

## 研究ノート

## Drawings Related to Tintoretto's Painting Cycle in the Sala Superiore of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco in Venice: A Brief Review

Michiaki KOSHIKAWA

The present note aims to examine about a dozen drawings by Jacopo Tintoretto (1518/19–1594) and his circle which have been associated with the painter's great decorative project for the Sala Superiore of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco in Venice (1576–1581). The state of research on Tintoretto drawings today is characterized by various additions and revisions to Paola Rossi's standard catalogue of Jacopo's graphic oeuvre published in 1975,<sup>1</sup> especially those proposed by the late Roger Rearick, listed in his book *Il disegno veneziano del Cinquecento* (2001).<sup>2</sup> Recently, another important contribution was made by John Marciari, in the form of the catalogue of an exhibition of drawings by Tintoretto and his school held in New York and Washington,<sup>3</sup> while Rossi herself has recently published a series of articles that discuss the drawings by the Tintoretto circle and supplement her catalogue of 1975.<sup>4</sup>

In these publications, contrasting opinions have often been advanced concerning the attributional status or dating of drawings, and the definition of the artist's graphic oeuvre is still in a somewhat fluid state, according to each author's standpoint. The present brief notes are intended to review such diversity of views, within the limited scope of the small number of drawings related to the Sala Superiore cycle, and thus to provide a case study to aid in reaching sounder criteria for judgment.

As was indicated by Rearick in his seminal article of 2004,<sup>5</sup> the inherent difficulty in judging these works consists in the manner in which drawings were used and "abused" for the enormous production of Tintoretto workshop, particularly in the painter's late period.<sup>6</sup> Often one figure study was repeatedly used with or without partial modifications, either by the master himself or by other members of the shop, for various compositions over a long period. Therefore the relationships between drawn figures and the apparently corresponding painted figures are sometimes rather more complicated than they apparently look. This means that we should evaluate the 'connections' themselves, their nature and the extent of closeness in view of the functional aspects of drawings in the overtly utilitarian approach taken by Tintoretto's shop towards the use of drawing.

The following is my listing of the drawings connected by previous authors to some painting in the Sala Superiore, and my attempt to differentiate various types of connections with painted images.

**Checklist of Drawings**

NB: Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence is abbreviated as GDSU. 'T' followed by number is the catalogue number in H. Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, New York, 1944. For the other abbreviations, see the Bibliographic abbreviations at the end.

*The Brazen Serpent* (1576)1. *Study of a Standing Man Seen from Below* (fig. 1)

Florence, GDSU, inv. 12923 F

Black chalk on light brown paper, squared. 244 x 112 mm.

Select bibliography: T1587; Forlani 1956, p. 26, no. 32; Rossi 1975, p. 19 and fig. 142; Rearick 2001, p. 227, note 252 (second column).

The attribution to Jacopo himself has been unanimously accepted. Rossi notes that a precise connection with any painted figure cannot be found, but the sheet is stylistically datable to the late 1570s or the early 1580s, based on the similarity with the drawings related to the *Fasti Gonzagheschi* canvases. Rearick seems to have been the first to connect this sheet to the figure of Moses in *The Brazen Serpent* (fig. 2) in the Sala Superiore.

The drawn figure looks like a quick sketch after live model, and its low viewpoint seems to indicate that the figure was meant for a ceiling painting. Although the positions of arms are not identical, the connection pointed out by Rearick is likely to be correct. As the sheet is squared, it may have been transferred onto the canvas and modified on the canvas to reach a more dynamic movement effect. Another, perhaps more likely possibility is that the drawn sketch was transferred and enlarged onto another piece of paper, where necessary modification was made for the final image of Moses.



fig. 1 Jacopo Tintoretto, GDSU, inv. 12923 F



fig. 2 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Brazen Serpent* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco

*Moses Drawing Water from the Rock* (1577)

2. *Study of a Male Half-length Nude Raising the Right Arm* (fig. 3)

Florence, GDSU, inv. 12989 F

Black and white chalk on brown paper. 218 x 210 mm.

Select bibliography: T1804; Rearick 2001, p. 227, note 252 (second column); Koshikawa 2012, p. 33.

The Tietzes excluded this from the list of Jacopo's authentic drawings, relegating it to the workshop category. Neither Forlani nor Rossi included it in their catalogues. Rearick was the first to connect it to the figure of Moses in *Moses Drawing Water from the Rock* in the Sala Superiore (fig. 5), commenting "unusually descriptive and complete, but probably Jacopo".

The pose of the drawn figure is indeed similar to that of Moses, but not precisely corresponding: the drawn nude is not seen from below, and the angle of the stretched arm is different. Rather, the present author connected this drawing to the figure of the risen Christ in *The Resurrection of Christ with Sts. Cassian and Cecilia* in the Church of S. Cassiano (fig. 4).<sup>7</sup> This altarpiece can be dated to 1565, and the drawing shares certain stylistic characteristics with the nude studies for the ceiling canvases in the Sala dell'Albergo in the Scuola di San Rocco, datable to 1564.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, while accepting the authentic status of 12989 F, in my view it cannot be regarded as a preparatory study for *Moses Drawing Water*.

Interestingly, a study of standing nude in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (inv. 2248/ fig. 6) shows, when reversed, a near-identical pose with the painted figure of Moses in the Sala Superiore. The Fitzwilliam sheet has convincingly been identified as an authentic study for a standing female figure in *The Making of the Golden Calf* in the Church of Madonna dell'Orto (c. 1559–1560).<sup>9</sup> Therefore, Tintoretto seems to have reused this drawing made about twenty years earlier when planning the composition of *Moses Drawing Water*. Starting from this sheet, he must

have drawn another, now-lost study for the figure of Moses to be transferred onto the canvas.



fig. 3 Jacopo Tintoretto, GDSU, inv. 12989 F



fig. 4 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Resurrection of Christ* (detail), S. Cassiano, Venice



fig. 5 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Moses Drawing Water from the Rock* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco

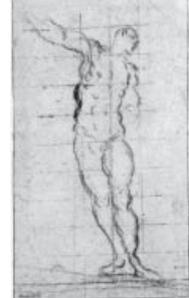


fig. 6 Jacopo Tintoretto, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 2248 (reversed image)

*Elijah Fed by the Angel* (1577–1578)

3. *Study of a Flying Male Nude from the Back* (fig. 7)

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, inv. 25640

Charcoal on light brown paper, squared. 360 x 260 mm.

Select bibliography: T1680; Rossi 1975, pp. 40–41 and fig. 107; Rearick 2001, p. 227, note 252 (second column); Koshikawa 2018, pp. 186–187.

This drawing has been unanimously accepted as an authentic study for the figure of the angel flying headlong in the oval canvas representing *Elijah Fed by the Angel*. The grid lines are rotated 23 degrees to the right, and this fact exactly matches the position of the angel's figure in the final painting (fig. 8). The precise correspondence with the painted image allows us to regard this sheet as a useful point of reference for Jacopo's drawing style at this particular date.



fig. 7 Jacopo Tintoretto, Hermitage Museum, inv. 25640



fig. 8 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Elijah Fed by the Angel* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco

*The Vision of Ezekiel* (1577–1578)

4. *Study of a Seated Man Seen from Below* (fig. 9)

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, inv. 1982.66

Charcoal on light brown paper, 172 x 156 mm.

Select bibliography: Rossi 1975, pp. 47–48 and fig. 127; Rearick 2001, p. 227, note 252 (second column); Marciari 2018, pp. 129–131.

Although the drawn figure's pose is not identical with the painted figure of a resurrected body at the bottom of the oval composition (fig. 10), all of the previous critics have accepted the

connection between this sheet and the Ezechiel canvas. Indeed, the drawing style matches those of some other drawings securely related to the Sala Superiore paintings (e.g. nos. 3 and 10 of the present list). Marciari's comment on this drawing, "the spirit of the figure is absolutely the same", can be fully accepted. But of course, we need not



fig. 9 Jacopo Tintoretto, Morgan Library & Museum, inv. 1982.66



fig. 10 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Vision of Ezechiel* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco

exclude the possibility that the Morgan sheet may have also been used for other similar figures in the Sala Superiore ceiling, for example, the middle ground figures of the Israelites in *The Brazen Serpent*.

#### *Adam and Eve* (1577–1578)

##### 5. *Compositional Study for Adam and Eve* (fig. 11)

Rotterdam, Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, inv. I 81 (PK)

Black chalk on light brown paper, squared. 277 x 435 mm.

Select bibliography: T1660; Rossi 1975, p. 64 (rejected drawing); Aikema and Meijer 1985, pp. 54–55, no. 36; Rearick 2001, p. 227, note 252 (third column); Rossi 2007, p. 108, no. 64; Marciari 2018, p. 131.

One of the rare examples of a *modello* type compositional drawing by Jacopo. Almost all of the previous critics have accepted its authentic status. Only Paola Rossi rejected it in her 1975 catalogue, but later she changed her mind, and accepted it in her 2007 article.

The drawing is not only squared, the composition is also accommodated within a lozenge shape, which probably was applied in order to correctly draw up the final oval shape of the canvas. Apart from some modifications of Adam's arms and legs, the composition realized in this drawing was faithfully reproduced in the final painting (fig. 12). All this seems to indicate that Jacopo meant to leave the execution of the canvas to studio assistants and made the I 81 *modello* as a means of instruction. Judging on the finished painting's style, the son Domenico, then about eighteen years old, does not seem to have been among these assistants.



fig. 11 Jacopo Tintoretto, Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, inv. I 81 (PK)



fig. 12 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Adam and Eve*, Scuola di S. Rocco

*The Baptism of Christ* (1578–1581)

6. *Study of a Crouching Male Nude Seen from the Back* (fig. 13)

Formerly Boston, G. Swarzenski Collection. Present whereabouts unknown.

Black chalk on blue paper, squared. 237 x 215 mm.

Select bibliography: T1653; Rossi 1975, p. 16 and fig. 116; Rearick 2001, p. 228, note 252 (first column).

Although judged solely from reproduction, this drawn figure corresponds perfectly with the left foreground figure in *The Baptism* (fig. 14), and so, all of the previous critics have accepted its authenticity. The drawing style is especially close to the Courtauld study for *The Resurrection* (no. 10 of the present list).



fig. 13 Jacopo Tintoretto, Formerly Swarzenski Collection



fig. 14 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Baptism of Christ* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco

*The Raising of Lazarus* (1578–1581)

7. *Study of a Seated Man Bending to the Left, with another Figure Standing Behind Him, Holding a Cloth* (fig. 15)

Florence, GDSU, inv. 12974 F

Black chalk on blue paper, worked over with brush and body color. 257 x 168 mm.

Select bibliography: T1800; Rearick 2001, p. 228, note 252 (first column).

The Tietzes listed this drawing in the Tintoretto shop category. They noted, quite correctly, the figure's similarity with a female figure in the center middle ground in *The Making of the Golden Calf* in the Madonna dell'Orto (c. 1559–1560).<sup>10</sup> Then Rearick suggested this drawing's connection with the Sala Superiore *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 16), commenting that this drawing would be “the first idea with modifications, rather crude, and probably by Domenico”.

Rearick's idea seems to have been led by the presence of the second figure standing behind and holding a cloth, which generically matches the thematic situation of the raising of Lazarus. However, the drawn figure's pose is so different that the direct connection with the Lazarus figure cannot be justified. The practice of working in brush over drawn figures in chalk is fairly frequent



fig. 15 Domenico Tintoretto (?), GDSU, inv. 12974 F



fig. 16 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Raising of Lazarus* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco



fig. 17 Jacopo Tintoretto, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 2253

in the Tintoretto workshop. This may have been done either by the master himself or by other studio members, and this may have been done to enhance contour lines to facilitate copying or tracing. In the case of this 12974 F, it is difficult to judge whether the original design in chalk was made by Jacopo himself for the *Golden Calf* canvas, while the working in brush was definitely not by himself, but possibly by the son Domenico.

8. *Study of a Seated Male Nude Bending to the Right* (fig. 17)

Cambridge (UK), The Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 2253

Charcoal on light brown paper, squared. 301 x 207 mm.

Select bibliography: T1572; Rossi 1975, pp. 16–17 and fig. 96; Scrase 1992, no. 26; Scrase 2011, pp. 645–655, no. 689.

In the past, this seated figure was tentatively related to the figure of Christ in *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* in Munich's Alte Pinakothek,<sup>11</sup> or to the figure of Christ in *The Coronation of the Virgin* in the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.<sup>12</sup> Rossi, considering these connections rather unconvincing, did not relate the sheet to any particular painting, while accepting Jacopo's authorship. Then, David Scrase pointed out that this drawn figure may have been used for the figure of Lazarus in the Sala Superiore *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 16).

When compared, the posture of this drawn figure only partially corresponds with the figure of Lazarus. The position of the right thigh and leg is indeed identical, and the figure's gaze directed downward matches the final solution, while the upper body's way of bending and the arm positions are entirely different. Nonetheless, the connection proposed by Scrase bears a certain plausibility, because the style of this drawing is fairly close to that of some other sheets related to the Sala Superiore canvases (i.e., nos. 3, 4 and 10 in the present list). We might suppose that the position of the upper body was modified in order to accommodate the figure of the man to the left who is taking the cloth off the body of Lazarus.

*The Resurrection of Christ* (1578–1581)

9. *Study of a Male Nude Lifting an Object* (fig. 18)

Princeton University Art Museum (NJ), inv. x1946-83

Charcoal on brown paper, squared. 276 x 184 mm.

Select bibliography: T1758; Bean 1966, p. 21, no. 11; Rossi 1975, p. 52 and fig. 113; Gibbons 1977, vol. 1,



fig.18 Jacopo Tintoretto,  
Princeton University Art  
Museum, inv. x1946-83



fig. 19 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Resurrection of Christ* (detail),  
Scuola di S. Rocco



fig.20 Jacopo Tintoretto,  
The Courtauld Gallery,  
inv. 1978.PG101

p. 210, no. 688; Rearick 2001, p. 228, note 252 (first column); F. Ilchman, in Giles, Markey and Van Cleave 2014, pp. 94–97, no. 39.

This is a study for one of the angels, lifting up the slab of Christ's tomb, in the Sala Superiore *Resurrection* (fig. 19). The connection is perfectly exact, and the design was enlarged with grid and transferred onto the canvas. See also the following entry.

10. *Study of a Male Nude Raising the Arms* (fig. 20)

London, The Courtauld Gallery, inv. D.1978.PG101

Black chalk on brown paper, squared. 272 x 182 mm.

Select bibliography: T1712; Rossi 1975, pp. 43–44 and fig. 114; Rearick 2001, p. 228, note 252 (first column); Koshikawa 2018, pp. 186–187.

Another study for an angel in *The Resurrection* (fig. 19), transferred directly onto the canvas. The paper dimensions are almost identical to those of the Princeton x1946-83 study (no. 9 in the present list), and, interestingly, the grid line interval is about 90 mm. in the Princeton sheet, and about 45 mm. in the Courtauld sheet. In this manner, the ratio of enlargement on the canvas could be unified in these two figures of angels.

The style of the D.1978.PG101 is especially close to the Hermitage study of the flying angel (no. 3 in the present list), with its particularly dynamic movement and somewhat exaggerated muscularity. Possibly, these were not the usual type of studies after live models, but rather made with the aid of wax models or some sort of mannequins.

*The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (1578–1581)

11. *Study of a Standing Male Nude Leaning to the Right* (fig. 21)

Florence, GDSU, inv. 12993 F

Black chalk on brown paper, squared. 248 x 242 mm.

Select bibliography: T1498; Forlani 1956, p. 23, no. 24; Rossi 1975, pp. 33–34 and fig. 111; Rearick 2001, p. 228, note 252 (first column); Marciari 2018, p. 131.

The Tietzes already recognized this drawing's precise connection with the figure of Christ in *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (fig. 22), but they attributed this sheet to the young Domenico Tintoretto on a stylistic basis. Later critics have all accepted the attribution to Jacopo.

The Tietzes' attribution to Domenico is unfounded, and indeed the style of this drawing is quite similar to that of the authentic study (GDSU inv. 12943 F)<sup>13</sup> for the figure of St. John the Baptist in the San Silvestro *Baptism of Christ* from c. 1580.



fig. 21 Jacopo Tintoretto, GDSU, inv. 12993 F



fig. 22 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco

12. *Study of a Standing Male Nude Seen from Below, Holding a Basket* (fig. 23)

Chicago, Goldman Collection

Black chalk on blue paper. 300 x 215 mm.

Select bibliography: T1532; Rearick 2001, p. 228, note 252 (first column); Turner 2008, no. 38; Rossi 2014, pp. 222–224; Marciari 2018, p. 144; Koshikawa 2020, p. 250.

This drawing was recorded by the Tietzes in the Rasini Collection in Milan. It appeared at the Sotheby's sale (New York, 8 January 1991, lot 107) as Jacopo's drawing, and then was acquired by the present owner. Apart from Nicholas Turner (2008), critics have consistently attributed the sheet to Domenico's hand. Rearick was the first to connect it to the figure of a youth to the right of Christ in the Sala Superiore *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (fig. 24). Conversely, Rossi thought that this study was for a figure holding a metal object (fig. 25) in the large canvas of *The Expulsion of Joachim from Temple* (Venice, San Trovaso).<sup>14</sup> The latter was originally painted by Domenico for the Santa Maria Maggiore in Venice, and is generally dated to the late 1580s. Marciari accepted Rearick's idea and thought that the young Domenico made the Goldman drawing during his partial collaboration for the Sala Superiore murals, and later reused it for his own composition of *The Expulsion of Joachim*.

The posture of this drawn nude does not correspond with the kneeling youth in the Sala Superiore canvas, and so the connection proposed by Rearick is difficult to accept. The pose is closer to that of the man in the San Trovaso painting, but the drawing's viewpoint from below does not match the painted figure. More importantly, stylistically the Goldman drawing seems to belong to a still later period. This figure's rather crude anatomy — see his right arm — and unconvincing body structure come close to Domenico's other figure studies from around 1600, or even later (e.g., Harvard Art Museum's inv. 1997.206; GDSU's inv. 12933 F, etc.<sup>15</sup>). Consequently, in the present author's view, this drawing is not a preparatory study for the Sala Superiore painting, but a late derivation by Domenico for an unidentified purpose.



fig.23 Domenico Tintoretto,  
Goldman Collection



fig. 24 Jacopo Tintoretto,  
*The Miracle of the Loaves  
and Fishes* (detail),  
Scuola di S. Rocco



fig. 25 Domenico Tintoretto,  
*The Expulsion of Joachim  
from Temple* (detail),  
S. Trovaso, Venice

*The Last Supper* (1578–1581)

13. *Study of a Seated Nude Holding His Knee* (fig. 26)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. Dyce 246

Black chalk on blue paper, squared. 219 x 123 mm.

Select bibliography: T1704; Rossi 1975, pp. 45–46 and fig. 105; Ward-Jackson 1979, p. 159; Rearick 2001, p. 228, note 252 (first column); Marciari 2018, pp. 144–147.

The particular posture of this drawn figure corresponds well with that of the female figure in the right foreground of the Sala Superiore *Last Supper* (fig. 27), although the contour of the right shoulder is much modified. As the connection is evident, critics from the Tietzes to Ward-Jackson did not doubt Jacopo's authorship of this drawing. Conversely, Rearick commented that the sheet is "certainly by Domenico", followed by Marciari.



fig. 26 Domenico Tintoretto, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. Dyce 246



fig. 27 Jacopo Tintoretto and Workshop, *The Last Supper* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco

Indeed, the rather weak definition of the body structure and somewhat awkward anatomy would not justify the attribution to Jacopo himself. I think Domenico's authorship is likely to be correct, as the style of this figure can be compared with other early figure studies by the young Domenico in the 1580s, i.e., the British Museum's inv. 1913,0331.187 (c. 1583) or Boijmans van Beuningen Museum's inv. I 405 (c. 1586).<sup>16</sup>

#### *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (1578–1581)

##### 14. *Study of a Standing Youth with His Arms Raised, Seen from Behind* (fig. 28)

Charcoal on light brown paper. 363 x 222 mm.

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, inv. 1975.71.4

Select bibliography: Robison 2014, pp. 90–91, no. 28; Marciari 2018, pp. 130–131.

This drawing appeared at Sotheby's sale in 1975 (London, 4 July, lot 188) and was acquired by the National Gallery of Art in the same year. Apparently, this is a sketch after a live model, possibly a studio assistant. The figure has been related to the man seen from behind at the lower left of the Sala Superiore *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 29), although the posture of the upper body is rather different.

The drawing may not be called a 'preparatory study' in the strict sense, as the drawn design was not transferred onto the canvas directly. However, this drawing's style shows the same characteristics as several preparatory studies of soldiers used for the contemporary project of the *Fasti Gonzagheschi* series, e.g., GDSU's inv. 12987 F, inv. 12931 F, etc.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the dating to c. 1579–1580 is justified, and it is reasonable to suppose that this study was used for the painted figure in *The Adoration of the Shepherds*.



fig. 28 Jacopo Tintoretto, National Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. 1975.71.4



fig. 29 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (detail), Scuola di S. Rocco

## Conclusion

Above, I have briefly examined fourteen drawings previously related to the Sala Superiore paintings from 1576–1581. Among these, different functional types and different extents of ‘connection’ have been distinguished. Seven drawings can be recognized as the sheets actually transferred onto canvas: six for single figures (nos. 3, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 13), and one for an entire composition (no. 5). Then, four other drawings may be regarded as having been produced during the preparation of the paintings and used with more or less modifications (nos. 1, 4, 8 and 14). For the remaining three (nos. 2, 7 and 12), we cannot regard them as connected to the Sala Superiore paintings. However, their partial resemblance of postures and forms to more than one painting may reflect certain derivative or multiplying processes inside the large accumulation of stock drawings in the workshop.

As for the authorship of the drawings, eleven sheets can, in the present author’s view, reasonably be attributed to Jacopo himself (nos. 1 to 6, 8 to 11, and 14). Nos. 12 and 13 are to be ascribed to the son Domenico, and no. 7 to Domenico ‘with question mark’. Among these three, only no. 13 was used as a preparatory design, and it was for one of the side wall paintings, *The Last Supper*, which belongs to the later phase of the decorative work of the Sala Superiore. This accords with the fact that Domenico’s role in the execution of the room’s pictorial cycle was rather limited, unlike with the work in progress in the same period for the *Fasti Gonzagheschi* series.

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## Notes

- 1 See Rossi 1975 in the Bibliographic abbreviations at the end.
- 2 Rearick 2001. This book is not a catalogue, but in the notes the author extensively listed drawings according to the finished paintings to which they can be connected.
- 3 Marciari 2018.
- 4 See Rossi 2007, 2011, 2014.
- 5 See Rearick 2004.
- 6 For a general account on Tintoretto’s late workshop, see Echols and Ilchman 2018, pp. 28–31.
- 7 See Koshikawa 2012, p. 33.
- 8 For these studies, see Fumo and Chinellato 2010.
- 9 See Scrase 2011, pp. 642–643, no. 687.
- 10 Rossi 1982, no. 236.
- 11 Rossi 1982, no. 298.
- 12 Rossi 1982, no. A110.
- 13 Rossi 1975, fig. 153.
- 14 Rossi 1982, no. A115.
- 15 For the Harvard drawing, see Koshikawa 1996, pp. 59–60. For the Uffizi drawing, see Forlani 1956, p. 39, no. 62; Rossi 2007, p. 82, fig. 22.
- 16 For the early figure studies of Domenico, see Koshiakwa 1996, pp. 57–58.
- 17 For these studies, see Dreyer 2000.

## Bibliographic abbreviations

**Aikema and Meijer 1985:** Bernard Aikema and Bert W. Meijer, *Disegni veneti di collezioni olandesi* (exh. cat.), Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 1985.

**Bean 1966:** Jacob Bean, *Italian Drawings in the Art Museum, Princeton University*, New York, 1966.

**Echols and Ilchman 2009:** Robert Echols and Frederick Ilchman, "Toward a new Tintoretto Catalogue, with a Checklist of revised Attributions and a new Chronology," in M. Falomir (ed.), *Jacopo Tintoretto. Actas del congreso internacional Jacopo Tintoretto, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 26 y 27 de febrero de 2007*, Madrid, 2009, pp. 91–190.

**Echols and Ilchman 2018:** Robert Echols and Frederick Ilchman, "Almost a Prophet: the Art of Jacopo Tintoretto", in Venice and Washington 2018, pp. 1–35.

**Dreyer 2000:** Peter Dreyer, "The Drawings for the Gonzaga Cycle," in Cornelia Syre (ed.), *Tintoretto. The Gonzaga Cycle* (exh. cat.), Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 2000, pp. 151–165.

**Forlani 1956:** Anna Forlani, *Mostra di disegni di Jacopo Tintoretto e della sua scuola* (exh. cat.), Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 1956.

**Fumo and Chinellato 2010:** Grazia Fumo and Dino Chinellato (eds.), *Tintoretto svelato. Il soffitto della Sala dell'Albergo nella Scuola Grande di San. Rocco. Storia, ricerche, restauri*, Milan, 2010.

**Gibbons 1977:** Felton Gibbons, *Catalogue of Italian Drawings in the Art Museum, Princeton University*, Princeton (NJ), 1977.

**Giles, Markey and Van Cleave 2014:** Laura M. Giles, Lia Markey and Claire Van Cleave, *Italian Master Drawings from the Princeton University Art Museum*, New Haven and London, 2014.

**Koshikawa 1996:** Michiaki Koshikawa, "I disegni di Domenico Tintoretto: un contributo," *Arte Veneta*, vol. 48 (1996), pp. 57–69.

**Koshikawa 2012:** Michiaki Koshikawa, "'Tintoretto Workshop' Drawings in the Uffizi: A Revision of Attributions," *Aspects of Problems in Western Art History*, vol. 10 (2012), pp. 27–37.

**Koshikawa 2018:** Michiaki Koshikawa, "Draftsman", in Venice and Washington 2018, pp. 170–189.

**Koshikawa 2020:** Michiaki Koshikawa, "Exhibition Review: Drawing in Tintoretto's Venice", *Master Drawings*, vol. 58, no. 2 (June 2020), pp. 247–254.

**Madrid 2007:** Miguel Falomir (ed.), *Tintoretto* (exh. cat.), Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2007.

**Marciari 2018:** John Marciari, *Drawing in Tintoretto's Venice* (exh. cat.), The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, 2018.

**Rearick 1996:** W. Roger Rearick, "From drawing to painting. The role of «disegno» in the Tintoretto shop," in P. Rossi and L. Puppi (eds.), *Jacopo Tintoretto nel quarto centenario della morte. Atti del convegno internazionale di Studi*, Padua, 1996, pp. 173–181, 341–342.

**Rearick 2001:** W. Roger Rearick, *Il disegno veneziano del Cinquecento*, Milan, 2001.

**Rearick 2004:** W. Roger Rearick, "The Uses and Abuses of Drawings by Jacopo Tintoretto," *Master Drawings*, vol. 42 (2004), pp. 349–360.

**Robison 2014:** Andrew Robison, *La Poesia della Luce: Disegni veneziani dalla National Gallery of Art di Washington* (exh. cat.), Museo Correr, Venice, 2014.

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