102 (January 1960), 143.
- 39 19 May 1647, f.301: “Una testa d’una santina in carta incollata nella tavola con cornice di pero negra del Barocci alta p.mi” (Getty Provenance Index).
- 40 The *Saint Christopher with the Christ Child*, valued at 30 *scudi*, was presumably either a *cartoncino* or an unfinished painting. One chiaroscuro drawing, highly valued for a drawing at 100 *scudi*, may correspond to the *cartoncino* for *Il Perdono* now in the Hermitage; see below. Two paintings, the head of an Armenian in a turban and a Capuchin with clasped hands, that were also valued at 20 *scudi* each, are also potential candidates for oil sketches. The inventory, in the Archivio Casa de Alba, Palacio de Liria, Madrid, España (Caja 302–304), was published by Marcus Burke and Peter Cherry, *Documents for the History of Collecting: Spanish Inventories 1, Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601–1755*, Los Angeles, 1997, 726–86 (see also Getty Provenance Index).
- 41 Calzini, “Lo studio del Barocci,” 1913, 77 (see Appendix I).
- 42 On the other example, a lamb, see n. 45. One questionable attribution, a still-life in oil on panel, was published by Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 1985, 2, 291, but was later excluded from Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008. On the artist’s inventory, see Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 39–40; also the Ekserdjian essay, “The Tip of the Iceberg: Barocci’s Post-Mortem Inventory and the Survival of Renaissance Drawings,” (Chapter 9) in this volume. The four other Roman inventories, accessible through the Getty Provenance Index, all lack specific information such as prices that might help to clarify whether the heads ascribed to Barocci were oil sketches or finished portraits. Only one tellingly informal description, of a “Testa di Giovine ridente” owned by Giacomo Filippo Nini, Cardinal and Archbishop of Corinto (inventoried on October 17, 1681), might suggest an oil sketch. The other collections are: Monsignore Francesco Falconieri, 1655 (“Una testa del Barocci con cornici liscie dorate”); Abbot Giuseppe Paulucci, March 8, 1695 (“Un quadro d’una testa del Duca d’Urbino di mano del Barocci” and “Ritratto di giovine palmi 2 e 3 di Federico Barocci”); Cardinal Domenico Maria Corsi, Cardinale, December 11, 1697 (“Un ritratto di donna con corona in capo misura da testa con cornice intagliata, e dorata del Barocci” and “Un altro

- con ritratto del Barocci consimile al sud.o dissesi fatto per mano dell'istesso Barocci con cornice come sopra”); and Cardinal Carlo Barberini, 1692–1704 (“Un Ritratto del Duca di Urbino cornice di noce intagliata del Barocci Tela d’Imperat.re” and “Un altro Tela da mezza Testa una S.ta Michelina cornice noce, e oro del Barocci”).
- 43 Jan. 13, 1680: “Una Testa Barocci sulla Carta 50” (Raffaella Morselli, *Collezioni e quadre nella Bologna del Seicento, Inventari 1640–1707*, Los Angeles, Getty Provenance Index, 1998, 190).
- 44 “Un ritratto di un vecchio, mano del Barocio in Casa con Cornice dor.ta int.a bellis.mo...” *Ibid.*, 247.
- 45 Noted by Edmund P. Pillsbury, “The Oil Studies of Federico Barocci,” *Apollo*, 108 (September 1978), 173, n. 3, where the following transcriptions are given, from a document in the Archivio di Stato, Florence: “una testa colorita d’un vecchio; una Santa Maria Madalena colorita; due teste colorite, un agnello dipinto.”
- 46 On these and the eight other pictures that earlier scholars have grouped into this category, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 60–61.
- 47 Although misidentified as a Resurrection of Christ in the inventory, the identification with *Il Perdono* seems very probable. The work is described as: “Un disegno di chiaro oscuro con La Resurrettione di Nostro Signore, La Madonna, e San francesco, inginocchiato di mano di federico Barocci, di palmi 2 1/2 et 1 1/2 con sua cornicia con filetti d’oro stimato in 100” (Getty Provenance Index). On the inventory, see above.
- 48 My arguments were accepted by Marciari in his 2013 review, 522.
- 49 On the replica of *Il Perdono*, the only example with significant differences from its larger model, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, cat. 5; on the *Entombment* replicas, see cats. 8.15 and 8.16.
- 50 Some of these are articulated in the introduction to this volume (Chapter 1). Another drawing that I no longer accept as Barocci’s work is related to his *Annunciation* print in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (inv. 2013); see Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 2000, 147 and Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, cat. 9.7. The mechanical execution of the drawing and close correspondence in scale to the print suggest that it is a copy after the print, not an autograph study for it.
- 51 One striking instance of this phenomenon is Barocci’s use of a head in oil on paper to replace the head of Saint Francis in *Il Perdono*; see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 126.

7 Drawing the Virgin

Barocci's doctrine of Mary

Judith W. Mann

While writing the entry on the Bonarelli *Crucifixion* (Color Plate 3) for the Barocci 2012 St. Louis exhibition catalogue, I noted that the surviving drawings suggested that Barocci experienced difficulty in developing the pose for the Virgin Mary. In contrast, the energetic position he worked out for John the Evangelist, one that anticipates seventeenth-century ideas of dynamism and the breaking down of the fictive barrier between viewer and viewed, seemed to come more easily. All three of the drawings devoted to John document little change from their initial inspirations—Piero della Francesca's San Sepolcro *Crucifixion* and Titian's altarpiece in Ancona (Figure 7.1).¹ That is not the case, however, with the drawings for the Virgin Mary where the artist developed a range of ideas and changed his mind quite a bit. Barocci required ten trials to define Mary's position, experimenting with at least nine different poses.² The explanation that Barocci was a "proto-baroque" painter, for whom the forward-looking dynamism of Saint John came naturally to him but the more conservative, static, and arguably more "Renaissance" position of the Virgin Mary required more study and deliberation, seemed insufficient to me.³

Through the months of living with Barocci's paintings during the 2012–13 exhibition, I had the opportunity to think at greater length about how the artist portrayed the Virgin in this early altarpiece as well as the ideas about Mary that he presented in his other paintings and related drawings. I now wonder if the difficulty in establishing the Virgin Mary's pose for the *Crucifixion* may have resulted from the artist's personal and intense devotion to her. Although we don't have the same extensive evidence to re-create Barocci's thought process for all of the Marian paintings that we have for the *Crucifixion* (a notable exception being the *Annunciation* for which Babette Bohn has identified 16 studies of Mary), it seems safe to say that when Barocci approached a narrative concerning the Virgin Mary, he devoted a great deal of thought to Mary's role and contemporary ideas about her. This paper, therefore, undertakes an analysis of Barocci's Marian imagery in an attempt to understand what I have termed his "doctrine of Mary." One must state at the outset that it is hardly surprising that any sixteenth-century artist would have had a deeply felt response to the mother of Jesus, even an artist who may not have been as devout as we understand Barocci to have been. Nonetheless, an examination of his approach to representing Mary may help to elucidate Barocci's iconography and his use of drawings. I offer a variety of thoughts and observations that percolated during the nearly three months that the exhibition was on view in St. Louis in hopes of helping to expand others' appreciation of Barocci's thought process and relationship to some of the theological issues of his day.



Figure 7.1 Titian, *Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary, Saint Dominic, and Saint John*, 1558, oil on canvas, 375 × 197 cm, Church of San Domenico, Ancona (Figure 44).

Photo: San Domenico, Ancona, Italy/Alinari/Bridgeman Images.

It may be merely coincidence, but the earliest surviving compositional study for the *Crucifixion* (Color Plate 24) was sketched over a beautiful red chalk drawing, still visible in the upper left quadrant, for the Virgin in Barocci's small ex-voto, the *Madonna of Saint John* (Color Plate 25). This painting, purportedly a gift to the Capuchin fathers in Crocicchia, a town not far from Urbino, presents a serpent that slithers along the right side of the chalice.⁴ The presence of the lowly reptile directly references Saint John's miraculous survival from drinking venom and confirms, in the minds of several writers, Bellori's statement that the painting was done in thanks for

Barocci's own recovery from an alleged poisoning.⁵ This juxtaposition prompts the question as to whether it was merely serendipity that caused the artist to select this particular sheet for his first draft of the composition. It is not surprising that he repurposed the page, as paper was precious in the Renaissance and artists often reused individual sheets. Yet, I still wonder whether Barocci commenced his *Crucifixion* while contemplating an image of the Virgin that had been so instrumental to his own health and healing. It is tempting to believe the latter since the artist, in completing his Bonarelli altarpiece, devoted so much effort to refining Mary's posture, her hand gesture, and her expression. In this initial compositional study, the Virgin folds her left arm across her waist and holds her right hand beside her head as she observes her son upon the Cross. The artist kept this stance in his mind as he studied Mary's final posture, evidenced by a quick sketch of that same pose at the lower right of a sheet from Berlin (Figure 7.2) that also records a model seen from behind who assumes an attitude similar to that of the Virgin in the finished altarpiece.



Figure 7.2 *Nude studies for the Virgin Mary*, recto, black and white chalk with stump on blue paper, 40.3 × 24.9 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 27465 (4173) (Cat. 2.4).

Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

This early pose used in the Uffizi study for the *Crucifixion* (Color Plate 24) was probably abandoned when Barocci decided to make John's and Mary's positions contrast, designing John to reach out and conceiving Mary as pulling in. He sought poses that recorded their immediate responses to the moment of Christ's death, indicated by the background light burst that the artist may have based on Luke's description of the moment Jesus died. Luke's passage, "The sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was torn in two" suggests a cataclysmic event that Barocci has translated into visual terms through the flash of light behind Christ. John throws out his arms in shock and grief while Mary raises her clasped hands as she opens her mouth to cry out. The gesture that Barocci devised earlier no longer suited since Mary's head resting against one of her hands connoted long-term contemplation rather than the spontaneous reaction to a single, discrete event.

Working further to establish Mary's position, Barocci used another sheet, now in the National Gallery of Art, to explore a different contemplative expression for the Virgin (Figure 7.3). The artist continually experimented with poses that connoted thoughtfulness and reflection throughout his career, such as an early idea for St. Joseph in the *Madonna del Gatto* and another that established the final position for the seated Judas in the *Institution of the Eucharist*.⁶ The recumbent young model holding his hand behind his head on the sheet from Washington should be seen in this context. I have puzzled over this particular drawing with the model's bizarre anatomy, positioned so that his posterior seems suspended in mid-air. However, it should be understood as a study intended to capture a thoughtful expression, revealed through the reworking of the face and reinforced lines that define the upper arm, rather than one intended to refine a seated position. It doesn't seem that this particular study relates to the Virgin *per se*, but it is interesting to note that in the midst of his quest to finish Mary's figure, Barocci experimented with ways to represent a figure in deep reflection.

The careful and time-consuming reworking that Barocci undertook to get Mary's pose for the *Crucifixion* exactly right shows that his approach to the portrayal of the Virgin was neither simple nor arbitrary. The artist always devoted considerable thought to her depiction whenever he included her in a painted work. For example, in *Il Perdono* where Mary appears in the divine register (Color Plate 18), Barocci included an altarpiece depicting the Crucifixion in the background chapel behind Saint Francis. Harald Olsen argued that it was based on another version (now lost) that Barocci made of that subject.⁷ The Crucifixion study just discussed (Color Plate 24) may have served as its model. Barocci utilized its grieving position for the Virgin—she holds a cloth to her head in heartache as she turns toward the focus of her sorrow, her crucified son. As Babette Bohn wrote in her catalogue entry on *Il Perdono*, Barocci portrayed a rarely depicted narrative of St. Francis's vision of Christ and the Virgin, selecting a position for Francis that invoked his stigmatization.⁸ The visual reference to the crucifixion, therefore, makes sense. It reminds the viewer of St. Francis's wounds that identified him as a second Christ, an idea of considerable importance in the sixteenth century.⁹ Furthermore, Barocci used this glimpse of the Crucifixion to tease out an amplified understanding of Mary's role in the miracle. By opening one of the two background doors behind Francis, Barocci allowed only the Virgin's side of the altarpiece to be seen. His manipulation of these background elements emphasizes Mary's role as *mediatrix*.¹⁰ In the upper realm of *Il Perdono*, Christ inclines his head and looks toward Mary, who intervenes on behalf of St. Francis by gesturing toward him with her left hand. The kneeling Francis reciprocates by turning his body and directing his gaze to the Virgin. Thus, Mary's intermediary role is spelled out for us



Figure 7.3 *Nude study for the Virgin Mary and seated male nude, recto*, black chalk heightened with white, incised, on blue paper, 40 × 27.4 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, inv. 1983.17.1a (Cat. 2.3).

Photo: Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

in the upper half of the altarpiece, while below we are reminded of the efficacy of prayers directed to her through her special relationship to Christ that is illustrated by her presence at the foot of the Cross.

The same kind of deliberative thought informed Barocci's design for the *Visitation* (Color Plate 23), the meeting between Mary and Elizabeth when both were pregnant with their remarkable offspring. It is noteworthy that Barocci experimented with 16 arrangements for Mary and Elizabeth, some of which were full compositional investigations. In using the term "arrangements," I mean to include several studies that were limited to the standing positions of Mary and Elizabeth and focused on the placement of hands and arms.¹¹ Several scholars have discussed all of these drawings, and Babette Bohn gave an extended discussion of how Barocci worked out the composition through the numerous studies associated with it.¹² When we look at the preparatory drawings specifically in terms of how Barocci worked out the Virgin's pose, however, a slightly different sequence can be discerned. Barocci understood that Mary's exceptionality was revealed when she, as a young girl of three, ascended 15 stairs to enter Temple service. Barocci's deliberations for the format of the *Visitation* were based on the simple idea of showing Mary as ascending, a way to reference that remarkable achievement of her youth.

Given the well-established and rather straightforward visual conventions for portraying Mary's approach toward Elizabeth, it is telling that Barocci needed to work

through their physical relationship so painstakingly. The traditional iconographic formula was one that many previous painters had utilized to considerable success, and it involved the two women coming together in profile, on a horizontal plane. One need only think of Pontormo's early sixteenth-century fresco in the SS. Annunziata in Florence or the very beautiful 1503 painting by Mariotto Albertinelli in the Uffizi (Figure 7.4). The same recipe governed most non-Florentine examples such as Lorenzo Lotto's splendid panel in the Museo Civico, Jesi or Tintoretto's Scuola di San Rocco version of 1588 (Figure 7.5).¹³ Alessandro Zuccari has suggested that Barocci's model for the Visitation was Alberto da Castello's guide to the rosary that includes a simplified woodcut of the Visitation with Zachariah emerging from a doorway on the right, although one need not assume a specific model since the basic format was ubiquitous.¹⁴ Barocci, however, wanted to reference Mary's ascent into the Temple, her early demonstration of exceptionality when she mounted the staircase without the assistance of her mother.¹⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, in *The Golden Legend*, described the event as follows:

The virgin child was set down at the lowest step and mounted to the top without help from anyone, as if she were already fully grown up.¹⁶



Figure 7.4 Mariotto Albertinelli, *Visitation*, 1503, oil on panel, 232 × 146 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 7.5 Tintoretto, *Visitation*, ca. 1588, oil on canvas, 158 × 237 cm, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice.

Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

The *Visitation* hung above one of the altars in the Chiesa Nuova, included among a series dedicated to the mysteries of the Virgin Mary. One of those mysteries was her own entry into religious service illustrated in the *Presentation in the Temple*, and it is not surprising that Barocci may have been thinking of Mary's ascent of the steps as a visual metaphor for her exceptionality. Barocci eventually supplied the *Presentation* altarpiece in 1592 and in representing the diminutive Virgin, he certainly made reference to her having completed the ascent of the stairs (see discussion below).¹⁷

In designing the *Visitation*, before settling on the idea of having Mary ascend, Barocci made what must be considered his *primo pensiero*, the small ink and wash sketch in the Rijksmuseum (Color Plate 26). Elizabeth approaches from the left. Her husband Zacharias watches from a doorway while Mary, accompanied by her husband Joseph, approaches from the right.¹⁸ It is worth noting the similarities between this sketch and Tintoretto's San Rocco version that suggest Tintoretto may have even known Barocci's drawing. Perhaps they even shared a common source of inspiration.¹⁹

Beginning with the next sheet in the series and continuing through the last, Barocci's thinking about the pose of Mary and its relationship to that of her cousin Elizabeth was focused on the idea of ascent. Barocci may have adopted that concept from an earlier Tintoretto *Visitation* (Figure 7.6), a painting that Babette Bohn has suggested may have served as an early inspiration.²⁰ The second drawing contains two small pen and ink studies showing Mary ascending stairs as she moves to greet Elizabeth.²¹ In the next, Barocci arrived at an unusually creative way to portray the idea of ascent (Figure 7.7).



Figure 7.6 Tintoretto, *Visitation*, ca. 1549, oil on canvas, 240 × 146 cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.
Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 7.7 *Compositional study*, recto, pen and brown ink with brown wash, 27 × 17.6 cm, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. KKS7404-5 (Cat. 10.1).
Photo: National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen, © SMK Foto.



Figure 7.8 *Compositional studies*, verso, pen and brown ink with brown wash, 32.6 × 22 cm, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris, inv. 5483 (Cat. 10.2 verso).
Photo: Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris.

The artist placed the viewer inside Elizabeth's house observing as Mary, shown frontally, surmounts the threshold and is greeted at the door. He included a façade and plaza in the background, clearly modeled on the front of Urbino Cathedral, as they still appear today.²² The profusion of steps recalls Mary's march into the Temple.²³

The fifth sketch, on the verso of a sheet in the Lugt Collection in Paris (Figure 7.8) shows Mary stepping forward to pass through the open doorway. The artist raised her hem to reveal her foot, making her step onto the threshold more obvious in order to emphasize her completed ascent. Barocci presented the background in such a way as to suggest that the viewer looks down from an elevated position to emphasize Mary's completion of an upward climb.

In the next drawing done on the right half of a horizontal sheet (Figure 7.9) Barocci filled the foreground with a set of stairs. Mary, still facing forward, again steps up; Barocci captured the impression of an advancing left leg by showing light washing over the limb. He accomplished the effect by leaving the natural color of the paper untouched by the ink wash. Rotating the drawing to create a horizontal field that spanned the shorter dimension of the sheet (Figure 7.10), Barocci made a seventh study at the right edge of the sheet. Elizabeth, in the center of the group, faces the viewer, and Mary strides up the stairs from the right. By reviving the profile pose that he had tried in an earlier sheet (not reproduced here), the artist made her act of ascent more evident.



Figure 7.9 *Compositional studies*, recto, detail, pen and brown ink with brown wash over traces of black chalk, 22 × 32.6 cm, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris, inv. 5483 (Cat. 10.2 recto-detail of right half of sheet).

Photo: Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris.



Figure 7.10 *Compositional studies*, recto, detail, rotated, pen and brown ink with brown wash over traces of black chalk, 22 × 32.6 cm, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris, inv. 5483 (Cat. 10.2 recto – detail, left side of sheet, rotated).

Photo: Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris.

Barocci refined the image of the two figures meeting on the stairs when he began working on the splendid sheet of studies from Stockholm. He began in the center of the recto (Figure 7.11) by flipping the positions of the two protagonists (Mary on the left; Elizabeth on the right) and then, after reverting to a right placement of Mary, he fine-tuned both poses in three subsidiary studies on the same face of the paper. He continued with three trials on the verso of the sheet (Figure 7.12) never abandoning Mary's obvious stepping position. Anticipating the final painting, the artist added the woman holding a hat and carrying a basket at the lower right, a figure that first appeared in a more rudimentary form beside Joseph on the recto of the sheet from the Lugt Collection (Figure 7.9). In the final painting, she serves to echo and thus underscore the Virgin's ascending pose. She also may have been included to emphasize ritual, appropriate for an altar at the Chiesa Nuova. By including two hens in her basket, Barocci may have intended a reference to the Presentation in the Temple where a pair of doves was frequently included as the necessary Temple offering, a detail that he included in the Presentation altarpiece (see discussion on that painting below).²⁴ There may even be a witty allusion to Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* where, placed centrally in the lower level of the composition, there is an old woman with a basket full of eggs. Barocci painted the full-grown chickens instead.



Figure 7.11 *Compositional studies of the Virgin and Saint Elizabeth*, recto, pen and brown ink with brown wash, 28.4 × 20.4 cm, inscribed in brown ink lower left: “Federigo Barroccio.” Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. NM 412/1863 (Cat. 10.3 recto).

Photo: © Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Figure 7.12 *Compositional studies of the Virgin and Saint Elizabeth*, verso, pen and brown ink with brown wash, 28.4 × 20.4 cm, inscribed in black ink top left: “Barocci.” Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. NM 413/1863 (Cat. 10.3 verso).
Photo: © Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

In none of the Stockholm drawings is the purity of Mary’s profile emphasized, something he improved in a larger study now in the collection at Chatsworth.²⁵ As Babette Bohn wrote in her catalogue entry, Barocci utilized the Virgin’s profile pose, her brighter coloration, and her central placement to underscore Mary’s elevated status. I would add that Mary’s ascent of the stairs formed the key element in establishing her exceptionality that guided Barocci as he completed his extensive series of exploratory studies.

As noted above, Barocci created a second Marian altarpiece for the Chiesa Nuova and although this painting did not appear in the 2012–13 exhibition, its inclusion in this essay is relevant since it is one of the artist’s most important pictures devoted to the Virgin Mary. Angelo Cesi, the bishop of Todi, had assumed the lead role in renovating the church, and probably by 1590 had commissioned Barocci to paint the altarpiece depicting the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* for the left transept (Color Plate 27). The records are not entirely clear as to the chronology of the commission, but it seems that the artist did not begin until 1593. The finished painting did not go up over the altar until April 30, 1603.²⁶ Its location in a major chapel in the transept and its considerable size make it one of the most important Marian pictures that Barocci ever undertook.

Barocci placed Mary at the exact center of the altarpiece, both vertically and laterally. Anna and Joachim admire their daughter from the left side, while acolytes flank the priest as he greets the young girl in front of the Temple sanctuary. Onlookers bring livestock on the right, and a girl shows the three birds in her basket (two white doves and a gray pigeon) to an elderly woman at the far left. A host of angels celebrate

above; one holds a crown aloft over Mary. The subject was well known in the Renaissance, coming from several apocryphal texts that were mined for the details of Mary's early life. Barocci's image shows her kneeling on the second step, having walked up to the third, and thus conforms most closely to the account given in the *Protevangelium of James*, one of the most popular of the so-called Infancy Gospels:

And they did so until they had gone up into the temple of the Lord. And the priest received her and kissed her and blessed her, and said: The Lord hath magnified thy name among all generations: in thee in the last days shall the Lord make manifest his redemption unto the children of Israel. And he made her to sit upon the third step of the altar. And the Lord God laid his grace upon her and she danced with her feet and all the house of Israel loved her.²⁷

Barocci's depiction of the Virgin's entry into the Temple deviates from the artistic tradition that had been used since the fourteenth century. Typically, Mary's nearly miraculous ascent of the stairs was emphasized through an imposing set of stairs that overwhelmed the diminutive girl. Most famous among these were Giotto's and Titian's masterful pictures that drew upon the text from the fourteenth-century "Infancy of Mary." Its unknown author noted that the Temple was located on a hill, accessible only through the mounting of 15 steps and that when the young Mary independently ascended them without the assistance of her parents, the assembled crowd was awed by the exceptional child.²⁸

One might expect Barocci to have highlighted this particular demonstration of Mary's early exceptionality, given that this very event had already guided him as he laid out the *Visitation*. The artist responded to a different aspect of Mary's Presentation, however, one with particular relevance to the church in 1593. Although the Feast devoted to commemorating Mary's Temple entry had been celebrated in the East since the fourth century, it was not introduced into the West until the French nobleman Philippe de Mézières brought the office back with him in 1372 when he returned from the Crusades.²⁹ Celebration of the feast was, however, suppressed by Pius V in 1568 and dropped from the calendar of the liturgical year. Reinstated for universal observation by Sixtus V in 1585, it was further elevated to a major feast by Clement VIII in 1593. One wonders if Barocci was inspired to finally begin the painting in response to this event, since we know he had been given the commission as early as 1590 and several letters from the Duke made excuses for Barocci's tardiness on undertaking the work.³⁰

The strong liturgical character of Barocci's painting suggests such was the case. The candle-bearing acolytes (two on each side), the compositional symmetry, and especially the inclusion of a lit censer being handed to one of the assistants to the High Priest (on the left side) are all elements that refer to the ritual celebration of the Mass. The group of celebrants is not in itself unusual. Every other version of this narrative that the present author has seen includes priests and temple officials, with the exception of those images that include some Temple virgins inside the edifice in illustration of the various apocryphal accounts.³¹ None, however, include so many robed, ecclesiastical participants, making Barocci's rendition the most strongly liturgical.

Barocci did not fail, however, to evoke important qualities particular to Mary. In lieu of the remarkably composed and erect child that was emphasized in almost every other contemporary depiction, Barocci emphasized her humility as she kneels and bows her head, also a reference to the importance of prayer in the life of the three-year-old virgin. All three of the accounts of Mary's life stress that once within the Temple the Virgin distinguished herself through her study, her work with wool, and her prayer.

Finally, in one of the most direct illustrations in any of Barocci's paintings of the specifics of gospel text, Barocci included a pointed reference to a later event in Mary's life, her own Purification. When she and Joseph brought the Infant Jesus to the Temple for his Presentation, a requirement for firstborn males, Mary was also purified since it was customary in Jewish observance to ritually cleanse the post-partum mother 40 days after birth.³² Luke wrote, "they offered a sacrifice according to what is stated in the law of the Lord, a pair of turtledoves or two young pigeons." The law to which Luke referred is set down in Leviticus and concerns the purification of a woman after childbirth. It states that the woman must bring a year-old lamb for a burnt offering and a young pigeon or turtledove as an offering for sin. It goes on to say, "If she cannot afford a lamb, she must take two turtledoves or two young pigeons, one for the burnt offering and the other for the sacrifice for sin."³³ Although the descriptions of Mary's entry into the Temple do not specify that offerings were brought, there was a visual tradition for including depictions of the temple offerings in painted representations of this subject. Barocci's very specific inclusion of a basket with three birds in it (one bird for the sin offering to be presented with the lamb; the other two doves to be given in lieu of the lamb and bird) seems an overt reference to this text. All the accounts of Mary's Infancy describe Joachim as "a wealthy man" who would have been able to bring the requisite lamb and bird, which are indeed illustrated. However, the additional pair of turtledoves could only intend to refer to the offering needed for the later rite of Mary's purification. In fact, that very element figures prominently in the *Presentation in the Temple*, altarpiece (ca. 1625–27) painted by the Cavaliere d'Arpino for the Purification Chapel, the first on the left of the nave, where St. Joseph holds a basket with two birds.³⁴ Other artists included baskets with doves in their portrayals of the Virgin's early entry into the Temple, but no other artist juxtaposed that reference to the lamb and single bird that Joachim would have offered. Therefore, it seems that Barocci specifically developed a means to reference Mary's purity as well as her early piety and devotion.

The presence of the basket with the trio of birds serves as a good illustration of Barocci's use of foreground still-lives to enhance the narrative. As Stuart Lingo has argued, these captivating elements based on accurate observation of quotidian details served to invite the faithful into his pictures through their inherent charm and pictorial appeal.³⁵ However, the placement of the birds is an essential component of Barocci's interpretation of the Virgin Mary's humility and obedience that he literally foregrounds by placing the container so close to the viewer. He underscores the importance of the symbol and at the same time alludes to the seeming contradiction (the pure Virgin should not need purification) by showing the girl and the older woman in discussion of this important issue, one that had already generated debate in contemporary Mariology.

In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas wrote in his *Summa Theologica* that the Virgin was already pure and didn't need to undergo ritual purification; she did so for the same reasons that Christ submitted himself to the burdens of the Law—to show humility and obedience.³⁶ Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, a source that Barocci undoubtedly knew well, included a section on the Purification of the Virgin, where it explained that the Virgin submitted to the law in order to serve as a model of humility.³⁷ Therefore, by so overtly referencing Mary's own return to the Temple for purification after giving birth, Barocci underscored the theme of humility and obedience that he had encapsulated through visual means in his representation of the kneeling Virgin.

Barocci's desire to convey Mary's remarkable nature by referring to her years in the Temple may have inspired some particulars in one of his most charming paintings, the *Madonna del Gatto* from the National Gallery (Color Plate 6). The appearance of

the Virgin in most of Barocci's work deviates very little from picture to picture, in spite of the individual head studies that he seems to have executed for each. However, Mary's head in the London painting differs from those we typically encounter in the artist's other representations since she appears so young, very much as the apocryphal accounts of Mary's life claimed that she was when she was visited by Gabriel with the news of Jesus's birth. The *Protevangelium of James*, for example, told that when Mary was 12, the council of priests, fearing that she would "pollute the sanctuary of the Lord," devised a way for Mary to leave Temple service. She married and then received news of her miraculous conception of Jesus soon thereafter.³⁸ Barocci evoked the extreme youth of Mary by using a more childish smile and plump cheeks to connote physical immaturity.

This Virgin in the London painting appears even more adolescent when she is compared to her husband. In no other image of Joseph does Barocci make him appear so antiquated. Indeed, Barocci usually presented a vigorous Joseph, based no doubt on the sixteenth-century arguments for a younger, vital man.³⁹ While contemporary artists often still portrayed Mary's husband as an uninvolved bystander, sometimes almost comic in his uselessness, Barocci's Josephs are active and strong, seen in the vigorous strokes that define the legs of the standing Joseph from the *Rest on the Return from Egypt* (Figure 5.1 and Figure 7.13) or the muscled shoulders at the lower right of the Lugt drawing for the *Visitation* (Figure 7.9).

The emphasis on Mary's youth is coupled with specific references to those qualities that distinguished her years of Temple service, objects that are often found in images of



Figure 7.13 *Nude study for Saint Joseph*, charcoal and red chalk and stump heightened with white, on blue paper, 27.2 × 20 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 11505 F (Cat. 4.5).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

the Annunciation where they clarify her special nature that allowed her to be called for such an extraordinary role in human salvation. The open prayer book in the basket at lower right alludes to her impressive learning and devotion to prayer while the embroidery pillow represents Mary's attentive needlework that she produced in the Temple. Embroidery became a symbol of Mary's virtue (and is seen as such in contemporary devotional guides) based on the idea that embroidery required focused attention and didn't allow one's mind to wander and embrace impure or improper thoughts.⁴⁰

Barocci developed his most ingenious means for conveying an essential aspect of Mary's nature in his *Nativity*, a painting that exists in two versions, one in the Ambrosiana, Milan, dated 1597-99 (Color Plate 28), and another better known example in the Prado, dated to 1597 (Figure 6.10). Although the latter picture was included in the 2012-13 St. Louis and London exhibition, I am discussing the Ambrosiana painting, which Ian Verstegen has argued to be the superior of the two versions, and I agree.⁴¹ Mary kneels down before the manger in which the Christ child lies. He radiates powerful light, illustrating the *Revelations of Saint Bridget* whose account of Christ's birth informed the visual representation of this gospel event from as early as the mid-15th century.⁴² How better to indicate the idea of the Virgin as someone who comforts and looks out for humankind than in the simple way that Barocci has done? Mary wears her usual garment that is found in almost every image of the Virgin that the artist created, a rose-colored gown, here with a yellow underdress, and a green belt. The green belt itself is a costume detail that verifies Barocci's close attention to the veneration of Mary, since it accurately reflects one of the most heralded relics related to the Virgin, her pea green girdle that was housed in the Cathedral of Prato.⁴³ Typically, Barocci completed the Virgin's costume with her characteristic blue drapery. In this case, however, he depicted Mary having removed her blue covering in order to swaddle her newborn son. Other artists who were inspired by Saint Bridget's account showed the child lying on fabric or sometimes on the edge of the Virgin's dress or on a portion of her drapery that covers the ground.⁴⁴ Barocci alone devised this simple visual strategy that conveys so well the notion of Mary as caregiver, recalling the protective mantle from the *Madonna della Misericordia* that he had investigated as part of his preparation for the *Immaculate Conception* in the 1570s (Figure 5.3).

Barocci's most original, and most puzzling, representation of Mary can be found in his altarpiece of the *Annunciation* (Color Plate 20). This painting, done for Duke Francesco Maria II's chapel in the Basilica of Loreto, portrays the kneeling Virgin who lays down her prayer book as she greets the Angel Gabriel. Mary is often shown to have been in the act of reading or praying when Gabriel brought her the news of her impending motherhood, a tradition that goes back at least to the ninth century.⁴⁵ This imagery alluded to Mary's piety and learning and at times more specifically to the virgin birth, the prophecy contained in Isaiah 7.14.⁴⁶ Barocci remained well within the bounds of established Marian iconography in depicting her as a devout reader, but he introduced the notion of Mary as a writer by placing an inkpot and pen immediately behind her. Few artists presented the Annunciate Virgin in this way.

Writing implements occur in only two other Annunciations known to this writer. The Sienese painter Giovanni Battista Cungi's 1547 *Annunciation* altarpiece, painted for the church of San Pierino in Sansepolcro, included an inkwell in the shape of a bending male nude struggling to lift the pot that held the ink, situated on an elaborate architectural table at Mary's side (Figure 7.14). It is difficult to ascertain whether Cungi's inclusion of this detail, so utterly Mannerist in conception, reveals an iconographic rather than purely artistic decision.⁴⁷ It does not seem, however, to have informed Barocci's conception.



Figure 7.14 Giovanni Battista Cungi, *Annunciazione*, 1547, oil on canvas, 262 × 176 cm, Museo Civico, Borgo Sansepolcro.

Photo: Museo Civico Sansepolcro. Photo by Enzo Mattei.

Lorenzo Lotto also incorporated an inkwell, placing it among several Marian symbols lined up on an elevated shelf along the back wall of his Recanati *Annunciazione* (Figure 7.15). Barocci may have known Lotto's image (Recanati is roughly 50 miles from Urbino) since there are a number of parallels.⁴⁸ In addition to the shared inkwell, each painting includes a cat and both are arranged so that Gabriel approaches the Virgin from the right. These commonalities suggest that Barocci may have responded to Lotto's *Annunciazione* in his selection of discrete elements, although his interpretation differs dramatically from that of the younger artist. Whereas in Lotto's image, the angel energetically enters the room and spooks the cat, in Barocci's the angel reverently kneels while the cat sleeps soundly. Scholars have assigned various meanings to Lotto's fearful feline, although it is generally acknowledged to signify the defeat of the Devil through the coming Incarnation.⁴⁹ Writers have heretofore taken little notice of the curled up cat that Barocci included, other than to point out the comfortable domesticity that the animal's presence provides.⁵⁰ Certainly, by creating such a passive and therefore benign presence, Barocci did not intend an association between the cat and the diabolical. Rather, by portraying the animal as completely unaware of the angelic arrival, Barocci underscored the Virgin's attunement to the divine. In contemporary bestiaries, the cat had a range of connotations, both positive and negative. One of its best-known characteristics, however, was its reputation for extraordinary vigilance.⁵¹ The fact that the normally attentive cat does not respond to the heavenly intervention in Barocci's altarpiece can be seen as a way of underscoring Mary's exceptionality since she alone, rather than the cat, acknowledges the approach of a divine messenger.⁵²



Figure 7.15 Lorenzo Lotto, *Annunciation*, ca. 1534–35, oil on canvas, 166 × 144 cm, Pinacoteca Civica, Recanati.
Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Lotto's inkwell may also have prompted Barocci to adopt that element into his painting, although for a very different purpose. In Lotto's canvas, the inkwell is not placed in close proximity to Mary. It rests on a distant shelf beside three books and an extinguished candle, objects that establish the domesticity of the scene. They also provide a context that refers to the Bible, the word of God.⁵³ Barocci isolated the inkwell and associated it directly with the Virgin Mary. The artist balanced the book that Mary lays down with her left hand with the inkpot and pen placed behind her right shoulder. Whereas many artists portrayed a variety of domestic objects in Annunciation scenes, Barocci was spare in choosing only four: the inkwell, the prayer book, the sleeping cat, and the lily, thus giving each of them meaning.

Barocci used a comparable inkpot in his portrait of Giuliano della Rovere, who he presented as a scholar at work.⁵⁴ The seated cardinal turns the pages of a book on the table before him, with his writing tools—an inkpot and pen—located along a diagonal behind. One wonders, therefore, if Barocci intended to present Mary in a similar role, as a scholar or at least as a writer. Sandro Botticelli, in his *Madonna del Magnificat* (ca. 1483, Figure 7.16) depicted the Virgin in the act of writing, the only image where she actually dips her pen into ink in order to write. She is about to trace out the Magnificat, the words of praise that she will sing when she visits her cousin Elizabeth, recorded in Luke 1.46–55. Barocci's Virgin does not actually put pen to paper, and so we are not afforded any text that may assist us in explaining the artist's intent. Perhaps Barocci simply meant to emphasize the high level of Mary's erudition,

an idea found in the apocryphal gospels that record how Mary's learning so impressed the Temple priests during her time in service.⁵⁵ There is precedence for such an idea in the work of several medieval writers who portrayed the Virgin in terms associated with a scholar or theologian. Isabel de Villena (1430–90), a Spanish abbess and writer, described Mary as a Doctor of the Church. Isabel's most famous work, the *Vita Christi* first published in Valencia in 1497, portrayed the Virgin as guiding the apostles in spiritual matters, using the term "doctoressa."⁵⁶ Lesley Twomey has argued that the idea of Mary as teacher and author can be traced back to Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1075–1129), whose commentary on the Song of Songs portrayed Mary in these terms.⁵⁷ In that work, clearly very popular in the twelfth century since no fewer than ten manuscripts from that period survive, he described Mary as an "author," Christ's teacher as well as the instructor of the Apostles, and as a prophetess of the prophets.⁵⁸ At this point, no evidence directly associates these beliefs with Barocci, but his unusual and pointed reference to Mary as an author suggests that he was aware of similar ideas about the Virgin.

Barocci may have been well aware that a reputation for teaching and scholarship was rare among contemporary women. More and more evidence has come to light revealing the activity and forceful writings of women during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; names and careers of many women writers have been brought to light to reveal a rich picture of women's contributions to literary discourse.⁵⁹ However, women writers were still relatively rare during the time that Barocci painted,



Figure 7.16 Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna del Magnificat*, ca. 1483, oil on panel, dia: 118 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890: no. 169.

Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

and it may have been the notion of rarity that he intended as a means to underscore Mary's exceptionality. Susan Schibanoff recently analyzed Botticelli's *Madonna del Magnificat* as presenting a seeming contradiction. On the one hand, it celebrates a woman writer, a reflection of the increasing numbers of women writers in humanist Italy, although still in absolute numbers, they were few. On the other hand, the painting presents the Virgin as an impossible figure since a woman writer was such a rarity. These ideas may further elucidate Barocci's inclusion of the inkwell since it certainly establishes the exceptionality of Mary by alluding to her as a literate female writer, albeit one without any identifiable text.

One last painting that occupied Barocci at the very end of his life warrants consideration here since it presents one of the most unusual subjects that the artist ever addressed, a picture that has been traditionally (if erroneously) entitled *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (Color Plate 29).⁶⁰ Although a number of authors, including myself, have identified the picture as partially the product of workshop assistance, the innovative conception for the painting must be considered the result of Barocci's personal meditations on Christ's mother, making it a valuable part of our survey of Barocci's Marian works.

The picture portrays Christ, standing and haloed, in a pose that echoes that of Barocci's central figure in the *Institution of the Eucharist* (Figure 1.1). He extends his right arm in blessing or acknowledgment, addressing his seated mother who clasps her hands in prayer. Saint John the Evangelist supports the Virgin while Mary Magdalen kneels in a diagonal pose on the lower right. Saint Francis stands behind her, his arms extended and his palms opened, although bearing no signs of the stigmata.

We know that the picture was in Barocci's studio at the time of his death, although nothing is known concerning its commission. Keith Christiansen has posited that it could have been the altarpiece for Barocci's burial chapel in the church of San Francesco, Urbino.⁶¹ The picture's description in the posthumous inventory of the artist's belongings may be responsible for the unanimous misidentification of the subject, since it is described as representing Christ's coming to Mary to take leave before going to Calvary, derived from the fourteenth-century "Meditations on the Life of Christ" attributed to the Pseudo-Buonaventura.⁶² Meditation LXXII describes an evening visit to the house of Mary and Martha, when, once supper was finished, "the Lord Jesus went to His mother and sat apart with her, talking to her and generously giving her His time, for in a short time He was to be removed from her."⁶³ This episode was especially popular among northern artists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although Correggio and Lorenzo Lotto, among other Italian artists, created well-known renditions.

There are several elements of the picture, however, that call this title into question. The text declares that the meeting took place in the home of Mary and Martha, and most artists who translated the story into imagery depicted a house or garden setting; Barocci's picture, although unfinished, does not look as if it is intended to reference such a location.⁶⁴ The brown forms on which the Virgin rests establish an outdoor scene, recalling the large rocks surrounding Christ's tomb in the Senigallia *Entombment*. They are, in fact, suggestive of stage props fashioned by the artist himself.⁶⁵ Also, the presence of John the Evangelist is not part of the iconography associated with Christ leaving his Mother, and occurs in no other visual representation. Most notable, however, is the figure of Christ himself. One of Barocci's preparatory drawings (Color Plate 30) reveals an earlier idea for Christ's pose that connotes a

resurrected Jesus, recalling the *contrapposto* and extended left arm seen in numerous examples of Christ's Resurrection, perhaps best illustrated by Alvise Vivarini's altarpiece in San Giovanni in Bragora, Venice (Figure 7.17).⁶⁶ The white robe reinforces such an understanding of Christ, a reading that is underscored by his central placement within the composition and his fully frontal stance. Émile Mâle noted that the depiction of Christ's post-resurrection visit to the Virgin experienced a rise in popularity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and cited a number of contemporary theologians who subscribed to the view that Christ visited his mother after he had risen, including Francisco Suarez, Johannes Maldonatus, Teresa of Avilà, and Ignatius of Loyola.⁶⁷

By drawing from existing pictorial models, Barocci created a slightly different subject, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin and to Mary Magdalen*, that expresses the Virgin's exceptional nature in a new way. Mary and Christ are the central characters; Barocci tied them together by repeating the lovely green drapery that each wears. Christ's green drape floats diagonally toward Mary, and he inclines his head in her direction. She, in turn, tilts her head toward him as she clasps her hands to pray. The unusual green color is one of several factors that occasioned some writers to wonder whether Barocci authored the picture, since it is not standard in the artist's palette.⁶⁸ However, Barocci did use it in images of the Virgin, most notably in Mary's pea green belt (*cintola*), mentioned above in relation to the *Nativity* (Color Plate 28), making it a specifically Marian hue.



Figure 7.17 Alvise Vivarini, *The Resurrection*, 1497–98, tempera on panel, 145 × 76 cm, San Giovanni in Bragora, Venice.

Photo: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, NY.

Barocci's inclusion of three other figures helps clarify the relationship of Mary and her son. Saint John is not usually part of the iconography for Christ's post-resurrection appearances. By adding John, Barocci referenced Christ's concern for the care of his mother after his death, since the Gospel of John (John 18.26–27) records Christ's words to Mary, "Woman, this is your son," which he followed with an rejoinder to John, "This is your mother." The inclusion of Francis has traditionally been explained through the reference to the *Meditations*, a Franciscan text. However, since the scene at hand is not an illustration of the *Meditations*, Francis must serve another purpose. He may simply reveal the affiliation of the church in which the painting was intended to hang, thus supporting Christiansen's thesis cited above. Since he appears without the stigmata, he may also underscore the nature of the event—a vision rather than a textual illustration.

It is the presence of Mary Magdalen that most clearly defines Barocci's theme. He included Mary to contrast with the Virgin. The artist posed the Magdalen to recall her own encounter with Jesus after his death; the proximity of her head to Christ's foot alludes to her washing with tears, but also reminds the viewer of Mary's attempt to make physical contact with Jesus as she struggled to accept his post-resurrected state. The Virgin sits with her hands held in prayer as she recognizes her risen son, making no physical effort to embrace him. In that way, Barocci juxtaposed two different responses to the Risen Christ in order to underscore Mary's acceptance and understanding of the necessary fate of her son.

The foregoing survey of Barocci's Marian imagery makes clear how deliberate the artist was in his portrayals of the Virgin. When it came to representing her, Barocci always ruminated and revised, at times undertaking a process that seems to have been prolonged, even arduous. The results, however, were always deeply reflective of his personal and profound understanding of Mary's place in Christian redemption and her role in counter-Reformation piety. In focusing on how he represented the Virgin, we can marvel yet again at how inventive and nuanced the artist could be in his interpretations of religious subjects. After working on the Barocci exhibition for the better part of nine years, and poring over the paintings and drawings in the exhibition for a period of three months, I still find Barocci's work holds marvelous surprises and new understandings that encourage further study. Although perhaps a bit clichéd to express it this way, for me personally, the sickly, reclusive, and enormously talented Urbino artist has been a great gift that has kept on giving.

Notes

- 1 On the Piero della Francesca, see Carlo Bertelli, *Piero della Francesca*, New Haven and London, 1992, 172–76, fig. I:I.
- 2 Those studies include the following: Berlin inv. KdZ 20266; Berlin inv. KdZ 20286; Berlin inv. KdZ 20502; Berlin inv. KdZ 27465; Uffizi inv. 11329 F. verso; Uffizi inv. 11375 F. verso; Uffizi inv. 11554 F.; Paris inv. 2861; Urbania inv. 305.65; NGA inv. 1983.17.1.
- 3 Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 28, made a similar observation by noting the mixture of modern and archaic features in this altarpiece, with particular emphasis on the Virgin's combination of the two, and cited Federico Zeri.
- 4 On the painting, see Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, 150–54, cat. 16.
- 5 Borghini, 1584 (1967), 1, 569 was the first to note the reason for the commission. On the association with the St. John and Barocci's poisoning, see Gillgren, *Siting Federico Barocci*, 2011, 102–03.

- 6 For the Joseph, the drawings are unpublished. They are Berlin KdZ inv. 20519 and Pesaro inv. 647. For the Judas, the drawing is Berlin KdZ inv. 20331 (4208). See Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 81.9, 304.
- 7 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 149.
- 8 Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 122.
- 9 This idea of Francis *alter Christus* or the *imitatio Christi* originated with the early Franciscan lives of Saint Francis in the fourteenth century. The literature on this subject is vast and rich. See for example, Hans W. van Os, "St. Francis of Assisi as a Second Christ in Early Italian Painting," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 7, no. 3 (1974), 115–32.
- 10 For Mary as *mediatrix* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Steven Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in Santa Maria Maggiore*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, 1996, 167–74.
- 11 Bohn, in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 199, identified nine compositional studies. As I compute them, the studies for the *Visitation* are contained on eight different sheets, two of which are double-sided. They are as follows: Amsterdam inv. 1964–79; Uffizi inv. 11398 verso; and inv. 1784E (a portion of the cartoon); Copenhagen inv. KKS7404-5 recto; Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt inv. 5483 recto and verso; Edinburgh inv. RSA 216; Stockholm inv. NM 412/1863; Stockholm inv. NM 413/1863 (these are recto and verso of the same sheet, but bear different inventory numbers). Chatsworth inv. 918 recto. My total includes the series of fine tunings that Barocci devoted to the relationship of Mary and Elizabeth as expressed in their arm gestures, found on both sides of the sheet from Stockholm, making a total of six studies for that sheet alone.
- 12 Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 198–204.
- 13 For the Pontormo fresco, see Philippe Costamagna, *Pontormo*, Milan, 1994, 196–99, cat. 59. On the Albertinelli, see Ludovico Borgo, *The Works of Mariotto Albertinelli*, New York, 1976, 23–31. For the Lotto painting, see Sara Tassi, in Vittoria Garibaldi and Giovanni C. F. Villa, eds., *Lotto nelle Marche*, Milan, 2011, 134–39. Alessandro Zuccari, "Cultura e predicazione nelle immagini dell'Oratorio," *Storia dell'arte*, 85 (1995), 340–54, (followed by Ian Verstegen, *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians: Corporate Patronage and Style in the Counter-Reformation*, Kirksville, MO, 2015, 73) has argued that the woodcut for the "Salutation" from Alberto da Castello's Rosary book served as Barocci's model. That image is so generic, however, and the tradition so well established, it doesn't seem necessary to assume that the woodcut served as the model. Furthermore, as the following discussion reveals, Barocci's *primo pensiero* did not conform to Alberto's composition.
- 14 The book was owned by Filippo Neri and can still be found in the Vallicelliana Library. See Alessandro Zuccari, "Cultura e predicazione nelle immagini dell'Oratorio," *Storia dell'arte*, 85 (1995), 344–45, based on the argument that the altars in the Chiesa Nuova were designed to represent the stages of Rosary prayer. See also Verstegen, *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians*, 73, although he disagrees that the altars were intended to reference the Rosary.
- 15 See David Rosand, "Titian's Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Scuola della Carità," *Art Bulletin*, 58, no. 1 (March 1976), 62–66, who cited the text from the Golden Legend and its emphasis on the stairs. Large sets of stairs were a common motif for the representation of the Presentation; examples include Taddeo Gaddi, Carpaccio, Paris Bordone, and Tintoretto.
- 16 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 1993, William Granger Ryan, trans. and ed., Princeton, NJ, II, 152.
- 17 For the *Presentation*, see Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, Cat. 72, 249–67.
- 18 The identity of Joseph is made clear by his walking stick—he is a traveler. Barocci had already used the walking stick to identify Zacharias as a traveler in the Holy Family that he painted in the Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican, 20 years prior to this painting. Barocci's placement of Zacharias in a left-hand doorway may have been inspired by Lorenzo Lotto's altarpiece for the Anconan church of San Francesco al Monte. If Barocci traveled to Ancona prior to painting his 1567–68 *Crucifixion*, as I believe he did, then he may have known this painting.

- 19 Although this idea can't be explored in this paper, there is certainly evidence of some relationship or sharing of ideas between Barocci and Tintoretto. Barocci was considered for a Venetian commission in 1582 and he may have gone to Venice at that time. He had a thorough knowledge of much of Tintoretto's work, and it stands to reason he may have even met the older artist. A possible relationship with Tintoretto has been noted in the Barocci literature, particularly in reference to Barocci's *Last Supper*. See, for example, Mann, in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 290–91; Marcia Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art*, New Haven and London, 2011, 222–23; Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 2000, 121; Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 212.
- 20 Bohn, in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 210, n. 15. Tintoretto's Mary climbs up a hillside to greet the waiting Elizabeth; it is possible that the older artist may have also intended his viewers to make the connection between Mary's ascent and her entrance into the Jewish Temple given the more ceremonial nature of the nearby architecture.
- 21 The drawing (Uffizi inv. 11398 F. verso) is found on the verso of a chalk rendition of an old man, Uffizi inv. 11398 F. recto. See Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 42 no. 45.7 and 55 no. 45.33; they are not illustrated.
- 22 See the photograph in June Osborne, *Urbino: The Story of a Renaissance City*, Chicago, 2003, 181.
- 23 Barocci's background steps and church façade are remarkably similar to the setting used in an image of the Presentation by an anonymous Tuscan painter that is illustrated in Rosand, "Titian's Presentation," 1976, 65, Figure 16.
- 24 On the doves as a ritual offering representative of Mary's Purification in early images of the Presentation of the Temple, see Dorothy Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *The Art Bulletin*, 28, no. 1 (March 1946), 19–20, n. 20.
- 25 The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Chatsworth House, inv. no. 918 recto. See Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 46, cat. 45.15. See David Scrase, *A Touch of the Divine: Drawings by Federico Barocci in British Collections*, Cambridge, 2006, 166–67, cat. 58.
- 26 On the chronology of the commission, see Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, II, 2008, II, 249–50.
- 27 Kishpaugh, *Feast of the Presentation*, 1941, 4. The Priest stands on the second step; some of the acolytes stand on the step behind him, presumably the first step.
- 28 The Gospel of the Infancy of Mary includes this description, "Now there were round the temple, according to the fifteen Gradual Psalms, fifteen steps going up..." Kishpaugh, *Feast of the Presentation*, 1941, 8.
- 29 On de Mézières, see Robert S. Haller, trans. and ed., *Philippe de Mézières, Figurative Representation of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1971, xi–xvi; and Kishpaugh, *Feast of the Presentation*, 1941, 92–104.
- 30 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 249.
- 31 Both the *Protevangelium* and the *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew* refer to a group of Temple virgins that witnessed her entry into the Temple.
- 32 Luke 2.23–24: "As it is written in the law of the Lord, 'Every firstborn male shall be designated as holy to the Lord.'"
- 33 Leviticus 12. 6–8.
- 34 On the painting, see Herwarth Röttgen, *Il Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari D'Arpino*, Rome, 2002, No. 221, Figure 95.
- 35 Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, 105–106; 169–70.
- 36 Heidi J. Hornik and Mikael C. Parsons, *Illuminating Luke: The Infancy Narrative in Italian Renaissance Painting*, Harrisburg, London, and New York, 2003, 126.
- 37 Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 1993, I, 144.
- 38 Montague Rhodes James, trans., *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, 42.
- 39 There is a sizeable body of literature on the cult of Joseph in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and particularly on the issue of his age and vigor. See, for example, Carolyn Wilson, *St. Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art: New Directions and Interpretations*, Philadelphia, 2001, 1–20 and 177, n. 3, where she listed some of the most important literature.
- 40 On sewing and virtue in Mary's period in the Temple, see Judith W. Mann, "The Annunciation Chapel in the Quirinal Palace, Rome: Paul V, Guido Reni, and the Virgin Mary," *The Art Bulletin*, 75 (March 1993), 120–23.

- 41 Verstegen, *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians*, 88–91, argued persuasively that the Ambrosiana painting is the better picture. I had not seen the Ambrosiana painting during the time I was working on the 2012–13 Barocci exhibition since I assumed that the Prado was the better picture, the opinion of most scholars at the time. I had the opportunity to see the Milanese version recently, and have come to a similar conclusion to Verstegen, that it is a more accomplished work. Although I do not agree with Verstegen that the Prado is a copy by Vitali, I do agree that it is not entirely by the hand of Barocci, but represents an example of a supervised copy on which the master collaborated.
- 42 On Saint Bridget and the representation of the Nativity, Gertrud Schiller, *The Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman, Greenwich, Conn., 1971, I, 78–80, is still a good source. See also Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, Paris, 1955–59, 2.2, 225. See *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, trans. Denis Searby, intro. and notes Bridget Morris, 2 vols. New York, 2008.
- 43 On the girdle and its veneration, see Renzo Fantappiè, “Storia e ‘storie’ della cintola,” 41–59, and Claudio Cerretelli, “La pieve e la cintola: Le trasformazioni legate alla reliquia,” 78, both in *La sacra cintola nel duomo di Prato*, Prato, 1995.
- 44 See for example the version from Ghirlandaio’s workshop in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, in Allan Duston and Arnold Nesselrath, *Angels from the Vatican: The Invisible Made Visible*, Milan, 1998, 146–47, no. 33; or Hans Holbein the Elder’s Kaisheim Altar, in Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1971, 195.
- 45 Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1971, 141, n. 34, cited an ivory from Metz of the ninth or tenth century that could be the earliest representation of the Annunciation with a book.
- 46 “The Lord will give you a sign in any case: It is this: the young woman is with child and will give birth to a son whom she will call Immanuel.”
- 47 This is close to the interpretation offered by Christopher Witcombe, “An *Annunciation* by G. B. Cungi,” *The Burlington Magazine*, 131 (December 1989), 851, who finds the inkwell clear evidence of Cungi’s knowledge of the work of contemporaries such as Bronzino.
- 48 I wish to thank Babette Bohn for reminding me about this important picture. I had originally not considered it as having any relationship to Barocci’s *Annunciation* since the writing implements were not directly associated with the Virgin. When Babs reminded me about the painting, however, I realized that the work may indeed have played a key role in Barocci’s thinking.
- 49 Paul Barolsky, *Infinite Jest: wit and humor in Italian Renaissance art*, Columbia and London, 1978, 184, was the first to make this association, an observation he credited, in a footnote, to Gail Gibson. This idea was endorsed most recently by Elisabetta Francescuti in Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa, ed., *Lorenzo Lotto*, Milan, 2011, 130. See also Peter Humfrey in David Alan Brown, Peter Humfrey, and Mauro Lucco, *Lorenzo Lotto: Rediscovered Master of the Renaissance*. Exh. cat., New Haven and London, 1997, 193, who noted that it was a witty reference that also added “everyday realism” to the picture.
- 50 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 73, commented that the cat “gives a more pronounced intimate tone.”
- 51 Katharine M. Rogers, *The Cat and the Human Imagination: Feline Images from Bast to Garfield*, Ann Arbor, 1998, 47.
- 52 I should acknowledge that this was not my own observation, but one that Riccardo Lattuada generously shared in one of our many discussions of Barocci’s art.
- 53 Michel Feuillet, “L’Annonciation de Recanati par Lorenzo Lotto: la crise du mystère,” *Les années trente du XVI^e siècle italien*, Atti del Convegno, Paris, 3–5 June 2004, D. Boillet and M. Plaisance, eds., Paris, 2007, 188, identified the symbolic role of the inkwell and pen, accompanied by the books, as a reference to the Work and an emblem of the Law.
- 54 For an image of the portrait, see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, cat. 21, 308.
- 55 The description of Mary’s Temple service in the apocryphal accounts, particularly the Book of Pseudo-Matthew (chapter VI:1) stressed Mary’s application to prayer and her knowledge of the law of God. See James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 42, and Réau, *Iconographie de l’art Chrétien*, 1958, II, pt. 2, 167. It may be noteworthy that in the imagery that surrounded Barocci’s later painting of the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, a series of scenes of her Temple service were included, with one showing Mary

- in the Temple studying. Although these paintings were not by Barocci, they reflect the contemporary understanding of Mary. This idea is also illustrated in a slightly later meditative guidebook for prayer to the Virgin Mary, Luca Pinelli's *Meditazioni divotissime sopra la vita della sacratissima vergine Maria*, published in Brescia in 1606, where one of the images shows Mary studying sacred texts.
- 56 See Isabel Pérez-Molina, *Honour and Disgrace: Women and the Law in Early Modern Catalonia*, Dissertation.com, 2001, 22. On Villena, see also Lesley K. Twomey, *The Fabric of Marian Devotion in Isabel de Villena's Vita Christi*, Suffolk, England, 2013, 217–21. It should be pointed out, however, that at this point it is not possible to trace how this idea would have been known to Barocci.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 217.
- 58 On Rupert of Deutz, see Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, "Maria doctrix: Anchoritic Women, the Mother of God, and the Transmission of Knowledge," in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, ed., *Seeing and Knowing: Women and Learning in Medieval Europe 1200–1550*, Turnhout, 2004, 187–89. Rupert interpreted Jesus's words to John and Mary on Golgotha as making Mary, John's mother, the head of him, and since any of the apostles could have been at Golgotha, she therefore could have been at the head of all of them. Rupert also wrote that Christ led the apostles "to the house of my mother, who teaches me."
- 59 Several series have emerged that feature the literary and polemical work of women during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. See the series, for example, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil, Jr., that included writings by the Brescian humanist Laura Cereta, the Venetian social worker Cecilia Ferrazzi, and the sixteenth-century Roman poet Tullia d'Aragona. There has also been a growing body of publication devoted to women who wrote specifically about women during this time. For the purposes of this essay, however, it seems fair to suggest that Barocci would have understood women writers to have been a rarity.
- 60 This picture, in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, was not included in the Barocci exhibition since is not permitted to travel.
- 61 Keith Christiansen, "Barocci, the Franciscans and a Possible Funerary Gift," *The Burlington Magazine*, 47 (November 2005), 723–24.
- 62 Calzini, "Lo 'studio' del Barocci," 1913, 75. (See Appendix I.)
- 63 Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, Princeton, NJ, 1977, 308.
- 64 The exception would be Gerard David's gold ground depiction, a composition he repeated but for which the most extensive version is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the four figures are all half-length and no setting is specified. See Maryan W. Ainsworth, *Gerard David: Purity of Vision in an Age of Transition*, New York, 1998, 276, fig. 262.
- 65 Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 2000, 117, made this very observation in regard to the Urbino painting as well as the rocky background of the Senigallia *Entombment*, by noting that the forms looked like imitation rocks made of wood and fabric that the artist could have fashioned in his studio.
- 66 Although it is not known whether the Vivarini was originally a more extended composition, such discussion is not relevant here. This picture represents a type, although it is quite possible that Barocci would have seen it since he had undoubtedly been to Venice by the time he was designing the altarpiece. For the Vivarini, see John Steer, *Alvise Vivarini: His Art and Influence*, Cambridge, 1982, 158–62, cat. 35, plate 39. For the drawing, see Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 348, no. 85.12.
- 67 Mâle, *L'Art Religieux Après le Concile de Trente*, 1932, 358.
- 68 Christiansen, "Barocci," 2005, 77–78, suggests that the odd color and the lifeless and precise execution call Barocci's execution of the picture into question.

8 “God knows when he’ll finish”

Barocci and the art market

Richard E. Spear

In 1672, Giovan Pietro Bellori published *Le vite de’ pittori scultori et architetti*, a dozen lengthy biographies of the most important modern painters, sculptors, and architects. His decision to include Barocci among the chosen 12 is surprising. The artist certainly was worthy of the tribute, but he was hardly modern when the book appeared, 60 years after Barocci’s death. Therefore, Bellori’s *vita* of Barocci, which contains the fullest account of the painter’s career, must be read with caution. One of Bellori’s claims will be examined in this essay, which aspires not to offer new facts but to put them together in a way that might broaden our thinking about Barocci and the business of art.

Bellori recounted that Barocci “lived a very comfortable life of wealth, and he left a copious amount of money, because he was paid whatever he wanted for his works, without argument.”¹ At a time when the majority of artists were barely making a living, just a small number managed to become wealthy, and still fewer became truly rich, for any painter to be paid “whatever he wanted for his works” in a highly competitive market would have been highly unusual.² Inevitably, the question arises, was that really so, or was Bellori embellishing the facts?

It would be tedious to enumerate everything that is known about Barocci’s fees, although such data are the foundation for analyzing the painter’s reputation and market standing. Instead, I will summarize the data and focus, in roughly chronological order, on a representative selection of Barocci’s paintings, most of which were included in the exhibition in St. Louis and London 2012–13.³

Barocci usually was paid in silver *scudi*, large coins that were heavier than American silver dollars and were of substantial worth. For one painting, Barocci typically was paid hundreds of *scudi*, at a time when it took common workers a week or two to make one *scudo*. Peasants in Rome’s vineyards were earning about 50 *scudi* a year, while many artists’ assistants made scarcely more than that. On average, professors at the university in Rome earned three *scudi* a week. Barocci’s *Institution of the Eucharist* (Figure 1.1) cost 1,500 *scudi*, which means its price was equivalent to a professor’s salary for ten years. Of course, professors were not buying Barocci’s art; far wealthier aristocrats and Church officials were his main patrons.

The cost of living in tiny Urbino, whose population was under 5,000 during Barocci’s lifetime, was appreciably less than living in Rome or other urban centers, which makes Barocci’s high fees of uncommon value. To live in Urbino, despite its sophisticated court and glorious tradition as Raphael’s birthplace, was to be holed up. Urbino is 105 miles from Bologna, 120 from Florence, 165 from Rome, and 200 from Venice.⁴ Clearly, Barocci decided to let his clients come to him rather than to enter the fray of a

competitive, cosmopolitan art world. In another way, his oeuvre was provincial, in that of his 23 known commissions for churches, ten were for Urbino and six for nearby locations, leaving just seven for everywhere else. His withdrawal to Urbino explains why, unlike Raphael, the Carracci or Caravaggio, Barocci had no followers of distinction.⁵ Talented, ambitious painters reasonably did not want to isolate themselves in Urbino.

There are about two dozen documented prices for Barocci’s paintings. If one puts aside the few that are known for his portraits, the average payment for the rest of his work was an astonishing 450 *scudi*. That figure can be placed in an artistic context by noting that documented payments to Caravaggio average about 170 *scudi*.⁶ Oil paintings by the papal favorite, Giuseppe Cesari (the Cavaliere d’Arpino), average 230 *scudi*, and that figure is misleadingly high because most of the recorded prices are for Arpino’s lucrative altarpieces and not for his many smaller and cheaper easel paintings.⁷ Documented prices of Giovanni Lanfranco’s canvases average just 120 *scudi*, and that average, too, is skewed toward the high end for the same reason of imbalanced data.⁸

The first recorded prices of paintings by Barocci are for two early works from the mid-1550s, a lost *Saint Margaret*, at 20.5 *scudi*, and the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, at 100 *scudi*.⁹ With the exception of portraits, never again did Barocci receive less than 150 *scudi* for a painting. To my knowledge, there is no parallel for such a consistently high level of payments to a painter of the period.

When Barocci temporarily moved to Perugia in 1567, he was paid 325 *scudi* for his great *Deposition* (Color Plate 2). Quality aside, two significant factors affected its price: its large size and numerous figures. Both factors mattered when artists and clients thought about fair value, even if few were as methodical as Guercino, who as a mature artist had a *prix-fixe* of 100 *scudi* per full-length figure, 50 for half lengths, and 25 for heads.¹⁰ Guercino’s rate was high, but not in comparison with some of Barocci’s fees, such as 500 *scudi* for an *Annunciation* with just two figures that he left unfinished at his death.¹¹

In addition to the 325 *scudi* Barocci received for the *Deposition*, he was given 12 *moggia* of grain, about 144 bushels, and 20 barrels of wine.¹² It was not unusual in early modern Italy to be paid in kind, that is, with goods and services equivalent to the amount due.¹³ For instance, when Giovanni Baglione made a claim against a patron, he was awarded 20 *scudi* in cash, four sacks of grain worth ten *scudi* apiece, and a gold chain with six small diamonds. For what was perhaps his last altarpiece, a *Trinity with Saints* painted in 1639 (Figure 8.1), Arpino was paid entirely in goods—a glove box; six forks, knives, and spoons with silver handles; a length of good silk; two vases of flowers; some marzipan; and ring-shaped cakes called *ciambelle*, altogether worth 95 *scudi*—hardly a king’s ransom by Barocci’s standard.¹⁴ But then clearly its quality was not up to Barocci’s standard either.

In addition to the grain and wine Barocci received for his *Deposition*, he was given 50 *scudi* for the rent of his house, a sum probably covering the two years he spent in Perugia working on the commission. If so, an annual rent of 25 *scudi* is a good indication that it was not pricey to live in small Italian towns, at least not when one considers that for housing in Rome, Elsheimer paid 60 *scudi* a year, Lanfranco rented a house that cost 78 *scudi*, and Salvator Rosa paid 80 *scudi* to live near the fashionable Trinità dei Monti.¹⁵

Another common practice in patron-painter relations was that if ultramarine blue was used, the patron paid because it was so expensive. The blues in Barocci’s



Figure 8.1 Giuseppe Cesari, called Il Cavaliere d'Arpino, *Trinity with Saints*, 1639, 380 × 210 cm, Santa Lucia in Selci, Rome.

Photo: Courtesy of the author.

Deposition, however, are primarily a cheaper, grayer blue pigment, azurite.¹⁶ In the data I collected for a study of the costs of pigments from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth century, approximately 450 payments, the average price of ultramarine was 40 times that of azurite.¹⁷

It is important to bear in mind that, when any fee is cited that Barocci or other artists were paid, it represents gross receipts, not net earnings. Although it is impossible to calculate all of an artist's professional costs, from the overhead of rent to payroll for assistants and models to material costs such as pigments, for someone of Barocci's standing those costs were modest in comparison with his fees. At the most, Barocci's assistants would have been paid about half a *scudo* a day. Pigments, except for ultramarine and some lakes, were cheap. Normally stretchers and canvases were not expensive, unless of exceptional size, and sometimes patrons paid for them.¹⁸ It is only an educated guess, but I would estimate that the material costs of Barocci's 325-*scudi* *Deposition* probably were not more than about 25 *scudi*, leaving quite a profit margin.

Subsequent to the *Deposition*, Barocci's next great altarpiece was his *Il Perdono* (Color Plate 18). Apparently, the commissioned price was 100 gold *scudi*. Bellori relates that Barocci was willing to accept that fee because the commissioning friars were poor; but evidently with a feeling of guilt, they raised another 100 *scudi* in donations and threw in a year's rent.¹⁹ Assuming the story is true, Barocci's willingness to be generous with church patrons was not uncommon. To cite one kindred example,

Gian Domenico Cerrini offered to paint a large altarpiece for the poor monks of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Rome “for love and devotion to this church,” expecting only reimbursement of his expenses, food, and a gift.²⁰

The circumstances that led to a reduction in price of Barocci’s *Entombment of Christ* for Senigallia (Color Plate 1), arguably the painter’s greatest work, are unknown. Initially Barocci had said that he wanted 600 *scudi* for the commission; but his fee was cut to 450; and in the end he signed a contract for 300 *scudi*.²¹ Bellori’s claim notwithstanding, Barocci did not always get what he wanted.

Due to its fame, the *Entombment* was repeatedly copied, so much so that it was damaged from tracings (and reportedly from the gnawing of mice and their urine).²² Already by 1587, the altarpiece needed restoration, which was carried out by Barocci himself in 1607–1608 at the cost of 150 *scudi*, half its original price, indicating that he did extensive repainting of the damaged canvas.²³ One of the many copies of the *Entombment* is signed by the master’s student Felice Pellegrini (Figure 8.2). The full cost of his large copy is unrecorded, but to infer from the modest down payment of 25 *scudi* and another ten paid in 1593, the date on the painting, Pellegrini’s fee must have been but a fraction of the master’s.²⁴ The disparity was due to the relatively low value of ordinary copies and to Pellegrini’s status as a minor artist, which his comparatively lifeless copy reveals.



Figure 8.2 Felice Pellegrini, after Federico Barocci, *The Entombment of Christ*, 1593, 380 × 210 cm, Santa Maria Nuova, Perugia.

Photo: Courtesy of the author.

Another example of the price relationship between an original by Barocci and a copy is better documented. Barocci’s *Nativity* (Figure 6.10) is probably the work that in 1597 cost 273 *scudi*. As early as the next year Alessandro Vitali, another of Barocci’s undistinguished students, copied it for just 30 *scudi*, scarcely a tenth as much.²⁵ Some scholars believe that copy is the painting in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (Color Plate 28).²⁶

Conversely, when both a copyist and his model were famous, a copy might merit a premium, as was said about a copy by Guido Reni after Raphael. “Being by the hand of Guido,” the biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri recounts, it “came to have value, because the original is by such a great master and is copied by another of great worth.”²⁷

Likewise, when demand was strong and a master agreed to copy his own work, its price could be high. In 1583, Barocci signed and dated the *Calling of Saint Andrew* (Color Plate 14), which he had painted for the Duchess of Urbino for 200 gold *scudi*.²⁸ The next year he undertook a replica destined for Philip II of Spain (Figure 8.3), for which Duke Francesco Maria II paid a big premium, 400 *scudi*.²⁹ The Duke was Barocci’s great sponsor, even though he personally owned little by the artist. Instead, he functioned more like a pro-bono go-between, often using Barocci’s reputation for diplomatic purposes, as probably pertains to this painting he commissioned to give to King Philip.³⁰



Figure 8.3 *Calling of Saint Andrew*, 1580–83, oil on canvas, 315 × 235 cm, Escorial, Madrid.
Photo: © Peter Horree/Alamy.

Barocci repeated not only the *Calling of Saint Andrew*, but his unique secular painting, the stunning *Aeneas Fleeing Troy* (Figure 6.6). The first version, commissioned in 1586 by the Duke as a gift for Emperor Rudolf II, undoubtedly another diplomatic move, is lost. Its price was the same as for the replicated *Calling of Saint Andrew*, 400 *scudi*.³¹ The price of the replica of *Aeneas Fleeing Troy* painted a decade later for Giuliano della Rovere is unrecorded, but almost certainly it was as much, if not more, than 400 *scudi*.

As for the price of Barocci’s portraits, documentation is scant. One of his portraits of Duke Francesco Maria II, which was to be rendered “as natural as possible,” and sometimes is identified with a painting in Weimar, in 1583 cost 50 *scudi*.³² Other lost portraits probably cost as little as 20 *scudi*.³³ These strikingly lower prices are due to the paintings’ smaller sizes; to their representation of a single, even partial, figure; and especially to their being portraits, that is, to their belonging to a lower category in the hierarchy of subject matter. Portraiture was less esteemed and hence of lower value than history painting, which typically involved figures in motion and was assumed to be more demanding of creative talent and time.³⁴ To portray someone as an individual, however, was to *ritrarre*, to reproduce, to copy (a portrait is a *ritratto* in Italian).³⁵ Barocci probably painted portraits—perhaps about 15 in all—more to please his patrons than to make money, as often was the case with esteemed history painters.

From an economic perspective, the most interesting documents on a painting in the exhibition are those for the *Last Supper* (Figure 4.2) and its companion, a *Fall of Manna*, both for Urbino Cathedral. In a letter of 1590, the year of the contract, the Cathedral’s representative wrote that, “because of the many figures [there are 31!] and the time required, and many other factors... [Barocci] wants two thousand *scudi*; quite a price, [yet] when one considers the work and the quality of the master, it is not too excessive.” Nevertheless, the priests wanted the Duke to intervene: “help us,” they wrote, “if it’s possible, to get the price down somewhat.”³⁶ Their first counter-proposal was 1,200 *scudi*; next 1,500; and then they acquiesced that if 1,500 was not enough, the fee could be upped by another hundred *scudi*. Evidently, such was the final agreement, 1,600 *scudi*—still a huge sum for two paintings.³⁷

As it happened, ever slow and over-committed Barocci could not undertake the *Fall of Manna*, whereupon the priests turned to Federico Zuccaro, with whom Barocci had collaborated years earlier in Rome. Zuccaro, who was born near Urbino, had established a good reputation by this date, as the Duke expressed in a letter of 1590: “we do not regard [Zuccaro’s paintings] as much inferior to Barocci’s.”³⁸ Nonetheless, the priests thought that they could tempt Zuccaro to paint the *Manna* for three or four hundred *scudi*, half of Barocci’s price. Regrettably, they discovered that Zuccaro, too, wanted 800 *scudi*, very likely as a matter of competitive pride.³⁹ Hence, the priests asked the Duke to propose a cheaper alternative. Finally, they turned to Alessandro Vitali, the student of Barocci who had copied his master’s *Nativity* for 30 *scudi*. Vitali was chosen not only because he was cheap (how much he was paid is unknown), but because “he is someone who can offer considerable satisfaction... be it for his own quality, or because Barocci would help him.”⁴⁰

While negotiations were underway for the *Last Supper* and *Fall of Manna* for the side walls of the tribune, the commission for a series of ceiling frescoes above the two canvases (Vitali’s *Manna* is lost), depicting the *Miracles of the Eucharist* (Figure 8.4),



Figure 8.4 Antonio Viviani, *Miracles of the Eucharist*, 1592–99, fresco, Cathedral, Urbino.
Photo: Courtesy of the author.

was awarded to another Urbino-born student of Barocci's, Antonio Viviani, called *il Sordo*. The total price for his large series of paintings was 300 *scudi*, not a small sum in its own right but a trifle when compared with Barocci's payments. Viviani, who also copied Barocci's work, was chosen because he, too, would get “*il consiglio del Sig. Barocci.*”⁴¹

While working on the *Last Supper* for nine years, Barocci earned 1,000 *scudi* on his largest canvas, a *Crucifixion with Mourners and Saint Sebastian* for the cathedral of Genoa (Color Plate 4). Clearly, Barocci had climbed to the summit of the art market and could rival Guido Reni, who soon became the most expensive of all seicento painters. Two decades after Barocci completed the *Crucifixion*, Reni was commissioned to paint a large altarpiece for another church in Genoa. His *Assumption of the Virgin* (Figure 8.5) is a little smaller than Barocci's canvas, but it contains many more figures. When Reni demanded the startling fee of 1,000 *scudi*, his former teacher Ludovico Carracci moved to undercut him and said he would undertake the job for half as much. Guido got the commission and his huge fee anyway.⁴²

Word about Barocci's high prices got around. In 1603, the artist was mentioned in a letter as someone who should be considered for painting a *Nativity* for the high altar of the Chiesa Nuova in Rome, which, it was said, could be gotten “for eight hundred or at most a thousand *scudi.*”⁴³ Nothing came of the idea because Barocci



Figure 8.5 Guido Reni, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1616–17, oil on canvas, 442 × 287 cm, Sant’Ambrogio, Genoa.

Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

had the reputation of being too slow to count on. When the commission finally went to Rubens, who ended up providing three paintings instead of one, the total payment was 680 *scudi*.⁴⁴

Barocci still had not set his record price—nearly 1,500 *scudi*—for the *Institution of the Eucharist* (Figure 1.1), painted for Pope Clement VIII’s family chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.⁴⁵ Correspondence reveals that the Pope was looking for a *vallente huomo*, a talented artist, and that although he recognized that there was Arpino in Rome, he nonetheless “would be very satisfied to have the hand of Barocci.” However, worry was expressed that Barocci, “old and sick,” would “take eight or ten years to finish it, as happened with other works when he was in better health.”⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Barocci was offered and accepted the commission, but the Duke warned that “whoever wants a work from this man’s hand has to have patience, and give him the time needed for his character and illnesses.”⁴⁷

When the *Institution of the Eucharist* was finally installed in 1611, it was called *bellissimo* and said to be the work of a *pittore famosissimo*, yet it was criticized, so much so that a replacement for it was contemplated. This rare negative reception of Barocci’s art hinged on the feeling that the figures were too small, out of scale in the



Figure 8.6 View into Aldobrandini Chapel, Santa Maria sopra Minerva.
Photo: Courtesy of Judith W. Mann.

chapel, particularly in relation to its sculpture (Figure 8.6).⁴⁸ The criticism was justified, for despite the excuse that Barocci was working in Urbino rather than in Rome, the painter had been provided with dimensions, a plan, a drawing of the façade of the chapel, and information on its lighting.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Barocci sent compositional designs to Rome for feedback, so the responsibility for failure in scale was also the patron’s.

Two final examples of prices help position Barocci in the art market around the turn of the century. His late *Christ Expiring on the Cross* of 1600-04 (Figure 8.7), which was commissioned by the Duke, has just one figure, yet it cost 300 *scudi*.⁵⁰ It was executed right at the time when Caravaggio was commissioned to paint the *Death of the Virgin* (Figure 8.8), a canvas that is almost identical in size. But for his significantly more ambitious work, Caravaggio’s compensation was 280 *scudi*, and that was the largest sum he ever earned for one painting in Rome.

Barocci trumped Caravaggio’s followers as well. For his *Circumcision* (Figure 8.9), Orazio Gentileschi was paid 300 *scudi*, while Barocci received 550 *scudi* for depicting the same subject (Figure 8.10).⁵¹ In this example, the canvases are almost identical in size and have a similar number of figures. Moreover, both were destined for provincial locales, Barocci’s for Pesaro, Orazio’s for nearby Ancona.⁵²



Figure 8.7 Christ Expiring on the Cross, 1600–1604, oil on canvas, 374 × 246 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (Figure 18).
Photo: Scala/White Images/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 8.8 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, The Death of the Virgin, 1601–1606, 369 × 245 cm, Musée du Louvre Paris, inv. 54.
Photo: Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images.



Figure 8.9 Orazio Gentileschi, *The Circumcision of Christ*, ca. 1605–1607, 390 × 252 cm, Pinacoteca Comunale on deposit from the Church of the Gesù, Ancona.

Photo: Church of the Gesù, Ancona, courtesy of the author.



Figure 8.10 *Circumcision*, 1590, oil on canvas, 374 × 252 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, M.I. 315 (Figure 14).

Photo: Musée du Louvre. Photo by Christian Jean. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

What conclusions can be drawn from Barocci’s high fees? To compare prices between artists is a thorny venture, above all because circumstances of individual commissions could differ significantly—notably in how much money was available to a client, to what extent an artist needed work at the time, and to what degree he might have expected other benefits from working for a particular patron. Nonetheless, the pattern I have outlined is too consistent to doubt: Barocci’s fees, when compared with those of his peers, were truly exceptional and a reliable measure of his top market position and reputation.

Did Barocci’s payments translate into personal wealth? Because the artist had no family to support, no need of dowries for daughters, and no reported desire for luxury, his living expenses should have been low.⁵³ His testament reveals that he owned substantial property in Urbino and its surroundings, yet it is impossible to estimate the value of his estate, most of which he left to his brother and sister.⁵⁴

While Barocci undoubtedly was very well off, his prices should be weighed in terms of output, that is, from a perspective of supply and demand. Unlike Arpino, Lanfanco, and most other painters of the time, he did not produce many gallery pictures, which usually constituted a lucrative aspect of an artist’s oeuvre.⁵⁵ Moreover, once Barocci left Rome, he painted no frescoes, which generated a major portion of Arpino’s, Lanfranco’s, and many other artists’ incomes. Lanfranco, for example, during his stay in Naples earned on average about 3,000 *scudi* annually, mostly from fresco commissions.⁵⁶

The catalogue of Arpino’s paintings has 280 entries, many of which contain multiple scenes, on occasion dozens of individual paintings in fresco cycles. Although Barocci lived longer than Arpino, he did not paint even a fourth as much. His entire known output was only about 90 paintings, portraits included.⁵⁷ Considering that he had a working career of over five decades, this means that, on average, he finished scarcely two paintings a year. In stark contrast, during his peak activity Guercino turned out between 15 and 20 canvases a year.⁵⁸

Clearly, Barocci’s output was not enough to meet demand, even from cardinals as important as Alessandro Farnese and Maffeo Barberini, or from Prince Gian Andrea Doria and the Spanish Count of Olivares, all of whom tried, but failed, to pry anything out of Barocci’s hands, despite, as the Duke remarked, that Barocci could have gotten “any price he wanted.”⁵⁹ The demand was high not only because of the quality of Barocci’s paintings, but because their deeply expressive religiosity (as early as 1573 his *Deposition* in Perugia was praised for being *piena di gratia*—full of grace) filled a market niche for images that, like Reni’s in the next generation, seamlessly and gracefully joined deep piety with seductive beauty.⁶⁰ Bellori insightfully recognized that Barocci’s “natural inclination was more suited to the delicate and the devotional than to resolute actions full of boldness.”⁶¹

The demand for his work notwithstanding, Barocci apparently disregarded that time was money, at least in the blunt sense that Luca “fa presto” Giordano explained it to that slowest of Florentine painters, Carlo Dolci. When examining his work, Giordano supposedly quipped, “I like everything, Carlo, but if you continue to paint this way, to invest so much time in executing your works, I think it’ll be long until you’ll put together the 150,000 *scudi* my brush brought me and you’ll certainly die of hunger.”⁶²

Why did Barocci produce so little? There are a number of good reasons. First of all, the painter was a slow worker, lavishing extraordinary time on his preparatory drawings—more than 1,500 are known today—many of which are colored. Some of those, particularly pastels and oil sketches, perhaps were made for collectors.⁶³ Moreover, if Bellori is right, Barocci also made clay and wax models for additional study of his figures.⁶⁴ While Barocci was no Carlo Dolci in terms of fastidious brushwork, he painted with a deliberate hand whose speed, when compared with someone like Lanfranco’s or Giordano’s, was a snail’s pace. Duke Francesco Maria II knew this well, over and over again admitting that Barocci “è *lentissimo nel lavorare*,” is very slow in working; that due to his poor health, “*lavora molto lentamente*,” he works very slowly; and that “*la lentezza sua naturale*,” his inherent slowness, is something almost unbelievable, “*cosa quasi incredibile*.”⁶⁵ In addition, Barocci’s compositions tend to be jam-packed with labor-intensive accessory figures such as in the *Madonna del Popolo* (Figure 5.22), where there are as many as 40!

Furthermore, Barocci was seriously ill during most of his working lifetime. Baglione reports that when Barocci was in Rome at the beginning of his career, he could not finish a painting of Moses because he “became sick ... not without suspicion of some evil attributable to wickedness or rivalry... he couldn’t keep his food down and when he wanted to undertake work, he suffered great tiredness. Thereafter he didn’t want to leave his hometown because of his ongoing illness.”⁶⁶ In Bellori’s account, certain painters in Rome, due to their “wickedness... spurred by envy,” put poison in Barocci’s salad, and when the painter returned to Urbino he could barely work two hours a day because of a stomach disorder and frequent vomiting.⁶⁷ Discussing Barocci’s indisposition further, Bellori reports that Barocci could sleep little at night, that his excruciating illness persisted throughout his lifetime, and that the painter could manage to work only an hour in the morning and another in the afternoon.⁶⁸

In a letter of 1573, Barocci himself referred to “*mia mala dispositione, la quale me tormenta sempre*,” “my bad health, which torments me continuously.”⁶⁹ In 1590, he complained of his *vecchiezza*, his old age, though he was only in his fifties, and again of his *mala indispositione*.⁷⁰ After the death of his brother, he wrote that “I have been in bed for a month.”⁷¹ The Duke repeatedly had to offer excuses for why a painting by Barocci was not ready, confessing, for example, in 1586 that “an eternity is needed to get a work from his hands.”⁷² That refrain became a litany in his many apologetic letters. The title of this paper comes from another letter dated 1591: “*per le sue infirmità et per li suoi humori lavora si poco, che è una morte di possergli cavare cosa alcuna dalle mani ... Dio sa quando sarà per finirli*.” That is, due to his illness and disposition Barocci works so little that it is deadly to get anything out of his hands. So much so that “God knows when he’ll finish.”⁷³

Notes

- 1 Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 169–70.
- 2 Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 325, made a similar claim regarding Poussin, viz. that he would write whatever price he wanted on the back of a painting and that it was never disputed by the buyer. For analyses of the economic lives of seventeenth-century Italian painters, see the essays in Richard E. Spear and Philip Sohm, *Painting for Profit. The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters*, New Haven and London, 2010.

- 3 Additional information on the prices I cite in comparison with Barocci’s fees can be found in a database I established with the Getty Research Institute (www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/payments_to_artists/index.html). It provides detailed records with bibliographic references on about one thousand payments to painters who worked in seventeenth-century Rome, which unfortunately excludes Barocci.
- 4 To appreciate the challenge of traveling long distances in Barocci’s time, consider that Michel de Montaigne typically covered 20 to 30 miles a day while in Italy (1580–81), rarely more, by post-horse. E.g., having left Florence, Montaigne wrote, “the road was uneven and stony, and, after a very long journey, we arrived late at night at Siena, thirty-two miles...” (*The Journal of Montaigne’s Travels in Italy by Way of Switzerland and Germany in 1580 and 1581*, trans. and ed. W. G. Waters, 3 vols, London, 1903, II, 60).
- 5 It should suffice to consider the overall quality of the paintings by Barocci’s students and followers in Ambrosini Massari and Cellini, *Nel segno di Barocci*, 2005. Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 222, was well aware of this: “Barocci’s pupils were all painters of little importance; only in a few exceptional cases are their works of any more than local interest.”
- 6 For discussion of Caravaggio’s and his followers’ prices, see Richard E. Spear, “The Bottom Line of Painting Caravaggesque,” in Lorenzo Pericolo and David Stone, eds., *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions*, Farnham, 2014, 199–225.
- 7 Herwarth Röttgen, *Il Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari D’Arpino: un grande pittore nello splendore della fama e nell’incostanza*, Rome, 2002, *passim* for documentation of Arpino’s commissions.
- 8 See the Regesto in Erich Schleier, ed.: *Giovanni Lanfranco. Un pittore barocco tra Parma, Roma e Napoli*. Exh. cat., Milan, rev. ed., 2002, 422–42, for payments to Lanfranco.
- 9 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 138, no. 1, and 140, no. 5. The document for the St. Sebastian is lost although it was published by Lazzari in 1800. It gives the cost in *fiorini*, which were the equivalent of *scudi*.
- 10 Richard E. Spear, “Guercino’s ‘Prix-Fixe’: Observations on Studio Practices and Art Marketing in Emilia,” *The Burlington Magazine* 136 (September 1994), 592–602, and Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, *passim*, on the influence of size and the number of figures on prices.
- 11 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 217, no. 71, and Francesco Federico Mancini, ed., *Federico Barocci e la pittura della maniera in Umbria*. Exh. cat., Milan, 2010, 48–49, no. 10. The painting was completed by Barocci’s student, Ventura Mazza, for 45 *scudi*.
- 12 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 152, no. 21, and Francesca Abbozzo and Maria Teresa Castellano, eds., *Federico Barocci “Il Deposito di Croce” nella Cappella di San Bernardino nella Cattedrale di Perugia*, Ancona, 2010.
- 13 On payments in kind, see Renata Ago, *Economia barocca: mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento*, Rome, 1998, 198–201, and *idem*, *Il gusto delle cose: una storia degli oggetti nella Roma del Seicento*, Rome, 2006, 3–15.
- 14 Röttgen, *Il Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari D’Arpino*, 2002, 493, no. 279 (I am indebted to Professor Röttgen for providing the photograph for Figure 8.1). For these examples and other payments in kind to painters, see Spear in Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 34–35.
- 15 Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 39–40 for rents in Rome, and 125–26, 138, 174, 179, 180, 190, 223–25 and 252 for rents in other Italian cities.
- 16 Abbozzo and Castellano, *Federico Barocci “Il Deposito di Croce,”* 2010, 81–82.
- 17 Richard E. Spear, “A Century of Pigment Prices: Seventeenth-Century Italy,” in Jo Kirby, Susie Nash and Joanna Cannon, eds., *Trade in Painters’ Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700*, London, 2010, 275–93.
- 18 For costs of materials and the overhead of running a studio, see Spear in Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 39–40, 63–69.
- 19 Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 163. At the time, a gold *scudo* was worth about 20% more than a silver *scudo*.
- 20 Spear in Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 60, with speculation on Cerrini’s ulterior motivation.
- 21 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 169, no. 33.
- 22 Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 158.
- 23 *Ibid.*

- 24 Mancini, *Federico Barocci*, 2010, 36, no. 4.
- 25 Rudolf Heinrich Krommes, *Studien zu Federico Barocci*, Leipzig, 1912, 82, 83.
- 26 See Mann, “Drawing the Virgin,” n. 41.
- 27 Giovanni Battista Passeri, *Die Künstlergraphien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, ed. Jacob Hess, 1934 (reprint Worms, 1995), 36.
- 28 Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 165.
- 29 Krommes, *Studien*, 1912, 80.
- 30 See Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 28, and especially Stuart Lingo, “Francesco Maria della Rovere and Federico Barocci. Some Notes on Distinctive Strategies in Patronage and the Position of the Artist at Court,” in Versteegen, *Patronage and Dynasty*, 2007, 179–99, on the Duke’s diplomatic strategies.
- 31 Krommes, *Studien*, 1912, 80–81.
- 32 The painting, now in the Goethehaus, has been identified as Antonio Fazzini (see Fert Sangiorgi, “Precisazioni su due ritratti di Federico Barocci,” *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, 20, 1991, 169. Giorgio Gronau, *Documenti artistici urbinati*, Florence, 1936, 152, letter CXCVI (1583) and 155, n. 1; and Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 177, no. 36. But see Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 304, on the identity of the sitter.
- 33 Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, 162–63, no. 31, and Krommes, *Studien*, 1912, 84 (29 *scudi* in 1608 for an unidentified *Ritratto d’una Donna*).
- 34 Spear in Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 91–94, on the relative value of portraiture.
- 35 The usage of *ritratto* as an authentic, unmediated likeness is perfectly exemplified when Don Magnifico in Rossini’s *La Cenerentola* encounters Cenerentola in her servant’s guise after the ball, where in fancy dress she had not been recognized, and, bewildered, exclaims, “Quella è l’original, questa è il ritratto/that is the original, this is the likeness” (Act II, scene vi).
- 36 Krommes, *Studien*, 1912, 86–88, and Gronau, *Documenti*, 1936, 168–69, letters CCXXII–CCXXIII (1590).
- 37 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 211, provides a good overview of the numerous documents.
- 38 Gronau, *Documenti*, 1936, 201, letter CCLXXXVIII (1590).
- 39 *Ibid.*, 172, n. 1 (1593).
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 *Ibid.*, 170, n. 2 (1593).
- 42 Richard E. Spear, *The “Divine” Guido: Religion, Sex, Money and Art in the World of Guido Reni*, New Haven and London, 1997, 211.
- 43 Ilse von Zur Mühlen, “S. Maria in Vallicella: zur Geschichte des Hauptaltars,” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 31 (1996), 270.
- 44 The history of payments to Rubens is complex; for a good summary of the documents, see Julius Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens. A Critical Catalogue*, 2 vols., Princeton, NJ, 1980, I, 539–40.
- 45 See Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 296, 298, for the numerous documents.
- 46 Gronau, *Documenti*, 1936, 177, letter CCXXXIX (1603).
- 47 *Ibid.*, 180, letter CCXLV (1603).
- 48 *Ibid.*, 186, n. 1 (1611).
- 49 Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 288–91.
- 50 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 273.
- 51 *Ibid.*, II, 91.
- 52 Important artists often had to be paid a premium to entice them to work for provincial locations. See Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 60–61 *et passim*.
- 53 According to Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 170, Duke Francesco Maria II provided Barocci with an apartment at court for life, but the painter moved into “a house of his taste.” The cost of an artist’s upkeep of his family (Lanfranco is a good example) and expenses on housing, clothing, entertainment, and at times a carriage, to project social status could be significant. See Spear in Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit* 2010, 72–73 and, on the high costs of dowries, Spear and Sohm, *passim*.
- 54 Egidio Calzini, *Studi e notizie su Federico Barocci*, Florence, 1913, 8–12 (see Appendix I).

- 55 Even should a few more small pictures by Barocci, such as the one in Mann and Bohm, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 282–87, be discovered in the future, they would not significantly alter Barocci’s total output.
- 56 Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 109, and more broadly on painters’ earnings, 108–113 *et passim*.
- 57 In Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, 1962, there are 75 catalogue entries, plus 4 autograph replicas and about 8 lost works cited in the seventeenth-century.
- 58 Spear in Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 65. However, it must be borne in mind that, unlike Barocci’s, a sizeable portion of Guercino’s oeuvre is gallery paintings.
- 59 Krommes, *Studien*, 1912, 93–94, letter CCLXXVI (1596).
- 60 Giovanna Saporì, “Rapporto preliminare su Simonetto Anastagi, *Ricerche di Storia dell’arte: Artisti e committenti nel ‘500*, 21 (1983), 77, for Raffaello Sozì’s description of Barocci’s “maniera nuova, artificiosa, et piena di gratia, et di bontà in tutte le sue parti.” See Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, for an excellent analysis of Barocci’s art as a union of the *vago* and *devote*, and Spear, *The “Divine” Guido*, 1997, chapter 7, “Guido’s Grace.”
- 61 Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 172.
- 62 Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 2010, 24–26, 63–65, 133–35 *et passim* for discussion of the cost of time.
- 63 See Mann and Bohm, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 167 and n. 68; and Bohn’s essay in this volume for further discussion on this question.
- 64 Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 171, and Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 39.
- 65 Krommes, *Studien*, 1912, 154, letter CXC VII (1583); 154, letter CXC VIII (1583); and 200, letter CCLXXXVIII (1590).
- 66 Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de’ pittori, scultori et architetti dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a’ tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, Rome, 1642 (facsimile ed. Valerio Mariani, Rome, 1935), I, 133.
- 67 Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 161.
- 68 Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 168–69. It is difficult to assess the hyperbole in Bellori’s account; as Bellori acknowledged, despite his illness, Barocci lived a long life, well into his seventies.
- 69 Saporì, “Rapporto preliminare...,” 1983, 80.
- 70 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 172.
- 71 *Ibid.*, II, 312.
- 72 Krommes, *Studien*, 1912, 163, letter no. CCXIV (1586).
- 73 *Ibid.*, 191–92, letter no. CCLXXII (1591).

9 The tip of the iceberg

Barocci's postmortem inventory and the survival of renaissance drawings

*David Ekserdjian**

As is all too well known, in his biography of Federico Barocci, Giovan Pietro Bellori gave a vivid account of his subject's poisoning as a young artist in Rome. "This evil is thought to have come about through the wickedness of certain painters spurred by envy, who invited him to a light meal and gave him poison in the salad."¹ In consequence, Bellori proceeded to relate, Barocci was obliged to return home to Urbino, where he was unable to paint for four years, until a prayer to the Virgin brought about his partial recovery. Feeling somewhat better, he painted a "quadretto" of the Virgin and Child with Saint John the Evangelist, which he gave, to quote Bellori again, "in voto" to the Capuchin fathers of Crocicchia, two miles outside Urbino (Color Plate 25). The appropriateness of the choice of John the Evangelist, who was the apostle who survived after drinking poison, and whose chalice features prominently in the composition, is as obvious as it is generally overlooked.² Be that as it may, for the rest of his days "Barocci was tormented ceaselessly by his illness, which allowed him barely two hours a day to devote to his art."³

No doubt, as compassionate souls our hearts collectively bleed for him, but as art historians and lovers of art—which are not quite the same thing—we should be absolutely delighted. We may also give thanks that even the most savage reviews of our work in learned journals are mild stuff by comparison with the ways in which Renaissance artists reputedly sorted out their professional rivalries. I say "reputedly," since the after-effects of a single poisoned salad cannot actually have lasted for decades, but there are other cases of artists walking in fear of the competition. On February 7, 1506, Albrecht Dürer in Venice wrote home to his best friend Willibald Pirckheimer in Nuremberg, and made a point of informing him that "Amongst the Italians I have many good friends who warn me not to eat and drink with their painters. Many of them are enemies and they copy my work in the churches and where they can find it; and then they revile it and say that the style is not *antique* and so not good."⁴

Two hours a day sounds limiting, but does not appear to have been, perhaps because as a result Barocci never woke up with a hangover; moreover, as a lifelong bachelor, he never suffered from what Cyril Connolly referred to as the problem of "the pram in the hall."⁵ Indeed, the benefits of his single-minded devotion are immediately apparent if one presses the biographical fast forward button and examines the document that is the principal focus of this essay, namely Barocci's postmortem inventory.

* I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Babette Bohn, Judy Mann, and Carol Plazzotta for inviting me to be a part of their Barocci adventure.

The document in question was published by Egidio Calzini in 1913 in a volume entitled *Studi e Notizie su Federico Barocci*. An English translation is included as an appendix to this volume. It is entitled “Account of the contents of Barocci’s ‘Studio’” (“Minuta dello Studio del S.nor Barocci”) and the interest of the term “Studio” will be explored in due course. Although its existence has hardly been a closely guarded secret, it does not seem unreasonable to claim that there remains much to say about it, above all in connection with those items within it that cannot be matched up with extant works. Calzini explained that he had found it many years previously, in the archive of the Benamati heirs of Gubbio, who were the descendants of the Benamati family of Cantiano. In consequence, and unless by some miracle it were to re-emerge, we are wholly reliant upon his transcription.⁶

I will naturally return to individual items within the inventory in greater detail in what follows, but it seems to make sense to begin by outlining what might be described as its constituent parts. It begins by listing six paintings: five of these are either by Barocci himself or after works by him, and they are all unfinished, while the sixth is a copy in oils on paper of a *Mars and Venus* by Veronese. In theory, it too could be by Barocci, but the inventory is non-committal on this point. There follow 14 heads in oils of old men, women, and youths, together with 28 further “pezzi di carte colorite a olio,” (pieces of paper colored in oil) with landscapes, trees, animals, fruit, water, “et altre bagatelle” (and other trifles).

After the paintings come the various drawings, which are listed in a coherent sequence, beginning with ten cartoons of various types and scales, as well as a single “cartoncello,” (small cartoon) and then the pastels. These are divided into three categories: a hundred finished heads “d’ogni età d’ogni sesso” (of all ages and sexes), 80 “non ben finite” (not well finished), and 90 “abozzate grosso modo” (roughly sketched), “ove son capelli finiti e non altro, orecchie gole, barbe, fronti lassate così che altro non li serviva” (where the hair is finished and nothing else, ears, throats, beards, foreheads left as if that was all that served his purpose). Not one of these survives.

A further hundred pastels are singled out among the 800 or so loose drawings “fatti per mettere in opra” (literally done to be put to work). It is explained that Barocci employed a variety of techniques “per condurre l’opre sue a ottimo fine” (to complete his works in the best fashion), and these techniques are listed as follows: “usava il chiaro oscuro in carte tinte, ombrava con il lapis, alumava con gesso e biacca, ed alle volte usava anco carbone, e biacca,” (he employed chiaroscuro on colored papers, he shadowed with [black] chalk, he heightened with gesso and white lead, and on occasion he also used charcoal and white lead). Turning to their subjects as opposed to the techniques employed, it is added that “Questi disegni son tutti del naturale da modelli, da gessi boni e son figure nude, vestite, gambe, bracci, piedi e mani, panni bellissimi del naturale” (These drawings are all from the life from models, and from good casts in gesso, and they are of nude and draped figures, legs, arms, feet and hands, as well as draperies, all most beautiful and from the life). The use of casts is not particularly obvious in Barocci’s practice, but—as is well known, and will emerge more fully in due course—was far from unusual in the period.

The reason for asserting that these 800 drawings were loose is that there then follow 15 books of drawings, “grandi, mezzani, piccoli, parte pieni, altri mezzi, altri poche carte, dissegnati quasi tutti di mano del S.or Barocci” (large, middling, small, some full of drawings, some half full, some with few sheets drawn on, almost

all from the hand of Signor Barocci). The principal exception singled out is a book of around 80 drawings by Raphael “di acquarella, di chiaro oscuro, di penna, nudi, vestiti, putti, donne, animali, ed altro assai, che sarebbe lungo a raccontarlo,” (in wash, chiaroscuro, and pen, of nude and draped figures, children, women, animals, and much besides, which it would take too long to relate). As a rule, Polonius’s dictum that “Brevity is the soul of wit” holds all too true, but we can only regret that the anonymous compiler of this inventory did not take a gamble and risk trying our patience.

The next paragraph, which presumably does not refer back to the drawings already listed, is concerned with a further hundred drawings by Barocci, of which ten or so finished ones could be made into prints. Still others were “del’opre fatte” (of finished works), which would imply they were autograph fair copies, and they in their turn were followed by numerous copies after Raphael and others done by the artist in his youth (“molti ritratti da Raffaello, et altri valenthuomini fatti quando era giovane”). Such sheets by Barocci, including one with copies after one of Raphael’s Farnesina frescoes and two putti from Polidoro da Caravaggio’s frescoes in San Silvestro al Quirinale, do indeed exist. In fact, there is also evidence in the form of borrowings that attests to his study of works by other artists.⁷ To these are added around a hundred further drawings by “diversi valenthuomini, tutti ben fatti in diverse maniere” (various worthy men, all well done in a variety of manners).

The final category of drawings comprises landscapes, which are divided into three groups. The first are “paesi coloriti a guazzo di colori, acquarelle ritratti dal naturale da vinti in circa” (colored landscapes in gouache and wash drawn from the life, about twenty in number). The second are around a hundred “altri paesi dissegnati di chiaro oscuro, di acquarella, di lapis, tutti visti dal vero” (other landscapes drawn in chiaroscuro, wash, [black] chalk, all taken from life). The third are around 50 “pezzi di paesi schizzati visti dal naturale” (pieces of landscape sketched and taken from life). Examples of all these types are known.⁸

Lastly, the inventory lists the copper plate of the *Annunciation*, which is stated to be from the hand of Barocci. It also lists a woodcut of the “Madonna di Egitto,” which must be the print dated 1575 by Cornelis Cort after Barocci’s *Rest on the Return from Egypt*.⁹

Even excluding the copies after Raphael and other artists, whose number is not specified, not to mention all the drawings in the 14 more and less fully used books referred to in the inventory, the grand total amounts to around 1,340 drawings (also excluding the oils on paper and the cartoons). This is a very considerable body of work, but there is no useful way of measuring it in its entirety against the surviving corpus of Barocci drawings.

On the other hand, there is no reason such an analysis cannot be undertaken for certain limited categories of sheets, such as landscapes. It would reveal the almost total absence of “colored landscapes,” which numbered about 20 in the inventory, although only one is known today, the beautiful sheet in the British Museum (Figure 9.1). Furthermore, a far smaller number of other landscapes survive, whether finished or not, than the 150-odd listed there. Thus, while it is true that Andrea Emiliani’s great monograph absolutely does not claim completeness in this regard, and that there are landscape drawings dotted amongst its pages, its designated landscape section contains a mere nine.¹⁰ In the same vein, not one of the 28 “pezzi di carte colorite a olio” (pieces of paper colored in oil) with landscapes, trees, animals, fruit, water, “et altre bagatelle” appears to have survived.



Figure 9.1 *Riverbank with trees*, recto, brown and black wash with white, green, mauve, and yellow gouache(?) over some black chalk, 39.5 × 25 cm, inscribed in brown ink on the recto at lower left: “Federicus Barotius Urbinas fecit.” The British Museum, London, inv. Pp,3.202 (Cat. 14.3).

Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

As stated, a full comparison between what was in the “Studio” and what remains is unfeasible, and for a whole variety of reasons. The first is obviously the fact that any number of extant drawings may once have been in the books. The second is that the “Minuta” is entirely opaque concerning the crucial question of whether sheets with both rectos and versos were being counted as one drawing or two, although the former solution seems more likely. The third is that a complete catalogue of Barocci’s drawings does not yet exist, although such a project would be incomparably more feasible now than ever before, particularly if it were on-line rather than in printed form. The lion’s share of its contents would be all the drawings in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett and the Gabinetto at the Uffizi. Furthermore, it would necessarily also include such sleeping beauties as the 40-odd sheets in Dessau, which belonged to a minor artist called Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorf (1736–1800). Until recently, they were assumed to be by him and still await proper publication.¹¹

Two facts are incontrovertible: Barocci was a prolific draughtsman and he retained a very considerable number of the drawings he made during his impressively long career. That he cannot have kept everything seems equally clear, and not just when it came to cartoons or head studies in oil. In the case of the former group, by no means all the cartoons that must once have existed for his finished paintings are represented in the inventory. In the case of the latter, 14 head studies seem far too few, even if only that approximate number survive today.¹² Some drawings must

have been inadvertently destroyed while others were presumably handed over to patrons and friends.

It makes obvious sense that any assessment of Barocci's "Studio" should seek to compare his drawings legacy with what is known of those of his precursors and contemporaries. Predictably enough, the general survival rates for Italian Renaissance drawings are extremely low, even allowing for the fact that over time—and especially after 1500 or so—it seems clear that artists executed increasing numbers of them. In all probability, most artists and indeed workshops were in the habit of retaining drawings, and there is all manner of evidence in the form of derivative copies of earlier inventions—whether by the original artists or others—that suggests fair copies of compositions as well as creative sketches were preserved.¹³ By definition, the practice of keeping such workshop materials together represented a double-edged sword, since they ran the risk of being the victims of wholesale loss or destruction. It is tempting to presume that some such fate befell many of Bronzino's drawings, in view of the fact that a mere 60 or so have survived.¹⁴ By way of comparison, the corpus of drawings by his adoptive father and mentor Pontormo numbers just under 400.¹⁵

The earliest Italian artist by whom we have a substantial body of extant drawings is Pisanello, thanks to the survival of the so-called *Codex Vallardi*. In that case, the material in question combines autograph sheets with works by close—and not so close—associates of the master. It almost certainly derives from Pisanello's workshop stock, conceivably as it evolved after his death. The fact that so many sheets survived *en bloc* in private hands until as late as 1856 is little short of miraculous, not least since they represent almost the entire surviving corpus of drawings by Pisanello, by whom there are something in the region of ten to 20 studies elsewhere.¹⁶

Moving on to the great triumvirate of Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael, we find that their drawn legacies underwent very different fates. Most of Leonardo's studio property, including paintings and scientific papers, appears to have been divided between his pupils Francesco Melzi and Salai.¹⁷ Some of Michelangelo's drawings certainly passed to his nephew Lionardo, but others equally surely did not, and the aged artist is known to have made bonfires of substantial numbers of them.¹⁸ Raphael's heirs were his pupils Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni, but there is no evidence of their having owned his drawings, of which a substantial number seem to have belonged to his older contemporary and countryman Timoteo Viti.¹⁹

In all of these cases, our not wholly unfounded surmises about the afterlives of their drawings have no basis in hard documentary fact. Conversely, there is unimpeachable documentary evidence concerning the legacy of Fra Bartolommeo. An inventory was drawn up after his death in 1517: it lists 866 loose drawings, further subdivided according to subject-matter and technique, 12 sketchbooks, and an unspecified number of landscape drawings in color and pen and ink, which had been pasted onto rolls of canvas.²⁰ These were evidently left to his artistic heir and pupil, Fra Paolino.²¹ By way of confirmation, a second document drawn up soon after is entitled "Inventory of drawings and other implements given to Fra Paolino da Pistoia, appraised by Lorenzo di Credi." In his appraisal, whose totals do not perfectly match those of the earlier inventory, Lorenzo lists 830 loose sheets and specifies that the 12 sketchbooks contained around 180 sheets *in toto*. Both the 66 independent landscape drawings singled out in the first list and those on the sheets on the rolls of canvas are omitted from this second list.²² The division between loose sheets and books is all but inevitable, but more interestingly—and as is the case with the Barocci *Minuta*—the landscape drawings are treated as a separate category.

When Parmigianino died in semi-exile from Parma in 1540, no such inventory of his workshop property appears to have been drawn up.²³ In any event, it is extremely likely to have remained in Parma when he jumped bail and fled the city. If so, it may well have passed to his guarantor and principal patron, the Cavaliere Francesco Baiardo. What is certain is the fact that the inventory drawn up after the death of the Cavaliere in 1561 contains what would otherwise be an extraordinary number of paintings and drawings by Parmigianino, alongside much more modest holdings of classical antiquities and ancient coins, as well as works of art and prints by other Renaissance artists.²⁴ As has been argued by a number of commentators, there is every reason to believe that the contents of Parmigianino's "Studio"—as he himself might well have called it—are buried within the Baiardo Inventory.²⁵ What is so frustrating, of course, is the fact that there can be no absolute certainty concerning which items—apart from the works by Parmigianino himself—once belonged to him. Nevertheless, both in light of Barocci's collection of drawings by Raphael and by other hands and in view of Parmigianino's demonstrable interest in the productions of his great contemporaries, there is nothing far-fetched about the idea that he may have owned prints by or after the likes of Dürer, Raphael, and Bandinelli.²⁶

By far the most distinctive feature of the Baiardo Inventory, when it is compared with the inventories of painters' legacies, both those already examined and all but one of those to be explored later on, is the fact that it includes extraordinarily detailed descriptions of both the subjects and the media of individual sheets, together with dimensions. The reasons for this presumably have to do with the nature of the beneficiaries. The likes of Fra Paolino would not have needed much in the way of guidance concerning such matters, whereas the heirs of collectors—even if they too were passionately interested amateurs—would. It is surely no coincidence that other early inventories of drawings collections, such as those of the holdings of Antonio Tronsarelli and Fulvio Orsini, prove to be almost equally meticulous.²⁷ As was the case with Lorenzo di Credi's drawing up of the altogether less demanding Fra Bartolommeo inventory for Fra Paolino, they must surely have been the responsibility of artists, although in all three cases (Baiardo, Tronsarelli, and Orsini), the identities of their compilers remain a mystery.

What makes the Baiardo Inventory peculiarly fascinating is that it helps to confirm my "tip of the iceberg" formulation. As a matter of fact, one-ninth of an iceberg is visible above the water, whereas far less than that, a paltry handful out of the 557 sheets by Parmigianino that are listed in the Baiardo Inventory, can be identified today.²⁸ By way of balance, it is important to add that numerous extant drawings may well have belonged to the Cavaliere, since here too a very substantial number of the sheets are not individually listed.²⁹

The one artist's inventory that is explicit about the authorship and subject matter of much of its contents is that of the possessions of Don Giulio Clovio, which was drawn up at his behest and in his presence—with Rufini Mai, Cardinal Farnese, Giovanni Finale, and Claudio Massarolo also in attendance—on 31 December 1578.³⁰ The material was stated to be in four "Mazzi" (bundles) marked A, B, C, and D, which were made up into one "Fascio" (also bundle, but at least in this case a bigger one), and eight further "Fasci," together with a single book of drawings after prints by Dürer and a few after Michelangelo, by implication the work of Clovio.³¹

"A" contained two figures by Giotto, five or six drawings by Michelangelo, four works by Peter Bruegel the Elder (a miniature half by him and half by Clovio, a

painting of “Leon di Francia” [Leo of France], a *Tower of Babel* on ivory, and a painting in gouache of a tree), as well as an unfinished miniature of *Mars and Venus* and four drawings, all by Clovio. There were also 28 drawings by him after Michelangelo, together with one after Giovanni Bellini’s now lost design for *Pope Alexander III’s Flight to Venice* for the Doge’s Palace there and another after part of Raphael’s *Expulsion of Heliodorus* in the Vatican Stanze, with the protagonist erroneously identified as Antiochus.³² “B” was listed as having contained two drawings by Michelangelo and one original invention by Clovio, two drawings by him after Raphael, and five after Michelangelo. “C” contained three Michelangelo drawings, 14 by Clovio “sua inventione,” one after Perino del Vaga, one after Raphael, and 22 after Michelangelo. “D” contained 12 originals by Clovio, one after Correggio, and two after Michelangelo. It is also noted that Mazza “D” is “between two other bundles which are not by his hand.” These are presumably the two “Fasci” listed next and respectively recorded as containing 129 and 67 drawings whose authorship is not vouchsafed. They are followed by two further “Fasci,” the first comprising 69 drawings by an otherwise unspecified “Donato” as well as others and the second 78 drawings by Clovio.

Next comes the “Libro de disegni” referred to above, and then a “Fascio” containing 28 drawings, all by Clovio, of which 11 are singled out for more detailed consideration. The same approach was adopted for the subsequent “Fascio,” which contained 77 drawings by Clovio, of which a mere three were singled out. Finally, the two remaining “Fasci” were simply described as containing “diuersi disegni” (various drawings), with the contents of the first being explicitly designated as not being from his hand. Even with the omission of the various groups of drawings whose numbers were not calculated, the sum total would appear to be 560. Of these, an impressive 59 were copies after Michelangelo, and a further six were copies after other masters, which serves to underline the extent to which the study of the works of other artists was a fundamental aspect of Clovio’s practice.

A little less than five years earlier, on February 12, 1574, the Cremonese painter Bernardino Campi made a “Donatio inter vivos irrevocabilis” (an irrevocable lifetime gift) of his entire workshop property to the painter Giovanni Battista Trotti, better known as Malosso.³³ It is divided up in an estimably business-like manner between his own drawings and other materials. The drawings number a daunting 3,609, as follows: 40 “Cartoni de ancone et de altre sorte” (cartoons for altarpieces and of other kinds), 2,420 “Disegni dun quadreto de folio” (drawings of a quarter folio), 980 “Disegni di megio folio di carta luno” (drawings of a half folio of paper each), 90 “Disegni dun folio de carta luno” (drawings of a whole folio of paper each), and 170 “Lucidi di megio folio de carta luno” (tracings of a half folio of paper each). The final category—the “Lucidi”—are of peculiar interest in connection with Barocci. For while no such drawings by him are known today or appear to feature in his “Studio,” there is evidence (discussed in Bohn and Mann’s essay in this volume) of his *Entombment* altarpiece having been damaged by the practice of tracing during his lifetime, and such tracings would have been extremely helpful for what might be described as archival purposes.³⁴ Later on in the Campi inventory, it is revealed that the drawings were housed in two “casse” (chests). This must have been a standard way of protecting drawings from damage, but over the centuries, these particular ones have fared less well. The result is that while the far-flung corpus of extant sheets by Bernardino Campi—whose drawn oeuvre also lacks a *catalogue raisonné*—may be numbered in the hundreds, they most certainly do not reach into the thousands.

The second—and considerably longer—part of the donation involves the remainder of Bernardino Campi's workshop property, which is to say the various tools of his trade rather than his corpus of drawings. The list of workshop "tools" begins with his collection of prints, which—like the inventory of drawings—has been divided up by size, and numbers 1320. There are 800 "Stampe dun quadreto de folio", 150 "Stampe de megio folio", 200 "Stampe de uno folio", 70 "Stampe de dui folii", and finally—yet again separately—one hundred "Stampe de paesi" (prints of landscapes).

Next come a number of sculptural models made of gesso and wax. They too are organized by size, beginning with four life-size gesso heads with bust, five life-size heads with shoulders, 30 life-size "Teste de tuto tondo" (heads in the round), and ten life-size gesso heads "senza la gnuca" (literally without the nape of the neck). Next come 18 "teste senza la gnuca" which are smaller than life-size, 12 small heads "et tra queste ne sono tre de cera e tre a caval" (and among these are three of wax and three on horseback)—implying these were figures not heads—and an additional 12 small heads.

They in their turn are followed by 28 "Figure supredi [su piedi?] de gies et de cera" (standing figures of gesso and wax), and six "Figure colegate" (attached figures)—which may mean groups—and four animals, two of them "de metal," the standard term in the Renaissance for bronze. There follow "Un model de uno peduzo de pietra cota fato..." (a terracotta model of a pedestal...), "Uno auconte de cera," which one is tempted to interpret as a wax, "Laoconte," ("Laocoön"), and "Uno model del Sig. Zuan Jacom Treulzo a caval," which is presumably some sort of version of Leonardo's projected but never completed equestrian monument to the said Gian Giacomo Trivulzio.³⁵

The concluding items among the models are 20 "Trusi" (??) of half figures of gesso and wax, three large gesso half figures, 11 gesso arms, 11 gesso legs, five life-size hands, 12 feet (assuming "Prede de gieso" is to be read as "piedi di gesso"), and seven masks. As a postscript, there is a—to me—mysterious reference to "Tuti li cani de gies," as well as further mentions of an unspecified number of "medalie de otone piombo et solfer" (medals of brass, lead, and sulphur), 11 oil paintings, and two wax Crucifixes.

Some if not all of these models would appear to have been on display, since there is a mention of "El legno che è atacado al muro del studio fato a porte et nichie donde è posto le figure de cera" (the wooden [cupboard] made with doors and niches, which is attached to the wall of the studio, where are placed the figures of wax). Further items recorded are 31 books, a "casetta" (small chest) containing red and black chalk, together with "coltre" (blades??, as in the word coulter) for drawing, two "prede et dui masnini da masenar li colori" (feet and little hands for grinding colors), and a "lume fata in un vas da designar d'oton" (brass lamp for drawing in the shape of a vase). Three easels for painting conclude the list.

The number of models, which appear to amount to 184, seems exceptionally high. Prints such as Enea Vico's *The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli* (Figure 9.2) indicate how such models may have been employed in artists' workshops, and not least as a teaching aid.³⁶ Like prints, they would presumably have presented a visual anthology of admired prototypes. Sadly, the overwhelming majority of those in Bernardino Campi's "Studio" are unidentified.



Figure 9.2 Enea Vico, *The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli*, ca. 1544, engraving, state i/ii, 30.6 × 43.8 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 17.50.16–135. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org.

Interestingly enough and most unusually, even in the aftermath of Vasari's *Vite*, Bernardino Campi was the subject of a stand-alone biography, Alessandro Lamo's *Discorso intorno alla scoltura, e pittura, dove ragiona della vita, ed opere in molti luoghi, ed a diversi principi, e personaggi* of 1584.³⁷ It confirms that Bernardino Campi's love and admiration for the young Trotti led him to give him "per Moglie una sua Nipote, figlia del Signor Guido Locadello, Giovane tanto bella di corpo, quanto bellissima d'animo, col fargli eziando donazione di tutto il suo Studio, di valore di più di mille Scudi." (for his wife one of his [Campi's] nieces, the daughter of Signor Guido Locadello, a young girl both beautiful in her person and most beautiful in her soul, and in addition gave him his entire studio, whose value was over a thousand scudi).³⁸

The postmortem inventory of Jacopo Bassano, who according to Ridolfi³⁹ died on February 13, 1592, was drawn up by a notary in his house on Monday April 27 of the same year, and is a remarkable document. It is headed "Inventario de' quadri di pittura..." (inventory of paintings), and includes no fewer than 187 entries, some of which list groups of works, to which are added a further 20 paintings in the house of his painter son Leandro.⁴⁰ Both the dimensions and the degree of finish are routinely noted, as are unusual supports, such as stone, and indeed night scenes ("di notte" [by night] is the term employed). A number of canvases are stated to have been stretched and prepared but left unpainted—an example is No. 11, "Un quadro tirato grande dato di mischio solamente."⁴¹ No. 188 at the

end of the list is laconically described as consisting of “Due cartoni di diversi Disegni, e tredici rodoli di diversi disegni.” (two boxes? with various drawings, and 13 rolls with various drawings).⁴² Surviving works suggest Jacopo was a prolific draughtsman, and it may therefore be assumed that these 13 rolls, not to mention the slightly mysterious “cartoni,” amounted to a considerable body of material. Jacopo’s will, drawn up by the notary Bernardino della Porta, who may also subsequently have compiled the inventory, on February 10 and 11, 1592 (and therefore just before his death) is full of interesting information. Unsurprisingly, the dying artist determines the fate of his existing “Studio”: “Item per raggion di legato ha lassato tutti li quadri et opere fatte et finite, come lasade, disegni, copie, et relevi a Battista et Gieronimo sui figliuoli, et questo perchè ms. Francesco e ms. Leandro sono fuori di casa, et altre volte ne hano hauto, et ve ne sono stati agiutati a fare, et sono pratici et pronti nelle inventioni, et non hanno bisogno de copie, invention... o rodoli per averli lui insegnato in arte bona et eccellente; qual siano la terza parte de ms. Battista et il resto de ms. Gieronimo.” (Item: by way of legacy, he has left all the finished and completed paintings and works, and those left as they are, drawings, copies, and reliefs, to his sons Battista and Girolamo, and has done so because Mr. Francesco and Mr. Leandro have left home, and have had such things on other occasions, and received help, but are now ready and able when it comes to invention, and have no need of copies, templates...or rolls because he has taught them the good and excellent ways of art; so the third part goes to Mr. Battista and the rest to Mr. Girolamo). In addition, however, he specifies that “Item per raggion di legato lasso a Jacopo figliolo de ms. Apollonio et Apollonio suo zenero cinque rodoli di disegni sive pezi num. 15 da esserli dati perchè si diletta di pittura, in arbitrio delli predetti ms. Battista et ms. Gieronimo.” (Item: by way of legacy, he leaves to Jacopo, the son of Mr. Apollonio, and to Apollonio, his son-in-law, five rolls of drawings or pieces numbering 15, which are to be given to him because he loves painting, at the discretion of Mr. Battista and Mr. Girolamo).⁴³ The distinction between paintings and drawings as professional tools and as works of art could hardly have been more starkly drawn.

The final artist’s inventory to be examined is that of the Florentine Santi di Tito, who died in 1603.⁴⁴ It runs to well over 600 drawings, which are further itemized as follows: a single cartoon of the *Story of the Loaves and the Fishes* on blue paper; 196 drawings, “al naturale” (from the life) on half-folios; 280 “schizzi di storie in più stracciafogli” (sketches of narratives on many scraps of paper), both finished and unfinished; and 144 “di teste di morti” (death’s heads, i.e. skulls), also on half folios. The total number of drawings (without the cartoon) is 620, to which are added a bundle of architectural drawings and a quarter folio sketchbook containing “disegni d’architettura e storie et figure finite” (finished drawings of architecture, of narratives, and of figures).⁴⁵

In turning to a more thorough analysis of Barocci’s postmortem inventory, the foregoing discussion of these other listings allows it to be seen in context. As has been explained, it begins with six paintings, the first two of which are quite fully described. The first is an altarpiece measuring eight feet in height and a proportionate width, “dentro l’Assuntione della Madonna, con tutti li Apostoli attorno il sepolcro, la Madonna in aria salendo al Cielo, portata dagl’Angeli, parte nudi, e parte vestiti, quasi mezzo fatti” (in it is the Assumption of the Virgin, with all the apostles around the tomb, and the Virgin in the air climbing up to heaven, carried by angels, partly nude and partly clothed, almost half done).⁴⁶ The work in question still exists, in the

Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino (Figure 1.3) and corresponds pretty perfectly to the size as indicated in the account from the “Minuta.” If a foot is presumed to measure 30 centimeters, then the height measurement of 239 cm. is only one off.⁴⁷

The second painting, another altarpiece (Color Plate 29), now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, is recorded in the document as being seven feet high (roughly 223 cm, although in reality the canvas measures 219 cm). Its subject is less common and is therefore deemed to require more glossing, and indeed differs in an intriguing manner from the customary modern title. The inventory describes it as representing “dentro quando N. Signore toglie licenza dalla Madre per andar al Calvario. Sta Cristo in mezzo in atto di benedire la Madre, la quale svenuta dal dolore vien sostenuta da S. Giovanni, dall'altra banda poi vi è Santa Maria maddalena, che sta in atto di baciare i piedi a N. Signore prostrata in terra, presso la quale vi è un Santo Francesco in ginocchioni sta orando. Questo è sbozzato” (in it is when Our Lord asks his Mother’s permission to go to Calvary. Christ stands in the center in the process of blessing his Mother, who has swooned from grief and is being supported by Saint John, while on the other side there is Mary Magdalene, who is prostrate on the ground in the act of kissing Our Lord’s feet. Near her is a kneeling Saint Francis in prayer. This work is sketched in).⁴⁸ The theme, which seems to have originated in northern Europe, is seldom found in Italian art of the sixteenth century, although there are exceptions such as the examples by Correggio in the National Gallery, London, and by Lotto in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.⁴⁹ It is even rarer for altarpieces, and in fact I know of only one precedent, the central element of a triptych attributed to Bernardino Gatti in the Certosa di Pavia.⁵⁰ In all such instances, the customary modern title is some variant on *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, and the emphasis is consequently on the last farewell of the Son to his Mother, as opposed to the idea that he is, in effect, seeking her permission to suffer the fate that awaits him on the Cross.⁵¹ Yet the formulation here is wholly in accordance with the relevant passage in the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* by the Pseudo-Bonaventura, which has been described as “one of the masterpieces of Franciscan literature,” where the Virgin, when told by Mary Magdalene that Christ intends to go to Jerusalem to celebrate Passover, says “My sweet Son, I beg you that this will not be so, but that we celebrate the Pasch here. You know they are directed to capture you.”⁵²

Like the first two, the third painting is an altarpiece, once again measuring seven feet in height. It too is “abozzato” and is an *Annunciation*, “come la stampa, vestita in altra maniera” (like the print, but clothed in a different fashion).⁵³ The print in question is Barocci’s own etching which is very like the altarpiece of the subject now in the Vatican (Color Plate 20), but there is no good candidate for this unfinished work, even if one were to assume that it was subsequently completed by another hand.⁵⁴ The same goes for the “natività di N. Signore, quadretto da Camera” (nativity of Our Lord, a small painting for the home), which was three feet high and “mezzo abozzato.”⁵⁵ It may have been some sort of variant of the autograph version of the subject in the Prado (Figure 6.10), but cannot have been the one in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Color Plate 28), which—like the original—measures 134 cm in height, nor indeed the work last recorded in the Rasini Collection in Milan, which was 133 cm high.⁵⁶

The fifth painting on the list is ambiguously stated to be “Un quadretto di quattro piedi, copia. Vi sono anco alcune cose del S.or Barocci assai bone, dentro un Cristo portato al Sepolcro, che va in stampa, mezzo fatto” (A small painting four feet high,

copy. There are also some quite good things by Signor Barocci. In it is a Christ carried to the tomb, which has been made into a print, half done).⁵⁷ If—as appears to be the case—the description of the half-finished *Entombment* is intended to refer back to the copy, then the profoundly disappointing canvas in Urbino (Figure 1.7), which measures 122 cm as against the 120 indicated in the inventory, is the obvious candidate and would be some species of replica as opposed to an autograph preliminary stage in the evolution of the Senigallia *Entombment* (Color Plate 1).⁵⁸

The final painting on the list is “Un quadro fatto in carta a olio, figure del naturale, il soggetto è un Marte e una Venere che si fanno carezze, copiate da Paolo Veronese, assai ben fatto” (A painting made in oil on paper, with the figures taken from life, the subject is a Mars and a Venus who are caressing one another, copied from Paolo Veronese, fairly well done).⁵⁹ It is not actually stated that the work in question is by Barocci, but its presence in his “Studio” might suggest as much, although the observation concerning its being “assai ben fatto” may seem to point in the opposite direction. No dimensions are given, but the medium and support suggest a small scale, which would suit the treatment of the subject by Veronese in Turin, which measures 47 × 47 cm, as does the reference to the protagonists “che si fanno carezze.”⁶⁰ Indeed, and in spite of the fact that the expression “figure del naturale” might appear to point in the opposite direction, if it were assumed to mean “life-size figures,” no other Mars and Venus by Veronese shows them embracing.⁶¹ Barocci’s use of oil on paper is well known, but in this connection it is also worth underlining the fact that Veronese was one of the only artists who anticipated him in the making of finished compositional oil sketches on paper for his paintings.⁶² In any event, and regardless of what precisely was being copied, the presence of a copy after an erotic mythology by Veronese among Barocci’s workshop effects comes as a considerable surprise.

The next section of the inventory is devoted to ten cartoons of various sizes, “fra grandi e mezzani” (between large and middling), which are again organized roughly in a descending order of scale. Here too the degree to which the iconography is explained responds to the rarity of the subjects. The first is the no-longer extant cartoon for the altarpiece of *The Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis*, originally for Ravenna, and now in the Brera in Milan (Figure 9.3), which is described as showing “il martirio di esso santo, quale fu buttato in un pozzo e ricoperto con sassi, figure maggiori del naturale, vi sono nudi e vestiti, e bon numero di figure; fatto in carta Bianca di chiaro oscuro alumato con biacca” (the martyrdom of the said saint, who was thrown into a well and covered with stones, with a large number of figures, both nude and clothed, larger than life-size; in chiaroscuro heightened with white lead on white paper).⁶³

The second cartoon is of “Cristo portato al sepolcro, con la Madre, et altre figure” (Christ carried to the tomb, with his Mother, and other figures) and is stated to be “come quello che è in stampa” (like the one of which there is a print), with the difference from the previous cartoon that the heads are all in pastel.⁶⁴ The connection with the Senigallia *Entombment*, of which there is a print by Aegidius Sadeler of around 1595–97, seems straightforward enough.⁶⁵ Conversely, the use of pastel for the heads may come as something of a surprise, above all in view of the fact that the principal purpose of cartoons was to transfer designs. It is especially noteworthy as pastel is also found in the description of the next cartoon.

In this instance, indeed, the cartoon is “tutto di pastelli” (entirely in pastels), and the subject is explained as showing “la Maddalena che piange non trovando Christo al Sepolcro, lo vede poi in forma d’Ortolano, ne lo riconosce” (the Magdalene who weeps



Figure 9.3 *Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis*, 1580–83, oil on canvas, 392 × 269 cm, signed and dated bottom right: “federicvsbarocivs/vrbinas p.a.d.mdlxxxiii.” Pinacoteca Nazionale di Brera, Milan, inv. 401 (Figure 9).

Photo: Pinacoteca di Brera. Alinari/Art Resource, NY.

at not finding Christ in the tomb, and then sees him in the guise of a gardener and still fails to recognize him), with “figure del naturale,” presumably here meaning life-size.⁶⁶ If so, this must have been the cartoon either for the large-scale *Noli me tangere* in Munich or for the all-but-destroyed and very different treatment of the subject in the Allendale Collection, whose appearance is recorded in a print of 1609 by Luca Ciambelano. It cannot relate to the smaller version of the Munich picture in the Uffizi where the figures are considerably less than life-size.⁶⁷ As it happens, two substantial fragments, which give every impression of having belonged to the cartoon for the Allendale picture, were published in 1959, when they were in a private collection in Oslo but were recorded as having been executed in pencil on thick yellowish paper, not in “pastelli.”⁶⁸ Intriguingly, in the inventory the image is conceived of as being a frozen moment in a narrative, and the need is felt to explain the immediately previous stage in its evolution.

The fourth cartoon, now lost to us, is simply described as being a full-scale representation of the “presentazione della Madonna che è in Roma nella chiesa nuova” (presentation of the Virgin which is in Rome in the Chiesa Nuova), made for Barocci’s late Roman altarpiece, which is still *in situ* (Color Plate 27). It was done in *chiaroscuro* “in carta tinta d’acquarella” (on paper darkened with wash), but is also noted as being “non molto finito” (not very finished).⁶⁹ Such a celebrated work required no further explanatory material, but the unfinished nature of this cartoon must presumably imply that Barocci also executed a second and fully finished one.⁷⁰

It is followed by the “Cartone della cena con gl’ Apostoli, grande quanto l’opera” (Cartoon of the [Last] Supper with the apostles, the same size as the [finished] work), whose presence in the Chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament in the Arcivescovato at Urbino (Figure 4.2)—where it remains to this day—is noted. No comment is made on its technique, but it is described as missing the “prospettiva” (perspective), by which is meant the architectural backdrop, and the four angels.⁷¹ The absence of both elements confirms, if there were any doubt, that this very cartoon is the one now in the Uffizi (Figure 9.4).⁷² It must be assumed that—as with Raphael’s equally architecture-free cartoon for the *School of Athens*—a second and independent cartoon was devoted to the “prospettiva.”⁷³ At this juncture, it makes sense to break with the sequence of the document and turn to the “cartoncello” (small cartoon) of the same work at the end of the list, whose technique is defined as “di chiaro oscuro fatto parte a olio e parte a guazzo” (in chiaroscuro, partly in oil and partly in gouache).⁷⁴ It too still exists, once again in the Uffizi (Figure 5.16), and is almost precisely a third of the size of the finished work.⁷⁵

The two following entries are both for cartoons of paintings of the Annunciation. The former relates to the “Nuntiata di Loreto, che va in stampa” (the Annunciation of Loreto, which is being made into a print), namely, the altarpiece now in the Vatican of which Barocci himself made a print. It is stated to be in chiaroscuro on blue paper and limited to the two figures.⁷⁶ The latter is in the same technique with “figure del naturale” (life-size figures) and “non molto finito” (not very finished), but is also “di



Figure 9.4 *Cartoon for the Last Supper*, charcoal, heightened with white and incised, 230 × 315.5 cm, inscribed (modern) in brown ink lower left: “Federigo barocci f.” Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 91458. (Figure 74).

Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.

differente inventione” (a different invention), which makes the very late altarpiece in Gubbio completed by Barocci’s associate Ventura Mazza the obvious candidate.⁷⁷ Remarkably enough, this is all but confirmed by the additional note that “dietro vi è un Christo ignudo, Ecce homo” (on the reverse there is a nude Christ, Ecce homo), since a canvas of that subject, now in the Brera, was also completed by Ventura Mazza on the basis of a cartoon by Barocci.⁷⁸ The idea of re-using the reverse of an old cartoon may seem an odd one, but they were designed for rough treatment and consequently drawn on appropriately robust sheets of paper.⁷⁹

The next two cartoons were described as “la metà d’un cartone” (the half of a cartoon) and as “Un altro mezzo cartone” (another half cartoon). The former was for the lower half of the Pesaro *Circumcision*, now in the Louvre, and was described as having “figure del naturale in carta azzurra di chiaro oscuro un poco consumato” (life-size figures in chiaroscuro on blue paper, somewhat worn). The other was on white paper and heightened with white and represented the upper half of the Senigallia *Madonna of the Rosary* life-size, “dentrovi una Madonna col putto alzata sopra le nuvole” (within it a Virgin and Child raised above the clouds).⁸⁰ The latter is no longer in existence, but the former must be the corresponding cartoon in the Uffizi (Figure 9.5).⁸¹ Moreover, it seems logical to suppose that at least in the case of the *Circumcision*, Barocci made a

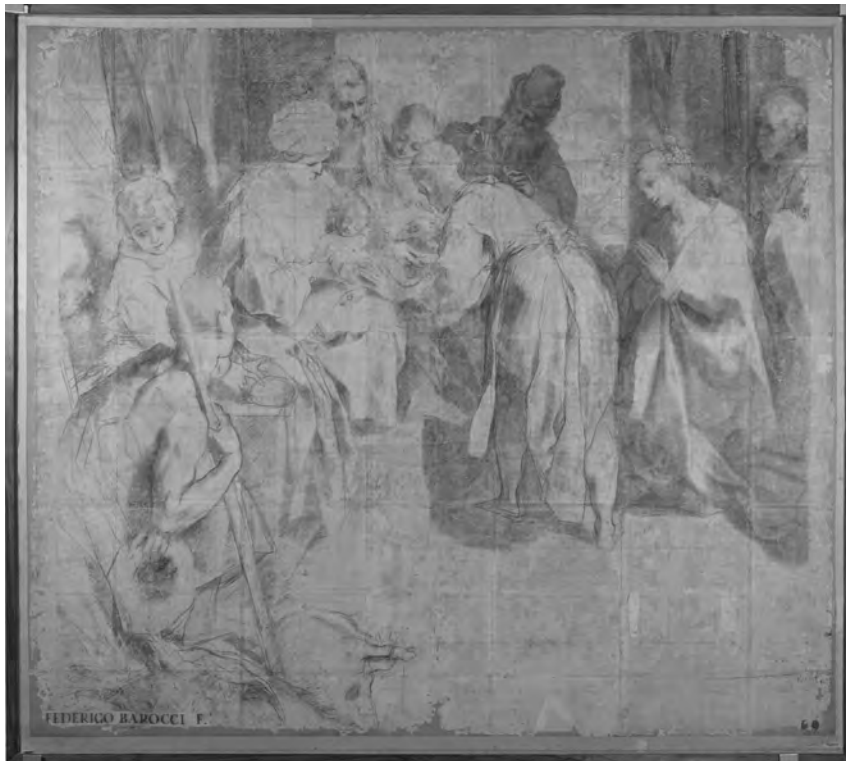


Figure 9.5 *Cartoon for the Circumcision*, charcoal and black chalk, 23.2 × 26.3 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 91459 N.A.

Photo: © 2014 Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze. All rights reserved.

cartoon only for its more crowded half, although there can be no absolute proof of it. It may well be that the fragmentary cartoon for the *Visitation* that is preserved in the Uffizi may likewise always have been limited to the lower half of the composition.

Last but not least, the Inventory records a “Cartone del incendio, alquanto differente dall’opra, fatto di chiaro oscuro in carta azzura, grande quanto l’opra” (Cartoon of the fire, somewhat different from the [finished] work, done in chiaroscuro on blue paper, on the same scale as the [finished] work).⁸² This “incendio” is clearly the *Aeneas Fleeing Troy*, of which Barocci painted two very closely related versions. The earlier one, which is now lost, dates from 1586–89 and was sent to the Emperor Rudolph II in Prague, while the later one, which is now in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, was executed for Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere and is signed and dated 1598 (Figure 6.6).⁸³ The fact that the cartoon is described as being somewhat different from the work implies that the compiler of the inventory knew the second version, while the reference to its scale proves he was not simply familiar with the print after it by Agostino Carracci of 1595.⁸⁴ What must be the selfsame cartoon is now in the Louvre (Figure 9.6), for all that the blue of the paper has faded over time, and—at 148 × 190 cm. as against 179 × 253 cm.—it is on basically the same scale as the Borghese painting.⁸⁵ Indeed, the scale of the figures must be virtually identical, and the fact that he had kept the cartoon for the Prague picture would have been a huge help to Barocci when he came to make the Rome one.



Figure 9.6 *Cartoon for Aeneas Fleeing Troy*, charcoal and white chalk, incised, on 25 sheets, joined together, 148 × 190 cm, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris, inv. 35774 (Figure 87).

Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

All but unmodified replications of this kind are relatively uncommon in Barocci's practice, but the re-use of visual ideas by him and his workshop is not. It is a subject I hope to address in appropriate detail on another occasion.

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Babette Bohn, Judy Mann, and Carol Plazzotta for inviting me to be a part of their Barocci adventure.

Notes

- 1 "Il quale male si tiene che gli avvenisse per la perversità di alcuni pittori, che agitati da invidia, l'invitarono ad una merenda, e lo avvelenarono nell'insalata..." Bellori, *Le Vite* 1672(1976), 184; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672(2005), 161.
- 2 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, 150–54, no.16, makes no mention of it, but see now Mann, 'Innovation and Inspiration,' in Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 8.
- 3 "Era il Barocci continuamente perturbato dal male, che lo lasciava appena due hore del giorno all'applicazione dell'arte." Bellori, *Le Vite*, 1672 (1976), 185; Bellori, *The Lives*, 1672 (2005), 161.
- 4 Quoted in Jeffrey Chipps Smith, 'Dürer's Losses and the Dilemmas of Being', in Lynne Tatlock (ed.), *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, Leiden and Boston, 2010, 71–100, especially 79.
- 5 Cyril Connolly, *Enemies of Promise*, Harmondsworth, 1979, Chapter 14, The Charlock's Shade, 127 ("... there is no more sombre enemy of good art than the pram in the hall.")
- 6 Calzini, "Lo 'Studio' del Barocci," 1913, 73–85 (see Appendix I).
- 7 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, 129, no. 12.10, for these copies, and 382, no. 40.4, for a study for the legs of Barocci's Saint Vitalis, in which their dependence on the legs of Michelangelo's Haman on the Sistine ceiling is strikingly apparent.
- 8 See respectively J. A.Gere and Philip Pouncey with the assistance of Rosalind Wood, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Artists Working in Rome c. 1550 to c. 1640*, 2 vols., London, 1983, I, 43–44, no. 51, and II, plate 42, Mann and Bohn, *Federico Barocci*, 2012, 255, no. 14.3, for a colored drawing; *Ibid.*, 252, no. 14.1, 254, no. 14.2, 256, no. 14.4, and 258, fig. 80, for various wash and chiaroscuro drawings from nature; and Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, 348–49, no. 38.97, for a sketch that might well have been executed in front of the motif.
- 9 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 409, no. 115.4. Pillsbury, in Pillsbury and Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, 1978, 109, no. 80, has identified a chiaroscuro woodcut, then on the art market, as the work cited in the inventory.
- 10 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 406–407, nos. 114.1–9, and I, 286–91, nos. 35.2–9, for another group.
- 11 *Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorf 1736–1800: Sammlung der Zeichnungen*, Exh. cat., Staatliche Galerie Dessau, 1986.
- 12 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, I, 176–77, no. 20.1, 242–43, no. 29, 244–45, no. 30, 363, no. 39.13, 369–70, no. 39.34 (now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington), 371, no. 39.3; II, 49–50, no.45.24, 159–60, no. 57.4, 173–74, no. 59.1, 184–85, no. 60, 186–87, no. 61, 252, no. 72.2, 276, no. 74.2, 286–87, no. 78.2, 288, no. 78.3, lists a total of 15, including two that are self-portraits, although that number includes one study purportedly in tempera (the *Head of Saint Jude* in the Doria Pamphili). It has to be said that, when it comes to oil sketches, Emiliani's approach to attributions to Barocci strikes the present writer as on the generous side. To his list should be added two studies in Stockholm (for which, see Daniel Prytz, 'Two Unpublished Oil Studies by Federico Barocci in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm,' *Burlington Magazine*, 153 [2011], 653–56), and one in the Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento (for which, see Pillsbury and Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, 1978, 66–67, no. 44, illustrated).
- 13 See Christina Currie and Dominique Allart, *The Brueg[el] Phenomenon: Paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Pieter Brueghel the Younger with a Special Focus on Technique and Copying Practice*, 3 volumes, Brussels, 2012, for a fascinating parallel case from north of the Alps.

- 14 Carmen C. Bambach, Janet Cox-Rearick, and George Goldner, *The Drawings of Bronzino*. Exh. cat., New York, 2010.
- 15 Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo*, 2 vols., New York, 1981.
- 16 Dominique Cordellier, *Pisanello: Le peintre aux sept vertus*, Exh. cat., Paris, 1996, 13, for the date of acquisition, and Maria Fossi Todorow, *I disegni di Pisanello e della sua scuola*, Florence, 1966, where only eight of the 80 drawings deemed to be securely autograph are not in the Louvre.
- 17 Carmen C. Bambach, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci as Draftsman*. Exh. cat., New York, 2003, 240.
- 18 Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and his Drawings*, New Haven and London, 1988, Chapter III: Survival and Destruction, 16–21, where the number of extant drawings was calculated at just below 800.
- 19 Genevieve Warwick, "Introduction," in Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve-Warwick, eds., *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe c. 1500–1750*, Aldershot, 2003, 4.
- 20 Enrico Ridolfi, "Notizie sopra varie opere di Fra Bartolommeo da San Marco," *Giornale Ligustico di Archeologia, Storia e Belle Arti*, 5 (1878), 81–126, especially 125–26.
- 21 Chris Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo: Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance*. Exh. cat., Rotterdam, 1990, 12.
- 22 Vincenzo Marchese, *Memorie dei più insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Domenicani*, 2 vols., Bologna, 1879, II, 126.
- 23 David Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, New Haven and London, 2006, 13.
- 24 Attilio Rapetti, "Un inventario di opere del Parmigianino," *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, 3rd series, 5, 1940, 39–53, for the Inventory, and Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 2006, 266, note 146, for Baiardo's wills.
- 25 Arthur E. Popham, "The Baiardo Inventory," *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt*, London, 1967, 26–29, and Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 2006.
- 26 Arthur E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino*, 3 vols., New Haven and London, 1971, I, 264–65, and 270, nos. 9, 27, 28, 29, 35, 42, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 61–66, and 650–783, for the prints in the Inventory.
- 27 Matteo Lafranconi, "Antonio Tronsarelli: A Roman Collector of the Late Sixteenth Century," *Burlington Magazine*, 140 (August 1998), 537–50, and Pierre de Nolhac, "Une galerie de peinture au XVIe siècle: Les collections de Fulvio Orsini," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 29 (1884), 427–36.
- 28 Popham, "The Baiardo Inventory," 1967, 26–29, put the number at three certain and eight probable.
- 29 Popham, *Drawings of Parmigianino*, 1971, I, 266–70, listed 324 drawings *en bloc* with the briefest descriptions.
- 30 Milan Pelc, ed., *Fontes Clovianae: Julije Klović u Dokumentima Svoga Doba*, Zagreb, 1998, 216–23.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 222, "Un libro de disegni da stampe di Alberto con alchuni di Micchel Angelo delli quali non se ne è pigliato numero."
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- 79 Carmen C. Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300–1600*, Cambridge, 1999, 34–37, pointed out that the paper employed for cartoons was in essence no different from other paper used for drawing, but it must obviously have been fit for such a purpose.
- 80 Calzini, "Lo 'Studio' del Barocci," 1913, 78, for the cartoons; (see Appendix I); and Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 89–90, no. 49, and 107–108, no. 50, for the paintings.
- 81 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 95, no. 49.4.
- 82 Calzini, "Lo 'Studio' del Barocci," 1913, 80 (see Appendix I).
- 83 Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, 2008, II, 58–60, no. 46.
- 84 *Ibid.*, II, 61–62, no. 46.2, for the print.
- 85 *Ibid.*, II, 61–62, no. 46.1.

Appendix I

Barocci's "Studio"

"Barocci had," writes Bellori, "arranged a large room, in which his paintings and cartoons were displayed. There was not a single dignitary who came to the court of Duke Francesco Maria II who did not want to see it. Because of Barocci's fame, numerous visitors made their way to Urbino, precisely because they were so eager to meet him and admire the beautiful creations of his brush."

Several years ago, I was fortunate enough to discover two inventories in the archive of the heirs of the Benamati family of Gubbio, the descendants of the old-established Benamati family of Cantiano. One of them is immensely valuable, because it refers precisely to Barocci's "Studio"—as it is called in the document in question. There is no clearer proof of the greatness of the master's love of art and of his meticulous attention to every detail of the real world. Both these qualities and his general artistic culture are testified to by the countless drawings, pen-and-ink sketches, and especially pastels, over a thousand in number, that filled the painter's "Studio."

Among the works mentioned in the first of the two inventories, written in all probability in the first half of the seventeenth century, are recorded a number of drawings by Raphael. We do not know if these were actually by Sanzio's own hand or were instead copies—which seems more likely—that Barocci made from originals by his great fellow-citizen of Urbino. Moreover, we do not know how many times and in what way the precious artistic wares assembled by Barocci in his own "Studio" were dispersed. Abbot Andrea Lazzari, in his *Memorie di Federico Barocci*, asserts in a note that all the drawings left by the eminent master "were some time ago (at the end of the eighteenth century) to be found in Venice, in the possession of the Cavaliere G. Giorgio de Chechelsperg, who, according to Orlandi, also possessed a distinguished collection of paintings by other artists."

Various drawings among those noted in the first of the inventories republished here relate to existing paintings by Barocci. Others were made for paintings which we do not know. Still others represent studies made by the painter in his youth when he gave himself over to imitating the works of the greatest Renaissance masters. Of supreme interest, in view of the fact that Barocci was also an engraver and a distinguished draftsman in pastels, are the admittedly fleeting references in the said document to works in these media. As for pastels, in the collection of paintings owned by the Benamati family of Gubbio, which I last visited in the spring of 1898, I saw a

magnificent head. This portrait of Roberto Benamati II, at the age of 21, was completed by Barocci on March 3, 1578, as indicated by a small plaque on its frame.

In the same collection, I saw a good copy, though poorly preserved, of the portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere I, after the celebrated original by Titian, now in the Uffizi. The copy was attributed to Barocci, who was unquestionably the author of the full-length portrait of Federico, son of Francesco Maria II, executed in 1607 and painted from the life, when the boy was little more than two years old. Likewise, a *Visitation* including a number of figures of saints and with the Palazzo Ducale of Urbino in the background, also in the possession of the Benamati family of Gubbio, and a number of other portraits of unidentified sitters bore the hallmarks of Barocci's hand.

Here follow the documents.

Account of the contents of Barocci's "Studio"

Six paintings in oil, the largest of which must be eight feet in height and proportionately as wide, made for an altar, depicting the Assumption of the Madonna, with all the apostles around the tomb, and the Madonna in the air as she ascends to Heaven, supported by partially nude and partially clothed angels, about half complete.¹

Another painting for an altar, seven feet in height, proportionately as wide, depicting Our Lord taking leave of his Mother to go to Calvary. Christ is at the centre of the composition, in the process of blessing his Mother, who, having fainted from grief, is supported by St. John. On the other side is St. Mary Magdalen, who, prostrate on the ground, is in the process of kissing the feet of Our Lord, next to whom there is a St. Francis kneeling in prayer. This is sketched in.²

Another painting also for an altar, seven feet high and proportionately as wide, depicting the Virgin Annunciate, as in the print, but dressed differently. It is sketched in.³

A Nativity of Our Lord, a small painting for domestic use, three feet high, and half sketched in.

A small painting, four feet [high], a copy. There are also some fine touches by Signor Barocci's own hand, representing a Christ being carried to the tomb, which was made into a print, half done.⁴

A painting, oil on paper, figures drawn from the life. The subject is a Mars and a Venus, who caress one another, copied from Paolo Veronese, very well done.⁵

There are fourteen heads, colored in oil, from the hand of Signor Barocci, of old men, of women, of children, and twenty-eight other sheets of paper, colored in oil, of various things, such as bits of landscape, trees, animals, fruit, water, and other bagatelles.

Ten cartoons, ranging in size from medium to large. The first is a cartoon of St. Vitale representing his martyrdom, when he was thrown into a well and covered with stones. Over life-size figures, some nude and some clothed, executed on white paper, in chiaroscuro heightened with lead white.⁶

Another cartoon in chiaroscuro on white paper, representing a Christ carried to the tomb, with his Mother, and other figures, as in the print, but with the heads all in pastels.⁷

A cartoon entirely in pastels, representing the Magdalen weeping when she does not find Christ at the tomb, who then sees him in the guise of a Gardener, and fails to recognize him, life-size figures.

Cartoon of the Presentation of the Madonna that is in Rome at the Chiesa Nuova, as large as the work, in chiaroscuro, on paper stained with wash, not very finished.⁸

Cartoon of the supper with the Apostles as large as the [finished] work that is in Urbino, in the Chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament in the Archbishopric, lacking the perspective and the four angels, but with the rest complete.⁹

Cartoon of the Virgin Annunciate at Loreto, which was made into a print, there is nothing else apart from the two figures who are as large as in the finished work, it is in chiaroscuro on blue paper.

Cartoon of the Virgin Annunciate with a different composition in chiaroscuro on blue paper, life-size figures, not very finished, on the reverse there is a nude Christ, "Ecce homo."

The half of a cartoon representing the Circumcision of Our Lord, life-size figures on blue paper in chiaroscuro, somewhat worn.¹⁰

Another half cartoon on white paper heightened with lead white, representing a Madonna with the child, raised above the clouds, supported by partially nude and partially clothed angels, made for a Rosary, life-size figures.¹¹

Cartoon of the fire, somewhat different from the [finished] work, done in chiaroscuro on blue paper, as large as the [finished] work.¹²

A small cartoon in chiaroscuro done partly in oil and partly in gouache, representing the whole composition of the supper of the Apostles as in the [finished] work.¹³

One hundred finished heads in pastel, of every sex and age. Other not completely finished heads, numbering around eighty. Roughly sketched heads, where the hair is finished and nothing else, ears, throats, beards, foreheads left as if nothing else were required, numbering ninety. The method of drawing Barocci employed to bring his works to a fine finish involved using chiaroscuro on colored papers, shading with chalk, heightening with gesso and lead white, sometimes also using charcoal, and lead white, and of these drawings, made as preliminary studies, there must be around eight hundred, among which a hundred are pastels. These drawings are all from the life from models or from good casts, and there are most beautiful nude figures, clothed ones, legs, arms, feet and hands, draperies from the life.

Next there are fifteen books large, middling, small, some full, others half-full, others with just a few pages, almost all drawn by the hand of Signor Barocci. Among these there is one book by the hand of Raphael, with eighty pages drawn in wash, in chiaroscuro, in pen – nude figures, draped figures, children, women, animals, and much besides which it would take a long time to relate, all by the hand of Raphael.

Drawings by the hand of Signor Barocci, one hundred, among these ten are finished and fit to be made into prints, others of finished works [by other artists], and many copied from Raphael and other worthy men made by Barocci when he was young. There must be a hundred or so other unfinished drawings by [NOTE: 'di' in Calzini, but if it were actually 'da', which makes more sense, then it would translate as 'after'] various worthy men, all well executed in various styles.

Colored landscapes in gouache, copied from the nature in wash numbering around twenty; other landscapes drawn in chiaroscuro, wash, chalk, all from nature, around a hundred in number. Other bits of landscape sketched from nature, all by the hand of Signor Barocci, around fifty of them.

There is the copper plate of the Virgin Annunciate, an etching by the hand of Signor Barocci. Another woodcut in chiaroscuro, of the Madonna of Egypt [Rest on the Return from Egypt].

**Note on the good paintings we have at Casa Benamati
(20 August 1726)**

Antechamber: A large painting, in a black frame with gold filleting, representing the Massacre of the Innocents.

Another large painting with similar frame representing the Deposition of Jesus Christ from the Cross.

A large portrait, more than half-length, in a black frame with small white moldings, believed to be the work of Paolo Veronese.

Another, larger portrait of the Duke of Urbino, with a wholly gilded frame.

Another, smaller portrait, of the Prince of Urbino, full length, in a wholly gilded frame. The work of Barocci.¹⁴

A painting of St. Sebastian, larger than half-life sized, wholly gilded frame. The work of Barocci.¹⁵

Another painting, of the Birth of the Child Jesus, full-length figures, but smaller, in a wholly gilded frame. The work of Barocci. There is a copy of this in the chapel of the house.¹⁶

A smaller painting with the Madonna and Child, in a black frame with gold filleting.

Another smaller painting with the Madonna and with the Child with a wholly gilded frame. The work of Barocci.¹⁷

Another smaller panel painting of the Madonna and Child in a black ebony frame.

Another painting with the Assumption of the Madonna, with a wholly carved and gilded frame. A work of the school of Barocci, on panel.

Another similar painting with the Madonna and Child, with a wholly carved and gilded frame, on panel.

Another very small panel painting with the Madonna and Child and other figures in a wholly gilded frame.

A self-portrait by Barocci, in a white wood frame, a small painting with the head only.

Another self-portrait by Raphael, with a frame similar to the previous one, a small painting with the head only.¹⁸

Another portrait after one of the old masters, on paper, painted in pastel, in a white wood frame with gold filleting. Head only.

Yet another portrait after one of the old masters, in a varnished frame. A head, on canvas.

Another portrait, but smaller, of Flaminio, our father's uncle, his head on canvas, the work of Barocci.

The adjoining room: A large painting of St. Margaret, in a black frame with gold filleting.¹⁹

A portrait of a pope, in a wholly gilded frame.

A Madonna and Child in fully gilded frame, the work of Raphael, on panel.

A large painting with St. Mary Magdalen in a frame of white wood with faux gold filleting, on a slightly damaged canvas.

Two larger paintings of battle scenes, in black frames with gold filleting.

In the room adjacent to the fireplace of the chamber towards the street: A large painting with the image of the Crucifixion and the Three Maries, in a black frame with gold filleting.

Another, smaller painting with the image of St. Robert the Abbot, in a frame of white wood, the work of the Cavalier D'Arpino.

Another similar painting with the image of St. Charles Borromeo, in a frame of white wood.

E. Calzini

Translated by Derek Gromadzki and David Ekserdjian

Notes

- 1 It appears that the allusion here is to the unfinished canvas, now at the Palazzo Albani in Urbino [and now in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino] which is of interest for what it reveals about the preparation and evolution of the work.
- 2 The cartoon for this painting, which is likewise unfinished, is in the Gabinetto dei Disegni of the Reale Galleria degli Uffizi. [The painting is now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.]
- 3 It is not unlikely that this reference is to a canvas with the *Annunciation* that General Giuseppe Lechi removed from Urbino in 1797, when he and his officers lodged in the Palazzo Albani there. Another canvas depicting the same subject, completed by Barocci's pupil, Ventura Mazzi, is in the Church of Santa Maria dei Laici at Gubbio. Various preparatory studies for the *Annunciation* are housed at the Uffizi.
- 4 Perhaps the large sketch on canvas, with the Entombment of Christ, in the Galleria [Nazionale delle Marche] at Urbino.
- 5 As well as sketches, Barocci executed various other works in oil on paper. Moreover, it is known that the portrait of St. Francis in the large altarpiece in the church of San Francesco at Urbino is painted on paper. The beautiful female portrait at the base of the painting called the *Madonna di San Simone* is likewise painted on paper (see Egidio Calzini, "La Galleria annessa all'Istituto di belle arti in Urbino", *L'arte*, IV (1901), 361–90).
- 6 There exist numerous cartoons and studies – many of which are in the Uffizi – for the painting of the *Martyrdom of St. Vitale* for the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna, now in the Brera in Milan, which was begun in 1580 and completed in 1583.
- 7 The cartoon for the painting in the Church of Santa Croce at Senigallia. Various preparatory studies for it are in the Uffizi.
- 8 A first idea for the *Presentation of the Virgin* in the Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome, together with other drawings for the work, is in the collection at the Uffizi.
- 9 This cartoon, too, is part of the collection of the Uffizi in Florence. [In spite of the oddity of the term "Archbishopric", the painting was then, and has always been, in Urbino Cathedral].
- 10 The sketch and various drawings that Barocci made for this painting, now in the Louvre, are likewise in Florence.
- 11 The allusion here is to the *Madonna of the Rosary* for the Church of San Rocco di Senigallia, [now in the Palazzo Vescovile there] for which Barocci was paid 500 *scudi*. Many preparatory studies for the painting are in the Uffizi.
- 12 *Aeneas and his Family Fleeing Troy*, of which the first [now lost] version was painted for the Emperor Rudolph II, and the second, now in the Galleria Borghese, for Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere. Sketches and drawings in the Uffizi.
- 13 This small cartoon (inv. no. 819) is likewise in the Gabinetto dei Disegni at the Uffizi, with various other studies for the painting.
- 14 The same one that the present writer saw in 1898 at Casa Benamati.
- 15 Was this the figure of St Sebastian, referred to by Bellori, and painted for Count Francesco M. Mamiani?
- 16 Presumably a copy of the *Nativity* now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid. There is a sketch with various differences from the Madrid painting, as well as a number of preparatory drawings of details, in the Uffizi. There is also a first idea for the composition that Barocci subsequently modified.
- 17 Perhaps the beautiful group of the Virgin with the Holy Infant that forms part of the painting of the *Madonna di San Simone*. Of this group various copies from Barocci's school were to be seen in Urbino until a few years ago.
- 18 Nothing further is known of this piece.
- 19 Is this a reference to the lost *Saint Margaret*, painted by Barocci in 1555 for the Church of Corpus Domini in Urbino?

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