

‘Tintoretto Workshop’ Drawings in the Uffizi: A Revision of Attributions

Michiaki KOSHIKAWA

By far the most important repository of drawings by Jacopo Tintoretto and his school is the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. The catalogue compiled by Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, in their monumental book *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters* (1944), lists a total of 122 Tintoretto sheets in the holdings of the Uffizi, of which 65 are attributed to Jacopo Tintoretto himself, 19 to the son Domenico Tintoretto, and 38 to the Tintoretto workshop.¹ To this group, we should add eight drawings that were not listed by the Tietzes but can reasonably be considered as the product of Tintoretto or his circle,² while at least four drawings on the Tietzes list should be excluded as by Jacopo Palma il Giovane.³ Indisputably, the Tietzes’ catalogue provided the first sound basis for any subsequent study of Tintoretto’s graphic oeuvre. Their systematic search for connections between the drawn figures and extant paintings allowed the identification of the fundamental group of drawings by Jacopo, which can reasonably be regarded as authentic and can be more or less exactly dated chronologically. Conversely, their list of the drawings by Domenico Tintoretto was quite incomplete, as the painting oeuvre of Domenico was much less studied in their time.

Then two important catalogues of Jacopo’s drawings followed: Anna Forlani’s *Mostra di disegni di Jacopo Tintoretto e della sua scuola* (1956)⁴ and Paola Rossi’s *I disegni di Jacopo Tintoretto* (1975).⁵ The former is the exhibition catalogue of the drawings in the Uffizi, and the latter is the fully illustrated standard catalogue of all authentic drawings by Jacopo in various collections. Forlani’s catalogue lists 59 drawings in the Uffizi as Jacopo’s own works, compared to the 65 in the Tietzes’ list. Forlani rejected 15 drawings from the latter’s list, while adding nine drawings of which eight had been relegated to the categories of ‘Domenico’ or ‘workshop’ by the Tietzes, and one unknown to them. As for the Uffizi drawings in Rossi’s catalogue, she lists 55 drawings as authentic, excluding 16 from the Tietzes’ list and adding six. For the most part, Rossi’s judgments accord with those of Forlani: she excluded six drawings from Forlani’s list and added only two (both of them had been previously excluded by Forlani from the Tietzes’ list of ‘Jacopo’).

The above-described comparison of the three publications of Tintoretto drawings in the Uffizi shows how the attributive question has been successively treated by these principal authors. In brief, while the core group whose connections with Jacopo’s known paintings are well established has not changed, the attributive status of other ‘candidates for genuine Jacopo’ has depended on each author’s stylistic judgments, made mainly through comparisons with well-authenticated sheets. Further, it is clear that in general the standards for authenticity have been narrowed rather than widened; both Forlani and Rossi excluded more from the preceding lists than added to them. While the books by the Tietzes and Forlani contain quite a limited number of illustrations, Rossi’s catalogue has the great merit of being fully illustrated. At the same time, however, this amount of illustration inevitably, and certainly despite the author’s intention, fixed in the mind of the reader the separation between the illustrated drawings and those not illustrated, namely those considered as authentic and those rejected, in spite of the fact that those choices were sometimes the result of difficult judgments. Thus, for the readers who cannot go to look at the originals in the GDSU study room or at least the Gernsheim photographic collection, it is not easy to find images of, for example, those drawings accepted by the Tietzes but rejected by Rossi. In

this manner, the 55 drawings reproduced in Rossi's catalogue might have somewhat 'closed' our idea of Jacopo's graphic oeuvre in the Uffizi holdings.

The present article, acting as a kind of progress report, aims to reconsider some of the drawings in the Uffizi which are on the attributive borderline and to shed some light on the nature of the problems left unsolved. Below I will discuss seven such drawings, which, with one exception, were all rejected by all of the authors of the catalogues cited above. The justification for such an attempt at revision may be twofold. First, compared to the period of the Tietzes, today several examples of study drawings which have proved to be securely relatable to Jacopo's paintings have become known, and these may somehow widen the range of stylistic criteria for authenticity. Second, today we have clearer ideas about Domenico Tintoretto's early drawings, thanks mainly to a series of studies by Rossi,⁶ and this knowledge should be in turn applied to our evaluation of Jacopo's drawing style.

A few examples may be cited here. A study of a standing nude in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (inv. 2248) (fig. 1) is one image relegated by the Tietzes to the category of workshop production.⁷ Obviously they thought this figure too 'weak' to be accepted as Jacopo, and their comments suggest that they regarded it as a kind of derivation from the figure of Moses in *Moses Striking the Rocks* on the ceiling of the Scuola di S. Rocco (1577). Rossi did not include this sheet in her catalogue of 1975. Later in 1982, however, David Scrase pointed out that the figure's pose corresponds fairly exactly with a female figure in *The Making of the Golden Calf* in the Church of Madonna dell'Orto (ca. 1559-60).⁸ Once we are aware of this connection, the Cambridge drawing's style looks entirely compatible with another preparatory study for the same canvas in Darmstadt (Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. A.E. 1439) (fig. 2), which is unanimously acknowledged as an authentic Jacopo sheet.⁹

Another drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum, a study of a fallen man (inv. PD.34-1959) (fig. 3), was not known to the Tietzes. It was ascribed to Mattia Preti by an old inscription, but the late W. Roger Rearick identified it as a preparatory study for a figure in the foreground of *The Last Judgment*, also in the Madonna dell'Orto (ca. 1559-60).¹⁰ The connection is indisputable. What we should note here is that the drawing style of this sheet is rather unlike the Cambridge 2248 sheet discussed above, although both of them are related to the same commission and belong to the exact same period. The lines are thick and bulky, and the figure is accompanied by many passages suggesting surrounding motifs. We should remember that the Tietzes were firmly convinced that

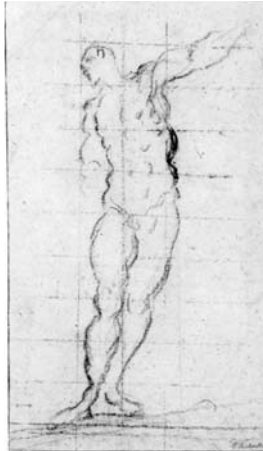


fig. 1 Jacopo Tintoretto, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. 2248 (ca. 1559).



fig. 2 Jacopo Tintoretto, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, inv. A.E. 1439 (ca. 1559).



fig. 3 Jacopo Tintoretto, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. PD. 34-1959 (ca. 1559).

‘stylized abstraction’ and the ‘complete detachment of the figures from their natural surroundings’ were the distinctive signs of Jacopo’s genuine figure studies (‘They stand, lie or move within a vacuum. . . any indication of space, any indication of light or coloristic effect is also lacking.’).¹¹ This criteria may be applied to the 2248 sheet, but not to the PD. 34-1959 sheet, where even the cast shadow is indicated. So we should be careful not to adapt too rigid a stylistic criteria to different types of drawings, and should avoid the unfounded presumption that Jacopo would have used only one drawing style in a given period.

The third example is a study of a seated man, clothed, in the British Museum (inv. 5212-11) (fig. 4).¹² The Tietzes classified this sheet as ‘workshop’, and, comparing it with the authenticated study of a man riding a horse in the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. Dyce 243),¹³ they commented that ‘Realistic details are more emphasized’ and ‘there are weaknesses in foreshortening’ as the reasons for rejection. It was not included in Rossi’s catalogue. Then the present writer found that this British Museum sheet was in fact a preparatory study for a painting which appeared in the London art market in 1991, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. Rossi discussed this painting and dated it to the 1570s.¹⁴ Certainly, the British Museum drawing’s style differs from that of, say, the very ‘abstract’ study of a clothed man seen from behind (Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. Dyce 242) (fig. 5), preparatory for *The Last Supper* in the Church of S. Polo (1574-75), from approximately the same period.¹⁵ Obviously, in the latter drawing Jacopo’s attention is concentrated solely on the drapery, and I am rather inclined to think that the lack of ‘realistic details’ is not an absolute rule but depends on the artist’s purpose for each particular drawing.

Concerning the difference between Domenico Tintoretto’s early drawings and Jacopo’s late drawings, let us compare two sheets depicting the same motif of an archer, the inv. 12968 F (fig. 6)¹⁶ and the 12924 F (fig. 7)¹⁷ in the Uffizi. Both sheets are related to *The Battle of Zara* in the Sala dello Scrutinio of the Doge’s Palace in Venice (1582-87) for which the Tintoretto ‘team’ had to invent innumerable figures of archers. Therefore doubtless the two drawings belong to the same period, but the difference is striking: the quick, masterful grasp of the structure of the body and its powerful movement in the 12968 F, and the rather timid draftsmanship and uncertain definition of forms in the 12924 F. The former drawing, accepted in all three catalogues, is undoubtedly Jacopo’s, while the latter drawing should be assigned to the



fig. 4 Jacopo Tintoretto, British Museum, London, inv. 5212-11 (1570s).



fig. 5 Jacopo Tintoretto, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. Dyce 242 (1574-75).



fig. 6 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12968 F (first half of the 1580s).



fig. 7 Domenico Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12924 F (first half of the 1580s).

young Domenico, although the Tietzes surprisingly accepted it as Jacopo, followed by both Forlani and Rossi. The 12924 F in fact illustrates the typical situation of the execution of this large canvas in these late years, when Domenico, as a principal assistant to his father, participated in the production of preparatory material for the composition, imitating Jacopo's examples but not attaining his father's unerring sense of plasticity. In a sense, this case seems to show how the precise connection with an extant painting may distort scholars' stylistic judgment.

On the whole, I am convinced that the Tietzes excluded too much in order to secure the stylistic consistency, and their judgments and orientation strongly conditioned the later attempts to define the drawing oeuvre of Jacopo. The following several examples from the Uffizi holdings are selected from among those I think worth reconsidering in this context and being restored to authentic status. Naturally I am fully aware that my own stylistic judgments are not free from subjectivity, but I hope that these discussions have at least the merit of question-posing. Catalogue raisonnés often divide works into two groups too neatly, assigning some to paradise and others to purgatory, and thereafter those consigned to anonymity have little chance to be re-examined. But the separating line should never be regarded as absolute.

Draped female figure, bending forward and holding a child (inv. 12953 F) (fig. 8)

Black chalk on faded blue paper, squared. mm. 273 x 194. Previous attributions: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1795 (as workshop), pl. CXXVII-2; Forlani 1956, no. 73 (as workshop); not included in Rossi's catalogue.

Despite the sheet's obvious relation to the figure of the Virgin in *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* in the Accademia Gallery, Venice (ca. 1554-56) (fig. 9),¹⁸ the Tietzes considered it a 'copy' due to the 'mediocrity' of the drawing. But how can it be a copy? The sheet presents typical preparatory study characteristics, showing two alternatives for the position of the child's head and the modification of the angle of the squaring. They noted also the 'elaborate minuteness of the face' of the Virgin, and this observation is echoed in Forlani's comment, 'interesse per gesti e volti patetici', which made her think of the hand of Domenico. However, this face is quite similar to that of the study for the figure of Eve (Uffizi, inv. 12977 F)¹⁹ in *The Descent into Limbo* in the Church of S. Cassiano (1568).²⁰ The lines defining the lower body of the Virgin are compendious but decisive (free from uncertain repetitiveness, typical of Domenico), comparable to the 12986 F, study for the *Philosopher* in the Biblioteca Marciana (1571-72).²¹ Rearick considered the 12953 F as an authentic preparatory study for the Accademia painting.²²



fig. 8 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12953 F (ca. 1554).



fig. 9 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (detail), Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (ca. 1554-56).

Standing clothed man, bending toward the right (inv. 12960 F) (fig. 10)

Charcoal, heightened with white, on buff paper. Outlines are partially reinforced with brush. mm. 226 x 112. Previous attributions: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1796 (as workshop); not included in Forlani's and Rossi's catalogues.

The Tietzes assigned this sheet to the workshop without any significant comment, but, once the 'compendious' style of the 12953 F discussed above is accepted as dating from the mid-1550s, I think this sheet is also worthy of serious consideration. The pose of the figure is typical of Tintoretto, but the most notable resemblance can be found in the figure holding a compass in *The Making of the Golden Calf* in the Madonna dell'Orto (ca. 1559-60)²³ and, in reverse, in the figure of a high priest in *St. Agnes Cures Licinius*, also in the Madonna dell'Orto (mid-1570s).²⁴ I believe that the 12960 F can be connected to the



fig. 10 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12960 F (ca. 1559).



fig. 11 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Making of the Golden Calf* (detail), Madonna dell'Orto, Venice (ca. 1559-60).

former figure (fig. 11). It is true that this speedily drawn study is stylistically rather unlike the other known studies of draped figures by Jacopo from the 1560s (those for *The Last Supper* in the Church of S. Trovaso, *The Finding of the Body of St. Mark* in the Brera Gallery, and the great *Crucifixion* of the Scuola di S. Rocco) which show a more sensitive definition of forms and light effects on the draperies. This difference should be explained by the fact that the present drawing, not squared, was a quickly-done sketch from a live model with the intention of studying pose and movement, and was not a direct preparatory study meant to be enlarged and transferred onto the canvas. The grasp of the dynamic movement of the body, especially in its upper part, is indeed very efficient. The lower body was depicted in an extremely summary manner, probably because the artist knew that the legs of this figure would not be necessary in the final painting. Finally, if we compare this figure with the Fitzwilliam Museum's drawing PD. 34-1959 (fig. 3), we understand that the two drawings share many stylistic characteristics.

Standing male nude, leaning toward the right, holding a book (?) (inv. 12970 F) (fig. 12)

Black chalk, heightened with white, on buff paper, squared. mm. 308 x 202. Previous attributions: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1798 (as workshop); Forlani 1956, no. 22 (as Jacopo); not included in Rossi's catalogue.

The Tietzes regarded this sheet as a workshop product. They suggested that it may be connected to an unrealized figure of a philosopher for the Biblioteca Marciana (1571-72), but this cannot be proved. Conversely, Forlani assigned it authentic status on qualitative grounds, still supposing its connection to the Marciana philosophers. I think rather that this much

fig. 12 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12970 F (ca. 1560).



elongated figural type is quite comparable to the above-mentioned Cambridge 2248 sheet (fig. 1). In both drawings the form of the body is realized with simple, thin outlines defining loose and relaxed movements.²⁵ Although we cannot find a specific connection with any of Jacopo's paintings, the most plausible date of the 12970 F is ca. 1560.

Man bending to the left and looking into a large vessel (inv. 13006 F) (fig. 13)

Black chalk on faded blue paper. mm. 260 x 396. Previous attributions: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1634 (as Jacopo?); Forlani 1956, no. 72 (as workshop); not included in Rossi's catalogue.

Published by Detlev von Hadeln as Jacopo,²⁶ who related it to the figure in the right foreground of *The Wedding at Cana* in the Church of Santa Maria della Salute (1561) (fig. 14).²⁷ The Tietzes included it in the list of Jacopo's drawings, but in their comment they virtually rejected it. They observed that the pose of this figure is frequently seen in Jacopo's other paintings, especially in *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, the late 1540s)²⁸ and also in *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen* by Domenico (S. Giorgio Maggiore, ca. 1593-94).²⁹ According to them, the style of the 13006 F does not match an early date around 1561. Forlani followed their judgment, suggesting the name of Domenico. In my view, however, the Tietzes' observations are rather inexact. The correspondence of form with the Vienna and S. Giorgio Maggiore paintings is much less precise than with the Salute *Wedding at Cana*. Further, the man in the 13006 F clearly *looks into* the vessel, which fits thematically only with the narrative context of the miracle at Cana. The Tietzes thought this drawing to be 'late', which seems to have influenced Forlani's suggestion of Domenico's name.³⁰ However, the typical characteristics of Domenico's early studies of draped figures seen in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum's I 405 (fig. 15),³¹ with its nervously repetitive lines betraying the author's uncertain grasp of form, do not accord with the present drawing's style. In the 13006 F, the grasp of structure and movement is bold and exact, the lines have a sense of decisiveness. As with the 12960 F discussed above, the difference of drawing style from other known draped studies by Jacopo of the 1560s is, I believe, a question of different mode and function, not of different hand or period. The depiction of the clothes is similar to the above-mentioned British Museum 5212-11 (fig. 4).



fig. 13 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 13006 F (ca. 1561).



fig. 14 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Wedding at Cana* (detail), Santa Maria della Salute, Venice (ca. 1561).



fig. 15 Domenico Tintoretto, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, inv. I 405 (ca. 1586).

Half-length male nude, with his right arm stretched upward (inv. 12989 F) (fig. 16)

Black chalk, heightened with white, on buff paper. mm. 218 x 210. Previous attributions: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1804 (as workshop); not included in Forlani's and Rossi's catalogues.

The appearance of this drawing is rather coarse, and the Tietzes' rejection ('more likely by a pupil than by Jacopo himself') is understandable. However, we should note that the depiction of the head is indeed similar to authentic studies by Jacopo from the mid-1560s: see the 12922 F, 12966 F and 12941 F (fig. 17), all preparatory for the allegorical figures on the ceiling of the Sala dell'Albergo of the Scuola di S. Rocco (1564).³² The Tietzes regarded the figure in the 12989 F as 'a typical representation of a martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist'. This is questionable, and the pose of the figure can be closely connected to the Risen Christ in *The Resurrection of Christ with Sts. Cassian and Cecilia* in the Church of S. Cassiano (1565) (fig. 18).³³ So, the dating to around 1565 is a reasonable conclusion, and the rather awkward appearance of this drawing is in all probability due to the heavy tracing and reinforcing over, perhaps by a pupil's hand.

Reclining child (inv. Ornamenti 1612) (fig. 19)

Black chalk, heightened with white, on faded blue paper. mm. 160 x 187. Previous attributions: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1508 (as Domenico), pl. CXXXII-3; not included in Forlani's and Rossi's catalogues.

The Tietzes assigned this drawing to Domenico, while acknowledging its close connection with the figure of the Christ Child in the *Madonna of the Treasurers* in the Accademia Gallery, Venice (fig. 20).³⁴ Their comment typically reflects their period's inexact ideas about the works of Domenico Tintoretto. They considered the Accademia painting as a collaborative work of Jacopo and Domenico. However, von Hadeln's study had already suggested the date of ca. 1567 for the painting on the basis of the terms of service of the three treasurers portrayed in the painting,³⁵ and such a date excludes, as Rossi correctly confirmed, the possibility of Domenico's collaboration. Also stylistically, if we accept the above-discussed Fitzwilliam Museum's PD. 34-1959 (fig. 3) as an authentic Jacopo sheet from around 1560, we have little



fig. 16 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12989 F (ca. 1565).



fig. 17 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12941 F (1564).



fig. 18 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Resurrection of Christ with Sts. Cassian and Cecilia* (detail), S. Cassiano, Venice (1565).

difficulty in accepting this drawing of a child as a study after a live model by Jacopo, as well as its connection with the Accademia painting from ca. 1567.



fig. 19 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. Ornamenti 1612 (ca. 1567).



fig. 20 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Madonna of the Treasurers* (detail), Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (ca. 1567).

Standing female nude leaning toward the left (inv. 12940 F) (fig. 21)

Black chalk on faded blue paper. mm. 368 x 210. Previous attributions: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1791 (as workshop); not included in Forlani's and Rossi's catalogues.

The Tietzes assigned this sheet to the workshop category, calling attention to its similarity with the Fitzwilliam Museum's 2248 discussed above (fig. 1). As we have seen, the latter sheet was considered as workshop production by the Tietzes, but in fact is a preparatory study for Jacopo's painting of ca. 1559-60. In reality, apart from the much elongated proportions, the stylistic similarity between these two sheets is not so close. We find better comparable examples among somewhat later studies by Jacopo, and

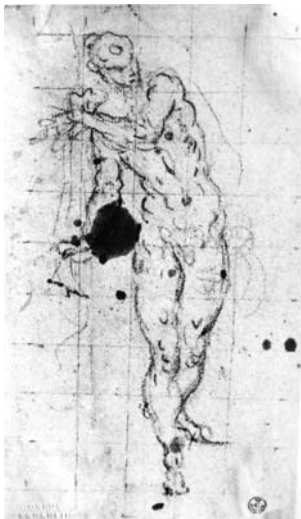


fig. 21 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12940 F (ca. 1577).



fig. 22 Jacopo Tintoretto, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 7498 S (ca. 1576).



fig. 23 Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (detail), S. Trovaso, Venice (ca. 1577).

here I would like to pick up the compositional study, the 7498 S of the Uffizi (fig. 22),³⁶ which is the first idea for *The Return of the Prodigal Son* on the ceiling of the Sala degli Inquisitori in the Doge's Palace (ca. 1576).³⁷ Stylistically, these two drawings are quite similar. The date around the later 1570s for the 12940 F can be further supported, given that at least the upper body of the depicted woman seems to have been used for the figure of one of the female devils in Jacopo's masterpiece, *The Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Church of S. Trovaso (fig. 23).³⁸ The altarpiece is datable to ca. 1577 on the basis of the inscription on the altar. Perhaps the 12940 F may not be called a preparatory drawing for this altarpiece in the proper sense, but still it can fit well into the context of Jacopo's drawing style of the late 1570s. Although being somewhat weaker, it comes stylistically fairly close to the two authentic preparatory studies for the S. Silvestro *Baptism of Christ* (Uffizi, 12961 F and 12943 F), datable to ca. 1580.³⁹

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Notes

- 1 Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, pp. 261-262, nos. 1489-1508 (Domenico Tintoretto), pp. 280-284, nos. 1583-1648 (Jacopo Tintoretto), pp. 298-300, nos. 1781-1818 (Tintoretto shop).
- 2 Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1836 F, 1841 F, 12998 F, 15002 F, 15003 F, 16420 F, 20613 F, 9094 S.
- 3 Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1827 F, 1838 F, 13024 F, 13025 F.
- 4 Forlani 1956.
- 5 Rossi 1975a.
- 6 Rossi 1975b, 1982, 1984, 1996, 2001. See also Koshikawa 1996; Dreyer 2000; Rearick 2001, pp. 203-207; Mason 2009.
- 7 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. 2248. Charcoal on buff paper, squared. mm. 380 x 217. See Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1767 (Tintoretto shop).
- 8 Scrase 1982; Scrase 1990, no. 22.
- 9 Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, inv. A.E. 1439. Black chalk on faded blue paper, squared. mm. 214 x 141. See Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1578; Rossi 1975a, pp. 17-18, fig. 67; Madrid 2007, no. 60.
- 10 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. PD. 34-1959. Charcoal and black chalk, heightened with white, on faded blue paper, squared. mm. 148 x 228. See Scrase 1990; Scrase 1992, no. 28; Habert 2006, no. 21.
- 11 Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, p. 269.
- 12 British Museum, London, inv. 5212-11. Black chalk, heightened with white, on faded blue paper, squared. mm. 236 x 171. See Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1839 (Tintoretto shop).
- 13 See Rossi 1975a, p. 45, fig. 83 (preparatory study for *The Crucifixion* in the Scuola di S. Rocco, 1565); Ward-Jackson 1979, no. 331.
- 14 See Koshikawa 1992-94; Tokyo and Nagoya 1996, no. 48 (M. Koshikawa). See also, Edinburgh 2004, under no. 102 (A. Weston-Lewis). For the painting *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, see Rossi 1991.
- 15 Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. Dyce 242. Black chalk, heightened with white, on faded blue paper. mm. 307 x 191. See Rossi 1975a, p.45, fig. 103; Ward-Jackson 1979, no. 333.
- 16 Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12968 F. Black chalk on brown paper, squared. mm. 321 x 206. See Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1615; Forlani 1956, no. 51; Rossi 1975a, p. 29, fig. 173.
- 17 Uffizi, Florence, inv. 12924 F. Black chalk on brown paper, squared. mm. 371 x 207. See Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1588; Forlani 1956, no. 52; Rossi 1975a, p. 20, fig. 172.

- 18 Rossi 1982, no. 168; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 63. See also, Madrid 2007, no. 30 (F. Ilchman). In the catalogue Madrid 2007, the 12953 F is reproduced as 'attributed to Jacopo Tintoretto' (see p. 294, fig. 156, and p. 297, notes 2 and 10).
- 19 See Rossi 1975a, p. 30, fig. 91.
- 20 See Rossi 1982, no. 304; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 144.
- 21 See Rossi 1975a, pp. 31-32, fig. 101.
- 22 Rearick 1976, pp. 165-167, no. 121; Rearick 1996, p. 177, note 9; Rearick 2001, p. 219, under note 151.
- 23 See Rossi 1982, no. 236; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 78.
- 24 See Rossi 1982, no. 371; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 198.
- 25 One may note some difference in the manner of drawing outlines in these two drawings, but this may well be due to the difference in drawing materials. In the Cambridge sheet Jacopo used a soft charcoal, while in the 12970 F, a rather sharpened piece of chalk. Rearick (2001, p. 227, under note 252) accepted the 12970 F as Jacopo, but still related it to a lost figure of philosopher (1570-71).
- 26 Von Hadeln 1921, pp. 82, 189f.
- 27 See Rossi 1982 no. 230; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 89.
- 28 See Rossi 1982, no. 48; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. F7.
- 29 See Rossi 1982, no. A111; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 312.
- 30 Also Rossi assigned the 13006 F to Domenico. See Rossi 1975, p. 209. On the other hand, Rearick (2001, p. 219, under note 151) accepted the 13006 F as Jacopo ('sicuramente di Jacopo in un momento di stanchezza come nel quadro').
- 31 Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, inv. I 405. Black chalk on blue paper, squared. mm. 288 x 202. This sheet is a preparatory study for Domenico's painting, *The Dream of St. Mark (Pax tibi Marce)*, in the Accademia Gallery, Venice (after 1586). The Tietzes considered this drawing as Jacopo (Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1675, pl. CVII-2), but Rossi rightly confirmed Domenico's authorship (Rossi 1975, p. 208).
- 32 See Rossi 1975a, p. 19, fig. 71; pp. 28-29, fig. 73; p. 24, fig. 75. For these drawings, see also, Fumo and Chinellato 2010, pp. 96-127.
- 33 See Rossi 1982, no. 291; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 124. Rearick (2001, p. 227, under note 252), while accepting the 12989 F as Jacopo ('probabilmente di Jacopo'), related it to the figure of Moses in *Moses Striking the Rock* on the ceiling of the Scuola di S. Rocco (1577).
- 34 See Rossi 1982, no. 302; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 131. See also, Venice 1994, no. 30 (G. Nepi Sciré); Rome 2012, no. 12 (M. Binotto).
- 35 Von Hadeln 1912. Rearick (2001, p. 227, under note 252) accepted the Ornamenti 1612 as Jacopo's study for the Accademia painting.
- 36 Uffizi, Florence, inv. 7498 S. Charcoal, heightened with white, on blue paper. mm. 372 x 268. See Rossi 1975a, p. 39, fig. 118.
- 37 Rossi 1982, no. 293; Echols and Ilchman 2009, Checklist no. 163.
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- 39 See Rossi 1975a, p. 28, fig. 153; p. 24, fig. 154.

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