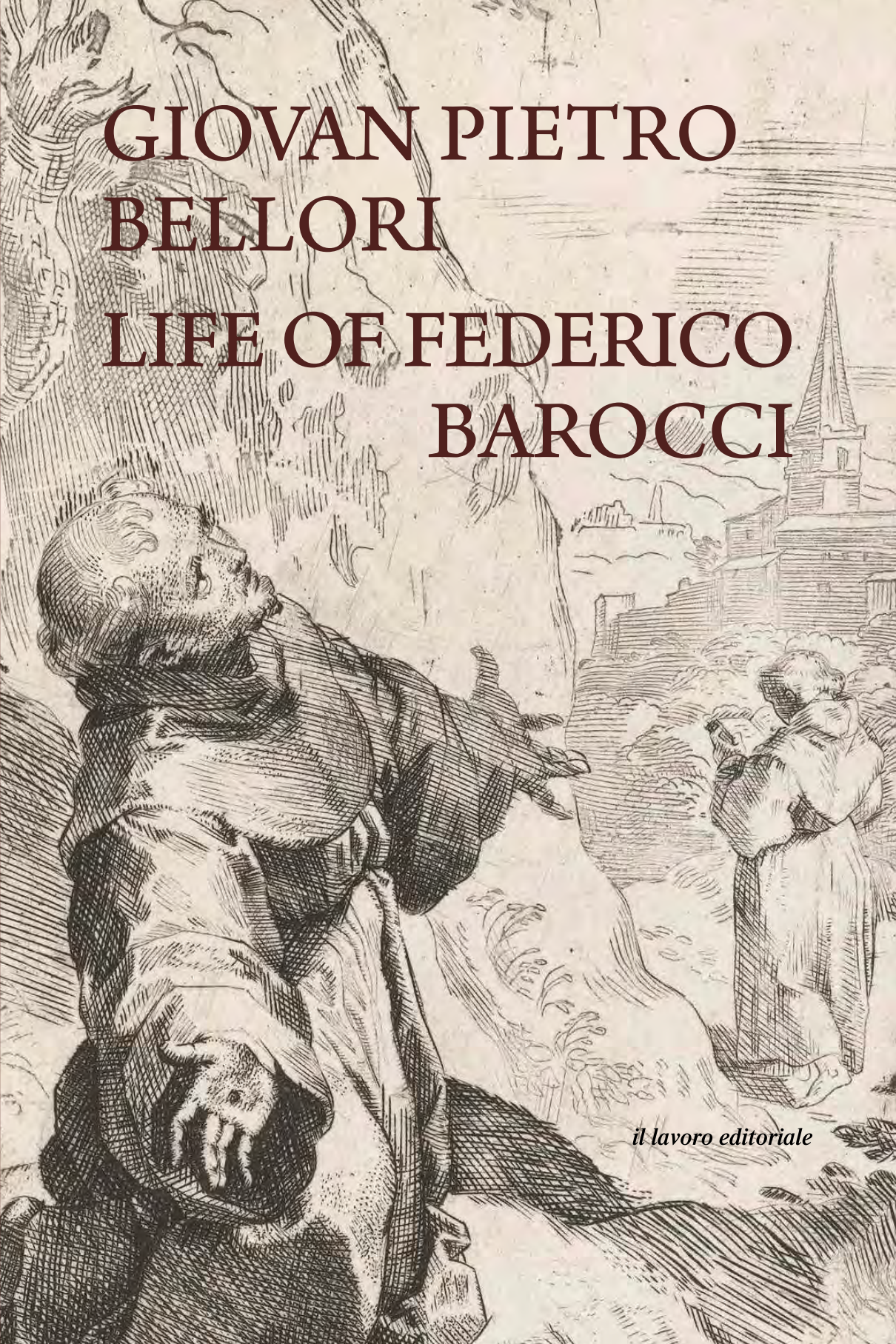
GIOVAN PIETRO BELLORI

LIFE OF FEDERICO BAROCCI



il lavoro editoriale

Barbara Agosti is Full Professor of Early Modern Art History at the University of Rome "Tor Vergata".
Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari is Full Professor of Early Modern Art History at the University of Urbino "Carlo Bo".

GIOVAN PIETRO BELLORI
LIFE OF FEDERICO BAROCCI

Fonti e studi per la storia dell'arte e del collezionismo
Series designed and edited by Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari

The series includes titles that are variously related to aspects of visual culture (works, artists, sources, collecting), particularly — but not exclusively — with connections to the art of the Marche region. It selects original research that ensures each publication contributes concrete new knowledge to the discipline as a whole.

Established in 2007 as part of the departmental research initiatives at the University of Urbino, the series is currently among the activities of the InArtS Research Center (International Art Sources) within the Department of Communication Sciences, Humanities and International Studies (DISCUI) at the University of Urbino.

The series adopts a scientific peer review process at every stage.

Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari
Full Professor of Modern Art History
Head of the InArtS Research Centre
DISCUI Department, University of Urbino, Carlo Bo

Giovan Pietro Bellori
Life of Federico Barocci

Edited by

Barbara Agosti
Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari

il lavoro editoriale





Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Filosofici e di Storia dell'Arte



1506
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI URBINO CARLO BO

DISCUI
DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE DELLA COMUNICAZIONE, STUDI UMANISTICI E INTERNAZIONALI



This work has been funded by the European Union - NextGenerationEU within the framework of PNRR Mission 4 - Component 2 - Investment 1.1 under the Italian Ministry of University and Research (MUR) programme "PRIN 2022" - grant number: 2022JTS3XS - Federico Barocci in modern sources, from Urbino to Europe: a digital corpus - CUP: E53D23022230006

Layout:
Chiara Coscia

Editorial staff:
Mattia Giancarli

Il lavoro editoriale, Ancona
Via Astagno, 66 – Ancona Italy
www.illavoroeditoriale.com

Isbn 9791281782334

On the cover: Federico Barocci, *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, etching, detail.

Table of contents

Foreword 7

Life of Federico Barocci of Urbino. Painter 9

Bibliography 55

Index 67

Index of Works by Federico Barocci referred to 71

Foreword

The biography of Federico Barocci, as published in Giovan Pietro Bellori's *Lives* in 1672, has consistently been regarded as the primary source of information on the artist from Urbino (ca. 1533–1612). This work has significantly impacted the Italian and European historiography and criticism of the painter from the seventeenth century onwards. [1]

Successive generations of Barocci scholars have been compelled to critically engage with Bellori's account. Bellori's book has been reprinted in 1728, 1821, 1931, 1976, and 2009. As for, in particular, the Life dedicated by Bellori to Federico Barocci, it was later republished by Andrea Lazzari in 1800 and Giovanni Poggi in 1913, translated into English by Edmund Pillsbury and Louise Richards in 1978, into French by Nicholas Turner in 2000, and featured in the catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Museum's 2006 exhibition, *A Touch of the Divine*.

In the biography of Annibale Carracci and more extensively in the Life of Federico, Bellori portrays him as a solitary forerunner of the naturalistic turn later championed by the Carracci, credited with rescuing painting from the perceived decline of late-Cinquecento Mannerism. [2] Similar to Giorgio Vasari's *Lives*, Bellori's *Lives* are arranged by the artists' date of death. In the book's arrangement, Barocci's biography is strategically placed between the Lives of Domenico Fontana and Caravaggio, highlighting his transitional role within the artistic narrative Bellori constructs. This placement of the biography — immediately preceding that of a master born nearly forty years later — has long complicated efforts to situate the Urbino painter within his proper historical and cultural context. [3]

The accompanying commentary to the biography reinforces the information provided by Bellori, analyzing it through the lens of earlier sources, documented evidence, and contemporary knowledge of Barocci's character and artistic production, as well as the Roman biographer's methodologies. It is of great importance, for ex-

1 Perini 2005; Giannotti 2009; Agosti, Ambrosini Massari 2025.
2 Bellori [1672] 2005, 71–72.
3 Borea 1976, 56.

ample, to take into account the now established fact that Bellori never ventured beyond Rome and the Lazio countryside, aside from his visit to Naples in 1661. [4] The progression of his historiographical endeavor is well-documented, having matured from the early 1640s and culminating in 1672 with the publication of the *Lives*, a collection of biographies of the masters he deemed most emblematic of the modern and international school of Rome. [5]

To comprehend Bellori's familiarity with Barocci's works situated outside Rome, we meticulously examined not only the limited sources explicitly cited by the biographer but also the numerous published and unpublished texts accessible to Bellori. Additionally, we considered the engravings that we know he frequently utilized, the large number of Barocci drawings, and the many copies of his original paintings housed in Roman collections. This investigation underscores the significance of both textual and visual resources for the biographer, revealing that the portrayal of Barocci in the 1672 book, which persists to this day, is predominantly based on Bellori's direct acquaintance with Barocci's drawings rather than his paintings.

To reevaluate Barocci's painting with a fresh perspective and liberate him from the impressive critical framework constructed by his foremost biographer and sustained through the enduring reception of his work, it was imperative, first and foremost, to reassess and understand Bellori from a different perspective.

Barbara Agosti
Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari

The English translation of Bellori's text is the one by Richard Pillsbury (1978, pp. 13–24), based on a deep understanding of the painter's work and of the Roman biographer account. However, in several parts, we have emended Pillsbury's translation, restoring some phrases or words that had been omitted and occasionally seeking more accurate correspondences with Bellori's vocabulary. We also consulted the excellent translation of Bellori's *Lives* by Alice Sedgwick Wohl (2005, pp. 157–175). We are grateful to Giuliana Schiavi and Salvatore Mele for their assistance. The critical commentary notes are completely new. The entire work is the result of collaborative effort. Notes 1 to 60 were written by Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari, while notes 61 to 121 were provided by Barbara Agosti.

4 Sparti 2014, 197–198.

5 Borea 1992; L'*Idea del Bello* 2000; Borea 2000b; Sparti 2002; Montanari 2005; Montanari 2009; Sparti 2012; Sparti 2014; Ginzburg 2015.

LIFE
OF
FEDERICO BAROCCI
OF URBINO
Painter




FED BAROCCI



Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, who was in his time the light of Italy for his studies of peace and his value in war, erected, among his other remarkable achievements, a most magnificent palace on the rugged terrain of Urbino which was considered the most beautiful that had ever been built. Not only did he embellish it with furnishings and ornaments, but he also decorated it with antique statues, both of marble and of bronze, and with outstanding paintings, and at great expense assembled a large number of very fine and rare books, to ensure that nothing was lacking for both body and mind. For the purpose of the construction of the palace, the duke brought to Urbino various craftsmen and a great number of artists of different professions, among whom the Milanese sculptor, Ambrogio Barocci, who stayed for a long time and married a respected citizen of Urbino. [1]

1 Ambrogio Barocci is recorded in Urbino from 1477 as both a sculptor and architect, although it is plausible that he arrived there several years prior. His work continued in Todi at Santa Maria della Consolazione, where he was active in 1516/1517 (Ceriana 2004b, 270–272, 284; Ceriana 2022; Gianluca Amato in *Federico da Montefeltro* 2022, 20–21, n. I.1). Ambrogio's daughters, Caterina and Elisabetta Barocci, wed Girolamo Genga

Ambrogio, founder of the Barocci family in Urbino, was the great-grandfather of the distinguished painter Federico, of whom we now propose to write, basing our account on the recollections of his life gathered by Signor Pompilio Bruni, who most kindly gifted them to me and who, being a maker of mathematical instruments, carries on both the school and the reputation of the Barocci in Urbino. [2] Ambrogio lived in prosperity enjoying the esteem of Prince Federico, and left a son called Marcantonio, who pursued a legal career and with great pride dedicated himself to his country and state. [3] To him were born Ambrogio, who took the name of his grandfather, and Giovanni Alberto, who, by good fortune, gave birth to an illustrious progeny of venerated artisans. [4]

To Giovanni Alberto were born Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Maria Barocci who became clockmakers and practiced their profession proudly. Giovanni Battista reached the level of Cavaliere and Giovanni Maria became the most celebrated clockmaker that had hitherto practiced the trade. Among other aspects of his creative genius, Giovanni was the first to demonstrate how the planets move and how the sun and moon act and interact under the sign of the zodiac. With the same creative turn of mind, he made a clock for Pope Pius V which in its time was considered a great novelty and can still be seen in the Vatican palace. [5]

(father of Bartolomeo, see here pages 13-14 and note 9) and his brother Nicolò, respectively (Pungileoni 1822, 86).

2 Pompilio Bruni (1605–1668), the son of Eusebio Bruni and Fausta Vagnarelli, the sister of Lorenzo Vagnarelli. Lorenzo trained Pompilio in the art of crafting mathematical instruments (Colucci 1786–1797, XVI, 6; Gamba, Montebelli 1988, 175–177). It is widely believed that the "recollections" of Barocci's life, which Bellori received from Pompilio Bruni, primarily comprised documents, such as accounting records, pertaining to Barocci's professional pursuits. At the very least, a portion of his correspondence was included in these materials. These sources were likely gathered by Simone Barocci, the brother of Federico, and subsequently transmitted to Pompilio.

3 The information was corroborated by Pungileoni's documentary research in 1822, specifically page 87.

4 Ibid.

5 The genealogical information and the description of the clock made by Giovanni Maria Barocci for Pius V (currently in a private collection, see Panicali 1988, 74–78) are sourced from the funeral oration delivered by Vittorio Venturelli in 1612 (Baroni 2015, 71–72). While Bellori openly utilized this source, it is not employed for the determination of the date of birth (refer to note **7**, below, for further details).

Likewise from Ambrogio there descended two other accomplished men of talent. One was Simone Barocci, who is still considered the best modern maker of mathematical instruments. Under the guidance of the famous Federico Comandino from Urbino who restored the preeminence of the mathematical sciences, he learned to make compasses, T-squares, astrolabes, and other instruments which earned him such a reputation that his name and his works became known everywhere, and his homeland was enriched by a fine workshop which still exists in Urbino. [6] The other son of Ambrogio was our Federico Barocci, born in 1528 in Urbino. [7] His father, who worked moulds and relief models, seals, and astrolabes, taught him the principles of drawing, an art to which he applied himself with so much enthusiasm and with such extraordinary ability that being in Urbino Francesco Mensocchi from Forlì, to deliver his painting of the *Deposition of Christ* to the Confraternity of Santa Croce, he was so impressed with the youth that he encouraged him to become a painter. [8]

In fact, Federico's decision to do so earned the approval of his uncle, Bartolomeo Genga, architect of the Duke Guidobaldo, who had placed him with Battista Venetiano, who had been called by Guidobaldo to paint the vault of the Cathedral's choir. [9] Being a scholar of antique statues, Franco continu-

6 The proem of Muzio Oddi's brief treatise (Oddi 1633, 2) references the development of a specific compass, conceived by Federico Commandino and executed under his guidance by Simone Barocci.

7 Regarding the date of birth, Bellori follows Celio ([ca. 1614–1640] 2021, 296), who mistakenly believed he was born in 1528, as well as Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, p. 392); based on two letters dated June 1608 in which Francesco Maria said he was seventy-five years old (Gronau [1936] 2011, 206, n. CCXCVII and 187–188, n. CCLXIII) and on the funeral oration of Vittorio Venturelli who in 1612 (Baroni 2015, 89) defined him as almost eighty years old, his birth can be fixed at 1533 (Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari in Baglione [1642] 2023, I, 289, n. 2). Backdating the birth has several repercussions, particularly with regard to the reconstruction of the first part of Bellori's biography.

8 The information on the profession of Ambrogio, Federico's father, differs from that provided by Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 389) and other sources, which state that he was a jurisconsult. There is no other evidence of the meeting between Federico, who was still a child, and Francesco Menzocchi (circa 1508–circa 1580). It must have taken place in 1543–1544, when the Forlì-born painter is documented as being in Urbino to paint the triptych with the *Deposition* for the Confraternity of Santa Croce, now in the Pinacoteca di Brera (Ceriana 2004a, 18).

9 For the relationship between Bartolomeo Genga (1518–1558) and Federico's father, Ambrogio Barocci, see note 1, above. Regarding Federico's apprenticeship with Battista Franco (circa 1510–1561), Bellori skillfully combines an indication already provided by Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 389: Federico "sotto la scuola di Battista Venetiano riuscì valente") with the informations that Vasari (1568 [1966–1987], V, 464) gives on the commission

ally made Federico practice the drawing of plaster casts and reliefs, a study to which Federico devoted himself with love and dedication; so much that a night he would forget to sleep and his mother would often find him awake in his room with a lantern burning until dawn, as often happens to those who take the greatest pleasure in learning. When Battista left Urbino, Federico moved in Pesaro to the house of Genga, who made it possible for him to study the paintings by Titian and other great masters in the Gallery of Duke Guidobaldo. During that time Genga taught Federico geometry, architecture, and perspective, disciplines in which he became skilled. [10]

At the age of twenty, stimulated by the desire for fame and by the name of his countryman, Raphael, Federico resolved to go to Rome from where in the meanwhile was returning a certain Pierleone, a painter from Acqualagna, to whom his father recommended him. The latter kept him for some time as his assistant in painting gilt stamped leather and in other humble tasks. [11] But one day, meeting in Rome by accident his uncle, who was the Maestro di Casa of Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, he was received and brought to the attention of the Cardinal for whom he did a portrait and other paintings which were highly appreciated. [12]

for the decoration of the choir vault of the cathedral of Urbino, obtained by Battista through Bartolomeo Genga (the frescoes are lost, except for fragments now in the Museo Diocesano Albani). Battista Franco remained in Urbino from 1544 until the end of summer 1546 (Varick Lauder 2009, 26–27, 30).

10 The account of Federico's training in Pesaro is precisely sourced from Venturelli's 1612 work (Baroni 2015, 78).

11 Bellori associates Barocci's first stay in Rome with the friendship between his father, Ambrogio, and a painter, Pierleone d'Acqualagna, traditionally identified by scholars as Pierleone di Giulio Genga, who would later work alongside Barocci on the Casino of Pope Pius IV (Friedländer 1912, 131; Olsen 1962, 21–22 note 7). However, it should be noted that in 1634 a Pierleone Feltrini from Acqualagna was active as a gilder in the church of San Bartolomeo in Cagli (Mazzacchera 1997, 92), and it cannot be ruled out that the artist mentioned by Bellori was an ancestor or relative of his. Since the biographer believes that Federico was born in 1528, the Roman trip he took at the age of twenty is placed in 1548, under Pope Paul III. However, it seems more likely that he was in Rome at the time of Julius III, given that Barocci was born in 1533 and that immediately after Bellori refers to the protection granted to the painter in Rome by Cardinal Giulio Feltrio della Rovere, who was indeed elevated to the purple at the age of thirteen in 1548, but consolidated his position at the beginning of the following decade. See also beyond notes 12, 16. On the other hand, early contact with Rome is implied by the stylistic gap between the two early works in the Urbino cathedral, the undocumented *Santa Cecilia*, which does not presuppose it, and the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, commissioned in November 1557, which requires it for stylistic reasons, as attested by the study for the figure of the saint developed after the *Haman crucifix* on the Sistine ceiling, in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, inv. PD.1–2006 recto see Olsen 1962, 40.

12 See previous note. The portrait of the Cardinal is lost (Olsen 1962, 139, n. 3, who considered it to be a later

He copied the works of Raphael alongside other youths who customarily gathered there, but Federico was so modest and retiring because of a certain natural bashfulness that he kept to himself, without saying a word to anyone. It is worth mentioning the story that he himself tells about the time when he was drawing in the loggia of the Chigi and Giovanni da Udine happened by, who, recently returned to Rome, and being very much interested in the students of his master Raphael, examined the drawings and encouraged the youths with helpful instructions. When he stopped to watch Federico and praised his style and proficiency, he inquired of his origins and background. As soon as he heard that Federico was from Urbino, deeply moved by the memory of his master, he embraced and kissed him, praising God to have found a young artist in whom the glory of Urbino would be revived. [13] This scene was observed by everyone and thus Federico came to be regarded with respect by everyone.

However, this same place was frequented by two young foreigners who came to draw, wearing clothes of rank and bringing with them an attendant to sharpen pencils, so that everyone honored them and stepped aside to allow them space. Federico, new in Rome, and believing these two could sketch beautifully, did not dare to approach them to see their drawings. Nevertheless, drawn to them by his curiosity, he advanced little by little to where he could lay eyes on

work) and we don't know which other paintings were done for him, except in one case. In fact, the anonymous biography dating around 1590–1591 (Zezza 2009, 264) mentions two "Madonnas" and a "Santa Maria in penitentia" as painted in Rome in the early 1560s for Giulio Feltrio della Rovere, the latter being the youthful painting identified by Voss 1920, 494–496 at the Certosa del Galluzzo in Florence, where it was being stored by the Uffizi, and recently recovered after various vicissitudes thanks to the efforts of Anna Bisceglia: an essay by Luca Baroni is forthcoming. Among the paintings executed for the Cardinal was the *Crucifixion*, previously at Rocca Contrada (now Arcevia), also lost, mentioned later, note 109. The sheet in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi, inv. 907 E, with studies for the decoration of a vault on both sides, including the Cardinal's coat of arms on the drawing's verso, can plausibly be dated in this phase. This sheet was mistakenly believed to be related to the work in the Casino of Pius IV but is actually connected to a commission by Giulio Feltrio (Smith 1977, 68–70; Colzani 2025).

13 The encounter between Federico and Giovanni da Udine (1487–1564) is presented as a personal recollection of the painter, likely conveyed to Bellori via information from Pompilio Bruni. There is extant documentation of Giovanni da Udine's visits to Rome in the years 1548, 1550, 1552, 1555, 1556, and 1560–1561, the latter being the year of his death in the city (*Giovanni da Udine* 1987, 294, 295, 332, 333, 337, 347; Bartolini 1987, 161–162; Colzani 2025).

the paper and was shocked by their lack of ability. He reminded the two youths that luxuries can be an impediment to one who desires to get ahead and that the pleasure of learning overcomes all discomfort and hardship. [14]

Barocci used to tell the story about the time when he and Taddeo Zuccheri were drawing from a façade by Polidoro and Michelangelo rode by on his small mule, as was his custom. Whereas the other young artists ran to meet Michelangelo and show him their drawings, out of timidity Federico stood still and did not step forward. As a result, Taddeo grabbed his sheet out of his hand and took it to Michelangelo, who carefully inspected Barocci's drawings, among which was a diligent copy of the master's *Moses*. Praising the copy, Michelangelo wanted to meet the artist and encourage him to continue the studies he had begun. [15]

Barocci later returned to Urbino and spent several years there. His first work is believed to be the painting of *Saint Margaret* in the Confraternity of Corpus Domini in the same city. He depicted the saint in prison, holding a cross in her hand, stepping on the serpent, and looking up at the sky which opens between two angels. [16] His early works are still in the Cathedral: the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, and the *Saint Cecily* with other saints, inspired by Raphael. [17] During that period there arrived in Urbino a painter who was returning from Parma with some cartoons' fragments and some exquisite

14 These anecdotes also seem to be taken from the memories provided by Pompilio Bruni.

15 The narrative illustrating the high regard in which young Federico was held by Taddeo Zuccaro (1529–1566) is presented as a personal recollection by Barocci. In this account, Barocci is depicted as diligently practicing drawing on a façade by Polidoro, "in the company" of Taddeo (Shearman 1976, 52 notes a drawing of Barocci after Polidoro). The two artists likely became acquainted during Taddeo's residence in Urbino from 1551 to 1552 (Spagnolo 2020), and they may have encountered each other again in Rome upon Taddeo's return in 1553, accompanying Guidubaldo II della Rovere, who had been appointed Captain of the Church's army by Julius III.

16 By January 1, 1556, Federico was already paid for the (now lost) *Saint Margaret*, which he had already completed for the church of Corpus Domini in Urbino (Scatassa 1902, 444 note 12), and which Borghini (1584, 568) remembered as an early work. He must have returned to Urbino in time to complete the work, and certainly by 1555. For stylistic reasons, the drawing with the same subject in the Victoria & Albert Museum (inv. D.1084–1900) cannot be linked with certainty to this commission (Mann 2012, 29 n. 14).

17 The two paintings were also generically mentioned among Barocci's early works by Borghini 1584, 568. The *Santa Cecilia* is clearly derived from Marcantonio Raimondi's print, certainly known to Bellori, which reproduces Raphael's first design for the Bologna altarpiece. The commission contract for the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* was signed on November 9, 1557 (Lazzari 1800, 39–40; *Barocci ritrovato* 2020, 76). See also note 11, above.

heads drawn in colored chalks by Correggio, which Federico admired for the beautiful style which conformed perfectly to his own temperament; thereafter, he began to draw with colored chalks from life. These drawings by Correggio and others by Federico have been seen in Rome in the collection of Signor Francesco Bene, a gentleman from Urbino. [18] Barocci profited from the excellent style of Correggio and imitated it in the gentle expressions of his heads and in the blending of his tones and the sweetness of the color.

Returning to Rome again in 1560, Barocci visited Federico Zuccheri, who was engaged in painting the friezes in the apartments commissioned on the occasion of Duke Cosimo de' Medici's arrival. [19] After they greeted one another, Zucchero handed Barocci the paint brushes and put him to work. At first, he declined modestly but, being pressed, Barocci painted two putti by blending the colors so well that they appeared to be done in oil rather than in fresco. Nonetheless, to

18 This represents a pivotal moment in the reconstruction of Barocci's artistic evolution and the development of his stylistic language, significantly impacting subsequent critical discourse. It serves as the concluding theme of the entire biography (see pages 52-53). Bellori attributes Federico's knowledge of Correggio's style to the latter half of the 1550s, following his return from his first sojourn in Rome. He explains it with the arrival in Urbino of Allegri's drawings, brought by an unnamed painter from Parma, including pastels, which allegedly inspired Federico to adopt this technique. Scholars have long highlighted the most evident flaw in this narrative, namely the absence of Correggio's pastels (Popham 1957, 4; Loisel 2008), and various theories have been proposed to identify the painter who journeyed from Parma to Urbino (various hypotheses in Olsen 1962, 57; Moretti, Zuccari 2009, 147: Bertoja? Mascarino?). The comparison of Barocci's style with Correggio's had already been broadly suggested by Lomazzo ([1584] 1973–1974, II, 191); Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 390), who noted that the Urbino artist sought to emulate Correggio's manner, "se bene un poco più tinta" (Bellori corrected this to "meno" in Baglione [1642] 1935, 133); and Scannelli (1657, 196), who categorized Barocci among those who followed Correggio's natural style. It is conceivable that Bellori's account stems from these source indications, supplemented by his direct knowledge of Barocci's drawings, which he admitted to viewing in Rome in Francesco Beni's collection. Regarding this collector, previously known only through a 1637 correspondence between Pietro Testa and Cassiano dal Pozzo (first mentioned in *Raccolta di lettere* 1822–1825, I, 359), new decisive informations have emerged from Filippo Duro's research (Duro 2024, 46–47): Francesco Beni was the son of Raffaele Beni, involved in commissioning a painting from Barocci for Cardinal Federico Borromeo (Colzani in Agosti, Colzani 2024, 56), and Raffaele Beni was the cousin of Barocci's trusted notary, Gabriele Beni (Duro 2023). This information positions Francesco Beni as a crucial source for Bellori in gathering data on the Urbino master and his drawings. Celio ([ca. 1614–1640] 2021, 295), a point not utilized by Bellori, noticed that Barocci "Andò a studiare a Parma dalle opere del Correggio." However, this visit must be placed later, after Barocci's return from his second stay in Rome, around the mid-1560s, preceding the *Madonna di San Simone* (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche), already influenced by Correggio, Ambrosini Massari 2024, 37), and the *Deposition of Christ* in Perugia, formally commissioned in November 1567, where Mary Magdalene is a clear reference to her counterpart in the *Madonna di San Girolamo*, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Parma (Agosti in Agosti, Colzani 2024, 53).

19 The information about Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro's involvement in decorating the rooms of the Apostolic Palace where Cosimo de' Medici and the Duchess would be hosted during their visit to Rome in 1560 was first reported in Vasari ([1568] 1966–1987, V, 562). See now Colzani 2025.

Zucchero Barocci's style seemed to have been too toned down. Consequently, he took up the brush in Barocci's presence and proceeded to outline the contours and strengthen the colors, which apparently was all that was needed to perfect the work. Barocci watched this and was not so affected by it but instead gave thanks to his friend for having sincerely advised him in this way without malice. [20]

After 1561, the palazzetto of the Bosco di Belvedere designed by Pirro Ligorio was being painted by order of Pope Pius IV, and Barocci was selected with Federico Zucchero and others to take part in the project. In this building, in the four corners of one room, Barocci painted seated Virtues, each holding a shield bearing the name of the Pontifex, and he also painted a frieze with small putti. In the middle of the vault he depicted the Virgin with the Christ Child in which the Child extends his hand playfully towards the young Saint John to present him with the reed cross. Also shown there are Saint Joseph and Saint Elizabeth. In the vault of an next room Federico represented the angel of the Annunciation descending to the Virgin, smaller figures but skillfully executed. [21] Subsequently Barocci began the story of Moses speaking with God the Father in a room in the Belvedere, but he was forced to abandon it before it was finished because of an tragic misfortune that burdened him from that day forward and compelled him to drop the project. [22]

20 The incident involving a confrontation between Barocci and the twenty-one-year-old Federico Zuccaro is not documented in other historical sources.

21 In the Casino, as corroborated by the drawings, Barocci was tasked with the design of the decoration in frescoes and stuccoes for the vault of the first room, where he executed the *Annunciation* at the center, flanked by the symbols of the Evangelists. Additionally, he was responsible for the third room, where the pairs of *Virtues* in the corners and the central panel depicting the *Holy Family with Saints John, Elizabeth, and Zachariah* are attributed to his hand. The payment records span from November 1561 to June 1563. The final report indicates that Barocci collaborated with Pierleone Genga (see also note 11, above) and was assisted by the painter Leonardo Cungi, as well as by the stucco masters Dante Parentini, Giovanni da Montepulciano (i.e. the Florentine Giovanni Boscoli), and Filippo Gamberasio (Friedländer 1912, 131). Barocci's participation in the decoration of the two rooms of the Casino is attested by Borghini (1584, 568–569); Celio ([ca. 1614–1640], 294–295); and Baglione (1642, I, 390).

22 The execution by Federico of "un fregio in Belvedere nella sala principale […] con istorie di Moisè e Faraone", in a chamber now part of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, was documented by Vasari (1568 [1966–1987], V, 563; see Tosini 1997); Barocci's involvement in this decorative campaigne, where he was tasked with depicting one of the stories of Moses, coinciding with the onset of a chronic illness, was noted by Borghini (1584, 568–569); Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 390). This account has been substantiated by the identification of Barocci's sketches for the scene depicting *Moses transforming the rod into a snake* (Olsen 1962, 145). The

It is believed that the misdeed occurred as the result of the perversity of a few painters, who, incited by jealousy, invited him to a light meal and poisoned his salad.[23] Whatever actually happened, what is certain is the fact that at that moment he succumbed to such an incurable disease that not only could no remedies be found, but even the cures ordered by Cardinal della Rovere from the best doctors were all in vain. After various medications proved ineffectual, the physicians finally advised the artist to return home to the mildness of his native climate. [24] Even this hope proved in vain; before the acute pain subsided, four years went by during which the artist suffered without ever being able to touch a brush. Lamenting above all the fact that he could not paint, one day he prayed to the heavenly Virgin with such conviction that he was heard.

Feeling an improvement in his health, he made a small painting with the Virgin and Christ Child who blesses the young Saint John and presented it as a votive offering to the Capuchin Fathers of Crocicchia, two miles outside of Urbino, where he often would stay on a farm of his. Because of the departure of the friars, the painting is now conserved in the convent in the city. [25]

Barocci was continuously bothered by his illness, which allowed him about two hours a day to practice his art. During this respite he painted a pic-

fresco is also attributed to the Urbino master in Celio (1638, 124), and more broadly in Totti (1638, 278).

23 The account of the poisoning attempt by envious painters is sourced from Celio ([ca. 1614–1640] 2021, 295): "Diedero al Barocci per ammazzarlo, alcuni pittori una composizione nel mangiare in sieme all'osteria, ma agiutato non ne morì, ma ne restò di modo che per tutta la vita, nella digestione mandava fuora il cibbo." In Celio's medallion this episode is followed by information regarding the study trip to Parma (see note 18).

24 The extensive endeavours undertaken by Cardinal Giulio Feltrio della Rovere to ensure Barocci's well-being lack corroboration from other historical accounts.

25 The account of Federico's four-year hiatus following his return to Urbino and the completion of the *Madonna di san Giovanni* as an ex-voto for his partial recovery was in Borghini (1584, 569). Given Barocci's return to Urbino in 1563, a literal interpretation of this timeline would place the *Madonna di san Giovanni* in 1567, thereby imposing a temporal constraint on the artist's subsequent works. This painting, closely resembling the *Holy Family* of the Casino of Pius IV, precedes the *Madonna di san Simone* and must maintain an appropriate distance from the more mature Perugia *Deposition*. Lanzi, in his 1783 *taccuino* (Lanzi 2003, 24), accurately noted that Bellori intended the saint to be John the Baptist, whereas it is actually John the Evangelist. The painting's presence in the church of the convent of San Giovanni in "Crocicchio" was documented in the 1597 Don Brancaleone Fuschinio's *Relazione* (Ligi 1933, 15). Duro (2023, 266, 272) provides crucial information regarding Barocci's estate near the church of the Capuchins in Crocicchia, which is no longer extant, in the locality of Villa di Salsola. By 1658, the painting had been relocated to the Franciscan convent in Urbino, as reported by Giovanni Battista Staccoli to Leopoldo de' Medici's secretary (in Baldinucci 1974–1975, VI, 78, n. 3).

ture for the church of San Francesco of the Virgin holding the Christ Child. She is crowned by the angel and flanked on one side by Saint Thaddeus and on the other by Saint Simon; the patrons of the chapel are at her feet. [26] Some gentlemen from Perugia happened to come to Urbino in the company of a painter who took so much pleasure in the finished picture and praised it so much that those gentlemen resolved to bring Barocci back to their homeland. Not much time passed before they called him to Perugia, where he himself agreed to go and paint that work which renders him glorious among painters of great fame. [27]

Deposition from the cross

Barocci painted for the Cathedral of San Lorenzo the *Deposition of Christ* from the cross, which is an ordered composition full of figures, all of which are in movement and involved in action. The sacred body hangs having one arm already detached from the cross as are feet' soles, while the other arm is still nailed to the cross; Saint John receives him by the feet; and behind on the ladder Joseph of Arimathea leans on the cross and lowers his hand behind Christ and supports his drooping shoulder in a sheet. In so doing, Joseph waits and watches with great concern Nicodemus on the other side, who is also behind the cross and above on a ladder. Nicodemus holds with one arm the wood of the cross and with the other hand grasps a hammer to unnail Christ's right hand. In front, on another ladder beside Christ, a young man holds

26 The *Madonna with Saints Simon and Judas*, also known as the *Madonna di San Simone*, formerly in the church of San Francesco in Urbino, is now in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. It is mentioned by Borghini in 1584 (568), but Bellori is the first to notice the presence of the portraits of the two patrons in the painting.

27 Bellori's account refers to the origins of the commission for the *Deposition* intended for the chapel of San Bernardino in the Perugia cathedral, a proposal initially made to Vasari (Teza 2009–2010, 251–255). This commission was planned prior to Ranieri Consoli's dispatch to Urbino in late 1567, where he was tasked with bringing Barocci to Urbino (Bombe 1912, 195; Abbozzo 2010, 35–37). The altarpiece, completed in late 1569, was mentioned by Borghini (1584, 569), Celio ([ca. 1614–1640] 2021, 295), Crispolti (1648, 64), Scannelli (1657, 197), and Barri (1671, 22). The identity of the Perugian painter, an early admirer of Barocci's work (possibly Orazio Alfani?), remains unknown. It is conceivable that among the "gentlemen" who traveled from Perugia to Urbino and were captivated by the quality of Federico's art was Simonetto Anastagi, as discussed in the subsequent notes (29, 30).

up Christ's body in the sheet with one hand at his back and the other under the thigh. Seen with his head turned away, this figure reveals the strength of all his members in supporting the greater weight of the dead body, arching his chest, tensing a knee, and exposing his legs to mid-thigh; his tunic and chlamys are swept into the air and his hair is lifted by the wind. Besides these proper movements, this figure also casts a shadow over the chest of Christ, and in leaning backwards lets the rest of Christ's body come forward into the light. Opposite him a servant descends from the ladder of Joseph, and while descending looks below, with part of his shoulder and arm exposed. Resting his hand on the ladder, the servant bears the crown of thorns, and places the pliers on his arm, having just unnailed the right hand of Christ.

All these figures are intent on their work and inspired in their actions, but the figure of Christ, which is the principal one and located in the middle, demonstrates in the limpness of every member the languor and weight of a body which has no life to sustain it. While the right arm hangs from the cross above, the other arm falls with the shoulder, and the head droops to rest on the shoulder. The chest is doubled over, the stomach is curved in shadow, and the legs and lifeless thighs are projected forward. The flesh, the veins, the nerves, and contours weaken and die. The whole face is dead, the dark hair falling behind the forehead, the eyes closed, and the lips slightly parted from having taken the last breath.

Among the emotions expressed by the other figures, John demonstrates his grief by weeping as he raises his face in profile toward Christ and holds onto the pierced feet. Behind him Saint Bernardino, deeply moved, throws open his arms as though desiring to provide support for the divine limbs. But beneath at the foot of the cross take place the lamentations and grief of the Maries, the figures in the foreground who bend to aid the stunned and fallen Virgin. Two move toward the Virgin with their arms open while another supports her from behind with her arm under the fallen head. This latter figure, in supporting the Virgin in this way from behind, keels on the ground and bends forward with tearful eyes, wondering at the pale, cold face of the strick-

en Virgin. Such displays of emotion are accompanied by the exquisite appearances of the heads, and each figure is executed with well-defined contours which harmonize with the vigorous ensemble and soft coloring; [28] Barocci deserves every praise also for the excellent way in which he has handled the draperies and made the folds perfectly correspond to the movements of the figures, which is considered one of the most difficult parts of painting.

Barocci remained in Perugia for three years under the benevolence and good care of those gentlemen, leaving there a finished work which has increased his reputation among foreigners. [29] After returning to Urbino, he sent a Nativity by his own hand about four *piedi* tall to Signor Simonetto Anastagi as a gift in recognition of their friendship. [30] Barocci painted for the church of San Francesco in the same city the picture on the high altar which is also a work rendered in a perfect style. It represents Christ giving

28 The ekphrasis appears to be developed on the basis of Francesco Villamena's 1606 print of the *Deposition*. This is suggested by the emphasis on luministic details, in the absence of commentary on the painting's dramatic and hypermanneristic chromatic composition, which is briefly described as "vigoroso insieme e soave colorito." However, the depiction of the figure with the pincer on his arm, who appears to have extracted the nail from "la destra di Cristo" rather than his left hand, implies that Bellori utilized an alternative version, such as that attributed to Domenico Falcini (from Villamena). Bellori may also have been acquainted with the small-scale copy on copper of the altarpiece, mentioned by the 1655 inventory of the Roman collection of Francesco Falconieri (Getty Provenance Index, sub voce), where the Roman historiographer himself noted "Pitture di Maestri celebri" (Bellori 1665 [1976], 50).

29 Federico likely resided in Perugia from the conclusion of 1567 until the beginning of 1570 at the latest, as evidenced by his completion of the first version of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, which has been lost but is known thanks to an eighteenth-century print. This work was commissioned by Guidubaldo II, as attested by Borghini in 1584 (569) and later by Bellori (see page 48), to commemorate the marriage of his son Francesco Maria to Lucrezia d'Este on February 18, 1570. Additionally, in the same month of February 1570, Barocci received a down payment in Urbino for the *Rest* commissioned by Simonetto Anastagi, which is currently housed in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (Sapori 1983, 79–80; ARSI, Collegio Gesuitico, collegia 117, Perugia, 1490, f. 310v; Colzani in Agosti, Colzani 2024, 56).

30 This marks the first mention in the Barocci biographical tradition of his friend and patron, Simonetto from Perugia. Since the early twentieth century, scholars such as Giovanni Poggi (*Mostra* 1913, 41 note 20), Olsen (1962, p. 155), Evelina Borea (in Bellori [1672; 1976] 2009, 186, n. 2), Pillsbury and Richards (1978, 16, n. 16), Turner (2000, 179, n. 24), and Hellmut Wohl (in Bellori [1672] 2005, 173–174, n. 31 and n. 87) have interpreted this passage as an error by Bellori. It is suggested that Bellori mistakenly identified a *Nativity* as the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, a composition for which the biographer later recalls the first version commissioned for Guidubaldo II, now lost (see page 48), and another for Antonio Brancaleoni, still located in the church of Santo Stefano in Piobbico. In any case, documents indicate that Simonetto commissioned Barocci on December 10, 1576, for a *Nativity*, which was never completed (Sapori 1983, 80; ARSI, Collegio Gesuitico, collegia 117, Perugia, 1490, f. 322v and f. 6r; Colzani in Agosti, Colzani 2024, 56). It is more likely that Bellori derived Simonetto's name and the information about a painting on that subject from Barocci's correspondence, accessed through Pompilio Bruni. Notably, Bellori's text does not specify the painting's location.

his consent to Saint Francis to pardon those who visit the Church of the Angeli in Assisi. [31]

The Pardon of Saint Francis of Assisi

Barocci represented the interior of the church and in the middle Saint Francis in adoration. The saint kneels on a large set of marble stairs in the foreground and displays the internal fire of his celestial love. With opened arms he raises his face and spirit; and in looking at the Virgin above, he turns his head slightly in profile as he lifts up his face. The heavens glow above: in the middle is Christ, flanked by the Virgin and Saint Nicholas, and a glimmering light is diffused throughout the resplendent little clouds of cherubim. The Virgin kneels with her arms opened in the act of communicating the saint's request to Christ; her right hand is raised in prayer toward her Son, the left points downward toward the saint to denote her intercession on his behalf. The view of the Virgin is in profile; her blue mantle hangs down from her head and arms to her breast.

In the middle of the composition is the risen Christ in majesty, with luminous rays all around him. His entire figure, seen frontally, stands out against a large field and sphere of light, and he bends his right arm forward in the act of blessing and granting pardon at the intercession of the Virgin and of the saint. On the other side his left hand is opened and his arm is covered with a red mantle, which, together with the tunic, is filled out by the wind, and which unfolds in a flourish from the left shoulder behind the right hand. And the whole figure is supported by three cherubim, with one foot lightly placed on the middle cherub and the other suspended in the air, so that the bottom of the feet can be seen from below, as if to show that Christ is supported by his own divinity. On the other side of Christ one sees Saint Nicholas in his

31 Borghini (1584, 568) recorded Barocci's altarpiece on the high altar of the church of San Francesco, although he inaccurately described the subject as "un San Francesco, che riceve le stimate." The altarpiece received praise in Don Brancaleone Fuschinio's 1597 *Relazione* (Ligi 1933, 14).

episcopal dress kneeling on the clouds and looking at a book which he holds in one hand and upon which are the three golden balls, while in the other hand he holds his pastoral staff; below is the saint's miter.

One must be careful not to disregard the ability of this painter without considering the smallest details of his creations which he continually changed for the sake of reproducing the exact imitation and rendering its natural quality. The saint kneels on a marble stairway rising to the upper level with two additional small steps between two balustrades, over which garments are draped here and there, while on one side there are two candles and a bell. He includes in the middle of the background a small chapel; and since the view is oblique, one can see through the open door only half of the altar, with half of a painted Crucifixion, the standing Virgin, and a lighted candle on the side. Barocci then took the opportunity to include a light passing through an open iron door in the dark wall, reverberating in a dazzling fashion on a column outside. In the middle is Saint Francis, lighted directly from above. His head is set off against the darkness of the wall, and his whole figure projects forward out of the dim light of the church. And although the light falls down upon the saint from above, Christ is not illuminated by his own glorious radiance but by natural daylight; with reasoned artistry Barocci took this license in order to give relief to the figures above and thus be able to employ the shadows properly in the completely illuminated space. [32]

Barocci finished this picture in the convent and worked on it for more than seven years, as much because of the attention he gave to it as because of the hindrance of his illness which slowed the work. [33] The artist himself showed

32 The description, while ostensibly derived from a direct observation of the work, may alternatively have been elaborated on the base of the exquisite print created by Barocci himself (see note 34), providing sufficient evidence to substantiate this account of the luministic orchestration of the *Perdono*.

33 The commission of the *Perdono di Assisi* by Nicola Ventura for the high altar of the church of San Francesco is documented as of October 11, 1571 (Aronberg Lavin 2006, 35–37; later, giving the contract as unpublished, Falcioni, Droghini 2012); the altarpiece was completed in spring 1576, as shown in Barocci's letter of June 2, 1576 (*Nuova raccolta* 1844–1856, I, 151–153, n. 70), justifying the delays in the delivery of the *Madonna del Popolo*. The seven years allocated by Bellori for the completion of the work are thus somewhat overestimated. Bellori specifies that the altarpiece was painted "in convento," and it is indeed documented, but only from 1575 onward,

his approval of the painting by issuing the beautiful print *in folio* etched by his own hand and published in 1581. [34] As a consequence of the rightful acclaim that the painting received, the friars who had only given him a hundred scudi of gold, for which he was content because of their poverty, procured for him donations of another hundred florins. [35]

Thereafter Barocci executed the painting of the Mercy for the Pieve in Arezzo representing Christ seated on a cloud blessing through the prayers of the Virgin those who perform the seven acts of Mercy. [36] Many figures are depicted; among the poor who receive alms is a blind man who manages to look very realistic playing a viola with an iron bar.

In order to entertain himself Barocci decided to bring this painting to Arezzo personally to be able to see the works of the masters in Tuscany. Having reached Florence, and being so inclined, he arranged to see the Palazzo and the Gallery of the Grand Duke. Ruling at that time was Grand Duke Francesco, a most cultured prince and lover of the fine arts, who, learning of the merit of Barocci and of the painting brought to Arezzo, conceived of doing something becoming his gentility, namely of disguising himself as an unknown person in order to talk and discuss freely with Barocci and to solicit his frank opinions about painting. On the assigned day Barocci went to the palace and after the Grand Duke introduced himself as an unknown, the artist was led, instead of to the Guardaroba, through the rooms, and was

that Barocci was granted the use of a room in the Capuchin convent of Sant'Antonio Abate (Scatassa 1901, 129–130; see note 86, below); the news conveyed by the biographer may thus rest on the knowledge of similar documentation among the materials passed to him by Pompilio Bruni.

34 Regarding the papal privilege granted to Barocci in 1581 for the printing of the *Perdono di Assisi*, see Aronberg Lavin (2006, 44). This print is additionally cited by Bellori at the end of the biography (see page 53), where Barocci's contributions to the field of engraving are summarized.

35 The information lacks additional corroboration.

36 The commission for the *Madonna del Popolo*, now in the Uffizi, was initially assigned to Giorgio Vasari by the Fraternita dei Laici. Following Vasari's death, the commission was offered to Barocci on October 30, 1574 (*Nuova raccolta* 1844–1856, I, 135–136, n. 60; see also Bisceglia 2024). Barocci formalised the agreement in Arezzo on June 18, 1575 (Pillsbury and Richards 1978, 26–27, n. 1). On June 4, 1579, the altarpiece, accompanied by Barocci, was delivered to Arezzo, where he reached an accord with the patrons to execute the tondo with *God the Father*, now located in the Museo della Fraternita dei Laici in Arezzo, to be positioned above the panel (Lepri, Palesati 2001). The *Madonna del Popolo* was later described by Borghini in 1584, 569, as an "opera molto nominata," as referenced in the subsequent note.

shown paintings and statues so that the Prince could learn which works the artist held in greatest esteem. The Prince behaved towards him in this way quite some time, and it was only when, exiting from a room he was presented with an institutional document, that Barocci recognized the Grand Duke and wished to leave immediately. He was most kindly restrained by the prince who took him by the hand and wished to continue talking with him on the same familiar basis as before. The Grand Duke embraced him and because he greatly appreciated his knowledge and modesty, he offered the artist favorable conditions to stay at his court. But Barocci expressed his unwillingness and spoke of the necessity of living in his native land. He then thanked the Prince and took leave for Urbino. [37]

Barocci next put his hand to the painting of the Deposition of Christ for the monument of the Confraternity of Santa Croce in Senigallia, depicting in it the Savior carried off to the sepulcher in a sheet. [38] The two figures holding him, one at the head, the other underneath, are joined by Saint John, who holds the sheet at the feet of Christ, and expresses the strain and the severity of the weight. As he moves and turns forward, he bends back his chest and arms and his hair is blown by the wind. Since the sacred body of Christ is carried in this manner, the upper part unfolds in a pitiful fatal languor, the cheek rests against the shoulder, the hair falls, and the divine eyes close almost as if

37 Bellori records Barocci's first trip in Florence in 1579, aligning it with the delivery of the panel for the Fraternita dei Laici in Arezzo, and also recounts the painter's personal meeting with Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici. However, a letter from the ambassador Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino on April 16, 1583 (Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà 1993, 241–242, n. 266) indicates that even at that time, Francesco de' Medici was only familiar with Barocci because of his reputation, particularly after the success of the *Madonna del Popolo*. Conversely, the discovery of a sketch of the Florentine cathedral by the young Barocci on an Uffizi sheet, later divided into three parts (inv. 1419 E, 11453 F, 11564 F), has led to suppose an earlier visit to Florence, possibly even before his second Roman stay under Pius IV (Fontana 1997); on the *verso* of these same Florentine sheets, early studies for the *Madonna del Gatto* (London, National Gallery, and see here page 40, note 74) appear, dating from around the mid-1570s, suggesting that Barocci's first visit to Florence might have occurred when, in June 1575, he traveled to Arezzo to sign the contract for the *Madonna del Popolo*.

38 The *Christ Carried to the Tomb*, intended for the high altar of the church of Santa Croce in Senigallia, was commissioned from Barocci on July 2, 1579, and completed in April or May, 1582 (Vecchioni 1926–1927, 499). This work was subsequently reproduced by various engravers, including Philippe Thomassin, Raffaello Guidi, and Aegidius Sadeler, and was referenced in the writings of Borghini in 1584 (569), Scannelli in 1657 (197), and Barri in 1671 (27).

in placid sleep. Behind Saint John partially appears the swooning Virgin who is held by one of the Maries while the other wipes her tears with a veil that she holds to the eyes with both of her hands. On the opposite side the kneeling Magdalene manifests her grief through her disheveled hair and close hands held up towards Christ. Behind her a figure bends over at the base of a cliff to clean the sepulcher, while in the distance one sees Calvary with some small figures who carry away the ladders of the cross. This work, because it came to be constantly copied for its beauty, was almost destroyed through the audacity of someone, who in copying it by tracing paper, penetrated the color and contours and damaged the whole thing. It remained that way for several years until, at the request of the Duke of Urbino, Barocci took it back to his house; he took out of his studio original drawings for the work and, in the last years of his life, repainted it. [39]

In the same city of Senigallia can also be seen the painting by Barocci of Saint Hyacinth who kneels to receive the scapular from the Virgin in glory with the Christ Child in the lap. [40] For the Olivetan church of San Vitale in Ravenna Barocci made the painting of the Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis in which the figure of the martyr who is being thrown into a well is seen foreshortened. Behind the saint is the figure of the magistrate shown in the act of having given Vitalis the push, while up above the angel descends with the crown and a palm. There are other figures who, like the magistrate, are intent on the spectacle. Among them is the amusing scene of a young girl who feeds a magpie with a cherry held in her hand, and while her mother turns her

39 On December 17, 1606, the Confraternita della Croce e Sagramento of Senigallia commissioned the restoration of Barocci's altarpiece, which had been compromised by several copyists and damaged from mice (Vecchioni 1926–1927, 501–502). By mid-1607, after Barocci inspected the altarpiece in Senigallia, he concurred with the Confraternity that the painting "è stato molto male tenuto e trattato" and asserted that "vi serà da fare asai bene […] con ritoccare il quadro ove farà bisognio" (Freeman Bauer 1986, 355–357). The canvas was subsequently transported to Urbino, where Barocci personally completed the restoration by April 20, 1608 (Vecchioni 1926–1927, 502). Therefore, the details provided by Bellori are substantiated by documentary evidence.

40 This is an imprecise and brief reference to the altarpiece, which has not been documented in prior printed sources on Barocci. It was executed between 1589 and after the summer of 1592 for the Confraternita dell'Assunta e del Rosario, and it is currently housed in the Pinacoteca Diocesana (see Anselmi 1905, 143–145). The mention of the saint as Dominic, rather than Hyacinth, indicates that Bellori lacked direct knowledge of this work.

away to look at the saint, the magpie opens its mouth, fluttering its wings. One cannot describe the grace with which Barocci adapted similar charming touches to his works from time to time; on this occasion, for example, the artist used the cherry to designate the Spring, since the martyrdom of the saint is celebrated on April 28. [41]

In the pontificate of Gregory XIII, the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella of the Oratorians was built. Because of the fervor of their founder Saint Filippo Neri, who desired that sacred images be painted by excellent artists, Barocci received the commission for the painting of the altar of the Visitation. He represented Saint Elizabeth at the top of the stairs outside her house embracing and shaking hands with the Virgin while Saint Zacharias comes out to meet her, while Saint Joseph at the foot of the stairway places his bags on the ground, holding a small donkey by the reins. Behind the Virgin is a young woman beginning to climb the stairs. She lifts her garment with one hand and holds a basket of chickens with the other. She is truly a very beautiful figure, carrying around her neck a straw hat to denote the summer month of July. It is said that Saint Filippo was so pleased with this image that he went to his

41 The contract for the execution of the altarpiece depicting the *Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis*, now in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan, was signed by Barocci in Ravenna on June 20, 1580, in the presence of the abbot and superiors of the Benedictine convent (Muratori 1912, 251–253). At this time, Barocci had already presented a drawing to the patrons. The painting was completed and delivered by Barocci in the spring of 1583 (Muratori 1912, 258). The altarpiece was noted by Borghini in 1584 (569), Lomazzo in 1590 (1973–1974, I, 358), Scannelli in 1657 (197), Fabri in 1664 (361–362), and Barri in 1671 (27). Lingo (2008, 175) suggests that this passage by Bellori may be influenced by a seemingly lost text by the Bolognese Giovanni Battista Capponi (1620–1675), quoted in a manuscript guide to Rome compiled between 1677 and 1681 by an anonymous French traveler, who was closely associated with the Roman circle around Bellori (*Specchio di Roma barocca* 1991, 111–112). The anonymous French author says that Capponi's text, titled *De multiplici pictorum in sacris abusu diatriba*, was "une louange du célèbre Barocci, qu'ayant imité de si près le Titien et le Correggio et qu'ayant mérité une réputation très grande entre tous les plus excellents peintres, il a eu de plus sur eux cet avantage, qu'il n'a jamais rien peint que d'honnest et de dévot, s'abstenant mesme d'une certaine fierté trop hardie dans ses figures, quoy que ce fust le carractère du Correggio son maistre. Il avoit coutume de faire toujours ent[r]er dans son tableau quelque chose qui y donnoit de l'agrément, que les autres taschent d'emprunter de la liberté qu'ils donnent à leurs figures. On a de luy par exemple un tableau du martyre de St. Vital à Ravenne où est une pie qui bat de l'aile avec un petit enfant qui luy porte une cerise dans le bec, qui marque le talent qu'il avoit de donner de la grace aux moindres choses." Zani (1672, 262) anticipated the publication of Capponi's *trattatello*, which Fantuzzi (1781–1790, III, 89) later recorded as unpublished at the author's death.

chapel for his devout contemplations. [42] It is certain that Barocci had a special genius for painting sacred images. He indeed deserves to be commended, especially if one considers how rare it is to find paintings in churches which have the decorum and the sanctity necessary to incite devotion.

Meanwhile Barocci successfully finished for the city of Pesaro a most worthy work: the painting of the Calling of Saint Andrew for the Confraternity of Sant'Andrea. He represented Christ on the beach beside the sea extending his hand to Saint Andrew, who, bending one knee to the ground and spreading his arms, demonstrates his deep desire to follow the divine voice. Meanwhile, behind them, a young man stops the boat with an oar, while Saint Peter disembarks and put one foot into the waves, eager likewise to go without delay to Christ. [43] Barocci painted this picture on the order of the Duchess of Urbino who wrote to him about it in 1580, and the payment was two hundred gold scudi. [44] Upon its completion, after 1584, the Duke liked it so much that he requested it from the brothers of the Confraternity and sent it as a gift to Philip II, King of Spain, since Saint Andrew was the protector of the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. [45] Today this exquisite painting is housed in the

42 The commission for the *Visitation* altarpiece in the Pizzamiglio chapel of Santa Maria in Vallicella was entrusted to Barocci as early as June 1583 (Ponnelle, Bordet 1928, 367; Barbieri, Barchiesi, Ferrara 1995, 204, n. 545). The altarpiece was completed and delivered in July 1586 (Gronau [1936] 2011, 157, n. CCIV). The work was mentioned by Gallonio 1601, 209; Celio [ca. 1614-1640], 2021, 295; Celio 1638, 52; Totti 1638, 226; Baglione 1642, 2023, I, 391; Scannelli 1657, 196; and Barri 1671, 14. However, Bellori's excerpt, which includes a reference to Filippo Neri's particular devotion to this work, is based on Baglione's account.

43 The *Calling of Saint Andrew*, signed and dated 1583, originally housed in the oratory of Sant'Andrea in Pesaro, is in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. It was mentioned by Borghini in 1584 (569) and Scannelli in 1657 (197). Bellori may have been acquainted with its composition through prints by Adriaen Collaert and Aegidius Sadeler, published in 1590 and 1594, respectively. A copy of the painting was also present in Rome at Villa Montalto, as noted by Martinelli ([ca. 1660–1663] 1969, 327).

44 The information provided by Bellori is evidently contingent upon the examination of the correspondence from Lucrezia d'Este, through which the Duchess commissioned the painting, as well as the records pertaining to payments received by the artist. These materials are most likely part of the "recollections" assembled by Pompilio Bruni.

45 Francesco Maria dispatched to the King of Spain not the altarpiece that was then located in the oratory of Sant'Andrea in Pesaro and now housed in Brussels (see n. 43), but rather a second version, which was sent in July, 1588 (Calzini 1913a, 56), and is preserved in the Escorial (Bassegoda 2002, 331). Scholars have long noted Bellori's misinterpretation, which can be attributed to the biographer erroneously associating the Pesaro painting with the account, reported by Venturelli in 1612 (Baroni 2015, 86–87), of a "gloriosa immagine dell'apostolo Sant'Andrea" being presented as a gift to Philip II. Barocci's painting at the Escorial was described by Mazzolari in 1648, 237.

Escorial among the many other religious pictures by the early masters. [46] An Annunciation similar to the other in Loreto is also still preserved there, which, as we will note later, was given by the same duke to that Majesty. [47] Barocci painted a second version of the Saint Andrew for the above-mentioned Confraternity in Pesaro, [48] and in the church of San Francesco there is also another painting by Barocci, the Beata Michelina, tertiary of the Franciscan sisters, shown kneeling on Mount Calvary with her arms apart, rapt in contemplation of Christ's death. Her pilgrim's staff and hat rest on the ground while her cape flutters in the wind on the hill, beyond which can be seen the city of Jerusalem. [49]

Duke Francesco Maria, a devotee of the Most Holy Annunciation, dedicated a chapel to it in the church of Loreto. The painting was executed by Barocci. [50]

The Annunciation

The Virgin suddenly halts and kneels with her eyes lowered. She opens her right hand with modest wonder, placing her other hand with the book on the small table. In the foreground the Angel bends on one knee and places his left hand with the lily on the other knee. Extending his right hand gently toward her, the Angel reverently announces the divine mystery, Barocci show

46 See previous note.

47 Two payments by the Duke have been linked to the execution of this replica: the first in 1591 to Barocci, and the second in 1593 to one of his young assistants, who was in charge of conducting "il quadro della Madonna" (Calzini 1913a, 57); from Calzini onward, the connection has not been questioned. The painting, attested at the Escorial until the nineteenth century, is now lost: Bassegoda 2002, 192; Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón 2010, 1579–1580. Barocci's *Annunciation* at the Escorial was reported by Mazzolari 1648, 237.

48 See note 43, above.

49 The *Beata Michelina*, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, was documented by Scannelli (1657, 197) as located in San Francesco in Pesaro. Initially regarded as a very late work, it was actually already *in fieri* around 1590–1591, as evidenced by the anonymous biography of Barocci, which was made known by Zezza (2009). The painting was delivered to its patron Alessandro Barignani in Pesaro by early November, 1606, as noted by Clough (1982, 82–83). It is plausible that Bellori was acquainted with a copy in Francesco Falconieri's collection (Getty Provenance Index, sub voce; see also note 28, below) and later transferred to Paolo Francesco Falconieri. Frascarelli (2012, 87–88) suggests that this copy, which is limited to the head, is the one currently in the Galleria Sabauda. Alternatively, Bellori may have been familiar with the tapestry version in Filippo Neri's rooms (see Barbieri, Barchiesi, and Ferrara 1995, 156).

50 The *Annunciation*, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, was commissioned by Duke Francesco Maria for the Della Rovere chapel in the basilica of Loreto; it was executed between 1582 and 1584 (Calzini 1913a, 55–56). It has been mentioned by Lomazzo ([1590] 1973–1974, I, 358); Scannelli (1657, 197); and Barri (1671, 24).

the most beautiful, sweet appearance of the Virgin and Angel, one facing out, the other in profile. One exudes complete modesty and virginal humility, with her eyes lowered and her hair simply gathered over the forehead. Furthermore her decorum is increased by the sky-blue mantle falling down from her arm over the prie-dieu to the floor. The Angel in its beautiful profile is heavenly, its golden hair falling over its forehead and over the neck; not only in its contours and shape does it demonstrate itself to be agile and light, but also the color itself reveals its spiritual nature, tempered subtly in the yellow shirt and in iridescent red tunic with the cerulean wings, almost celestial rainbow. The design of such a noble work can be seen engraved in an etching by Barocci, through which one can recall the beauty of the original painting. [51] The Duke of Urbino was greatly satisfied with Barocci's work and rewarded generously his brilliant art. Being a most virtuous and worthy prince, and in his time the honor of Italy, he attracted to his court the most famous men in every discipline, among them, he always recognized Federico Barocci, loving him and often visiting him at his home as the highest honor of his state.[52]

In the Capuchin Church of Mondavia there is another Annunciation by his hand, in which he added a Saint Francis reading a book, [53] and in the church of the same fathers in Fossombrone there is the painting of the Virgin on a Cloud with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Francis kneeling below,

51 This is Bellori's first ekphrasis incorporating chromatic notations of a painting by Barocci. Notably, Barocci's etching on the same subject, which the author also references at the conclusion of the biography (see page 53), is deserving of attention. It is plausible that, akin to other instances in the *Lives* collection, Bellori derived his color descriptions from reproductions available in Rome, where multiple copies of the Loreto *Annunciation* are documented. For instance, a version in Santa Maria della Vittoria was noted by Titi (1674, 331–332) and mentioned in one of Father Sebastiano Resta's annotations, as documented by Jonathan Richardson Sr. (British Library Lansdowne ms. 802, n. 117), and further referenced by Dezallier d'Argenville (1745, 31). Moreover, a smaller version was part of the Odescalchi collection, as noted by Gonzáles–Palacios (1984, 286) and Giacomo Amato (2017, 281). Furthermore, another small version entered the Monte di Pietà collections in the nineteenth century, as documented by Faldi (1956, 19–20, n. 35).

52 Evidence for the close relationship between the Duke and Barocci, as documented in Francesco Maria's personal diary (*Diario* 1989, 91, 99, 125), was first provided by Celio ([ca. 1614–1640] 2021, 295).

53 The reference is most likely to the *Annunciation in the presence of Saint Francis immersed in reading*. This painting is now in the Pinacoteca di Brera and originates from the church of the Capuchins in Mondavio. It is to be considered a product of the master's workshop (Ambrosini Massari 2005, 31). Notably, this painting is not documented in earlier sources on the artist.

partly colored in gouaches. [54] Afterwards Barocci carried out the painting of the Circumcision for the high altar of the Company of the name of God in Pesaro. [55] Depicted there is a seated figure who holds the Christ Child at his chest while the figure who performs the circumcision, having cut the foreskin, holds the bandage on the wound and takes the powder to stop the blood. Behind them kneel the Virgin and Saint Joseph, while among the other figures there is one who replaces the knife in its case, a young boy who holds a candle and points at the foreskin in a small dish, a kneeling shepherd in front who offers a lamb, and above, two angels in adoration. On the hassock where the Virgin kneels one can read Federico Barocci's name with the year in which the picture was done: FED. BAR. VRB. PINX. MDLXXXX.

Later, in 1596, he completed the painting of the Crucifixion ordered by Signor Matteo Sanarega, who was Doge of Genoa. This painting has acquired great fame for its beauty as can be seen by the way it is admired in the Cathedral of Genoa. [56] He painted in it mourning angels in the air, and at the foot of the cross, the prostrate Virgin supported by Saint John, plus the figure of

54 The *Apparition of the Madonna and Child to Saints John the Baptist and Francis*, originally located in the church of the Capuchins of Fossombrone, was once presumed lost and subsequently discovered (Papi 2002). It is on loan by the Pinacoteca di Brera in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche at the moment. Prior to Bellori's documentation, the painting was not recorded, and he also noted its partial execution "a guazzo," or tempera. An Uffizi drawing (inv. 11383 F *recto*), plays a significant role in the contentious dating of the painting, as it in fact depicts both the figures of Saint Bernardino in the Perugia *Deposition* and the kneeling Saint Francis in the Fossombrone altarpiece studied together, indicating that the two works were conceived in parallel in the latter half of the 1560s (according to Olsen 1962, 151, n. 19 and Pillsbury and Richards 1978, 40–41, n. 12; Emiliani 2008, I, 185–186, n. 21 dates it immediately after Barocci's return from his Roman sojourn under Pius IV; Fontana 2001, with compelling arguments, places it around the mid-1560s; Judith W. Mann in *Federico Barocci* 2012, 214 more broadly in the 1560s; Papi 2002, 107–108 notes Bellori's chronological inconsistency in recalling it as a work from the painter's early period; Ambrosini Massari 2024, 48, supports the second half of the 1560s). The origin of Barocci's etching *Madonna in the Clouds* is associated with the invention of the upper register of the Fossombrone altarpiece. In 1582, Agostino Carracci published a print based on the same composition.

55 The *Circumcision*, originally located in the Nome di Dio oratory in Pesaro and now housed in the Louvre, was commissioned on October 2, 1583 (Pillsbury and Richards 1978, 18 n. 37; Duro 2024, 69) and completed seven years later. It was not mentioned in printed sources until Bellori, who also cites its signature and the year 1590.

56 The large canvas was commissioned from Barocci for the altar of the chapel of San Sebastiano in the Genoa cathedral, which had undergone renovation by Matteo Senarega as early as 1587 (Gronau [1936] 2011, 164–165, n. CCXVI). The commission was officially established in 1590 (ibid., 165, n. CCXVII) and concluded in 1596, a date inscribed alongside the artist's signature on the altarpiece. Additional documentation is available in Bury 1987. It was noted in *Saggi cronologici* 1668, 76.

Saint Sebastian to whom the chapel is dedicated. [57] I will not describe the emotions of the figures other than to quote from the letter written to Barocci by the same Sanarega, an illustrious man of learning.

Al signor Federico Barocci
Matteo Sanarega.

This painting has but one defect: because it is almost divine, human praises cannot do it justice. Therefore it lives wrapped in silence and awe. The most holy Crucified One, although appearing to be already dead, nevertheless is breathing life and paradise; this demonstrates to us that in truth he willingly of his own consent suffered death, out of love for us, and for the salvation of all. The sweetness of the Virgin Mother is so great that at a single glance it wounds and heals, inspires compassion and consoles, and indeed it appears as if the divine spirit deep within the wounds of Christ enters her to know if it must pierce her again with the death of her beloved son or restore to her the salvation of the human race. Thus, driven by diverse feelings and stunned, she abandons herself in her new son who, moved tenderly by wonder and charity, also responds to her. In Saint Sebastian one sees the true colors and rhythms of art, to a degree that perhaps the ancients never attained, much less the moderns; and as a whole, the work is so rich in artifice and beauty that it does not leave room for anything but a desire to imitate it. And these holy angels, how they too express vivid feelings of wonder and pity? I repeat and confess how, like something divine, the painting enraptures, divides, sweetly transforms. Whence my obligations to Your Excellency who has labored so greatly in this work press me and increase; and our Messer Ventura will have to provide further for it. I add that in Rome the Signori

57 The description and precise dating of the altarpiece are provided by the Matteo Senarega's letter to Barocci, likely known to Bellori because it was among the "recollections" gathered by Pompilio Bruni. The draft (*minuta*) of Senarega's letter to Barocci is preserved in the Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova (Bury 1987, 355–356, n. V). The biographer does not elaborate on the mention of Barocci's disciple Ventura Mazza in the letter. Mazza's presence in Genoa, where he accompanied the altarpiece, is documented by two payment records from 1596 and 1598 (Bury 1987, 353). Starting with Soprani (1674, 296) and continuing in subsequent literature, Antonio Viviani (mistakenly referred to as Antoniani, an error later emended in the bibliography) is also noted in Genoa under similar circumstances; however, only Mazza's presence is confirmed by documentary evidence (Giancarli 2024, 122).

Giustiniani have the order to pay out the remainder of the cost to you, or to your agent. Not that this will extinguish my debts for which I intend to remain accountable, and which I will repay at the first opportunity that I can be of service to you. From Genoa, October 5, 1596.

Barocci painted another similar Crucifixion for the Company of Death in Urbino, but the figures in the lower portion are by Alessandro Vitali, Barocci's pupil. [58]

Barocci made the other Noli me tangere, for the Buonvisi family, which had to be put in a church in Lucca. The artist represented Christ as a gardener pulling back from the Magdalene who kneels and extends her hand to touch him. This work is regarded among the artist's best and most praiseworthy. [59] As was said before, the painting of the Visitation in the church of the Fathers of the Oratory met with much satisfaction from Saint Filippo. [60] Therefore, since the altars with the mysteries of the Virgin required decoration and Monsignor Angelo Cesi, Bishop of Todi (who had completed the façade of the church built by his brother Cardinal Pier Donato Cesi), was interested in decorating an altar on the right side of the transept, hence Barocci was selected to paint the Presentation. It was executed with care and very great study. [61]

58 The *Crucifix with the Madonna, Saint John, and Magdalene*, intended for the altar of the oratory of the Morte in Urbino, where it still remains, was commissioned on January 5, 1597, and completed by the painter on April 2, 1604 (Scatassa 1900, 78–79). It was referenced by Venturelli in 1612 (Baroni 2015, 87–88), although the attribution of the figures in the lower register to his pupil Alessandro Vitali went unmentioned.

59 The painting, now in a parlous state, is part of the Allendale Collection at Bywell Hall (Tschudi Madsen 1959). It was not documented in earlier biographical accounts; however, a payment to the painter in 1609 is recorded (Lucarini 2000, 128 note 47). The description may be based on Luca Ciamberlano's print from the same year, dedicated to Clemente Bartoli in Urbino, a cousin of the Vincenzi brothers, who were personally familiar with Barocci (Sangiorgi 1982, 46 note 1). It is likely that the execution of this print was planned in collaboration with the painter. Bellori appears to have derived information about the Buonvisi commission and its intended destination in Lucca from his sources, possibly Pompilio Bruni or Pietro Testa. Nevertheless, the biographer seems unaware of the painting's location, and mistakenly refers to it as a "panel" instead of a canvas (Tschudi Madsen 1959, 277).

60 See page 28.

61 The *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* was commissioned by Duke Francesco Maria at the behest of Bishop Angelo Cesi of Todi for the chapel in the left transept of Santa Maria in Vallicella during the summer of 1592 (Gronau [1936] 2011, 157–158, n. CCV). The work, dated 1603, was completed and delivered in April of that year (Bonadonna Russo 1968, 151) and is still in its original location. It was noted as still under execution by Gallonio in 1601 (236), and subsequently referenced by Celio (ca. 1614-1640, 2021, 295), Celio 1638 (52), Totti

The Presentation of the Virgin

The young Virgin, having climbed the stairs of the temple, kneels in front of the priest who places his hand on her head and proceeds to consecrate her to our Lord. She folds her hands over her chest and in turning her face in reverence, lowers her eyes and forehead, expressing in her face her celestial bearing and simplicity. In the vestibule of the temple young Levite boys in white ecclesiastical garments give assistance. Two of them on either side hold lighted candles. Two older figures dressed in long white robes flank the old priest and lift his golden mantle from his arms. The one at the left of the priest opens his hand and admires at the beauty and humility of the young girl elected by God; the other, turning to the side, extends his hand and signals for incense to be brought to consecrate the girl. Meanwhile one of those young boys keeps the censor suspended between his hands and, having closed it, watches it as he comes forward amidst the others who assist with the candles. Four steps below the Virgin and two from the ground kneels Saint Anne; she is shown in the act of bringing her parted hands together with a maternal, devout air. Beside her stands Saint Joachim with his head lowered, speaking to her and pointing out the priest. Saint Anne in her red mantle advances into the stronger light, displaying her profile, still beautiful at such an old age. Below on the first step sits a young country girl with her hands on a basket of doves to present at the Temple. Depicted in full-face and in a yellow shirt, she turns herself happily to an old woman who touches her shoulder and appears to ask her about the young girl presented in the Temple. But only the old woman's head in profile and her hands can be seen at the edge of the painting. On the opposite side is a figure who pulls a ram by the horn to make an offering of it, and further behind, a young boy bends over placing one hand on the shoulder of a red calf and, with the other hand, feeds grape leaves to

1638 (226), Baglione 1642 (2023, I, 391), Scannelli 1657 (196), and Barri 1671 (14). Bellori erroneously attributes the painting's completion to around 1594, which is off by nearly a decade.

the animal, while above him is a blind man resting on a cane. Both latter figures are cut off by the edge of the painting. Over the door of the temple a cloud of cherubim and three flying angels create a celestial splendor. The little angel in the middle carries a wreath or diadem of gold to crown the Virgin with eternity, while another on the right throws roses and flowers, and the third on the left joins his hand in adoration. The upper figures are set within the dazzling field in front of the temple adorned with architectural decorations, and you see the interior through the door. In the middle the priest comes forward into the daylight and, in bending over to the right, casts a shadow over the arm of the Levite who raises his mantle, which, in turn, produces a shadow which falls on the two young boys carrying one candlestick and the censor while another boy in his white tunic comes forward in the light carrying the other candlestick. These figures serve as a background to Saints Anne and Joachim below. Although refined in all its individual parts, the work is weakened by the numerous reflections of light, cause the color expresses its power with the most delicate tempering, it fades from view. [62]

The picture was done during the pontificate of Clement VIII, about 1594. The Pope, on his way to Ferrara on the occasion of the recovery of the duchy, was received by the Duke of Urbino, who prepared him a most noble gift, a golden vase for holy water, magnificently crafted. [63] To increase its value, the Duke had Barocci paint, in gold sheet in the middle of the vase, the Infant Christ seated on clouds who holds in one hand the globe and with the other gives a blessing. [64] The Pope was so pleased with the image that he took it off

62 Bellori's portrayal of the Roman altarpiece is notably generous in chromatic annotations, reflecting his firsthand study of the work.

63 Pope Aldobrandini's travels to and from Ferrara, which was subsequently subsumed into the territories of the Papal States, along with his sojourns in Pesaro, took place in May and December, 1598, as corroborated by the Duke's diary (*Diario* 1989, 97, 101). Additionally, see following note.

64 The painting, now lost, is known by preparatory drawings (Byam Shaw 1969; Ruhwinkel 2010, 190–191, n. 7) and various copies, including the one in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum (Olsen 1962, fig. 123b; Emiliani 2008, II, 209–210). Prior to Bellori, the painting was not mentioned in any source about Barocci. Nevertheless, the commission by the Duke is substantiated by payments from spring–summer 1597 to September 1598 for a "Cristarello" by Barocci, complete with gold ornamentation (Calzini 1913a, 59). Additionally, a copy of this work by Barocci was part of Francesco Falconieri's collection (see Getty Provenance Index, sub voce), a figure well known to Bellori (see notes 28, 49).

the vase and kept it in a breviary to see it every day during his offices. [65] Thus, when the Pope built the noble chapel in the Minerva, he went to the duke to see if Barocci would paint the altarpiece of the institution of the Holy Sacrament. [66]

The Institution of the Eucharist

Christ holds in one hand the paten and in the other the host of the divine bread. Standing in the middle of the supper-room, he appears to affirm his body in that food and to meditate upon the Passion. The apostles kneel at his feet. Saint John on his left lowers his head and opens his arms, with his hands toward the ground, humbled by profound adoration. His red mantle falls from his shoulder, his elbow is naked, and his feet are bare. Opposite him another apostle lifts his head and spirit to look at the celestial food, being already near to receiving it; his golden mantle reflects the brilliant light. Another apostle behind places his arms on his chest and lowers his eyes in veneration. Among all of these is Saint Peter, who keeps his hands apart and watches the great mystery. His figure emerges and stands out over those who appear in front of Christ. Behind and to the right of Saint Peter can be seen other disciples at a table with a chalice and an amphora of wine. The one in the front is shown with one hand on the table and the other on his chest as he is about to get up to kneel down, while the others, moved by the words of Christ, beckon, stare, and gather together. One easily recognizes the wicked Judas with his somber expression and his eyes lowered not out of humility but with the intent of plotting his betrayal. Being on the other side of Christ behind Saint

65 The origin of the personal information concerning Clement VIII, whether derived from written or oral accounts, is unidentified.

66 Bellori connects Pope Clement VIII's 1594 visit to Pesaro (see note 63) with the development of the commission entrusted to Barocci for the altarpiece in the Aldobrandini Chapel, in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. This work was documented by Venturelli in 1612 (Baroni 2015, 86), and referenced by Celio ([ca.1614–1640] 2021, 295; Celio 1638, 65), Totti (1638, 386), Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 391), and Scannelli (1657, 196). Following the death of Giacomo Della Porta, the architectural supervision of the chapel's construction site was transferred to Carlo Maderno in 1602. The Pope issued a request for the altarpiece in the summer of 1603 (Gronau [1936] 2011, 176–177, n. CCXXXIX). The *Institution of the Eucharist* or *Communion of the Apostles*, completed following the death of Clement VIII, was dispatched to Rome in 1609 (ibid., 186, n. CCLXI) and was publicly unveiled alongside the newly completed chapel in early March, 1611 (Orbaan 1920, 187).

John, and bending over with one knee on the ground, Judas raises his other knee and holds his hand on his thigh with a thin purse. Resting his head in the cup of his hand, he remains motionless, absorbed in his thought of the betrayal of Christ. The dress of Judas is of a rancid color, and behind him in shadow are other apostles in adoration displaying the same gestures of humility and veneration as seen in the others. As one can see in the vivacious expressions of the figures, Barocci lacked neither diligence nor skill in showing the whole scene of the Supper in the hazy and nocturnal background light. Behind the Christ on the left there is represented another farer table bearing a candlestick and light which illuminates a servant who holds his hand there. And further away, in the last part of the scene, is another small light on the cupboard where the servants put back the vases. There are small details indicated in this background, where reflections play among the shadows on the walls, the jambs of the doors, pilasters, cornice, and on the carved ceiling. But since it is a night scene, one sees at the right edge of the painting part of a young man withdrawing into the shadow; [67] he holds a torch, and the flame stands out against the dark doorway. This torch provides light for the principal figures of Christ and the apostles at his feet. The floor of the supper-room is raised up three steps; and below in the foreground scene are two servants almost in shadow. One is bent over to clean tin dishes in a copper basin, while the other, bearing a basket with the leftovers of the dinner under his right arm, turns to his left with one foot on the first step, and leans slightly to that side to pick up a copper pail on the floor, almost touching it with his hand. But in leaning over too much he shows his fear of dropping the basket he holds in his other hand. Although these two figures are in a dark area they are somewhat illuminated by a candlestick on the floor in the center with a small amount of wick burning. Much harm is done by the fact that the painting does not have light in front. Not only is a great deal lost to view but one cannot appreciate its artistic quality. It is very unfortunate that one encounters

67 The depicted figure is actually positioned on the left side of the painting.

this in Barocci's works in Rome and elsewhere, for his soft painting requires the strength of natural light. [68]

Before Barocci painted this picture, the Pope wanted to see the drawing for it. Since Barocci had represented the devil speaking in the ear of Judas, tempting him to betray his master, the Pope declared that he did not like the devil to be on such familiar terms with Jesus Christ and to be seen on the altar. As a result, he was removed, leaving Judas in that position in which he appears to be meditating his betrayal. [69] This painting was sent as a gift from the Duke to the Pope, who, holding it in such high esteem, not only gave Barocci the highest praise, but also presented the artist with a golden necklace of great value. [70]

Among the other paintings by Barocci which one can see on public view is the one in Cortona in the church of Zoccolanti showing Saint Catherine kneeling and looking at a shimmer of cherubim bearing the angel who brings her the crown of her martyrdom. [71] In Macerata on the high altar of the church of the Capuchins is another painting of the Immaculate Conception with the

68 The observation regarding the unsuitable environmental and lighting conditions for the altarpiece, which marks the culmination of the detailed description of the work, was noted by Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 391).

69 This episode became a central focus in the biography, primarily due to its status as a paradigmatic instance of ecclesiastical patronage's influence on the iconography in the sacred art following the Council of Trent. The development of the altarpiece project, including the gradual refinement of its subject matter, is meticulously documented through correspondence between Rome and the Urbino court. Additionally, the instructions provided to Barocci by the Pope, who reviewed at least some preparatory drawings, are well-recorded, without any indication of advising against the close proximity between the figures of Satan and Judas as they approach Christ (Tomasi Velli 1997). It is plausible that Bellori's account of these events is informed by his familiarity with Barocci's drawing in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth, inv. 361. This drawing, which appears to be an early exploration of the composition, depicts the demon whispering to Judas as he kneels before Christ. The ownership history of the sheet prior to its acquisition by Peter Lely (1618–1680), from whom it was transferred to its current location, is unknown: Jaffé 1994, I, 153, n. 121.

70 The account of the Pope bestowing a necklace upon the painter is sourced from Venturelli's 1612 work (Baroni 2015, 86). Contrary to Bellori's assertion, the presentation of the necklace to the painter did not transpire upon the completion of the altarpiece, as Clement VIII was already deceased by that time. Instead, the gift was bestowed at the beginning of the work, as documented by Gronau ([1936] 2011, 181, n. CCXLVIII, and 182, n. CCXLIX, and n. CCLI).

71 The *Ecstasy of Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, long presumed lost, is currently preserved in a very compromised condition in the sanctuary of Santa Margherita in Cortona, specifically on the Baldelli altar (Anna Maria Maetzke in *Arte nell'Aretino* 1979, 73–76, n. 23; Giannotti 2009, 34 and fig. 12). Although its assessment is difficult because of the poor coindition of the painting, it is probably a workshop product, after the model of the *Beata Michelina*, currently in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (see note 49, above). The altarpiece was noted by Lauro (1639, n.p.), in his description of the sanctuary, as "un'altra bella tavola del Baroccio" located in the Baldelli chapel (Wiecker 1976, 93).

Virgin in a glory of angels positioned above Saint John the Baptist who is pointing, Saint Francis, Saint Bonaventura, and Saint Anthony of Padua, all of whom are executed in an excellent manner. [72] Another work to be mentioned is the painting of the Stigmatization of Saint Francis in the church of the Capuchins in Urbino, which shows the saint pierced by the seraphic light, while he kneels by the cliffs of La Vernia with outstretched arms. Further below his companion places his hand on his forehead to shield his eyes from the holy splendor. [73] In the church of San Francesco on the altar of the Company of the Immaculate Conception is the image of the Virgin Standing on the Moon with open arms, while men and women of the Company gather below her in attitudes of devotion. [74] This painting was first executed in gouache, but since it did not come out well, Barocci repainted it in oil in the last years of his life. [75] The last work that he completed was the painting for the sacramental Supper in the Chapel of the Cathedral. [76] Christ is shown seated at the dinner in the middle of his disciples. With one hand he holds the divine bread

72 Barocci's being commissioned an altarpiece depicting the *Immaculate Conception alongside Saints John the Baptist, Francis, Bonaventure, and Anthony of Padua* for the Capuchin church in Macerata, scheduled for completion by October 29, 1608, is documented in 1605 (Ricci 1834, II, 110). Unfortunately, the work was destroyed in the fire of 1799. Nevertheless, Orazio Civalli, a reliable Macerata friar and contemporary of the artist, fondly recalled the painting, noting its installation as early as 1606 (Colucci 1786–1797, XXV, 61–62). The composition is known through a copy published in Spadoni (1913, fig. 31). Barri (1671, 23) refers to the painting simply as "il Paradiso," while Bellori's description is more detailed, indicating access to additional information.

73 The *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, now in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, was commissioned for the Capuchin church in Urbino by the Duke in February 1594 (Calzini 1913a, 58). It was completed by 1597, as evidenced by Francesco Villamena's print reproduction of the work. This painting was mentioned by Venturelli in 1612 (Baroni 2015, 77).

74 The commission for the *Immaculate Conception*, originally located in San Francesco in Urbino and currently in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, remains undocumented. The painting was not referenced in biographical accounts until Bellori's work. The simultaneous presence of studies for this painting and the *Madonna del Gatto* in the Uffizi drawing 11668 F *recto* suggests that both works were ideated around the mid-1570s.

75 In contrast to the restoration of the *Entombment* in Senigallia (see note 39), there is no documentation supporting Barocci's personal restoration of this particular painting. Technical analyses have not identified the use of techniques beyond oil painting in this work, as noted by Babette Bohn in *Federico Barocci* (2012, 134, n. 6).

76 The *Last Supper* located in the chapel of the Sacrament in Urbino cathedral is mistakenly listed by Bellori as one of Barocci's last works. Barocci accepted the commission in 1590 (Gronau [1936] 2011, 168, n. CCXXI) and completed it in 1599 (ibid., 171, n. CCXXVII). The painting received commendation from Scannelli (1657, 197), and Barri (1671, 28) made a more general reference to Barocci's works in the cathedral. Bellori's chronological error concerning the *Last Supper* is based on two unfounded assumptions: the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* for the Chiesa Nuova, which he dated around 1594 (see notes 61, 63, above), and the *Institution of the Eucharist* for Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which he advanced to the mid-1590s (see note 66, above).

in front of the chalice, with the other he blesses, turning his eyes toward the light of the open sky where four angels adore him. Among the admiring apostles is a figure in the front who has been drinking, and upon hearing the divine words, he stops to dry his lips with his mantle and holds out his empty cup to a young boy. There is also a very natural figure opposite him who, after having eaten, replaces his knife in its sheath. And further in the foreground on either side are servants who clean and collect the vessels from the table.

It is certainly incredible to hear of the number of public works done by this master (not to mention his private ones which are greater in number), and to see how all of his works were done using great diligence and careful preliminary studies based on close observation of details and characteristics of nature. It is all the more incredible given the fact that the artist's incurable illness allowed him to work only one hour in the morning and one at night. He was unable to work further, even with his mind, neither he was able to pick up his brushes nor to make the slightest mark. And even if he had given his students all the time which was his custom to offer them, he separated himself during the only hour in which he was able to work. The rest of the day was spent with stomach pains and cramps, causing him to vomit constantly, which happened to him immediately after having eaten. Leaving the breakfast table and dinner table, little by little he lost all his food; and in the end he became so battered and stunned that he was unable to sleep. He never went to the table for a meal with an appetite, but when he began to eat, unless the meats in front of him had been portioned, he was unable to satiate himself; and the more he ate, the more he would suffer pain and be wracked by vomiting. [77] At night he slept very little and in the short time that he did, he was disturbed by terrible nightmares. At such times he cried and made mumbling noises, so much so that someone stayed by him to rouse him and free him from his anxiety. Such was his condition from the day that it

77 The passage underscores the debilitating effects of Barocci's illness, as previously noted by Celio ([ca. 1614–1640] 2021, 295), and Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 390).

is believed he was poisoned until his death, for a period of fifty-two years. [78] It is indeed a stupendous fact that the artist, in spite of such a long, continuous, and atrocious illness, managed to keep up with the physical and mental strain of painting, without ever resting or amusing himself in leisure. It is likewise amazing that he reached the ripe old age of eighty-four with a keenness of eyesight so strong that he never had to use glasses, and that he still retained every faculty of his mind.

Having lived a long life in this way, he was suddenly stricken by an apoplectic fit which within twenty-four hours took his speech and then on the last day of September, 1612, his life. He was buried in the church of San Francesco. With funereal pomp his body was displayed and his painting of the Christ spiring on the cross placed at his feet in the bier. [79] The Barocci family has its sepulcher in the same church, on the right side, with the family arms of an eagle on a bar above a lion. Ambrogio, the nephew of the artist, placed the following inscription there:

D. O. M.
SIMEONI ET FEDERICO
DE BAROCIIS
ANIMI INGENVITATE PRAECLARIS
MANVVM OFFICIO PRAESTANTIBVS
QVORVM ILLE
NOVIS MATHESEOS INSTRVMENTIS
INVENIVNDIS FABREFACIVNDISQUAE
ARTEM ILLVSTRAVIT

78 Bellori determines the duration of Federico's illness starting from his poisoning while active in Rome under Pius IV (see notes 21, 23).

79 The painting titled "Crocifisso vivo" was remunerated by the Duke to Barocci on August 28, 1604 (documentary evidence is provided by Giovanni Poggi in *Mostra* 1912-1913, 47) and it is the canvas now in the Prado. This work was listed in the 1623 Roveresque inventory as "Cristo spirante in croce," the same designation adopted in Bellori's text. Francesco Maria intended to bequeath it to Philip IV in his 1628 will (Gronau [1936] 2011, 72; Falomir 2013, 21). The origin of the information provided by Bellori remains unknown; he does not mention a second version of the work, as affirmed by Emiliani (2008, II, 273-274, N. 74).

HIC VERO
VIVIS PICTVRAE COLORIBVS
OBSCVRAVIT NATVRAM
AMBROSIVS BAROCIVS
PATRI PATRVO AC EORVM PATRVELI
IOANNI MARIAE
HOROLOGIORVM ARCHITECTO
QVI ARCHIMEDEM AEMVLATVS
IN PARVA PYXIDE COELESTES MOTVS
PII V. P.M. AC SVCCESSOR. COMMODIS
ARTIFICIOSE CLAVSIT OMNES
P. C. [80]

Barocci was overtaken by death during the time he was making the cartoon of an *Ecce Homo* and was about to finish the feet of Christ, who we can suppose, received him in his great benevolence. [81] His death was accompanied by the tears of his fellow citizens who loved him tenderly and greatly and lamented so serious a loss, for they were to miss one who brought both glory and splendor to their country. A most worthy funeral was celebrated by the heirs. In the middle of the church was erected a catafalque with hier-

80 The transcription of the epitaph of Simone and Federico Barocci, still located in San Francesco in Urbino, is wrong. Given Bellori's antiquarian culture, this suggests that he was relaying the text indirectly. The inscription reads "Simoni" instead of "Simeoni," "opificio" instead of "officio," "fabrefacivndisque" instead of "fabrefacivndisquae," and "Barociivs" instead of "Barocivs." The Ambrogio Barocci responsible for affixing the epitaph was Simone's son (Renzetti 1913, 4).

81 The information regarding the last work undertaken by Barocci was conveyed in a letter by Giovanni Battista Staccoli to Leopoldo de' Medici undated but prior to September 7, 1658 (Baldinucci 1974-1975, VI, 71–73 n. 1). Confusing it with Alessandro Liera's eighteenth-century copy, still in situ, Ligi (1938, 373–374) documented the presence of this altarpiece in the oratory of the Disciplinati della Santa Croce in Urbino. This documentation includes an advance payment to Barocci, with the balance owed paid to Ventura Mazza in 1613. The original is currently on loan from the Pinacoteca di Brera to the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. In the *postmortem* inventory of Barocci's studio (Calzini 1913b, 78), a cartoon is noted, the *verso* of which depicted "un Cristo ignudo, Ecce homo." An autograph drawing by Barocci has been linked to the design of this work (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 20447; Olsen 1962, 220, n. 73). Additionally, a small-format version of the same composition ("un Ecce Homo coronato di spine") is recorded in the 1690 inventory of Antonio Amici Moretti's Roman collection (*Archivio del collezionismo* 2009, 51, n. 0002).

oglyphics, emblems, and verses which represented the virtues of his genius and of his painting, as the placement of his paintings and cartoons between the black devices indeed demonstrated. In order to express the loss and the honors owed to the memory of such an illustrious citizen, an oration in his praise was recited by signor Vittorio Venturelli from Urbino with the assistance of monsignor Archbishop Benedetto Ala and with the intervention of the supreme magistrate of the eight gentlemen which had been elected by the Duke in his old age to govern each city of the state. [82] Not only was the whole city drawn to the grandeur of the funeral, but also a large number of honorable persons from surrounding places came to Urbino, inspired by the name and by affection towards him who, with his brush, had brought glory to that region.

Barocci was of average height and baldheaded. He had a jovial face and black eyes and was rather emaciated. [83] He enjoyed the comforts of life and left a sizable estate, since his works were bought at the requested price without any objections. [84] He never thought of being avaricious; instead, he always worked to be proud of his reputation, continued to paint nobly, and never failed to undertake careful studies and efforts, as we will say.

82 The reference pertains to Venturelli 1612 (Baroni 2015). Notably, Venturelli omits any reference to Benedetto Ala, who served as the Archbishop of Urbino from 1610 until his death in 1620. Previously, he held the influential position of governor of Rome from 1604, during the pontificates of Clement VIII, Leo XI, and Paul V (Bresciani 1652, 30–32). For Ala, Caravaggio painted the *Saint Francis in Meditation*, now in the Museo Civico Ala Ponzone, Cremona (Toninelli 2000; Marubbi 2017; Bassani 2021, sub voce). In the preceding year, 1611, Ala mediated between Barocci and the Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, which had been awaiting the painter's delivery of the altarpiece destined for the altar of San Giovanni Buono (Sangiorgi 1982, 55), as referenced in note 98.

83 The physical depiction of Barocci aligns with the features portrayed in the engraving placed by Bellori at the beginning of the biography. This engraving, in turn, is based on the portrait of Barocci preserved in the series of the Accademia di San Luca (Incisa della Rocchetta 1979, 34, n. 82, fig. 58), documented since 1633 (Salvagni 2021, 578), and mentioned by Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 393). Primarosa 2017, 443, sub n. 314 posits that the Accademia portrait is derived from the drawing by Ottavio Leoni, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York, inv. I, 25, which itself is based on the prototype established by Barocci's self-portrait in the Uffizi; several copies are known, such as the one in the Residenzgalerie in Salzburg. The engraving of Barocci's portrait in Bellori's book was executed by Pierre Simon, active in Rome from 1668 to 1674 (Meyer 1988, 12, n. 7), one of the artists coordinated by Charles Errard for the illustrations of the 1672 volume (Borea 2000a, 148).

84 The artist's assets are documented in the will of 1599 (Renzetti 1913, 8–12), the will of 1587 (Duro 2023), and the will of 1608 (Duro 2024, 53–63).

About his habits you can't find anything to disapprove. He was principally charitable to the poor, generous to everyone, affable and humble in conversation. And in this too he demonstrated his virtue; when he became violent with anger, he would suddenly temper his first impulse and transform himself, making out of his disordered appearance one of congeniality and mildness. He never had vain thoughts, nor did he ever draw or paint something that was indecent; on the contrary, with his good and pious mind he committed himself always to painting sacred images and holy subjects. And since he slept so little, during the winter he had a group of illustrious and accomplished citizens who came to his studio in the evenings and remained there up until the eighth hour in the night. During those few hours that he did sleep, he was always tormented. And when he found time to rest, he had stories and poetical compositions read to him, which gave him pleasure and comfort. [85]

Prince Duke Francesco Maria held Barocci in such high esteem that he awarded the artist an apartment for life. The artist lived there for some time, but after having found a house to his own taste, he retired there to live, and expressed his thanks to the Duke. The good prince never came to Urbino without personally paying a visit to Barocci, for he enjoyed seeing him paint, speaking with him, and lavishing favors upon him, something which he was not accustomed to doing with anyone else. The Duchess shared this affection, and more than once she paid him a visit. Barocci had arranged a large room wherein his paintings and cartoons were displayed. [86] Everyone who came to court desired to meet the artist, including the many foreigners who were attracted to Urbino by his fame and who wanted to meet him and to admire his marvelous brush products.

85 This entire section appears to be reliant on familial recollections that Bellori acquired through his association with Pompilio Bruni.

86 It is conceivable that this "room" refers to the one situated above the church of Sant'Antonio Abate, which was ceded to Barocci by the Franciscans in 1575 for the purpose of painting the *Perdono*. Subsequently, the artist maintained continuous tenancy from 1579 until 1586 (Scatassa 1901, 129–130; see note 30, above). Following this, it was leased to various assistants of Federico (Giancarli 2024, 121–122).

Barocci did a portrait of the Duke himself, [87] one of the Marquise del Vasto, [88] one of the Marquess, [89] and one of monsignor Della Rovere. [90] Among his dearest friends he painted monsignor Felice Tiranni, first Archbishop of Urbino; [91] count Cesare Mamiani; [92] signor Antonio Galli; [93] and Galli's wife, Caterina, with twins who play with a jeweled necklace; [94] and many other similar portraits, in both paint and pastels which are very naturalistic.

Because of Barocci's fame, Emperor Rudolf II asked the Duke, through his ambassador in Rome, for a painting by his hand. This was the Burning of Troy with Aeneas carrying around his neck his aged father Anchises, followed by the

87 Following the commemorative digression, Bellori proceeds to expose another segment of Barocci's oeuvre, beginning with a series of portraits. The first mention pertains to the portrait of Duke Francesco Maria II in armor, Uffizi. This work is commonly dated to approximately 1572, on the ground of the style and of the quotation in the 1623 Roveresque inventory, which attributes its execution to the period following the Duke's return from the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 (Gronau [1936] 2011, 72).

88 The portrait of Lavinia Feltria della Rovere (1558–1632), sister of Francesco Maria and consort of Alfonso Felice d'Avalos, Marquis of Vasto and Pescara from 1583, has been identified, beginning with Olsen (1962, 157, n. 25), as the portrait of a girl in the Uffizi. Olsen has plausibly dated this portrait in the early 1570s.

89 The portrait of Ippolito della Rovere, Marquis of San Lorenzo in Campo and the natural son of Cardinal Giulio Feltrio, was initially identified by Olsen (1962, 204, n. 56) as the painting signed and dated 1602, which is housed at the Italian Embassy in London. However, Borea (1976, 61), followed by Arcangeli (2018), suggested that the portrait should be recognized in the one located at the Uffizi (inv. 1890 n. 567).

90 The portrait of Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere (1559–1621), the son of Cardinal Giulio Feltrio and the brother of the Marquis Ippolito, was initially ascertained by Olsen in 1962,192–193, note 47, as the painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

91 The portrait of Felice Tiranni, who held the position of Archbishop of Urbino from 1563 until his death in 1578, is mentioned in the anonymous biography dating approximately from 1590 to 1591 (Zezza 2009). However, the portrait itself is either lost or has yet to be unidentified.

92 The portrait of Giulio Cesare Mamiani (1553–1613), an administrator and gentleman of the chamber to Duke Francesco Maria, was provisionally identified by Olsen (1962, 150–151, n. 17) as the painting in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. However, Ambrosini Massari (2016, 57, 64) posits that this work is the portrait of Captain Ventura Brandani, executed by Barocci and mentioned by the anonymous biography written around 1590–1591 (Zezza 2009). Ambrosini Massari further suggests that the portrait of Giulio Cesare Mamiani may be that of a young man with a sword and hat in hand in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Strasbourg, formerly owned by the Mamiani family.

93 The portrait of Antonio Galli (1510–1561), a distinguished poet, man of letters, and diplomat active in the Urbino court, was identified by Olsen (1962, 141–142, n. 6) as the painting in the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen. This identification is supported by both stylistic analysis and the biographical data of the sitter, suggesting this is an early work by Barocci. The portrait is documented in the 1790 inventory of the Albani collection, indicating that Orazio Albani acquired it from the Galli heirs (*Il cardinale Alessandro Albani* 1980, 24).

94 The portrait of Caterina Stati, the wife of Antonio Galli, along with her twin sons, is referenced in the anonymous biography, dating approximately to 1590–1591 (Zezza 2009). It is recorded in the 1790 inventory of the Albani collection, indicating that Orazio Albani acquired it from the Galli heirs (*Il cardinale Alessandro Albani* 1980, 24). A detailed description of this work, which is either lost or unidentified, is in a 1701 letter from Paolo Alessandro Maffei to Antonfrancesco Marmi (*Lettere artistiche inedite* 1866, 144, n. CLXXIII).

young Ascanius and by Creusa. [95] The work pleased the emperor, and he made repeated requests for Barocci to move to his court, which he would gladly have done if his sickness had not prevented it. He did another version of this painting for monsignor Della Rovere, which today can be seen in Rome in the Borghese Gallery. [96] The King of Spain, Philip II, was so pleased with the painting he had of Saint Andrew and another of the Annunciation that, after having extended Barocci invitations in letters, he ordered the Cavaliere Leonardo Aretino to use every inducement to bring him to Spain to serve him. But on account of his bad health Barocci again refused the offer and stayed in Urbino. [97]

At his death, many of Barocci's works were left unfinished, notably the painting for the cathedral in Milan (preserved in the sacristy) wherein Christ is shown carried to the sepulcher. [98] He also had begun an Annunciation for the Confraternity of Gubbio, which, despite its unfinished state, nonetheless pleased the brothers. [99] As far as the other paintings which Barocci undertook

95 *Aeneas Fleeing Troy*, or the *Burning of Troy*, the only secular theme addressed by Barocci, was commissioned for Rudolph II and dispatched to Prague by July 13, 1589 (Calzini 1913a, 57). The initial request to the artist was likely made in September 1586 (Gronau [1936] 2011, 163, n. CCXIV). This first version of the subject has been lost and is only known through Agostino Carracci's 1595 engraving. This esteemed commission was documented by Venturelli in 1612 (Baroni 2015, 87).

96 The replica executed for Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere, bearing the year 1598, is in the Borghese Gallery. Francucci (1613, f. 28v) and Scannelli (1657, 196–197) had already documented its presence in the Borghese collection, referring also to the print by Agostino.

97 The passage is directly sourced from Venturelli 1612 (Baroni 2015, 85). Bellori draws from Venturelli also the erroneous name, Leonardo Aretino, employed for the Philip II's emissary, instead of Pompeo Leoni, the renowned sculptor from Arezzo. Leoni served the Spanish monarch for an extended period and acted as a mediator with the Italian artists who would be invited to the Escorial (Falomir 2013, page 21). See also notes 45, 47.

98 The *Lamentation*, in the Musei Civici, Bologna, was already noted in the cathedral of Milan as an unfinished work by Barocci by Scannelli in 1657, who remarked "e nel Duomo di Milano una Tavola con Christo morto, e diverse figure, la quale per non essere del tutto compita fu facilmente l'ultima operatione […]" (Scannelli 1657, 197). This observation was echoed by Barri in 1671 (Barri 1671, 116) and by Santagostino in 1671 (Santagostino 1671, 1980, 5). The commission for this work, intended for the new altar of San Giovanni Buono, predates February 1600 (*Annali* 1877–1885, IV, 337). By July 1600, Barocci had nearly completed the cartoon (Sangiorgi 1982, 31–32, n. XVII). In April 1611, the Duke of Urbino referenced an altarpiece for Milan cathedral that the painter may never have been able to finish, which is most likely the *Lamentation* (Gronau [1936] 2011, 209, n. CCCII); see Colzani 2024, 43–47.

99 In 1609, Muzio Beni, the prior of the Fraternita dei Bianchi in Gubbio, commissioned Barocci to execute an altarpiece for the newly constructed altar of the Annunciation in Santa Maria dei Laici. The painter received an advance payment in 1610, even though the painting remained incomplete at the time of his death. In 1615, the task of completing the work was assigned to Ventura Mazza, and by 1619, the *Annunciation* had been transported to the church, where it remains to this day (Gnoli 1924, 42, 44). The *postmortem* inventory of the painter's studio documented a "cartone d'Anunziata di differente inventione" distinct from the one

to do and completed at other times, there are a few we should mention. [100] For the father of Francesco Maria, Duke Guidobaldo, Barocci did a small easel painting of the Virgin resting from her Flight into Egypt; she sits and with a cup draws water from a spring while Joseph lowers a branch with fruit, offering it to the Christ Child who laughs and holds out his hand. This painting was sent as a gift to the Duchess of Ferrara, [101] and because it was so admired, he made some other replicas, and one of them, which he painted in gouache with life-size figures, was sent by count Antonio Brancaleoni to his castle, the Pieve of Piobbico. [102] For this lord, he also painted another fancy invention, the Virgin seated in a room with the Christ Child at her breast. She draws the Child's attention to a cat which is about to jump up at a swallow held up with a string by the young Saint John. Behind, Saint Joseph leans with his hand on a small table and pushes himself forward to watch. [103] Barocci did other paintings for Duke Francesco Maria. Among these is a very beautiful Visitation of Saint Elizabeth with the Madonna, [104] in which he seized the opportunity to

in Loreto (Calzini 1913b, 78). New information regarding the work is available in Filauro (forthcoming).

100 In this final section of the biography Bellori gives some informations about several Barocci's works created "in varii tempi".

101 The information regarding the first, now lost, version of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* commissioned by Guidubaldo II for the nuptials of Francesco Maria and Lucrezia d'Este, executed in 1570, are sourced from Borghini 1584, 569 ("et al signor duca Guidobaldo un quadretto entrovi la Vergine gloriosa, che torna d'Egitto, e detto signore il donò alla duchessa d'Urbino, et oggi si trova in Ferrara"). When Bellori wrote this page, the painting was part of the Aldobrandini collection (Olsen 1962, 154, n. 22, I). See also notes 29-30, above. Additionally, a further replica or more plausibly a copy was noted in the Salviati collection in Rome by Silos (1673, 134–135, n. CCXLIII).

102 The version of the *Rest* still housed in the church of Santo Stefano in Piobbico, despite undergoing multiple restoration efforts, is in a very poor condition (Olsen 1962, 154–155, n. 22, II; Emiliani 2008, I, 224, n. 26). This version was executed subsequently to the one commissioned by Guidubaldo II (see preceding note) and likely after the version presented to his Perugian acquaintance Simonetto Anastagi in early October, 1573, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (Bombe 1912, 191). The Piobbico version served as the prototype for Cornelis Cort's renowned 1575 print (Louise S. Richards in Pillsbury and Richards 1978, 106–107, n. 76). Additionally, the Piobbico *Riposo* and the *Madonna del Gatto*, both referenced by Bellori and executed for Antonio Brancaleoni, were noted by the anonymous biography written around 1590–1591 (Zezza 2009). See also note 30, above.

103 The *Madonna del Gatto*, in the National Gallery, London, was executed approximately in the mid-1570s (see note 37, above). The print by Cornelis Cort, based on a drawing by Barocci, is dated 1577 (Louise S. Richards in Pillsbury and Richards 1978, 107, n. 77). A copy of the painting by Paris Nogari was in Rome in the collection of Antonio Tronsarelli (Lafranconi 1998, 545). Additionally, another version, previously in the collection of Orazio Albani and restored by Carlo Maratti, is now at the Musée Condé in Chantilly (Guerrieri Borsoi 2018, 38).

104 The work Bellori describes is the *Madonna della Gatta*, in the Uffizi, which has been revitalised thanks to an excellent restoration (*Federico Barocci. Il miracolo* 2003; Natali 2012). This composition is associated by

depict the interior of the room: and he placed Saint Joseph outside raising the curtain over the door for Elizabeth, who climbs up to the threshold to enter the room. Inside one can see the Virgin seated with a book in her hand and turned calmly toward her. The scene also depicts the Infant Christ awakening as the Virgin stops swinging the cradle. Meanwhile the young Saint John ascends the stair beside Elizabeth and with the reed cross in his hand points out the inscription *Ecce Agnus Dei*. Saint Zacharias behind sticks out his head and looks toward the room which is illuminated by a light which comes from the side, while, in sharp contrast, the figure of Saint Joseph and the curtain remain outside in shadow. Included here at the foot of the Virgin is a fancy invention of a cat feeding her kittens. In fear of the presence of intruders, the cat rises up in defense, arching her back with fierce appeareance. Outside the stairs there are carpenter's tools, and through another door the room opens the view of a small garden where saint Joseph's donkey feeds. Farther in the distance one catches a glimpse of the hill with the Ducal Palace of Urbino. The figures are no larger than three *palmi*, and the painting can be seen in Rome in the Novitiate of the Jesuit Fathers.[105]

For the same Duke he painted the Nativity which shows the Virgin in adoration of the newly born Christ Child in the manger and Saint Joseph opening the door of the stall to shepherds who turn toward the light with wonder. [106] The picture was given by the same Duke Francesco Maria to the Queen of

Olsen (1962, 188–190, n. 45) with financial transactions recorded in the Duke's accounts between 1588 and 1593. This is a large canvas (233 x 179 cm), so this is not the version seen by Bellori, which was, as he later specifies, small in size; see following note.

105 See preceding note. Bellori knew the composition of the *Madonna della Gatta* through a copy at his time in the Noviziato dei Gesuiti (Jesuit Novitiate), in Rome, at Sant'Andrea al Quirinale. This copy may be the one currently in a private collection, having been part of the Galerie d'Orléans in Paris since the late eighteenth century (Baldinotti 2003, 45–48). Additionally, a reduced-format version is documented in the collection of Carlo Maratti (Galli 1928, 66, n. 226).

106 In August, 1597, a payment to Barocci for a *Nativity* ordered by the Duke is documented (Calzini 1913a, 59). This work was subsequently presented as a gift in 1604 by the Duke to Queen Margaret of Austria, the wife of Philip III (Gronau [1936] 2011, 173, n. CCXXXII). For further analysis of the painting, in the Prado, see Colzani 2024, 22-33).

Spain for her chapel, [107] together with the other one of the Lord expiring on the cross. [108] In addition, he painted two other Crucifixions: one for Cardinal Della Rovere with the Virgin and other figures standing, sent to Rocca Contrada; [109] the other for a chapel of Count Pietro Bonarelli in the church of the miraculous Crucifixion in Urbino. In the latter are two angels in the sky and the standing Virgin and Saint John. [110] For Count Francesco Maria Mamiani he painted two half figures of Saint Catherine and Saint Sebastian, depicting the latter with arrows in one hand while the other hand is pressed against his chest looking toward the heavenly splendor. [111] For monsignor Giuliano della Rovere, he did the Apparition of Christ to the Mourning Magdalene, who is shown with her hand at her cheek. [112] Many additional paintings by Barocci await the praises of whomever goes to admire them.

Federico Barocci in his work of painter, notwithstanding his illness, put great effort and application. He always worked from life, not allowing himself to paint even a small part without having first observed it, as demon-

107 See preceding note.

108 See note 79 above.

109 A *Crucifixion* commissioned by Cardinal Giulio Feltrio della Rovere and intended for Arcevia, previously known as Rocca Contrada, was mentioned by Borghini (1584 work, 569) and in the anonymous biography written around 1590–1591 (Zezza 2009); see note 12 for further details. The painting is lost.

110 The *Crucifixion* originally located in the church of the Crocifisso Miracoloso in Urbino and now in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, was commissioned by Pietro Bonarelli. It was referenced by the anonymous biography written around 1590–1591 (Zezza 2009, 263–265) and reproducted in print by Gijsbert van Veen in about 1585 (Borea 2009, II ch. XXI, fig. 7). The Louvre sheet, inv. 2851, features studies for the Perugia *Deposition* on the *recto* and drawings for the Bonarelli *Crucifixion* on the *verso*, indicating that the work was still in progress in late 1567 (Scrase 1992, with some reservations noted in the museum's online catalog); Fontana 2007, 172 and 175 n. 41. Moreover, two sheets in the Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 7062 and PD.117–1961, contain studies for the Bonarelli *Crucifixion* on the *recto* and for the *Deposition* on the *verso*.

111 These are two lost works (see Olsen 1962, 208–209, n. 64). There are two derivations of the *Saint Catherine*: one is at the Musée Condé in Chantilly, and the other at the Borghese Gallery. Manilli (1650, 88) records the latter as a "mezza figura di Santa Caterina martire" attributed to Barocci. Furthermore, a "mezza figura di Santa Catherina che guarda il cielo mano del Barocci" was in the collection of Cardinal Giacomo Filippo Nini (1628–1680), inventoried with the assistance of Bernardino Cesari, brother of the Cavalier d'Arpino, and well known to Bellori (Robibaro 2010, 365, n. 996; *Nota* 1665, 35). The half-length *Saint Sebastian*, "donato per testamento dal signor conte Mamiani," was included in the 1647 inventory of Giovan Carlo de' Medici's possessions at the Casino in Via della Scala in Florence (*Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica* 2002–2011, III, 1, 18 n. 53, 43).

112 The execution of the *Noli me tangere* for Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere was also recounted by the anonymous biography written about 1590–1591 (Zezza 2009). The painting, in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, bears the signature and year 1590.

strates the great number of drawings which he left in his studio. [113] Whenever he was in the piazza or in the street enjoying a respite from his sickness, he would observe the features and the images of people and if he noticed any remarkable part, he arranged it in his house, making a selection to use when needed. When he saw a beautiful turn of eyes, a good profile of a nose, or a fine mouth, he would use them as models to create a very beautiful head. [114] He drew in chiaroscuro, using a stick of burnt wood, and he made even more use of pastels, in which he became unique, shading them with a few lines. At first he conceived of the acting to be represented, and before doing a sketch of it, he placed his youths as models, arranging them in accord to his idea and asking them whether they felt unnatural or if by turning more one way than the other they felt more at ease. [115] In this process he experimented with the most natural and unaffected movements and executed his sketches. In the same manner, if he wished to add a group of figures to the painting, he would rearrange his young male models together to fit the action and from the sketches he then composed a finished drawing. It is for this reason that one sees in his actions a relaxed, natural, and gracious propriety. After making the drawing, he also did models for the figures in clay or wax that were so beautiful that they appeared to be the work of the best sculptor; not being content at times with only one, he sometimes made two or three wax models of the same figure. After dressing the models as he wished and, certain that they looked well, he would try the draperies on the live model to eliminate

113 The explicit mention of the materials still present in Barocci's studio according his *postmortem* inventory (Calzini 1913b, 75–82; Ekserdjian 2018) and the knowledge of the drawings by Barocci in the Roman collections are the source of this analysis developed by Bellori of the artist's drawing practice and techniques. It is likely that Bellori's page adeptly reorganizes the information conveyed from the inventory text. See following notes.

114 Barocci's studio inventory (Calzini 1913b, 80) records "Teste abozzate grosso modo, ove son capelli finiti e non altro, orecchie, gole, barbe, fronti, lassate così che altro non li serviva, numero novanta."

115 According to the inventory (Calzini 1913b, 80): "Modo di dissegnare che usava il signor Barocci per condurre l'opre sue a ottimo fine, usava il chiaro oscuro in carte tinte, ombrava con il lapis, alumava con gesso e biacca, ed alle volte usava anco carbone, e biacca, e di questi disegni fatti per mettere in opra ve ne saranno da ottocento in circa, tra quali ve ne saranno da cento di pastelli. 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."

any trace of affectation. From all of these efforts he would make a small cartoon in oil or gouache, in chiaroscuro, and afterwards he would make use of a full-scale cartoon in charcoal and chalk, or in pastels on paper, [116] laying it over the priming of the canvas and tracing the contours with the stylus so that the drawing never deviated from the perfection he had reached.

As regards the coloring, after the large cartoon he made another small one in which he distributed the various colors and their proportions and sought to find the right tones between one color and the next so that all the colors together would have a sense of harmony and unity among them, without one imposing on another. And he would say that just as the melody of voices delights the ear, so likewise the consonance of colors accompanied by the harmony of outlines brings pleasure to the eye. He therefore called painting music, and when questioned one time by Duke Guidobaldo, he referred to what he was doing as making music, pointing out the picture he was painting. [117] I know that some persons will ridicule these studies and efforts as useless and superfluous, but there are even others who will mock their ignorance, vainly persuading themselves that they can create a fine composition with a simple sketch or with three strokes of the chalk on the canvas. This ambition explains why in so many paintings one sees not only no well-ordered subjects, but not even a beautiful drapery fold, a good outline, a fine head, or a natural and real gesture. For the most part, such preliminary studies were carried out by all the great masters, who never took pride in a caricature of color and outline; and whoever examines well the works of our Barocci will recognize how praiseworthy are his most exacting diligences.

After his labors, he was quick to color, and he often shaded to achieve unity with the big finger of his hand instead of the brush. He resembled, to some extent, Correggio both in the idea and means of conception and in

116 The inventory of Barocci's studio (Calzini 1913b, 78, 80) distinguished the types of the "cartoncello di chiaro oscuro fatto parte a olio e parte a guazzo," that of the "cartone grande quanto l'opera di chiaro oscuro," and that of the cartoon "tutto di pastelli."

117 The anecdote is taken directly from Celio ([ca. 1614-1640 2021, 295).

the pure and natural features, the sweet airs of the children and women in the folding of the draperies carried out in a flowing and soft style. Although Barocci approached Correggio in harmony of colors, it is still true that he did not attain his mastery of hues that were more natural in the latter where the former altered his tints with cinnabars and blues along the contours or blended his colors too much. [118] Nonetheless, his works render him immortal; witness the fact that most of those described are well endowed with strength and vitality. The beauty of his draftsmanship can be seen in the etchings by him of the Annunciation, the Appearance of Christ to Saint Francis of Assisi (in *folio*), and another smaller etching of Saint Francis which shows him receiving the stigmata. [119] His talent was more suited to delicate and devotional subject matters rather than to actions carried out with the boldness and in this he even overcome Correggio's style. [120]

Among Barocci's followers, cavalier Francesco Vanni of Siena succeeded in becoming a good painter. Many works by his hand can be seen in a number of cities and localities in Tuscany, in Lucca, Pisa, and Siena. In the Vatican Basilica in Rome he painted a large altarpiece of the Fall of Simon Magus, a work which is inferior, however, to his other paintings. [121]

118 See note 18, above. Celio [ca. 1614-1640] 2021 also took up the reference to Correggio at the conclusion of Barocci's biography.

119 Bellori references three of the four engravings executed by Barocci: the previously discussed *Annunciation* and *Perdono* (see pages 31 and 24-25), as well as the newly mentioned *Stigmatization of St. Francis*. Notably, he excludes the *Madonna in the Clouds*. Bellori does not even quote in the *Lives* the version engraved by Agostino Carracci.

120 See notes 18, 118, above.

121 The recognition of Francesco Vanni as the leading disciple among the master's followers, along with a concise delineation of the contexts where he exerted influence, is sourced from Ugurgieri Azzolini (1649, II, 369–373). Additionally, *The Fall of Simon Magus*, executed on slate and currently located in the octagon of San Gregorio in St. Peter's Basilica, was noted with much commendation by Baglione ([1642] 2023, I, 318).

Bibliography

Abbozzo 2010
Abbozzo, Francesca. "Le vicende storiche e conservative, il perché e il percome della *Deposizione*." In *Federico Barocci, "Il Deposto di Croce" alla Cappella di San Bernardino nella Cattedrale di Perugia. Il restauro. Studio e conservazione*, edited by Francesca Abbozzo and Maria Teresa Castellano. Ancona: Il lavoro editoriale, 2010. 33–53.

Agosti, Ambrosini Massari 2025
Agosti, Barbara, and Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari. *Barocci dentro e fuori Bellori*. Ancona: Il lavoro editoriale, 2025.

Agosti, Colzani 2024
Agosti, Barbara, and Camilla Colzani. "Federico Barocci, tra storiografia e documenti." In *Federico Barocci* 2024. 50-61.

Ambrosini Massari 2005
Ambrosini Massari, Anna Maria. "'. . . e si davano intieramente all'incantesimo baroccesco.' Note su allievi e seguaci di Federico Barocci." In *Nel segno di Barocci* 2005, 22–37.

Ambrosini Massari 2016
Ambrosini Massari, Anna Maria. "Per Federico Barocci pittore di ritratti (con un nuovo Autoritratto di Claudio Ridolfi)." In *Federico Barocci, gloria e ideologia del colore*, edited by Andrea Emiliani. Rome: Erreciemme Edizioni, 2016. 51–81.

Ambrosini Massari 2024
Ambrosini Massari, Anna Maria. "Federico Barocci 1533–1612." In *Federico Barocci* 2024. 36-49.

Annali 1877–1885
Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente pubblicati a cura della sua Amministrazione. 9 vols. Milan: Libreria Editrice G. Brigola 1877–1885.

Anselmi 1905
Anselmi, Anselmo. "Un secondo quadro del Barocci a Senigallia. Notizie e documenti." In *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana* 8 (1905): 140–145.

Arcangeli 2018
Arcangeli, Luciano. "Il ritratto di Ippolito Della Rovere di Federico Barocci. Il dipinto e la sua traccia documentaria." In *Montefeltro–Della Rovere. Luci e ombre di una dinastia*, edited by Agnese Vastano. Macerata: Guerrino Leardini, 2018. 67–76.

Archivio del collezionismo 2009
Archivio del collezionismo romano. Edited by Luigi Spezzaferro and Alessandro Giammaria, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2009.

Aronberg Lavin 2006
Aronberg Lavin, Marilyn. "Images of a Miracle. Federico Barocci and the Porziuncola Indulgence." In *Artibus et Historiae* 27 (54, 2006): 9–50.

Arte nell'Aretino 1979
Arte nell'Aretino: Seconda mostra di restauri dal 1975 al 1979. Dipinti e sculture restaurati dal XIII al XVIII secolo. Edited by Anna Maria Maetzke, Florence: EDAM, 1979.

A Touch of the Divine 2006
A Touch of the Divine. Drawings by Federico Barocci in British Collections. Edited by David Scrase, Cambridge, 2006.

Baglione [1642] 1935
Baglione, Giovanni. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti* [Rome, 1672]. Edited by Valerio Mariani. Rome: E. Calzone, 1935.

Baglione [1642] 2023
Baglione, Giovanni. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti* [Rome, 1672]. Edited by Barbara Agosti and Patrizia Tosini. 2 vols. Rome: Officina Libraria, 2023.

Baldinotti 2003
Baldinotti, Andrea. "La 'Madonna della gatta' di Federico Barocci: tracce di storia, di segni e di significati." In *Federico Barocci: Il miracolo della 'Madonna della gatta'*. Edited by Antonio Natali. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2003. 44–67.

Baldinucci 1974–1975
Baldinucci, Filippo. *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua* [Florence, 1681-1728]. Edited by Ferdinando Ranalli. With a critical note and supplements by Paola Barocchi. 7 vols. Florence, SPES, 1974–1975.

Barbieri, Barchiesi, Ferrara 1995
Barbieri, Costanza, Sofia Barchiesi, and Daniele Ferrara. *Santa Maria in Vallicella. Chiesa Nuova*. Rome: Palombi Editori, 1995.

Barocchi, Gaeta Bertelà 1993
Barocchi, Paola, and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà. *Collezionismo mediceo: Cosimo I, Francesco I e il Cardinale Ferdinando. Documenti 1540–1587*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1993.

Barocci ritrovato 2020
Barocci ritrovato: Il restauro del Martirio di San Sebastiano. Edited by Luca Baroni, Milan: Officina Libraria, 2020.

Baroni 2015
"L'Orazione Funebre per Federico Barocci di Vittorio Venturelli da Urbino: trascrizione e note preliminari." In *Atti e Studi Accademia Raffaello* 1–2 (2015): 61–90.

Barri 1671
Barri, Giacomo. *Viaggio pittoresco in cui si notano distintamente tutte le pitture famose de' più celebri pittori, che si conservano in qualsivoglia città dell'Italia*. Venice: Gio. Giacomo Herz 1671.

Bartolini 1987
Bartolini, Elio. *Giovanni da Udine. La vita*. Udine: Casamassima 1987.

Bassani 2021
Bassani, Riccardo. *La donna del Caravaggio. Vita e peripezie di Maddalena Antognetti*. Rome: Donzelli, 2021.

Bassegoda 2002
Bassegoda, Bonaventura. *El Escorial como museo. La decoración pictórica mueble en el monasterio de El Escorial desde Diego Velázquez hasta Frédéric Quilliet*. Bellaterra: Servei de publicacions de la UAB, 2002.

Bellori [1665] 1976
Bellori, Giovan Pietro. *Nota delli musei, librerie, galerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma* [Rome, 1664 (but 1665)]. Edited by Emma Zocca. Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 1976.

Bellori [1672] 1728
Bellori, Giovan Pietro. *Le vite de pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni co' loro ritratti al naturale scritte da Gio: Pietro Bellori. In questa Seconda Edizione accresciute colla Vita, e Ritratto del Cavaliere D. Luca Giordano* [. . .]. Rome: Successore al Mascardi 1728.

Bellori [1672] 1821
Bellori, Giovan Pietro. *Vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*. 2 vols. Pisa: Niccolò Capurro, 1821.

Bellori [1672] 1931
Bellori, Giovan Pietro. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni, scritte da Gio: Pietro Bellori. Parte prima, facsimile dell'edizione di Roma del MDCLXXII*. Forword by Corrado Ricci. Rome: E.Calzone 1931.

Bellori [1672; 1976] 2009
Bellori, Giovan Pietro. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni* [Rome, 1672].

Edited by Evelina Borea and Giovanni Previtali (first edition Turin, 1976), with afterword by Tomaso Montanari. 2 vols. Turin: Einaudi, 2009.

Bellori [1672] 2005
Bellori, Giovan Pietro. *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects: A New Translation and Critical Edition*. Edited by Alice Sedgwick Wohl and Hellmut Wohl, with an introduction by Tomaso Montanari. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Bisceglia 2024
Bisceglia, Anna. "La Madonna del Popolo. Vicende di committenza nella Toscana dei Medici." In *Federico Barocci* 2024, 82-89.

Bombe 1912
Bombe, Walter. "Federico Barocci a Perugia." In *Rassegna d'arte* 12, 1912. 189–196.

Bonadonna Russo 1968
Bonadonna Russo, Maria Teresa. "I Cesi e la Congregazione dell'Oratorio." In *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 91 (1968): 101–163.

Borea 1976
Borea, Evelina. "La mostra di Federico Barocci, a cura di Andrea Emiliani, Bologna, settembre–novembre 1975." In *Prospettiva* 4 (1976): 55–61.

Borea 1992
Borea, Evelina. "Giovan Pietro Bellori e la 'comodità delle stampe.'" In *Documentary Culture: Florence and Rome from Grand–Duke Ferdinand I to Pope Alexander VII*. Edited by Elizabeth Cropper and Giovanna Perini. Bologna, 1992. 263–285.

Borea 2000a
Borea, Evelina. "Bellori e la documentazione figurativa fra l'antico il moderno e il contemporaneo." In *L'Idea del Bello*, vol. 1, 2000. 141–151.

Borea 2000b
Borea, Evelina. "Bellori 1645: una lettera a Francesco Albani e la biografia di Caravaggio." In *Prospettiva* 100 (2000): 57–69.

Borea 2009
Borea, Evelina. *Lo specchio dell'arte italiana. Stampe in cinque secoli*. 4 vols. Pisa, 2009.

Borghini 1584
Borghini, Raffaello. *Il Riposo di Raffaello Borghini in cui della Pittura, e della Scultura si favella, de' più illustri Pittori, e Scultori, e delle più famose opere loro si fa mentione; e le cose principali appartenenti a dette arti s'insegnano*. Florence, 1584.

Bottari, Ticozzi 1822–1825
Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura scritte da' più celebri personaggi dei secoli XV, XVI, e XVII. Edited by Giovanni Gaetano Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi. 8 vols. Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1822-1825.

Bresciani 1652
Bresciani, Giuseppe. *Rose e viole della città di Cremona, Che sono Papa, Cardinali, Patriarca, Arcivescovi, Vescovi, e Prelati di Santa Chiesa Cittadini Cremonesi, raccolte da Giuseppe Bresciani*. Cremona: Gio. Pietro Zanni, 1652.

Bury 1987
Bury, Michael. "The Senarega Chapel in San Lorenzo, Genoa; new documents about Barocci and Francavilla." In *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 31 (2–3, 1987): 327–356.

Byam Shaw 1969
Byam Shaw, James. "Two Drawings by Barocci." In *Miscellanea I.Q. van Regteren Altena, 16.V.1969*. Amsterdam: Scheltema&Holkema, 1969: 88–89.

Calzini 1913a
Calzini, Egidio. "Federico Barocci e il suo mecenate." In *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana* 15 (5–8, 1913): 54–64.

Calzini 1913b
Calzini, Egidio. "Lo 'studio' del Barocci (Documenti)." In *Studi e notizie su Federico Barocci*, edited by Brigata urbinate degli Amici dei Monumenti, Florence: Istituto Micrografico Italiano, 1913. 73–85.

Celio [ca. 1614–1640] 2021
Gandolfi, Riccardo. *Le Vite degli artisti di Gaspare Celio. "Compendio delle Vite di Vasari con alcune altre aggiunte."* Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2021.

Celio 1638
Celio, Gaspare. *Memoria delli nomi dell'artefici delle pitture, che sono in alcune chiese, facciate e palazzi di Roma*. Naples: Scipione Bonino, 1638.

Ceriana 2004a
Ceriana, Matteo. "La Deposizione della Confraternita della Croce in Urbino." In *Brera mai vista. Francesco Menzocchi pittore 'raro e mutevole,'* edited by Matteo Ceriana, Matteo Mazzalupi, and Isabella Righetti. Milan: Electa, 2004. 12–32.

Ceriana 2004b
Ceriana, Matteo. "Ambrogio Barocci e la decorazione del Palazzo Ducale di Urbino." In *Francesco di Giorgio alla corte di Federico da Montefeltro*, edited by Francesco Paolo Fiore, vol. 1. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2004. 269–304.

Ceriana 2022
Ceriana, Matteo. "Ambrogio Barocci a Gubbio." In *Federico da Montefeltro e Gubbio: 'lì è tucto el core nostro et tucta l'anima nostra,'* edited by Francesco Paolo Di Teodoro. Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2022. 83–91.

Clough 1982
Clough, Cecil H. "An unknown letter of Federico Barocci concerning his *La Beata Michelina*." In *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 11 (1–2, 1982): 82–83.

Collezionismo mediceo 2002–2011
Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica. Edited by Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà. 4 vols. Florence: SPES, 2002–2011.

Colucci 1786–1797
Colucci, Giuseppe. *Antichità Picene*. 31 vols. Fermo: Torchi dell'autore, 1786-1797.

Colzani 2024
Colzani, Camilla. *Documenti milanesi per Federico Barocci*. Urbino: Urbino University Press, 2024.

Colzani 2025
Colzani, Camilla. "Cronologia e modelli del giovane Barocci al Casino di Pio IV in Vaticano." In *La tarda Maniera: da Vasari a Barocci*. Edited by Barbara Agosti, Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari, and Maria Beltramini. Ancona: Il lavoro editoriale, 2025: 249-266.

Crispolti 1648
Crispolti, Cesare. *Perugia Augusta descritta da Cesare Crispolti Perugino*. Perugia: Eredi di Pietro Tomassi, & Sebastiano Zecchini, 1648.

Dezailler d'Argenville 1745–1752
Dezallier d'Argenville, Antoine Joseph, *Abregé de la vie des plus fameux peintres, avec leur portraits gravés en taille–douce, les indications de leurs principaux ouvrages, Quelques Réflexions sur leurs caractères, et la manière de connoître les desseins des grandes maîtres*. 3 vols. Paris: De Bure l'Aîné, 1745–1752.

Diario 1989
Diario di Francesco Maria Della Rovere. Edited by F. Sangiorgi. Urbino: QuattroVenti, 1989.

Duro 2023
Duro, Filippo. "'Magnificus ac excellens Dominus Federicus Barotius Urbinas Pictor Celleberrimus.' Il primo testamento di Federico Barocci e altri nuovi documenti inediti." In *Horti Hesperidum* 11 (2, 2022): 263–277.

Duro 2024
Duro, Filippo. *Documenti urbinati su Federico Barocci. 1.* Urbino: Urbino University Press, 2024.

Ekserdjian 2018
Ekserdjian, David. "The tip of iceberg. Barocci's postmortem inventory and the survival of Renaissance drawings." In *Federico Barocci: Inspiration and Innovation in Early Modern Italy*. Edited by Judith W. Mann. London–New York: Routledge, 2018. 154–178.

Emiliani 2008
Emiliani, Andrea. *Federico Barocci (Urbino, 1535–1612)*. 2 vols. Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale, 2008.

Fabri 1664
Fabri, Girolamo. *Le Sagre Memorie di Ravenna antica. Parte prima*. Venice: Francesco Valvasense 1664.

Falcioni, Droghini 2012
Falcioni, Anna, and Marco Droghini. "Un documento 'inedito' sul 'Perdono di Assisi' di Federico Barocci." In *Studi Pesaresi* 1 (2012): 99–110.

Faldi 1956
Faldi, Italo. *La Quadreria della Cassa Depositi e Prestiti*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956.

Falomir 2013
Falomir, Miguel. "Dono italiano e 'gusto spagnolo' (1530–1610)." In *L'arte del dono. Scambi artistici e diplomazia tra Italia e Spagna, 1550–1650*. Edited by Marieke von Bernstorff and Susanne Kubersky–Piredda. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2013. 13–26.

Fantuzzi 1781–1790
Fantuzzi, Giovanni. *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*. 8 vols. BolognaBologna: Stamperia di San Tommaso d'Aquino, 1781–1790.

Federico Barocci 2009
Federico Barocci 1535–1612. L'incanto del colore. Una lezione per due secoli. Edited by Alessandra Giannotti and Claudio Pizzorusso, Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2009.

Federico Barocci 2012
Federico Barocci. Renaissance Master of Color and Line. Edited by Judith W. Mann and Babette Bohn, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012.

Federico Barocci 2024
Federico Barocci, Urbino. L'emozione della pittura moderna. Edited by Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari and Luigi Gallo, Milan: Electa, 2024.

Federico Barocci. Il miracolo 2003
Federico Barocci. Il miracolo della Madonna della gatta. Edited by Antonio Natali, Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2003.

Federico da Montefeltro 2022
Federico da Montefeltro e Francesco di Giorgio. Urbino crocevia delle arti. Edited by Alessandro Angelini, Gabriele Fattorini, and Giovanni Russo, Venice: Marsilio, 2022.

Filauro (forthcoming)
Silvia Filauro, *Federico Barocci, i documenti umbri.* Forthcoming.

Fontana 1997
Fontana, Jeffrey. "Evidence for an Early Florentine Trip by Federico Barocci." In *The Burlington Magazine* 139 (1132, 1997): 471–75.

Fontana 2001
Fontana, Jeffrey. "Federico Barocci's Emulation of Raphael in the Fossombrone Madonna & Child with Saints." In *Coming about. . . A Festschrift for John Shearman*, edited by Lars R. Jones and Louisa C. Matthew. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 2001. 183–90.

Francucci 1613
La Galleria dell'Illustris.mo e Rev. mo S. Scipione Cardinale Borghese cantata da Scipione Francucci Arretino, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms Borgh. 184.

Frascarelli 2012
Frascarelli, Dalma. *Paolo Falconieri tra scienza e arcadia. Le collezioni di un intellettuale del tardo barocco romano*. Rome: Campisano, 2012.

Freeman Bauer 1986
Freeman Bauer, Linda. "A Letter by Barocci and the Tracing of Finished Paintings." In *The Burlington Magazine* 128 (998, 1986): 355–57.

Friedländer 1912
Friedländer, Walter. *Das Kasino Pius des Vierten*. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1912.

Galli 1928
Galli, Romeo. "I tesori d'arte di un pittore del Seicento (Carlo Maratta) (Continuazione e fine)." In *L'Archiginnasio. Bullettino della Biblioteca Comunale di Bologna* 23 (1928): 59–78.

Gallonio 1601
Gallonio, Antonio. *Vita del Beato P. Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della congregatione dell'Oratorio, scritta e ordinata per anni da Antonio Gallonio Romano Sacerdote della medesima Congregatione*. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1601.

Gamba, Montebelli 1988
Gamba, Enrico, and Vico Montebelli. *Le scienze a Urbino nel tardo Rinascimento*. Urbino: QuattroVenti, 1988.

Giacomo Amato 2017
Giacomo Amato. I disegni di Palazzo Abatellis. Architettura, arredi e decorazione nella Sicilia Barocca. Edited by Sabina De Cavi, Rome: De Luca, 2017.

Giancarli 2024
Giancarli, Mattia. "La bottega di Barocci tra invenzioni, metodo e copie." In *Federico Barocci* 2024. 116-23.

Giannotti 2009
Giannotti, Alessandra. "Con gli occhi di Bellori." In *Federico Barocci* 2009. 24-35.

Ginzburg 2015
Ginzburg, Silvia. "I caratteri della scuola romana in Maratti e in Bellori." In *Maratti e l'Europa*. Edited by Liliana Barroero, Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, and Sebastian Schütze. Rome: Campisano, 2015. 25–51.

Giovanni da Udine 1987
Giovanni da Udine. I Libri dei conti. Edited by Liliana Cargnelutti, Udine: Casamassima, 1987.

Gnoli 1924
Gnoli, Umberto. "L'Annunciazione del Barocci in Gubbio." In *Rassegna marchigiana per le arti figurative, le bellezze naturali, la musica* 3 (2, 1924): 42–44.

Gonzáles–Palacios 1984
Gonzáles–Palacios, Alvar. "Un adornamento vicereale per Napoli." In *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, vol. 2. Naples: Electa, 1984. 241–302.

Gronau [1936] 2011
Gronau, Georg. *Documenti artistici urbinati* [Florence, 1936]. With an essay by Giovanna Perini Folesani. Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 2011.

Guerrieri Borsoi 2018
Guerrieri Borsoi, Maria Barbara. *La quadreria Albani a Roma al tempo di Clemente XI*. Rome: Gangemi, 2018.

Il cardinale Alessandro Albani 1980
Il cardinale Alessandro Albani e la sua villa: documenti. Quaderni sul Neoclassico 5. Rome: Bulzoni, 1980.

Incisa della Rocchetta 1979
Incisa della Rocchetta, Giovanni. *La collezione dei ritratti dell'Accademia di San Luca*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, 1979.

Jaffé 1994
Jaffé, Michael. *The Devonshire Collection of Italian Drawings*. 4 vols. London: Phaidon, 1994.

Lafranconi 1998
Lafranconi, Matteo. "Antonio Tronsarelli: A Roman Collector of the Late Sixteenth Century." In *The Burlington Magazine* 140 (1145, 1998): 537–550.

Lanzi 2003
Lanzi, Luigi. *Viaggio del 1783 per la Toscana Superiore, per l'Umbria, per la Marca, per la Romagna, pittori veduti: antichità trovatevi*. Edited by Costanza Costanzi. Ancona and Florence, 2003.

Lazzari 1800
Lazzari, Andrea. *Memorie d'alcuni più celebri pittori di Urbino raccolte, scritte, e pubblicate dall'arciprete D. Andrea Lazzari e dal medesimo arricchite con opportuni aneddoti, ed annotazioni non più stampate in addietro*. Urbino: Giovanni Guerrini, 1800.

Lepri, Palesati 2001
Lepri, Nicoletta, and Antonio Palesati. "La consegna della Madonna del popolo del Barocci alla confraternita di S. Maria della Misericordia." In *Bollettino d'informazione. Brigata Aretina degli Amici dei Monumenti* 35 (2001): 46–52.

Lettere artistiche inedite 1866
Lettere artistiche inedite. Edited by G. Campori. Modena: Erede Soliani, 1866.

L'Idea del Bello 2000
L'Idea del Bello. Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori. Edited by Evelina Borea and Carlo Gasparri. 2 vols. Rome: De Luca, 2000.

Ligi 1933
Ligi, Bramante. "Relazione della città e diocesi di Urbino fatta dal R. D. Brancaleone Fuschinio nell'anno 1597." In *Vrbinvm* 7 (5–6, 1933): 1–19.

Ligi 1938
Ligi, Bramante. *Memorie ecclesiastiche di Urbino*. Urbino: STEU, 1938.

Lingo 2008
Lingo, Stuart. *Federico Barocci. Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting*. New Haven–London: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Loisel 2008
Loisel, Catherine. "L'exemple de Bassano et Barocci et le premier pastel d'Annibale Carracci." In *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 52 (2–3, 2008): 205–213.

Lomazzo [1584] 1973–1974
Lomazzo, Giovan Paolo. "Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura [Milan, 1584]." In *Scritti sulle arti*, edited by Roberto Paolo Ciardi. 2 vols., vol. 2. Florence: Marchi & Bertolli, 1973–1974.

Lomazzo [1590] 1973–1974
Lomazzo, Giovan Paolo. "Idea del tempio della pittura [Milan, 1590]." In *Scritti sulle arti*, edited by Roberto Paolo Ciardi, vol. 1. Florence: Marchi & Bertolli, 1973–1974. 241–373.

Lucarini 2000
Lucarini, Laura. "La Quadreria Buonvisi. Fonti e documenti per lo studio del collezionismo lucchese tra XVII e XIX secolo." In *Polittico* 1 (2000):119–139.

Manilli 1650
Villa Borghese Fuori di Porta Pinciana descritta da Iacomo Manilli romano Guardarobba di Detta Villa. Rome: Lodovico Grignani, 1650.

Mann 2012
Mann, Judith W. "Innovation and Inspiration: An Introduction to Federico Barocci." In *Federico Barocci* 2012. 1-31.

Martinelli [ca. 1660–1663] 1969
Martinelli, Fioravante. "Roma ornata dall'architettura, pittura e scultura." In *Roma nel Seicento*, edited by Cesare D'Onofrio. Florence: Vallecchi, 1969.

Marubbi 2017
Marubbi, Mario. "Il San Francesco in preghiera di Caravaggio e i suoi doppi." In *Atti delle Giornate di Studi* (Monte Santa Maria Tiberina, Palazzo Museo Bourbon del Monte, 8–9 ottobre 2016). Edited by Pierluigi Carofano. Pontedera, 2017. 141–150.

Mazzacchera 1997
Mazzacchera, Alberto. *Il forestiere in Cagli. Palazzi, chiese e pitture di una antica città e terre tra Catria e Nerone*. Cagli, 1997.

Mazzolari 1648
Mazzolari, Ilario. *Le Reali grandezze dell'Escvriale di Spagna Compilate, & descritte dal Rever. padre D. Ilario Mazzolari da Cremona*. Bologna: Gio. Battista Ferroni, 1648.

Meyer 1988
Meyer, Véronique. "Pierre Simon (c. 1640–1710)." *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 99 (1988): 4–28.

Montanari 2005
Montanari, Tomaso, "Introduction". In Giovan Pietro Bellori, [1672] 2005, 1-39.

Montanari 2009
Montanari, Tomaso. "Postfazione. Bellori trent'anni dopo." In Bellori [1672] 2009, vol. 2. 656–729.

Moretti, Zuccari 2009
Moretti, Massimo, and Alessandro Zuccari. "Barocci a Roma: tre dipinti e una scuola da Gregorio XIII a Clemente VIII." In *Federico Barocci* 2009. 146-155.

Mostra 1912-1913
Mostra dei cartoni e dei disegni di Federigo Baroccio. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1913.

Muratori 1912
Muratori, Santi. "Il Martirio di San Vitale del Barocci, notizie, documenti, aneddoti." In *Felix Ravenna* 6 (April 1912). 244–259.

Natali 2012
Natali, Antonio. "La Madonna della gatta di Federico Barocci. Memoria d'un evento." In *Famiglia di famiglie. La Madonna della gatta di Federico Barocci dalla Galleria degli Uffizi*. Edited by Antonio Natali with Marta Onali. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2012. 19–37.

Nel segno di Barocci 2005
Nel segno di Barocci. Allievi e seguaci tra Marche, Umbria, Siena. Edited by Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari and Marina Cellini, Milan: Federico Motta, 2005.

Nuova raccolta 1844–1856
Nuova raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura scritte da' più celebri personaggi dei secoli XIV a XIX. Edited by Michelangelo L. Gualandi. 3 vols. Bologna: A spese dell'Editore ed Annotatore, 1844-1856.

Oddi 1633
Oddi, Muzio. *Fabrica et uso del compasso polimetro*. Milan: Francesco Fobella, 1633.

Olsen 1962
Olsen, Harald. *Federico Barocci.* Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1962.

Orbaan 1920
Orbaan, Johannes Albertus Franciscus. *Documenti sul Barocco in Roma*. Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1920.

Panicali 1988
Panicali, Roberto. *Orologi e orologiai del Rinascimento italiano. La scuola urbinate*. Urbino: QuattroVenti, 1988.

Papi 2002
Papi, Gianni. "Una pala d'altare di Federico Barocci nei Depositi della Pinacoteca di Brera." In *Arte Cristiana* 90 (809, 2002): 105–114.

Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón 2010
Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, Almudena. "Las relaciones artisticas de la familia della Rovere con la corte española durante el reinado de Felipe II en la correspondencia del Archivo de Estado de Florencia." In *Centros de Poder Italianos en la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XV–XVIII)*. Edited by José Martínez Millán and Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, vol. 3. Madrid: Polifemo, 2010. 1543–1714.

Perini 2005
Perini, Giovanna. "Appunti sulla fortuna critica di Federico Barocci tra Cinque e Settecento." In *Nel segno di Barocci* 2005, 394–405.

Pillsbury, Richards 1978
Pillsbury, Edmund P., and Louise S. Richards. *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci: Selected Drawings and Prints*. Yale, 1978.

Ponnelle, Bordet 1928
Ponnelle, Louis, and Louis Bordet. *Saint Philippe Néri et la société romaine de son temps (1515–1595)*. Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1928.

Popham 1957
Popham, Arthur E. *Correggio's Drawings*. London: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Primarosa 2017
Primarosa, Yury. *Ottavio Leoni (1578–1630), eccellente miniator di ritratti. Catalogo ragionato dei disegni e dei dipinti*. Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 2017.

Pungileoni 1822
Pungileoni, Luigi. *Elogio storico di Giovanni Santi pittore e poeta padre del gran Raffaello*

di Urbino. Urbino: Vincenzo Guerrini, 1822.

Renzetti 1913
Renzetti, Luigi. "Notizie relative a Federico Barocci e alla sua famiglia." In *Studi e notizie* 1913. 1-12.

Ricci 1834
Ricci, Amico. *Memorie storiche delle arti e degli artisti della marca di Ancona*. 2 vols. Macerata: Alessandro Mancini, 1834.

Robibaro 2010
Robibaro, Rossella. "L'inventario dei beni del cardinal Nini (1628–1680): un documento inedito." In *Annali della Pontificia Insigne Accademia di Belle Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon* 10 (2010): 331–407.

Ruhwinkel 2010
Ruhwinkel, Stephanie. *Die Zeichnungen Federico Baroccis im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum Würzburg*. Weimar: VDG, 2010.

Saggi cronologici 1668
Saggi cronologici o' sia Genova nelle sue antichità ricercata. Genoa: Benedetto Celle, 1668.

Salvagni 2021
Salvagni, Isabella. *Da "Universitas" ad "Academia." II. La fondazione dell'Accademia di San Luca nella chiesa dei santi Luca e Martina al Foro Romano. Le professioni artistiche a Roma: istituzioni, sedi, società (1588–1705)*. Rome: Campisano, 2021.

Sangiorgi 1982
Sangiorgi, Fert. *Committenze milanesi a Federico Barocci e alla sua scuola nel carteggio Vincenzi della Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino*. Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 1982.

Santagostino [1671] 1980
Santagostino, Agostino. *L'immortalità e gloria del pennello. Catalogo delle pitture insigni che stanno esposte al pubblico nella città di Milano* [1671]. Edited by Marco Bona Castellotti. Milan: Il Polifilo, 1980.

Sapori 1983
Sapori, Giovanna. "Rapporto preliminare su Simonetto Anastagi." In *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 21 (1983): 77–85.

Scannelli 1657
Scannelli, Francesco. *Il Microcosmo della Pittura*. Cesena: Neri, 1657.

Scatassa 1900
Scatassa, Ercole. "Il Crocifisso dipinto dal Barocci per la Compagnia della Morte in Urbino." In *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana* 3 (1900): 78–80.

Scatassa 1901
Scatassa, Ercole. "Documenti." In *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana* 4 (1901): 129–136.

Scatassa 1902
Scatassa, Ercole. "Chiesa del Corpus Domini in Urbino." In *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1902): 438–446.

Scrase 1992
Scrase, David. "Recent Discoveries at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge." In *Dal disegno all'opera compiuta. Atti del convegno internazionale (Torgiano 1987)*. Edited by Mario Di Giampaolo. Perugia: Volumnia, 1992. 85–87.

Shearman 1976
Shearman, John. "Barocci at Bologna and Florence." *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (874, 1976): 49–55.

Silos 1673
Silos, Michele. *Pinacotheca sive Romana pictura et sculptura libri duo, In quibus excellentes quaedam, quam profanae, quam sacrae, quae Romae extant, Picturae, ac Statuae, Epigrammatis exornantur* [. . .] *Auctore Ioanne Michaele Silos Bituntino*. Rome: Filippo Maria Mancini, 1673.

Smith 1977
Smith, Graham. *The Casino of Pius IV*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Soprani 1674
Soprani, Raffaele. *Le vite de pittori scoltori, et architetti genovesi e de' Forastieri, che in Genova operarono Con alcuni Ritratti de gli stessi. Opera po-*

stuma, Dell'Illustrissimo Signor Rafaele Soprani nobile genovese. Aggiontavi la vita dell'Autore per opera di Gio: Nicolò Cavana Patritio genovese [. . .]. Genoa: Giuseppe Bottaro, & Gio: Battista Tiboldi, 1674.

Spadoni 1913
Spadoni, Giovanni. "Federico Barocci a Macerata e il bozzetto di un suo quadro incendiato dai Francesi nel 1799." In *Studi e notizie* 1913. 86-92.

Spagnolo 2020
Spagnolo, Maddalena. S.v. "Taddeo Zuccari." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 100. Rome, 2020. https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/taddeo-zuccari_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

Sparti 2002
Sparti, Donatella Livia. "La formazione di Giovan Pietro Bellori, la nascita delle 'Vite' e il loro scopo." In *Studi di storia dell'arte* 13 (2002): 177–248.

Sparti 2012
Sparti, Donatella Livia. "Bellori's biography of Rubens: an assessment of its reliability." In *Simiolus* 36 (1/2, 2012): 85–102.

Sparti 2014
Sparti, Donatella Livia. "Le Vite di Bellori ed il suo modus operandi." In *Begrifflichkeit, Konzepte, Definitionen. Schreiben über Kunst und ihre Medien in Giovan Pietro Belloris Viten und der Kunstliteratur der Frühen Neuzeit*. Edited by Elisabeth Oy–Marra, Marieke von Bernstorff, and Henry Keazor. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014. 187–214.

Specchio di Roma barocca 1991
Specchio di Roma barocca. Una guida inedita del XVII secolo. Edited by Joseph Connors and Louise Rice, Rome: Edizioni dell'elefante, 1991.

Studi e notizie 1913
Studi e notizie su Federico Barocci. Edited by Brigata urbinate degli Amici dei Monumenti, Florence: Istituto Micrografico Italiano, 1913.

Titi 1674
Titi, Filippo. *Studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura, Nelle Chiese di Roma* [. . .] *Nel quale si ha notitia di tutti gl'Artefici, che hanno ivi operato; con una breve introduttione delle Fondationi, e ristori delle medesime Chiese, e strada facile per ritrovarle*. Rome: Mancini, 1674.

Tomasi Velli 1997
Tomasi Velli, Silvia. "Federico Barocci, Clemente VIII e la 'comunione di Giuda.'" In *Prospettiva* 87–88 (1997): 157–167.

Toninelli 2000
Toninelli, Gianni. "'. . . con sua cornice nera alla romana grande con sopra Santo Francesco.' Annotazioni sul Caravaggio della Pinacoteca di Cremona." In *Arte Lombarda*, n.s., 130 (2000): 79–87.

Tosini 1997
Tosini, Patrizia. "Gli esordi romani di Federico Zuccari e Federico Barocci in Vaticano." In *Federico Zuccari, le idee, gli scritti*. Edited by Bonita Cleri. Milan: Electa, 1997. 125–138.

Totti 1638
Totti, Pompilio. *Ritratto di Roma moderna*. Rome: Mascardi, 1638.

Tschudi Madsen 1959
Tschudi Madsen, Stephan. "Federico Barocci's 'Noli me tangere' and Two Cartoons." *The Burlington Magazine* 101 (676–677, 1959): 273–277.

Turner 2000
Turner, Nicholas. *Federico Barocci*. Paris: Adam Biro, 2000.

Ugurgieri Azzolini 1649
Ugurgieri Azzolini, Isidoro. *Le pompe sanesi, o' vero Relazione delli huomini, e donne illustri di Siena, e suo Stato*. 2 vols. Pistoia: Pier Antonio Fortunati, 1649.

Varick Lauder 2009
Varick Lauder, Anne. *Musée du Louvre. Département des arts graphiques. Inventaire général des dessins italiens*, vol. VIII,

Battista Franco. Paris-Milan: Officina Libraria, 2009.

Vasari [1550/1568] 1966–1987
Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*. Edited by Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi. 6 vols. Florence: SPES, 1966–1987.

Vecchioni 1926–1927
Vecchioni, Pio Emilio. "La Chiesa della Croce e Sagramento in Sinigaglia e la Deposizione di Federico Barocci." In *Rassegna marchigiana per le arti figurative, le bellezze naturali, la musica* 5 (1926–1927): 497–503.

Voss 1920
Voss, Hermann. *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*. Berlin: G. Grote, 1920.

Wiecker 1976
Wiecker, Rolf. "A Note on Barocci's 'S. Catherine' and the Italian Diaries of Wilhelm Heinse." In *Text & Kontext* 3 (2, 1976): 89–100.

Zani 1672
Zani, Valerio. *Memorie, imprese e ritratti de' signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna*. Bologna: Manolessi, 1672.

Zezza 2009
Zezza, Andrea. "Una 'notizia' cinquecentesca su Federico Barocci." In *Federico Barocci* 2009. 263-265.

Index

Abbozzo, Francesca 20
Agosti, Barbara 7, 17, 22
Ala, Benedetto 44
Albani, Orazio 46, 48
Alfani, Orazio 20
Amato Giacomo 31
Amato, Gianluca 11
Ambrosini Massari, Anna Maria 7, 13, 31-32, 46
Amici Moretti, Antonio 43
Anastagi, Simonetto 20, 22, 48
Anselmi, Anselmo 27
Arcangeli, Luciano 46
Archimedes 43
Aronberg Lavin, Marylin 24
Avalos, Alfonso Felice d' 46
Baglione, Giovanni 13, 17-18, 29, 35, 37, 39, 41, 44, 53
Baldinotti, Andrea 49
Baldinucci, Filippo 19, 43
Barbieri, Costanza 29-30
Barchiesi, Sofia 29-30
Barignani, Alessandro 30
Barocchi, Paola 26
Barocci, Ambrogio di Marcantonio 12-14
Barocci, Ambrogio di Simone 42-43
Barocci, Ambrogio 11-12
Barocci, Caterina 11
Barocci, Elisabetta 11
Barocci, Giovanni Alberto 12
Barocci, Giovanni Battista 12
Barocci, Giovanni Maria 12, 43
Barocci, Marcantonio 12
Barocci, Simone 12-13, 42
Baroni, Luca 12-15, 29, 34, 37, 39-40, 44, 47
Barri, Giacomo 20, 26, 28-30, 40, 47
Bartoli, Clemente 34
Bartolini, Elio 15
Bassani, Riccardo 44
Bassegoda, Bonaventura 30
Beni, Francesco 17
Beni, Gabriele 17
Beni, Muzio 47
Beni, Raffaele 17
Bertoja (Jacopo Zanguidi) 17
Bisceglia, Anna 15, 25
Bohn, Babette 40
Bombe, Walter 20
Bonadonna Russo, Maria Teresa 34
Bonarelli, Pietro 50
Bordet, Louis 29
Borea, Evelina 8, 22, 44, 46, 50
Borghini, Raffaello 16, 18-20, 22-23, 25-26, 28-29, 48, 50
Borromeo, Federico 17
Boscoli, Giovanni 18
Brancaleoni, Antonio 22, 48
Brandani, Ventura 46
Bresciani, Giuseppe 44
Bruni, Eusebio 12
Bruni, Pompilio 11-12, 15-16, 22, 25, 29, 33-34, 45
Buonvisi, family 34
Bury, Michael 32-33
Byam Shaw, James 16
Calzini, Egidio 29-30, 36, 40, 43, 47, 49, 51-52
Capponi, Giovanni Battista 28
Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi) 7, 44
Carracci, Agostino 7, 32, 47
Carracci, Annibale 7
Cavalier d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari) 50
Celio, Gaspare 13, 17-20, 29, 31, 34, 37, 41, 52-53
Ceriana, Matteo 11, 13
Cesari Bernardino 59
Cesi, Angelo 34
Cesi, Pier Donato 34
Ciamberlano, Luca 34
Civalli, Orazio 40
Clement VIII Aldobrandini, Pope 36, 37, 39, 44
Clough, Cecil 30
Collaert, Adriaen 29
Colucci, Giuseppe 12, 40
Colzani, Camilla 15, 17, 22, 47, 49
Commandino, Federico 13
Consoli, Ranieri 20
Correggio (Antonio Allegri) 17, 28, 52-53
Cort, Cornelis 48
Crispolti, Cesare 20
Cungi, Leonardo 19
Dal Pozzo, Cassiano 17
Della Porta, Giacomo 37
Della Rovere, Francesco Maria II, Duke of Urbino 13, 22, 29-31, 34, 36, 39-40, 42, 44-49
Della Rovere, Giuliano 46-47, 50
Della Rovere, Giulio Feltrio 14, 46, 50
Della Rovere, Guidubaldo II, Duke of Urbino 13-16, 19, 22, 48, 52
Della Rovere, Ippolito 46
Della Rovere, Lavinia Feltria 46
Dezallier d'Argenville, Antoine Joseph 31
Droghini, Marco 24
Duro, Filippo 17, 19, 32, 44
Ekserdjian, David 51
Emiliani, Andrea 32, 36, 42, 48
Errard, Charles 44
Este, Lucrezia d' 22, 29, 45, 48
Fabri, Girolamo 28
Falcini, Domenico 22
Falcioni, Anna 24
Falconieri, Francesco 22, 30, 36
Falconieri, Francesco Paolo 30
Faldi, Italo 31
Falomir, Miguel 42, 47
Fantuzzi, Giovanni 28
Feltrini, Pierleone 14
Ferrara, Daniele 29-30
Filauro, Silvia 48
Fontana, Domenico 7
Fontana, Jeffrey 26, 32, 50
Fortuna, Simone 26
Franco, Battista 13-14
Francucci, Scipione 47
Frascarelli, Dalma 30
Freeman Bauer, Linda 27
Friedländer, Walter 14
Fuschinio, Brancaleone 19, 23

Gaeta Bertelà, Giovanna 26
Galli, Antonio 46
Galli, Romeo 49
Gallonio, Antonio 29, 34
Gamba, Enrico 12
Gamberasio, Filippo 18
Genga, Bartolomeo 12-14
Genga, Girolamo 11
Genga, Nicolò 12
Genga, Pierleone di Giulio 14, 18
Giancarli, Mattia 33, 45
Giannotti, Alessandra 7, 39
Ginzburg, Silvia 8
Giovanni da Udine (Giovanni di Francesco Ricamatore) 15
Gnoli, Umberto 47
Gonzáles-Palacios, Alvar 31
Gregory XIII Boncompagni, Pope 28
Gronau, Georg 13, 29, 34, 37, 39-40, 42, 46-47, 49
Guerrieri Borsoi, Maria Barbara 48
Guidi, Raffaello 26
Incisa della Rocchetta, Giovanni 44
Jaffé, Michael 39
Julius III Ciocchi del Monte, Pope 14, 16
Lafranconi, Matteo 48
Lanzi, Luigi 19
Lauro, Iacopo 39
Lazzari, Andrea 7, 16
Lely, Peter 39
Leo XI de' Medici, Pope 44
Leoni, Ottavio 44
Leoni, Pompeo 47
Lepri, Nicoletta 25
Liera, Alessandro 43
Ligi, Bramante 23, 43
Ligorio, Pirro 18
Lingo, Stuart 28
Loisel, Catherine 17
Lomazzo, Giovan Paolo 17, 28, 30
Lucarini, Laura 34
Maderno, Carlo 37
Maetzke, Anna Maria 39
Maffei, Paolo Alessandro 46
Mamiani, Francesco Maria 50
Mamiani, Giulio Cesare 46
Manilli, Giacomo 50
Mann, Judith 16, 32
Maratti, Carlo 48-49
Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain 49
Marmi, Antonfrancesco 46
Martinelli, Fioravante 29
Marubbi, Mario 44
Mascarino, Ottaviano 17
Mazza, Ventura 33, 43, 47
Mazzacchera, Alberto 14
Mazzolari, Ilario 29-30
Medici, Cosimo I de' 17
Medici, Francesco I de' 25-26
Medici, Giovan Carlo de' 50
Medici, Leopoldo de' 19, 43
Mele, Salvatore 8
Menzocchi, Francesco 13
Meyer, Véronique 44
Michelangelo 16
Montanari, Tomaso 8
Montebelli, Vico 12
Montefeltro, Federico da, Duke of Urbino 11-12
Moretti, Massimo 17
Muratori, Santi 28
Natali, Antonio 48
Neri, Filippo 28-30, 34
Nini, Giacomo Filippo 50
Nogari, Paris 48
Oddi, Muzio 13
Olsen, Harald 14, 17-18, 22, 32, 36, 43, 46, 48-50
Orbaan, Johannes Albertus Franciscus 37
Palesati, Antonio 25
Panicali, Roberto 12
Papi, Gianni 32
Parentini, Dante 18
Paul III Farnese, Pope 14
Paul V Borghese, Pope 44
Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, Almudena 30
Perini Folesani, Giovanna 7
Philip II, King of Spain 29-30, 47
Philip III, King of Spain 49
Philip IV, King of Spain 42
Pierleone d'Acqualagna 14
Pillsbury, Edmund 7-8, 22, 25, 32, 48
Pius IV de' Medici, Pope 14, 18, 26, 32, 42
Pius V Ghislieri, Pope 12, 43
Poggi, Giovanni 7, 22, 42
Polidoro da Caravaggio (Polidoro Caldara) 16
Ponnelle, Louis 29
Popham, Arthur E. 17
Primarosa, Yuri 44
Pungileoni, Luigi 12
Raimondi, Marcantonio 16
Raphael 14-16
Renzetti, Luigi 43-44
Resta, Sebastiano 31
Ricci, Amico 40
Richards, Louise S. 7, 22, 25, 32, 48
Richardson, Jonathan Sr 31
Robibaro, Rossella 50
Rudolph II, Emperor 46-47
Ruhwinkel, Stephanie 36
Sadeler, Aegidius 26, 29
Salvagni, Isabella 44
Sangiorgi, Fert 34, 44, 47
Santagostino, Agostino 47
Sapori, Giovanna 22
Scannelli, Francesco 17, 20, 26, 28-30, 35, 37, 40, 47
Scatassa, Ercole 16, 25, 34, 45
Schiavi, Giuliana 8
Scrase, David 50
Sedgwik Wohl, Alice 8
Senarega, Matteo 32-33
Shearman, John 16
Silos, Michele 48
Simon, Pierre 44
Smith, Graham 15
Soprani, Raffaele 33
Spadoni, Giovanni 40
Spagnolo, Maddalena 16
Sparti, Donatella 8
Staccoli, Giovanni Battista 19, 43
Stati Galli, Caterina 46
Testa, Pietro 17, 34
Teza, Laura 20
Thomassin, Philippe 26
Tiranni, Felice 46
Titi, Filippo 31
Titian 14, 28
Tomasi Velli, Silvia 39
Toninelli, Gianni 44
Tosini, Patrizia 18
Totti, Pompilio 19, 29, 34, 37
Tronsarelli, Antonio 48
Tschudi Madsen, Linda 34
Turner, Nicholas 7, 22
Ugurgieri Azzolini, Isidoro 53
Vagnarelli, Fausta 12
Vagnarelli, Lorenzo 12
Vanni, Francesco 53
Varick Lauder, Anne 14
Vasari, Giorgio 7, 13, 17-18, 20, 25
Vecchioni, Pio Emilio 26-27
Veen, Gijsbert van 50
Ventura, Nicola 24
Venturelli, Vittorio 12-14, 29, 34, 37, 39-40, 44, 47
Villamena, Francesco 22, 40

Vincenzi, Francesco Maria 34
Vincenzi, Guidubaldo 34
Vincenzi, Ludovico 34
Vitali, Alessandro 34
Voss, Hermann 15
Viviani, Antonio 33
Wiecker, Rolf 39
Wohl, Hellmut 22
Zani, Valerio 28
Zezza, Andrea 15, 30, 46, 48, 50
Zuccari, Alessandro 17
Zuccaro, Federico 17-18
Zuccaro, Taddeo 16-17

Index of Works by Federico Barocci referred to

Works, drawing

Study for the Ecce Homo (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 20447) 43

Studies for the Bonarelli Crucifixion (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 7062 *recto*) 14

Studies for the Deposition (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 7062 *verso*) 50

Study for the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. PD.1–2006 recto) 14

Studies for the Bonarelli Crucifixion (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. PD.117–1961 *recto*) 50

Studies for the Deposition (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. PD.117–1961 *verso*) 50

Study for the Institution of the Eucharist (Chatsworth, The Devonshire Collection, inv. 361) 39

Studies for a decoration of a vault (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 907 E) 15

Study after the Polidoro's frieze on Palazzo Milesi, Rome (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 11368 F verso) 16

Studies for the Apparition of the Madonna and Child to SS. John the Baptist and Francis and for the Deposition (Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe delle Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 11383 F *recto*) 32

Sketch of the Florentine cathedral (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 1419 E *recto*, 11453 F *recto*, 11564 F *recto*) 26

Studies for the Madonna del Gatto (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 1419 E *verso*, 11453 F *verso*, 11564 F *verso*) 26

Studies for the Immaculate Conception and for the Madonna del Gatto (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 11668 F *recto*) 40

Study for a Martyrdom of Saint Margaret (London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. D.1084–1900) 16

Studies for the Deposition (Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 2851 *recto*) 50

Studies for the Bonarelli Crucifixion (Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 2851 *verso*) 50

Works, painting

Annunciation (Gubbio, S. Maria dei Laici) 47

Annunciation (not extant) 30, 47

Annunciation (Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana) 30-31, 47

Annunciation with the symbols of the Evangelists (Vatican City, Casino of Pius IV) 18

Annunciation in the presence of Saint Francis immersed in reading (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera) 31

Apparition of the Madonna and Child to Saints John the Baptist and Francis (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, on loan by the Pinacoteca di Brera) 31-32

Beata Michelina (Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana) 30, 39

Burning of Troy (not extant) 46-47

Burning of Troy (Rome, Galleria Borghese) 47

Calling of Saint Andrew (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) 29-30

Calling of Saint Andrew (San Lorenzo de El Escorial) 29-30, 47

Christ carried to the Tomb: see *Entombment*

Christ Child (not extant) 36-37

Christ on the Cross (Madrid, Prado) 42, 50

Circumcision (Paris, Louvre) 32

Crucifixion (Genoa, cathedral) 32-34

Crucifixion (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche) 50

Crucifixion (Urbino, Oratorio della Morte) 34

Crucifixion (not extant) 15, 50

Deposition (Perugia, cathedral) 17, 19-22, 32, 50

Ecce Homo (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, on loan by Pinacoteca di Brera) 43

Ecstasy of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Cortona, S. Margherita) 39

Entombment (Senigallia, S. Croce) 26-27, 40

God the Father (Arezzo, Museo della Fraternita dei Laici) 25

Holy Family with SS. John, Elizabeth, and Zachariah (Vatican City, Casino of Pius IV) 18-19

Immaculate Conception (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche) 40

Immaculate Conception alongside Saints John the Baptist, Francis, Bonaventure, and Anthony of Padua (not extant) 39-40

Institution of the Eucharist (Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva) 37-40

Lamentation (Bologna, Musei Civici) 44, 47

Last Supper (Urbino, cathedral) 40-41

Madonna (not extant) 15

Madonna (not extant) 15

Madonna and Child with Saint John the Evangelist (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche) 19

Madonna and Child with Saints Thaddeus and Simon (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche) 17, 19, 20

Madonna del Gatto (London, National Gallery) 26, 40, 48

Madonna della Gatta (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi) 48-49

Madonna del Popolo (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi) 24-26

Madonna of the Rosary (Senigallia, Pinacoteca Diocesana) 27

Martyrdom of Saint Margaret (not extant) 16

Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian (Urbino, cathedral) 14, 16

Martyrdom of Saint Vitalis (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera) 27-28

Moses transforming the rod into a snake (Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco) 18-19

Nativity (Madrid, Prado) 49-50

Nativity (not executed) 22

Noli me tangere (Bywell Hall, Viscount Allendale) 34

Noli me tangere (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 50

Pardon of Saint Francis of Assisi (Urbino, S. Francesco) 22-24, 45

Portrait of a Captain (Ventura Brandani?) (Saint Petersburg, Hermitage) 46

Portrait of Antonio Galli (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst) 46

Portrait of a gentleman (London, Italian Embassy) 46

Portrait of a young man (Giulio Cesare Mamiani?) (Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-arts) 46

Portrait of Caterina Stati Galli with her twin sons (not extant) 46

Portait of Felice Tiranni (not extant) 46

Portrait of Francesco Maria II Della Rovere in armor (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi) 46

Portrait of Giuliano della Rovere (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 46

Portrait of Ippolito della Rovere (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi) 46

Portrait of Lavinia Feltria della Rovere (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi) 46

Portrait of Giulio Feltrio della Rovere (not extant) 14

Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Rome, S. Maria in Vallicella) 34-36, 40

Rest on the Flight into Egypt (not extant) 22, 48

Rest on the Flight into Egypt (Piobbico, S. Stefano) 22, 48

Rest on the Flight into Egypt (Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana) 22, 48

Saint Catherine (not extant) 50

Saint Cecily with other Saints (Urbino, cathedral) 14, 16

Saint Mary Magdalene penitent (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi) 15

Saint Sebastian (not extant) 50

Self portrait as an old man (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi) 44

Stigmatization of Saint Francis (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche) 40

Virtues (Vatican City, Casino of Pius IV) 18

Visitation (Rome, S. Maria in Vallicella) 28-29, 34

Works, prints

Annunciation 31, 53

Madonna in the Clouds 32

Pardon of Saint Francis of Assisi 24-25, 53

Stigmatization of Saint Francis 53

Published titles

Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari
'Dotti Amici'. Amico Ricci e la nascita della storia dell'arte delle Marche, 2007

Giorgio Mangani
La bellezza del numero. Angelo Colocci e le origini dello stato nazione, 2018

Valentina Coccia
Una città, un'accademia e l'eredità marattesca. La Scuola ascolana di pittura tra XVII e XVIII secolo, 2018

Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari
L'erudito e lo scultore. Amico Ricci e Fedele Bianchini, documenti, opere e artisti fra Marche e Roma dopo Canova, 2018

Giorgio Mangani
La bellezza del numero. Angelo Colocci e le origini dello stato nazione
extended edition, 2021

"Di somma aspettazione e di bellissimo ingegno". Pellegrino Tibaldi e le Marche,
edited by Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari, Valentina Balzarotti, Vittoria Romani, 2021

Cristina Conti
Pellegrino da Modena, nella bottega di Raffaello, 2023

La tarda maniera, da Vasari a Barocci, edited by Barbara Agosti, Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari, Maria Beltramini, 2025

Barbara Agosti, Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari
Barocci dentro e fuori Bellori, 2025

Forthcoming

Rachele Ragnetti, *I Peruzzini: una famiglia di artisti marchigiani*

Finished printing
in July 2025
on behalf of the publishing house
il lavoro editoriale

The Life published by Giovan Pietro Bellori (1672) established Federico Barocci among the great masters of modern Italian and European painting.
This new edition of the biography, presented here with a comprehensive scholarly apparatus, offers a critical reassessment of Bellori's narrative and its long-lasting influence.


9 791281 782334