Learning to Draw, Drawing to Learn: Theory and Practice in Italian Printed Drawing Books, 1600-1700

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Abstract
Italian printed drawing books (*libri da disegnare*) comprise an important body of evidence for our knowledge of artistic training in Italy during the early modern period. *Libri da disegnare* are groups of printed images that instruct in drawing the human body through a progression, whether by means of line-by-line instructions, following steps from outline to shaded, or building up the body from its individual features. Intended for both professional and amateur audiences, these printed sources were soon copied throughout Europe where they influenced drawing education for the next 400 years. Tracing the relationship between writing and drawing in the literature of the early modern period, the first chapter explores the origins of the genre within other didactic manuals and within contemporary traditions of elementary education. Next, three case studies explore the ways in which text interacts with images within the genre. The third chapter considers how printed drawing books included or rejected information found in other types of printed books used by artists, such as treatises of anatomy, perspective, and proportion. Such study makes it clear that printed drawing books represent a new type of art literature. The final chapter problematizes the monolithic notion of the printed drawing book and suggests that they be discussed within separate categories: books, series, fragments, and copies. Exploring the origins and forms of the genre in its home country, this dissertation provides a better understanding of artistic education in the decades after the formation of the first academies of art.

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LEARNING TO DRAW, DRAWING TO LEARN: THEORY AND PRACTICE IN ITALIAN PRINTED DRAWING BOOKS, 1600-1700

Alexandra Arvilla Greist

A DISSERTATION

in

History of Art

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Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Learning to Draw, Drawing to Learn:  
Theory and Practice in Italian Printed Drawing Books, 1600-1700

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Alexandra Arvilla Greist
For my family, with love.
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This dissertation has benefitted from the guidance and support of many different people and institutions. My advisor, Michael Cole, provided thoughtful commentary on the written drafts of each chapter. His challenging questions and insightful observations constantly made me think in new ways about the material. From the initial steps of defining the topic to the final draft, Larry Silver helped me to navigate the long road of the dissertation with reminders to focus and to just sit down and write. Laura Giles’ awe-inspiring knowledge of Italian works on paper, as well as her willingness to carefully read footnotes, proved invaluable. Near the end of the process, conversations with David Rosand helped me remember why I chose this topic in the first place.

I received a number of summer travel grants from the History of Art Department at the University of Pennsylvania. A Kress Travel Fellowship in the History of Art during the Winter and Spring of 2008 allowed me to conduct the bulk of my primary research in European collections outside of Italy. While living in Rome during the fall of 2008, a Salvatore Research Award from the Department of Italian Studies at the University of Pennsylvania funded trips to collections throughout Italy. An SAS Mellon Summer Fellowship in 2009 allowed me to expand my research to include important collections in Amsterdam and Paris. I spent the 2009-2010 academic year as the Carl Zigrosser Fellow in the Department of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs. This opportunity gave much needed structure to my life while leaving me time to write two chapters of the dissertation. A fellowship in residence at the Vittore Branca Center for the Study of Italian Culture (Fondazione Cini, Venice) put an extraordinary library and
collection of drawings literally in my living room and gave me invaluable freedom to write.

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Erin Black, Lisa Bourla, Ellery Foutch, Ingrid Greenfield, Jessica Lautin, Julia Perratore, Yael Rice, and Miya Tokumitsu helped me think though many of the questions that arose as I researched and wrote this dissertation.

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Italian printed drawing books (*libri da disegnare*) comprise an important body of evidence for our knowledge of artistic training in Italy during the early modern period. *Libri da disegnare* are groups of printed images that instruct in drawing the human body through a progression, whether by means of line-by-line instructions, following steps from outline to shaded, or building up the body from its individual features. Intended for both professional and amateur audiences, these printed sources were soon copied throughout Europe where they influenced drawing education for the next 400 years.

Tracing the relationship between writing and drawing in the literature of the early modern period, the first chapter explores the origins of the genre within other didactic manuals and within contemporary traditions of elementary education. Next, three case studies explore the ways in which text interacts with images within the genre: Odoardo Fialetti’s two etched drawing books (c. 1608), an unpublished manuscript by Francesco
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Introduction

Throughout the early modern period in Italy, artists mastered the basics of drawing (disegno, considered the practical and theoretical origin of all arts) in workshops where they learned all aspects of their trade. The transmission of the skills of disegno has great importance to our knowledge of the development of artistic practice at the time, but as we try to trace its history, we come across certain obstacles. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the workshop commonly recycled or destroyed many of the materials used in drawing instruction, and thus much of the physical evidence did not survive, leaving us instead to rely mostly on written sources. Yet, although sixteenth-century artists and biographers, including Benvenuto Cellini, Giorgio Vasari, and Giovanni Battista Armenini, wrote about the education of artists, these accounts were often idealized or anecdotal. Starting in the seventeenth century, a new corpus of prints appears; reputedly for drawing instruction, they provide us with visual evidence of how artists learned to draw. Often sold by printmakers or publishers as a group of unbound prints, the works had titles such as “examples for drawing,” “contours to make drawing easy,” and “rules for learning to draw.”¹ This understudied but nonetheless important body of prints will be the focus of this dissertation. Before we rush to relate these prints to the story of disegno transmission in the workshop, we have to proceed with a more cautious and prudent study of the works. In most cases, the titles and dedications were the only texts included, and from the outset, it is not immediately clear who the intended

¹ Italian printed drawing books are either octavo or quarto in format and vary in length between nine and 42 plates. The approximate size will be noted for each project with more specific dimensions for fragmentary works. I have chosen to refer to the dimensions in standard book sizes to better reflect the experience of holding a volume in one’s hands, rather than thinking about the plate size of individual sheets.
audience for these prints was: young artists in the workshop, students in the burgeoning Academies, or amateurs? For this question, problematized further at the end of this introduction, we require a better knowledge of the genre of the printed drawing book in its own right.

The first Italian printed images to teach drawing in a systematic manner were those of Odoardo Fialetti (Bologna 1573 – Venice 1637/38): *Il vero modo et ordine per disegnare tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano* (Venice: Justus Sadeler, 1608) and *Tutte le parti del corpo humano diviso in piu pezzi* (Venice: Justus Sadeler, undated). Fialetti’s drawing books evolved from drawn and printed model books and studio practices, resulting in the step-by-step format of a number of his examples. Other projects arose around the same time, including another influential series said in the work’s title to be after drawings by the Carracci, the *Scuola Perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo Humano Cavata dallo studio, e disegni de Carracci* (Rome: Pietro Stefanoni). The present study includes twenty-one different books or series purporting to teach drawing or offering examples for practice published in Italy in the seventeenth century.

What is a printed drawing book? I would define printed drawing books, or *libri da disegnare*, as print publishers called them in inventory lists, as a sequence of prints that instruct in drawing through some kind of a progression.\(^2\) Writing of the Northern corollary to the Italian books, Jaap Bolten defines drawing books as follows: “Printed

didactic works in the field of the pictorial arts, in which the instruction makes use of the visual, rather than the verbal medium.”

He makes clear that these works are different from model books, which are “merely a storehouse of iconographic and formal elements, although in practice it appears that some drawing masters gave the model books to their pupils for copying.” Whether this means a line-by-line construction of a form, gradations from outline to fully shaded figures, or building the body from its individual parts, the progressive nature of the engraved or etched examples (for there are no woodcut drawing books in Italy) is a defining one for my study.

I used the word sequence in my definition to separate single sheets of printed models, such as those for general workshop use or as patterns for metalwork, from what I see as a distinct genre.

This dissertation studies printed Italian drawing books in the seventeenth century. Included are works printed in Italy and those by the Italian artist Stefano della Bella printed by French publishers while the artist was living in Paris. The chronological boundaries of my study are from 1600 to 1700; the earlier limit is set because no examples of printed drawing books as I define them are known before the first years of the seventeenth century. The first dated example is Odoardo Fialetti’s *Il Vero Modo*

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4 Bolten, 11.
5 Albert Elen, in his study of drawn drawing books, defines his subject as “a bound volume (book, codex), consisting of one or more quires (gatherings), which are predominately filled with drawings, irrespective of age, intention and profession of the draughtsman.” Albert J. Elen, *Italian Late-Medieval and Renaissance Drawing-Books: from Giovannino de’ Grassi to Palma Giovane: a Codicological Approach* (Utrecht: Drukkerij Elinkwijk 1995) 2. Elen excludes printed drawing books from his study because he wants to focus only on “books of original drawings.”
6 I will make two exceptions to this rule: for a single sheet by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli and for an engraving by Giovanni Luigi Valesio that may represent the only surviving fragment of a larger work (Chapter 4).
(Venice: Justus Sadeler, 1608); although it is possible that there was an earlier version of Fialetti’s book dated to 1599, there is no documentary proof.\footnote{As discussed below in Chapter 2.} The beginning of the next century, and the works of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1686-99) mark the end of innovation in the genre. Later examples show this fact: Ludovico Mattioli’s Primi Elementi della Pittura (Bologna: Lelio della Volpe, 1728) merely copies and combines examples from much earlier drawing books including those of Oliviero Gatti, Ribera, and the Scuola Perfetta.\footnote{Another later example is Giambattista Piazzetta’s Studji di pittura (Venice: Giambattista Albrizzi, 1760): although methodologically connected to earlier forms of printed drawing books, the book dates from decades later than any other project in the eighteenth century and warrants inquiry within different historical parameters, including possible connections to the formation of an official academy of painting in Venice. This much later book would form the basis of an interesting separate study.}

**Previous scholarship**

Italian printed drawing books, although fairly well known as a broadly defined genre amongst print scholars, have received only sporadic treatment in and of themselves. E. H. Gombrich was the first to draw any attention to them. In *Art and Illusion* (1960) Gombrich explored the theoretical implications of the use of schema for drawing, and he mentions a number of books, mostly represented only by single plates, in relation to Northern works, such as the *Vier Bücher von Menschlicher Proportion* (Nuremberg, 1528) of Albrecht Dürer. To Gombrich, Italian printed drawing books were part of the same tradition of schematic instruction as those Northern works.\footnote{Gombrich, 156-72.} In a now classic article on Palma il Giovane, “The Crisis of the Venetian Renaissance Tradition,” (1970) David Rosand discussed Venetian printed drawing books of the turn of the seventeenth century;
his focus was almost entirely on the involvement of Palma il Giovane and the shifting contemporary Venetian attitudes about drawing.\(^{10}\) Chittima Amornpichetkul’s contribution in *Children of Mercury: the Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1984) was the first essay to explore the genre throughout Italy. Amornpichetkul only offered a limited survey of the major works of the genre while reviewing the prevailing opinions about origins. She primarily focused on what she perceived as Agostino Carracci’s contribution to the forms of the printed Italian drawing book and the influence such books had on amateurs.

Overall opinion has been that printed drawing books reflect teaching methods within the Carracci academy. Scholars such as Rudolf Wittkower, Gombrich, Stephen Ostrow, and Carl Goldstein point to two pieces of evidence: an early series of drawing book prints based on drawings by the Carracci (as well as other artists including Michelangelo and Pontormo) and a number of drawings by Annibale depicting parts of the body drawn over and over on the same sheet.\(^{11}\) In addition, Malvasia’s report that Annibale kept a large plaster cast of an ear to use in drawing exercises has been used to suggest an emphasis on drawing individual parts of the human body.\(^{12}\) Although there are a number of drawings that can be connected to the *Scuola Perfetta* and the series of drawing books prints is linked by its title to the Carracci, I would argue that the connection is not as direct as many of these scholars suggest. First of all, there is a

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\(^{11}\) The bulk of the drawings associated with this argument are found in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. See Wittkower, Rudolf. *The drawings of the Carracci in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon, 1952).

geographic discrepancy: as has already been pointed out by David Rosand in his dissertation as well as in his aforementioned article, the first drawing books originated in Venice, not in Bologna and not from artists with certain connections to the Carracci Academy.\(^{13}\) Although Rosand credits the development of printed drawing books in the city to a growing Venetian preoccupation with central Italian *disegno*, as I will explore in chapter 2, Fialetti’s books may be seen to represent teaching practices that, although possibly practiced at the Carracci Academy, were not necessarily unique to their circle.

In the last four decades of the sixteenth century, changes in the education of artists were occurring throughout Italy, not just in Bologna, and a broader study of records pertaining to academic training of young artists as well as of the visual evidence of teaching, such as prints and drawings depicting art education, is needed to find the contexts from which printed drawing books arose. In the last decades, a number of Italian scholars, in particular Vicenza Maugeri, Marinella Pigozzi, and Laura Donati, have begun to study specific examples within the genre as well as the connections between anatomical study, the rise of academies, and drawing books.\(^{14}\) As more and more scholarship begins to pay attention to these books, a need has now arisen for a study of the genre in a comprehensive manner.

Similar genres in other times and places have received such focused study, and these form precedent for the scope of this dissertation. Previous scholarship by Albert


Elen and Robert Scheller on the drawn drawing-books (or model-books) from the medieval period up to the beginning of the seventeenth century offers a firm foundation for the tradition from which printed drawing-books emerged. Neither Elen nor Scheller discussed printed images in their works, but both Jaap Bolten’s study of drawn and printed Northern European drawing books from 1600 to 1750 as well as Hans Dickel’s work on German seventeenth-century drawing books provide rich accounts of these printed works. Many of these Northern examples were directly based on Italian precedents, although Bolten and Dickel only refer to Italian examples as they are germane to works within the geographical boundaries of their own discussions. Bolten’s study is the first attempt in the field to describe and comment upon printed drawing books of any national origin, and it consists of a catalogue followed by commentary that explores the teaching of proportion (both in Italy and the North) and then focuses on how Northern drawings books (giving specific examples in each case) presented proportion, anatomy, academic drawing, motion, and animals—these are fruitful parallels to explore, and similar themes will be discussed in the following chapters. He does not consider audience; instead, he limits himself to descriptions with commentary on the iconographic content of the images while seeking to recreate the editio princeps and also, in some cases, discussing later editions. Hans Dickel published his survey of German drawing books two years after the appearance of the English translation of Bolten. Dickel’s study


again only treats Italian books when necessary to provide source materials. He however, tackles the question of audience, concluding that didactic art literature such as that of Fialetti or Giacomo Franco addressed itself to beginners.\textsuperscript{17}

Bolten and Dickel provide catalogues of their examples and offer commentary on the main components of drawing books in their geographical area. Both inquiries serve as instructive models for the present study, which turns to the genre in its place of origin. My dissertation is the first study to consider all known Italian seventeenth century \textit{libri da disegnare}. Instead of Bolten’s model of a catalogue with commentary on iconographical examples, my dissertation explores the origins (both theoretical and practical), contents, and forms of the printed Italian drawing book through four chapters.

\textbf{Overview}

Tracing the relationship between writing and drawing in the literature of the early modern period, the first chapter investigates the beginning of the genre within didactic manuals and within the contemporary traditions of elementary education. It discusses the concept expressed by artists and educators, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, that learning to write was like learning to draw, and vice versa, through textual sources before comparing the physical similarities between methods of elementary education and drawing with printed instructional texts. Finally, within the theoretical and practical framework of the similarities between drawing and writing, the chapter considers the

\textsuperscript{17} Dickel, 73. Dickel suggests that different types of printed project were intended for professional artists, such as Fialetti’s series of etchings depicting the habits of all the monastic orders: \textit{De gli habit delle religioni con le armi e breve descrittione loro} (Venice: Marco Sadeler, 1626) or Giacomo Franco’s Venetian costume books.
extent to which printed drawings books served as primers for draftsmen, literally ABC books of *disegno*.

The second chapter features three case studies: Odoardo Fialetti’s etched drawing book *Tutte le parti* (c. 1608), Francesco Cavazzoni’s unpublished manuscript *Esemplario della nobile arte del disegno* of 1611, and Giuseppe Maria Mitelli’s books from the end of the century. These three titles are the only examples in the genre where text is interspersed with images, or in the case of Mitelli, present on the same page as the images. By looking closely at how text interacts with images in two examples from the formative years of the genre, and one from the end of the century, I highlight the different roles played by these written components. I also use these texts to explore the issue of intended audience and to identify what they can tell us about the structure of the genre as a whole.

In the third chapter I discuss the inconsistent manner in which the authors and publishers of Italian printed drawing books from the first decades of the genre incorporated anatomy, perspective, and proportion in their projects. These three areas of expertise, long considered central parts of an artist’s skill set, were accessible in other types of printed books used by artists and art lovers alike. The manner in which *libri da disegnare* incorporate or reject these subjects reflects a conscious choice by the artists or the publishers of the projects to create a new genre of art “literature.” By looking at the contents of printed drawing books, as well as the manuscript example of Cavazzoni, the variable nature of the genre within the first decades of the seicento, as well as the changes that occur over the course of the century, will become clearer.
My final chapter treats the genre as a whole, problematizing the monolithic notion of drawing books and suggesting that they be discussed within separate categories: books, series, fragments, and copies. Doing so highlights the diverse formats of the Italian drawing books in terms of completeness, and it serves to underscore the varied circumstances of their creation as opposed to the previously held belief that they stemmed exclusively from the academy practice of the Carracci. The format of this chapter, where I discuss almost every example in terms of the artists and publishers involved, allows for identification and clarification of various editions and alternate printings. Thus, this chapter also acts as the first, albeit informal, catalogue of Italian printed drawing books.

As the first comprehensive study of printed Italian drawing books, this dissertation not only describes the important genre, but also uncovers new material. These discoveries include alternate editions, a previously unknown project, and a text that will help clarify the history of publication of Fialetti’s books. In the course of my research, I identified a fragment of a drawing book engraved by Pietro Aquila, never before discussed in the literature but presented here in Chapter 4. A rediscovered text that helps us to understand the original format for one of the earliest books in the genre, Odoardo Fialetti’s *Tutte le parti*, is discussed in Chapter 2. Fialetti’s is the only known example of an Italian printed drawing book with an accompanying text that comments directly on the images within and so is invaluable evidence: in truth, this text has been available since 1660 in an English translation. Alexander Browne, in his *The Whole Art of Drawing, Painting, Limning, and Etching* (London: Peter Stent), copied not only Fialetti’s etchings, but also almost all of his text. Although Browne credited Fialetti with
the authorship of the text, no scholar has made this connection. I reproduce both
Fialetti’s original text and Browne’s translation (with limited commentary) in Appendix
B and D, respectively. Appendix E is the first English translation of the verses in
Mitelli’s *Alfabeto in Sogno*.

**Drawing Education in Italy 1400-1700**

It is worthwhile to sketch out the frame that contains our discussion of the origins
and use of printed drawing books: the teaching of drawing in Italy from 1400-1700. The
earliest groups of images circulated in a workshop setting for training apprentices or for
use in compositions were pattern- or model-books, and they formed a repository of
common stock types like animals or heads representing various ages (Figures I.1 and
I.2). Such collections of carefully laid-out and clearly defined exemplars existed
alongside single sheets gathered by artists into portfolios, which were kept around the
workshop. Along with prints, plaster casts, and sculptures these drawn models formed
the teaching collection used by the master when instructing novices.

Writings by Cennino Cennini and Leon Battista Alberti in the first half of the
cinquecento provide evidence that young artists learned to draw by copying simple
elements from existing models, often of a two-dimensional nature, before moving on to
the more difficult task of drawing from three dimensional models, such as casts,

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sculptures, or finally, from living bodies.\textsuperscript{19} Beginning in the first decade of the century with Cennini’s *The Craftsman’s Handbook*, we are told, admittedly in the vaguest form, how one should begin to draw: “Then, using a model, start to copy the easiest possible subjects…”\textsuperscript{20} Around thirty years later, Leon Battista Alberti breaks the process down further, in *De Pictura*:

> I would like, at least, that those who undertake the art of painting should follow what I see being done among teachers of writing. Those, in effect, first teach separately, all characters of the alphabet. Thereafter they prepare to bring together the syllables, and subsequently the expressions. Therefore, let our [painters] also follow this procedure in painting. At first, let them [learn], the edge of surfaces, [I would say] almost the elements of a painting, then the connection s of the same [surfaces]: from here on, let them learn by heart with precision the shapes of all the members and all the differences that can be found in the members.\textsuperscript{21}

It would appear that drawing instruction required the young draftsman to copy, repetitively, simple examples to gain proficiency. The *Trattato della Pittura*, a codification of the ideas of Leonardo da Vinci, compiled in the middle of the sixteenth century by one of his students, discusses the training of the beginner in two main

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\textsuperscript{19} For sources on the “drawing course” starting with Cennini and Leonardo, see Meder, in particular 218 – 230.

\textsuperscript{20} Cennino Cennini. *The Craftsman’s Handbook*, Trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr., (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960) 5. It is not clear what the “model” (esempio) is in Cennini’s account nor does he tell us what are the easiest subjects. It is unlikely that the process of artistic education would have changed dramatically between Cennini and Leonardo making it likely that Cennini’s simple examples were two-dimensional rather than three. The Italian from the edition of 1839 reads: “Poi con esempio comincia a ritrarre cose agevoli quanto più si può…” Cennino Cennini, *Trattato della Pittura* (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1839), 6.

\textsuperscript{21} Trans Rocco Sinisgalli. Rocco Sinisgalli. *Il nuovo De pictura di Leon Battista Alberti = The new De pictura of Leon Battista Alberti* (Rome: Kappa, 2006) 251: “Voglio che i giovani, quali ora nuovi si danno a dipingere, così facciano quanto veggo di chi impara a scrivere. Questi in prima separato insegnano tutte le forme delle lettere, quali gli antiqui chiamano elementi; poi insegnano le silabe; poi appresso insegnano componere tutte le dizioni. Con questa ragione ancora seguitano i nostri a dipingere. In prima imparino ben disegnare gli orli delle superficie, e qui se essercitino quasi come ne’ primi elementi della pittura; poi imparino giungere insieme le superficie; poi imparino ciascuna forma distinta di ciascuno membro, e mandino a mente qualunque possa essere differenza in ciascuno membro.”
passages. In “What the student should learn first,” we are told that, “The young man should…copy works after the hand of a good master, to gain the habit of drawing parts of the body well: and then work from nature, to confirm the lessons learned.” This advice for the early education of the artist focuses on the human body. The text returns to the theme in “Rules for the painter: The painter ought first to train his own hand by copying drawings from the hands of good masters, and when this has been done under the guidance of his teacher, he should represent objects well in relief…” Again, the author of the text indicates that a student should start by copying two-dimensional images, only later moving to three-dimensional models.

As was already mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, a workshop was unlikely to keep such juvenile attempts at specific details like features of the face or parts of the body. Unsurprisingly, very few drawings directly relating to the first steps of a young draftsman’s training exist. One of the few suggested examples of such model material to have survived comes from a drawing by Leonardo in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. Here, a small sheet features an eye in profile in red chalk, thought to

24 Patricia Louise Reilly also came to this common sense observation that the first attempts of an apprentice were unlikely to survive. Patricia Reilly, Grand Designs: Alessandro Allori’s “Discussions on the Rules of Drawing,” Giorgio Vasari’s “Lives of the Artists” and the Florentine Visual Vernacular, Ph.D. diss (University of California at Berkeley, 1999) 136-137.
25 There are a number of drawings also associated with Michelangelo. See Frederick Hartt, The Drawings of Michelangelo (London, Thames and Hudson, 1971) Cat. Nos. 311 and 312. The fame of the artists connected to these simple works is probably the reason for their survival.
be by Leonardo with a copy, by an apprentice, of the same feature in lead point to the right of the model (Figure I.3).  

A number of similar small drawings by Leonardo have come down to us; cut out of larger sheets; Patricia Reilly suggests that these drawings may have served as models for young draftsman in the master’s workshop.  

These drawings, and especially the copied eye, are scant but important evidence that workshop practice included drawing and replication of parts of the body in the later quattrocento.

There is another instructive example of drawing education in a painting by Gian Francesco Caroto, Portrait of a Boy with Drawing (c. 1520), now in the Museo del Castelvecchio in Verona (Figure I.4). Here, Caroto shows a young boy enthusiastically holding up a drawn sheet of studies featuring a rudimentary line drawing of a man. To the left of the main sketch is a proficiently drawn eye in profile. The fact that both the eyes on the head of the figure of the man are shown in profile while the face is in fact frontal suggests that the well-executed eye on the sheet represents a model that the boy was given to copy. The drawing looks like it was done by a younger child than the one holding the sheet in the painting. Laurie Rubin suggests that the painting should be seen as celebrating the child’s earliest attempts at drawing after he has, we assume, moved on to more advanced work.  

Ulrich Pfisterer suggests instead that it is more a commentary


on portraiture or self-portraiture. Regardless, we can view it as early evidence, c. 1520, for a course of drawing where an instructor would provide a student with simple contour drawing of parts of the face as models much like the Leonardo drawings.

**Didactic Prints**

Printmaking changed everything. Artists both north and south of the Alps had almost certainly used prints as models and teaching aids since the invention of printmaking, and Northern printmakers had published collections of models for artists in the fifteenth century, although it was not until the first decade of the seventeenth century that artists created prints specifically designated for instruction in drawing, as is the present study’s focus. Drawing books were not the only type of printed, two-dimensional study aids available, and here it is also important to consider the contemporary evolution of the use of printed material for didactic purposes beyond artistic education. Printmakers produced model prints, for the purpose of direct copying, or as patterns, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Individual model prints were available in the later fifteenth century, but groups of engravings and printed

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30 Among Northern examples, in addition to Dürer’s projects see Heinrich Vogtherr’s Ein frembds und wanderbars Kunstbüechlin (1538) and Erhard Schön’s book Underweissung der proportzion und stellung der posen (1538). Both of these works, with their goal of instructing young artists, were inspired by Dürer’s manuals. See Bolten, 11.
manuals arose in the 1510s and 20s with handwriting and ornament books. These printed manuals were part of a trend towards illustrated books that would, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, come to include printed drawing books.

It is important to look outside of workshops and art academies and remember the class of amateurs and their growing interests in various practices that could be taught by a similarly growing repertoire of printed manuals. The printing press was making such didactic manuals available to a wider and more complex audience. On one hand we find books of patterns for goldsmithing, embroidery, and lace making (Figures I.5 – I.7). Publishers often directed the latter two subjects towards women: these printed models were aimed well outside of the painter or printmaker’s profession. On the other hand, there were illustrated treatises on handwriting (orthography), arithmetic, fencing, and dancing. Handwriting manuals purported to instruct through a set of examples that the user would copy, and to varying degrees fencing and dancing treatises provided visual examples described by accompanying text. In a number of cases, the same artists etched or engraved drawing books, fencing manuals, and writing books. Furthermore, in the seventeenth century illustrated books reflected tastes and interests of royalty and the upper classes with an increase in titles covering subjects, such as court pageants, architecture, military science, horsemanship, dueling, horticulture and certain types of literature including emblem books, and epic poetry. Both patterns and didactic books

33 For example, Giacomo Franco published a writing book in 1596. The names Fialetti and Valesio are both connected to handwriting treatises by Barisoni, and Fialetti illustrated a fencing treatise by Nicoletto Giganti (1606).
existed before the invention and popularization of intaglio printmaking techniques and
the invention of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century. The advent of printing
changed the manner in which treatises and manuals could spread ideas and respond to
new audiences.

There was yet another audience that has to be considered in this period and that is
the Academy. The second half of the sixteenth century saw the founding of three state-
sponsored art academies: the Accademia del Disegno in Florence in 1563, the Accademia
del Disegno in Perugia in 1573, and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in 1593. These
institutions were part of a larger movement to raise the status of the visual arts to that of a
liberal art. Academies did not replace workshop training for young artists but rather
supplemented and expanded their education with subjects that not every master could
teach expertly, including mathematics, anatomy, and natural philosophy. This is not to
say that there was no instruction in drawing, but it is only for the Accademia di San Luca
that we have records of the teaching program for young artists. There, the youngest
artists were given drawn examples of parts of the body to copy. These drawings were
made by the senior artists, the deputati who gave them to the appropriate students:
“[Zuccaro] and his substitutes and deputati [drew] examples of eyes, mouths, noses,
heads, feet, and hands, and similar things for them to copy.” The connection to the
types of prints in libri da disegnare is impossible to ignore. This is not to say that printed

34 Karen-edis Barzman, The Florentine Academy and the early modern state: the discipline of
35 “[Zuccaro] e suoi sustituti e deputati, [disegnarono] esempi di occhi bocche, nasi, teste, piedi,
e mani, e simili cose che essi li copiassero.” Trans. Pietro Roccasecca, “Teaching in the Studio of
the “Accademia del Disegno dei pittori, scultori e architetti di Roma” (1594-1636),” 123 – 159:
M. Lukehart (Washington [D.C.]: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Distributed by Yale
University Press, 2009).
drawing books arose only to meet the needs of the academies, and it must be noted that the first examples did not arise until the first decade of the seventeenth century, but the formalization and standardization of some aspects of the education of artists must be connected to the rise of printed images for instruction in drawing. Amateurs also attended the burgeoning art academies and this new audience, although often recorded attending lectures and taking advantage of the mathematical teaching in particular, should be considered when discussing printed drawing books.

All of these currents make the seventeenth century a fascinating one for our understanding of the development of artistic education. Somewhere in this tangle of professional workshop practice, academies, and amateur consumers of didactic printed manuals we find printed drawing books. What was at the beginning of this introduction an interesting means of uncovering the physical evidence of drawing instruction becomes somewhat more: a way for us to understand how people were learning drawing, and who those people might have included in the seventeenth century.
Chapter 1: Learning to Draw and Learning to Write: Practical and Theoretical Connections between Artistic and Orthographical Education

Since the early fifteenth century, Italian educators and artists alike expressed the concept that learning to write is like learning to draw, or vice versa. From humanist teachers in Padua to Leon Battista Alberti’s highly influential treatise on painting, the processes of beginning to write and beginning to draw were connected by their methods of mastering parts before the whole. Contemporary scholars further linked writing and drawing by the transferable skills required for each process and by the form of printed manuals and models used by both disciplines. The actual methods of learning to write, which come down to us through treatises and dialogues on education, resemble written sources about beginning draftsmanship, such as Alessandro Allori’s Regole or the course of study at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. Originating at the same time and in the same intellectual current, the Italian printed drawing book (libro da disegnare) put a new spin on the idea that learning to write is like learning to draw. Its printed form made a widely embraced method of drawing education available to a larger audience. This chapter outlines the intellectual history of the relationship between learning to write and learning to draw. Focusing on the practical aspects of elementary education during the early modern period, I examine the methodological relationship between printed writing books and printed drawing books. I conclude with a discussion of the evidence for a course of drawing education, which a number of period sources referred to as the “ABCs of disegno” and the visual form it achieves in libri da disegnare.

Luca Ciamberlano’s engraving from the series Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo Humano Cavata dallo studio, e disegni de Carracci (Pietro
Stefanoni: Rome, 1609-1614) provides the user with studies of hands that could be helpful when learning to draw a difficult part of the body (Figure 1.1). The print shows three pairs of hands, two of which perform activities related to writing. Along the left edge two hands are engraved with a lesser degree of finish than the others on the page. One points and the other holds a small piece of paper. At the bottom of the sheet, two hands cut a quill. The preparing of paper, pen, and inks were processes shared by writers and draftsmen, who also both used straight edges and compasses. In the center, a left hand directs our eye to the activity of its partner. The right hand is in the midst of writing the name of the engraver. The activities depicted, cutting a quill and writing one’s name, could also illustrate aspects of a writing manual. Such books, including Sigismondo Fanti’s *Theorica e Pratica* (Venice, 1514), Giovanni Antonio Tagliente’s *Lo Presente Libro* (Venice, 1524), and Giambattista Palatino’s *Libro Nuovo* (1540), often contained plates depicting the tools of writing and text describing how to prepare quills.

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36 Charles Dempsey also makes the connection that Ciamberlano’s engraving gives visual form to the similarities between writing and drawing. See Charles Dempsey, “Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Dec. 1980) 552-569, n.79. Dempsey writes that, “the elements of drawing were commonly compared to the elements of writing” but leaves the subject at that. He also refers to the Ciamberlano print as the frontispiece for the *Scuola Peretta*. Since a frontispiece for the series exists in a number of different states, and I have yet to see this print bound at the beginning of any version of the series, I have to disagree. The rebus at the bottom of the print reads: “ogni cosa vince l’oro.” Ciamberlano copied this rebus from a print by Agostino Carracci, *Old Man and a Courtesan* (B 114). The rebus makes much more sense on an image about prostitution than it does in the context of Ciamberlano’s print.

37 In his most famous drawing book, *Alfabeto in Sogno*, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli frames the notice to the reader with the tools of the draftsman’s art: ink, quill, knife, stylus, straight edge, and compass.

Ciamberlano’s inclusion of his own name in the plate was a clever device but also served to give visual form to the inherent similarities between writing and drawing. This figurative interplay between writing and drawing, exhibited here so cleverly by Ciamberlano in a didactic work intended for beginners of the seventeenth century, has its roots in an earlier intellectual current. The idea of a relationship between visual and literary production was present since at least the beginning of the fifteenth century.

By the last quarter of the 1300s, theoretical comparison between writing and painting became so commonplace that we can no longer assume that an author discussing the acquisition of skill in painting had direct knowledge of the apprenticeship system. This shift in theory is part of a larger humanist movement, as Michael Baxandall observed in 1965: “Drawing analogies between painting and writing was one of the first devices of Latin rhetoric revived by the humanists of the fourteenth century.” In comparison to the better-known paragone discussion of the merits of painting or poetry, the relationship between drawing and the physical act of forming letters/writing has received relatively little attention from scholars of art history, education, or calligraphy. Within the paragone between painting and poetry, the same virtues, such as the ability to make the absent present, were often claimed by both sides of the debate. In a similar vein, the analogy between painting and writing was used by supporters of both fields to extol their respective crafts. In the case of writing resembling drawing, the comparison

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helped to explain a process of education. Baxandall identified these two primary analytical goals that such analogy could take in the fifteenth century: to discuss “the processes and limitations of inventio and poetic imagination – pictoribus atque poetis / quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas” or “to illustrate the means of acquiring a verbal faculty, something more humble but also of more actual importance to the humanists.” For the artists themselves, those intimately acquainted with the hands-on aspects of artistic education, the second, more practical use of the analogy—the acquisition of a verbal faculty borne out in visual production—was the more applicable. For this reason, we find the comparison between writing and drawing more commonly made among artists. Artists’ use of the comparison may be aspirational, seeking to associate the more manual nature of the arts with the intellectual realm. From the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, when discussing early education in disegno, Leon Battista Alberti, Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Battista Armenini, and Federico Zuccaro all explicitly make a comparison between writing and drawing.

**Chronological Overview**

The first source that directly compares writing and drawing in the early modern period comes from Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder. Vergerio was a statesman and teacher of logic in Florence and Padua. Published in his De ingenuis moribus ac liberalibus studiis adolescentiae... (Venice, 1472), but written as early as 1404, Vergerio observed:

> There were four things the Greeks used to teach their boys: letters, wrestling, music, and drawing (disegnativa), which some call portrayal (protractiva)...It is true that nowadays drawing does not pass in practice

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41 Baxandall (1965), 183-84.
as a liberal study except so far as it relates to the writing of characters – writing being the same thing as portraying and drawing – for it has otherwise remained in fact the province of the painters.\textsuperscript{42}

Although Vergerio’s words also make an argument for considering painting as one of the liberal arts, here, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, he clearly states the idea that writing is “the same thing as portraying and drawing.”

Baxandall identifies another source relevant to my discussion: an undated letter written by Gasparino Barzizza to a friend who appears to have had a troublesome pupil. Barzizza (c. 1360-1431) was a teacher of rhetoric in Padua who also ran his own grammar school. Upon hearing of his friend’s difficulties, Barzizza wrote:

If it had been possible, I should much like to have known something of your intentions in advance. For the course you describe, and which in the case of our Giovanni’s progress you have pursued rather more rapidly than may be appropriate for him, or indeed than I consider proper…I myself would have done what good painters practise towards their pupils; for when the apprentices are to be instructed by their master before having acquired a thorough grasp of the theory of painting, the painters follow the practice of giving them a number of fine drawings and pictures as models (\textit{exemplaria}) of the art, and through these they can be brought to make a certain amount of progress even by themselves. So too in our own art of literature…I would have given Giovanni some famous letters as models…\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42} Quoted in Baxandall (1965) 184. See Pietri Pauli Vergerii De ingenius moribus et liberalibus studiis adolescentiae etc., Ed. A. Gnesotti (1918) 122-123: “\textit{Erant autem quattuor, quae pueros suos Graeci docere consueverunt: litteras, luctativam, musicarti, et designativam, quarti protractivam quidam appellant…Disignativa vero nunc in usu non est pro liberali, nisi quantum forsitan ad scripturam attinet (scribere namque et ipsum est prostrahere atque designare), quoad reliqua vero penes pictores resedit. Erat autem non solum utile, sed et honestum quoque hujusmodi negotium apud eos, ut Aristoteles inquit. Nam et in emptionibus vassorum tabularumque ac statuarum, quibus Graecia maxime delectata est, succurrebat, ne facile decipi pretio possent, et plurimum conferebat ad apprehendendam rerum, quae natura constant aur arte, pulchritudinem ac venustatem; quibus de rebus pertinet ad magnos viros et loqui inter se, et judicare posse.”

Barzizza’s description of the painter’s method of teaching his own pupils is informative: the students are young and inexperienced (“not having a full grasp of painting”), so they need to start simply so as not to get frustrated or overwhelmed. The painter gives the students “drawings and pictures as models.” Thus, we know that the students were asked to begin drawing from two-dimensional models or examples. Given such straightforward examples uncomplicated by issues of perspective, foreshortening, or the representation of light found with three-dimensional models, the students envisioned by Barzizza can “make a certain amount of progress even by themselves.” Apprentices would begin with simple examples that they could practice on their own through imitation. Barzizza connects writing and drawing by borrowing a practical device of artistic education and applying it to instruction in composition.

Few artists writing about drawing education at the beginning of the fifteenth century provided detailed instructions. Cennino Cennini, in his Artist’s Handbook (c. 1400), covers many useful skills, such as preparing paper and ink and the use of drawing tools such as the pen, stylus, or chalk, but was no more specific about learning to draw than to instruct that after carefully preparing an erasable tablet on which to practice, one should use a model and “start to copy the easiest possible subjects, to get your hand
in…” There is nothing unusual about this course of study; copying was a central part of workshop training throughout the early modern period. Young artists copied a variety of drawn or printed models kept by their masters, thus standardizing output and maintaining continuity in training.\textsuperscript{45}

Writing in 1435, the polymath Leon Battista Alberti reversed Barzizza’s analogy and suggested that the young painter should look to the method of writing teachers. This reversal, which gave primacy to writing, became the standard form of the analogy from this point forward. From c. 1414 – 1418, Alberti studied classics in Padua under Barzizza. It is possible that Alberti’s exposure to Barzizza’s ideas about teaching influenced his desire to state clearly how a young artist should begin in drawing. In \textit{De Pictura}, Alberti writes,

\begin{quote}
I would like, at least, that those who undertake the art of painting should follow what I see being done among teachers of writing. Those, in effect, first teach separately, all characters of the alphabet. Thereafter they prepare to bring together the syllables, and subsequently the expressions. Therefore, let our [painters] also follow this procedure in painting. At first, let them [learn], the edge of surfaces, [I would say] almost the elements of a painting, then the connection s of the same [surfaces]: from here on, let them learn by heart with precision the shapes of all the members and all the differences that can be found in the members.\textsuperscript{46}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{45} Ames Lewis, 16.

\textsuperscript{46} Translation Sinisgalli, 250 – 251: 251: “Voglio che i giovani, quali ora nuovi si danno a dipingere, così facciano quanto veggo di chi impara a scrivere. Questi in prima separato insegnano tutte le forme delle lettere, quali gli antiqui chiamano elementi; poi insegnano le silabe; poi apresso insegnano componere tutte le dizioni. Con questa ragione ancora seguitano i nostri a dipingere. In prima imparino ben disegnare gli orli delle superficie, e qui se essercitino quasi come ne’ primi elementi della pittura; poi imparino giungere insieme le superficie; poi imparino ciascuna forma distinta di ciascuno membro, e mandino a mente qualunque possa essere differenza in ciascuno membro.” Alberti published the Latin version of his book in 1435 and an
Alberti lays out how writing letters and words is the same as drawing, beginning with the contours of individual “letters” (parts of the body) and moving on to finished forms. He describes the process of learning letters one by one, which he translates into learning how to construct a part of the body. He advises working contour line by contour line, one at a time, before joining “the elements” together into a completed form and then moving on to drawing the whole member at once. The term most often used for elements of painting is *elementi*. (Grayson, in his popular English translation, leaves out the phrase entirely.)

I am in agreement with Rocco Sinisgalli that the phrase “quasi picturae elementa” or “quasi gli elementi di una pittura” may well refer to a type of ABCs of painting that reflects the ABCs used by the teacher of writing. I have found one translation of the above passage in which the ABCs are mentioned directly. The second Italian edition of Alberti’s treatise, that of Cosimo Bartoli from 1568, translates the Latin word *elementa* into “l’ a b c della Pittura” (“ABCs of painting”). As far as I am aware, no other translation refers to the ABCs.

Italian translation in the following year. Recently though, Rocco Sinisgalli proposed that Alberti actually write the work first in the vernacular before translating it in Latin. Sinisgalli, 25.

Sinisgalli, 456, notes on paragraph 55 (20). Although Sinisgalli does not supply a reason or a source for his conclusion that the term “must mean the corresponding alphabet in painting of the alphabet of the teachers of writing,” I think he must know and be thinking of the Domenichi translation.


Ludovico Domenichi, *La pittura di Leonbattista Alberti* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito, de Ferrari,
“quasi gli elementi di una pittura.” Bartoli, a Florentine diplomat and scholar who was one of the pivotal early figures in the Accademia degli Umidi (Fiorentina), was also a close friend of Giorgio Vasari. Bartoli helped the artist prepare his *Vite* for publication. Considering his role in the Accademia Fiorentina, an institution that, as I will discuss later, promoted Tuscan language and grammar, and his connection to Vasari, one of the founders of the Accademia del Disegno, Bartoli’s translation may not be a casual one. Comparing the Latin, Italian, Tuscan vernacular, and English texts side by side leads to a better understanding of this seemingly liberal translation. John Florio’s 1611 Italian-English dictionary offers this definition for the term *elementi*: “the ground of any artes or beginnings of all things,” thus Bartoli’s translation appears to reflect the wider comparison between the process of learning to draw and general practices of education “the ABCs” in the sixteenth century.

Alberti goes into more detail than Barzizza, offering a starting point in drawing education that mimicked what Renaissance teachers regarded as classical teaching methods. In the fifteenth century, when constructing programs for their own pupils, humanist educators looked to surviving ancient texts on education, such as that of Quintilian. Quintilian (c. AD 35 - c. 95) advised teaching writing from the part to the whole – from letters to syllables and then on to words – by use of models and by tracing on a board with the letters cut into it. The student would practice each letter individually,
writing it again and again, before moving on to the next.\textsuperscript{52} Writing was taught in the early modern period in much the same manner as standard cursive script in the early twentieth century: through repetitive copying of individual letters of the alphabet, following a standardized method for constructing each letter.

More than a century after Alberti, although he does not make explicit the comparison between learning to write and learning to draw, Benvenuto Cellini connected disegno and writing with words and images in the same document. In one of six versions of the artist’s submission for a contest to create an emblem for the newly formed Accademia del Disegno in Florence we see a representation of Nature with the trumpets of Fame in a central lozenge (Figure 1.2).\textsuperscript{53} Below this figure the artist drew an alphabet where each letter corresponds to an instrument used by a draftsman, painter, or sculptor.\textsuperscript{54} Cellini here made a clear formal connection between writing and artistic figuring. At the conclusion of the text that begins on the recto and continues on the verso of the sheet, Cellini argued that like the Egyptians, Greeks, and Hebrews, he and his fellow Tuscans should have their own alphabet.\textsuperscript{55} Although this argument can be read in the context of

\textsuperscript{52} H. I. Marrou, \textit{A History of Education in Antiquity}, Trans. George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956) 156.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid. Cellini wrote part of a treatise on disegno where he proposed a method of drawing education based on piece by piece drawing of the human body, starting from the bones. Patricia Reilly sees this work as a kind of response to Allori’s treatise. See, Patricia L. Reilly, “Drawing the Line: Benvenuto Cellini’s \textit{On the Principles and Method of Learning the Art of Drawing} and the question of Amateur Drawing Education,” \textit{Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer} (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 26-50. Michael Cole identifies one of the central arguments in Cellini’s treatise to be the emphasis on mastering the subject by reducing it to things that the artist can tackle (“establishing psychological supremacy” Cole, 99). In order
academic discourses taking place at this same moment in favor of the Tuscan vernacular as the language of scholarly discourse, Cellini’s pairing of the letters of the alphabet with artist’s tools draws another connection between writing and drawing. As disegno was considered to be the father of all the arts, the tools of all artists were connected to this specialized alphabet.

At roughly the same time that Cellini conceived of his emblem, one of his Florentine rivals, Alessandro Allori, was composing a treatise on drawing. In Allori’s unpublished Il primo libro de’ ragionamenti delle regole del disegno (Regole), written c. 1564/65, the artist set out to teach, with words and images, a simplified version of drawing the human form in outline. Allori designed his drawing lesson to relate to contemporary discussions about the standardization of spoken and written language (lingua scritta and lingua parlata) undertaken by the Accademia Fiorentina. This institution, to which Allori may have submitted his drawing treatise as part of a successful attempt to gain membership, was by this time a state-sponsored literary group with goals of recording the rules of the Tuscan vernacular and promoting its superiority over Greek or Latin as the language of discourse and the arts.

Allori’s method for drawing instruction sought to teach a lingua designata with a set of standard rules. In fact, the artist was the first to use the word regole in the title of a

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treatise on painting, sculpture, or *disegno*. He formatted his lesson to be accessible to an audience of educated dilettantes whose skill set included mastery of grammar and of orthography, knowledge that could be gained from printed books popular at the time Allori was drafting his treatise. Patricia Reilly’s reading of Allori’s *Regole* connects the artist’s drawing lessons to his overall theory of *disegno*. She convincingly argues that they form a written and drawn argument.

In the first part of his treatise Allori makes the argument that *disegno* is a language like a written one in that with it one can describe ideas and physical events. Next, “he sets out to teach his audience the ABCs of this lingua disegnata, and to demonstrate the rules of its grammar.” Reilly credits Roberto Ciardi with this grammatical reading. Ciardi was the first to see Allori’s drawing lessons as the artist’s own version of letters, syllables, and words for which he then provides the grammar with which to put them together. Allori describes his method:

> We will now make all those parts that serve for making a head in profile, clearly distinguishing the one from the other, and after this we will give the method and the rule for situating them and placing them together, each in its place, and regarding this, it will be attempted by me to imitate the entire man in the flower of his youth.

Allori intended his “rules” and exercises with “simple lines,” in which he reduced the face into the elements of the eyes, ears, mouth, etc., to be copied a sufficient number of

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59 Ibid. 128-129.
times that the student committed them to memory and could thus re-create them without
the provided examples in front of him.\textsuperscript{62} Reilly argues that Allori patterned his \textit{Regole} on
treatises by Benedetto Varchi and by other members of the Accademia Fiorentina on the
rules of the Florentine vernacular but also on writing manuals. In particular she identifies
a direct connection between the painter’s treatise and the format chosen by writing
masters including Giovanni Battista Palatino: Allori places his step-by-step illustrations
above blocks of instructional text (Figures 1.3 and 1.4). He also follows Palatino in
directing the student to begin with the first, simple stroke and build upon that to arrive at
a finished form.\textsuperscript{63} Allori’s is the only Italian drawing treatise from the sixteenth or
seventeenth centuries that takes this exact form; his text shares space on the same page
with illustrations. Two other drawing treatises intermix text and illustrations but do so
with sheets that contain only text or only images. These are Fialetti’s undated project in
the previously unknown form found in the copy in the Rijksmuseum (which I call \textit{Tutte le
parti/A}) and Cavazzoni’s \textit{Exemplario}. In other drawing books with written components,
such as those of Giacomo Franco or Gasparo Colombina, text precedes the images in a
separate section. Allori’s mirroring of writing manuals, both in concept and form, in his
drawing treatise reflects the strength of the direct connection between the skills of writing
and drawing in the second half of the sixteenth century.

\textsuperscript{62} Ciardi, n.42.  Paul van den Akker further takes up this idea of repetitive practice and the
memorization of elements of drawing in order to gain graphic freedom in his published
dissertation \textit{Sporen van vaardigheid: de ontwerpmethode voor de figuurhouding in de Italiaanse
tekenkunst van de renaissance} (Abcoude: Uniepers, 1991) and in a related article, “’Out of
disegno invention is born’ --Drawing a convincing figure in Renaissance Italian Art,”
\textit{Argumentation}, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1993, 45-66.  Akker also pursues another avenue of research,
delving into the cognitive processes involved in learning basic skills as well as those required to
make out forms. His arguments are engaging and well-researched but they are beyond the scope
of this present study.

\textsuperscript{63} Reilly (1999) 141.
In Giovanni Battista Armenini’s treatise *De’ veri precetti della pittura* (Ravenna, 1586) we find the next written evidence of an artist remarking upon the relationship between writing and drawing, in this case in terms of the similarity of the skills required. Armenini intended his *Veri Precetti* as a technical treatise. Although he was no doubt aware of earlier tracts on painting, including those by Cennino Cennini, Leonardo, and Alberti, Armenini argued that his book was the first to serve as a handbook for the art of painting. Sculpture and architecture had their own texts, including those by Filarete, Alberti, and Serlio. For painting, however, the most famous source, that of Alberti, was for the most part more theoretical than practical. Armenini’s treatise consists of three books. In the first, the most theoretical, he discusses the nature of painting. He devotes the second book to technical matters such as highlights, shadows, and perspective as well the education of the artist. The third book treats appropriate locations for different types of paintings as well as the qualities required in an artist.

In chapter seven of the first book of the *Veri Precetti*, in which Armenini discusses drawing, he begins by suggesting that the novice should have received training in orthography:

First, we must caution those who would take up drawing to know how to read and write well, for those who are accustomed to write with a fine hand are considered to have made a certain good beginning in drawing. The better they write, the greater promise they show in drawing and in the other things to which they will turn their hands. It is considered that the skill which children, through continual practice, acquire in handling the pen well and in forming good letters will make the imitation of designs

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easier since one learns to write in part through the imitation of another’s letters.\textsuperscript{65}

Here Armenini does not suggest that the methods of instruction for writing are like drawing, but rather he takes up a related thread, that the skills required for the activities are somewhat interchangeable, or at least linked.\textsuperscript{66} Armenini’s hypothetical student of drawing would already know how to write, which either suggests a non-professional reader for Armenini’s treatise or simply reflects the young age at which a child would be taught letters and basic handwriting. The author’s comment about the skills of children suggests the latter, although a layman coming to this treatise would no doubt be trained in orthography.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid. For the Italian see, Giovanni Battista Armenini, \textit{De’ veri precetti della pittura}. Ed. Marina Goreri (Torino : G. Einaudi, 1988): “E prima è da avertire colui che si pone al disegno, che inanzi egli sappia leggere e scriver bene, perciò che a chi pulitamente si è avezzo di far bel carattere si giudica che, come quasi ciò sia un non so che di buon principio, che quanto ciò faccia meglio, tanto maggiormente si prometta di lui nel disegno e nelle altre cose che dovranno passare per le sue mani, perché si considera che quel poco aiuto, che pel continuo uso si acquista da’ fanciulli nel mannegiar bene la penna e nel far le lettere bene, li sia per far più agevole l’imitazion del disegno, trovandosi ad imitare scrivendo in parte le cose altrui, né meno che lo scriverne ha di bisogno le molte lettere…” 67.

\textsuperscript{66} Armenini then goes on to say that the student should have a knowledge of letters and to be a well-rounded person in general. Such sentiments about a more humanistic idea of education for the artist had been a part of art treatises since Ghiberti and are also well represented in Alberti’s book.

\textsuperscript{67} Armenini was not the first to identify similarities between the skills required for orthography and for draftsmanship. The idea that the hand could be trained in one skill which would aid it in acquiring another was also voiced by Erasmus in his \textit{De recta Graeci et Latini sermonis pronunciatione} (1528). In this treatise, which takes the form of a dialogue, the character of Ursus, after discussing the benefits of play in learning, makes a bit of a jump to discuss drawing: “It will, therefore, be useful to give them occasional training in drawing. Many are attracted spontaneously to this art because they delight to express what they recognize and to recognize what others have expressed. Just as trained musicians have a superior annunciation even when they are not singing, so a man whose fingers are trained to draw lines of every shape will construct letters with greater ease and facility.” (Quoted by A. S. Osley in his work on the chancery hand: A. S. Osley, \textit{Scribes and Sources: Handbook of the Chancery Hand in the Sixteenth Century, Texts from the Writing Masters selected, introduced, and translated by A. S. Osley} (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980). Erasmus appears to suggest that drawing would give the hand of the student a more flexible instrument with which to practice writing.
At the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the introductory text of a drawing book itself, we find Giacomo Franco recycling the Albertian connection between instruction in writing and in drawing. In the preface to this collaboration between Giacomo Franco and Palma il Giovane, published in 1611 as *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo* (Venice: Giacomo Franco), Franco writes:

Teachers of writing, who first teach their pupils the characters of letters, then syllables, and finally phrases, I declare at once in the order of doing, that these are to be outlined first: eyes, noses, mouths, ears, feet, and hands, then heads, arms, shins, thighs, as much of men as of women, and next the figure all at once, which all the more easily will it be drawn by him than how the majority of those aforementioned parts were drawn. He who desires to draw the entire figure itself, before he will have learned to draw its parts, will be confounded. It is the opinion of all worthy painters that parts should be outlined without shading first (as you will have been able to see in examples placed here in order), afterwards with care and with practice they may be shaded in.

Franco echoes the key points of Alberti’s comparison between the way writing masters teach orthography and how their method should be co-opted by those who teach drawing. The Venetian artist and publisher, however, goes into greater detail in listing the parts of the body that are appropriate as a course of study for beginning draftsmen. The plates reflect his advice. The work indeed contains examples of eyes, noses, mouths, ears, feet, 

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68 The first group of prints in the drawing book, those not after designs of Battista Franco, was later reprinted as *Regolare per imparar a designar*. (Venice: Marcus Sadeler, 1636 and Venice: Stefano Scolari, 1659). Franco’s introductory text is only included in the edition published by Franco and was not included with the later editions of *Regolare per imparar a designar*.

69 Giacomo Franco and Palma il Giovane, *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo*, from the introductory text by Franco. Trans. Seth G. Bernard. The original text reads: *Scribendi magistri, qui suos tyrones, prius literarum caracteres docent, postea syllabas, & deniq(ue); dictiones, idem arbitror in designatione faciendum, delineandi sunt prius; oculi, nasi, ora, aures, pedes & manus, postea capita, brachia, crura, femora, tam maris [sic], quam feminae & demum figura simul, quae eo facilius effigiabitur ab eo, a quo pluries partes supradictae fuerint efficiae. Volens enim figuram ipsum totam effingere, priusquam partes designare didicerit, confunderetur. Est autem Pictorum omnium excellentium sententia, ut partes sine umbra delineentur prius, (veluti videre poteritis in positis ordine exemplaribus) postea studio, & diligentia inumbentur.*
hands, heads, shins, and thighs of both men and women. Franco’s written breakdown of
the parts of the body to be drawn should not be seen solely as self-referential to his plates
but as part of a standard program of drawing education in Italy.

**Elementary Education in Early Modern Italy**

Understanding how learning to draw could be like learning to write (or vice versa)
in the early modern period requires a brief discussion about general education from the
late medieval period through the seventeenth century. Three different types of schools
existed during the early modern era, each differentiated by who was in charge. Schools
were run by the local civil authority, controlled by the Church, or were independent.
The independent school is the one most relevant to the discussion of writing and drawing
in Italy. In such a school a single schoolmaster taught students for a fee in his home or in
a rented space. This was a more or less open market situation where the teacher had only
his own skills as a qualification with which to sell his pedagogical services. The tutor

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70 Paul F. Grendler has written extensively on education during the renaissance and Baroque in
Europe, while Piero Lucchi and Eugenio Garin focus specifically on learning to read and write in
Italy. For literature see, *L’educazione umanistica in Italia*, Ed. Eugenio Garin (Bari, Laterza,
1949); Paul F. Grendler, *Books and Schools in the Renaissance* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate
Publishing Limited, 1995); Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning,
1300-1600* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Piero Lucchi, “La
Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino: Libri per imparare a leggere nel primo secolo della stampa.”
*Quaderni storici.* 38, 1978, 593-639; Lucchi, “Nascita del libro di lettura,” *L’editore del ’700 e I
Remondini*, Eds. M. Infelissee and P. Marini (Bassano del Grappa, Italy: Tassotti, 1992) 123-149;
Lucchi, “Leggere, scrivere e abbac: L’istruzione elementare agli inizi dell’eta moderna,”
*Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura* (Florence; Olschki, 1982) 101-119.
71 For a discussion of the three types of schools in Europe see Paul F. Grendler, “Schooling in
Western Europe,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 43. New York: Renaissance Society of America, 1990:
775-787, reprinted in Grendler (1995). In the first category, the town or city council took
responsibility for their citizens. Grendler (1990) 776. As one would expect, the Church oversaw
the hiring of teachers and general running of Church schools. It is a cliché that the Church
educated the majority of the population in the middle ages and Renaissance and in Italy such
schools were already in decline about 1300. Grendler (1990) 777.
was yet another pedagogue in this group, and some private teachers even had their own boarding schools. Such independent institutions were the most popular form of schools in Italy during the Renaissance.

During the early modern period, depending on the career path chosen for them by their parents, Italian children whose families sent them to school studied at either Latin or vernacular schools. The former were called Grammatica. As Piero Lucchi and Charles Dempsey both make clear, in Italy from 1400-1700, the word grammatica was more-or-less always associated with the idea of Latin; often the two were synonymous. Saying that one had learned to read meant in fact that one had learned to read Latin, which was the language of learning and knowledge, especially of the sciences. The education system at the time did not share our contemporary progression from elementary to grammar to high school. Learning the ABCs was not separate from learning Latin in the Grammatica. Young boys were taught to read and write by their masters, in some cases

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72 Guarino Gaurini, whom I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, had such a school. Grendler says that in this type of education system the teacher was a kind of father figure who was in charge of more than simply the intellectual education of his pupils; he was also in charge of their food, health, and manners. Grendler (1990) 775.

73 Although independent schools could vary widely in their location, number of pupils, and skills taught, they all shared an important characteristic; the master was not under any outside supervision. Grendler (1990) 776.

74 Lucchi (1978) 598. Charles Dempsey also discusses the Grammatica and what it meant to be considered “literate” at the end of the sixteenth century. See Dempsey (1980). In note 56, Dempsey provides a clear account of the term “grammar.” As he writes, “in the 16th century the word ‘grammar,’ unless specifically modified, refers to Latin (and occasionally Greek) grammar, and it is often used as a synonym for ‘Latin.’”

75 Once able to read and write, a Grammar school pupil would, through constant drilling, learn basic grammar and then advanced grammar before moving on to reading classical authors (including Virgil, Cicero, Ovid and Horace) and finally, studying rhetoric. The goal of such an education was to master the technical aspects of Latin as well as to create an eloquent manner of speaking and writing. See Dempsey, 560. Dempsey (1980) takes his account from Lukacs, II, 31.
in both in Latin and the vernacular. What we would consider “elementary” schools did not have a monopoly on teaching reading and writing. Even in Latin schools, students began by learning the alphabet from aids called Tavole or Carta. Tavole dell’albabo consisted of the letters, in order, on a piece of paper or parchment often mounted on a piece of wood and placed on the wall of the classroom. The instructor would point at the letters with a rod. Often, there were similar aids in smaller form for individual use.

For the most part, since antiquity, education has started with learning to read through the alphabetical method. A student repeated the alphabet over and over until he could recognize the letters. Then he moved on to syllables, then words, and finally phrases. Few students were destined to complete the path begun at the Grammatica; in fact, most attended Vernacular schools. Much of what we presently consider “elementary” education was taught either at home or in vernacular schools. Vernacular schools taught the basic skills of reading, writing, and abaco (arithmetic for practical purposes). The most common texts used in vernacular schools were the abbecedario or sillabario (“ABC book” or syllable book) called salterio (literally “psalter,” but signifying any primer in the sixteenth century), tavola (table), or Libro di Santa Croce.

76 Lucchi (1982) 105-106.
77 Ibid. 102.
78 Lucchi (1978) 599. From the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries the Tavole and Carta were much in demand, especially in the cities where there were great numbers of students. Making such study aids, made on the least expensive scraps of parchment, kept the cartolai busy.
79 Ibid.
80 Lucchi (1982) 108. As early as the fourteenth century, another path was suggested by the existence of a specific category of teachers within the Grammatica: the “maestri di grammatica inferiore.” This instructor taught only reading and writing. In general, when the children of artisans and merchants went to the grammar schools, they went to learn enough Latin to conduct business. In addition, vernacular schools were not really large enough or numerous enough to present a true alternative to the grammar schools and so, most communal schools were entrusted to Latin masters in Italy. See Lucchi (1978) 611.
(Book of the Holy Cross). These little books taught the alphabet, the beginning of reading through the use of syllables, and a group of prayers.\textsuperscript{82} Vernacular education was practical and probably changed little throughout the Renaissance.

**Orthographic Education**

Whether they attended Grammatica or vernacular schools, students first learned to read. Next, as Grendler found in the syllabus of the beginning class of the Collegio Romano, the young student, probably around 6-7 years of age, moved on to writing. Classroom instruction probably proceeded thus: first the students mastered technical aspects like stripping feathers, cutting a quill, choosing paper, and preparing ink before beginning to write. Afterwards, the teacher “probably followed the pedagogy of ancient Rome,” as known to the educators of the early modern period.\textsuperscript{83} Among the ancient sources consulted Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria* was one of the most popular. An edition of this text was printed in Rome in the 1470s and was widely influential in forming humanist practices of education. Quintilian advised making a board with letters cut into it for the child to use. The student would then follow the cuts like “furrows,” thus learning the correct way to write the letters. With this method, the child would trace the letters again and again and develop the muscles needed without the teacher constantly having to guide his hand.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid. 44.
\textsuperscript{83} Grendler, (1989) 327.
\textsuperscript{84} Smail, William M, *Quintilian on Education: Being and Translation of Selected Passages from the Institutio Oratoria with an Introductory Essay on Quintilian, His Environment and His Theory of Education* (1948; reprint Oxford, England: The Clarendon Press, 1966) 18. Quintilian preferred this tracing method to using a wax tablet, which was also a common teaching tool.
As when learning to read, students started with the smallest part and continued on to the whole. First they copied the letters of the alphabet, or even individual strokes of letters from primers or from larger drawn or printed models on the wall, writing row upon row of As, Bs, and Cs on sheets of paper. Next they progressed to syllables, then words, and eventually sentences. Models for copying were supplied by the teacher who corrected the pupils’ work as they progressed through their studies.

An Italian author of treatises on elementary education, Domenico Manzoni, recommended the same part-to-whole approach to his readers. Manzoni’s 1555 book, *La vera et principal ricchezza de giovani che desiderano ben legere, scrivere, et abaco* (Venice: Comin de Trino di Monferato), instructed that one should first learn to form each of the letters of the alphabet well and then put them together into words. In the seventeenth century, this idea was still a central tenant in writing books like *Idea del buon scrittore opera prima di Tomaso Ruinetti da Rauenna a’ beneficio de’ desiderosi d’imitare le uere forme dello scriuere* (1619). Early in Ruinetti’s treatise he cautions against starting with the alphabet as a whole and advises that the reader learn the forms that make up the common letters *a, b, d, g*, etc. Ruinetti covers the rest of the letters one by one before tackling “long” letters and their common partners such as *ge, go,* and *gl.* He ends this section with a sheet of examples showing commonly joined letters.

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85 Grendler (1989) 159.
87 Tomaso Ruinetti, *Idea del buon scrittore opera prima di Tomaso Ruinetti da Rauenna a’ beneficio de’ desiderosi d’imitare le uere forme dello scriuere ... Intagliata da Christof.o Blanco l’anno 1619* (Rome?). Marciana copy, Shelfmark D 087D 042, 11 (paginated at a later date).
88 “legature del Ruinetti per facilitare il verso,” Ruinetti, 16 (paginated at a later date).
Calligraphic Education

The most common scripts in use at the end of the 1500s were italic (dell’italia) and mercantile (della mercantesca).\textsuperscript{89} As noted above, both Latin and vernacular schools taught writing. In general, those who had more or less learned the alphabet (called alfabetizzati) used the italic hand (also called the chancery or humanist cursive). They learned this script “from grammar masters or from reading and writing masters who gravitated around the Latin schools, like priests or clerics.” Those who practiced the mercantile hand (mercantesca), or other related hands, most likely learned handwriting from the free \textit{abbaco} masters or from schools connected to the \textit{abbaco}, for example workshops schools, or they simply learned at home.\textsuperscript{90}

The printing press offered teachers of writing and \textit{abbaco} a new medium to reach a larger audience in the vernacular. In the sixteenth century, publishers brought out numerous editions of writing, \textit{abbaco}, and counting treatises. Many of the volumes have the word “new” in the title, promising novel and thus better methods to entice the buyer. These books were published by print publishers, not book publishers, and were written by

\textsuperscript{89} Before 1400, Italian scholarly handwriting, called \textit{rotunda} as it was slight more rounded than other hands practiced in Europe, was upright, overlapping, and angular. In the early 1400s, new hands were developed by scholars like Poggio Bracciolini and Niccolo Niccoli. Bracciolini’s script (developed 1402-03) was based on the hand found in Carolingian documents but the letter forms were more rounded. In the 1420s Niccoli developed a faster and easier hand. Written at a slant, Niccoli’s “humanist cursive” and Bracciolini’s “formal cursive” spread throughout Italy throughout the next century. (Grendler, (1989) 32). These forms of the “humanist cursive” are important to this study as it is from them that the hand most commonly depicted in printed handwriting manuals, the Chancery cursive, developed. Calligraphers soon adopted this script which was also the origin of the “Roman” typeface. Another hand that gained popularity at the same time was the “antica corsiva” which could be written more quickly than the chancery hand and had a more calligraphic quality. The “antica corsiva,” which is also called \textit{italic} was adopted by copyists, secretaries and scribes for its speed and ease. See Amy Namowitz Worthen, “Calligraphic Inscriptions on Dutch Mannerist Prints,” \textit{Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek}, 42-43 (1991-92) 261-306, 263.

\textsuperscript{90} Lucchi, (1982) 110.
teachers who wanted a wider audience and access to a larger pool of paying students.\textsuperscript{91}

For example, in the introduction to his writing manual, Ludovico degli Arrighi tells his reader that because he could not by his own hand make enough examples to satisfy everyone he has had them printed.\textsuperscript{92}

By the time writing books appeared in the second decade of the sixteenth century, the chancery hand was well established. Although by 1500 printers had created italic type, it was not until more than a century later that the first printed writing manual appeared. A. S. Osley argues that the primary reason for the delay had to do with the difficulties of reproducing the chancery script in woodcut.\textsuperscript{93} Writing masters were wary of not showing their work to best advantage and thus had to wait for accessible technology capable of reproducing their hand. The first printed writing book -- Sigismondo Fanti’s 1514 treatise *Theorica et practica de modo scribendi fabricandique omnes litterarum species* (Venice: Giovanni Rosso) -- provided beautiful examples of capitals but left blank spaces for the chancery cursive. Around 1560 advancements in making copper plates on rolling mills allowed for the illustration of writing manuals with engravings, a medium better suited to the models.\textsuperscript{94} Fanti’s treatise was followed by the treatises of (to name a few of the most influential writing masters) Lodovico Vicentino (Arrighi) in 1522, Giovanantonio Tagliente in 1525, and Lodovico Palatino in 1540.

Most of the authors of the first writing treatises were *abbaco* teachers like Tagliente who,

\textsuperscript{91} Lucchi (1978) 615-616. Lucchi also notes that the *Salterio* and *Il Donato* (with *tavole* for reading) were some of the most widely diffused books of early book publishing in Italy.

\textsuperscript{92} Lucchi (1982) 115: “perché impossibile era de mia mano porger tanti esempi che sodisfaessino a tutti.”


\textsuperscript{94} Ibid.
in addition to writing manuals, published treatises on *abbaco* and accounting.\(^95\) The first writing book entirely illustrated with copper plates was Hercolani’s *Esemplare Utile* (c. 1572).

Early writing books often provided models of different scripts. For example, Tagliente included a number of examples, including Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew letters. In most cases, chancery or italic were the only hands taught by the instructor in the book; he left the student to figure out the more elaborate alphabets on their own.\(^96\) Examples of foreign or fancy scripts would have been of use to illuminators, goldsmiths, and others but were often just an opportunity for writing masters to show off their facility with a variety of hands. Later in the century such “gardens of style” became less popular, and in Italian writing books the two dominant hands were an everyday cursive and a roman style.\(^97\)

The next phase in writing manuals began with the publication of Giovanni Francesco Cresci’s *Esemplare di più sorti di lettere* (1560). Cresci, who was a chancery scribe in the Papal service at the time of publication of his first book, sought a more efficient hand that could be written quickly yet legibly.\(^98\) His solution was to increase the

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\(^{95}\) Grendler (1989) 325-326.
\(^{96}\) Osley, 19.
\(^{97}\) Ibid. Virtuosity and individual style was displayed in flourishes added to the letters that were often quite tacky. Other aspects of this tradition were ornate borders or animals surrounding the models. These figures were supposedly drawn with one line. Some writing masters did not approve of these visual tricks.
slope of the standard chancery hand and consistently join letters together.\textsuperscript{99} Scholars have dubbed Cresci’s hand \textit{Lettera Cancellesca Corrente} (running chancery letter).\textsuperscript{100} Although Italian writing masters brought out many titles after Cresci’s first and subsequent works, his forms dominated the vast majority of other books. By 1600, Cresci’s chancery cursive was embraced by the Italian bureaucracy and had spread abroad.\textsuperscript{101} In the first decades of the 1600s, a number of writing books were published throughout Italy that featured beautifully engraved pen-work borders. Often these books combined directions for learning to forms letters with lists of abbreviations for honorific titles to be used in dedications.\textsuperscript{102} After 1640, there was an ebb in Italian writing books and hardly any developments followed.\textsuperscript{103}

\textbf{Artists and Their “Non-Art” Education}

Few scholars have written about the elementary education of artists except to quote unreliable anecdotal evidence, such as Vasari’s examples of young artistic geniuses who were doodling on their lessons in school. The exhibition \textit{Pontormo, Bronzino and the Medici: the Transformation of the Renaissance Portrait in Florence} (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2004) included samples of writing manuals, and Elizabeth Cropper

\textsuperscript{99} Morison, 97.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid, 108. Cresci’s new script was not without flourishes though as the heads of the letters were heavily weighted giving it the nickname of “testeggiato” and making it the first “baroque” chancery hand. Cresci’s hand appealed both to the growing writing public and professionals such as writing teachers and secretaries, and even the Apostolic Chancery.
\textsuperscript{101} Morison 110-111. In the seventeenth century, Cresci’s chancery hand won over even the vernacular strongholds of writing in Europe, such as Germany.
\textsuperscript{102} Some examples of writing books that devoted a significant number of pages to dedications include: Sebastiano Zanella \textit{Nouo modo di scriuere cancellaresco corsiuo moderno} (Padua: Pietro Paulo Tozzi, 1605), Sempronio Lancione, \textit{Idea vniuersale delle cancellaresche corsiue} (Naples?, 1613), and Tomaso Ruinetti, \textit{Idea del buon scrittore} (Rome, 1619).
\textsuperscript{103} Morison, 111.
discusses artists’ knowledge of handwriting in her catalogue essay. Cropper reminds the reader that there existed a broad audience for printed writing manuals that would have included artists. Artists, she argues, possessed skills useful for learning the chancery hand: “For those trained in drawing, the chancery hand was more easily mastered, in much less than the two years ordinary pupils seem to have required, and probably without a teacher.”

Cropper also lists some of the influential writing manuals to which artists in the sixteenth century would have had access, in particular Arrighi and Tagliente.

Charles Dempsey, in his search for the intellectual origins of academic art education in Italy, provides the most useful study of the grammar school education of a sixteenth-century Italian artist. Dempsey focused on Annibale and Agostino Carracci and the type of elementary or grammar school education they received in Bologna. Daniel Posner interpreted Malvasia’s account of the early lives of the Carracci as evidence of the illiteracy of the artists and subsequently as proof that the brothers were not capable of an intellectual reform of painting. Dempsey argues that the Carracci,

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104 Elizabeth Cropper, “Pontormo and Bronzino in Philadelphia: A Double Portrait,” in Carl Brandon Strehlke et al., Pontormo, Bronzino and the Medici: the Transformation of the Renaissance Portrait in Florence (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2004) 1-33, 16. As is true today, there is no way of knowing exactly how long it would take a student to learn to read or to write. The main factor was whether or not the child was ready to learn, but a 6- or 7-year-old could probably learn the contents of a small primer in a few weeks. (Grendler, 1989, 160.) Sigismondo Fant claimed that as long the student was not someone who had never picked up a pen in his life, with Fant’s method he could learn to write in sixty days. See Sigismondo Fant, Theorica et practica de modo scribendi fabricandique omnes litterarum species (Venice: Giovanni Rosso, 1514) Book I, Ch. XL-XLII, Concluding note. Quoted in Osley, 55. Like any childhood learning, age and available time to practice were probably the main factors.

105 Charles Dempsey (1980).

and many of their peers, were not illiterate in the modern sense of the word.\textsuperscript{107} Malvasia recounted that Annibale and Agostino left grammar school when Annibale (who was three years younger than his brother) had barely learned to read and write: “Annibale che imparato a pena di leggere e scrivere.”\textsuperscript{108} As I mentioned earlier, \textit{Scuola di Grammatica}, or grammar school referred to education in Latin. Thus, the language that Annibale had ‘barely learned to read and write” was Latin. As Dempsey points out, it is likely that Agostino and Annibale learned to read and write in the vernacular – either at home or in a vernacular school (a \textit{Scuola di Leggere e Scrivere}) – before entering the \textit{Grammatica}.\textsuperscript{109} Malvasia wrote that both Francesco Brizio and Girolamo Curti (il Dentone) learned these skills at home.\textsuperscript{110} Since, according to Malvasia, Agostino and Annibale’s father was a prosperous tailor, the boys were likely educated in the vernacular outside the home before they entered grammar school between the ages of five and seven.\textsuperscript{111}

Malvasia gives examples of artists who struggled with, or excelled at writing. Of Francesco Gessi, who was apparently not a very good student, Malvasia wrote that he attended \textit{Grammatica} but with little benefit and that he barely knew how to write his own name.\textsuperscript{112} Dempsey interprets this comment to refer to lack of skills in orthography rather than absolute stupidity, arguing that Malvasia’s harsh words are, “a comment that doubtless refers as much to Gessi’s inattentiveness to orthography (an important part of training at the \textit{Grammatica}, at which Agostino excelled) as it does his ability to decline

\textsuperscript{107} Dempsey, 559.
\textsuperscript{108} Malvasia (1678) I, 266. This example was also sited by Dempsey, 559.
\textsuperscript{109} Dempsey (1980) 559.
\textsuperscript{110} Malvasia (1678) I, 378 and II, 105
\textsuperscript{111} Dempsey (1980) 560.
\textsuperscript{112} Malvasia (see Dempsey (1980) 562): “posto alla Grammatica, ma con poco profitto, nè pure potendo mai giungere a saper scrivere il proprio nome.”
An artist whom Malvasia singled out for praise in the arena of orthography was Bartolommeo Cesi. Apparently, Cesi was such a stellar student that he acted as an instructor during his master Nosadella’s absence and even taught after his death until a replacement could be found. Malvasia links Cesi’s skills as a draftsman to how good he was at teaching orthography. The artist ornamented the examples he made of majuscules with flourishes that he took from prints. Malvasia also singled out Agostino as an artist whose orthography skills were well developed. When listing the many things about which Agostino was knowledgeable Malvasia included: politics, history, orthography, and poetry. In the engraving techniques employed by Agostino, “such as swelling lines and perfectly meshed circular hatchings,” Dempsey sees a direct connection in the Carracci Academy between the type of training that artists received in writing and their training in drawing and engraving. He does not elaborate or offer concrete evidence of such a practice, but as we have seen from our earlier exploration of elementary and grammar school education in sixteenth-century Italy, artists would have had firsthand experience with the connections between learning to write and learning to draw.

115 Malvasia quoted in Dempsey. See Malvasia (1678) I, 242: “Ma perché correlativo, per così dire, di quella scienza suol essere l’esercizio dello scrivere, dotosi anche ad istudiare da se solo una bella forma di carratteri, per formarne a que; giovanetti l’esemplare, provandosi di ornare le lettere maiuscole di qualche capriciosa testicciuola, poi di galante figuretta da qualche stampa ricavata, conoscendo riuscirne più di che immaginato si fosse proseguit il disegno; nè molto andò, che inanimitovi anche dal Nosadella, che se gli offrì maestro, lasciò la Scuola e in eta molto…”
116 Dempsey (1980) n.79.
117 Malvasia (1678) I, 266.
Text and Image

Writing books featured text that directed the user through the basic shapes and lines necessary to form all the letters of the alphabet. Few printed drawing books included text, and those examples that did rarely contained concrete instructions for the use of the images contained within. There are exceptions: the unpublished drawing books of Alessandro Allori (1564/65) and Francesco Cavazzoni (1612) and one of Odoardo Fialetti’s printed drawing books, Tutte le parti (Justus Sadeler: Venice, c. 1608). I will discuss the overall relationship between text and image in the genre of printed drawing books in the next chapter. To varying degrees, these projects provide step-by-step written instructions that directly guide a user through the visual examples. As we saw above, Allori even formatted his drawing book like contemporary writing manuals. Fialetti’s text for Tutte le parti/A is the only example of a printed drawing book to feature written instructions that truly reflect the steps shown in the accompanying etched models.\textsuperscript{119}

Writing manuals included a significant amount of text in addition to examples of letters, both upper and lowercase. To take the place of the physical presence of the writing master, they discussed how to select and cut quills, how to hold writing instruments, how to make and store ink, and how to hold the body while writing. At times, the writing masters also used their texts to extol the virtues of their method or book over those of their rivals. Finally, writing manuals incorporated text describing the formation of individual letters of the alphabet. Giovanni Antonio Tagliente, in the

\textsuperscript{119} Cavazzoni’s text is another example that seeks to guide the reader through the figures within but it was never published.
second expanded edition of his *Lo presente libro* (1524), informs the reader of his method:

Although I could, for the purpose of teaching you how to write the above mentioned varieties of script, merely tell you that you should first learn the separate letters of the alphabet and then complete lines of writing and that, by repeatedly practising my models with care, you could within a few days make yourself into a competent writer of that chancery style (or any style that you wish to learn), yet in order to make things clearer to you and to enable you to learn more rapidly I will give you forthwith the rules of handwriting letter by letter, with secret methods that will enable you to master the subject.\textsuperscript{120}

Tagliente begins with the simplest form possible – an oblong group of four dots– then describes the round form found in lower case letters like a and b, before moving through the alphabet (Figure 1.5). To form the letter “b” he shows the lower case “a,” followed by the three letters “adg,” first written “aaa” (without the foot at the right), and finally he describes the letter as a whole:

The letter *b* is constructed from the oblong, but first you must make a lively, vigorous long down-stroke, giving it a slight inclination as you did with *a*. This stroke should commence with a firm point that starts at an angle and resembles a [word apparently omitted], thus forming the beginning of the down-stroke. When you have completed the down-stroke, then starting near the [lower] writing line, you retrace your steps up the vertical in such a way that you can form the body of an *a* in reverse and so your letter *b* will be made. But take care that its body remains somewhat open in the same way that you made *a*, as follows:

\textsuperscript{120} Translation Osley, 62 Giovanni Antonio Tagliente, *Lo presente libro insegna la vera arte dello excellente scriuere…* (Venice: Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio & Fratelli, 1524) unpaginated: “Conciosia cosa discreto lettore che allo amaestramento segnare a scrivere le sopra scritte qualita de lettere, io te poteria dire che tu dovesti imprare prima gli alphabeti et poi gli versi, con la virtu della tua prudentia, praticando tretrahendo[sic] gli mei esempi in brevi giorni ti poresti fare excellente scrittore, de quelle qualita de lettere cancellaresche, over de altra qualita che vorrai imprare, ma per maggiore tua dilucidatione & accio che con maggiore prestezza di tempo, tu possi imprare io qui segnare ti daro la ragione con le secreti & maestrevoli modi, a lettera per lettera…”
The text is somewhat confusing and, according to Osley, most likely corrupt. Other descriptions, such as Carpi’s, are similar. In most examples, such directed instructions do not form the bulk of the written component. Although text appears to have been secondary to the exercise of copying the provided examples, it remained a standard part of writing manuals throughout the sixteen and seventeenth centuries. A similar conclusion can be drawn about the text accompanying a small number of drawing books. Much of this text did not provide instructions for following the examples but rather treated more theoretical subjects, such as the place of painting in the liberal arts, or discussed historical examples of great painters.

Just as Fialetti’s etchings offer the most “line-by-line” breakdowns of parts of the face, the text for *Tutte le parti/A* is the most descriptive found in any Italian printed drawing book. For example, Fialetti shows eleven numbered steps for the construction of the nose, mouth, and lower face in the second plate of the book. His text for forming the face in profile goes through the etched steps, one to ten:

> Make then first a Stroke like that in the 1. Number, which hath the beginning of the hollowness of the Nose: and then proceed to the 2. Stroke of the whole Nose, with the roundness thereof: in the 3. the hole of the

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121 Osley, 63. Tagliente, *Lo presente libro* (1524) unpaginated: “La lettera, b, si trazze pur del quadro, et si tira prima una asta viva et galiarda la quale habbia uno poco di dependentia, si come festia alla lettera a con uno punto fermo e pendente, nel suo principio in forma di uno poco nel principio de lasta et poi quando ferrai in capo de lasta acono la riga ritonerai in su per la medesima asta in tal modo che tu possi fabricare il corpo della lettera, a, alla roversa, et sara fabricata la tua lettera, b, ma fa gli romagnire lo suo corpo, uno poco aperto si come festi alla lettera, a, come tu vedi lo sotto scritto exempio…”

122 Ibid.

123 Franco’s introduction discussed both these issues, and Colombina’s gave instruction for the use of different media, such as charcoal or pen and ink, as well as directions for expressing the different temperaments and ages of men and women.
Nostrills: in the 4. the Nostrills themselves: in the 5. the place of the upper Lip: in the 6. the upper Lip: in the 7. the form of the Mouth: in the 8. the roundness of the Beard: in the 9. the under-Throat: in the 10. the uniting of them all, with the Stroke of the finishing of the Nose, the Mouth, and the Beard.  

Fialetti’s instructions follow his etched examples closely and give direction to the user in a manner similar to explanations and examples of letters found in writing manuals (Figure 1.6). He also states that his methods are unique, suggesting that they will therefore aid the reader in a way not found elsewhere. That such textural similarities to writing manuals can only be made with few *libri da disegnare*, in truth with only one printed example, suggests that artists and/or publishers did not consider such written instructions as integral to the audience’s use of drawing books as they were for those using writing books.

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124 I have chosen to use the English translation from Alexander Browne’s *The Whole Art of Drawing, Painting, Limning, and Etching* (London: Peter Stent, 1650). (Because Browne’s translation is a bit loose in some passages, I am including the complete text of this translation and with the original Fialetti in Appendix B (Fialetti) and D (Browne.) This section originally comes from the chapter, “the Nose, Mouth, and Beard. CHAP. II.” Browne states that the text was written by Fialetti. Until I saw the original Italian, I doubted the English publisher’s claim thinking that is was a commercial ploy. For Fialetti’s complete original text (Rijksmuseum, 325 G 6) see Appendix B. Chapter II: “Del Naso, Bocca, e Barbuccio.” “Fare dunque un tiro simile a quell numero primo che ha l’origine del principio dalla cava del naso, indi lo ripigliarete, & favete nel secondo tiro tutto il naso con la rotondità; nel terzo il forame; nel quarto le narici; nel quinto la pozzetta del labro superiore; nel sesto quello di sotto; nel settimo è fornita la bocca, nel nono la sottogola; nel decimo così unitamente con li tratti si finisce il naso, la bocca, il barbuccio in profilo.”


126 As noted earlier in this chapter, Giacomo Franco’s Latin introduction to his drawing book *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo* (1611) is the only example of the genre to comment directly on the connection between learning to draw and learning to write. This text did not directly comment on the illustrations nor did it offer much guidance to the user. Franco’s text is not published with two later editions of the series, which is re-titled *Regolare per imparar a designar*. It is likely that later publishers did not see the poorly written Latin introduction as a major selling point of the edition therefore dropped it as undesirable and unnecessary.
The ABCs of Disegno

Another important way in which learning to draw could be compared to learning to write is through a connection to the basic physical and theoretical concept of elementary education: the ABCs. Breaking something down into individual elements that can be memorized by beginners takes figurative form in theories of art education at the end of the sixteenth century. Rome’s first art academy, the Accademia di San Luca, was founded in 1593 with the goals of elevating the status of the arts and providing practical education to artists. It is within the published records of the foundational meetings of the Accademia di San Luca that we find a clear equating of the first drawing exercises of young students with the ABCs.

Romano Alberti’s *Origine e Progresso dell’Accademia del Dissegno…* (1604) records how the founders of the Academia di San Luca, including Federico Zuccaro, devised the drawing course, “[i]n the tradition of Apelles – *nullus dies sine linea* (not a day without a line).” Each day, the young students would be required to “make something with their hand, the first of these things is the (so-called) ‘Alphabet of Drawing’…A,B,C, Eyes, Noses, Mouths, Ears, Heads, Hands, Feet, Arms, Legs, Bodies, Backs, and other similar parts, themselves of the human body…” The *principe*, or director, was to evaluate where the students were in their progress and to decide which

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part of the body each would draw that day. After half an hour, the students would show the principe their drawings to receive praise and critique. Although the connection between the methods of teaching writing and teaching drawing are not made explicit in the source, by referring to the elements used to teach drawing as an “Alphabet,” the comparison is implicit. During the early modern period, learning the alphabet both in reading and writing was already referred to as the ABCs. In Italy, early reading books were called Abecedari, which is a transliteration of the pronunciation of the first four letters of the Italian alphabet.

The founders of the Accademia di San Luca were not the only artists around the turn of the century to refer to the first elements of drawing education as the ABCs. In the North, the art historian Karel van Mander requested (one must assume he was not alone in his appeal) a manual to teach the beginning artist. This plea is not found in the best-known part of his famous work, Het Schilder-boek (1604), a biography of the Northern artists, but rather in the accompanying handbook for painters, Der grondt der edel vry schilder const (Basics of the Noble and Free Art of Painting, 1604). In the introductory poem to the Basics of the Noble and Free Art of Painting, van Mander wrote: “Now a great master would be greatly thanked if he published in print for your

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128 Ibid, “Fatto leggere li detti Capitoli, & Ordine, il Sig. Principe per cominciare à mettere in pratica quanto haveva proposto, & ordinato, commisse ad alcuni giovani pricipianti, che per una mez’hora di tempo, che ancora vi era, si ponessero a parte à far qualche d’una delle dette cose, cioè, occhi, bocche, nasi, e simili, per principiare qualche cosa utile, e ciò fù ben presto, e di buona volgia da quelli giovani obedito, e ciò fatto vennero tutti avanti al Sig. Principe à mostrare quel che essi havevano fatto, e visto il Sig. Principe il buon’ animo loro, e la lor’ prontezza li laudò, e commendò adait & in particolare à tutti dette gli avvisi, & avvertimenti, che sopra ciò gli occura, & che à beneficio loro conveniva”
sake, oh Youth, an A B C book of the beginning of our art.”130 Although van Mander was writing in the North, he identifies something that is lacking everywhere in Europe: a printed manual for beginning draftsman. It is unlikely that those who were responsible for the first printed drawing books in Europe, the Bolognese artist Odoardo Fialetti and Pietro Stefanoni, the publisher of the series of engravings after the Carracci, heard this call when they published their works c. 1608 -14. Rather, it appears that van Mander expressed a desire felt by a number of artists, at home and across the Alps, at the beginning of the seventeenth century and therefore Stefanoni and Fialetti are responding to a market.

**Prints of Artistic Activity**

A complement to written descriptions of early training in drawing are visual clues about the education of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century artists found in prints depicting academy or workshop settings. Although such documents cannot necessarily be taken as evidence of actual practice, they represent an established theory of education in the arts during the period. The genre of images of art “academies” originated with Agostino Veneziano’s (1531) and Enea Vico’s (1546-61) engravings of _The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli_ (Figures 1.7 and 1.8). Both images depict a group of men drawing or possibly taking notes in a dark interior setting. These prints suggest models used for

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drawing: small sculptures, busts, casts of body parts and bones placed on shelves or resting on the floor. Such models figure prominently, in two-dimensions, in printed Italian drawing books. In neither of these images can we see what the draftsmen have drawn nor discern a course of study. Also, none of the participants are young enough to represent the figure of the beginner.\textsuperscript{131}

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Hans Collaert’s engraving of \textit{The Invention of Oil Painting} after Johannes Stradanus in the \textit{Nova Reperta} shows a studio scene where a variety of artistic activities take place (Figure 1.9). Stradanus spent much of his career in Florence, and therefore we can connect this print to Italian drawing practices, even though it was engraved and published in Antwerp. In the lower right corner sits the scene’s youngest figure, filling a sheet with drawings of eyes. This sixteenth-century image appears to support the claim that students began by drawing parts of the human body and the eye in particular. Such evidence suggests that following a course of study where one works from the part to the whole was a widely enough held idea to be represented in idealized scenes of artistic training.

The period in which the first printed \textit{libri da disegnare} arrived on the market also coincided with the publishing of one of the largest and clearest images of an artistic academy. In Pierfrancesco Alberti’s engraving, \textit{A Painter’s Academy} (Rome, Pietro Stefanoni, c. 1610) we see a large, busy room (Figure 1.10).\textsuperscript{132} Models for study are seen throughout: casts of body parts, busts, paintings, a skeleton, and an anatomical dissection.

\textsuperscript{131} Veneziano’s print is B 314 (1531) and Vico’s are B 49-I and II (1545/50).
\textsuperscript{132} Pietro Stefanoni published the first edition of the famous series of drawing book prints, the \textit{Scuola Perfetta}. Whether this is a coincidence or evidence of Stefanoni’s interest in capitalizing on the rise of art academies in Italy, is unclear.
A student, watched by others, draws from a cast of a leg near a window. We find the most unusual detail in the lower left corner. Here, a young boy brings a sheet of paper covered in studies of eyes, laid out in a regular manner on the page, to an older man -- likely the head of the academy (Figure 1.11). This sheet is reminiscent of the prints of eyes present in *The Large Book of Drawing*, showing eyes in profile and frontally (Figure 1.12). Patricia Reilly draws an informative observation from this detail, writing that even though we cannot tell whether the sheet of eyes represents a model for copying or rather drawings by the child, we can ascertain that at least some painters considered such models appropriate for beginners to copy.\(^{133}\) Drawings made by young students, like the sheet of eyes shown in *A Painter’s Academy*, were unlikely to have been kept. Therefore, Pierfrancesco Alberti’s engraving provides evidence that students in the seventeenth century were learning to draw in a systematic manner – starting with the “letters” of the face and continuing to draw other parts of the body as they moved towards whole figures. Whether this evidence points to the use of prints in art education or simply confirms that young apprentices were given the task of drawing individual parts of the human face is unclear from this example. As we have seen, Alberti, Allori, and the Accademia di San Luca suggested teaching the beginning draftsman with the ABC’s of drawing. It would not be surprising if the young student of Pierfrancesco Alberti’s print drew eyes starting from a two-dimensional model.

Although we have little visual evidence for the drawing course before the seventeenth-century, a small number of prints of workshops and academies depict the models used for centuries in artistic training. The engravings and etchings discussed

above provide us with a mediated view into workshops and art academies. In particular, Pierfrancesco Alberti’s engraving and Stradanus’s design offer a tantalizing glimpse of the practice of drawing the eye repeatedly as part of seventeenth-century training for artists. Even as these prints show idealized settings containing a representative selection of activities all taking place at once in a shared space, both written sources and the drawing books themselves suggest that the prints present an accurate view of training in *disegno*. Allori’s curriculum from the 1560s and the drawing course of the Accademia di San Luca from the 1590s both highlighted an “Alphabet of Drawing” approach for beginning draftsmen. This same approach of the part to the whole is followed in printed drawing books.

*Libri da Disegnare: Visual Representations of the ABC’s of Disegno*

With the exception of fragmentary works, every printed drawing Italian drawing book from 1600 – 1700 contains at least an abbreviated “ABCs of disegno.” Most books show each part of the face separately, provide plates depicting individual parts of the body, and contain more complete depictions of heads and even some complete bodies.

As I described earlier in the chapter, Allori’s *Regole* (c. 1564/65) provided the earliest clearly laid out set of rules for learning to draw specific parts of the human face in a step-by-step or line-by-line manner. Later in the century, the Accademia di San Luca instituted a progressive, part-to-the-whole method for instructing beginning draftsmen that can clearly be identified as the method known as the ABCs of disegno. Both Allori’s treatise and the Accademia di San Luca’s nonchalant manner of referring to the method as the ABCs highlight the acceptance (and popularity) of this course of drawing.
education. Therefore, it is not surprising to see such a method represented in printed, illustrated form, by which it could reach a wider audience. As almost every example in my study features sheets depicting parts of the face and of the body, I will describe a few of the most illustrative cases.

**Odoardo Fialetti, *Il Vero modo* and *Tutte le parti***

The etched drawing books by Odoardo Fialetti are the earliest examples of the genre. As I discuss in Chapter 2, the publication history of what writers, including Malvasia, have considered two books is slightly more complicated than it appears. For simplicity’s sake I will refer to two books. The plates in *Il Vero modo* and *Tutte le parti* follow the idea that learning to draw the human figure was best accomplished in a progression of steps, both in the sense of line by line depictions and in the idea that the parts of the body must be mastered before attempting a complete figure. Odoardo Fialetti’s original form for *Tutte le parti/A*, for which the accompanying letterpress text survives in the Rijksmuseum, provides the user with line by line etched as well as written instructions for drawing the ear and the nose in profile and from straight on. In his text, Fialetti mentions an earlier drawing book, which must be *Il Vero modo/A* (Venice: Justus Sadeler, 1608). He says that in the present book he will provide, both in words and

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134 Although Ribera’s unfinished, fragmentary example does not contain depictions of parts of the body beyond the face, his excerpting of the facial features is enough to identify the method of teaching as the ABCs of *disegno*.

135 At first, the Rijksmuseum’s bound volume of Fialetti’s drawing book prints (Rijksmuseum Inv. no. C/RM0024.ASC/552 * 1), appears to be a bit of a hodge-podge as what Bartsch identifies as the contents of *Il Vero modo* begins with the dedication that he assigns to *Tutte le parti*. Because text is printed on the back of the Rijksmuseum dedication, this dedication (B209) must belong to *Tutte le parti* (the frontispiece for *Il Vero modo* features a dedication to a different patron) and thus, Bartsch’s ordering of the drawing books is incorrect. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation for a more in-depth discussion of Fialetti’s drawing books.
images, a self-invented method for line by line construction of parts of the face. By his own account, at least for the example of the ear, he is doing something different than he did in *Il Vero modo*. The other illustrations and text of *Tutte le parti* focus on the human face of various ages, seen from different angles. One other plate provides a step-by-step progression of an adult male head in profile. *Tutte le parti* also demonstrates shortcuts like triangles or ways of dividing the human face into vertical and horizontal sections to aid in the accurate recreation of the forms.

Thirty-one of the thirty-two etchings that make up *Tutte le parti* show finished examples of parts of the face and body as well as a number of heads from different angles. In the known extant sets (denoted by a B at the end of their titles), the plates are numbered in the upper right-hand corner. This numbering, which, even if not chosen by the artist, was adopted by a printer at an early point in the printing of the project and thus is valuable to our knowledge of the original order. The most common form of *Tutte le parti* progresses thus: eyes, ears, nose and lower face, male heads, hands, arms, feet, legs, lower legs, torsos and knees. The one exception to this general trend of finished, stand alone examples in *Tutte le parti*, *Sketches of Eyes* (B 212, Figure 1.13) offers the viewer step-by-step instructions of how to draw an eye, both in profile and from straight on. In the top left-hand corner, Fialetti represents the upper lid of the eye with a single stroke, which upon closer inspection is made of three finely etched lines. In two rows, Fialetti takes the viewer through nine more steps, first completing the upper lid, then the

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eyeball and lower lid. Each representation contains more detail until the final depiction shows the eye shaded with an elegant, arching eyebrow and lashes. The bottom row (and a half) of the print provides, from left to right, in six steps, the construction of a right eye from a frontal view. Again, we begin with little more than one arching line and end with a shaded, fully detailed depiction. The parallel with Allori’s drawings of the construction of the eye is apparent. Fialetti’s format, in Tutte le parti/B, which lacks an accompanying text, required more visual steps to clearly illustrate the construction of the eye than did Allori’s version. There is no reason to think that Fialetti had access to a copy of Allori’s treatise; rather it seems that the two artists were independently giving visual form to a more widely shared practice.

Fialetti’s books, regardless of which edition is considered, clearly follow the idea of the ABCs of disegno. They take the equation further than almost any other drawing book, much further than any published examples. Fialetti breaks his “letters” down into reproducible strokes in four prints.\footnote{Giovanni Luigi Valesio’s drawing book, I primi elementi del disegno in gratta de i principianti nell’arte della pittura (1606-1612) features a single plate where a pen is shown beginning to draw a face in profile (B 51). The print, the first plate of examples after two plates of titles and dedication, features five steps to draw a simplified female head. Unlike Fialetti’s examples, which always progress from left to right, like writing, Valesio’s steps move across the page from right to left. The rest of the plates show examples of facial features or parts of the body from outline to fully shaded.} Here we come closest to the paragone between forming letters and drawing.

\textit{Scuola Perfetta}

The \textit{Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo Humano Cavata dallo studio, e disegni de Carracci} has come down to us in volumes or loose groups without a
clearly identifiable order. Within the surviving sets, though, there is some consistency of plates, especially in the inclusion of prints showing eyes, ears, and lower faces in two stages: outline and fully shaded (Figure 1.14).

When considering the series in the light of changing ideas of drawing education at the end of the sixteenth century, the most salient element of the argument is that the Carracci focused on repetitive drawing of parts of the body. A number of scholars have made this claim on the basis of evidence found in drawings, mainly from a group in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. One such drawing shows a foot drawn over and over on a page of other sketches (Figure 1.15). The feet are arranged around a drawing of the Annunciation that appears to have been drawn first and are unrelated to known paintings. At the top of the sheet a pair of feet is shown in frontal view, fully shaded. No fewer than fourteen sketches are made of the two feet at the top, in varying degrees of finish. The process of sketching a single body part over and over again until the practice becomes natural to the draftsman, brings to mind orthographic teaching methods as well as the breaking down of the body into smaller parts. In both these traits, this early and influential series of drawing book prints represents the ABCs of disegno (Figure 1.16).

**Philip Esengren and Gasparo Colombina**

Gasparo Colombina’s *Discorso distinto in quatro capitoli* is bound with a numbered set of related engravings by Philip Esengren (Filippo Esengreno in Italian). These prints have their own title, *Li primi elementi della simmetria o sia*

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commensuratione del disegno delli corpi humani, & naturali, a giouamento delli studiosi di questa nobil Arte. (Padova, P. P. Tozzi, 1623), and consist of entire sheets dedicated to eyes, mouths, ears, hands, and arms (Figure 1.17). Esengren’s engravings thus provide a thorough sample of parts of the face and body. Other engravings show torsos (both male and female) and heads, while one even contains progressive stages of anatomical structure from skeleton, to muscle, to flesh (Figure 1.18). 139 Although the accompanying text by Gasparo Colombina does not give detailed instructions regarding how to construct each part of the body, the author tells the reader to copy the examples, which come after the text, in the order that they are presented. 140 He focuses on the contour outlines and directs the noble youths he envisions as his audience to practice the examples over and over again until they can copy them so well that it difficult to discern the original (the print) from his drawing. 141 The engravings, numbered in the upper left corner, first present the parts of the face. Beginning with the eye in two sheets, the reader/scholar moves on to the mouth, ear, hands, arms, feet, and legs before tackling the head as a whole. The order of sheets from part to whole is fairly consistent with a few exceptions. For example, a sheet of hands is presented after the whole arm, torsos after whole bodies, and a sheet of heads is mixed in with those of bodies and torsos.

139 Also unusual is Esengren’s inclusion of sheets of animals including horses, birds, and lions.
140 Colombina (unpaginated, first page of Chapter 1) “…e sia sà sopra la carta bianca imitando al vero prima gli esempi, che in questo sono inseriti stampati in rame principiando à copiare con quell’ordine, che sono ordinati:”
141 Ibid, “mà solamente pigliare i contorni, nè partirsi da ma facciata se prima talmente non si habbia formato il suo così bene, che non si possà quasi discernere qual di quelli due sia l’imitati.” The reader is here called “nobilissimi Giovani”
Stefano della Bella

Stefano della Bella’s etched drawing books, *I principii del disegno* (c. 1641), *Recueil de diverses pieces* (c. 1647), and *Livre pour apprendre à dessiner* (c. 1650) follow the pattern of previous examples; they include individual facial features and body parts along with more finished examples of heads of varied ages (Figures 1.19 – 1.21). The title page for *Livre pour apprendre à dessiner* features two putti sitting with a sketchbook open in front of them (Figure 1.22). It appears that the slightly older figure is instructing the younger in drawing. On the ground in front of the putti rests a sheet of sketches of eyes in outline and one rough head in profile. The eyes, apparently drawn by one of the putti before moving on to sketch a simple human body shown in the open sketchbook on his lap, closely resemble sheets of etchings within della Bella’s book. The frontispiece for *Principii del disegno* also features an artist-putto (Figure 1.23). Seated among crumbling ancient ruins, the putto displays a sheet of sketches of eyes, a mouth, an ear and a face in profile. Once again, a putto shows the viewer the first elements of an education in drawing the human form, reflecting the subjects of the etched sheets that follow.

A drawing by della Bella at Windsor Castle, *A Boy Drawing by Candlelight*, depicts a figure seated and hunched over a drawing (Figure 1.24). Propped up on a book lying in front of him rests a sheet of studies (whether drawn or printed we cannot discern) of facial features. On the top edge of one of the books on the table della Bella has written the title of his book, *Principii del disegno*. Anthony Blunt correctly identified this drawing as a study for a head (de Vesme 381) in the project *Diverses têtes et figures*
I think it is also possible that della Bella at one time considered the design for the frontispiece of a drawing book. Alternatively, he could have been enjoying a moment of self-referential fun drawing the boy hard at work with a “famous” drawing book.

**Giuseppe Maria Mitelli**

As I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, two of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli’s drawing books gather the types of examples found in previous Italian printed drawing books and place them within a witty, self-aware presentation possible only after almost a century of history of the genre. Mitelli’s earliest dated drawing book *Alfabeto in sogno, esemplare per disegnare di Giuseppe Ma[ria] Mitelli Bolognese* (Bologna, 1683) takes the idea of an Alphabet of Drawing to its most extreme form. In his introduction to the reader, Mitelli makes it clear that he is creating a kind of *Abcedario* of drawing that also resembles a writing manual. The introductory text is framed by the tools of the draftsman: pen, ink pot, stylus, knife, straight edge, and compass (Figure 1.25). This is reminiscent of similar pages in handwriting manuals, such as Fanti’s *Theorica et Practica* (Venice, 1514) or Tagliente’s *Lo presente libro* (Venice, 1524) (Figure 1.26).

In *Alfabeto in Sogno*, Mitelli placed parts of the body around letters of the alphabet, paired each letter with an object that begins with the letter and included a short verse at the bottom of the page. Forming each letter of the alphabet out of human, or mostly human, bodies (with and without props) brings to mind the ABCs in two ways

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142 Anthony Blunt, *The drawings of G. B. Castiglione & Stefano Della Bella in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London: The Phaidon Press, 1954) Cat. No. 50. Blunt noted that the print does not include the candle or the book.
Creating the letters out of figures that are surrounded by individual body parts and completed heads reminds the viewer that these are an ABC of drawing. Every viewer of Mitelli’s text would have been familiar with the form of the *Abecedario* from their youth and was also likely to have had exposure to writing manuals. Arranging examples of parts of the human face and body around an alphabet made up of bodily forms, Mitelli combines the ABCs of *disegno* concept found in earlier drawing books with the tradition of handwriting manuals to provide witty decorative alphabets alongside the more practical ones.

The similarity between the Academia di San Luca’s list of the parts of the body drawn by young artists and those depicted in the drawing books described above is unmistakable. Italian printed drawing books gave visual and distributable forms to the “Alphabet of Drawing” method for educating beginning draftsmen. While almost all of the drawing book projects in this study contain more or less progressive examples of parts of the body that build from the piece to the whole, few examples embrace the comparison to the direct connection with writing letters, stroke by stroke. In the end, this closer connection may have been unnecessary for the period viewer to make the association between learning to write and learning to draw.

**Conclusion: Chapter 1**

As I have shown, since the early fifteenth century, Italian educators and art theorists linked the manual and intellectual skills required for learning to write with those for learning to draw. Espoused by writers as earlier as Cennino Cennini, the idea of learning to draw by building from simple to more complex examples was a practical one.
When Alberti associated this progression with the methods used by writing instructors, he connected the practical to the theoretical. Italian printed drawing books gave visual form to the specific comparison between writing letters and drawing shapes as well as to the more general course of education from the part to the whole. The popularity of the Italian examples was such that by 1616 Northern publishers copied a number of models that soon spread throughout Europe. In Italy, the connection between the ABCs and learning to draw continued into the eighteenth-century, both in practice and in theory. Publishers continued to print and to sell earlier *libri da disegnare*, and they commissioned a small number of new books that continued the tradition. In 1756, G. Zanotti, in his treatise on painting, described the process of education for a beginning draftsman and recommended learning to draw starting with eyes, noses, mouths, and ears before moving to the hands, feet, and heads. He calls these the *particelle* of painting, using a word that in the singular could mean “small particle” or “member.” In the plural the word takes on another connotation and can refer to small particles of speech such as *mi, ti, si, ci,* and *vi.* Zanotti’s list of body parts is almost identical to those listed by the Accademia di San Luca and reflects the examples found in most drawing books. His use of the term *particelle,* though, leads us back to the beginning of this chapter and back to a comparison between learning language (written or spoken) and drawing that was present in Italian intellectual circles since the fifteenth century.

144 John Florio (1611) defined *particelle* as “little particles in speech, as Mi. Ti. Si. ci. vi, and such.” Ferdinando Altieri (1726) defined the same word as “particle, little part, small parcel.”
Chapter 2: Fialetti, Cavazzoni, and Mitelli: Image and Text in Printed Drawing Books

How do libri da disegnare use both text and image to convey their material, and what is the relationship between text and image in the genre? To answer these questions, this chapter will focus on the three drawing books whose authors use texts that engage with the images. Texts are by no means normal accompaniments to the genre, but the limited number allows for a focused study of how text functions with image to present didactic material in one way or another. My point of departure is the presentation for the first time of a newly discovered text printed with the original format of Odoardo Fialetti's Tutte le parti (c. 1608). Next, I turn to Francesco Cavazzoni’s Esemplario (manuscript, 1611) in order to discern how one highly literate painter and theorist sought to incorporate the novel developments in drawing books that he observed in Venice with a more traditional treatise on painting. Finally, I investigate how Giuseppe Maria Mitelli manipulated the format and meaning of a libro da disegnare in all his drawing books and particularly in the Alfabeto in Sogno (1683). Fialetti and Cavazzoni are the earliest representatives of the genre, and the text accompanying both these works was written by the artists to illustrate the drawn or printed examples within. Mitelli’s project comes from the last decades of the century by which time more than ten original titles had established a somewhat standard form of the genre. This final case contrasts the more
instructive mode of the first two as we see the Bolognese etcher Mitelli playfully looking back at a genre now developed for three-quarters of a century.\(^{145}\)

As the few known instances in which text interacts with images, either directly or by sharing space on the same page, the examples of Fialetti, Cavazzoni, and Mitelli can each tell us about the concept of the *libro da disegnare* at the time that they were written or published. The Italian text for an early form of one of Fialetti’s drawing books has previously not been available to scholars. Written in the first person and interacting with the images in a direct and instructive manner, there is no reason to doubt that it was authored by Fialetti himself; we thus have a text written by the artist who etched the didactic images. As we will discuss, Fialetti’s text informs us about his ideas of the primacy of the image in drawing instruction, and it lends insight into the eventual goal of the methods expressed in his and other similar *libri da disegnare*. Cavazzoni’s unpublished work, the next chronological example, contained a less direct text than that of Fialetti. Cavazzoni only occasionally guides the user step-by-step but rather attempts to combine practical matters such as technical instruction of the kind found in an artist’s handbook with examples for copying and basic discussion of artistic theory.

After the appearance of these two texts, little written instruction *per se* was seen accompanying the books for more than 70 years. It is then that we find Mitelli’s text for his *libro da disegnare*, *Alfabeto in Sogno* (1683), in verse form, ostensibly advising a young painter. These verses neither refer directly to the etched examples for drawing nor

\(^{145}\) Excluded from this discussion, but nonetheless important to consider in this context, is the work of Alessandro Allori, discussed at some length in the previous chapter. While Allori made use of text, his was not a printed book (as those of Fialetti and Mitelli) nor was it necessarily intended for publication (as that of Cavazzoni).
do they offer practical advice. Both in his verses and most evidently in the chosen format of a figural alphabet, Mitelli’s work contains an element of humor and freedom not found previously in the genre. He pays homage to the history of the genre as ABCs of *disegno* but by this point in the life of the genre he can be playful about the nature of both text and image.

**Text in Drawing Books**

Of the twenty-three examples in my study, only four Italian printed drawing books contain text: aside from the first edition of Fialetti’s *Tutte le parti* (Venice: Justus Sadeler) and Giuseppe Maria Mitelli’s *Alfabeto in Sogno* (Bologna, 1683), Palma il Giovane and Giacomo Franco’s *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo.* (Venice: Giacomo Franco, 1611), and Gasparo Colombina’s *Discorso distinto in quatro capitoli* (bound together with Philip Esengren’s *Li primi elementi*, Padua: P. P. Tozzi, 1623) contain introductory texts.\(^\text{146}\)

However, the texts in Franco and Colombina interact with the images in limited ways. Franco restricts text to the introduction and does not comment on specific prints at all.\(^\text{147}\) As we saw in the last chapter, he directs the user of the book to follow the advice popularized by Alberti, that instruction in painting should be modeled on instruction in writing and, in addition he lists the parts of the body appropriate for study. These same

\(^{146}\) Gaspare Colombina was born in Padua sometime during in the 1580s. He pursued his studies in the circle of Tomasini, married at an unknown date, and after being widowed pursued religious orders. (*DBI*, 144). Colombina’s religious career did not mean an end to his interest in secular culture. The text of his *Discorso* does not appear to exist independantly of Philip Esengren’s prints. Philip Esengren (Filippo Ferroverde) was a painter, engraver, and antiquarian most likely from Germany, active in Venice at the turn of the seventeenth century.

\(^{147}\) Neither Marco Sadeler nor Stefano Scolari, the publishers of the second and third editions of the work, included the text.
examples make up the plates in the book. Colombina’s text refers to the engravings by Esengren that follow. His treatise discusses material concerns of the artist, including paper, inks, and other pigments. The bulk of the work considers human proportion in relation to the age of the person and to the subject matter of the painting, and lists physiognomic types. At least the first pages of Colombina’s text were written with the engravings by Esengren in mind since he refers to “examples that are inserted, printed from copper, in this book.” He directs the reader to copy these prints in the order that they appear, focusing at first only on the outlines and not moving on from an example until it is difficult to tell the copied drawing from the original.

Text and Image/ Image and Text

From the late fifteenth century, publishers used woodcuts and engravings to illustrate printed texts. Works on astronomy, geometry, perspective, architecture, metallurgy, and anatomy, to name only a few subjects, often featured diagrams or illustrations clarifying written description. For the most part, the verbal vastly outweighed the visual. Illustration accompanying such texts has received attention mostly in terms of what it can tell us regarding the changing theoretical concepts of these subjects and their relationship to the revival of classical knowledge. Some studies, in

148 “gli esempi, che in questo libro sono inseriti stampati in rame” Colombina, Discorso distinto in quatro capitoli..., Cap. 1, “Del disegno, e modi di essercitarsi in esso.”
149 “…e sia sà sopra la carta bianca imitando al vero prima gli esempi, che in questo sono inseriti stampati in rame principiando à copiare con quell’ordine, che sono ordinati: mà solamente pigliare i contorni, nè partirsì da ma facciata se prima talmente non si habbia formato il suo così bene, che non si possà quasi discernere qual di quelli due sia l’imitati.” Colombina, Discorso distinto in quatro capitoli... Cap. 1, first page of unpagedinated document.
particular those on anatomical and botanical treatises, have also considered the interaction between the artist and the author and their respective representative goals.\textsuperscript{151}

The bulk of these studies have focused primarily on the first century of printed text and on works where illustration only punctuates the text. In both date and in the proportion of text-to-image, printed drawing books represent a different class. As I stated in my introduction, I define \textit{libri da disegnare} in part in terms of the predominance of images over text. Rather, the prints should be referred to as images. The image-word rather than word-image agenda, identified as a separate line of inquiry in 2003’s \textit{The Rise of the Image: Essays on the History of the Illustrated Art Book}, is a more useful framework for the present study. For the most part, printed drawing books require a different mode of thinking about the manner in which their authors present visual knowledge (or skills to be learned) to their audience.\textsuperscript{152}

While I have stressed the unique position of the \textit{libri da disegnare}, one association worth considering more closely is Dürer’s work on human proportion.


\textsuperscript{152} In searching for other examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries where a book teaches a skill in large part through visual direction, treatises of handwriting, fencing, and dancing come to mind as possible comparisons. A genre-comparison between the \textit{libri} and books on these subjects might make for the subject of an interesting future study.
Without discussing future changes to the genre, James Ackerman suggests that Dürer was “the first to publish didactic treatises in which the illustrations were as important as the words.”153 For printed drawing books and merely in terms of the balance between text and image, Dürer’s work on human proportion seems a possible source of inspiration for how text and image can work together to instruct the user in constructing the human body. Dürer’s importance to printed drawing books is in part made explicit by textual references that will be discussed shortly. But Dürer’s treatises may not represent the most direct comparison for how text and image combine to teach a reproducible manual skill. As discussed in the first chapter, handwriting treatises appear to offer the closest resemblance to printed drawing books containing text, whether explanatory or introductory. Passages devoted to instruction in forming letters, as opposed to information about pens, paper, and ink or prints of examples of alphabets, mix with step-by-step woodcut or engraved diagrams of the process for writing the letter described in the text. In this way, the text purports to guide the hand of the reader. The first two examples in this chapter, those of Fialetti and Cavazzoni, attempt a similar pairing where written instruction interacts with the visual in an attempt to explain it. Let us now look more closely at how drawing books implement this method beginning with Fialetti.

Odoardo Fialetti

The drawing books of Odoardo Fialetti (Bologna 1573 – Venice 1637/38) are arguably the first printed examples in the genre. Malvasia, the first person to document Fialetti’s drawing books did not connect text with either of these projects. Only David Becker noted the existence of text on the back of one group of prints. A mixed bound copy of prints from Fialetti’s drawing books in the Rijksmuseum (C/RM0024.ASC/552 * 1) contains a highly unusual, and to my knowledge unique, early copy of Tutte le parti (which I will refer to as Tutte le parti/A). The edition features an instructive letterpress text written by Fialetti. This is the only known copy, of which I am aware, of Fialetti’s title with text, and it follows that very few exemplars of this version with accompanying text were printed. We can only speculate about the reasons, but we may guess that this helps show what little importance text had for this genre from a very early point.

Beginning with an etched dedication followed by an introductory text, the body of the work consists of nine etchings, each preceded (on the verso of the previous page) by corresponding explanatory text. After the final chapter, the text ends with the word

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154 Malvasia, who claims to get his information from Boschini, says frustratingly little about the drawing books: “two books that teach drawing, and show all the parts of the human body.” Malvasia (1678) I, 311: “due libri, che insegnano à disegnare, e fece tutte le membra del corpo humano.”

155 Richard Wallace and Sue Welsh Reed. *Italian Etchers of the Renaissance & Baroque* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1989) Cat. No. 130. n. 2. Becker does not appear to have seen the Rijksmuseum copy in person and therefore cannot comment on the contents of the text. The fact that there is letterpress on the verso of the Rijksmuseum copy is discernable from the reproductions from that collection present in *The Illustrated Bartsch*.

156 Shelfmark 325G6. The Rijksmuseum has another bound volume of a Fialetti drawing book (1965/0615a, shelfmark 300E5.) This volume, which contains the title page for *Il Vero Modo* is a later copy showing signs of wear in a number of plates.

157 Bartsch only saw once version of the work, which he referred to as the “Small Book of Drawing.” The Rijksmuseum version differs slightly from Bartsch’s concept of the work both in order of the prints as well as the title page.
“Fine,” clearly denoting the terminus of the project. The rest of the etchings bound with the unnumbered set of nine prints making up Tutte le parti/A follow the order assigned to the “Large Book of Drawing” by Bartsch except for two differences: the group of etchings begins with the title page for Il Vero Modo (B 198), and Interior Scene with a Sketching Class (B 210) and Studies of Human Proportion (B 211) are both bound at the end of the grouping. These etchings, with the exception of the three plates just mentioned, are numbered in the upper right hand corner (1 through 32). This state is the earliest known and the connection of these prints with a previously unknown edition of Tutte le parti/A again points to its early date.\textsuperscript{158}

I find no reason to doubt the authorship of the short vernacular text. The text is printed on the versi of etchings and thus represents an original order and concept for this work, and in this way is undeniably an original part of this edition. There is also further external proof of Fialetti’s authorship. In 1660, Alexander Browne, a British painter, published the first edition of his book \textit{The Whole Art of Drawing, Painting, Limning, and Etching} (London: Peter Stent).\textsuperscript{159} A practical and detailed treatise on painting and etching, Browne’s work covers subjects such as drawing the nude body, grinding

\textsuperscript{158} The binding of the volume at the Rijksmuseum appears to be from the early seventeenth century but the museum does not have records of the provenance before the book entered their collection in 1880. Marja Stijkel, “RE: Question re an object in the collection.” Email to A. Greist. April 16, 2011.

\textsuperscript{159} The complete title is \textit{The Whole Art of Drawing, Painting, Limning, and Etching. Collected out of the Choicest Italian and German Authors. To which is added Exact Rules of Proportion for Drawing the Heads of Men, Women, and Children, of what Bigness soever. Originally invented and written by the famous Italian Painter Odoardo Fialetti, Painter of Boloign. /Published for the Benefit of all Ingenuous Gentlemen and Artists, by Alexander Browne Practitioner}. Although Browne’s title leads us to believe that the engravings are based on a number of different artists, they are in fact exclusively copies of etchings by Fialetti. A second edition of Browne’s treatise (1677) featured a larger number of engravings, including copies of works by Fialetti, Giacomo Franco, Esengren, and Arnold de Jode but it no longer including Fialetti’s text.
pigments, painting a miniature, and preparing plates for etching. At the end of Browne’s own text, he included copies of ten etchings from Fialetti’s drawing books interspersed with text, allegedly written by the Venetian artist. Browne copied Fialetti’s dedicatory page to Grimani and used it for his frontispiece, reversing the composition and replacing the dedication with his title (Figure 2.1). With no known original source to support Fialetti’s authorship of the text, it is not surprising that scholars have ignored Browne’s treatise as evidence of Fialetti as a writer. Without knowledge of what may be the earliest edition of Tutte le parti, today in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Browne’s books suggested little more than the existence of interest in Italian drawing books, and one by Fialetti in particular, in England in the middle of the seventeenth century.

As the only text in a printed libro da disegnare written by the same artist who executed the plates, Fialetti’s writing is an invaluable source. The Rijksmuseum copy of Tutte le parti/A does not in fact contain a title page for the book; it does, however, feature the dedication to Giovanni Grimani that Bartsch connects to Il Vero modo (B 209, 160)

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160 This was not the first instance of the copying of prints from Fialetti’s libri da disegnare; Jan Jansonius’s Diagraphia (1616) and Abraham Bloemaert (1650) copied his prints without giving any credit to the original author. For a complete list of Northern drawing books including prints after Fialetti (and other Italian engravers) see Jaap Bolten, Method and Practice. Dutch and Flemish drawing books 1600-1750. Trans. Alexander Dietz (Landau, Pfalz: PVA, 1985).
161 Most recently, Laura Waters, the author of 2009 dissertation on Fialetti barely mentions Browne’s first treatise on painting even though she devotes an entire chapter to Fialetti’s reception in England. See Laura Walters “Odoardo Fialetti (1573-c.1638): the interrelation of Venetian art and anatomy, and his importance in England” Ph.D. diss. (University of St. Andrews, 2009); The dissertation is available online at: http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/736
162 See Appendix B for the complete Italian text and Appendix D for Browne’s translation combined with my own translation of the sections not included in Browne. The Rijksmuseum copy of Tutte le parti/A is not paginated. For the sake of citations, I have assigned each page a number starting with the lost title plate. The verso of the title plate is page 2 and so on until the last page, Eight Children’s Heads (B 201), is marked as 23.
Figure 2.2). The “Note to the Reader” is printed on the verso of this sheet, and thus we know that it has to have been an original part of the title and not an addition by a later collector (Figure 2.3). I do not think that B209 should be associated with Il Vero modo as that project already contains, on the title page itself, a different dedication to Don Cesare d’Este (1562 – 1628). Tutte le parti’s title page does not feature a dedication and therefore I think that B209 belongs with this title page (Figure 2.4).

Following Donati’s convincing dating of the Scuola Perfetta to after 1609, Fialetti’s Il vero modo, clearly dated 1608 on the title page, represents a fixed point in the early origin of the genre. Fialetti’s other related work, Tutte le parti is undated. Scholars have not proposed a date for the work partly because, even without the discovery of an alternate, earlier edition of Tutte le parti, there has been longstanding confusion over the distinct nature of these two projects.

Malvasia identifies two books as does Bartsch, who observed one smaller work of nine prints and a larger project consisting of 32 sheets. Wurzbach complicated matters further by recording a group of 13 prints published by J. Sadeler and dated 1599.

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163 The most famous Giovanni Grimani was a collector of classical sculpture who died in 1593. The more likely candidate for Fialetti’s dedicatee came from a very wealthy branch of the family that lived in Cannaregio. Giovanni Grimani (Venice 1595 - 1653 ), who had a rather raucous political career, would have been a teenager at the time of the publication of Fialetti’s drawing books. As such, he might have been considered part of the ideal audience for the works, and therefore an appropriate dedicatee. I must thank Laura Giles for first suggesting the identity of the younger Giovanni Grimani.

164 The Rijksmuseum copy of Tutte le parti also slightly alter the order assigned by Bartsch. Following the copy in Amsterdam, the order should be: B 208, 200, 199, 204, 205, 203, 202, 206, 207, 201.


Bartsch referred to two books: one “large” and one “small,” referring to the number of plates, not the dimensions; both books are octavo in size. At present, I can only focus on what we can know about these books from the surviving works. In the first chapter of the Rijksmuseum book, Fialetti first mentions another book that he has already produced: this must be *Il Vero modo*.\textsuperscript{167} In the introductory notice to the reader, Fialetti refers to two future drawing books that he has promised to make: one of women and one of children.\textsuperscript{168} He offers “this small book” as a sort of preview or something to amuse his audience while they breathlessly await other, larger works. Fialetti’s words suggest that the present work, *Tutte le parti*, came after another book treating the adult male. The subject of *Tutte le parti* (Bartsch associates the title plate for *Tutte le parti* with his “Large Book of Drawing”) is entirely male, from full heads to excerpted images of knees and torsos. Thus, *Tutte le parti* was Fialetti’s second foray into drawing books after *Il Vero modo* (1608). *Tutte le parti*, as it was first conceived, was likely published shortly afterwards and Fialetti may have intended to publish two more books of the length of *Il Vero modo* but concentrating on women and children separately.\textsuperscript{169} *Tutte le parti* could

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\textsuperscript{167} Havendovi già dimostrato nell’altro primo mio Libretto, il modo di far l’orecchio per ogni verso & sito necessario…Fialetti, *Tutte le parti*, 6.

\textsuperscript{168} Non vi maravigliate, Benigni Lettori, studiosi della nobilissima, & profondissima arte del disegno si bene non habbia anco compita la promessa fattavi di duoi altri Libretti, cioè di Donne, e Fanciulli. Non resto però con ogni mio spirito d’affiticarmi per condurli a fine, & far cosa che sij di sodisfazione commune, la quale vi possi col tempo apportate grandissimo giovamento.” Fialetti, *Tutte le parti*, 4.

\textsuperscript{169} It is also possible that there was an earlier version, as suggested by Wurzbach, and thus the version of *Tutte le parti* found in the Rijksmuseum could have been printed earlier. At present,
have been printed both with and without text. Sometime after the publication of Fialetti’s second drawing book, Justus and Marco Sadeler, or a subsequent publisher, must have decided to print and sell the project in a new order and with different groupings. The vast majority of the surviving etchings come from a later printing where the order set by the Rijksmuseum example is non existent and they are organized into four lettered groups (A through D, reflecting printing practice) while also featuring an Arabic numeral. It is from the later groupings that Bartsch came to call the books “Large” and “Small” (Figures 2.5 and 2.6)\(^{170}\)

Although the history of the binding of the Rijksmuseum grouping that includes Tutte le parti/A is not clear, the entire set of Tutte le parti/B etchings follows after this special group. These 33 etchings (including the title plate) are numbered in the upper right hand corner in a system different from that found in the later printing, where both projects are combined into one, and a number of plates show damage and wear. It is not a stretch to suggest that the state of Il Vero modo bound after Tutte le parti/A in the Rijksmuseum could have been available at the same time as the smaller booklet containing text.

Odoardo Fialetti was a painter and printmaker best known today for his freely etched set, the Scherzi d’Amore. Fialetti made etchings of his own invention, as book illustrations, and after other artists, including Pordenone and Tintoretto. Bartsch credited this is only speculation, and thus I anchor my account to the date of 1608 found on the frontispiece of Il Vero Modo.\(^{170}\) These titles do not refer to the size of the plates, which are quite similar in both books – roughly 10 by 14 cm – rather to the number of plates he assigned to each work. See James Clifton. *A Portrait of the Artist, 1525-1825: Prints from the Collection of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2005) 94-95. Bartsch called Il Vero Modo “The Small Book of Drawing” and Tutte le parti he called “The Large Book of Drawing.”
the artist with more than 200 etchings.\textsuperscript{171} Few of his paintings survive, although Malvasia mentions 33, some of which are not the same as the surviving works.\textsuperscript{172} We know even less about Fialetti as a draftsman. Although his draftsmanship is praised by Malvasia, only a handful of drawings have been attributed to him, and of these, none have been connected to his prints or surviving paintings.\textsuperscript{173} Although he spent his working career in Venice, he signed a number of his prints in such a way as to identify himself as Bolognese. Malvasia included him in his Felsina pittrice and so he has been considered in relation to his ties to the Carracci Academy and its focus on naturalism. Although Fialetti was clearly influenced by the Carracci -- his Scherzi d’amore are reminiscent of a print of Venus Punishing Cupid (B 135) by Agostino -- there is no surviving evidence that he frequented the Carracci Academy. His activity is undocumented until he is recorded in Venice as a printmaker in 1596.\textsuperscript{174}

Fialetti’s drawing books are unique among the published works in the genre as they include almost line-by-line instructions for a number of visual examples; the

\textsuperscript{171} No known work survives from the period of Fialetti’s training in Bologna with Giovanni Battista Cremonini or from his short sojourn in Rome.


\textsuperscript{173} Laura Walters follows the attributions of H. Tietze and P. Bjurström in identifying four drawings: two drawings in the Louvre (Inv. Nos. 8247 and 8247 BIS) and two in Stockholm: P. Bjurström, Drawings in Swedish Public Collections, 3, Italian Drawings: Venice, Brescia, Parma, Milan and Genoa (Stockholm: LiberFörlag: Liber distribution, 1979) Cat. Nos. 65 and 66. Walters, 17. There is also a very poor drawing in the Fondazione Cini attributed to Fialetti, most likely a copy after another drawing (Inv. no. 32.199).

theoretical basis for this method has been discussed in the previous chapter. Fialetti’s comments shed light on his specific approach, the relative importance of text and image, and the eventual goal of his method and the process of copying examples in printed drawing books as a whole.

Marketing plays an explicit role in the text. In his introduction, Fialetti details his reasons for writing the present work and highlights his desire to give his readers something while they wait for his next works, a drawing book treating women and another one children, to follow the first one showing men. This allows him to advertise both his earlier work and try to drum up some interest for a larger project in the future. General demand for books on the subject of the arts of drawing and painting must also have factored into Fialetti’s reasons for creating the present little book.

His aspirations do not appear to be only practical: Fialetti also worked to establish his position vis-à-vis an artistic tradition. The artist saw his project as part of the same category as Dürer’s work on human proportion but not quite as grand. He makes this clear by noting that his booklet should not be called by the same name (symmetria):

I began this little work, made in the style of Simmetry. I do not dare to give it this name, not accidentally, because this material has already been treated by others, and in particular by the most excellent Albrecht Dürer in a copious volume, and with most ample discourses, and most beautiful rules.

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175 Giovanni Luigi Valesio’s drawing book contains only one such sheet, which depicts the construction of an eye in significantly fewer steps than Fialetti.
176 “Non vi maravigliate, Benigni Lettori, studiosi della nobilissima, & profondissima arte del disegno si bene non haddia anco compita la promessa fattavi di duoi altri Libretti, cioè di Donne, e Fanciulli.” Fialetti, Tutte le parti/A, 4.
177 Translations are my own unless noted. “…fatta a modo di Simmetria. Non ardisco però darli questo nome, se non accidentalmente, poichi di questa materia ne è stato trattato da alcuni, & particularly dall’ Ecellentissimo Alberto Durero in un volume copiosissimo, & con amplissimi discorsi, & regole bellissime.” Fialetti, Tutte le parti/A, 2. Fialetti’s false modesty is
The German artist’s large volume on human proportion was well known in Italy. An Italian edition of the work was printed in Venice in 1591 and again in 1594; we only know for certain that Fialetti was in Venice by 1596, but his direct reference to Dürer makes it clear that he knew of the book. Fialetti justifies his book not only by the novelty of its method, but also because other similar sources, such as Dürer’s, are not easy to find and are much longer.\textsuperscript{178} So in fact, we see here not only artistic aspirations but also a clever marketing ploy. His shorter book would cost less than Dürer’s, or other related works such as treatises on painting like those by Alberti or Armenini, and subsequently it would be more accessible to his audience.

User-friendliness, both in availability and actual method, is foremost in the mind of the author. His book offers something that no other source can:

Because I procured, not without little study, to reduce with brevity, and ease, the manner to make the head of every man, woman, or child that is, with such order and measure that every one who wants for his delight to put [them] into action, he will find the easy manner to form which head he wishes, using these limits and rules that I teach to you all.\textsuperscript{179}

Fialetti claims to have created a simplified and easy method by which his readers can correctly draw the head of any figure they desire. While his earlier book treated adult men, this new project seeks to provide the user with a system for drawing both sexes and a variety of ages. Fialetti is here working to construct a system, and the value of that

\textsuperscript{178} “Ma perche questi, & altri volumi sono di non poca spesa, & di grandissimo studio a veder & rivederli con longezza di tempo & fatica grande…” Fialetti, Tutte le parti/A, 4.

\textsuperscript{179} “Perciò ho procurato, con non poco studio, di ridurre con brevità , & facilità, il modo di fare le Teste di tale Huomo, Donna ò Fanciullo che si sia, con ordine, & misure tali che volendole ogni uno per suo diletto metter in atto, trovarà il modo facile di formare qual si voglia Testa, usando questi termine & regole lequali io vi insegno.” Fialetti, Tutte le parti/A, 5.
system is in the ease of use derived from its structure. Furthermore, the systematic
approach promises that his rules can be universally applied.

Fialetti finishes his introduction by noting that this booklet does not have to mark
the end of his contribution to the field. His method need not be limited to the examples
shown in this booklet; if the reader is pleased with the author’s “feeble” little effort, “[he]
will be compelled to proceed with another, and to facilitate for you step-by-step all the
other members, and then the complete figures of one, and the other sex of whatever size
is needed.”180 No examples of such descriptions, visual or literal, for parts of the body
other than facial features (or faces in profile) exist in *libri da disegnare*, printed or
otherwise. Fialetti’s claim of the adaptability of his method for other body parts and for
the figure as a whole suggests that he believed that his theory of drawing could truly
Teach anyone how to draw anything. It also opens up a number of possibilities for future
projects, which, if they were ever completed, do not survive.

In the first chapter, Fialetti asserts that he has pioneered a new method of drawing
that he has now chosen to share. The most striking feature of Fialetti’s etchings is the
unusual degree of detail depicted for the construction of a figure (Figure 2.7). Most
drawing book prints show single, finished examples and a smaller number provide the
user with an example in two or three degrees of construction (varying degrees of
shading). In the text of *Tutte le parti/A*, referring to his earlier book, Fialetti compares
the two principal types of didactic images, the step-by-step and the more common sheet
of studies:

180 “Et se questo mio debbole pricipio vi sarà grato, mi sforzerò di procedere piu oltra, &
facilitarvi di parte in parte tutte le altre membra, & poi perfettamente le figure dell’uno, &
dell’altro sesso di qual grandezza sarà bisogno, per valersene nelle occasioni…” Ibid.
Having already shown you in my other first booklet, the manner of making the ear for every angle and necessary location, although I did not write about this, and that until now I did not think it necessary because the strokes are very easy and they can be learned by themselves. For this I did not write about it, because it seemed to me more necessary to treat things of greater importance. But since in this book I want to form the judgment of beginners in painting, and still for those who have not known the rules, I will treat first the ear in a manner invented by me, not yet discovered by others.\textsuperscript{181}

In this introductory section to the first chapter, Fialetti raises three issues: the envisioned audience, the existence of different and competing types of models for teaching drawing, and the novelty of his own method. I will discuss the first two issues before broaching that of originality.

Fialetti defines his intended audience as true beginners (\textit{principianti}) who do not know any rules for constructing the human face in proportion or accurately in space. A possible reason that Fialetti decided both to write about and to draw a number of examples in as basic a manner as possible, line by line, might lie in this intended audience: the true beginner. In some ways, this may continue the play towards accessibility seen in the \textit{Avvertimento}: in aiming for the beginner, Fialetti strives to promote his own method of instruction as new and particularly approachable.

When he refers in this passage to his earlier drawing book and to his depiction of ears shown from many different angles, Fialetti is describing his presentation of a different category of examples. He identifies this type of example as the “things of

\textsuperscript{181} “Havendovi già dimostrato nell’altro primo mio Libretto, il modo di far l’orecchio per ogni verso & sito necessario, se bene non ho scritto di quello, è che all hora non lo giudicai necessario per essere li tiri assai facili, & da se stessi pur intelligibili. Per questo non me ne son curato, perche mi pareva piu necessario trattar cosa di maggior importanza. Ma poiche in questo libro voglio formar il giuditio de’ principianti nella pittura, & ancora di quelli chi non ne haveranno osservato le regole, tratterò primo dell’orecchio in un modo da me inventato, ne mai piu da altri scoperto.” Fialetti, \textit{Tutte le parti/A}, 6.
greater importance.” From the etchings that make up Il Vero modo/A we can deduce what Fialetti meant by the phrase “things of greater importance:” sheets of finished examples showing parts of the face and body and examples of male heads of various ages. In the group of prints that, because they are not a part of the small group of Tutte le parti/A, must be from the earlier book, there are in fact two sheets devoted to ears (B 214 and 215, Figures 2.8 and 2.9). Both of these etchings show completed depictions of ears from every viewpoint, with B 215 featuring slightly more shading. Only one sheet in this group breaks down an example into steps; B 212 (Figure 2.10) demonstrates how to draw the eye in profile (ten steps) and from straight on (four steps). Like the sheets of ears that Fialetti refers to in the first chapter of his second book, the other prints in the book contain completed studies that provide the user with examples of individual body parts including eyes, lower faces, hands, feet, knees, and torsos, all seen from different angles and in a number of positions. These finished examples of the ABCs of disegno must be the ones the artist considers of primary importance for the user of a drawing book.

The bulk of the text for Tutte le parti/A consists of detailed instructions on how to draw the type of figure shown on the opposite page. In his nine chapters, Fialetti dissects the majority of the etchings in thorough detail, guiding the reader laboriously through the construction of the figures following the “rules” created by the artist. In one etching depicting the construction of the lower face from the nose to the chin, Fialetti shows eleven numbered steps (Figure 2.11). The accompanying text describes in detail each step shown in the etching, and it attempts with precision to reflect what the image shows  

182 Two chapters, VII and VIII, feature only rough description of how to draw heads without the aid of Fialetti’s system of guidelines.
In one etching in *Il Vero modo/A* and in three examples in *Tutte le parti/A*, Fialetti broke down his drawings into more steps than any other comparable printed examples. The illustrations in *Tutte le parti/A*, as ordered and explained in the Rijksmuseum copy, feature a large number of steps, which correspond to the textual descriptions. From these examples, it appears that the novelty of Fialetti’s “method” resides in the smaller increments into which he breaks the elementary facial constructions. No other printed drawing book reduces its “lessons” into such small steps. By virtue of his method, where lines build to create a recognizable form, Fialetti shows both outlined and shaded examples in what are most likely the earliest printed didactic drawing manuals in Europe.

Although Fialetti repeatedly draws attention to the novelty of his methods, he does not want the readers to think that they will be dependant upon his rules and guidelines because of the uniqueness of the system, and he informs the audience of the true purpose of the method. Fialetti defines as his intention the training of the hand and the eye (judgment) with the eventual goal that the beginner will be able to construct

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183 “Fare dunque un tiro simile a quel del numero primo che ha l’origine dal principio dalla cava del naso, indi lo ripigliarete, & farete nel secondo tiro tutto il naso con la rotondità; nel terzo il forame; nel quarto le narici; nel quinto la pozzetta del labro superiore; nel sesto quello di sotto; nel settimo è fornita la bocca, nel ottavo la rotondità del barbuccio; nel nono la sottogola; nel decimo così unitamente con li tratti si finisce il naso, la bocca, il barbuccio in profilo.” Fialetti, *Tutte le parti/A*, 8.

184 Neither of the closest comparisons, Alessandro Allori’s *Regole* (c. 1565) and Francesco Cavazzoni’s *Esemplario* (1612), were ever published. But even so, Fialetti’s claim of novelty does not appear to be overstated: Allori only breaks his illustrations down into parts to some degree, while Cavazzoni, of course, postdates Fialetti.

185 Translation from Browne (1660). Examples of Fialetti referring to the novelty of his methods: *Of the Ear*. CHAP. I: “in a manner of my self invented, and not by any other discovered;” *The Manner how to describe a Head every way without Measure*. CHAP. VIII: “an unusuall manner by me invented,” *Of Childrens Heads*. CHAP. IX: “a Rule, invented by me, and not yet by any put forth in writing.”
correct forms without using guiding lines or consciously relying on the system set out within the booklet. For example, one element of Fialetti’s method uses a triangle as the basis for drawing the face in profile (Figure 2.12). (Part of a long tradition starting with Luca Pacioli’s illustration in *la Divina Proportione*, Fialetti does not claim to have invented this particular method himself.) In chapter VII, he dispenses with the triangle as a guide to facilitate the independence of the draftsman:

> Being desirous to make an upright Head or side-Face, without any Triangle or other Measure; you shall not need always to make the Triangle, but with a little care and practice to form the Eye, which will serve for direction sufficiently; because the Head and other parts of the Body are to be proportionals, and made from Measures, it will easily follow, framing many with one and the same Stroke, you may not only facilitate it by the Eye and Judgement, but also accommodate the Hand to trace and draw all things right; for it is true that the Eye will have his place.

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186 “Ciò vi volsi dimostrare con queste semplici linee accioche vi assuefacciate à facilitar la mano & componere con giudizio tutto quello che farete.” Fialetti, *Tutte le parti/A*, 14.
187 Trans. Browne. Of the upright or side-Face without any Measure. CHAP. VII. Fialetti. Delle Teste in Profilo Senza Misura CAP. VII: “Volendo far le teste in profilo senza triangolo ne altra misura, non bisogna far sempre il triangolo, ma con un poco di studio & pratica avezzar l’occhio che vi servi per compasso, accioche le teste & le altre parti del corpo sijno di proportione & fatte di misura. Questo conseguirete facilmente formandone molte & così in un tratto faciliatate non solamente l’occhio & l’intelletto, ma ancora habilitarete la mano et avezzaretevi a far’ tutte le cose giuste. Che sia il vero che l’occhio voglia la sua parte, l’hò provato havendo fatto alcune volte certi ritratti, o disegni nella natura istessa, et ridottili colla penna, lapis passtello, colori a oglio, i quali mi sono riusciti tutti giusti et di grandezza corrispondente puntualmente a quella ch’io imitava. Così finita l’opera mia & misuratala parte per parte, non hò ritrovato cosa alcuna disuguale, ma sempre mi sono riusciti giusti. Perciò vi dico che queste regole & misure le quali vi insegnò, non sono già per impedire l’eccellenza dell’arte, nè meno debilitare il valor vostro, ma serviranno per avvertimenti generali à chi non le possede, & anco per prevalervene in occasione di voler formare una testa di grandezza di dieci o tante volte più del naturale, poi che con questa misura farete agevolmente giusta ogni gran testa. Et perché gli intelletti non sono ugualmente elevati, ma chi più chi manco capaci, servìra questa mia fatica à chi no haverà bisogno. Questi dunque daranno principio al primo tiro che in questa prossima tavola vedono, il quale è dalla fronte, come altre volte hò detto al principio del naso, cioè da i capelli alla cava del naso & delle narici, & da quelle al barbuccio. Bisognará poi seguitare, secondo che di mano vanno crescendo i tiri fino alla testa del numero undecimo, & così fate che sij diviso in tre parti giuste coll’occhio senza l’opera del compasso ò altra misura il che facendo, puoterete facilmente assuefarvi, di maniera che poi farete tutto quel che vorrete senza fatica alcuna.”
In this passage I think it necessary to make one subtle adjustment to Browne’s text. Instead of “For direction” I would use “as a compass” (per compasso) to refer to the use of instruments for constructing geometrically correct figures.\(^\text{188}\) Fialetti refers to widely held beliefs that one can train the hand and the eye to recognize and represent correct human proportions. With practice and attention, the beginner can train his eye to know the correct proportion, and his hand will follow along without relying on obvious aids. That is, his text assures the reader that while his system is new, it promises him eventual independence from his or any other set of guidelines.

As Fialetti assures the reader, the methods that he demonstrates including the use of the triangle, will not hurt the user’s ability to develop these skills. Rather, he seeks to guide the beginner along the path to self-sufficiency:

> this Rule and Measure which I have set down, is not any hinderance to the excellency of the Art, nor will weaken your worth; but will serve as a general Advertisement, being once possest therewith; and also become prevalent when occasion will require, to make a Head ten times as big as the natural; for that with this Measure you shall readily frame it right by any great Head; and that because the Understanding therein is equally extended; but the more the Capacity is wanting, the more my labour will further, when need requireth.\(^\text{189}\)

\(^{188}\) I made this change to Browne’s translation based on comparisons with the 1611 edition of John Florio’s Italian English dictionary. Per compasso could refer to direction but in this case, it should have a more technical connection to art and art theory. Fialetti appears to espouse a widely held belief, accredited to Michelangelo and popularized by Armenini that the eye of the artist should serve as a compass.

\(^{189}\) Trans. Browne. “Of the upright or side-Face without any Measure. CHAP. VII.” Fialetti’s original text is: “Perciò vi dico che queste regole & misure le quali vi insegnò, non sono già per impedire l’eccellenza dell’arte, nè meno debilitare il valor vostro, ma serviranno per avertimenti generali à chi non le possede, & anco per prevalervene in occasione di voler formare una testa di grandezza di dieci ò tante volte più del naturale, poi che con questa misura farete agevolmente giusta ogni gran testa. Et perche gli intelletti non sono ugualemente elevati, ma chi più chi manco capaci, servirà questa mia fatica à chi no haverà bisogno.”

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Fialetti’s method will teach the student a rule that is true for a head of any size that he could possibly need to draw. Importantly, it will not be a crutch that weakens the draftsman nor will it have negative impact on the long-term ability of the beginner.

Immediately after explaining the sustainability of his method, Fialetti instructs the reader to follow the lines in the etching through the ten steps pictured:

These then I give as principal for the first Strokes, as in the next Figure may be perceived, which is from the Forehead, as I have already said, for the beginning of the Nose; that is from the lower part of the Hair, to the hollowness of the Nose and the Nostrils, and from thence to the Chin. It will afterwards be necessary to proceed accordingly from Stroke to Stroke, by encreasing the Strokes until you come to the Head, Number 10. and so make it to be divided into 3. parts by the Eye justly, without the help of Compasses or other Measures; and in so doing, you may easily accustom your hand, in such sort that you may draw all you would, without any labour at all.\(^{190}\)

It is interesting that the artist appears quite concerned with possible objections to systematic drawing instruction. Such attention may ultimately derive from the fact that he recognizes his place at the very origins of the genre. The text functions as the drawings alone could not: to make palatable a new method. He again addresses the idea that a beginner would be put off by learning to draw through a system in the next chapter, “The Manner how to describe a Head every way without Measure.” Fialetti yet again declares that someone using his examples will not be tied to the “measures” demonstrated in the booklet: “[i]t will not be needfull alwayes to set down the Measures which I have

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\(^{190}\) Trans Browne. “Of the upright or side-Face without any Measure. CHAP. VII.” Fialetti’s original text: “Questi dunque daranno principio al primo tiro che in questa prossima tavola vedono, il quale è dalla fronte, come altre volte hò detto al principio del naso, cioè da i capelli alla cava del naso & delle narici, & da quelle al barbuccio. Bisognerà poi seguitare, secondo che di mano vanno crescendo i tiri fino alla testa del numero undecimo, & così fate che sij diviso in tre parti giuste coll’occhio senza l’opera del compasso ò altra misura il che facendo, puoterete facilmente assuefarvi, di maniera che poi farete tutto quel che vorrete senza fatica alcuna.”
before prescribed, because it will be too troublesome.” Anxiety over the tediousness of the drawing exercises raises the issue of audience. We would not assume that an apprentice would be allowed to care whether a method was tedious (nor would he need written instructions as the master would direct him). Although Fialetti has already defined his audience as the true beginner, this sentiment against tediousness brings to mind Alessandro Allori’s stated concern in his own drawing manual that the gentleman draftsman might be put off by beginning by drawing anatomical examples. Fialetti may also have had first-hand experience with amateur draftsmen. Malvasia, presumably writing from information he received from Fialetti’s student Carlo Ridolfi, says that Fialetti was known among the Venetian elites and foreign visitors as a capable drawing master. Malvasia even mentions specifically that one of the grandsons of Lady Arundel owned drawing books by Fialetti. His experiences instructing amateurs may well have influenced his *libri da disegnare* and possibly even his use of text.

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191 Trans Browne. “The Manner how to describe a Head every way without Measure, CHAP. VIII.: “Non è necessario sempre il far queste misure le quali più inanti vi hò dimostrato, perché sarebbe troppo fatica & stento.”

192 Reilly, 131, Barocchi 1948-49.

193 Non vi era Cavalier Veneziano, delettante del disegno, che non capitarne alla di lui virtù per haver documenti: come pur anche Principi Forestieri, & altri e già capitando a Venezia l’Illustris. & Eccellentis. Signora Alathea Talbot, moglie dell’ l’Illustris. & Eccellentis. Sig. Co. Tomaso Hovvardo di Rondel. Dama che molto dilettavasi del disegno, ricorse alla virtù di esso Fialetti, il quale essercitò egregiamente i suoi talenti, e fù regallato di colame, gioie, e monete d’oro…” Malvasia (1678) II, 312. From Malvasia’s account, it appears that Alathea Talbot herself may have been a pupil of Fialetti.

194 “…il Conte Odoardo di Rondello, nipote della prefatta Contessa, il quale, per il gusto, che hà del disegno, si essercitarne libri di questo Autore…” Ibid.

195 Although I am not aware of any direct evidence, from letters or dairies, or in inventories of collections, of any Italian or English amateur hiring Filetti or using his books, it is possible that it exists but has yet to be discovered. Fialetti’s drawing manuals were directly mentioned by Edward Norgate, in his book *Miniatura; or, the Art of Limning* (c. 1646). Although Norgate appears to have confused the projects of Fialetti and Palma il Giovane, he regardlss recommended the works of Fialetti to his readers.
Fialetti explicitly gives us another raison d'être for the text. In Chapter VI, the artist places written instruction in a position of secondary importance to the figures. At the same time he argues that his text, because it directly comments upon the images, adds to the reader’s understanding of the figure. Fialetti begins this chapter by explaining how to draw lines to guide the positioning of facial features on a foreshortened head with a justification for his inclusion of text:

Hitherto have I treated of the Head, both foreright, and in other positions; but that you might know all that is needfull for the perfect understanding of this profession, it is necessary that I specifie the Manner how to draw the Face by an easie, absolute, and fair way. Treating thus, I propound to you Methodicall meanes therein; because my intent is to facilitate the matter in that manner, that without writing thereupon it may be intelligible: For a Draught well made hath that power, that it makes itself understood without any Discourse of the Author thereon. But I alwayes observe both the one and the other also; instructing by the Draught the intelligence first, and afterward by Discourse thereupon.196

“Without writing thereupon it may be intelligible:” Fialetti intended that his illustrations could stand alone as instructional tools but, at the same time he seems to suggest that the combination of the two will add to the user’s understanding and facilitate learning.197

Thus, Fialetti’s assertion that word is secondary to image establishes a relationship that will become standard in the genre. It may be that Fialetti shares a widely held view with those responsible for didactic manuals. In the introduction to the second edition of Colombina’s introduction to his treatise (always bound with Esengren’s...
engravings), he suggests that a treatise on painting is not as useful if it lacks images. Giovanni Temini, the second publisher, claims that he found and purchased the plates by Esengren that Pieter Paolo Tozzi printed with the written treatise in the first edition. He says that he went through the effort to retrieve the 26 plates, which had not been available from booksellers for a number of years, so that the readers could better benefit from the text. Without the images, the reader could only speculate about the types of examples for study of anatomy or human proportion.\(^{198}\) The acknowledgement that the text was more useful with accompanying images even though in truth, it barely interacts with the prints beyond telling the reader to copy the images in the order they are presented and as many times as is necessary to be able to draw them in a manner indistinguishable from the original, highlights the power given to images in instruction.

Fialetti refers to his own earlier work, to other texts valuable to artists (treatises of human proportion), and to how learning a method for drawing the human form from a sequence of printed images can form the hand and eye of the students so that they can eventually draw freehand anything that they wish. Perhaps both the novelty of his work and his intended audience helped to shape the inclusion of both text and image. Fialetti’s booklet rarely strays from his stated goal of instructing the true beginner in simple rules for constructing parts of the human body. His text is almost purely focused on practice, and only when referring to the importance of images in instruction and admitting (with

\(^{198}\) “per non lasciar sola la speculazione di ciò, vi era la pratica con l’impressione di ventisei figure di Rame per disegnare Il qual Libro in poco tempo hebbe tanto spacio, che sono molti anni, che più per l’arte non se ne veggono, & essendomi più volte stato da Virtuosi ricercato hò procurato di comperar queste Stampe.” Gasparo Colombina, Discorso sopra il modo di disegnare, dipingere, & spiegare, from the “Introduction” written by Giovanni Temini for the second edition (Padua: Giovanni Temini, c. 1650).
somewhat false modesty) that this is not a treatise on human proportion does he enter the realm of art theory. This does not mean that we cannot read both the text and images as evidence of theory of drawing instruction, but in comparison with the next work that I will discuss, Fialetti’s *Tutte le parti/A* is a fairly direct and user friendly guide for drawing.

**Francesco Cavazzoni**

The next example we will consider is that of a treatise written in 1612 by the Bolognese painter Francesco Cavazzoni. The work consists of an unpublished manuscript for a *libro da disegnare*, but its finished state suggests it was intended for publication despite the fact that we do not have any printed copies. Like Fialetti, Cavazzoni included an accompanying text, although his was much longer than that of the slightly earlier Fialetti. Not only in the parallel texts, but also in his drawings, Cavazzoni shows an awareness of Fialetti as well as of the drawing book of Giacomo Franco/Palma il Giovane. Moreover, his accompanying text sheds light on reasons certain types of images are often included in *libri da disegnare*. I propose that Cavazzoni sought to combine the emerging genre of the printed drawing book with related forms of books for artists including treatises on painting, proportion and craftsman’s handbooks.

Francesco Cavazzoni (Bologna 1559 - after 1618) was a painter and critic who, after receiving his early training from Bartolomeo Passerotti, was a student at the Carracci Academy. In 1603 he published an artistic guide to Bologna and then a treatise on the miracles of the Virgin in 1608. In 1612, he wrote a didactic treatise on *disegno* with the following title: *Esemplario della nobile arte del disegno per quelli che si*
Illustrated with twenty-nine pen and ink drawings, Cavazzoni’s treatise features step-by-step constructions of the eye, ear, and profile of the lower face as well as of individual parts of the body. He also includes drawings of the entire human body, even showing skeletal and muscular representations, foreshortening and proportion. The *Esemplario* represents something of a departure as it combines information gleaned from literature on the arts. Cavazzoni draws heavily on known treatises such as those by Cennini, Ghiberti, Alberti, Vasari, Doni, and Lomazzo. He seeks to unite practice with theory on a number of occasions, something not attempted by Fialetti. In the second half of his treatise, he mixes technical advice about preparing pigments, pens, canvases, and transferring drawings (through pouncing and by use of a grid) with passages about drawn examples of parts of the body. Again and again, Cavazzoni refers to virtue, both that of his student and that of the activity of drawing itself. Many of Cavazzoni’s concerns echo those of Doni and Lomazzo. The treatise as such deserves more study in terms of its role in the larger tradition of writing on art theory.

Cavazzoni’s treatise is, in many ways, closest to Alessandro Allori’s earlier *Regole*. In both these unpublished works, the text describes what the author has drawn in the corresponding images yet also attempts to construct larger arguments about the arts. Shorter than Allori’s work, Cavazzoni’s *Esemplario* contains more illustrations covering

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200 Pigozzi’s annotations to the text identify Cavazzoni’s chief debts to these earlier writers.
a wider variety of concepts. At the same time, some of Cavazzoni’s illustrations – the step-by-step images -- are less clear than the corresponding drawings by Allori. As Fialetti’s *Tutte le parti/A* was the only other previous book to make use of text and image, I think it is likely that Cavazzoni was exposed to Fialetti’s small booklet as well as to his other *libro da disegnare* and that these printed sources prompted Cavazzoni to describe a number of his figures in detail both in text and image.

The date of Cavazzoni’s treatise, clearly given on the title page as 1612, places the manuscript close to Fialetti’s two printed drawing books, as well as to the 1611 treatise by Giacomo Franco and Palma il Giovane. There are visual cues to such a relationship, as several drawings in the *Esemplario* closely follow etchings by Fialetti. On page 15, Cavazzoni draws the heads of children in a manner almost identical to Fialetti’s; the similarity is unmistakable with the same four circles present creating the chubby face of an infant (Figure 2.14). Cavazzoni does not base his construction of the frontal depiction on a square like Fialetti (Figure 2.15). For the face of a *putto* in profile Cavazzoni departs from the method shown by Fialetti and instead constructs the profile from two circles stacked one on top of the other. In the end though he demonstrates this system by showing four circles depicting two faces in profile: one on the left and one on the right. Although Cavazzoni embraces a method based entirely on the idea of four circles, as opposed to Fialetti’s four for the frontal and three for the profile, the manner of profile depictions strongly suggests that Cavazzoni had seen a copy of *Tutte le parti/A.* Fialetti’s system of three circles is based on a central triangle where the draftsman constructs each circle from a center point positioned on the corners of the triangle. Fialetti’s approach also offers guidance for positioning the back of the head while
Cavazzoni’s does not. Basing a depiction of the head of a child on circles appears to have originated with Fialetti. This technique is in opposition to one based on squares was first proposed by Dürer in 1525 and widely disseminated by Lautensack’s *Perspectiva* of 1564 (Figure 2.16).²⁰¹

Cavazzoni also appears to have known the earlier work of Giacomo Franco and Palma il Giovane. This is demonstrable, for example, in the fact that Cavazzoni offers an explanation for the striking sheets of floating torsos in the Franco/Palma book (Figure 2.17). The arrangement is otherwise difficult to explain and appears nowhere else prior to Cavazzoni. On the verso of page 29 he writes about a drawing he has done of male torsos seen from three different angles: “the three backs, here shown foreshortened will be good for aiding in the understanding of perspective.” He tells the reader that proper perspective is as important in drawing as it is in painting (Figure 2.18).²⁰² These examples tackle difficult situations, such as foreshortening, showing an armless torso from above, viewing the front of the figure in one and the back in the other, as well as a view from below of an almost horizontal body.

Turning now from Cavazzoni’s sources to his arrangement, we find that he lays out his illustrations much like the earlier examples mentioned above. His text progresses on the verso of each illustration. He begins the treatise by telling the reader that the master gives the student the eye as a first example and then proceeds to the ear and then the face in profile in outline. Drawings by Cavazzoni of eyes, ears, lower faces, and

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²⁰¹ Bolten, 207.
²⁰² “perché disegnando qualsivoglia cosa di prattica non farà se non bene e li darà buon lume, così nelle figure come ancora nelle cose di quadro.” *Esemplario*, 27, text on 29 v; Pigozzi, *Scritti*, 135.
heads have much in common with those by Fialetti. Most striking and unusual are the plates that closely resemble Fialetti’s step-by-step etchings: those of eyes and ears. Although it is not as legibly articulated in the drawings, Cavazzoni describes the construction of the eye and ear in step-by-step progression. The first section of the treatise and the first illustration discuss the human eye, both in profile and from the front.

The differences between Cavazzoni’s sheet of eyes and Fialetti’s etching are immediately apparent in the addition of an eyeball shown outside of the socket (Figure 2.19). The lesson begins with the upper eyelid then the lower and then directs the student to finish with the iris and pupil. The steps are not as clearly laid out as in Fialetti’s similar etching and the presentation of two vertical rows of eyes facing each other makes it more difficult to follow the progression. Cavazzoni described the process in the accompanying text:

To make him understand where you draw the first line to create [the eye in profile], as you see here in the second figure called A B, drawing the line from A to B which will be the cover of the upper part of the eye and to create the other line below from E to D, so the eye will be created in profile, that we call the half eye. One draws the line above marked P and S to form, which is to be found, above the encasing, forming between the two lines in half light with his pupil and then the eyebrow to the edge of the encasing.203

The steps are difficult to relate to the accompanying illustration partly because the drawing lacks the letters for reference. Regardless, the artist shows fewer steps than Fialetti, or even than the single step-by-step print of Valesio discussed in the final chapter, and thus the drawing is harder to follow. In general, Cavazzoni’s text is less

203 “Per darli ad intendere dov’è si tirarà la prima linea per creare esso, come si vede quivi nella seconda figura signata A B, tirando la linea dal A al B che sarà la coperta dell’occhio della parte sopra e per creare l’altra linea di sotto dal E al D, così sarà creato l’occhio in profilo che vien detto mezzo occhio. Si tirà la linea di sopra a quella signata P e S così sarà formato, le quale va a trovare ;a incassatura di sopra, formará tra le due linee la luce di mezzo con la sua pupilla e poi la sopraciglia al principio della incassatura.” *Esemplario*, 3v/4, Pigozzi, *Scritti*, 112.
detailed than Fialetti’s when describing the construction of features of the body. As I noted above, Cavazzoni’s treatise focuses on more than teaching a beginner how to draw basic parts of the human body. He also attempts to teach larger concepts including one point perspective and practical matters such as the preparation of the materials of drawing and painting. In contrast, Fialetti’s singular goal is to teach, in the most accessible manner possible, the truly inexperienced beginner how to draw the head.

Although he is not so explicit, Cavazzoni’s intended audience may well have been as inexperienced in drawing as that assumed by Fialetti. Like Fialetti, he reveals that his intended audience is not comprised of practiced artists, when he muses at the end of the section on drawing the eye, “It would be good that the diligent student seeks to learn more things. Although here in the present figures the nude eye with the optic nerves is shown, a thing that is of very little interest to the painter, it is true, but even this is better to know than not to know.”204 By stating that there are things contained in his treatise that are not of “interest to the painter,” Cavazzoni makes it clear that his didactic project is intended for the non-professional. Pigozzi suggests that this treatise would have appealed to the same type of persons, mainly dilettantes and art lovers, who frequented the new academies of art for the theoretical lectures.205

In the next section of his treatise Cavazzoni describes how to draw the ear, with an accompanying illustration that has more in common with Fialetti’s plate of ears from Tutte le parti/A than the previous drawing of eyes:

204 “Sarà bene che il diligente scolare cerchi di sapere più cose. Seben qui nelle presenti figure si è mostrato l’occhio nudo con li nervi optici, che questo importaria poco al pittore, è vero, ma pur è meglio a sapere che non sapere.” Esemplario, 3v/4. Pigozzi, Scritti, 121.

205 Pigozzi, Scritti, 175.
After the example of the eye comes that of the ear, that which one can “draw out from” the form of the oval. The diligent student, with the hand gently creates this, like you see in the first figure, called A. From this one can draw out the right or the left ear as one sees in the form called D, and draw it diligently, like in the figure called B, and then continue with the shadow to perfection, imitating the example with diligence. Concerning then the foreshortened ear is shown when the head faces front, and do this with judgment and good practice.

Cavazzoni’s written instructions and associated drawing are not as detailed as those provided by Fialetti. In fact, the sheet of illustrations does not appear finalized; visible underdrawings remain, the bottom right ear has not been finished with ink, and an unrelated chalk drawing of an ear is visible at the bottom of the sheet (Figure 2.20). Even so, it is difficult to ignore the relationship between these depictions, the only two known examples of a system for drawing the ear.

In one of the more unusual illustrations, Cavazzoni, like Fialetti before him, draws a sheet of knees (Figure 2.21). In the accompanying text he writes that he includes four examples of knees so that the student can distinguish for himself the anatomically correct models. The author laments that he has seen many “professors of this art” who have no idea how to draw this part of the body. Fialetti’s etched sheet of knees is from Tutte le parti/B (B 242, Figure 2.22) and does not have an accompanying text, so we can

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206 “Doppo l’esempio dell’occhio verrà a quello dell’orecchia, la quale di potrà cavare della forma dell’ovato. Diligente scolare con la mano gentilmente crearà esso, come qui si vede nella prima figura signata A. Di quella si potrà cavare la destra o sinistra, orrecchia, come si vede nella forma signata D, e linearla diligentemente, come sta nella figura signata B, e poi condurla con l’ombre a perfezione, immitando l’esempio con diligenza. Circa poi della orecchia in scortio si mostrerà quando la testa è in faccia, e quella fare con giudizio e buona praticca.” Esemplario, 4v/5; Pigozzi, Scritti, 121.

207 “È molto importante fra tutte le cose di che si è trattato il studio del ginocchio. Con questi quattro esempi si potrà conoscere il vero del falso, che per mia fe’ ho visto molti professori di questa arte aver talmente aovviluppato questo membro che a me pare che da pochi sia inteso. Per questo io non ho voluto mancare di porre questi quattro esempi, acciò che il scolare veda e si eserciti in questi, perché è da pochi inteso e molto operato senza intelligenza alcuna.” Esemplario, 33v/31; Pigozzi, Scritti, 157.
only guess at his reasons for including this particular part of the body. Fialetti also illustrates the leg in three other examples where the viewer can observe the knee in different positions and from different angles. Fialetti’s print of knees may be evidence of a consensus at the time that knees were a challenging feature to draw correctly.

If Cavazzoni felt that the difficult subject of knees required explanatory text, then a similar purpose can be identified further along. In some of Cavazzoni’s drawings, recalling the studies of torsos (upright or floating in undefined space) present in the drawing books of Fialetti and Giacomo Franco, the accompanying text in the Esemplario provides explanations for the inclusion of images of nude torsos of men and of women. 28v/26 depicts four well-muscled male torsos, all upright, from the back (Figure 2.23). The accompanying text states the reason for including such examples in a drawing book: they are difficult to draw because the muscles of the back are one of the most challenging things to represent correctly. Therefore he has included four examples, each from a slightly different viewpoint. Cavazzoni also includes a sheet of female torsos with the explanation that because the very nature of the female form -- soft and delicate with pleasing lines -- hides the underlying musculature, they are even more difficult to draw in

208 Considering their more infrequent appearance, Cavazzoni’s concern that muscular nude might prove off-putting to a beginner might not have been unfounded. Well muscled male torsos are found in Fialetti’s first project, Franco’s book, the Scuola Perfetta, and both sets of Esengren’s prints (1623). They are not present in any of the Guercino, della Bella, or Mitelli drawing books even though the Accademia di San Luca includes backs in the list of parts of the body considered in the ABCs of disegno, where they are referred to as ‘schiene,’ cf. Romano Alberti, Origine, et progresso dell’Academia del Disegno, de pittori, scultori, & architetti di Roma. (Pavia: Pietro Bartoli, 1604) 17.

209 Si è lasciato a questo luoco il studio delli dorsi come quelli che sono molto difficile per essere serati solo da due linee e che in mezzo molti muscoli vi sieno difficilissimi...” Esemplario, 28v/26; Pigozzi, Scritti, 153.
a beautiful manner than those of men.\textsuperscript{210} He informs the reader that he left these difficult examples until the end because he did not wish to tire the beginner.\textsuperscript{211} It is interesting that the accompanying texts in both places may mark a difficult part of the body to draw, but he never uses the text to explain how to draw those body parts—that responsibility falls on the images themselves. In this way, his text is sometimes less strictly didactic and less descriptive than that of Fialetti. Whether this is evidence of a slightly different intended audience—one that was perhaps somewhat more accustomed to the craft of drawing—or whether this is simply Cavazzoni’s style of explanation is difficult to tell.

If we compare Cavazzoni’s aims set out in his text with those of Fialetti, it does appear that Cavazzoni is seeking to develop a new type of treatise for dilettantes and art lovers: a combination of a drawing book and a treatise on painting. He must have identified the promise in the rising genre of the printed drawing manual and combined written directions somewhat in the style of Fialetti with images like those included in the books of Fialetti and Giacomo Franco. He mixed these more “practical” demonstrations with theoretical discussions about perspective, proportion, and general theories about how the artist should behave. This is seen, for example, in the aforementioned drawing of floating torsos with its accompanying text. Cavazzoni does not describe in practical terms the manner of drawing these torsos as Fialetti might have done. Rather, he chooses to juxtapose the image with a comment on the value of the image itself in instructing

\textsuperscript{210} “…morbidi e delicati, teneri, di contorni piacevoli. Molti vi saranno più difficile che non sono quelli dell’uomo, perché li suoi muscoli sono tanto e pochi apparenti che vi vuole un grande artifizio ad imitare tal bellezza.” \textit{Esemplario}, 30v/28; Pigozzi, \textit{Scritti}, 153.

\textsuperscript{211} “…per questo si è lasciato questo studio all’ultimo, perché non è fatica da principianti scolari.” \textit{Esemplario}, 28v/26; Pigozzi, \textit{Scritti}, 153.
perspective and with a comparison between drawing and painting. This is not to say that Cavazzoni never gives instructions in text along with his images, but rather that he may be aiming with some of his texts to give a more weighty and theoretical basis to the drawing books, a tone similar to that found in treatises on painting. Although the *Esemplario* was never published, it shows how texts continued to be used as a means to develop a still fairly young genre.

**Giuseppe Maria Mitelli**

If Fialetti and Cavazzoni help position the *libro da disegnare* with reference to the novelty of their books, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (Bologna 1634 - 1718) can be seen reacting to a fully formed genre. Mitelli etched his drawing books at a time when the expected structure of the genre had crystallized to the point that, I would argue, he was able to poke fun at an established norm. Mitelli’s largest and best-known drawing book, compared to his other projects, is *Alfabeto in sogno, esemplare per disegnare di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli Bolognese* (Bologna, 1683). Mitelli also etched two other drawing books, *Mitelli Intaglio* (Bologna, 1663-1666) and the undated *Esemplari per disegnare di rame no. 12*. In addition to these complete projects, Mitelli etched one sheet, *Contorni per facilitare il disegno a principianti* (1699), filled with parts of the

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face and body.\textsuperscript{214} In \textit{Alfabeto in Sogno}, we find Mitelli referring playfully and often satirically to early examples of both drawing books and treatises on painting. Mitelli’s lively take on a \textit{libro da disegnare} assumes that his audience is familiar with the form being satirized. That is, in order for Mitelli’s humor to be effective, his viewer must have had an awareness of how the genre normally operated.

Mitelli’s contributions are the only Italian additions to the field from approximately 1660 to 1700 with the possible exception of the undated fragmentary work by Pietro Aquila. From stocklists we know that publishers continued to print older \textit{libri da disegnare}, and therefore the same group of people seeing and buying Mitelli’s titles would have been exposed to the more traditional examples at print sellers as well as in existing collections.\textsuperscript{215} Mitelli’s lighter tone does not mean that the formats chosen by the artist are without deeper significance. With his use of the alphabet as organizing principle in \textit{Alfabeto in Sogno}, the artist touches on strong currents within the tradition of artistic education. Mitelli is the first to mix text and image on the same plate. His text, as I will show, takes as much license with drawing instruction as do his prints. Mitelli’s choice to structure another set of prints around the five senses, four seasons, and three fates again shows the artist taking license with the format of the genre, mixing it with much older themes of images following these categories. In \textit{Contorni}, he compresses an

\textsuperscript{214} A number of drawings related to Mitelli’s \textit{libri da disegnare} (as well as to other projects) are found in a bound sketchbook (Cartello Mitelli 113/1 - 118) in the collection of the Biblioteca Comunale d’Archiginnasio in Bologna. Some of the drawings have been published in Lia Bigiavi, “Un volumetto di appunti e disegni di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli,” \textit{L’Archiginnasio: Bollettino}, 1963: 488 – 511.

\textsuperscript{215} At the time of the 1653 Inventory of the De Rossi, the firm was still selling copies of the \textit{Scuola Perfetta}, Gatti’s book after Guercino, and a drawing books based on Reni. Francesca Consagra, “The De Rossi Family Print Publishing Shop: A Study in the History of the Print Industry in Seventeenth-Century Rome,” Ph.D. diss. (Johns Hopkins University, 1992) Appendix 4.
entire set of prints into one sheet, packaging a tradition into a handout. For the rest of the chapter, while touching on these other projects, I will focus primarily on *Alfabeto in Sogno* to demonstrate what Mitelli’s inventiveness in both text and image can tell us about the genre of the printed drawing book towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The painter and engraver Giuseppe Maria Mitelli is best known for his more than 500 prints of moralistic or genre scenes, including a project of “Arts of Bologna” loosely based on lost drawings by Agostino Carracci. His father, Agostino Mitelli, was a painter who received his training from Guercino and Cantarini. Giuseppe Maria was one of the 40 founders of the Accademia Clementina in Bologna (1710) where he also served as one of the early directors. This connection, along with Mitelli’s three drawing books, suggest that he had an interest in the education of both artists and amateurs.

The frontispiece to Giuseppe Maria Mitelli’s *Alfabeto in Sogno* features the artist asleep and dreaming with a palette and a bust at his feet (Figure 2.24). Behind him two winged *putti* hold a sign, featuring the title of the book, which rests on an easel shaped like the letter A. Surrounding the easel, and above the figure of the sleeping artist, float disembodied body parts, including eyes, ears, mouths, and a hand. This scene brings together ideas about sleeping, dreaming, and creativity prevalent in the sixteenth century. Mitelli seems to suggest that artistic inspiration floats about in the ether and independently makes its way into the mind of the artist. In his preface he explains that, “Completely given over to the power of Sleep, I was encircled, thanks to his gentle

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minister, Morpheus, by forms and visions pertinent to the most noble art of Drawing.”

These images disappeared right away, “[s]o the second I woke up I drew them here, with symmetry, and I dedicated them to your diligent exercise.” He identifies his examples as the “first elements of drawing” meant to “help you in learning such difficult discipline.” He is clearly stating his purpose here along the lines of those *libri da disegnare.* He leaves the reader in a hopeful mood stating, “I pray that my drawings turn out well, and I will be certain of it when I will see that from my work comes your improvement…” Mitelli says that he seeks only to please his student with his work and the proof of the value of his examples will be in the progress that the student makes.

The book, a quarto volume, features the twenty-three letters of the Italian alphabet at its time of publication. Human figures, along with occasional props, form each letter that is placed in the center of the vertical sheet. Excerpted forms, including parts of the face and body, as well as heads and figures of *putti,* float round the letters. Directly above each letter the artist placed an image of something that begins with the letter represented, such as an eagle (*aquila*) above the letter A (Figure 2.25). At the bottom of each sheet Mitelli places a rhyming tercet. Instead of the method found in Fialetti or Cavazzoni, where text often instructed how to construct accompanying etched examples, Mitelli’s verses more broadly address the general subject of artistic education. Just as his

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217 Trans. Ruvoldt, 185.
218 The full title of the work also makes it clearly a *libro da disegnare,* despite its many departures from the traditional mould.
219 “solo vi propongo i primi elementi del Disegno, acciò che vi sono scrota nel acquisto d’Arte si laboriosa; vi priego intanto à far si, che i miei sogni siano veri, e che i Disegni mi riescano, e ne saro certo allora, quando vedrò dalle mie fatiche, derivarne il vostro profitto…” from Mitelli’s note to his readers, “A suoi scolari,” *Alfabeto in Sogno.*
etched examples float around fantastical forms of the letters of the alphabet, his verses dance around active instruction.

Of course, his visual method is also at variance with the step by step progression in the earlier examples. Mitelli constructed his *libro da disegnare* around a theme with a single possible order: alphabetical. Although there is only one way to move through the prints, Mitelli’s examples for drawing, and here I mean the free floating examples grouped around the letters (which can of course function as examples for an aspiring artist), do not maintain a strict progression from simple to complex. His project begins with the order of body parts that is by this point in the century traditional: depictions of eyes surrounding the letter A; noses and mouths (lower faces) around B; mouths around C; and ears around D.\textsuperscript{220} The next plates feature profiles in outline (E), more fully worked male heads (F), and then heads of *putti* (G). With the next letter we return to, in this order: hands, heads, feet, arms, grotesque masks, skulls, full *putti*, hands and heads, and ornaments. As we can see, Mitelli does not stick to a strict order from part to whole or even treat the human form exclusively. The entire visual nature of his work is playful and lighthearted, but at the same time it refers to the concept of the ABCs of *disegno* and the similarity between certain examples of handwriting books and the drawing books through the graphic traditional of the grotesque alphabet. In fact, uniting these threads into a single work achieves a remarkable result. Alphabets made from human bodies have a long history in European art. The earliest examples can be found as single letters in illuminated manuscripts, but the tradition assumes the structure co-opted by Mitelli in

\textsuperscript{220} The progression from parts of the face to parts of the body seen already in Fialetti was still kept up, for example, by Stefano della Bella’s books in the 1640s and 50s.
the late fourteenth century in the form of Giovannino di Grassi’s model book. Printed examples arose first in the North with a printed alphabet (1464) today known from the copy in the British Library and from the Master E.S.’s prints of a fantastical alphabet (c. 1465). Peter Flötner’s engraved grotesque alphabet (1534, Figure 2.26) circulated widely and Giacomo Franco adapted it (without crediting Flötner) in his writing book, *Modo di Scrivere Cancellaresco Moderno* (1596, Figure 2.27). Also in the late sixteenth century, Giacomo Paolino’s engraved work *Grotesque Alphabet in Mythological Landscapes* features letters formed from human figures in the foreground with landscapes containing scenes from mythology in the background (Figure 2.28). Paolini’s alphabet, where human figures are combined within decorative flourishes to create letters, owes more to the tradition of illuminated initial letters in manuscripts than to Flötner’s example. In Giovanni Battista Braccelli’s *Alfabeto Figurativo* of 1636, a single print where nude male and female figures make up the letters of the alphabet, we may find the chronologically closest source for *Alfabeto in Sogno* (Figure 2.29). Mitelli’s project differs from a number of these earlier examples in tone; it lacks the sensual and scatological qualities found in Flötner and Braccelli. Mitelli’s figures are clothed, with the exception of mythological creatures, most often single figures use props to make letters. In the cases where more than one figure interacts to form a letter, they do not touch except for the bound satyrs that form the letter X and two figures whose palms meet in the letter A.

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222 Braccelli’s print owes much to Flötner’s examples (whether he knew it directly or though Franco’s copy) but is not a copy. Bracelli constructs his letters slightly differently, often using more figures than Flötner but casting the groupings in a more sensual and less scatological tone.
By combining these two genres, the printed drawing book and the grotesque alphabet, Mitelli is able to inject some of the humor inherent in the latter genre into the former. However, the artist changes the tenor of the comedy often associated with figurative alphabets and turns his letters into even more examples to inspire aspiring artists.

Moving from the visual repertoire with which Mitelli is working, let us now consider the accompanying texts. As discussed, the *Alfabeto in Sogno* contains verse text on the same page as images; each tercet focuses on a word beginning with the letter represented on the page. Positioned beneath each print of a letter, Mitelli’s verses form a didactic poem on the art of painting. The texts have almost no relation to the images on each page beyond the connection with the featured letter on which they focus. For example, the ‘L’ verse purports that the images “teach you to contrast shadow and light.” The accompanying image of a peasant resting on a scythe surrounded by arms, however, does not appear to show more shading than any other print (Figure 2.31). Similarly with the S, one of his most practical tercets:

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O dear students,/  
I encourage you to observe the S of Symmetry/  
and to use the compasses to set it right.
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By symmetry (*simetria*), Mitelli refers to the study of proportion, but there is nothing about the image above the verse of a *putto* dangling from an s-shaped scroll that directly relates to traditional demonstrations of proportion. Similarly, the ‘I’ begins with a practical note and ends in a charming flourish:

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223 Of the 23 letters, only five are made up of more than one figure.
224 As the verses have never been treated before, I include an English translation in Appendix E. Barbara Tramelli aided me with the translations of Mitelli’s verses.
The ‘I’ will invite you principally to Copy,/ both art and nature/ because you will be copied a lot/ if you copy well.

The accompanying ‘I’ image of a woman standing with a basket of fruit on her head surrounded by fully finished male heads (and surmounted with a porcupine: un istrice) again has little itself to teach the reader about copying specifically.

Much of the poetry has a moralizing tone: the artist instructs his readers on a variety of virtues and vices relevant to a young painter. He advises them first and foremost to love the art of disegno but also to be constant and diligent, strive for excellence, and work hard. His admonishments contain a healthy degree of wit: not only should readers behave well but they should not give into laziness, because that would leave them poor (Letter O for “ozio”). Mitelli’s advice is not novel and repeats, for the most part, advice popular for centuries. For example, he uses the letter V to recommend variety, a central theme in Alberti. However, Mitelli cannot resist doing so in a humorous manner, here poking fun of the maker of communion wafers:

You should have in mind principally the V/ that you shouldn’t paint in an unvaried way, as the wafers are made/ but you should vary the actions and the ideas.

While much of his advice is hardly specific to painters, Mitelli does attempt at times to tailor his wisdom to artists in a number of verses. In one striking example he offers a ribald piece of advice:

If you’ll ever go to paint young women/ be careful not to imprint on the forehead of the husbands/ a Y.

In artistic terms, we cannot expect much practical merit in this advice here that a painter should not cuckold a husband.
Mitelli’s verses interact with each of his prints indirectly; they address the general subject of learning to draw (as the father of all the arts) and bring the viewer’s attention to the figures relating to the corresponding letters. In the 1680s, he no longer finds it necessary to describe the examples in detail, as Fialetti and Cavazzoni did, but rather he feels free to use text in a new way.

Only the *Alfabeto in Sogno* uses text to this effect, but a similar method expressed purely in visual terms is found in Mitelli’s other forays into the field of didactic drawing prints. *Mitelli Intaglio* (1663-66), an octavo work consisting of eleven etchings (including the title plate) after Guido Reni, Flaminio del Torre, and Ludovico Carracci, contains plates of finished heads of various ages as well as a select number of examples of hands. Without the title plate the work might not be considered a drawing book in my definition because there are no plates within the project that break the head or the body down into smaller parts. The title sheet is where Mitelli cleverly makes a connection to the standard format of *libri da disegnare* but then tweaks that connection towards his own purposes. In the center of the sheet, framed by styluses (on the top and bottom) and quills (on the sides), the words of the title are written in letters made from human bodies and inanimate objects (Figure 2.32). Here, roughly twenty years before *Alfabeto in Sogno*, Mitelli is already thinking about letters made out of human forms in the context of a drawing book. Surrounding the central box, Mitelli etches facial features: eyes, ears, noses, and mouths. In this way, he incorporates the components of bodies normally

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225 Preparatory drawings for these figures are found in the collection of the Biblioteca Archiginnasio di Bologna.
found in *libri da disegnare* into a project that otherwise resembles a collection of standard head types.

A similarly playful relationship to *libri da disegnare* is found in *Esemplari per disegnare di rame no. 12* (c. 1699), also octavo in size, where Mitelli groups his prints into three categories: the five senses, the four seasons, and the three fates. Each sense is personified by the bust of a figure who performs an action related to each sensation. Around each personification Mitelli places the parts of the face that correspond to the sense. For example, the title page represents *Vedere* (Figure 2.33). In the center of the etching, below the dedication, an older bearded man squints through round glasses. Around the personification float ten depictions of eyes shown from varied points of view and in different positions, including a number of free-floating pupils. The rest of the senses follow a similar presentation: *Udire* as a man blowing a horn surrounded by ears, *Odorare* as a women smelling a flower surrounded by noses, *Gustare* as a young man drinking wine surrounded by mouths, and *Tocare* as a women touching her hair surrounded by hands. Each of the four seasons features a personification, two female and two male, surrounding by either heads or feet or legs. *Primavera* includes two heads: a youngish woman with a fantastical headdress and a young man. The next two plates offer anatomical examples; a left foot, seen from four different angles, encircles *Estate*

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226 Varignana argued that the date for this series should reflect that of *Contorni*. I see no reason to disagree with his opinion. Varignana, Nos. 451 - 462.

227 Traditionally, the Five Senses were personified by all male figures because the Latin words for the senses are masculine. Around 1500 the trend reversed and the senses were personified by women possibly the result of a common association of women with sensuality or simply a desire to use female personifications like those of the Vitures and Vices (the Latin words for which are feminine). See Carl Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.* (1985): 7. Here, Mitelli has mixed the sexes, possibly to provide a greater variety of examples for drawing.
while muscular male legs fill the space around the personification of *Autunno*. Lastly, *Inverno* features three heads of old men and of women. The plates of the three Fates feature a mixture of examples of anatomy (arms, torsos), *putti*, and masks. *Esemplari per disegnare di rame* is at its most coherent in the first five etchings where the examples for drawing relate to each sense and thus follow a fairly strict order. In this way, in the *Esemplari per disegnare di rame* Mitelli uses a novel manner of arranging parts of the body, lightly playing upon the sort of component presentation often found in the *libri da disegnare*, but organized in a wholly different manner.

A final relevant work is Mitelli’s 1699 single etched sheet filled with parts of the face and body titled *Contorni per facilitare il disegno a principianti* (Figure 2.34, 130 x 535 mm). Although as one etching, I do not consider this to be a drawing book, I want to discuss it in the context of Mitelli’s manipulation of the genre. As the title makes clear, the artist intended the print to be helpful to beginners. The etched sheet is arranged in two layers of examples printed with only the smallest amount of shading: top row, below the title, features, from left to right: eyes, mouths, noses, ears, and a face in profile while the bottom row is a mixture of double and single examples showing hands, feet, faces in profile, legs and heads. Along the lower border the artist has included a stylus and a pen. Here Mitelli has provided, in his last dated contribution to the genre, the

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228 There appears to be some confusion about this print. The British Museum online catalogue refers to it as a title page (Inv. no. 1852,0612.577) and states that it is “[l]acking the twelve plates after Guido Reni and Flaminio Torre.” The Reni/Torre series does in fact have a title page and is called *Mitelli Intaglio*. The *Contorni* sheet does resemble a title plate but, to my knowledge, no other plates can been connected to it. Varignana confirms that it is, to the best of our knowledge, a stand-alone print. Varignana, No. 450.

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majority of the parts of the body included in most *libri da disegnare* on one piece of paper.\(^{229}\)

Now we can clearly recognize a coherent thread running through Mitelli’s interactions with the genre, whether it is expressed in visual or textual form. All of Mitelli’s drawing book prints make reference to elements of the traditional format and content of the genre of *libri da disegnare*. In the *Alfabeto in Sogno*, the artist takes the concept of the ABCs to a new level by structuring his entire book around the alphabet. He further takes advantage of text to underscore his intentions both to recognize and to make light of the genre. Combining verses on the art of painting with a basic tool of drawing education, and thus the beginnings of all art, Mitelli brought the readers attention to the didactic value of the images in a novel manner.

In the general realm of satire, Mitelli can be seen playing with an established norm. As scholars of satire have noted before, humor often derives its power from its ability to distort or play with a genre that is already known to its audience.\(^{230}\) If an audience is unaware of the genre being satirized, then they will be unable to understand the level of distortion and play. Keeping the above definition in mind, Mitelli’s choice to satirize the form of the *libri da disegnare* means that his intended audience at that point must have had a certain familiarity with the genre already. Otherwise, Mitelli’s prints would be comical but disconnected and lose much of their satirical force. Such

\(^{229}\) Mitelli’s *Contorni* could be seen as related to Valesio’s single sheet featuring a number of heads engraved in an oval. Valesio’s print though does not combine a number of different examples onto one sheet and thus is not as innovative. It may in fact not be a one off but rather represent a part of a larger project that was lost or never completed.

\(^{230}\) Susan Morton Braund, *Roman Verse Satire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the Classical Association, 1992) 4: “The subject-matter of satire is always "the familiar", distorted to a greater or lesser extent by satirical devices such as exaggeration, stereotyping, caricature, and inversion.”
commentary was not possible or practical when Fialetti or Cavazzoni were writing in the first decades of the genre; their texts have a more functional role. The freedom in choice of organizing theme and the text in verse are expressions of Mitelli’s larger playful intentions that were permitted by his audience’s familiarity with the form of the *libri da disegnare*.

**Conclusion: Chapter 2**

Mitelli represents a greatly changed manner of using text in the *libri da disegnare* from that employed by Fialetti and Cavazzoni in the earlier part of the century. This chapter has focused on these three instances of the use of text with image in drawing books, but the rarity of the use of text with image must be emphasized once more. Since so few Italian examples contained written components, it becomes clear that neither publishers nor purchasers considered it a necessary part of a *libro da disegnare*. Only Fialetti and Cavazzoni wrote texts that interacted directly with their images. Otherwise, words in printed drawing books were confined to introductions like that of Giacomo Franco/Palma il Giovane (1611) or the independent treatise of Gasparo Colombina (1623). In the strange case of Mitelli, where words and images were visually linked by their incorporation on the same page, the author did not feel a need to relate in an instructive manner his texts to his images. Many of Mitelli’s didactic concerns were left out of the text. In that regard, Fialetti and Cavazzoni stand alone.

Fialetti himself may have noted the reason behind this development: “My intent is to facilitate the manner in that matter, that without writing thereupon it may be
As he intimates here, the idea that well-designed images should stand on their own as didactic tools was responsible for the dominant form of the genre. Written during the first, formative decade of the genre’s existence, Fialetti and Cavazzoni’s texts sought to guide the viewer through the visual examples, in many cases by means of step-by-step explication. The step-by-step method required little support from text, however. It was self-sufficient and needed only that the reader copy in progression the images on the page. When the genre was new, this procedure may have been less clear, and novelty seems especially to play a large part of the textual program of Fialetti.

It is interesting in this regard that the step-by-step manner of Fialetti did not catch on; the only two places it is otherwise seen is in Cavazzoni’s unpublished work as well as a single plate in the first edition of Valesio’s drawing book. While an absence of text becomes standard, the step-by-step method that Fialetti hoped would allow such an absence did not. Why this development came about is not immediately clear. We may speculate that the genre was so very much based on repetition and copying that such a system was superfluous. As a method for amateur education, such supporting methods as text or step-by-step were unnecessary.

Another manner in which text could be used was to comment on the genre more broadly, something that all three of these examples have done in their own way. In Fialetti, the general discussion is kept to a minimum, and his text, the first of its kind, stresses the mechanical aspects of drawing the accompanying images. This is not to say Fialetti does not ever bring up larger issues, but Cavazzoni’s text contains less practical

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231 "l’intenzione mia è di facilitarvi le cose con modo tale che senza scrittura si faccino per se stesse intelligibili.” Fialetti, Tutte le parti/A, 16.
advice and much more broad and theoretical discussion. Not unlike a treatise on painting in this aspect, he may have been seeking to develop the genre. Finally, some 70 years later, Mitelli’s verses in *Alfabeto in Sogno* are vastly different from the more practical tone of the instructional text by Fialetti or Cavazzoni. By the time Mitelli revived text after its long hiatus from the genre, he saw no need to explain his examples to convince his audience of the usefulness of the work. Instead, he used the images to refer to the traditional format of printed drawing books as established over the last century, as well as to the guiding principle of the ABCs. His verses, however, had almost nothing in common with those of Fialetti and Cavazzoni—Mitelli’s connections to the genre were purely visual.

Concluding with Mitelli, as this chapter does, brings us to the question of genre: the job of defining the genre of the *libri da disegnare*, however, can already be seen in the text of Cavazzoni and in his relationship with treatises on painting. The next chapter will explore this question in further depth, and Cavazzoni will again play a key role not only in relation to painting but also to anatomical treatises. Having looked in these last two chapters at the way the *libri da disegnare* work internally, how they use a theory of ABCs and how they use (and ultimately ignore) text, we will now turn outwards and see the external influences and interactions between these and other treatises used by artists at the same time.
Chapter 3: Picturing the Body: Treatises of Proportion, Perspective and Anatomy and the Libro da Disegnare

The aim of this chapter is to investigate some of the specific ways that the artists engaged in creating *libri da disegnare* responded to other forms of illustrated manuals. In particular, printed drawing books are here contextualized with other treatises detailing the teaching of skills considered, like drawing, to have been a component of artists’ training in workshops and later in burgeoning art academies. The theory behind proportion, perspective, and anatomy was available to artists in printed texts which featured illustrations. These subjects formed part of contemporary theoretical discussions on the instruction of art. What such a comparative study aims to show is ultimately a divergence: we can detect through various means that Italian artists creating drawing books in the beginning of the seventeenth century were aware of such theoretical discussions as well as of the availability of materials dealing with them, and in some cases they made use of such intellectual currents to shape parts of their own work. However, in the end, their collective approach to these other skills was not consistent, and the choice to use or not to use certain components of workshop or academy practice is further evidence of the deliberate creation of a new genre of art literature.

That the artists who created *libri da disegnare* in the early seicento knew of other types of didactic treatises is readily apparent and should come as no surprise. As we begin, it is worth picking up on some hints already discussed in the previous chapter. For example, the text of Francesco Cavazzoni showed that he was not only participating in the emerging genre of the printed drawing books, but that he was responding to painting treatises. Fialetti’s text accompanying *Tutte le parti/A* deliberately framed his short book
in the tradition of Dürer’s work on human proportion even as he strove to promote the novelty of his methods—this tension will be discussed at length below. Similarly, Giacomo Franco, in his Latin introduction to the drawing book he created with Palma il Giovane, *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo* (Venice, 1611), made reference to Dürer and also to Alberti. Not only does this chapter place in the foreground the intertextuality achieved through the use of accompanying written elements of *libri da disegnare*, but it will also discuss how, in those drawing books that do not contain any text such as the *Scuola Perfetta*, the prints themselves provided evidence of the use of external sources.

This discussion is important because the genre did not develop in a vacuum. When we recall that the earliest *libri da disegnare*, the projects of Fialetti and Giacomo Franco/Palma il Giovane, came from Venice, we face the seeming contradiction of their development in a city not known at the time for its drawing tradition, but rather for its color (*colorito*). David Rosand has used this fact to suggest that the drawing books represented a theoretical development in the larger contemporary conception of art:

“Following nearly a century of aesthetic debate with Central Italy, Venice seems finally to have recognized *disegno* as the theoretical foundation of the art of painting.”

Michael Bury, however, disagrees with Rosand’s conclusion and proposes that what the books “offer is basic instruction and their existence has no significance for debates about the importance of *disegno* in the visual arts.”

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image-first format of most Italian drawing books. Overwhelmingly, they provide examples in image rather than in text, as was discussed in the previous chapter. Only three works contain text interspersed with images, while two more include introductory texts that deal more with theory than with practice. Even less frequently the texts offer step-by-step instructions either in words or in images. Printed drawing books support a type of learning by example and by practice that reflects the drawn and printed origins of the genre. This is not to say that learning by repetitive practice from two-dimensional models is not a theoretical statement made visual, but it does not refer directly to the larger disegno-colorito debate.

This chapter will make clear that while I side more with Bury’s utilitarian interpretation, I think that both views obscure some of the issue’s complexity. We cannot simply ignore Rosand’s point that libri da disegnare had some engagement with what was developing in Venice—and in Italy—in the seicento with the rise of academies and a growing formal structure in artistic education. The relationship between drawing books and the rise of academies is, however, complex. On the one hand, disegno was considered the foundation of all the arts. It is not possible to imagine an academy where the more practical components of the word did not figure prominently in the curriculum. The Accademia del Disegno in Florence, contrary to some initial studies arguing a complete lack of teaching, included life drawing and drawing from the model in its curriculum.234 In addition, Romano Alberti described drawing exercises at the

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234 Carl Goldstein reached the same conclusion as Pevsner, arguing that the Accademia del Disegno, in its earliest phases, was an academy in name and not much else, lacking a systematic teaching program or doctrine of rules for its members. Carl Goldstein, Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 25.
Accademia di San Luca in Rome in the *Origine* as well as the responsibility of the teachers to draw examples of parts for the body for the beginners to copy.\footnote{Pietro Roccasecca points out this important detail in his essay “Teaching in the Studio of the ‘Accademia del Disegno dei Paittori, scultori e architetti di Roma’ (1594-1636),” *The Accademia seminars: the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590-1635*, Ed. Peter Lukehart (Washington [D.C.]: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009) 127. Romano Alberti, *Origine, et progresso dell’Academia del Disegno, de pittori, scultori, ey architetti di Roma* (Pavia, 1604) 11.} Drawing books focused on the external surfaces of the human body – they cut up and break down this surface, in most examples, into steps – either step-by-step, outline to shade, or by breaking the body into the ABCs of disegno. They displayed a method centered on instruction through progression that was grounded in a much earlier and well-established system of practice found both in the workshop and later in private and public academies.\footnote{The precedents for this instruction by progression are discussed at length in Ch. 1 of this dissertation.}

On the other hand, drawing books do not, for the most part, teach many of the subjects that were seen as central in the rise of art academies at the end of the sixteenth century in Italy, in particular at the Accademia del Disegno in Florence. Such fields of study, including geometry, perspective, and optics, were often taught by specialist “professors” brought in to lecture on these specific areas of knowledge.\footnote{Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973) 80.} Barzman identifies mathematics in particular as a key point in arguments for the elevation of the art of painting to a liberal art, and as such it featured prominently in lectures at the

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Barzman makes a convincing argument that one of the documents used to prove this lack of actual teaching – Federico Zuccaro’s letter on the reform of the academy – has been misread. She argues that the letter, which refers to “putting the academy back on its feet” proves that “teaching and learning has already flourished at the institution” Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: the Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 67.
Accademia del Disegno. Libri da disegnare do not cover mathematics or its allied subjects of a more scientific bent, with the possible exception of perspective, in any substantial manner, either textually or visually.

It is important that we do not approach the context of the libri da disegnare with a priori assumptions about the impact of the rise of academies. For the remainder of this chapter, we will describe the nuances of the complex relationship between Italian printed drawing books and other didactic manuals of the same period, especially in relation to an engagement with changing academic art instruction. By looking at proportion, perspective, and anatomy (not only all readily available but also all related to the human form) the manner in which the authors of printed drawing books interpreted changing art theory in the early period of the academies will come into focus. On the one hand, we see in rather hodge-podge fashion how intellectual traditions of perspective and proportion are picked up on, nuanced, either ignored or embraced (sometimes both) by printed drawing books. On the other hand, standing in contrast to this mixed reception, is the almost unified position of the books towards the study of anatomy, a topic that must also be seen as part of the academic instruction of art. Long before any libri da disegnare were printed, treatises written during the 1560s tackled the possibility of learning to draw from an anatomical starting point. Four decades later, unlike ongoing dialogues on the merit of perspective or proportion, anatomy would be absent from the drawing books—the goal of this chapter is to try to understand why.

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238 Barzman, 73.
Human Proportion

Studies of human proportion, one element of practice discussed in artistic literature, served as a source for and a complement to *libri da disegnare*. Before looking for its place in the drawing books, it is worth reviewing in brief its long development in our extant sources. With a goal of creating the most beautiful figures, artists both in Italy and in the North sought to measure and codify the human body through canons of proportion. The study of human proportion in the Renaissance began with the rediscovery of Vitruvius’s account of dividing the body into ten equal parts, each as large as the head.\(^{239}\) Various authors then responded to this by accepting a proportional system but tinkering with the numbers or types of units. Cennino Cennini divided the human body into “eight faces and two of the three measures in length.”\(^{240}\) Alberti drew upon Vitruvius but changed his own system to a ratio of six heads per body. He devised a method of construction based on a measuring device or unit called the *exempeda*. In *De Scultura*, Alberti explained the basic procedure for any size figure. He divides it up into six equal parts, called “feet,” from the word *exempeda*.\(^{241}\) He then divides the foot into ten inches, which are in turn each divided into ten smaller units. A number of later writers, including Giovanni Battista Armenini, Ludovico Dolce, and Paolo Pino, discussed proportion, offering their own systems, most often based on the canons of Vitruvius or Alberti.\(^{242}\)

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\(^{239}\) Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 3.1.1-4.
\(^{242}\) Paolo Pino, *Paolo Pino’s Dialogo di pittura: a translation with commentary by Mary Pardo*. PhD. diss. (University of Pittsburgh, 1984) 313-314; Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura*, in *Trattati*
Cennini also provides more detailed information on the proportions of man. He divides the face into three parts, “namely the forehead, one; the nose, another; and from the nose to the chin, another.” His focus was on division and the relationships therein; he was not interested in telling his reader how to form such divisions. Similar partitioning of the face is found in some drawing books. We find examples in Fialetti, Cavazzoni, and Esengren (Figures 3.1 – 3.3).

It is very important at this point to keep in mind that Cennini and these other Italian sources were not illustrated: again, their goal seems to have been to define and explore proportional relationships more than to transmit a system of forming such relationships by drawing or otherwise. There were, however, illustrated treatises that handled proportion, either directly or indirectly: Dürer was the author of several illustrated books treating the subject. The most important illustrated treatise on proportion for its impact on the *libri da disegnare* is Dürer’s work, *Vier Bücher von d’arte fra manierismo e controriforma*, Ed. Paola Barocchi, (Bari: G. Laterza, 1960-62) I, 105; Armenini. *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*. Ed. And Trans. Edward J. Olszewski. (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., 1977) 165-166.

243 He does not attempt to describe that of a woman, “for she does not have any set proportion.” Cennini, 48. “Quella della femmina lascio stare, perché non ha nessun perfetta misura.” Cennini (1839) 50.

244 Trans Thompson, 48. “Cioè la testa, una; il naso, l’altra; e dal naso al mento, l’altra.” Cennini (1839) 50. Cennini goes on to divide up the whole body, head to feet, by small increments. He also partitions the face vertically: “From the side of the nose through the whole length of the eye, one of these measures. From the end of the eye up to the ear, one of these measures. From one ear to the other, a face lengthwise, one face.” The only vertical lines present on faces in Italian drawing books are those that divide the face in half.

Menschlicher Proportion (Nuremberg, 1528) (Figure 3.4). The utility of Dürer’s overly complicated book to practicing artists has to be questioned. We know that at least one famous Italian artist found fault with Dürer’s theories on proportion. In Condivi’s Life of Michelangelo, the great artist’s friend relates that Michelangelo had read Dürer’s treatises but did not find them useful. In fact, “he finds [Dürer’s] work very weak, seeing in his mind how much more beautiful and useful” his own planned works would have been. Through Condivi, Michelangelo criticizes Dürer for focusing on the measurements and varieties of bodies, something that he believes cannot be contained in a set, theorized rule. Michelangelo’s belief that one had to rely on one’s own interior compass made such written rules unnecessary. He argues that if one were to follow Dürer, stiff figures, “upright, like poles” would result (Figure 3.5). Finally, Michelangelo


247 See note 1 on page 163 in Olszewski’s translation of Armenini. Olszewski makes the connection between a lessening interest in the canons of proportion and interest in motion at mid-century. There were also those in the north who questioned the usefulness of an earlier treatise by Dürer, the Underweysung der Messung mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheyt (1525). Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530), one of Dürer’s closest friends, and the editor of the posthumous edition of the Vier Bücher, sent the earlier work to his sister Caritas in her convent. She writes to her brother that she gave the book to the convent’s resident painter who did not find it to be of much use: “our paintress thinks that she does not need it; she can practice her art just as well without it.” Quoted in Strauss, 31. From Hans Rupprich, Dürer Schriftlicher Nachlass, 3 Vols. (Berlin: Deutschen Vereins fur Kunstwissenschaft 1956-59) 1, 278. The letter is not dated.

notes that the German artist does not even mention the most important element: the movement and gestures of the human body.\textsuperscript{249}

Michelangelo’s opinion reflected a trend in the middle of the sixteenth century of Italian artists turning away from canons of proportion. Strict systems of proportion were considered less useful to an artist interested in depicting the human body in movement.\textsuperscript{250}

Although Dürer’s book was quickly translated into Latin (in which language it went through six editions) and then a number of other European languages, it is difficult to find evidence for significant practical implementation of Dürer’s theories of human proportion within Italy.\textsuperscript{251} This does not mean that no Italian artists saw value in elements of the \textit{Vier Bücher}. For example, Gian Paolo Lomazzo embraced the use of “geometrical building blocks” for drawing as did Luca Cambiaso.\textsuperscript{252} And as we shall see, Dürer was known to at least two authors of \textit{libri da disegnare}.

Beyond any clearly discernible practical value, however, artists could not ignore Dürer’s presence in Italy: Italian translations of the \textit{Vier Bücher} were published in Venice as \textit{Della simmetria de i corpi humani, libri Quattro} in 1591 and again in 1594.\textsuperscript{253} He is the only theorist of proportion whose treatise on the subject is directly referred to in \textit{libri da disegnare}. Considering the location of the publication of these translations, it is not

\textsuperscript{249} Condivi (1999) 99.
\textsuperscript{250} Armenini, note 1, 163.
\textsuperscript{251} Mayor writes that “Michelangelo and other Tuscans thought the work useless, but several Germans extracted practical bits and published them in little books on drawing.” Mayor, 86. Two famous examples are Hans Sebald Beham’s work on human proportion (c. 1528) and Erhard Schoen’s \textit{Unterweissung der proportz} (1538).
\textsuperscript{253} Domenico Nicolini published the 1591 edition and Roberto Meietti that of 1594.
surprising that the German author would have been on the minds of Venetian artists working on didactic drawing books. Two Italian drawing books published in Venice, Fialetti’s *Tutte le parti/A* and Giacomo Franco’s *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo* (1611), specifically refer to Dürer in their introductions. These treatises mention the Northern artist more or less in passing but point to him as a useful source for proportion.

In the “Avvertimento” to *Tutte le parti/A*, Fialetti says that he will show some elements of “simmetria” even though these things have been written about often and well by others, in particular “Alberto Durero.” Visually, Fialetti does incorporate some of Dürer’s methods into his own book. Fialetti demonstrates systems for drawing the head by means of a series of vertical and horizontal lines in his chapter “Delli Schizzi in Scurzo. Cap. V.” He also makes use of a triangle (“Delle Teste in Profilo col Triangolo. Cap. III”) and circles (“Delle Teste de’ Fanciulli. Cap. IX”). These last two examples are not copies after anything demonstrated by Dürer in the *Vier Bücher*, but they do reflect systematic and geometrical methods for constructing the human head, something given visual and textual form in the books of the German artist. However, Fialetti never depicts bodies divided up into visual canons, as Dürer does in his book. Further, as regards the textual reference, Fialetti raises Dürer’s work only to distinguish it from his own. As I pointed out in the last chapter, Fialetti hesitates to call his treatise a work of simmetria. He says that Dürer’s book is most copious, with ample text, and beautiful examples.²⁵⁴ Fialetti says that he has decided to cover elements of proportion in his own

²⁵⁴ “Non ardisco però darli questo nome [Simmetria], se non accidentalmente, poiché di questa materia ne è stato trattato da alcuni, & particolarmente dall’ Ecellentissimo Alberto Durero in un
work because Dürer’s text, and presumably the others to which he alludes, are not readily available for purchase. In truth, Fialetti does not even attempt to discuss proportion in the thorough manner of Dürer. As he clearly states, he does not want to impose too many “learned lines” on the beginner.255

Although Fialetti does not write about proportion in Tutte le parti/A and does not depict any bodies divided up into a canon of proportion, he provides one striking piece of visual evidence for the relationship of his drawing books to the study of simmetria. One of the rarer etchings sometimes bound with the Large Book of Drawing/Tutte le parti/B depicts a room where five men are busy measuring statues, or each other, while drawing the human form (B 211, Figure 3.6).256 This print appears related to Interior Scene with Sketching Class (B 210, Figure 3.7) in that they both depict artists at work and both act as pictorial frontispieces to the project in general. Bartsch called this particular print Studies of Human Proportion, and in it three men use compasses to take measurements from sculptures of a nude woman and a nude man. Two figures study the female nude: at the left, a man with a drawing supported on a board reaches out to measure an area of the statue’s belly; at the right, a younger man kneels and measures her right heel. His paper, resting on the floor, clearly shows a contour drawing of a foot, with lines indicating the length of the heel. At the far right a man in a floppy cap, seated in front of an easel, leans

255 con tante dotte linee” Ibid, 5.
256 The rarity of this etching suggests that it might not have been included in each publication. It is also possible that since it could stand alone, it may have been removed from sets and subsequently lost. The latter seems unlikely as a larger number of the pendant scene Interior Scene with Sketching Class (B 210) are included with fairly complete sets of various states. (It is also possible that the plate for Studies of Human Proportion was lost or destroyed earlier than the rest.)
forward intently measuring the upper thigh of the male sculpture. This part of the
sculpture is represented on the vertical drawing/painting surface placed on easel. Finally,
in the back of the room, a seated figure holds compasses to the face of a colleague.

In this rare example, there can be no denying that Fialetti was engaging with the
topic of proportion and its benefit to artistic education. However, there are some
problems in ascertaining the relationship of this print to Fialetti’s drawing book. The
print is associated with one of his drawing books and is sometimes, but not in the
majority of cases, bound with it. It is numbered when it appears as part of Tutte le
parte/B which may mean that it was a later addition to the original contents of Il Vero
modo/A. There is also the question of the visual connection between the activities in this
print and those suggested by the rest of the drawing book. On the table in front of the
two men rests a piece of paper showing an oval divided by horizontal and vertical lines.
This drawing of an oval is the only example in the scene that could possibly correspond
to a particular type of image in Fialetti’s drawing books: Eight Heads of Men and Women
(B 205, Figure 3.8). In this etching, three versions of a male head occupy the left side of
the top row of the sheet. The first is a simple oval divided vertically down the middle
and into three horizontal sections. None of the other etchings in either of Fialetti’s
drawing books directly relate to the measuring of parts of the body depicted in Studies of
Human Proportion; his etchings include numerous examples of both of these parts of the
body, but not displayed in the manner here. In summary, Fialetti is aware of and
engaging with the place of human proportion in art, particularly as espoused by Dürer,
but does not consistently represent proportion in his work.
In Giacomo Franco’s brief Latin introduction to *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo* (Giacomo Franco: Venice, 1611), Albrecht Dürer surfaces again, this time in the context of modern writers who have written about proportion:

And though it may be found in the human body, whatever slight way that the elements of its constituent parts respond to the effect of Symmetry, nonetheless, I don't think it at all necessary to repeat here because [the topic] has been handled copiously not only by painters but also by scholars with regards to the rules and precepts explaining this art. In whose company are counted Demetrius Philosophus among many scholars past, and Albrecht Durer, who has written in a most learned manner on the symmetry of the human body, among more recent authors. We therefore do not intend to expend words upon this subject.\(^{257}\)

Franco writes that since painters and scholars have treated proportion he will not take the time to discuss it in his own treatise. It is not only words that he chooses not expend on this subject; there are also no prints in the work that treat human proportion. The etchings and engravings in Franco’s drawing book do not show the whole body nor does he make use of lines to divide the face into sections: the author assumes that his audience is familiar with this topic, and so he does not need to present it in his work. Again, here we see an engagement with the topic of human proportions but in a changed manner. However, by rejecting any specific discussion of the topic to accompany his own etchings and those by Palma il Giovane, Franco separates the work from this other theme and gives it a different purpose.

Between the books of Fialetti and Palma il Giovane, we see a dialogue originating at the birth of the genre on how best to incorporate the subject of proportion into the instruction of *disegno*. Cavazzoni presents yet a third solution, as he treats proportion textually and visually in greater detail than any other author of an Italian drawing book. First, he writes that man is as tall as he is wide (from the tips of his outstretched arms) (Figure 3.9).\(^{258}\) Cavazzoni continues by breaking the body down into units of heads stating that “the whole figure will be nine heads and three-quarters” but that if you are a little off there is no great harm.\(^{259}\) He also offers other small hints throughout, including his observation that a foot is one-seventh the length of a man. Here, though, he advises erring on the smaller side for beauty, especially in figures of women.\(^{260}\) As I argued in the last chapter, Cavazzoni in particular sought to define a new type of artistic treatise combining a drawing manual with other related works. It is not surprising, then, to see his work stand out in its explicit relationship to human proportion.

A fourth drawing book, still early in the century, continues to be part of the evolution of the relationship between the new genre and works on human proportion. Filippo Esengren and Gasparo Colombina’s published drawing book (1623) provides a clear system for constructing men and women of different body types and ages in relation to the height of their heads. Esengren’s engravings, published with Colombina’s text, are titled *Li primi elementi della simmetria o sia commensuratione del disegno delli corpi*

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\(^{258}\) “Prima la figura dell’uomo sarà tanto longa quanto larga sino alla estremità del ditto di mezzo di ciascuna mano…e dalla sumità del capo sino estrema parte de piedi…” Ms. 330, 15v/16 (Pigozzi, 138-139)

\(^{259}\) “tutta la figura sarà nove teste e tre quarti, e se peccassi un poco più non saria male alcuno.” Ms. 330,15v/16 (Pigozzi, 139).

\(^{260}\) “La proportione si fa la settima parte della figura, seben è meglio che pechii in piccola, che dà molto più grazia, ma particolarmente alla figura della donna…” Ms. 330, 8v/9 (Pigozzi, 127)
The use of the word *simmetria* here in the title is important, as it was used both in the Italian translation of the title of Dürer’s book on human proportion and in Fialetti’s introductory text to *Tutte le parti/A*, as well as in the Bolognese artist’s dedicatory inscription to Giovanni Grimani in the same book.\(^\text{261}\) The significance of this word in the title is supported by the fact that Colombina’s independent introductory text does in fact treat different canons of proportion. On Folio 6 of *Del disegno, e modi di essercitarsi in esso. Cap I*, Colombina describes seven different ratios: ten heads for the most serious and noble subjects, nine heads for the next most exalted subjects (or for youths), eight heads for common men, seven for robust men (or soldiers), six heads for three year olds, five heads for children who come up half way to their father’s thigh, and four heads for six-month olds.\(^\text{262}\) This particular system and Colombina’s emphasis on depicting emotional types later in the written treatise show his debts to Lomazzo’s *Trattato* (1585).\(^\text{263}\)

Colombina goes on to caution against drawing unattractive figures by making one part of

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\(^{261}\) A singular grouping of Esengren’s prints including a number of prints not included in any other known copy as well as examples of an earlier states of known prints, today in the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna, features a different frontispiece with a title that does not refer to *simmetria*: *Il perfetto Disegno di Filippo Ferroverde Pittore*. (Biblioteca Universitaria, 75 b 30)

\(^{262}\) “e quanto alla proportione la più bella, e che habbia il primo luoco è di dieci faccie, e questa si dovrà essercitare in soggetto più grave, e nobile, che sia come la più lodata; la seconda di nuove [sic] teste, & hà il secondo luoco di lode, e questa si dovrà osservare in soggetto non tanto nobile, e ne’ giovani; la terza è di otto teste, e tiene il terzo ordine di bellezza, e si dovrà essercitare ne gli huomini communi. Segue la quarta propotione ancora, che è di sette teste, e questa si conviene a huomini robusti, e forti come soldati &c. Li fanciulli poi, che cominciano à caminare, cioè che habbiano anni tre si saranno di sei teste, quelli che giogono à meza la coscia del padre di cinque, e quelli di sei mesi siano di quattro teste.” Colombina, un-paginated, folio 6, “Cap. 1,” National Art Library, (Shelfmark 30F63)

\(^{263}\) Lomazzo, in Book One of his *Trattato* (Chapters 6 – 19), discusses human proportion of in much greater detail than Colombina, separating men and women and adults and children. Colombina though more or less follows Lomazzo’s recommendations for the ratios of heads for different types of men and children. Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scultura, et architettura, di Gio. Paolo Lomazzo ... diviso in sette libri* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1585).
the body out of proportion with another. However, he concludes, knowing his rules is not enough; if one wants to arrive at the perfection that he teaches in his book, one must practice, doing exercises in charcoal.⁶⁴ This final bit of advice has much more to do with the learning-by-repetition method of the *libri da disegnare* than it does with the descriptions found in the completely unillustrated treatise of Lomazzo. That is, Colombina still emphasizes practice over theory in the realm of human proportion.

Esengren’s engravings that accompany Colombina’s text demonstrate his method, but only to a point. Among them, Esengren includes sheets of complete male and female bodies that appear to follow the elegant proportion of nine heads. The depictions of women feature horizontal lines marking parts of their bodies, but these notations do not seem to divide by any regular unit, heads or otherwise. Instead, the lines appear more determined by joints in the figure’s body (Figure 3.11).⁶⁵ In this way, Esengren’s images do not show the depth of instruction described in the text: compare this to Dürer’s over-complex breakdown of the body into regular units in the *Vier Bücher* (Figure 3.12).

Reviewing these examples, we find absent a single systematic approach to proportion in the genre. Whatever dialogue surrounding the utility of texts on human proportion such examples represent, it quickly disappears. Later in the century, after Guercino, Stefano della Bella, and Mitelli, there is no mention of *simmetria*, nor are there any visual cues that would support a connection with canons or systems of proportion in

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²⁶⁴ Colombina, folio 2. Colombina recommends drawing with charcoal on colored paper with gesso for highlights.
²⁶⁵ These lines appear in the second state.
drawing books. Still, we can at least establish that in the first decades of the genre, most authors of *libri da disegnare* were aware of proportion and of its importance to their audience. For this reason, they often connected their own projects to earlier works on proportion.

**Perspective**

Perspective, like proportion, was a major topic of theoretical discussions in art education in early modern Italy. While the latter underpinned the relationship between components of the human form, the former governed the position of that total form in space. A large part of Piero della Francesca’s unpublished manuscript *De prospectiva pigendi* (c. 1474) found its way into the published work of Luca Pacioli and thus spread throughout Italy. Pacioli’s work, *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni et proportionalita* (Venice, 1494), copied significant portions of Piero della Francesca’s manuscript without giving the artist credit. Perspective is often related to and included in treatises pertaining to “proportion, architecture, geometry, and scene design.”

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266 One minor exception is Mitelli’s use of the word *simmetria* in one of the poems accompanying the engraving for the letter ‘S’; however, see the previous chapter’s discussion on the disconnect between his verses and his images.

267 Most of the second volume of *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni et proportionalita* reworked Piero’s text but the third volume of *De divina proportione* did not more than translate into Italian Piero’s Latin text *On [the] Five Regular Solids*. Vasari criticized Pacioli for this plagiarism.

268 Massey, 9. In his introduction to the National Gallery volume, Lyle Massey points out that, even after the printing press c. 1455 “the quattrocento was the century of the unpublished perspective treatise.” At the same time that Piero was writing his manuscript, Leonardo was working on his treatise on painting (which he never finished). Leonardo planned to include a section on perspective. The earliest published treatise on perspective, Viator’s (Jean Pelerin) *De artificiali perspective* was published in Toul in 1505. For more background on the history of the perspective treatise in Italy see the introduction to *The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished*, Ed. Lyle Massey (Washington D.C. : National Gallery of Art ; New Haven :
as Martin Kemp points out, no treatises on artistic perspective were published in Italy until Vignola’s *Le Due Regole* (1583). Kemp argues that this is because perspective was not a novel development but rather a part of established working practice in Italy (as opposed to the North). Perspective by the seicento was so ingrained as to be a part of practice more than theory.269

Much scholarship has focused on the various systems that existed for the construction of linear perspective or for the depiction of geometric forms, but drawing books do not address perspective in terms of the construction of space.270 The study of perspective was pervasive, both in terms of systems of perspective as well as in cases of dramatic foreshortening (for example in illusionistic ceiling frescoes) and most printed drawing books do in fact cover the topic in some way. Principally, this is done by showing images of heads with straight lines added to aid in their depiction in space, or in the display of examples of parts of the body in various poses. In this way, printed drawing books treat perspective with an almost singular focus on the human body. I have


269 Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art*, 69. While Italian artists during the sixteenth century were not writing about perspective, the German artist Albrecht Dürer, who was deeply interested in the study of perspective, began his in depth studies not in his homeland, but in the South. While in Italy, in 1506, Dürer went to Bologna specifically to study the art of perspective, most likely with Luca Pacioli. See Walter L. Strauss, *The Human Figure by Albrecht Durer: the Complete Dresden Sketchbook*. (New York: Dover Publications, 1972) 32. The German artist published a number of books on the theory of art including two works that covered aspects of perspective: *Underweysung der Messung, mit dem Zirckel vnd Richtscheyt in Linien Ebenen vnd gantzen Corporen ...* (Nuremberg, 1525) and the aforementioned *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* (Nuremberg 1528). Many of Dürer’s diagrams were highly influential in future treatises of perspective, in part through Lautensack’s *Perspectiva* of 1564 which copied a number of Dürer’s woodcuts.

270 Martin Kemp’s (1990) discussion of the different systems of perspective in *The Science of Art* is a clear and thorough treatment of this subject.
seen one exception to this general rule. The impression of the *Scuola Perfetta*, in the collection of the Bibliothèque National de France, contains a number of prints not seen in many other sets. Two such prints, bound at the end of the set, are engravings treating the subject of perspective. One, by Mario Cartari, shows a Roman Serlian stage set while the other provides the viewer with a didactic image of how to construct a landscape from a low bird’s eye view (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). In this particular case, the publisher or the purchaser may have added these images because they considered them relevant to the art of drawing. Aside from this example, when we discuss perspective in printed drawing books, we are discussing its application to the human form. Much early-modern Italian theory on perspective derives from interest in architecture.\(^{271}\) That drawing books have no interest in architectural form, but focus instead entirely on drawing the human figure, means that there is naturally a disconnect between the books and the full theoretical apparatus of perspective. Still, there is some intent to include perspective into the instructional method as it relates to the human figure.

The most notable visual manifestation of perspective in *libri da disegnare* can be seen in the not-infrequent use of “perspectival cages.” I use this phrase after Martin Kemp’s “stereometric cages” to describe the manner of inscribing the head within basic shapes.\(^ {272}\) Kemp was describing Piero della Francesca’s use of projected lines over a face that formed a tiltable plane that could be rotated to provide the desired perspectival view (Figure 3.15). In the case of the drawing books, several examples show lines over faces or heads, but without the implication of projection. Instead, by inscribing the head

\(^{271}\) Alberti provides a good example of this connection. Kemp, 9-53.

\(^{272}\) Kemp, 34.
within a rotatable shape, the viewer could imagine turning the shape and the inscribed head with it. However, the lines do not derive as did Piero della Francesca’s which project out from a single external point, but rather are superimposed as a sort of rotatable frame on top of a head. The most common manner of constructing of a perspectival cage in printed drawing books is by one vertical line down the middle and two across the face (below and above the eyes).

Fialetti’s text gives the best definition of the perspectival cage and its intent to aid his audience with perspective, particularly in foreshortening (scurzo). In the passage accompanying Bartsch 203, *Delli Schizzi in Scurzo Cap. V* he describes a simple method for constructing the head with the eyes, nose, and mouth placed correctly regardless of the position of the head (Figure 3.16):

In this Figure I will make a brief Declaration concerning the scitation [sic] or posture; and being respective of the bigness, to give easie ways to observe in framing the altitude of the Head in any inclination, as well in Foeshortning or other postures. This then requireth small labour; and yet I have explained the same, that the manner thereof may be plainly seen; and the path infallible by the Lines, as they turn and concord together. Imitating the like, you may with facility draw in their places the Nose, the Mouth, and all the parts in good order, agreeing correspondently without much labour; as I will shew with these simple Lines; which with a little practice to prepare the hand and judgment thereto; all which may be absolutely well effected thereby.\(^{273}\)

\(^{273}\) Trans. Browne. The original Italian reads: “In questa tavola faro una breve dichiaratione circa questi siti, avisandovi che sono fatti così alla grossa per darvi ad intendere il modo facile che si deve osservare nel crear le attitudini delle teste così in scurzo come nelli altri siti. Questo benche mostri poca fatica, nientendimeno l’hò fatto espressamente, accioche vediate il modo & la strada infallibile delle linee, come si girino & concordino insieme acciò imitando quelle simili, possiate con facilità mettere ne i loro luoghi il naso, la bocca & tutte le sue parti con bel ordine & concorde corrispondenza senza fatica. Ciò vi volsi dimostrare con queste semplici linee accioche vi assefacciate à facilitar la mano & componere con giudizio tutto quello che fareto.” Fialetti, *Tutte le parti*, “Delli Schizzi in Scurzo. Cap. V.” 14.
All that the reader must do is follow the guidance of the lines in the illustrations. The corresponding etching depicts four examples. Each head is shown twice, once featureless in simple outline with a perspectival cage, and next to it a slightly more finished head showing the placement of eyes, ears, nose, and mouth within the lines of the guide. In *Delli Scurzi piu Perfetti Cap. VI*, Fialetti says that if the head turns downward, you simply turn the lines and divisions in the manner shown in the illustrations (Bartsch 202, Figure 3.17). He tells the reader to take care that the ears and the eyes do not end up outside of the guidelines (in this case primarily represented by dotted lines). These heads are more finished than the last group of examples (B 203) and depict eight variations on a foreshortened head. Fialetti does not provide a perspectival cage for any other parts of the body. His sheets of examples showing body parts from different views are all the advice he offers regarding foreshortening or placing a figure in space.

Fialetti’s perspectival cage is in this way less like the “stereometric cage” of Piero della Francesca, and more like a much simpler rendering of the perspectival technique found in Dürer’s *Vier Bücher*, with which we know Fialetti was familiar. Dürer showed several illustrations of segmented parts of the human figure in superimposed grids, or broken into perspectival units (Figures 3.18 and 3.19). Kemp cleverly describes these as “rather like joints of meat frozen in blocks of ice.” Fialetti’s take on this is simplified, but the use of superimposed lines that “turn and come together” presents itself still within Dürer’s tradition.


275 Kemp, 56.
Dürer himself did not invent the method of inscribing forms with lines to act as guides for depicting three-dimensional shapes in the picture plane. Fialetti is tapping into a much older Italian drawing practice. The exact origin of this technique is not clear, but the method of drawing a head starting from an oval and then inscribing it with a cross (of two lines) can be seen in Italian drawings from as early as the late quattrocento and can be found in the drawings of artists throughout Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such lines could also be used in quick compositional sketches, for example in works by Raphael (Figure 3.20), Giorgio Vasari (Figure 3.21), and Giulio Cesare Procaccini (Figure 3.22). Bolten argues that the Carracci were responsible for the popularity of this technique, but considering its prevalence, such a conclusion is not useful or even correct.\textsuperscript{276} The cross inscribed on the face was common practice in both Italy and in the North. The Carracci and their followers do not use the technique with any greater frequency than earlier artists.\textsuperscript{277}

Although the cross with one horizontal line exists in a significant number of drawings, I have only identified one example where an artist has inscribed a face with two horizontal lines. An anonymous drawing in the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. comes closest to the technique popularized by Fialetti (Figure 3.23).\textsuperscript{278} This red chalk drawing, attributed to a follower of Michelangelo (c. 1530), shows a simple outline drawing of a male head in three quarter view, seen slightly from

\textsuperscript{276} Bolten even suggests that the technique spread through \textit{Scuola Perfetta} prints by Ciamberlano. There are in fact no known prints in the existing copies of the series where a face is inscribed with a cross. Bolten, 203.


\textsuperscript{278} NGA # 2006.47.1. http://www.nga.gov/fcgi-bin/tinfo_f?ace=2006.47.1
Two lines in red chalk wrap around the head: one at the level of the eyebrows and the other below the nose. There is no vertical line but two dashed lines in brown ink denote the similar width of the mouth and of the bottom of the nose. Text, illegible in places, written in brown ink, refers to the dotted lines and describes their function as drawn on the face. The text was almost certainly added later. Although this drawing predates Fialetti’s work (and his birth) by decades, it is evidence of the existence of the device of the double-armed cross in facial construction. Fialetti’s perspectival cages take a studio or workshop practice and combine them with the more theoretical and more complicated system of Dürer in order to present this tool of perspective to a new audience.

Esengren extended Fialetti’s method. Although it is not discussed in Colombina’s accompanying text, one of Esengren’s engravings offers thirty heads, roughly in groups of five, each inscribed within a perspectival cage and shown from a different angle (Figure 3.24). The set, in the National Art Library (London), also includes five separate sheets of fully shaded heads representing the ages and sexes of the heads shown on the single sheet, with the exception of depictions of skulls. This full sheet of examples inscribed with perspectival cages is the last printed drawing book in the century to feature this device.

As we have seen elsewhere, Cavazzoni offers a somewhat different version of the printed drawing book than titles that came before him, and in fact he was more interested in the theoretical concerns of painting. In two sequential illustrations, Cavazzoni shows the reader how to draw a head both in profile and in frontal view, how to draw both depictions seen from above, how to depict a head from in sotto di su, and how to inscribe
a head in a square (Figure 3.25). In the first examples, he uses parallel horizontal lines to show how the facial features stay in a constant relationship to each other whether the head is seen from the side, from the front, or in three-quarter view. In so doing, he makes a construction similar to that of Fialetti, but Cavazzoni’s central lines are not as clearly defined as those in Tutte le parti/A.

Cavazzoni’s other illustration uses triangular sets of radiating lines to aid in perspectival construction (Figure 3.26). However, this time, Cavazzoni refers to lines radiating from a point, something not seen in Fialetti (or in Esengren). He demonstrates this visually, but also in the accompanying text: “it will be necessary to set a point...drawing from that point all the proportional parts of the line.” Cavazzoni is certainly drawing upon perspectival theory here for both image and text. Again, as we observed in his approach to proportion, he emphasizes practice and repetition. Cavazzoni ends this section by concluding that representing the human head, and by proxy the human body in space, “is an art, not of words but of valiant deeds.”

The perspectival cage does not show up in any new books after 1623 and is not present in the Scuola Perfetta or in the works of Caletti, Valesio, or Oliviero Gatti (after Guercino). But there is another way in which drawing books can be seen interacting with perspective aids: through plates that depict a part of the body from different angles. These illustrations provide a number of examples of each body part, seen not only from

279 “Sarà bisogno di porre un punto, il quale fingerà di essere il nostro occhio e all’incontro di quello porre una testa in profilo che pendì innanzi over indietro, tirando da quell punto a tutte le parti proporzionate linee.” Ms. 330, 7v/8 (Pigozzi, 127)

280 Loc. cit. The full quote reads: “Di questo non tratterò molto, uno che sia intelligente di questa arte li basterà solo a vedere, intenderà a un nuovo scolare con quanto più leggesi, manco intenderia, laonde bisogna a quello mostrare con prattica, perché quest’arte non e di parole, ma di valenti fatti.” Ms. 330, 7v/8 (Pigozzi, 127).
the front, back and sides, but also foreshortened from a variety of viewpoints. Each feature is not necessarily shown from every side and every angle. Even so, by showing body parts, such as the head, feet, or torso from a variety of angles, the books offer examples that could be copied until the accurate representation of foreshortened figures became second nature (Figures 3.27 and 3.28). Foreshortening or scurzo was an important element in representing the world, and the human form in particular, in a perspectively rendered space. The topic appears in numerous treatises on painting as a skill that must be carefully studied by painters for the artist’s success depended on its mastery. Armenini in the 1580s defined Scurzo as “all that which is shown to project toward the sight or, oppositely, to recede away from the sight.”

Almost all drawing books include examples meant to teach foreshortening. In this context, Giacomo Franco and Palma il Giovane present some of the most jumbled, at least to a modern viewer, plates in all of the genre, featuring arms, legs, male and female torsos, and upper bodies, closely packed together and seemingly floating in space. As I explored in the previous chapter, Cavazzoni’s explanation for why he included truncated torsos – to help his readers understand perspective – helps us comprehend what the large

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282 Ibid. “…che sono tenuti solennissimi goffi e troppo temerarii con l’essersi ficcati in quello che essi non sanno bene…” Armenini (1988) 111.
number of sheets of studies in printed drawing books, where a body part is seen from different angles, were expected to teach.\textsuperscript{283} Also, in the particular context of Venice, these images bring to mind three-dimensional models of the type that Tintoretto, one of Palma il Giovane’s teachers, is said to have used in his studio for the purpose of accurately depicting the human body in space.\textsuperscript{284} According to Carlo Ridolfi, Tintoretto used to make models of wax that could be suspended from beams on the ceiling to help him in painting figures in ceiling paintings.\textsuperscript{285} Sheets of examples of body parts seen in various positions could function as surrogates for such three-dimensional aids. For example, Franco’s \textit{Sheet of Female Torsos} (Figure 3.29) presents figures from almost every conceivable angle. A draftsman could use these figures for scenes of a woman clothed or nude, sleeping, bathing, leaning out a window, or floating in the sky (for example a saint seen from below).

Palma il Giovane and Giacomo Franco do not represent any clear system for placing figures in a picture’s plane. They provide the viewer with forms to copy and ideally to commit to memory; their basis was repetition and practice. By following the examples, the viewer would learn how to represent figures in space without necessarily being aware of a mathematical system of perspective.

\textsuperscript{283} “Questi tre dorsi in scorzio gioverà come si è detto ad intendere la prospettiva.” Ms. 330, 29v/27 (Pigozzi, 153).
\textsuperscript{284} Carlo Ridolfi, \textit{Le meraviglie dell'arte, ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello Stato} (Venice, 1648) II, 8
\textsuperscript{285} Ridolfi, Ibid.
**Anatomy**

Italian drawing books focus, for the most part, on the nude body. Depicting the human form in a naturalistic manner that reflected the underlying anatomy was a primary concern of Italian art starting in the 1400s. It continued to be a part of artistic education throughout the seicento, and academies also incorporated the teaching of anatomy into their curriculum as is shown in an engraving by Pierfrancesco Alberti entitled *A Painter’s Academy* (c. 1610) (Figure 1.10). Because it dates from the period in which the first printed drawing books were published, the image provides evidence of what contemporaries thought artistic education should entail. Here we witness the relationship between geometry (the basis of proportion and perspective) and anatomy. Slightly to the left of center, a group of students gathers around a sheet of geometrical figures resting on the ground. An older man, the instructor, uses a pointer to comment on the figures apparently drawn by the student holding a compass in his right hand. In the absolute center of the image, two students draw from a skeleton while a third points at one of the drawings, presumably correcting a mistake or identifying a specific detail. Towards the back of the scene, seven figures are present at the dissection table where a cadaver lies on its back. At the right, at the feet of the cadaver, stand two formally-dressed men in hats who appear to be looking on without actually participating. The action takes place at the head of the cadaver, where a bearded figure holds open the chest of the body while plunging his hand inside the chest cavity. Four younger figures look on intently while the person immediately to the left of the most active participant in the dissection points and gestures with what appears to be excited recognition or inquisition.
As I discussed in the Introduction, young artists began their education by drawing the human form, most often using as models two-dimensional sources like prints and drawings. Only later did they move on to three-dimensional forms such as sculptures and finally live (or dead) models as seen here in Alberti’s print. It is not only practice but a certain structural similarity that merits the comparison: *libri da disegnare* are filled with parts of the body broken down into simple line drawings, and even, in some cases, almost line-by-line depictions. They present single parts of the body that have been “cut-out” and selected for study much as anatomical practice and dissection allowed the focus upon single parts of the body at a time. Both drawing books and anatomical study seek, in a way, to teach by exploring the body in stages. However, as this section shows, despite these seeming similarities, the relationship between *libri da disegnare* and anatomy is complicated by an almost complete rejection of the latter by the former.

When I refer here to anatomy, I mean the study of the internal structures of the human body considered relevant to artists, such as the bones and the musculature. Drawing books consist almost entirely of images of human anatomy in the much broader sense of the nude human body. As we saw in the previous chapter, Cavazzoni expected his drawings of unclothed backs to be useful for drawing complicated systems of muscles correctly. Similar prints of well-muscled torsos, legs, or arms demonstrated musculature that could be seen in any live model or ancient sculpture. Such examples are plentiful in drawing books and could indeed instruct in drawing musculature in a similar manner to plaster casts, sculptures, or live models. In this next section, however, the focus will be on anatomical study, as practiced by artists as part of a deeper exploration of the structure of the human body.
The Study of Anatomy for Art

Although interest in portraying the human form in a manner reflective of a naturalistic appearance arose in central Italy during the fourteenth century, it was not until the beginning of the quattrocento that we find written evidence advising artists to acquire knowledge of the internal structures of the body. Beginning with Cennino Cennini around 1400, artists were advised to study anatomy as a means to aid in the portrayal of the human body. Cennini suggested that a student should copy both from famous masters and from nature. Although Cennini does not make a direct connection between bones and the proper drawing of the human form he does bring up the connection between proportion and anatomical study.\textsuperscript{286} He suggests that it is good to have knowledge of the internal structure of the human body; for example, it appears that he intended to provide the number of bones but left this information blank as it was not known to him at the time: “[a] man has…bones in all.”\textsuperscript{287} He also offers a biblically inspired conclusion that a man has one less rib than a woman.\textsuperscript{288}

Leon Battista Alberti first touches upon the importance of knowing anatomy in his treatise on sculpture, \textit{De Scultura} (before 1435). This work focuses on the measurement of people and statues and much of the information given within would have

\textsuperscript{286} Bernard Schultz, \textit{Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy} (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1985) 27.
\textsuperscript{288} Cennini, “A man has one breast rib less than a woman, on the left side.” 49. “Ha l’uomo, men che la donna, una costola del petto dal lato manco.” Cennini (1839) 51.
required the reader to have some familiarity with anatomy. Early in the work, Alberti identifies similarities between a shipbuilder and a sculptor: they both must know how the individual pieces fit together. He finds that many sculptors lack the talent to fit the pieces together:

[w]ho would dare to claim to be a shipbuilder, if he did not know how many parts there are in a ship, how one ship differs from another, and how the parts of any construction fit together? Yet among our sculptors how many will there be who, if asked, will have observed and properly understood the structure of any limb, the proportions within it and of other limbs to it, and those of all of them to form the whole body.

Alberti suggests how a sculptor could accomplish these goals when later in the treatise he writes that “[i]t would also be extremely valuable to know the number of bones and the projections of muscles and sinews.”

Alberti is even more specific in his treatise De Pictura, where he advises an artist to draw the bones first when painting a figure:

it is certainly useful, in painting living beings, to screen out at first, by skill, the bones (96). These, in fact, because they bend very little, always occupy some determined position. It is necessary, then, that the nerves and muscles adhere to appropriate places. And then [it is necessary] in the end to treat with flesh and with skin, the bones and the muscles, reclothed.

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289 Schultz, 28.
290 Alberti, On painting and On sculpture, 129. “Quis enim se audeat fabrum navalem profiteri, si et quot sint partes navis, et quid a navi navis differat, et quid cuiusque operis partes inter se conveniant, non tenuerit? At ex nostris statuaris quotas quisque erit, qui si rogetur, quaenam membri istius ratio, quaenam ad illud aut alterius ad hoc, aut istorum ad totam corporis habitudinem proportio sit, uspiam satis notarit aut teneat, uti par est?” 128.
Alberti’s well-known directions influenced the large number of writers who described similar processes from this point forward.

Although anatomical study was a recommended part of an artist’s training, it is unlikely that young artists began their study by drawing anatomical examples or by attending dissections. How and where did artists receive this training? One place that artists could witness or take part in human dissection, outside of medical school public exhibitions, was at the fledgling art academies of Florence and Rome. Mention of anatomical study first appeared in the 1563 statutes of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno. In the second chapter of the statutes, the responsibility for acquiring a corpse and setting up a dissection at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova falls to the Consoli who are in office during the winter months (nel tempo del verno).293 The young students at the Accademia were to be the primary beneficiaries of this anathomia[sic], but the Consoli urges all members to take advantage of any such opportunities, suggesting their rarity.294 The Accademia del Disegno’s primary purpose was not the teaching of basic skills, rather, it functioned as a space for specialized training in all that the newly elevated artist needed to know but could not learn well enough, or at all, in the workshop. These skills included geometry, perspective, anatomy, poetry, new art theory etc.295 The Roman Accademia di San Luca taught the youngest artists basic skills, such as the ABCs


294 “alla quale debbono tutti esser chiamati per ordine di essi Consoli.” Reynolds, 140-141,

of Disegno, but it also hosted lectures on and demonstrations of more specialized skills. By 1607 the Accademia di San Luca was offering a course in *anatomia*. Although no record of a course exists from the time of the founding, it remains highly likely that dissection and anatomical study took place at the academy earlier than 1607.

However, for the most part, actual anatomical dissections were not widely accessible to the beginning artist seeking instruction. Since dissections could not take place during warm months (the bodies might rot), drawings and other sources were needed year-round. Public dissections at universities were not geared to the type of knowledge that would have been most useful to artists. For example, for artists, viewing organs and systems of circulation or nerves was not as important as understanding bone structure or superficial musculature. Artists sought alternative means of acquiring knowledge about human anatomy. Two of the most famous artists of the early modern period, Michelangelo and Leonardo, both created anatomical studies related to their own firsthand direct observation of dissection, and such drawings along with écorchés and prints in anatomical treatises could have been the primary source for anatomical knowledge among artists (Figures 3.30 and 3.31). Knowledge of bones, something we saw recommended even to the beginner, could have been acquired by studying preserved skeletons. Superficial musculature could have been observed fairly accurately through the skin of a nude model or with an écorché. Artists could also look to newly rediscovered Roman sculptures, many of which were life sized (or larger) and nude with clearly demarcated musculature. Drawings made observing live models or sculptures

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296 Pevsner 80; Tonelli, 96.
297 Mayor, 90.
could have been used as examples for copying in the studio, as could a print like
Pollaiuolo’s *Battle of the Nudes* (Figure 3.32).  

Printed illustrated anatomical treatises also depicted both superficial and interior musculature and would have been useful aids to artists. The earliest printed anatomical treatises were not illustrated, but in 1491 the publication of Johannes Ketham’s *Il Fasciculus medicinae*, which contained six woodcuts by an unknown artist, changed the genre irreversibly. Some scholars have suggested that with the publication of Andrea Vesalius’s *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543) artists no longer needed to observe actual dissections. In the late sixteenth century, with the popularity of Vesalian illustration and the unpublished but fairly well-known writings and drawings of Leonardo, books and écorthés may have, for the most part, replaced dissections as a teaching tools for artists.

In the 1560s, growing out of the tradition of Michelangelo, who was known for his anatomical exploration and knowledge, there was a brief flowering of treatises on *disegno* based on anatomical drawing. Condivi wrote of the master’s richness of

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298 Schultz, 51.
300 Pigozzi, 5; Rifkin, 10.
301 Mary E. Braun-Anderson, “Artists’ Professional Handbooks From the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” in *Children of Mercury: the Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Providence, RI: Dept. of Art Brown University, 1984) 122. Barzman in part credits the increasing attendance of amateurs at art academies with the development of novel study aids (such as the écorché) and with increased use of prints. Barzman, 165.
knowledge from many years of conducting dissections first-hand as something that Michelangelo wished to write down for future generations. In the tradition of Michelangelesque anatomical drawing, three treatises on *disegno* -- Alessandro Allori’s *Primo libro de’ ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, Benvenuto Cellini’s *Sopra I principii e ’l modo d’imparare l’arte del disegno*, and Vincenzo Danti’s *Trattato delle perfette proporzioni* -- written in Florence between 1564-65 focus on the importance of constructing the body from the inside out.

All three artists, Allori, Cellini, and Danti, saw themselves as heirs of Michelangelo and thus their treatises can be seen in the great anatomical tradition of the master who died in 1564. All three placed emphasis on the importance of knowledge of anatomy and the central place held by the practice of anatomical drawing. Allori’s treatise is the only one of the three that is illustrated. None of these works were published and Allori’s appears to have been abandoned mid-way through. Patricia Reilly suggests that, as these treatises were written in order to gain entrance to the Accademia Fiorentina, once entrance was achieved there was no reason to finish them. She also

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302 Condivi, 97.
303 Only Allori’s treatise contained illustrations and, as I discussed in Chapter 1, it is the most directly relatable of these examples to printed drawing books. For the history of these three treatises see Patricia L. Reilly, “Drawing the Line: Benvenuto Cellini’s *On the Principles and Method of Learning the Art of Drawing* and the question of Amateur Drawing Education,” in *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 26-50. Like Cellini, Danti gave credit to Michelangelo as a leader in the construction of the human form. Early in his treatise, Danti, a sculptor, tells the reader that he studied with Michelangelo in Rome. He also limits his treatise to discussing the parts of the body necessary for the artist to know to create a convincing figure: the bones, muscles, and flesh. Although his primary discussion lays out a flexible system (supposedly based on that of Michelangelo) of proportion, Danti says that to truly understand proportion one must study anatomy (Schultz, 36).
postulates that the format of a written treatise with illustrations focused on anatomy was not ideal for teaching drawing to amateurs.\textsuperscript{304}

Indeed, the dialogue between Alessandro and Agnolo in Allori’s treatise suggests that amateurs may not have had the stomach for the study of anatomy, even as depicted in a drawing. Gentlemen, the intended audience for the treatise, would especially find the approach of starting to draw from real bones and muscles to be “disagreeable (spiacevole),” so Alessandro convinces Agnolo to forgo this exercise, one better suited to professional artists, and to begin just by showing the outside of parts of the body.\textsuperscript{305} He argues: “[w]hereas all things are beautiful and pleasing to imitate o their surface (I am speaking of beautiful and pleasing to the taste here), the bones are much more melancholy; but I would not like this small discomfort to put them [the signori] off…”\textsuperscript{306} Alessandro suggests that they reverse the order and begin with the skin; they can later move inwards, so the drawing lesson starts with the eye, in its skin.\textsuperscript{307} Identified by Alessandro in the treatise, the difficulty that Allori finds in proposing a drawing treatise

\textsuperscript{304} Reilly (1999) 130.
\textsuperscript{305} As Reilly points out, the character Alessandro argues his point by means of a two-pronged attack: the gentlemen will not like starting with anatomy and it is not always possible to do a full anatomy. The second point, as she points out, is mute as it is not necessary to do a dissection to teach drawing from the interior structures. Agnolo would have more likely than not have used drawings or prints as models for his lessons. Alessandro Allori goes to such trouble to justify teaching by means of the exterior of the body because it is at odds with the Albertian advice to draw figures from the inside out. At the same time, Alberti could also be used to justify learning to draw by means of the ABCs of disegno when he advises teaching drawing as writing masters teach writing. For a more in depth discussion of Allori’s argument against starting his drawing lessons with anatomy see Reilly (1999) 131-135. For the ABCs of disegno, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation.
\textsuperscript{306} Trans Reilly (1999) 131. “…come d’ogni altra parte, e dove tutte le cose nella lor superficie son belle e piacevoli ad immittare (delle belle et al gusto piacevoli parlando), così poi non son tanto più manincomiche le ossa, ma non vorrei che disgustasse loro questo poco del fastidio…” Barocchi, 1948-49.
\textsuperscript{307} Barocchi, 1949.
that will teach anatomical drawing may well be a problem of audience. Even to accommodate a gentleman amateur, Allori seems to be uncomfortable with going against Alberti’s advice to start learning to draw inside-out. As Reilly points out, in each draft, the treatise ends shortly after Allori begins the anatomical demonstrations.308

Anatomy, Anatomical Drawing, and Drawing Books

Because we know that anatomy was taught at the first academies of art, why does it not feature more prominently in printed drawing books? The following section reveals an additional discord: while certain drawing books do include small amounts of anatomical material, several artists working on drawing books that do not include anatomical examples were also working on anatomical material at around the same time. In this case, the fact that anatomical material does not appear more frequently seems like a conscious choice, and we are left to question why that choice was made. Of the approximately twenty-three known Italian seventeenth drawing books, only five include depictions of anatomical structures beneath the skin: Stefanoni’s Scuola Perfetta (c. 1609-1614), Cavazzoni’s Esemplario (1612), Colombina’s Discorso (1623), Francesco Curti’s Scelta di Disegni del Caracci (1630-45), and Mitelli’s Alfabeto (1683). Of these, only Colombina’s Discorso and Cavazzoni’s unpublished drawing book include a depiction of the construction of a figure from bones, to muscle, to flesh. Cavazzoni’s unpublished book is the only example after Allori to include more than one image depicting écorché figures as well as images where a part of the body is depicted in stages of dissection.

308 Reilly, 135.
An exception to the general paucity of anatomical examples in drawing books is found in two engravings, included in a number of surviving sets of the *Scuola Perfetta*, based on a drawing by Michelangelo now in Christ Church, Oxford (Figure 3.33). These prints show underlying bone structure next to the body part in full flesh. The set of *Scuola Perfetta* prints at the National Gallery of Art Washington D.C. contains both of these prints. NGA-1977.66.1.33, an engraving of a full leg with view of the interior structure of the knee reverses the Christ Church drawing (Figure 3.34). Two elements turn this engraving into a study of more than surface appearances. At the upper right, next to the knee, there is a line drawing of the corresponding bones. The bones of the knee, including the structures of the kneecap, are presented from the front. Shorthand notations, in the form of horizontal lines ending with circular forms, sprout from both depictions of the leg. These markings are similar to those found in the Christ Church Michelangelo drawing. They represent abbreviated notation of the movement of joints and are a part of the larger shorthand Michelangelo used in his anatomical drawings. NGA1977.66.1.32 depicts a right leg shown in three-quarter view from the inside, and it appears to be based on the same drawing as the other engraving (Figure 3.35). At the left, the leg is shown from the lower thigh down to the end of the toes while on the right the artist focuses in on the structures of the knee and upper thigh, showing the attachment

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310 Francesco Curti copied both of these engravings in his *Scelta di Disegni del Carracci* (1630s). He copied the print where the leg is divided into two in the original direction but reversed the other. In both engravings, the artist retained the illustration of bones but left off the shorthand markings. It is possible that Luca Ciamberlano, engraver of the print in the *Scuola Perfetta*, had access to either the original Michelangelo drawing or a close copy as well as understood the importance of the marks for joints. Francesco Curti appears to have thought them superfluous or even confusing and thus left them off his copies of the earlier prints.
to the pelvis. In this case, the interior structures of the knee more closely resemble the presentation of the joint in the drawing than in the previous engraving.

These sheets are not found in later sets of the *Scuola Perfetta* and it is likely that they reflect an early stage of the project, where the print publisher was commissioning prints and combining extant stock with the core group of prints, purportedly after drawings by the Carracci, of facial features, heads, and studies of hands and feet. The existence of two sheets based on what appears to be the same source supports this idea of a variable series. The inclusion of these anatomical examples (much like the images of linear perspective discussed earlier) during the formative period of the project, tells us what types of visual information the audience associated with didactic prints for drawing. Their later exclusion suggests that the material may no longer have been desirable in this context.

The rare exception to a general absence or at least minimal presence of anatomical illustrations is Cavazzoni’s drawing book, which includes a number of anatomical images accompanied by text. The first section of Cavazzoni’s treatise and his first illustration discuss the human eye, both in profile and in frontal view (Figure 3.36). In no other drawing book do we see the human eye – complete with optic nerve – removed from the head. Cavazzoni explains his unusual choice as driven by didactic necessity: “to show it to the student with the most diligence it would be well to show the eye nude outside of its setting.” The word for setting, *incassatura*, also refers to the setting of a jewel, so in this case the eyeball is like a gem removed from its setting, where

311 Ms 330, 3v/4. (Pigozzi, 119). All translations from Cavazzoni are my own. “…ma per mostrare con più diligenza al scolare sarà bene li farli vedere l’occhio nudo fuori della sua incassatura.”
the setting is the tissue surrounding the eyeball. Cavazzoni suggests that knowledge of the optic nerves does not benefit artists but that his reader is a scholar of broader interests and possesses a general desire for information. This contrasts with Alberti’s justification for the study of anatomy that starts from a similar idea (the seeming lack of utility of anatomy to the painter):

But at this point, I see, there will perhaps be some who will raise as an objection something I said above, namely, that the painter is not concerned with things that are not visible. They would be right to do so, except that, just as for a clothed figure we first have to draw the named body beneath and then cover it with clothes, so in painting a nude the bones and muscles must be arranged first, and then covered with appropriate flesh and skin in such a way that it is not difficult to perceive the positions of the muscles.

Cavazzoni’s text appears to argue against Alberti’s idea, but his engravings include a number of illustrations of the type that would be helpful to an artist seeking to construct the body from the bones outward. He may though simply be pointing out the falseness of the idea that artists do not need to know anatomy. The Esemplario includes eight drawings where a body part is shown in varying degrees of dissection. In some examples he depicts bones, nerves, muscles, and flesh systematically while at other times he draws a hodge-podge of body parts. Cavazzoni’s text seeks to guide the reader through the images, explaining the choice of illustrations in many cases. For example, he explains why the eyeball is shown removed from the socket, why he includes a dissected head, and why he shows four examples of one arm. He tells the reader that he has included an image of a head in stages of dissection because sometimes one needs to depict a skull for

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312 Ms 330, 3v/4, (Pigozzi, 121). “Sarà bene che il diligente scolare cerchi di sapere più cose. Se ben qui nelle presenti figure si è mostrato l’occhio nudo con li nervi optici, che questo importaria poco al pittore, è vero, ma pur è meglio a sapere che non sapere.”

313 Alberti, On Painting, 72. Quote
Death (Figure 3.37). A little later, Cavazzoni states that, “the virtuous student will be able to delight in knowing, by means of good study, anatomy…” He then begins instruction in earnest with an illustration showing five studies of arms, each in a different state of anatomy (Figure 3.38). Cavazzoni depicts the final arm in the same fully formed state as the fourth, but in a different position. The next anatomical section treats legs, this time in three stages (Figure 3.39). Cavazzoni provides more anatomical examples than Allori and more than any other Italian libro da disegnare of the seventeenth century. His text reflects his specific goals, and as has been noted elsewhere, he was combining a variety of theoretical sources into a new type of book for amateurs.

Published more than a decade after Cavazzoni, the drawing book of Phillip Esengren and Gasparo Colombina, Discorso sopra il modo di disegnare, dipingere, & spiegare… (1623), includes two sheets depicting skeletal elements, one of which clearly illustrates the idea of drawing a figure from the foundation of the bones à la Alberti. Plate 23 (Figure 3.40) provides a clear illustration of the idea that the reader should draw the bones first (or at least have a knowledge of anatomy) when portraying a nude figure. This print depicts a male figure shown from three different views: frontal, side, and rear. Colombina portrays each as a skeleton, as an écorché, and as a complete figure. The skeleton is simplified with few bones defined, and the muscles of the écorché do not

314 “Il virtuoso scolare si potrà dilettare di sapere con qualche buon studio di annotomia…” Ms. 330, 21v/22 (Pigozzi, 147)
315 “Qui si è posto più perfettamente con il modo ordinato che qui si vede prima l’ossatura, il secondo con il contorno solo acennato con linee occulte acciò si veda come si visti di carne, il terzo con tutti li suoi muscoli ordinati secondo l’annotomia, il quarto si mostra vestito di carne che accenna tutti li suoi muscoli li quinto similmente in diverse positure.” Ms. 330, 21v/22 (Pigozzi, 147).
316 “prima mostrando l’ossatura, nel secondo l’annotomia, nel terzo vestita di carne con tutti li suoi muscoli apparenti.” Ms. 330, 25v/24 (Pigozzi, 150)
provide much more information than the fleshed figure. Combining three stages of construction, demonstrated in three views, on the same sheet gives visual form to Alberti’s advice and to the widely held ideal that artists should know anatomy in order to draw the human body. The other relevant example from Esengren, Plate 10 is a sheet of studies of heads with marks for easy foreshortening. At the bottom of the plate the artist engraved a row of skulls. These skulls do not relate to any of the heads on the sheet, but nonetheless they suggest the idea that understanding how the bones look underneath the skin and muscles is part of drawing a convincing figure.317

These examples by Cavazzoni and Esengren/Colombina are exceptions, and as has been stated, anatomical images otherwise appear very infrequently in *libri da disegnare*. One of the most startling omissions is by Fialetti, as we know that he was in fact working on preparatory drawings for an anatomical treatise in the same years as he was creating his drawing book, yet there is no visible crossover between the two. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, Venice retained its primacy as a publishing center for anatomical material; a number of treatises were published or reprinted in the city.318 One author whose work was being published in Venice during this time was Giulio Casserio (Piacenza c. 1522 – 1616 Padua).319 He published two anatomical

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317 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli’s *Alfabeto in Sogno* (1683) is the last drawing book in this study to contain a depiction of anatomy. The letter “N” is made up of two figures carrying a corpse. Above these figures the artist has etched a bat and three sculls, shown in profile from the right, from the frontal, and in profile from the left (missing the lower jaw). The sculls can function as an appropriate motif for the central vignette but also, in the context of a drawing book, can act as a teaching tool. This is though the only case in any of the artist’s drawing books where he depicts bones or musculature.

318 These works included Hieronymus Fabricus Ad Aquapendente’s *De formato foetu* (c. 1600), Avicenna’s *Canon Medicinae* (1608), and Giulio Casserio’s *Pentaestheseion* (1609).

319 By the age of 13, Casserio was the anatomical assistant to Fabricius ad Aquapendente, the chair of anatomy at Padua. He received his doctorate there and stayed in the city hoping to
treatises during his lifetime: *De Vociis Auditusque Organis Historia Anatomica* (Ferrara, 1600-1601) and *Pentaestheseion* (Venice, 1609). The latter book was the leading work on the five senses for the next fifty years.\textsuperscript{320} His most famous book, *Tabulae Anatomicae LXXIX, 78* (Venice, 1627), remained unpublished at his death in 1616. When he died, Casserio’s text was incomplete but a large number (more than 80) of finished copperplates already existed.\textsuperscript{321} These plates, which Casserio commissioned as illustrations for a larger book treating the whole body, were designed by Odoardo Fialetti and most likely engraved by Francesco Valesio (Figure 3.41).\textsuperscript{322} Casserio had been working on his treatise for sixteen years before his sudden death, and it is likely that Fialetti had been involved with the project for some time. Both of Fialetti’s drawing books were published around 1608, and thus it is almost certain that the artist worked on

\\[\text{inherit the chair of surgery from his teacher. Finally, in 1609 Casserio became the chair of surgery and in 1614 the chair of anatomy.}\]

\textsuperscript{320} Moe, 64.

\textsuperscript{321} The publication of Casserio’s treatise involved a number of different people. Casserio’s heirs sold 77 of the completed plates to the anatomist Daniel Rindfleisch, known as Bucretius. Bucretius studied under Adriaan Spigelius (Spigelius), Casserio’s successor at Padua. After the death of his teacher, Bucretius was charged with publishing the text of Spigelius’s unpublished anatomical treatise. This text was not illustrated and so Bucretius combined the Casserio plates, along with twenty plates from *Pentaestheseion*, with the Spigelius text. The resulting book was titled *Adriani Spigelii De Humani Corporis Fabrica* and included 97 of Casserio’s illustrations. This treatise, and most importantly, the illustrations was re-published and copied numerous times over the century. Casserio’s name remained associated with the authorship of later editions, which testifies to the importance of the illustrations as determinant of authorship for this treatise. The final culmination of Casserio’s work was published in 1645 by Johannes van der Linden (1609-1664) a professor in Friesland. He published 107 of the plates as *Adriani Spigelii Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu). See Moe, 65.

\textsuperscript{322} Rifkin argues that Fialetti was only responsible for the bodies and not the landscapes. He suggests that the engraver, Francesco Valesio, who published bird’s-eye view of European cities, is the likely candidate for these sections of the engravings (32). I would argue that Fialetti was capable of drawing the landscape backgrounds. A number of his etchings, including the *Scherzi d’Amore, Hunts*, and his illustrations for Francesco Tensini’s *La fortificazione, guardia, difesa et espugnazione delle fortezze* (1623) feature landscapes. The landscapes within the Tensini treatise are comparable to those in the Casserio plates. Rifkin identifies another project, *Fabricius ab Aquapendente’s De Formatu foetu* (in the Paduan edition of 1626), that Fialetti and Valesio also worked on together (32).
Casserio’s anatomical drawings at the same time that he was etching plates for both drawing books and writing the short text for *Tutte le parti/A*.

It is possible that Fialetti received the commission from Casserio as a result of family connections: Laura Walters suggested that Fialetti may have had a brother who was a student of Casserio in Padua.\(^\text{323}\) Regardless, Casserio must have been happy with Fialetti’s drawings, none of which survive, as the plates were engraved from Fialetti’s designs before the death of the professor. Although Fialetti’s drawing books never delve beyond the surface of the human body, he clearly had a grasp of more than surface anatomy. He made a conscious decision to leave such depictions out of his didactic work on drawing.

Nor was Fialetti alone. In 1618, Luca Ciamberlano engraved anatomical plates based on the designs of Pietro da Cortona.\(^\text{324}\) Ciamberlano was responsible for a number of prints in the *Scuola Perfetta*, but only one of his monogrammed sheets included anatomical material. Some versions of the series, including the copy in the Bibliothèque National de France, contain an engraving of two skulls (Figure 3.42). This image is a *memento mori* with the text “*Nil certius morte nil incertius die mortis*” (Nothing more certain than death, nothing less certain than the day of death) in the upper right corner. In *Memento mori* an artist could implement knowledge of the skeletal system, whether a depiction of a skull or a complete skeleton in a life-like pose. This is the only example of an engraving by Ciamberlano including anatomical material in the context of a drawing.

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\(^{323}\) Walters suggests that Fialetti’s brother Tiberio studied with Casserio in Bologna, and that through his brother, Fialetti was exposed to direct anatomical study at a young age. Laura Walters “Odoardo Fialetti (1573–c.1638): the interrelation of Venetian art and anatomy, and his importance in England.” Ph.D. diss. (University of St. Andrews, 2009) 129.
\(^{324}\) Mayor, 124. These plates were not published until 1741.
book, and as the image is a *memento mori*, it seems at best disconnected from the advice of Alberti or from any notion that human anatomy underlies *disegno*.

The lack of anatomical images by Fialetti and Ciamberlano in *libri da disegnare* may help to identify the intended audience. Fialetti’s novice was clearly not expected to learn how to draw such complicated studies, as his text of *Tutte le parte/*A discussed in the last chapter makes clear. We can identify a perceived need to keep things simple and to focus on drawing only the surface, an intent that runs through much of the genre. This choice in turn may have something to do with Allori’s decision to start his drawing lesson from the outside of the body. This being the case, the anatomical motifs of Cavazzoni or Esengren seem more exceptional. Despite the fact that drawing books cut the body into smaller pieces in order to facilitate study, little attention was paid to a potential parallel with dissection. For the most part the drawing books focus on what can be seen on a living man: the skin and the outer later of musculature. The genre presents only the first stages of drawing education where the student draws from prints and drawings of simple body parts, possibly suggesting an amateur audience.

**Conclusion: Chapter 3**

*Libri da disegnare* present a general approach to drawing the human form. Seeking to teach drawing on a basic level, they do not focus on highly technical matters or teach specialized areas of knowledge. Yet they incorporate important elements of *disegno*, including proportion, perspective, and anatomy. We have seen the various and complex ways in which the books interact with material involving these three subjects.
Notable is the fact that most of this discussion has focused on those books from the first decades of the genre; by the later years these connections are rarely seen. After the first decades of the century, even sporadic connections to specialized knowledge fade, and printed drawing books become almost entirely visual with a focus on the exterior of the human body.\footnote{Again, Mitelli is the single exception. See note 89.} Books after Guercino and after Guido Reni and those by Stefano della Bella and Giuseppe Maria Mitelli do not include any examples of proportion studies, perspectival cages, or images of the internal structure of the human body. As the century progressed, the books featured more examples of fully finished heads or busts and fewer examples of other parts of the body in a variety of poses (for example the well-muscled torso is rarely included after 1620). Not all the projects from the first two decades included the categories of knowledge discussed above. Neither the \textit{Scuola Perfetta} nor the projects of Caletti (1612) and Valesio (1606-1612), or the first Guercino drawing book (engravings by Oliviero Gatti, 1619) featured perspectival cages to aid in correct foreshortening or used geometrical shapes to guide in drawing the head or other parts of the body. Only the \textit{Scuola Perfetta} presented examples of anatomical study of the interior structures. It appears that even among the earliest books, artists and publishers focused on presenting different types of information.

These shifts are evidence of the evolving process of creating the new genre of art literature, the printed drawing book, and of the targeted audience for these projects. As we have seen in this chapter \textit{libri da disegnare} borrow from extant forms of art literature as well as other printed teaching tools, such as illustrations in anatomical treatises, in a variable and often watered-down manner. The use of these illustrations suggests a
different audience from that which would have been primarily using such sources in artistic training in, for example, academies. Printed drawing books seem to be directed at a specific audience more interested in “doing” than in reading about underlying theory.
Chapter 4: Books, Series, Fragments, and Copies

Libri da disegnare are not always immediately identifiable as books in the modern sense of a bound volume with a set order. Although scholars have discussed vastly different examples as if they constitute an easily definable, standard type of printed work, in this chapter I seek to problematize this notion and by doing so to give better definition to the genre. Through the course of three chapters, we have discussed particular books or particular themes that bring several projects together. In this final chapter, we will discuss the genre as a whole by considering the various forms it took. Drawing books were not necessarily sold sewn together with a title page that offered the reader straightforward information about their contents or about the persons responsible for their creation and publication. Most groups of prints sold under the category of libri da disegnare changed from the first to any subsequent editions: prints were altered, removed or added, or their order was changed, and in two cases text that was present in the first edition was not printed in the subsequent publications. Only by identifying and comparing numerous copies of each title can we trace the manner in which the projects changed through the course of their history.

326 Groups of prints, whether bound or loose, had been sold under the title “libro” since the early sixteenth century. Witcombe suggests that it was more common for such sets of prints to be bound than not. Lafreri’s stocklist included books as we would define them, such as titles on architecture by Antonio Labacco and Giacomo Vignola as well as “books” of images of ancient architectural elements, trophies, prospettive, portraits of popes and other famous men. See Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Growth and Expansion, Rivalry and Murder (London/Turnout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008) 7. In the seventeenth century, the de Rossi stocklists provide evidence of the continued practice of selling groups of prints under the heading “libro.” For these stocklists, see Francesca Consagra, “The De Rossi Family Print Publishing Shop: A Study in the History of the Print Industry in Seventeenth-Century Rome.” Ph.D. diss. (Johns Hopkins, 1992) Appendices 3 and 4.
The groups of prints I cover in this study fall into what I identify here as four distinct categories: books, series, fragments, and copies. Categorization as such is not simply an exercise in and of itself, but it brings to bear a larger point. By considering the entire genre in terms of these four categories, this chapter will demonstrate the instability and fluidity of a number of the titles over the first three decades of the seicento. The complicated publication history of many of the drawing books is further evidence of the diverse people including artists, publishers, and patrons who played a role in translating theories of drawing education into a distributable, printed format. By examining the forms and history of these drawing books, we can help to highlight the important interplay between education and print in the period.

I define the four categories discussed here, though each will receive close treatment. The first contains those original projects that feature clearly identifiable publication information and contents under the category of books. This includes the first edition of Giacomo Franco’s *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo* (1611), Gasparo Colombina’s *Discorso* (1623), and Mitelli’s *Alfabeto in Sogno* (1683), all of which have title pages, introductions, and in the last example, text, throughout. For the latter two, we can quickly discern when a copy of these particular projects is complete and when it is fragmentary, because they are numbered or follow a clear order. This is not the case with a number of other projects, where publishers changed the order of the plates or the size of the project in subsequent printings for each purchaser.

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327 As I already covered many of the history of publication, contents, and later editions of Fialetti’s two drawing books in Chapter 2, I will not be discussing these projects in detail in this chapter. In addition, refer to Chapter 3 and to Appendix A for the publication history, and alternate editions of Gasparo Colombina’s *Discorso* and Phillip Esengren’s *Li primi elementi*.
The next category, the series, is represented by the *Scuola Perfetta*, first published by Pietro Stefanoni. Unlike a book, the *Scuola Perfetta* in its first edition does not appear ever to have existed as one distinct project, with a set order or number of prints, although it does contain a title page, which presents it as a unified work.

Of the four categories, the fragmentary may be the most difficult to trace and to understand, although we shall see that it is possibly the category that tells us the most about the genesis and process of creating or publishing a *libro da disegnare*. Ribera’s etchings of parts of the human body and Pietro Aquila’s three engravings, showing legs, eyes, and hands, are representative of the fragmentary groups of images that come down to us without title pages or clear order. I will discuss the important differences between these fragmentary types and will as well as consider single sheet examples and whether they were indeed part of the tradition of *libri da disegnare*.

Copies of drawing books existed both in Italy and outside their country of origin. In less than a decade after their original publication in Italy, Jan Janssonius published copies of groups of prints from the *Scuola Perfetta* and from Fialetti’s etched projects in the Netherlands. In other cases, Italian artists and publishers were responsible for copies sold within a few hundred miles of the originals. The format of copies varied. They might seek to reproduce a known book exactly, even down to the title page or they might instead appear to create a new work, by virtue of a new title and title page, while the contents more or less directly copied a pre-existing drawing book. Another case that I will discuss are single prints copying, either directly or in reverse, individual sheets from known *libri da disegnare*. 
Evidence/Sources

Before discussing these categories in more detail, we might first ask: where does a drawing book come from? I do not mean the traditions from which the printed drawing book arose, such as drawn and printed models for art education or for compositional aid, but rather: who initiated them and what were the circumstances of their physical creation? What kinds of clues should we look for when considering the genesis of a specific drawing book? As with other printed projects, we might look to written records, such as contracts or correspondence left by artists or publishers. Unfortunately, as is the case with many publishing projects (text or image) from the period, the survival of these sources is a matter of chance. Little of this type of evidence regarding the works in my survey has yet come to light.³²⁸

Another contemporary, or near contemporary, source that we can consider is the biographies collected and published by some of the earliest art historians and critics, such as Bellori, Malvasia, and Ridolfi. Most often when a biographer does mention a drawing book, such as when, for example, Malvasia informs us that Fialetti created two drawing books, the report is brief and straightforward and does not tell us much about the artist or the project.³²⁹ Oliviero Gatti’s drawing book after Guercino (which I will also consider later in this chapter) is discussed in much greater detail by Malvasia.

³²⁸ Some further information may be found in an unpublished dissertation in Oxford regarding print publishers in Bologna to which I have not been able to gain access. Naoko Takahatake, “The print industry in Bologna: ca. 1570-1640,” Ph.D. diss. (Oxford University, 2006).
³²⁹ “due books that teach drawing, and show all the parts of the human body.” Carlo Cesare Malvasia, Felsina pittrice: vite de’ pittori bolognesi (1678) I, 311: “due libri, che insegnano à disegnare, e fece tutte le membra del corpo humano.” Malvasia credits a letter from Boschini for most of his information on the life of Fialetti. Boschini, in his own account in La carta del navegar pitoresco writes about Fialetti’s drawing books: “Libri che insegna el vero desegnare./ Con regole e invencion de semetria,/ Che con facilità la bona via / Insegna, a che se vuol
As with paintings, one might look for drawn studies relating to the completed drawing book prints. Few preparatory drawings for *libri da disegnare* have been discovered. The majority of surviving drawings related to drawing book prints depict fully-finished heads. Whether an artist realized a project of his own invention, or else an engraver (or etcher) produced prints based on the drawings of another artist changes the type of evidence we might hope to find. In the former circumstance, especially for sheets of facial features or body parts, artists appear not to have kept such drawings. In the latter case, where a printmaker would be hired to make prints after existing drawings by another living artist, such as the case with both Giacomo Franco’s engravings after designs by Palma il Giovane or Oliviero Gatti’s engravings after Guercino, we might expect – and indeed we do find – a few surviving drawings, likely created specifically as models for prints in *libri da disegnare*. In addition, for a project created after the death of a famous artist, such as the *Scuola Perfetta*, we find engravings based on drawings made without the knowledge that they would be used for such a project. Laura Donati has identified a number of drawings by both Agostino and Annibale that are connected to prints in the *Scuola Perfetta*.330 For example, a drawing at Chatsworth attributed to perfectionar.” Marco Boschini, *La carta del navegar pitoresco: Edizione critica con la "Breve instruzione" premessa alle "Ricche minere della pittura veneziana,"* Ed. Anna Pallucchini (Venice and Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966) 503.

330 In addition Laura Donati has also identified drawings by Rosso Fiorentino, Pontormo, and Parmigianino that served as models for the same series. See Laura Donati, “Proposte per una datazione della Scuola perfetta: le serie incisorie nelle raccolte romane,” *Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte*, 57 (III Serie, XXV, 2002) 323-344. There is also a drawing in the collection of the Fondazione Cini *Studi di Cani: Testa di cavallo* (Fiocco, Inv. 30469, verso), catalogued as Northern Italian, that appears to be a study (in reverse) for *Study of dogs; Head of a horse* (B 74). See Giuseppe Pavonello, *I disegni del professore: la raccolta Giuseppe Fiocco della Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venice: Marsilio, 2005) Cat. no. 42. Two drawings, both in pen and brown ink with traces of black and red chalk, by Agostino Carracci (or school of) in the Musée des beaux-arts de Lyon: *Trois profils de femmes tournés ver la gauche*
Annibale Carracci, *Head of a Young Girl Looking Downward* (dated on the basis of style to 1585, Figure 4.1), is almost certainly the model for an engraving of a young girl (Figure 4.2) in the *Scuola Perfetta*.\(^{331}\) A date so far before the printing of the series makes it unlikely that Annibale created the drawing as part of a drawing book project. Other Carracci drawings were used selectively as models for the engravings. A sheet of various studies by Agostino Carracci in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.\(^{332}\) *Study of a Man’s Head*, provided a model for a male head seen in profile in the *Scuola Perfetta*. A print based on a head that was part of a busy sheet of studies speaks against any thought that the drawing was made as a model for a proposed engraving.

Two plates from the *Scuola Perfetta* are clearly based on drawings by Michelangelo, one of which is found today in the collection of Christ Church, Oxford (Figure 3.33).\(^{333}\) These Michelangelo drawings, as well as a number of Carracci drawings from the 1580s that appear to have been models for engravings in the *Scuola Perfetta*, existed well before the publication of the printed series were not created as preparatory studies for any drawing book. I will discuss these in more detail later in this chapter. Some scholars believe that Ludovico brought drawings by Agostino with him to


\(^{332}\) Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. KdZ 23295

\(^{333}\) Oxford, Christ Church, Inv. 0068.
Rome after his cousin’s death in 1602 and that some of these drawings ended up in the series.  Again, all of these are cases of the use of drawings, especially in the *Scuola Perfetta*, which were not originally intended for printed drawing books.

A number of drawings by Guercino survive that were used in preparing engravings for drawing books. Scholars have identified examples of characteristic studies of heads by the famous artist that are directly related to finished prints. Whether or not the artist created all of these drawings for translation into prints is not known. They may have been typical of the drawings Guercino made for his studio or even for personal use. In the case of the drawing book engraved by Oliviero Gatti in 1619, it is possible to show a direct relationship. Two studies, a more finished one in Windsor and an earlier detail study at the Ashmolean, exist for the frontispiece of this publication (Figure 4.3). In 2008, Christies sold a Guercino drawing that is clearly a study for a sheet from the 1619 book (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). It is likely that other drawn sheets related to this project still exist, possibly hidden in boxes of “school” works or written off as copies after the master.

A highly finished pen and ink drawing by Palma il Giovane, today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, represents one of the clearest known connections between a drawn study and an engraving in a drawing book (Figure 4.6). The drawing is a model in reverse for an engraved sheet in Giacomo Franco’s *De Excellentia et Nobilitate*

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334 Bohlin, 57. Also see Donati.
336 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 1975.131.41
Delineationis Libri Duo (Figure 4.7). It appears that Franco completed the engraved sheets, while Palma il Giovane produced a number of the etched examples. If drawings survived from the preparatory phases of the project, they would most likely reflect examples done by Palma for Franco to follow for an engraved sheet. Since Palma would have directly translated his own designs into the etching, he would not necessarily need to make a full model in reverse. Franco, the engraver, followed the drawing faithfully, as one might expect in a project based on the work of a well-known master, such as Palma. Considering Palma’s direct involvement with the project, we can assume that he collaborated closely with Franco. Indeed, we find more evidence of a close relationship in this case in an example in the Louvre in what appears to be a pre-publication state of Etched Study Sheet of Legs (Figures 4.8 and 4.9), with corrections noted in dark brown ink. The sheet lacks Giacomo Franco’s name in the lower left corner, so it represents a state before publication. For the most part, the corrections, or maybe it is better to call them additions, take the form of crosshatched shading, both on the limbs and around them. The verso of this sheet features drawings attributed to the circle of Palma, and the style of the crosshatching resembles that found in other pen and ink drawings by the artist.  

It follows that Palma made the corrections himself. It is enlightening that these notes for potential changes were made on an etching-- not on one of the engraved sheets from the book. Palma il Giovane made and signed a small number of etchings, and those in the Giacomo Franco book, although they are not signed by Palma, appear, on the basis of stylistic comparison, to be by his hand. The fact that the corrections marked in ink

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337 See for example Uffizi # 12851.F.r and # 13082.F.r.
never made it onto the published engraved sheet suggests that the artist may not have had the final word in his project with Franco.\textsuperscript{338}

For a drawing book composed entirely by one artist, different types of preparatory drawings might exist than for an example like the one discussed above, where one artist engraved designs by another. If we consider what some of these sheets might have looked like, groupings of body parts, of facial features, either taken from a number of sheets or parts of sheets, it should not be surprising that scholars have not identified any preparatory drawings related to Fialetti’s etchings. Either the artist etched his examples directly onto the plate, because such “elementary” examples would have been fairly straightforward exercises for him, or else the sketches he used as guidance were of the type that rarely comes down to us – brief notations of eyes, ears, or feet.\textsuperscript{339}

Finally, with the exceptions of Palma il Giovane and Guercino, the artists responsible for \textit{libri da disegnare} do not have well-documented or securely attributed groups of drawings. As discussed by David Rosand, the first drawing books, those by Odoardo Fialetti and Palma il Giovane/Giacomo Franco, came out of Venice. This artistic center was not traditionally associated with an intense focus on draftsmanship. One of these projects, that of Fialetti, can be tangentially connected to the Carracci

\textsuperscript{338} Louvre, Inv. 5233, verso. The recto of this sheet features drawings attributed to the circle of Palma il Giovane. There is also a drawing, \textit{Female Head in Profile and Three Male Heads}, in the collection of the Biblioteca Reale in Turin (Inv. No. 16082 D. C.), related to the third sheet of \textit{De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo}. Gianni Carlo Sciolla, \textit{Da Leonardo a Rembrandt: Disegni della Biblioteca Reale di Torino} (Turin: Allemanni, 1990) Cat. 59.

\textsuperscript{339} While the longstanding myth that etching was simply drawing on copper, and thus any artist could pick up a burin and become a printmaker has been well refuted in Madeleine Viljoen’s essay “Drawing and Etching in Early Modern Europe,” in the case of simpler material such as figural study sheets in \textit{libri da disegnare} etched by proficient artists like Fialetti, the ability to go between media may have applied. However, with such little material surviving, it is hard to state this with confidence. Viljoen’s essay is found in \textit{The Early Modern Painter Etcher}, Ed. Michael Cole (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006) 53-73.
Academy in Bologna, a group known for its focus on drawing in artist education. We cannot be certain that Fialetti actually frequented the Accademia degli Incamminati, and we do not have any securely attributed drawings to use as evidence for the connection. In most cases, with few attributable works it is difficult to connect preparatory sketches to drawing books or to other printed works by the same artists. Evidence concerning the working process for the artists who etched and engraved drawing books is decidedly thin, but by closely considering the various forms that the works took, we may be able to gain another means of understanding the impetus behind their publication.

Books

Of the four main categories of *libri da disegnare*, that of the book, a project sold with a title page and featuring consistent contents, is the most straightforward. In all cases in this category, except for those books after Guercino, one artist etched or engraved the prints, which represent his own compositions. Artists published some of these titles themselves, such as the first edition of Valesio’s book, Oliviero Gatti’s prints after Guercino, and all of Mitelli’s projects. Others, such as those by Fialetti and Stefano della Bella, resulted from a collaboration between a well-known commercial publisher and a printmaker. Print publishers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Michael Bury aptly points out, do not always fit easily into our modern concept of the role of

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341 The Bolognese artist Giovanni Giuseppe Mitelli is the only other artist involved in the creation of a drawing book for whom we have a significant number of drawings. As I discuss in more detail in Chapter 2, his drawing books appear to be self-published and a small sketchbook by the artist, containing a number of drawings relatable to his various projects, survives in Bologna at the Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio.
publisher. There was not even a specific word for the occupation of publisher at the time; contemporary documents describe figures like Antonio Lafreri as either a printer or a print dealer (stampatore or mercante di disegni).\textsuperscript{342} A print publisher could commission prints from independent artists, print plates for an engraver, or go into partnerships with other publishers to lessen risk or increase his stock.\textsuperscript{343} In the case of Fialetti’s books, it seems probable that the artist approached the publishers, as his prints are unlike any others published by the Sadelers: they are the only non-reproductive works to come out of that enterprise.\textsuperscript{344} For other projects, such as those of Valesio or Mitelli, where no publisher’s name is connected with the sheets, it appears that the relationship between the artist and the unknown publisher allowed the former to maintain possession of the plates. As we will see, ownership of these matrices was not static, and in our first example, that of Valesio, the contents of the work might vary as plates changed hands.

\textbf{Giovanni Luigi Valesio.} \textit{I primi elementi del disegno in gratia de i principianti nell'arte della pittura} (Bologna, 1606 – 1612).

Dating Valesio’s \textit{I primi elementi del disegno in gratia de i principianti nell'arte}


della pittura (Figure 4.10) is challenging. Valesio dedicated this work in octavo to Orazio Spinola, and the frontispiece of the first edition bears Spinola’s name and title as cardinal. We can conclude that the project was printed between 1606, the date of Spinola’s elevation to cardinal, and 1612, the year of Spinola’s death. By use of stylistic comparison, Veronika Birke has further refined the date of Valesio’s project to 1606-08, by linking the “dough-like spirals” of the first edition title page to other Valesio title pages from the same period. Kenichi Takahashi, the author of a recent monograph on Valesio, proposes the date range of 1606-1616 for the first edition of the drawing book. I lean towards a wider span than Birke; her stylistic argument for dating the work is not entirely convincing.

Valesio’s first edition consisted of a title page, the dedication to Spinola, and eighteen engravings of anatomical examples and heads of men and women of varying ages. The body of the sequentially numbered project begins on plate 3 with a sheet, entirely engraved in outline, depicting, from right to left, the process of drawing a female face in profile (Figure 4.11). The right-hand side of the print features four outline studies of parts of the face: two sets of lips, an eye in profile, and a nose. It is possible that it was

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345 For the second edition, the publisher Andrea Vaccaro renumbered and re-cut some of Valesio’s engravings and augmented the original group of prints. See Donati, 339 and Kenichi Takahashi, Giovanni Luigi Valesio: ritratto de l’instabile academico incaminato (Bologna: CLUEB, 2007) 35-36.
346 Donati, 339.
348 Takahashi, 71.
349 A survey of a number of prints by Valesio does not convince me that “dough like spirals” only exist in works from 1606-1608. For example a title page from 1620, Frontispiece of an Officio of Cardinal Ludovisi, features similar rounded decorative forms. Her idea could in theory place Valesio’s drawing book before either Fialetti’s or the Scuola Perfetta but with no secure dating for Valesio’s book, Fialetti’s Il Vero Modo (1608) remains the earliest dated drawing book.
reversed from a drawing in the printing process, but since Valesio engraved the plates himself, one would think that he would have anticipated this reversal, so it may be intentional. At the right, the artist has depicted a quill that draws a line from the top of the forehead down to the bridge of the nose. With each “step” to the left (five in total) the face becomes more complete. It is not a perfect progression, since the outlines do not always match up as they do in Fialetti’s examples, which form the closest comparison to Valesio’s engraving (B 206, Figure 4.12). Valesio’s step-by-step sheet is the only such example in this project. Plate 4 is a mixed group of completed facial features. The next group (plates 5-9) of images features three versions, from outline to fully shaded, each of a different facial feature. After these typical ABCs of disegno, two plates (plates 10 and 11) show a profile view in three stages of completion, followed by four engravings of heads in different positions (12-16). The last group features sheets of hands and feet (17-20).

Valesio moved to Rome between 1620 and 1622 to enter the service of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi.350 Once in Rome he may have sold or somehow traded his plates to Andrea Vaccaro (active 1595-1627), who published his own edition of the prints c. 1621 – 27.351 Vaccaro commissioned a new title plate with a dedication to the poet Romolo Paradisi (Figure 4.13). His alterations, which appear to have occurred with the continued involvement of Valesio, included more significant changes to the book. Vaccaro renumbered the plates from Valesio’s original project, reworked a number of

350 Takahashi, 36.
351 Takahashi gives the dates for the series published by Vaccaro as c. 1621 to 1633 but as Vaccaro died in 1627, the series would have been published before that date. For a brief biography and relevant bibliography see Bury, 234.
prints, added prints, and cancelled Valesio’s monogram. The majority of plates (see for example B 61, Figure 4.14) have been altered (compare to Bologna No. 11896, Figure 4.15). The Vaccaro edition includes four engravings not found in the first edition: *Arm of a Man, Represented in Draft and Shaded Sketches* (plate 20); *Two Studies of Legs, One in Kneeling Position and Two Feet* (Plate 21); *Sleeping Putto with Torch and Putto with Flowers* (plate 22); and *Two Male Torsos, One Headless* (plate 23). Bartsch nos. 58 through 68 are more heavily shaded than they were in the first edition, and in some cases include additions to the plate. In the first edition, *A Head of a Man in Profile Drawn Three Times Varioush Shaded* (B 58) shows three profiles. The version of the engraving from the Vaccaro edition (not in Bartsch but mentioned in the Commentary Volume, Plate 11) features an additional profile of a women squeezed in between the first and second male profiles (Figure 4.16). The title plate of the Vaccaro version credits Valesio as the inventor, and there is no stylistic reason to ascribe the engravings to anyone else.

In both known copies of this edition, the sheets of facial features, including the step-by-step profile, are no longer present. Sometime after 1635, Giovanni Battista De Rossi printed another edition of the work, simply adding his name to the extant title plate. While De Rossi’s modification was minor, a number of later editions illustrate how significant changes to a book could be.

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352 *Five Heads of Animals* (plate 24 in the Vaccaro edition) is not present in Bartsch’s version of the series. A copy after the first state of the Valesio book (combined with copies after a number of Fialetti plates) sold my the Remondini in 1747 as *Prima Elementa Picturae Idest Modus facilis delineandi omnes humani corporis partes* includes a plate representing an earlier state of *Five Heads of Animals*.

353 Consagra identifies the date that Giovanni Battista de Rossi moves to the Piazza Navona from the Piazza della Pace as 1635. Francesca Consagra, “The De Rossi Family Print Publishing Shop: A Study in the History of the Print Industry in Seventeenth-Century Rome,” Ph.D. diss. (Johns Hopkins University, 1992) 149.
An engraving in Vaccaro’s edition (Bologna Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, not in Bartsch) is identical to one in the copy of the Scuola Perfetta at the Bibliothèque National de France, Arm of a Man, Represented in Draft and Shaded Sketches (Figure 4.17, Agostino Carracci: B 48); determining which project came first has proved difficult.\textsuperscript{354} The measurements of the platemarks are identical, and there are no discernable differences even in areas such as shading or decorative details. Donati, the only scholar to tackle this issue, suggests that Valesio copied the Carracci print of the two arms.\textsuperscript{355} However, upon close inspection of an impression of the engraving, catalogued as Valesio, in Bologna (Gabinetto Nazionale, Inv. 11906) and another one bound as part of the series of the Scuola Perfetta in the Bibliothèque National, I no longer think that these engravings were printed from different plates. In Valesio’s original version, an example of which is in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the engravings are numbered and contain the artist’s monogram.\textsuperscript{356} The Arm of a Man, Represented in Draft and Shaded Sketches is not present in this edition. An impression of this print, with the number “20” in the lower right corner of the plate, is included in the Bologna copy of Valesio’s drawing book, most likely the edition of Andrea Vaccaro. The number “20,” present in the lower right hand corner is also present in the impression of the print at the Bibliothèque National, but in Paris it does not relate to the position of the plate in the series.

\textsuperscript{354} This print appears to be based upon an engraving left unfinished at the time of Agostino Carracci’s death and eventually finished by Francesco Brizio in Rome. See B 48. For plate given to Valesio in Bologna, catalogue, Inv. 11906. Veronika Birke, the scholar responsible for the Commentary on the volume of The Illustrated Bartsch that includes Valesio also attributes these prints, found both in Bologna at the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe and in the collecton of the Vatican: Bologna (PN 11893, Bertelà 949); Vatican (Cicognara IV, 364, int.1) to Valesio.\textsuperscript{355} Donati, 338.\textsuperscript{356} Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Cicognara III 363.
As I will discuss later in this chapter, the Vaccari listed a drawing book after the Carracci in their inventory of 1614. These plates appear to have ended up in the possession of Stefanoni at a later date, so it is possible that the second publisher included this sheet, which is related to an engraving by Agostino Carracci, in his libro da disegnare after the Carracci. These observations do not clarify the dating of the first editions of either Valesio’s book or of the Scuola Perfetta. They do hint, however, at a use of one plate from a drawing book in two separate works and highlight the shifting forms drawing books could take throughout the course of their publication by different printers.

**Palma il Giovane and Giacomo Franco, De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo** (Giacomo Franco: Venice, 1611).

Reprinted as *Regolare per imparar a designar* (Venice: Marco Sadeler, 1636) and (Venice: Stefano Scolari a San Zulian, 1659).

In 1611, the prolific printmaker and publisher Giacomo Franco – most famous today for his book depicting the costumes and lifestyles of Venetian women, the *Habiti delle donne Venetiane* -- published a drawing book of quarto size based on the drawings of Palma il Giovane (Figure 4.18). As the title states, the work consists of two books: one of examples forming a drawing manual and the other of prints by Battista Franco depicting antique subjects. The second book is rarer than the first and a copy of the first edition of the work in the Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi may represent the most complete surviving form of the project. The frontispiece of the second book gives the title, *Camei triumphi, ornamenti, animali*, as well as the publisher’s information.

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357 Uffizi, Inv. No. 103540.N.A.
Later publishers included this frontispiece, in a second state with the text erased, in reprints of *De Excellentia*, titled *Regolare per imparar a designar*. The engravings after Battista Franco depict ancient Roman gems and reliefs in 37 plates printed on 28 pages. David Rosand suggests that the rare Battista Franco images after antiquity “were intended to provide, then, a collection of motifs that would serve to introduce the young artist to the accomplishments of the ancients.” They could have served as a complementary set of images to the books of studies of parts of the body. The engravings after Battista Franco depict whole figures and many different types of ancient costume, both of which artists could use as models for study or to incorporate into compositions.

Neither the engravings after antique cameos not the Latin preface were widely reproduced. While the first edition of the drawing book is rare, there are a number of later editions that survive. Such later editions do not contain an introduction. The title pages of the first edition was recut by one of the later publishers, Marco Sadeler, maintaining the lower image of the personified figure of *Disegno* but printing a plate above it with the new title and publisher’s info, printed the first book in a Venetian edition of 1636 (Figure 4.20).

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358 Christopher Witcombe is confused about this work. Witcombe correctly observes that Giacomo Franco must have received a *privilegio* for prints after drawings of the human body by Palma il Giovane. This much is evident from the inscriptions on the etched plates that state “Iacobus Franco formis con Priuilegio.” Franco also claims *privilegio* for the prints by his father on the titlepage: “Venetijs aput Jacobus Franco ad signum solis con Privilegio.” Witcombe confuses Palma’s involvement with Fialetti’s book and suggests that Franco’s *Regole* were first published as *Il Vero Modo*. Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 128.

The most striking aspect of Franco’s project is the crowded nature of the sheets of studies of parts of the body in first book. Although the first etched sheet contains an orderly group of individual facial features (Figure 4.21), there is a much larger number of studies on one plate – 35 in all – than in any sheet by Fialetti or in the *Scuola Perfetta*. The features are not organized in clean rows or columns which gives the sheet a slightly disordered appearance. The next sheets are crowded with heads of men and women but are still legible. To the modern viewer, the sheets that come after are even more jumbled and full. Etched sheets of hands, feet, arms, legs, and torsos in varying degrees of finish appear to swim amongst each other, writhing and turning in undefined space (Figure 4.22). In *De Excellentia* the first thirteen plates are etched, while the next twelve are engraved. The latter group is clearly the work of Giacomo Franco after designs by Palma il Giovane as the latter was not trained as an engraver. The first group of etchings is stylistically similar to the work of Palma il Giovane, but the plates are not signed. As I discussed in Chapter 2, the introductory text barely refers to the images and is not reproduced in later editions. The prints are left to stand alone as a teaching tool.

**Oliviero Gatti after Guercino, *Esemplari per Disegno*, 1619.**

Oliviero Gatti’s (Piacenza 1579-1648) twenty-two engraved plates after drawings by Guercino represent the first drawing book based on the famous painter and draftsman from Cento (Figure 4.27).³⁶⁰ The circumstances of the creation of this octavo drawing

³⁶⁰ We know little about the early life of Oliviero Gatti except that by 1596 he was living in Bologna and working/studying in the ambit of Agostino Carracci. After Agostino’s death, Gatti moved his activities to the Accademia dei Mirandoli (also in Bologna), where he was a student of Valesio. In 1618, the Priest Antonio Mirandola (brother of Domenico Maria Mirandola, the head
book come down to us through Malvasia’s *Felsina Pittrice*; although all of Malvasia’s
details may not be trustworthy, the entire account provides important evidence not only
about Guercino’s involvement with the project, but it may also help us think about how
other *libri da disegnare* came about. Malvasia tells us that Antonio Mirandola, a famous
and outspoken patron of Guercino, wanted the artist to start an art academy in Cento,
modeled on the one he knew while growing up in Bologna. Born Francesco Mirandola,
the son of the sculptor Giovanni Pedruzzi (called Mirandola after his hometown), he took
the name Antonio upon taking orders. The family moved to Bologna, where they lived in
a house that shared space with a nascent art academy – that of Pietro Faccini, who had
left the Carracci academy to start his own. Antonio’s brother Domenico Maria followed
their father in becoming a sculptor and took over Faccini’s academy after the artist’s
death in 1602. Malvasia claims that Antonio Mirandola, whose interest in art was deeply
rooted even as he pursued his career in the Catholic Church, took a young Guercino to
Bologna to visit the Accademia dei Mirandoli. Denis Mahon argues for the validity of
the claim on the basis of the existence of drawings made by Guercino early in his career,
which copy Faccini drawings that would have been found in his ex-academy.\(^{361}\)

Malvasia wrote that in 1618, at the request of his patron Padre Mirandola,
Guercino put together a group of drawings of anatomies and *scorci* of his own design
intended to instruct beginning draftsman.\(^{362}\) Guercino “made examples, in pen and ink,

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\(^{361}\) Mahon 1968, note 29. See also, Denis Mahon, “Notes on the Young Guercino” *Burlington

\(^{362}\) Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, 259. See also David Stone, “Theory and Practice in Seicento Art: the
Example of Guercino,” Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 1989). Stone cites Malvasia’s account
of Guercino’s drawing book as falling under events said to take place in 1618, Stone 270.
of eyes, mouths, hands, feet, arms, and torsos to teach beginners in the art of drawing.”

This collection of drawings passed to Padre Mirandola’s colleague Padre Pietro Martire Pederzani, who took them along when he and Guercino made a brief trip to Venice in late 1618. In Venice, according to Malvasia, Guercino and Pederzani met Palma il Giovane. Malvasia claims that Palma praised Guercino’s booklet of drawings so highly that he embarrassed the shy Guercino, and that Palma even thought Guercino a better draftsman than himself. As David Stone points out, Guercino and Pederzani may have gone to Venice partly to consult with Palma about the publication of a drawing book in the tradition of Fialetti and Giacomo Franco/Palma’s projects, both of which Guercino must have consulted when designing his own. Since Palma was involved with both of these influential projects, he would have been an ideal contact in Venice. Malvasia ends his account by telling the reader that Mirandola had the book engraved by M. Oliviero Gatti and that it was dedicated to “Serenissimo Ferdinando Duca di Mantoa.”

Believing that Palma il Giovane really thought Guercino superior to himself in drawing is not necessary in order for us to gain useful insight from the story. Malvasia

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363 Malvasia (1841) II, 259. “Fece ad istanza del R. P. Antonio Mirandola un’esemplare a penna con occhi, bocche, teste, mani, piedi, braccia, e torsi per insegnare a principianti dell’arte.”
364 Ibid.
365 Stone, 274-276.
366 “Fece ad istanza del R. P. Antonio Mirandola un’esemplare a penna con occhi, bocche, teste, mani, piedi, braccia, e torsi per insegnare a principianti dell’arte. Ebbe questo libro D. Pietro Martire Pederzani Canonico Regolare dal P. Mirandola, e portollo a Venezia, andando seco anco l’autore. Quivi successse un bellissimo caso, poiché avendo il padre Pederzani sudetto trovato il Palma pittores, gli mostrò il libro, con dire che l’avea fatto un principiante, che desiderava stare sotto la sua disciplina per imparare a Venezia; ma il libro appena fu veduto dal Palma, che pro(s)uppe in queste parole: molto più di me ne sa questo discepolo; parole che detta alla presenza del Sig. Barbieri, ch’era l’idea della modestia lo fecero arrossire, onde fu conoscuito dal Palma, e da lui molto accarezzato, ed onorato; e gli fece vedere l’opere famosissimo Tiziano, del quale. Il Sig. Gio. Francesco fu sempre mail inamorato, portandoto scolpito nel cuore per l’idea de’pittori. Il padre Mirandola fece intagliare il libro a M. Oliviero Gatti, e fu dedicato al Serenissimo Ferdinando Duca di Mantoa…” Malvasia (1841) 259.
recorded, possibly based on knowledge gained from letters written by Mirandola that have been lost, that Guercino made pen and ink drawings of elements of the face and body. No drawings that can be traced to this part of the project are extant. The only drawings known today that relate to the *Esemplari per Disegno* are studies of heads.

The story may also help us understand something of the manner in which a drawing book might come into existence. When I had not been able to identify any preparatory studies related to sheets of eyes or ears from any known drawing book, I began to wonder whether -- in the case of a project *after* drawings by a well-known artist/draftsman -- the instigator of the project, the publisher or possibly a patron, might simply ask an engraver to create such a group of plates without providing models drawn by the more famous artist. The engraver might well have been responsible for designing those himself. For example, for engravings of facial features in the *Scuola Perfetta*, such as Bartsch nos. 1-4, no close sheets by the Carracci exist.\(^{367}\)

In the case of Gatti’s book, David Stone makes a strong argument for Guercino’s design of the plates of facial features as well as the busts (Figure 4.28). He connects the types of ears in the engravings to similar features shown in Guercino’s 1617 *Susannah and the Elders*, today in the Museo del Prado (Figures 4.29 and 4.30).\(^{368}\) While there is no direct evidence regarding the first publisher of the project, it is possible, considering the role Malvasia ascribes to him in the creation of the drawing book, that Mirandola paid

\(^{367}\) It is possible to make such a sheet by taking individual features from a group of drawn sheets but I think it more likely that the engraver would design such a print themselves.

\(^{368}\) Stone, 276
for the printing of the work. Also, we do not know when the plates changed hands, but by 1648 the Roman De Rossi family lists them in its possession. The popularity of the work at this later date is indisputable. Pierre Mariette the Elder commissioned a copy of the work to be printed in Paris in 1642, and another copy was engraved by Bernardino Curti in Bologna in 1650. Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi acquired the plates in the division of the estate in 1648, and sometime afterwards he added the inscription “Questo e il vero originale/ Si stampa per Gio. Giacomo Rossi in Roma alla Pace” to differentiate his version from the copy, with engravings by Bernardino Curti, published by V. Serena.

Giuseppe Caletti, *Esemplare per facilitare gli amatori del Disegno di Signore Giosepppe Cremonese* (Venice, Catarin Doino, c. 1625-1630).

A number of prints by Giuseppe Caletti (called Il Cremonese, c. 1595 – c. 1666), examples of which exist in Bologna, resemble isolated images from a drawing book: facial features, hands, feet, and heads in profile. Until recently, these etchings appeared to be part of a fragmentary group, but in 1996 two Italian scholars discovered a numbered booklet of etchings by Caletti, complete with title plate, in a private

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369 The frontispiece of the first edition does not offer any information about the publisher. Guercino may also have published the work himself.
370 “22 – Pezzi del libro del Guercino da disegnare,” Consagra, Appendix 3, 505
371 Consagra, 286-287, note 233 and Appendix 3.
372 Ibid.
373 G. Gaeta Bertelà, *Incisori Bolgnesi ed Emiliani del sec. XVII*, (Bologna: Associazone per le Art “Francesco Francia,” 1973) nos. 62-73: PN 22863, PN 22864, and PN 22866. Each of these sheets features two etchings printed from separate plates. Although the prints of body parts are rare, other prints from the series as identified by Barboni and Cortona, are present in the British Museum.
Valeria Barboni and Enrico Cortona’s rediscovered booklet is small in size, an octavo volume, and it contains a title page and thirteen etchings, one of which, an image of Judith, like the title had, never before been published by scholars (Figure 4.23). The title page definitively connects the sequentially numbered prints contained within (the ninth print is omitted) to one project. Through the dedication and the publisher we can arrive at an approximate date of publication for the project as the second half of the 1620s. Roberto Canonici, the dedicatee, was a Ferrarese art collector who died in 1631. Catarin Doino was a Venetian-born print publisher, who became a citizen of Ferrara in 1633, stating that he had lived in that city for twelve years. Until gaining citizenship, he had to retain his printing shop in Venice in order to be able to sell his work. Barboni and Cortona make a strong argument for the *Esemplari per facilitar gli amatori del Disegno* originating at a time when Doino was shuttling between the two cities and at a time when Caletti had developed a confident and characteristic etching style. Some of these etchings, such as the examples in Bologna, had their numbers burnished off at what we now know, after Barboni and Cortona’s rediscovery of an earlier edition, to be a later date. The *Esemplari per facilitar gli amatori del Disegno* commences in the order that we have come to expect: first parts of the face, followed by hands and feet, and then heads. It departs from this format in the last sheets, where it features full compositions.

Unlike Fialetti’s etchings or those in the *Scuola Perfetta*, Caletti’s prints are not as carefully ordered or as consciously framed. This may tell us something about Caletti’s working process. To my mind, these sheets make this a drawing book as well as a

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375 Barboni and Cortona, 130.
collection of subjects favored by a particular artist (i.e. something he would use to promote himself, as suggested by Barboni and Cortona). Two examples in the beginning of the work, plates 5 and 8, feature a central image but also include a peripheral, truncated image (Figures 4.24 and 4.25). Plate 5 shows the sole of a right foot, but above this main form Caletti etched a nose and a mouth (the nose is truncated at the bridge by the edge of the plate). Plate 8 depicts a profile view of the bust of a young woman. In the upper left hand corner of the plate floats the cut-off form of a lower face. The framing of these two plates, and of the first seven plates of the sequence as a group, suggests that Caletti may have begun working on larger plates. He created a “sheet of studies” on the copper, but then either the artist or the publisher decided that the plates should be cut down, and someone burnished out some forms, while leaving others behind.

Such etchings resembling sheets of studies are uncommon in Italy, and indeed in all of Europe. Rembrandt scholars often point to the Dutch artist as the originator of

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376 There are two etched sheets included as works of Palma il Giovane in the Illustrated Bartsch, that resemble plates from a drawing book. They are quite rare, and I have yet to see any of them in person. One etched sheet in Milan at the Raccolta A. Bertarelli, is related by Marinella Pigozzi to the first part of the 1611 Giacomo Franco drawing book. (Pigozzi, 26) Another print, a copy of which is found at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute (1987.49), is a sheet of studies of heads with three eyes, an ear, and a lower face in profile placed at random throughout. I have never seen either of these sheets included in the first or any subsequent editions of the Palma/Giacomo Franco drawing book, and I believe that it is not in fact related to the Giacomo Franco project. They are both horizontal sheets rather than vertical, as are all the other sheets of studies in the book. Rather, these two sheets are either part of a lost project or more likely experiments in less formal study sheets. Considering for a moment the possibility of an earlier project involving Palma il Giovane, Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe recorded an application for a privilegio made by Giacomo Franco for a drawing book in 1586, but upon personally checking the records in the Archivio di Stato, it appears that Witcombe was confused. The only application from 1586 from Giacomo Franco is in fact for an image of the Madonna (which Witcombe records as the publisher’s first recorded request for a privilege). Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe,
the etched sheet of sketches meant for commercial distribution, such as *Studies of the Head of Saskia and Other Women*, 1636 (Figure 4.26). Stacey Sell identifies what she sees as possible precedents to Rembrandt’s etched sheets of studies in two engravings after Leonardo’s sketches of horses and on the versos of two plates featuring engravings by Annibale Carracci. These plates, today in the Calcografia Nazionale, show evidence of one of the Carracci trying out a burin or a style of hatching on the back of a plate. Only modern impressions are known from these plates. Later than both Caletti and Rembrandt, the latter of whom he was clearly imitating, Stefano della Bella in his *Recueil de diverses griffonnements et preuves deau forte* (Paris: F. Collignon, c. 1643-48) etched a number of plates with figures seemingly grouped haphazardly and even in some cases truncated by the end of the plate. Regardless, except for the examples of the Carracci plates, which were almost certainly unknown at the time, Caletti’s etchings predate all such etched sheets of sketches.

What could have inspired the artist to cut down his plates but not to burnish partial features from them? Since the plates are not all the same size, it is possible that Caletti started working on a number of larger plates featuring facial features and the other

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379 See Diane DeGrazia Bohlin. *Prints and Related Drawings of the Carracci Family: a Catalogue Raisonné* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1979) Nos. 6 and 10. Bohlin keenly observed that No. 6 appears to be a practice plate done after the print on the recto, while No. 10 more likely represents the artist experimenting with a burin before starting the engraving on the recto. Neither was intended for printing.

types of examples already associated with the *libro da disegnare*. Then, as his (or maybe a publisher’s) concept for the work changed, it evolved into a new type of drawing book, one featuring fully worked-up compositions.

Another unusual feature of this booklet, now that we know that the prints were published as a group, is the inclusion of several complex compositions, featuring full figures in front of finished backgrounds. The subject matter of these etchings, including Judith, David, Samson and Delilah, are examples of themes commonly painted by Caletti. Barboni and Cortona suggest that these sheets reveal the primary function of this printed drawing book. They argue that Caletti intended this project as an advertisement both of his skills and as samples of compositions for paintings.\(^{381}\) Considering the make-up of Caletti’s book, seven etchings could be viewed as examples for a beginner to copy, but they do not represent much of a system of instruction, while the other seven etchings provide fully realized compositions of biblical and genre scenes. Thus this project differs from those that came before.\(^{382}\) In a way, any printed project could serve as an advertisement of the artist’s compositional and printmaking skills. Prints (with a few specific exceptions) by their very nature reach a wider audience than painted works, especially if those works were in a private collection. Caletti’s book is unusual in its inclusion of such detailed full compositions, and it could have served as both an addition

\(^{381}\) Barboni and Cortona, 133 and 135.

\(^{382}\) Giacomo Franco and Palma il Giovane’s drawing book contained scenes from ancient cameos that could have served as examples for an artist wishing to represent antiquity. These compositions represent the designs of Giacomo’s father Battista and thus are proof of Franco’s engraving skill. *Interior Scene with a Sketching Class* (B 210) and *Studies of Human Proportion* (B 211), Fialetti’s two full page-compositions in *Il Vero Modo* provide the viewer with context about how drawing book images relate to artistic training. They do not appear to suggest anything except the legitimacy of the drawing book itself. Caletti’s completed compositions thus represent a variation from most other drawing book but what this means in terms of his personal goals for the project is not clear.
to a new genre of printed projects, the drawing book, and as an advertisement of his compositional skills. Caletti’s sheets, less structured or organized than the examples that came before him, may point to the circumstances of their creation. In this case, the appearance of the etched “study” sheets suggests that the project was not initially conceived of as a drawing book in the tradition of Fialetti’s books or of the *Scuola Perfetta*. Instead, it appears that Caletti could have had larger study sheets in mind initially. Whether these were intended as a new type of drawing aid or simply an exercise in etching, we cannot know.

**Francesco Curti, *Esemplare per li principianti del disegno* (Bologna, 1633).**

Francesco Curti’s sixteen engravings reproduce drawings by Guido Reni as well as prints based on Reni’s drawings. Published in Bologna in 1633 with a title page and dedication to Antonio Lignani, this project, *Esemplare per li principianti del disegno*, copies an earlier fragmentary drawing book, etched by an anonymous artist after designs by Reni (which I will discuss in the section on fragments). From a somewhat unusual initial series of eight prints of anatomical features and four loosely done heads, Francesco Curti’s engravings reflect the original group and add five additional prints, one of a head and one of a nude male torso. Vittorio Serena later printed an edition of the book from the original plates, and it is this edition that the Gio Giacomo De Rossi imported and sold.

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383 The book is mentioned by Malvasia in the section on engravings by Guido Reni, as “rintagliato poi dal Curti bolognese.” Malvasia (1841) I, 94.

384 I am only aware of two copies of this project. The Albertina has one supposedly complete set (17 prints), which I have not been able to see, while the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana has an incomplete set. I was able to view the Vatican copy but was not allowed to take any photos.
in his shops as the “libri di disignare [sic] di Guido.” This octavo work is rare, I know of only two copies, one in the Albertina and one, an incomplete group, in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

**Stefano Della Bella**

The Florentine artist Stefano della Bella’s (1610 – 1664) three etched drawing books date from the years he lived in France, but inasmuch as he spent most of his working career in Italy and his drawing books are part of the Italian tradition, even featuring an Italian title in one case, I believe that they should be considered here. In addition, the Roman firm of De Rossi imported and sold della Bella’s *Recueil de diverses pièces servant à l’art de portraiture*, a work printed in Paris by Francois Langlois. It is possible that della Bella was invited to Paris to fill a position opened by the death of Callot. The printmaker Remigo Cantagallina taught the Florentine artist, and because he worked in a similar style to that of Callot, della Bella’s hiring makes good sense. As an Italian artist he also would have been attractive to the print publishers of Paris as someone who could add to their stock of famous Italian genres such as series of *capricci* and drawing books. Della Bella etched works of both these genres numerous times while in France, including *Caprice Fait par de la Bella* (De Vesme 104-116), *Diversi capricci*

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385 Consagra, Appendix 4, 550. We can assume that these books are those printed by Serena as we find a more thorough note in the 1648 inventory stating that there were 2 “Libri da disegnare di Guido di Vittorio Sereno” in stock. Consagra, Appendix 3, 530.

386 Inventory of 1648 page 530 – “10 – Libri da disegnare Della Bella.” I can only assume that these books were printed by Langlois because evidence exists of Giovanni Giacomo deRossi trading with the Frenchman.
(De Vesme 128-151), and *Diverse Figure & Paesi Fatti per S. D. Bella* (De Vesme 165-172).

Pierre I Mariette published *I principii del disegno*, probably the earliest of della Bella drawing books, between 1641 and 1649. The work contains twenty-five etchings following a frontispiece showing two nude *putti* seated on the ground holding an open sketchbook (Figure 1.20). While the younger child draws in the book, the older one watches over his progress. On the ground in front of the *putti* rest two pieces of paper: the smaller one shows a sheet of studies of eyes and one face in profile; and the larger one provides the title and dedication of the work. Following the lead of the title page, the first sheets show outline examples of eyes, ears, mouths, and lower faces in profile. One exception (De Vesme 293) features a fully worked-up head in the style of Rembrandt above four depictions of eyes (Figure 4.31). Next appear sheets of ears, hands, and feet, followed by four etchings of groups of heads. The sequence ends with five single heads, each of which depicts a figure of a different age.

*Receuil de diverses pièces servant à l'art de portraiture*, published by François Langlois around 1647, is a larger project of thirty-eight etchings (Figure 4.32). Once again, it begins with an ornamental frontispiece followed by outlined examples of eyes in a number of views. The second plate (De Vesme 327) mixes one finished eye with two outline views; the next shows ears in varying degrees of finish, and the next five etchings

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387 The French publisher’s interest in commissioning a drawing book from an Italian artist may reflect amateur interest in drawing in Paris at the time. I will discuss this trend in the Conclusion of the dissertation. There are a number of drawings connected to *I principii del disegno*. See Anthony Blunt, *The drawings of G. B. Castiglione & Stefano Della Bella in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London: The Phaidon Press, 1954) Cat. Nos. 51, 52, 77 and 79.
depict hands and feet. After these groupings the work consists of with twenty-two plates of heads, the vast majority of which are fully finished, single head studies. One notable exception is X (De Vesme 348), where della Bella etched a child’s head from three different views: in profile, frontally, and in three-quarter view from the back. Although there are some examples of plates where outline examples are mixed with unrelated fully shaded ones, unlike the *Scuola Perfetta* or a number of books after Guercino, this drawing book does not break any examples down into degrees of finish.

Israel Henriette published della Bella’s final drawing book, *Livre pour apprendre à dessiner*, around 1650. This date suggests that the artist etched the work either shortly before leaving Paris or even after his return to Italy.388 *Livre pour apprendre à dessiner* consists of sixteen etchings, including a frontispiece that features a putto wearing a laurel wreath and seated in front of classical ruins, most recognizably a triumphal arch. On a rigid support he holds a piece of paper, on which he has drawn (he casually holds a quill in his left hand) two eyes, a mouth, ears, and a face in profile. The first two plates, as we have come to expect, feature parts of the face, while the next four show hands and feet, followed by studies of heads. This is the only printed drawing book by della Bella in which an example is shown both in outline and fully finished on the same plate: De Vesme 371 depicts the profile of a man wearing a helmet.

Clearly, in their general format, the drawing books of Stefano della Bella follow earlier precedents in the genre. Two feature title pages that pictorially refer to the

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388 Della Bella returned to Florence after anti Italian sentiment in Paris nearly resulted in his death. The Fronde (“slingshot”) lasted from 1648 to 1653. He was back in Florence by 1650. Since we know that at least two of his projects that were published by Israël Henriette, *Château Saint-Ange*, *Forteresse de Porto Longone*, and *Siège de Piombino* were etched after he had returned to Florence, it is likely that his last drawing book was also finished after he left France.
training of young artists by the means of the ABCs of disegno, a format that they follow in the subsequent etchings. In addition, a number of heads appear to reflect the style of Guercino, whose books we know to have been popular in Paris in the 1640s because of Mariette’s commission of a copy.

**Conclusion: Books**

With clearly defined title pages and even a standard ordering of plates, a number of drawing books maintained a more or less consistent form (at least within their early editions). With the exception of Oliviero Gatti’s engravings after Guercino, the projects I am calling books are examples of a single artist etching or engraving his own work. Gatti engraved a set group of drawings by Guercino, most likely in close contact with the artist, so it can be considered Guercino’s drawing book. With the exception of the one plate of studies of arms, related to Agostino’s *St. Jerome* (B 75), there is little reason to think that Valesio’s plates reproduce anything other than his own designs. In their titles these artists sought to represent themselves, their style, and their ideas about art education. Even in the case of della Bella, where I believe publishers were probably responsible for the genesis of his didactic projects the artist’s style and authorship are most important to the consumer. If the artists themselves can be seen as influential in the creation of these books, then we should also note the subsequent fluidity of the works in later editions. This is most exemplified here by later editions of Valesio, but we can recall the discussion of Ch. 2, where we saw accompanying texts to the books of both Fialetti and Giacomo Franco/Palma il Giovane disappear in later editions. The book, while
recognizable in its form, by no meant that a *libro da disegnare* was fixed over its later iterations.

**Series**

A series of drawing book prints may look much like the projects discussed above, but the key difference resides in the fact that the prints in a series do not follow an order as envisioned by an artist or even the original publisher. The contents of a series may vary and change from copy to copy, and not just from edition to edition, as is sometimes the case with books. A series is not fragmentary, though, as it is partly defined by the existence of a title plate. As I discuss below, collections of images sold with a title page are not new to the seventeenth century, but they are not common in the genre of printed drawing books. In fact, there is only one project in this study that can be conceived of this way, but because it was one of the earliest and most influential works in the genre, it warrants discussion in its own category.

**Scuola Perfetta**

Arguably the most famous of the *libri da disegnare*, the *Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo Humano Cavata dallo studio, e disegni de Carracci* (Rome: Pietro Stefanoni, 1609-1614) has a complicated publication history. A number of scholars consider this series of engravings, which consists of print primarily after works by the Carracci, to be the first printed drawing book. No dated versions of this series in
quarto exist before 1648, although it was certainly published before 1614, when it appears in the inventory of the Vaccari.\footnote{Roma prima di Sisto V: la pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577 / riprodotta dall’esemplare esistente nel Museo Britannico. Ed. Francesco Ehrle (Rome: Danesi, 1908) 65. Copies of a number of engravings from the series appeared in a Northern drawing book: J. Janssonius’s Diagraphia, siva ars delineatoria (Amsterdam, 1616). This work also copied etchings from Fialetti’s Il Vero Modo. For treatment of Janssonius’s drawing book as well as other Northern works that copy Fialetti and the Scuola Perfetta see Jaap Bolten, Method and Practice. Dutch and Flemish drawing books 1600-1750, Trans. Alexander Dietz. (Landau, Pfalz: PVA, 1985), in particular the section on “non-original drawing books” 119-157.}

Pietro Stefanoni is the publisher most often associated with the Scuola Perfetta, but he may have only been the first to publish the series of drawing book prints in Rome associated with that title. Beginning with Bartsch, a small number of scholars have proposed that what we call the Scuola Perfetta may be in fact a combination of two distinct groups of didactic drawing prints.\footnote{Adam von Bartsch. Le Peintre Graveur (Würzburg: Verlagsdruckerei Würzburg: J. Franks Antiquariat, 1920) 21 Vols., Vol. 18: 85-86; Bohlin, 57, N. 108; Donati, 343.} He suggests, based on a copy of the series today in the Bibliothèque National de France, that Stefanoni combined one group of prints engraved by Luca Ciamberlano (numbered 1-36 in the Paris copy, not all of which contain the artist’s monogram) with another engraved by Francesco Brizio.\footnote{Bartsch. Le Peintre Graveur, 85-86. Although an unknown number of engravers were involved in the creation of the Scuola Perfetta, Luca Ciamberlano and Francesco Brizio were responsible for the majority of prints. Both worked for a number of Roman publishers at the beginning of the seventeenth century, including Vaccaro and Stefanoni.} To these two groups Stefanoni added a number of other prints, probably from his extant stock. Bohlin and Donati support this conclusion.\footnote{Bohlin, 57; Donati, 343.} The 1614 stock inventory of the print publishers Andrea and Michelangelo Vaccaro features the first known reference to what would come to be known as the Scuola Perfetta: “Un libro d’imparare à designare di ventiquattro [24] pezzi, intagliata da Agostino Carracci, Luca Ciamberlano, et Guido
Bolognese.” No frontispiece for such a series is known, and this group of prints is difficult to identify securely. Donati suggests that Stefanoni came into possession of this series from Vaccaro and combined it with other prints to make a larger set and that the state with a title plate with the inscription “\textit{Alli nobilissimi amatori del disegno – Pietro Stefanoni dedica – P.S.F.}” already represents a later grouping. There are more than 24 prints that feature the LC monogram included in the \textit{Scuola Perfetta}, as recorded by Bartsch. Luca Ciamberlano appears to have worked for Stefanoni as well as for Vaccaro; therefore, it is more or less impossible to reconstruct the Vaccaro series. Stefanoni was almost certainly the originator of the best known title plate for the series, featuring a portrait of Mecenate. At a later date, a publisher inscribed this engraving with the famous title of the series, which was used by two subsequent publishers. From their inventories, it is clear that the De Rossi published an edition of the \textit{Scuola Perfetta} consisting of 42 plates around 1648. By the time of their next inventory, in 1653, the same series contained 25 plates. Sometime after this date, Luigi Neri acquired 28 plates from the De Rossi and added his name to the title. Luigi Fabri was the owner of another 24 plates, to which he gave the title \textit{Scuola perfetta per imparare a bene}

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\begin{itemize}
\item Ehrle, 65.
\item Donati, 343.
\item Gaïus Cilnius Maecenas was a counselor of the Emperor Augustus who was famous for his support and patronage of young poets including Virgil and Horace. His name came to be synonymous for an enlightened and generous patron of the arts in general.
\end{itemize}
designare tutto il corpo humano. Pope Clement XII acquired both these sets -- Neri’s in 1738 and Fabri’s sometime later -- in the process of forming the nucleus of what would become the Calcografia Nazionale (Figures 4.33 - 4.35). The work continued to be published by the Calcografia throughout the nineteenth century.

The Scuola Perfetta is not a clearly defined project, and it appears unlikely that the earliest publishers of the work sold it as a bound volume with a consistent order or contents. I do think it is safe to conclude that there may have been other groups of drawing book prints circulating around the time that Stefanoni first published the Scuola Perfetta. Whether this group of prints was absorbed into Stefanoni’s stock is not possible to discern from extant evidence. Even if Vaccaro’s inventory suggests a terminus ante quem of 1614, dating the series remains difficult. A number of scholars date it to 1602, the year of Agostino Carracci’s death. It is fairly certain that the project must originate after this date, since it is unlikely that Agostino would have allowed the series, which contains a number of prints after other artists, to be published during his lifetime. The inclusion of a number of prints not based on Carracci drawings, including plates after Michelangelo (B 64, 70, 71), Dürer (B 31) and Marcantonio Raimondi (B 79), would

398 Carlo Alberto Petrucci, Catalogo generale delle stampe tratte dai rami incisi posseduti dalla calcografia Nazionale (Roma: Ist. Poligr. Dello Stato, Libreria, 1953) 233, no. 1159. The series is listed as: “Anonimo, Scuola perfetta per imparare a ben disegnare tutto il corpo umano parte per parte, cavata dai disegni di Carracci, in 24 stampe compreso il frontespizio.” The copperplates from this series are listed as coming from the shop of Luigi Fabri. See, Calcografia Nazionale (2009) 309, no. 1159.
399 Bohlin even goes so far as to say that the series was “never actually published as a book.” De Grazia Bohlin, 57.
400 Most recently, Pigozzi is convinced by the date 1602 and even suggests that the project may have been started as early as 1599. Pigozzi (2001) 22. Donati credits De Grazia Bohlin as the first to connect this date to the first publication of the project: Donati, 325; Diane De Grazia Bohlin. Prints and Related Drawings of the Carracci Family: a Catalogue Raisonné (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1979) 57.
have been questionable in a series that declared, in its title, that it is based on the work of the Carracci. Donati, who has done the most comprehensive study of the dating of the series, argues furthermore that the work ought to postdate the death of Annibale Carracci in 1609. Her date range, then, of 1609-14 is the most convincing.

A number of existing copies of the work contain a print after Guido Reni (B 24), based on a painting, The Abduction of Helen (1630-31). The presence of the print after Guido Reni suggests that the series published under the group of the Scuola Perfetta evolved throughout the seventeenth century. Because the contents of the series varies from one surviving copy to the next, without the presence of a title plate, it is often difficult to determine the edition of a copy of the Scuola Perfetta. Publishers like Stefanoni may also have added prints already in their stock to the series in order to enlarge it or to sell stock that was languishing on the shelves. Two prints included in the Bibliothèque Nationale version of the Scuola Perfetta, B 76 and 77, appear to be just such an edition. Perspective Drawing of a Wide Street with Tall Houses (B 76, Figure 3.13) was engraved by Mario Cartari (fl. c. 1560 – d. 1620). In 1578 Cartari published a series of Roman views, and it is possible that this print was originally part of that work. A carved commemorative column, like that of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius, rises in the background. The engraving would be at home in a perspective manual. Below the image is text describing the one-point perspective system featured in the scene. B 77, Perspective View of a Countryside, in Draft Sketch (Figure 3.14), bears Stefanoni’s

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401 Donati, 342.
402 Ibid, 335.
403 The print is signed “Marius Cartarus inventor.” Cartari was an engraver who published his own engravings in the 1560s and 70s in Rome. He was in Naples from 1588. See Bury for a basic biography. Passavant describes the 1578 series, Vol. 6, p. 157
monogram across the bottom with no information about its maker. Within the engraving, sight lines are marked with letters that correspond to text below the image. Again, it appears that the publisher offered prints that were not by the Carracci as additions to the libro da disegnare in his inventory.

Another unusual feature of the set in the Bibliothèque Nationale is that it contains two engravings (B 28 and B 80) printed in black and red ink (Figure 4.36 and Figure 4.37). Both of these works, printed in one color of ink, exist in a number of surviving sets of the series. Bartsch 28 occurs two times in the Bibliothèque Nationale set: once in black ink and once in a combination of red and black inks. This is the only version I have seen with engravings printed in two colors, but the existence of such works suggests that it might have been possible to purchase more or less “fancy” versions of the series.

The set in the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., contains two plates printed in reddish brown ink. Such variations suggest a fairly fluid series of prints that could be customized to meet the needs of various customers.

It is also possible to see here some parallels between the publishing of this project and another famous Roman print series from the preceding century: Lafreri’s Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae. Although a title page appears to have been part of the

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404 For example, both engravings are found in the series in the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. and in Rome at the Istituto Nazionale della Grafica. The version of the series at the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. contains two engravings printed in brown ink, the Bibliothèque National de France’s copy features two engravings printed in a mixture of black and brown inks, while the impressions in Rome are printed in black ink only.

405 In the north, see Abraham Bloemaert’s drawing book (c. 1650), of which some copies feature hand colored prints that are duplicates of other engravings in the same work.

Scuola Perfetta from the beginning of its printing by Stefanoni, it might have been printed to bring together two distinct groups of prints in his stock. Once there was a title under which to group these prints -- some after the Carracci, others after Michelangelo, Parmigianino, and Correggio – the publisher could combine other relevant prints already in his stock. In the case of Lafreri’s famous series, it was not until various groups of prints bound after his title plate came to be catalogued in public collections that it became apparent that the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae should not be discussed as a book with set contents. Rather, these collections of prints are just that: collections put together for individual clients but sold with a title page commissioned by Lafreri by the 1570s.

Among the core group of engravings that publishers included in the earliest printings of the Scuola Perfetta, is a series of images of individual facial features, such as a sheet of eyes and one of ears. There are also sheets of the lower half of the face, hands, feet, legs, and complete heads and figures, often showing the same example in outline and then finished. For instance, B 9 (Figure 4.38) depicts a left ear in two ways: one in outline and the other fully realized with detail and shading. Other examples highlight specific details, such as the lower half of the face of a woman in profile in B 10 (Figure 4.39). In this engraving the chin, lips, and nose are shown in profile, both in outline and finished.

Bartsch was the first to suggest the possibility of two distinct series. Donati discusses the possibility but does not come to a decisive conclusion. Donati, 343. As we do not know of any series without the title plate devised by Stefanoni, this question will have to remain unresolved at present. Therefore, I refer throughout the dissertation to the Scuola Perfetta in the forms published by Stefanoni and later publishers using his title plate. Zorach, Rebecca et al. The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae (Chicago: Joseph Regenstein Library, 2008) 12: “At the head of a bound volume, the title page creates the appearance of a book, and therefore the Speculum has sometimes been viewed that way: as a continuous text with an established composition and order.”
partially shaded to the left of a complete profile of a female head (the detail is of this head). In the largest groups of the “series,” the dominant category of images is that of finished heads, single or in groups, depicting a variety of ages. Some plates are crowded with up to nine profiles, arranged in orderly rows, while others present one isolated study of a costumed figure from the shoulders up (like B 23). Bartsch’s reconstruction of the series includes a few examples of complete figures. His concept of the *Scuola Perfetta* stemmed primarily from the bound copy today found in the Bibliothèque National de France. That a number of these engravings appear to be unique to this set may be explained by the practice of creating the series for an individual buyer.

Regardless of the fact that for much of its published history it was a series with inconsistent contents or order, the *Scuola Perfetta* is one of the best known, if not the best known, Italian drawing book, both to seventeenth-century artists, publishers, students, and collectors (by virtue of Northern copies and partial copies) and to scholars today. We cannot be certain, but it is probably not until the 1650s, when Gio Giacomo De Rossi’s inventory lists 86 “*libri del disegno del Carocci,*” that the work had a consistent form.\(^{409}\) This case may reflect the shifting nature of some of the earliest series, such as those by Fialetti.

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\(^{409}\) Consagra, Appendix 4, Inventory of 1653, 547. I assume that these “*libri*” are actually set groups of images instead of individual prints from the series. I concluded this because other groups of images listed as “*libri*” in this same section of the inventory, such as Fialetti’s *Scherzi d’Amore*, were indeed likely to represent complete groups of prints.
Conclusion: Series

For the most part, the *Scuola Perfetta* did not reflect drawings by living artists and was not created by a single artist, but rather it seems, by a publisher, or by two separate publishers at roughly the same moment. Because this series was not conceived as a coherent project by the artists involved, we should be cautious about how we interpret them as evidence of teaching methods of specific artists or concepts of academic education. They clearly reflect current thinking and general cultural concepts of drawing education but should not be seen as direct evidence of a systematic program of education based in the academy or workshop of any particular artist or group of artists.

Fragments

Although they lack the cohesive order that would definitively designate them as *libri da disegnare*, a number of small groups and single prints exist that share various characteristics with completed works of the genre. Such examples may be fragmentary for various reasons: because of attrition of plates and/or prints over the course of more than 300 years; because they represent abandoned drawing book projects; or even because they were never intended as cohesive groups of images. It is possible that a fragmentary example might be able to tell us how an artist begins work on a drawing book: does he start with an individual plate that morphs into an image, much like a study sheet, and then decide to create more, or is the project formed with the first plate? Although it is not possible to move much beyond conjecture, fragmentary examples will at least raise a number of questions.
Giuseppe Ribera

Giuseppe Ribera’s involvement with printmaking was brief. Jonathan Brown, the pre-eminent scholar of the artist’s works on paper, suggests that he gave it up because he was not very interested in the medium. Only sixteen etchings are securely attributed to Ribera, and all but two of these works were made before 1628. Ribera’s three prints that are associated with a didactic project were all etched in 1622, his most productive year as a printmaker. Early biographers and modern scholars alike have read these three prints as an abandoned set of didactic etchings. I do not see a reason to doubt the function of at least the three prints of facial features. Also etched around the same time are two grotesque heads, one small and one large. The Large Grotesque Head appears to have been etched on what was at one point a fourth drawing-book print. Andrew Robison identified a roughly burnished-out eye in the area of the forehead on this print, whose dimensions, turned on its side, are the same as those of the three sheets of parts of the face (Figure 4.40). The size of the copper plates may well be standard (roughly 142 x 112 mm), but the style of the etchings and the subject matter suggest a single project. Robinson’s discovery of an abandoned plate of facial features also makes sense of the reverse “4,” etched on Studies of Ears, which attests to the existence of an intended fourth sheet of studies by Ribera.

411 A 1715 statement by Palomino may be the first time the didactic nature of a number of drawings, not necessarily prints, was suggested. See Brown Cat. No. 7 for a historiography of these prints.
412 Brown credits Robinson with this astute observation and is the first to publish it, see pages 17 and 70.
It is significant that Ribera began his drawing book project with two plates of eyes (one of which he later abandoned entirely), one of ears, and one of a mixture of facial features. This suggests that to the artist sheets depicting elements of the face represented the established starting point of a didactic drawing work. We know that Ribera was in Rome for a good part of the years 1613-1616. There he could have been exposed to the teaching program at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, even if he was obviously well beyond the level of the classes where the ABCs of disegno were taught. He likely would have had access to the prints published by Stefanoni as well as to earlier examples of drawing books, such as those by Fialetti and Palma il Giovane. For lack of concrete information, Brown assumes, and I believe he is correct, that Ribera learned the basics of etching and printing while in Rome. It is possible that he learned these skills from a printer in Naples, but the industry was not nearly as developed in that city as it was in Rome. In searching for models for Ribera’s drawing book sheets, I would look to those examples that were advertised as after drawings by Agostino and Annibale Carracci, namely the Scuola Perfetta. Although Ribera has long been associated with the painting style of Caravaggio, Brown makes the apt observation that in his early drawings, especially those focused on human anatomy, we see the “classical” control and detail of Carracci draftsmanship.

Ribera’s three etchings of facial features reflect both his earliest known drawings, works that explored the human face in careful detail, as well as a number of drawing book images published from 1608-1620. Although his drawn oeuvre remained

413 Gianni Papi, Ribera a Roma (Soncino, Italy: Edizioni di Soncino, 2007) 246.
414 Brown, 12.
unidentified until the 1960s, partly because of modern confusion with the drawings of Ribera’s famous follower Salvator Rosa, and partly because of the generalization that Spanish artists (with the exception of Goya) were not prolific draftsmen, Ribera did indeed make a number of drawings. His earliest drawings relate to, although they are not direct studies for, the three prints here under discussion.

In *Studies of Ears* (B 17, Figure 4.41) Ribera has etched nine depictions of ears, six of which represent three pairs, where one is shown in outline and the other fully shaded. A drawing in red chalk with brush and wash, *Study of Bat and Ears* (Figure 4.42), shows two ears that are quite similar to those etched in *Studies of Ears* while the bat, also a highly naturalistic study, does not appear to be related.\(^{415}\) The only other known drawing connected to Ribera’s drawing book prints is *Studies of a Head in Profile* (Figure 4.43).\(^{416}\) This red chalk study features two depictions of ears, one lower face, and one eye in profile (with traces of the face around it). Here, as with the drawing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, none of the studies corresponds exactly with any of the prints, but again it offers evidence that Ribera was exploring the human head closely in the early 1620s, both on his own and as a possible teaching exercise. Sue Welsh Reed suggests that, in the etchings, Ribera chose to ignore the softness and tonal subtlety of his chalk drawings in order to create a model that was easier for a potential student to

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interpret. The etching *Studies of Eyes* (B 15, Figure 4.44) features thirteen examples, eight of which are set in line and “completed.” This sheet differs from the one featuring ears, since it includes outline representations of eyes that are not then shown fully shaded. The last of the etchings, *Studies of the Nose and Mouth* (B 16, Figure 4.45) is the most chaotic; five examples of noses and lower faces surround one large open mouth (and nose) depicted both in outline and shaded. Brown regards these inconsistencies as evidence of Ribera’s lack of interest in a cohesive didactic method. However, we can also view this as the artist making etchings like those he had seen in similar printed projects. There are very few examples of drawing book prints where the examples given are strictly limited to outline and shaded versions of each example. Valesio’s *I prìmi elementi del disegno* may in fact be the only project where a number of sheets are consistently devoted to parts of the face or body shown in states of completion from outline to full realization (Bartsch Nos. 53 - 59). Thus, I do not think that we can necessarily interpret the format of Ribera’s sheets as indicative of the artist’s lack of interest with the instructive elements of the genre. He may have tired of the exercise, but what appears to the modern viewer as a lack of a consistent didactic method is not evidence that Ribera was somehow apathetic to or did not understand the tradition. Another explanation for the fragmentary nature of Ribera’s project relates to what some scholars, including Jonathan Brown and Michael Scholz-Hänssel, perceive as his more lively presentation of examples for drawing, compared to the material Ribera was seeing in Italy including the *Scuola Perfetta* (c. 1609 – 1614), Fialetti’s books (c. 1608), or

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418 Brown, 16.
Olivero Gatti’s book after Guercino (1619).\textsuperscript{419} Citing in particular \textit{Studies of the Nose and Mouth}, Brown proposes that Ribera demonstrates his lack of interest in traditional study sheets and instead embraces a more emotional and expressive approach to a drawing manual. Seeing all three of Ribera’s sheets as a direct critique of academic methods and earlier Italian printed drawing books may be taking the idea of criticism a bit too far, but the studies of the open mouth undeniably stand out from all other Italian examples.\textsuperscript{420}

Although Ribera never completed his drawing book project, a number of impressions from his plates survive. It is not known who printed the etchings in their first state, some of which feature inscriptions of the artist’s name clearly not by his hand.\textsuperscript{421} The plates were bought within a few years of their creation by the Antwerp print publisher Frans van Wyngaerde, who later cut some of the plates in half to create a larger set. In France in the 1650’s, Nicolas Langlois copied Ribera’s etchings for a drawing book.\textsuperscript{422} Into the eighteenth century his etching of open mouths was copied for use in an Italian drawing book: Ludovico Mattioli’s \textit{Primi elementi della Pittura, raccolti da varj autori, per uso de’principianti} (Bologna: Giuseppe Volpe, 1728).

\textsuperscript{420} For example, I do not think that Ribera’s sheets of eye or of ears are vastly different from those of Fialetti. Ribera’s etching style is more animated and tactile (partly a result of his use of stippling) but otherwise, the sheets are quite similar.\textsuperscript{421} Brown, 71.
\textsuperscript{422} Ibid, 38. Louis Elle (called Ferdinand) engraved the plates which were later sold to Pierre Mariette I who added two more plates by Elle.
Guido Reni, “Various Studies”

Bartsch identified twelve sheets by Guido Reni for a drawing book project. His attribution does not stand, and the works are now considered to be by anonymous artists after drawings by Reni. These prints, etchings and engravings by more than one hand present a confusing, fragmentary work. The first eight prints, as ordered by Bartsch, feature parts of the face and of the body: eyes, lower faces, and feet. In truth, this group of etchings is made up out of four pairs of prints (Figures 4.46 and 4.47). B 33 and B 34 present very similar examples of eyes in profile, in outline at the bottom and fully shaded on the top, one oriented looking left and the other right. B 37 and B 38 also follow this presentation but for lower faces in profile. (In this case both representations of the face show the same degree of finish.) B 35 and B 36 are almost identical versions of a lower face shown from straight-on. B 39 and B 40 show what appears to be the same left foot shown from the inside, although the second example contains slightly more shading than the first. All eight of these prints are roughly the same size, and all are oriented vertically, except for the etchings of feet. Why four of these prints are doubles is not clear.

The next four prints connected by Bartsch to this group depict male heads: two bearded older men and two younger men. Veronika Birke believes that only one, B 44,

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423 Birke rejects all the attributions. TIB, Commentary, Vol. 40-I
424 There are two examples in the Bibliothèque National copy of the Scuola Perfetta where the same image is included in an mirror image: a woman’s head in profile facing left and the same facing right but both of these are the result of counterproofs.
can be connected to the hand of Reni.\textsuperscript{425} These prints are looser in style than the eight examples of facial features that together form a more coherent group (albeit an unusual double one). Much like the fragmentary set by Ribera, these etchings lend weight to the supposition that an artist would conceptualize a drawing book as beginning with the ABCs of disegno, discussed at length in Chapter 1.

Although Bartsch suggests that this work was published and sold with a title page dedicating it to Antonio Lignani, such an example has not been found by the team of \textit{TIB}.\textsuperscript{426} I think it more likely that Bartsch was mistaken and that he connected the later title page of the larger (17 print) project, engraved by Curti and published in Bologna in 1633, to the earlier group of prints.

\textbf{Giovanni Luigi Valesio, Single Sheet}

In addition to \textit{I Primi Elementi}, Valesio engraved a single, larger print depicting twelve heads in an oval frame: \textit{Dodici principali movimenti della Testa, per chi desidera intenderli nella pittura} (Figure 4.48; 190 x 135 mm).\textsuperscript{427} This richly engraved print does not appear to exist as part of a larger set, nor does it seem to be part of Valesio’s drawing

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{425} TIB Commentary, Vol. 40-I, 4005.055 “A Man’s Head in Profile,” 363. Birke identifies a drawing today in the Accademia da San Fernando in Madrid, once given to Reni, as a copy after B 44 done in preparation for Francesco Curti’s engraved copy of the print.
\item \textsuperscript{426} TIB, Commentary, Vol. 40-I, 4005.047 - .057, “Various Studies,” 362
\item \textsuperscript{427} Mitelli’s single etched sheet, \textit{Contorni per facilitare il disegno a principianti} (Bologna, 1699), could also be discussed in this section but instead I include it in Chapter 4. In some ways this single sheet resembles Valesio’s. It is a self-contained print related to the tradition of \textit{libri di disegno} etched by an artist who made “complete” drawing books. Mitelli’s etching though can stand alone as a tool for learning to draw more than Valesio’s. The \textit{Contorni} sheet features a variety of parts of the face as well as heads, making it in some ways a single sheet of the ABCs of \textit{disegno}.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
book. The print is not bound with any volumes of the first or second edition of the work. In some ways, the crowded nature of the compositions brings to mind Palma and Franco’s drawing book of 1611 and suggests a date of c. 1615 for this single print.

Whether this engraving should be seen as a sheet of examples in the older tradition of model or pattern books or as a part of the new genre of drawing books is debatable. I have included it in my survey for a number of reasons, even though it challenges my definition. In its format -- a large number of examples squashed together in an undefined spatial field -- Valesio’s engraving resembles the etchings and engravings by and after Palma il Giovane in Giacomo Franco’s book, a project with a clear instructional intent. Although a single sheet and thus not part of a progressive sequence, the title of the engraving gives it an educational tenor in line with other drawing book projects at the time. In addition, as the author of one of the earliest examples in the genre, Valesio was more than peripherally aware of other printed drawing books. To my mind, this single sheet is a fragment of a different kind than Ribera’s abandoned etchings. Valesio’s engraving may in fact have been a one-off project or it might have been part of a larger set or pair of prints. If the latter, if it is the starting point of a set of prints, it may reflect a different kind of book, in fact, more of a model book format made up entirely of finished heads instead of progressive examples.

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428 Pigozzi discusses it in the context of the drawing book, relating it directly without much proof (page 24). The plate is not the same size nor in the same orientation as those in Valesio’s drawing book.

429 Valesio’s print may have been known in academic circles into the nineteenth century. Alexandre Clément’s engraving Réunion d’artistes (1804) after a lost painting by Louis-Léopold Boilly closely resembles Valesio’s engraving, down to the inscription on the French example: “aux Amateurs des Arts.” I am thankful to Laura Giles for bringing Boilly’s work to my attention.
Pietro Aquila, *Three Fragments*

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi published a number of engravings in the tradition of the *Scuola Perfetta*. Although previously unidentified as a drawing book by scholars, I have identified three engravings by Pietro Aquila depicting eyes, hands, and legs and bearing De Rossi’s address as well as the signature of the printmaker (lower left corner: *P Aquila in et sculp*). I know of two impressions of the same three prints in what appear to be the same state: one group is in the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome and the other at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Figures 4.49 – 4.51; all three platemarks measure approximately 13.5 x 19 mm). Nowhere is there mention of a drawing book project connected with Aquila’s name.\(^{430}\) Charles Le Blanc does not mention the three engravings, but he does describe a print featuring a “study head of a man, in profile and turned to the right.”\(^{431}\) There is no evidence to suggest that these engravings are a part of a larger group, but I would argue that either there were originally a number of other prints, or else these three examples were sold along with other similar prints by the De Rossi. Although the three Aquila prints are undated, I would suggest a date for the three engravings in question of c. 1675: this

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\(^{430}\) Aquila’s project is not mentioned in the de Rossi stocklists.

\(^{431}\) Le Blanc, Charles. *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes, contenant le dictionnaire des gravures toutes les nations, dans lequel sont décrites les estampes rares, précieuses et intéressantes avec l'indication de leurs différents états et des prix auxquels ces estampes ont été portées dans les ventes publiques s nations, dans lequel sont décrites les estampes rares, précieuses et intéressantes avec l'indication de leurs différents états et des prix auxquels ces estampes ont été portées dans les ventes publiques* (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1854-1888) 4 vols. Reprint (4 vols. in 2) (Amsterdam: G. W. Hissink, 1970), Vol. 1, 54. In the section “Sciences and Arts” LeBlanc’s No. 82 is “Tête d’étude d’homme, de profil et tournée à dr.: Pietro Aquila. Haut 169 mm Larg 121. P. marquée: Pietro Aquela inventor et fecit.” The dimensions of the sheet mentioned by le Blanc are slightly smaller than those of the examples viewed in Paris and in Rome (by about 15 to 20 mm) but this does not mean they are not part of the same original series.
period was Aquila’s most active with the De Rossi enterprise. Because the De Rossi family sold a number of drawing books starting in the 1640s, when they came into possession of copperplates from the *Scuola Perfetta*, it is likely that the publishers commissioned the images from Aquila.

These prints do not represent the same kind of fragment as the Ribera examples, and they may be fragmentary only by virtue of accidents of history. They are likely to date from a period when the only other drawing books being created in Italy were those by Mitelli. The Aquila engravings relate more to earlier forms of instructional drawing prints than they do to what Mitelli was creating in Bologna at roughly the same time. Members of the De Rossi family continued to sell the *Scuola Perfetta* as well as drawing books by Palma il Giovane, Guercino (Gatti), della Bella and Reni (F. Curti?). Gio Giacomo De Rossi inherited the Guercino plates in 1648 and sometime between then and the 1653 inventory of his stock he acquired 25 plates (from the original 42 that his brother had inherited in 1648) from the *Scuola Perfetta*. Clearly the market for drawing books was still strong enough that Gio Giacomo De Rossi thought it profitable to print or even to commission a new work from Pietro Aquila. The overall look of the lost project, insofar as is possible to glean from only three sheets, is reminiscent of books after Guercino and of the *Scuola Perfetta*. Maybe these images reflect such projects from the first decades of the century because of Aquila’s association with the Carracci, through his

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The British Museum coll. shows a number of Aquila’s prints published by Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi in the 1670s and 80s (For example, Inv. nos. 1936.0810.9; 1867.1012.452; and 1893.115.43).
engravings after the Farnese Gallery, and his probable exposure to Guercino’s drawing book, the plates of which were owned at the time by Gio Giacomo De Rossi.

**Conclusion: Fragments**

The fragments of drawing books by Ribera and those after Reni are the result of vastly different circumstances from those of the Aquila examples, but each can teach us something about the creation of *libri da disegnare*. Ribera’s prints represent an unfinished project. The fact that the artist began his project of drawing book prints with facial features tells us that Ribera considered these subjects the starting point of any such work. We can extrapolate that other artists may have started their projects similarly, that sheets of facial features were not afterthoughts but points of departure. On the other hand, Aquila’s highly finished fragments, complete with his name as well as the publishers’ address along the bottom of the plate, appear to represent a larger project that does not come down to us in a more complete form. Valesio’s single sheet of richly engraved heads is most difficult of all to incorporate under the fragment rubric, but it demonstrates what might be called “a complete fragment.” Such an image, which was most likely independent, appears as a fragment because it is a single image when we would otherwise expect a group of prints. Ribera’s etched sheets and those anonymous sheets after Reni represent the most fragmentary examples in the sense that they represent something incomplete. Ribera appears to have abandoned his project after three full

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433 Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi published the series, entitled *Imagines Farnesiani Cubiculi Cum ipsarum monocromatibus et ornamentis* in Rome sometime between 1670 and 1692.
sheets and one partial sheet (later reworked into a study of a deformed human head).\textsuperscript{434} Although there never existed a complete \textit{libro di disegno} by Ribera, the artist clearly was aware of the concept, especially in his choice to begin with the first didactic elements: the ABCs of \textit{disegno}.

**Copies**

For as long as the printed medium has existed, unauthorized copying of finished works has been a concern to both publishers and artists. The famous case of Dürer against Marcantonio Raimondi touches on more than Dürer’s self-fashioning; it also reflects the practical concerns of commercial print publishers. In an attempt to combat the copying of printed materials into which they had sunk considerable time and money, artists and publishers applied for privileges from their governments in the hopes of securing some protection for their investment in their own region.\textsuperscript{435} Privileges, although different in many ways from modern copyright, sought a similar goal, to protect investment by registering a product. It was much cheaper to make a copy than to commission a project from the beginning.\textsuperscript{436} Privileges were of limited geographical scope, often seeking to limit a publisher commissioning and selling a copy within the same city, and even though large numbers of prints and printed books were copied, we

\textsuperscript{434} Brown, 17.  
\textsuperscript{435} Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe’s study of \textit{privilegio} in sixteenth-century Italy is an invaluable resource, and many of the points he raises continue to be valid into the next century. See Witcombe (2004) and Lisa Pon, “Prints and Privileges: Regulating the Image in 16th-Century Italy,” \textit{Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin}, Vol. 6, No, 2, Autumn (1998) 40-64; 43.  
\textsuperscript{436} Witcombe (2004) 35.
have scant evidence of punishment of the offenders.\textsuperscript{437} Privileges must have had some degree of efficacy, or artists and printers would not have applied for them, but it is unsurprising that popular prints and printed books were copied in the face of such limited government sanctions. Drawing books were no exception.

In some ways, copying in the early modern period did not hold the same stigma as it does today. Copying was the basis of drawing education and of art education in general, and printed drawing books functioned primarily as models for draftsmen to follow. Regardless, producing a printed copy of an extant etching or engraving and selling it while the other copy exists raises other issues.

**Copies of Oliviero Gatti’s Guercino Drawing Books**

One type of copy replicates both the plates and the title page in order to pass itself off as another project; I call this a direct copy. This type of copy presents itself as what it copies, not a new edition or a novel form. Few direct copies of Italian drawing books were sold in Italy, although many Italian works were closely copied north of the Alps, primarily in France and in Britain.\textsuperscript{438} As has been mentioned earlier, a number of Dutch and German drawing books included images copied from more than one Italian example.\textsuperscript{439} With regard to copying within Italy, the only direct examples are two

\textsuperscript{437} The penalty was often similar to that of privileges for books. In the representative case of Ugo da Carpi’s request for a privilege for chiaroscuro woodcuts in Venice in 1514, all the copies would be confiscated and the offender charge 10 ducats. Pon (1998) 47-48.

\textsuperscript{438} Alexander Browne copied both the plates and the little-known text from Fialetti’s earliest form of his drawing book Tutte le parti in The Whole Art of Drawing, Painting, Limning, and Etching (1650). Mariette the Elder published his copy of Guercino’s 1619 drawing book (engraved by Gatti) in 1642.

\textsuperscript{439} See the studies of Jaap Bolten and Hans Dickel and my remarks regarding these works in the Introduction.
projects that copy Oliviero Gatti’s 1619 book of engravings after Guercino: Francesco Curti’s version of c. 1642 and Bernardino Curti’s of 1650 (Figure 4.52).\textsuperscript{440} Francesco Curti’s copies of Gatti’s engravings are done in the same direction as the original. Bernardino Curti’s later copy, published by Vittorio Serena (1642-1650), includes an identical frontispiece (with different coat of arms), but the prints within are in reverse and are thus more recognizable as a copy in the face of the original (Figure 4.53).\textsuperscript{441} Both copies are the same approximate size as the original. The figures in Bernardino’s Curti’s reverse copies are smaller and lack weight on the page when compared to Gatti’s or to Francesco Curti’s.

A lively market existed for this \textit{libro da disegnare}, or it would not have been copied twice in Italy and once in France. An edition issued by the De Rossi, who continued to print from Gatti’s original plates until at least the 1650s, bears an inscription attesting to their originality; in the lower left, the plate has been inscribed “\textit{Questo e il vero et originale}.” This notice to the potential buyer provides a glimpse into the

\textsuperscript{440} There is another printed book often mentioned along with the other drawing books after Guercino: an undated book of Guercino heads was engraved by Francesco Curti and published by Giovanni Battista Negroponte in Bologna and dedicated to Monsignor degli Montelucci. The series was later rededicated to Monsignor Guido degli Oddi when it was published by Gian Domenico de Rossi. See Prisco Bagni, \textit{Il Guercino e i suoi incisori} (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1988) 90-91. Because the series features only finished heads, I do not consider it a drawing book. It is though closely connected to a number of other drawing book projects after Guercino, and was likely sold by the de Rossi alongside these other prints. Therefore, it warrants a brief mention. What may well be this project is listed in the 1648 shop inventory of the de Rossi as “1 – Libro di teste da disegnare del Guercino.” It is listed along with “1 – Libro da disegnare di Bellabarba” and thus clearly, even at the time that it was sold, it was considered a slightly different type of book than a standard \textit{libro da disegnare}. For the inventories: Consagra, 534, Appendix 3.

\textsuperscript{441} That is because when copying straight from the original prints the resulting images would be in reverse. Bagi suggests a date of 1650 for this series while Pigozzi thinks it should be dated closer to 1642. I do not think it likely that many of the purchasers of this series would be aware that the original prints were in the opposite direction, or even necessarily that this series was a copy.
complicated climate of publishing and pirating such works. The De Rossi appear to have
had an active relationship with the Bolognese print publisher Vittorio Serena, the same
man who published a copy of Gatti’s 1619 Guercino drawing book. A number of prints
in the De Rossi inventories of 1648 and 1653 bear Serena’s name. The De Rossi
relationship with Serena may explain why they added the inscription “Il Vero Originale”
to their edition of Gatti’s plates. They were willing to supplement their stock with prints
published by Serena, a competitor in the case of Guercino drawing book, but made it very
clear that their “libro da disegnare del Guercino” was the original, and thus the more
desirable, version.442

Francesco Curti, Scelta di Disegni del Caracci, Parmegiani et di Guido Reni.

Another way to compose a copy of a successful drawing book was to reproduce
the images but to re-title the work, even crediting different artists with the inventions and
possibly mixing in additional plates. The first copies of Italian drawing books outside
Italy borrowed freely from prints by Fialetti and from the Scuola Perfetta without
acknowledging their sources.443 To my knowledge there is only one Italian drawing book
that combines copies of earlier images from another project to create what was presented
as an entirely new work: the Scelta di Disegni del Caracci, Parmegiani et di Guido Reni
(c. 1650, quarto) (Figure 4.54).444 This project copied engravings from the Scuola

442 The de Rossi inventories of 1648 and 1653 are full of prints from Serena’s press.
443 See Jaap Bolten. In particular, see Jan Janssonius’s Diagraphia of 1616.
444 One print in the Scuola Perfetta can be connected to Parmigianino: Five Heads of Women of
which Four are in Draft Sketch, and the Head of a Child (B 19). The detail of the Madonna and
Child is taken from a painting called the Madonna delle Dente thought to be a copy after
Parmigianino in the Museo Capodimonte in Naples. Donati, 7-9. See also Massimo Mussini and
Grazia Maria de Rubeis. Parmigianino tradotto: la fortuna di Francesco Mazzola nelle stampe di
Perfetta so judiciously that at times it is difficult to tell that they were not printed from the same plates. Although the engraved images could fool viewers into thinking that they were looking at engravings from the famous libro da disegnare, the title plate of the work does not suggest that it is the same project published by Stefanoni. Gioseffo Lungo, who probably published the work in Bologna c. 1630, and the engraver Francesco Curti, did not seek to pass the project off as the Scuola Perfetta, even while the plates mimicked the Roman series right down to the inclusion of the engraver’s initials at the bottom of the sheets. Francesco Curti replaced Luca Ciamberlano’s name with his own on the iconic sheet showing hands signing the page (Figure 4.55). The title of the project does not suggest a direct connection to the images it copies; rather, the full title of the Scelta states succinctly that it includes drawings (i.e., prints after drawings) by the Carracci, Parmigianino, and Guido Reni. It still fails to mention the examples after Michelangelo or Correggio, but it is possible that by the middle of the seventeenth century the latter artists’ names were no longer directly connected to the images that inspired the prints.

riproduzione fra il Cinquecento e l’Ottocento (Milan: Silvana, 2003). This print though is not present in the Curti series. There are two prints in the Curti series that are not found in the Scuola Perfetta, but they are not obviously connected to known works by Parmigianino, nor are they particularly representative of his style. I know of two editions of this work, identical except for the dedication. The first, dedicated to “chi si dilettà del disegno” (c. 1630) and the second (c. 1660), dedicated to Girolamo Farnese, who represented the papal legate in Bologna from 1658-1662. The title plate for the second edition also includes the addition of Girolamo Farnese’s coat of arms at the base of the broken column. See Figure 4.54. The publisher Pietro Stefanoni’s name was included on most of the Scuola Perfetta engravings with P S F printed at the bottom edge (Pietro Stefanoni Fecit) and Francesco Curti’s presence is marked with the initials F C F.
Alternatively, the connection may have been so obvious to the viewers of the period that they did not need to be told.\textsuperscript{447}

**Single Copies**

There are two impressions, one at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the other in Bologna, of a single copy after a print, *Engraved Study of Naked Children*, from the Giacomo Franco/Palma drawing book: *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo*. This engraving contains the monogram LC, possibly that of Luca Ciamberlano (Figure 4.56).\textsuperscript{448} The print (158 x 115 mm) is oriented in the same direction as the original engraving and contains the information that it was designed by Palma il Giovane, but it clearly identifies the printer as Johannes Jacobus dei Rubeis (or Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi), the city of publication as Rome, and the date of publication as 1627. All of this obscures the fact that this work indeed was a copy of the book originally published by Giacomo Franco in Venice in 1611. Even after the date of the Gio Giacomo De Rossi engraving, Palma’s book was reprinted in Venice from the original copperplates as *Regolare per imparar a designar* by Marcus Sadeler in 1636 and by Stefano Scolari a

\textsuperscript{447} As I discussed in the section concerning the *Scuola Perfetta*, B. Curti’s copy leaves off details found in the original print by Ciamberlano. As it is likely that he copied it without knowledge of the creator’s original drawing, it is possible that the publisher also did not connect Michelangelo to this image. The issue of what drawing books are being copied in the later *seccentro* also raises issues of the dominance of the Bolognese and Lombard schools over Florentine, Roman, or Venetian at this period. I will discuss the broader implications of this trend in the Conclusion.

\textsuperscript{448} Although he does not mention this print in particular, Nagler connects the use of the LC monogram with Ciamberlano. Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues allgemeines künstler-lexicon*... (Munich: E.A. Fleischmann, 1835) 532.
San Zulian in 1659. Clearly the initial plates continued to be used, so this act of copying was not merely done to replace lost or damaged works.

Of Palma’s designs, *Engraved Study of Naked Children* (Figure 4.57) is not the only print from the Franco book for which a copy exists. The British Museum holds one etched sheet that is a copy after a print from *De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo: Twelve Naked Children* (Figure 4.58, 263 x 174 mm). It is a reverse copy of Palma’s *Studies of Children* (B 14, Figure 4.59). There is no publisher’s information on this etching. Stylistically, the British Museum print does not look like Gio Giacomo De Rossi’s copy and may not be connected. Of course, the Roman publisher might have sold an entire counterfeit set of the Giacomo Franco/Palma book. There is no way to ascertain from his own inventories whether his versions of the Palma drawing book were originals or copies. Either De Rossi produced an entire copied set, or else he simply published a small number of sheets in imitation of a popular *libro da disegnare*. Why a publisher would have commissioned only one or two prints from the set, and from a title that he sold in his shop, is puzzling. Again, the practical explanation that the reason behind this was that the copperplate for this print was lost or damaged seems unlikely, since the Marciana copy of the 1659 printing by Scolari includes this sheet of putti. It appears more likely that the copied print (or prints, if the British Museum sheet was in

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449 The de Rossi inventory of 1648 Lists: “1 – Libro da disegnare del Palma.” Consagra, Appendix 3, 523.
450 Inv. No. 1869,0410.2422.
fact published by De Rossi) was sold as a single image, valuable for both its subject matter and for its connection to Palma il Giovane.  

**Conclusion: Copies**

In some ways, considering copies as a separate category might be artificial, since these works would have probably been used or appreciated in much the same way, whether they were the “il vero et originale” or a new book made from copying extant examples. Their didactic goal and efficacy were not altered in any meaningful way simply because they were not created under the eye of a certain master. One could perhaps argue that in the case of books like della Bella’s, where part of the value was the idea that the user was learning the “style” of the artist, or how to recognize his style, some value might be lost in a copy. However, in the case of the original Guercino drawing book (1619), the copy engraved by F. Curti is so similar that it is at times difficult to differentiate it from the original, even when the prints are placed side by side. The De Rossi’s statement that their version of the Guercino drawing book was the original shows that if there was a choice, the original was more desirable, but that does not mean that they and other publishers would not sell copied work alongside originals. There are a number of examples in the De Rossi inventory where the document identifies certain prints, and even the plates, as copies. In particular, the Inventory of 1653 mentions “Tredici pezzi di rame da far cartelle copie di Stefanino della Bella.”

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451 Until a larger set of copies can be reconstructed I am not convinced that the whole series, or even a significant part of it, was copied by the de Rossi family or another publisher in Italy.  
452 Consagra, Appendix 4, 539. The 1648 inventory also includes a number of examples of single prints as well as *libri* listed as “copia.”
Conclusion: Chapter 4

By considering these projects through the four categories of book, series, fragment, and copy, and by looking closely at the contents, circumstances of creation, and changing editions within Italian printed drawing books, we can look more critically at the genre as a whole. Scholars have often viewed all libri da disegnare as a cohesive group, comprised of works clearly connected to publishers and artists through title pages, whose contents remained stable from the first edition through any subsequent publications. As we have seen, however, few of the projects neatly fit this description.

Works like Fialetti’s early version of Tutte le parti provide insight into the type of book a painter might create when given the freedom to combine text with images. The category of a “series” of prints, regardless of whether it was considered a cohesive work at the time, sheds light on the complicated publication history of a number of early drawing books. Without letters or business contracts, as was stressed, it is not possible to offer a definitive answer to this question central to the birth of the printed didactic drawing manual. But in a number of cases discussed here, we can point to various elements at work. Several instances show the publisher as the initiating force behind a project. For example, Stefanoni was almost certainly responsible for hiring engravers to translate drawings by the Carracci (and by others) into a form that he could sell as a tool for drawing education. Padre Mirandola, if we believe Malvasia’s account, was the instigator behind the creation of Guercino’s Esemplare per Disegnare. Della Bella probably did not arrive in Paris with plans to create three drawing books. His Parisian

\[453\] Vaccaro also listed his drawing book series as “un libro d’imparare à disegnare.” Vaccari Inventory of 1614, Ehrle, 64.
publishers were already profiting from pirated Italian works, and they almost certainly directed the etcher’s work in this vein. In the case of Palma il Giovane and Giacomo Franco it is difficult to determine whose idea came first, and theirs may well have been a truly collaborative effort. Francesco Cavazzoni appears likely to have taken the initiative himself, although his book never achieved a printed form. Fialetti does not seem to have retained control of his plates after his first drawing books were published (Il Vero modo and the form of Tutte le parti in the Rijksmuseum), but I am tempted to give him some degree of agency in the creation of the first step-by-step examples in the genre. I discussed the matter thoroughly in Chapter Two, but in summary, I believe that Fialetti’s supposed work on a handwriting treatise and his known involvement with a fencing treatise might have given him the idea to present drawing exercises in a step-by-step manner, alongside text, in a printed book. Caletti’s drawing book, if we follow the argument made by Barboni and Cortona, could reflect the artist’s desire to show potential patrons his skills. All of these examples give us hints to the forces at work in the creation of the libro da disegnare and its various manifestations.

In the end, what a study of the genre of printed drawing books in the seventeenth century by means of these four categories tells us is that the circumstances surrounding the creation and publication of drawing books are as complicated as their historical origins in artistic training and practice. Just as it cannot be said that Italian drawing

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454 We know from letters identified by Consagra that Gio Giacomo De Rossi was in touch with Francois Langlois and it is probably from this French publisher that the de Rossi received drawing books by della Bella. See Consagra, Appendix 5.
455 Although no handwriting treatise connected to Fialetti is known, Malvasia mentions that the artist engraved plates for a book by Barisoni, showing how to hold the quill as well as various figures in the process of writing. Malvasia (1678) II, 312.
books arose purely out of the traditions of art education in the Carracci Academy, the
diverse ways that the books came into being and evolved throughout the course of their
histories suggest that the physical circumstances of their creation were as complicated as
the theoretical.
Conclusion:

The previous chapter has afforded us a means of concluding this project, as we can now better contextualize the foundation the genre of Italian printed drawing books 1600 – 1700 as a whole. As we have seen, these works did not take one single, unified form. We saw how, on the one hand, *libri da disegnare* incorporated parts of earlier practices, including the process of starting with two-dimensional models or of drawing the parts of the human body individually. On the other hand, however, they represented a new type of didactic aid, as texts like those of Fialetti or Cavazzoni struggled to make clear, and herein lies the importance of understanding their nature. By considering the genre as a whole through different lenses of interpretation, my dissertation has complicated ideas about the origins of these Italian *libri da disegnare* and about their actual development as heterogeneous works with varying histories over the course of the century.

In concluding, can we make some more overarching points about drawing instruction? One issue that we can discuss here has only come up directly so far in the case of considering the Venetian origins of a practice that seems more closely related to *disegno* than to *colorito*: the geography of these books both in their origins and in their afterlife. We have seen the dominance in Italian printed drawing books of Venetian, Bolognese, and Lombard traditions to the exclusion of Roman and Florentine. The most famous series of drawing book prints to come out of Rome, the *Scuola Perfetta*, is dominated by the Carracci both in its full title, *Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo Humano Cavata dallo studio, e disegni de Carracci*, and in the engraved
examples within.\textsuperscript{456} No libro da disegnare were printed in Florence, although the tradition has some theoretical roots in the unpublished drawing treatises of Benvenuto Cellini, Vincenzo Danti, and most strikingly Alessandro Allori. There was one Florentine artist responsible for a number of drawing books. While Stefano della Bella’s three etched books are without a doubt connected to the Italian tradition, his style is so dependant on that of Jacques Callot that to my mind his books do not promote particularly Florentine styles or theories of disegno. The Parisian publishers of della Bella’s books were capitalizing on the popularity of the artist’s particular style as well as his Italian pedigree to take advantage of the popularity of Italian drawing books already being sold in Paris.\textsuperscript{457}

Since Italian printed drawing books spread through Europe both in their original form and, by the middle of the seventeenth century, in copies made in England, France, Germany and the Netherlands, they represent a known repository of images of Italian art throughout Europe.\textsuperscript{458} Although there were original printed drawing books in the Holland

\textsuperscript{456} Other prints in the series are based on paintings or drawings by Correggio, Guido Reni, and Pontormo.

\textsuperscript{457} See Chapter 4 of this dissertation for Pierre Mariette the Elder’s 1642 copy of the 1619 Guercino drawing book of Oliviero Gatti.

\textsuperscript{458} The Italian works most often copied in the North, in France, in Spain and in England were those by Fialetti, the Scuola Perfetta, and Oliviero Gatti’s Guercino book. For the Spanish examples, see Mark P. McDonald, “Italian, Dutch and Spanish Pattern Prints and Artistic Education in Seventeenth Century Madrid,” Storia dell’Arte No. 98 (Jan – April, 2000) 76-87. In the North, into the eighteenth century, Fialetti and prints from the Scuola Perfetta dominated “non-original” drawing books. Most examples consisted primarily, if not exclusively of copies of prints by Fialetti and from the Scuola Perfetta including works by J. Janssonius (1616), J. Gelee (1639), Claes Jansz Visscher (1651) and an undated work by Danckerts. See Jaap Bolten, Method and Practice. Dutch and Flemish drawing books 1600-1750, Trans. Alexander Dietz (Landau, Pfalz: PVA, 1985). For a list of “original” and “non-original” Northern drawing books (along with the Italian sources for the latter) see Bolten’s Catalogue. In England, Inigo Jones made copies after prints in the Gatti book and may well have known Fialetti personally. See Jeremy Wood, “Inigo Jones, Italian Art, and the Practice of Drawing,” The Art Bulletin, Vol. 74,
as early as 1611, the majority of the works published in those regions in the seventeenth century were copied from Italian examples, primarily those of Fialetti and the Scuola Perfetta.

An interesting phenomenon emerges: in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Italian canon seems to have been overwhelmingly represented abroad, at least in the realm of didactic drawing manuals, by Venice and Bologna. Although through prints and study drawings the paintings of Raphael and Michelangelo, among other famous figures, continued to carry the influence of Central Italy into the next century, in didactic works for beginners, artists of Bologna and Venice came to represent Italian figure drawing. As Bolten Jaap pointed out, there were no original Northern drawing books before 1611 (Pieter Feddes’ Teiken bouxken). Even after 1611, Italian printed drawing books heavily impacted the form taken by the genre North of the Alps. In Germany, the Netherlands, France, and England, the examples of Fialetti and the Scuola Perfetta, and Oliviero Gatti’s book based on the drawings of Guercino dominated the majority of

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459 Manfred Sellink disagrees with Bolten’s opinion that there were no drawing books in the North before 1600. Sellink identifies Philip Galles’s Instruction et fondements de bien pourtraire (1589) as the first Northern drawing book. This work, which consists of 13 engravings, a title page, and a one page introduction, would be the earliest drawing book in Europe if it fit my or Bolten’s definitions. It clearly has a didactic intent but is more like a model book and focuses on anatomy. Galle’s work does not teach a systematic method for drawing the human body. See Manfred Sellink, “‘As a Guide to the Highest Learning:’ an Antwerp Drawing Book Dated 1589,” Simiolus. Vol. 21, No. 1/2, 1992: 40-56.
Northern books. Abraham Bloemart’s influential drawing book, *Konstrijk tekenboek* (1650), shaped the genre in the North but did not remove the Italian tenor from subsequent works. For example, in 1723, the *Nieuw Teecken Boeck*, published by Hendrick Bosch in Amsterdam combined copies of prints from the Bloemaert book along with those of Fialetti and Luca Ciamberlano. In Spain, Pedro de Villafranca y Malagón’s printed drawing book (1637-38) copied prints primarily from the *Scuola Perfetta*, the books of Fialetti, and that of Giacomo Franco/Palma il Giovane. Throughout Europe, Bolognese or Venetian artists’ didactic drawing prints defined the genre.

Do Italian printed drawing books represent a conscious selection, an inclusion or an exclusion of particular traditions of drawing, or do they reflect something else? The Carracci, their students, and their rumored teaching methods at their Academy in Bologna have been present in most of the projects in this study. This should not be ignored, but the geographical circumstances of production also played a role. Italian *libri da disegnare* were printed in the major publishing centers of Venice, Bologna, and Rome and they represent the work of artists active in those cities. In most cases, with the exception of the *Scuola Perfetta*, they also represent the work of living artists, most of whom were known, even if not prolific, printmakers themselves. As discussed primarily in the context of Caletti, a *libro da disegnare* could also act as a way for the artist to advertise their skills to future patrons both within and outside of their cities of residence.

460 In England see Alexander Browne.
462 Even Guercino completed a small number of etchings.
As my study was limited to the seventeenth century, an in depth exploration of the long term influence of Italian printed drawing books and of the and Bolognese and Venetian dominance in the genre in Italy and throughout Europe is outside the scope of this project. In concluding, though, I would like to mention two eighteenth century *libri da disegnare*: Ludovico Mattioli’s *Elementi di pittura* (Bologna: Giuseppe Lambertini, 1728) and the *Prima Elementa Picturae Idest Modus facilis delineandi omnes humani corporis partes* (Bassano del Grappa, Italy: Remondini, 1747). While these books offer a glimpse of the survival of examples from the pervious century within Italy, they suggest a disconnect between the origins of the genre and the next century. Mattioli’s book copies prints from earlier *libri da disegnare* including those by Ribera, Valesio and Curiti. Mattioli’s name, and identity as a Professor in the Accademia Clementina in Bologna, are identified on the title plate. The earlier sources for his engravings are not. The Remondini’s publication of 1747 credits Raphael as the author of the works within. In fact, the project consists of copies of prints from the first edition of Valesio’s book with a few copies after etchings by Fialetti. The total disregard for the original artists involved in both these later *libri da disegnare*, and the application of the name of Raphael to the Remondini project, appear to represent a turning away from a strict Bolognese and Venetian dominance of images of academic art education in the eighteenth century.

The question of audience and the possibility of a demand side argument for the origins of printed drawing books have been present quietly in much of this study. Both in England and in France, the argument for drawing as an activity appropriate for upper class men and women is well documented, as is a rise in amateur drawing education in
the seventeenth century. There has not, as of yet, been as much scholarly attention on the rise of amateur draftsman in Italy. Perhaps by looking at France and England and their interest in Italian printed drawing books, we can find useful approaches to understand the audience of *libri da disegnare* in Italy. There was obvious demand in France for Italian materials for use in drawing education. As noted in Chapter 4, in 1642 the elder Mariette commissioned a copy of Oliviero Gatti’s drawing book after Guercino. During the same decade, François Collignon also published a copy of Valesio’s drawing book. Seeking to follow the example set by royalty and the wider aristocracy, by the 1640s Parisian amateurs showed great interest in drawing education. Although the idea of a gentleman’s education including drawing and painting was much older, the renewed popularity of such studies might be traced to knowledge that Maria de’ Medici and Louis XIII received instruction in *disegno* from their court painters. With increased popularity arose a need for affordable teaching aids, such as printed drawing books. Amateurs could use such books to learn how to draw an expressive face or a gesticulating hand, or they could study the master’s manner of representing figures in order to develop

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463 For a recent study of amateur art education in Britain see Kim Sloan, *‘A noble art’: amateur artists and drawing masters, c.1600-1800* (London: Published for the Trustees of The British Museum by British Museum Press, 2000).
their ability to appreciate drawings.\textsuperscript{466} In England, as early as 1606, Henry Peacham
published a drawing book clearly aimed at amateurs.\textsuperscript{467}

As I discussed in Chapter 2, in terms of audience Italian drawing books offer
varied hints rather than concrete evidence. It is perhaps because of the difficulty of
drawing out a unified audience that scholars have arrived at varying conclusions
regarding this question. David Rosand appears to have noticed this fact: although he
argues primarily that the drawing books of Fialetti and Giacomo Franco/Palma il Giovane
were intended for the use of artists, he concedes that their popularity and success meant
an audience outside the artistic community also appreciated the works.\textsuperscript{468} In part,
professional practice cannot be excluded. As I discussed in the Introduction, prints and
drawings were used as teaching aids in workshops as well as in the new art academies,
and drawing book prints would have been no exception. Since printed drawing books
arose from earlier traditions in art education and reflect the drawing course of the

\textsuperscript{466} Johnson, 62.
\textsuperscript{467} F. J. Levy, “Breaking the Ice to Invention: Henry Peacham and the Art of Drawing,” \textit{Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes}, Vol. 37, 1974, 174-190. Although this book was published in 1606, two years before Fialetti’s \textit{Il Vero Modo}, it only includes a small number of illustrations and none are progressive in nature and thus, I do not consider it a true drawing book. Drawing was popular among both upperclass men and women in seventeenth-century England. For example, Samuel Pepys hired the drawing master Alexander Browne (responsible for the English translation of Fialetti’s \textit{Tutte le parti}) to teach his wife painting. The first mention of Browne in Pepys Diary is found on May 7, 1665 and the painter is the cause of a fight between Pepys and his wife one year later on May 3, 1666. Browne is mentioned 8 times in the diaries. For a searchable text of Pepys’s Diary see http://www.pepysdiary.com/.
Accademia di San Luca in Rome, it is highly unlikely that artists would not have made use of the new printed collections of images as teaching aids.

Michael Bury suggested that Fialetti’s drawing books were aimed at amateurs.\textsuperscript{469} As we saw in Chapter 2, texts pointed us in the direction of a non-professional audience in the cases of Fialetti and Cavazzoni. Scholars have noted that amateurs, who would have been of the same elevated level of society that filled the literary academies, attended academies of painting in the late sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{470} Such amateur activity can also be found in the mid seventeenth century in Venice in the Accademia dei Filaleti.\textsuperscript{471} As those with interests in drawing and money to buy to these printed books, the amateur audience cannot be excluded as having contributed to the birth of the \textit{libro da disegnare}. Barzman posited a similar reason for the rise of novel anatomical aids such as illustrated treatises and \textit{écorches}.\textsuperscript{472} Although she argued that the repellant nature of the physical realities of dissection would have turned off amateurs, I think that there is also the issue of availability to consider. It is the question of accessibility to drawn or printed examples used in artistic education, both for amateurs and in the setting of academies, which may well have led to the rise of printed drawing books. Further study of amateur art education in Italy may add evidence to my argument that printed drawing books were intended for use by both artists and amateurs. Above all, we must keep in mind that, as prints, their intended uses can change over the course of their publication. The genre is fluid and

\textsuperscript{470} Pigozzi, \textit{Scritti}, 175.
varied, and taking into consideration the different stages of development, we can no longer regard the origins or the forms taken by the projects to be one-dimensional.

As printed media, the power of these books to circulate and to reach various audiences beyond those intended can be seen in their continuing presence in pan-European art education. They enjoyed a long afterlife throughout the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century in reprints and re-issues. Beginning in the early nineteenth century American artists started publishing their own drawing books instead of importing them from England.\textsuperscript{473} John Gadsby Chapman’s \textit{The American drawing-book: a manual for the amateur, and basis of study for the professional artist: especially adapted to the use of public and private schools, as well as home instruction} (1847) begins with the claim that “[a]nyone who can learn to write can learn to draw.” (Figure C.1) How similar this is to Armenini’s claim, discussed in Chapter 1 that, “those who are accustomed to write with a fine hand are considered to have made a certain good beginning in drawing.”\textsuperscript{474} Chapman’s second chapter treats the human head, broken down into individual facial features that are shown in a series of steps from outline to fully shaded (Figure C.2).

Although a nineteenth-century American schoolchild would not have known that he or she was using a method developed and published for the first time in early seventeenth

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century Italy, many of the images in Chapman’s book would have looked awfully familiar to his or her seicento equivalent.475

475 The second chapter of Chapman’s book features a quote ascribed to Leonardo DaVinci: “If we wish to ascend to the top of an edifice, we must be content to advance step by step, otherwise we shall never be able to attain it.” Chapman, 35.
Appendix A: Italian Printed Drawing Books 1600 – 1700

Fialetti, Odoardo. *Il vero modo et ordine per disegnare tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano* (Venice: Justus Sadeler, 1608).

Dedicated to Cesare D’Este.
Called the *Small Book of Drawing* by Bartsch, who identified a title plate and 9 etchings.

Fialetti, Odoardo. *Tutte le parti del corpo humano diviso in piu pezzi* (Venice: Justus Sadeler, c. 1608).

Dedicated to Giovanni Grimani.
Called the *Large Book of Drawing* by Bartsch, who identified a title plate, dedication to Giovanni Grimani, 2 etchings showing workshops, and 32 numbered etchings. The Rijksmuseum (C/RM0024.ASC/552 * 1) version consists of the dedication, 9 etchings, and 11 pages of letterpress text.

*Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo Humano Cavata dallo studio, e disegni de Carracci* (Rome: Pietro Stefanoni, 1609-1614).

Engravers: Francesco Brizio, Luca Ciamberlano.
After drawings, paintings, and prints by Annibale Carracci, Agostino Carracci, Michelangelo, Guido Reni, Correggio, Pontormo and others.

Andrea Vaccaro, Luigi Neri, and Luigi Fabri published other editions or versions of this series.

Bartsch lists 81 prints in this series, but his total comes from a set of prints (in the Bibliothèque National de France) that appears to combine a number of different groups of prints. In addition, there are sheets found in other sets that are not present in Bartsch’s version of the series.

Valesio, Giovanni Luigi. *I primi elementi del disegno in gratia de i principianti nell'arte della pittura* (Bologna, 1606-1612).

Dedicated to Orazio Spinola.
Title plate, dedication, and 19 numbered, engraved plates (one not listed in Bartsch: state i/ii of a plate featuring horses heads).

Reprinted in an expanded form of 23 numbered plates featuring a new title plate.
(with a number of plates reworked) by Andrea Vaccaro in Rome, c. 1620-22. Re-issued by Battista de Rossi (added name to Vaccaro title plate) in 1622.

Valesio, Giovanni Luigi. *Dodici principali movimenti della Testa, per chi desidera intenderli nella pittura.*

Single sheet engraving.


Dedicated to Joanne Baptista Du Valio (J. B. Duval)
Title page and dedication followed by two “books” of prints:
Book 1: 13 etchings (by Palma il Giovane?) and 12 engravings (by Giacomo Franco, after Palma il Giovane).
Book 2: Title plate and 37 engravings by Battista Franco printed on 20 pages.

Reprinted without the introductory text or the engravings by Battista Franco as:
*Regolare per imparar a designar* by Marcus Sadeler (Venice, 1636) and then by Stefano Scolari (Venice, 1659).
2 title plates (one for Book 1 and one for Book 2) and 18 etchings and engravings.


Dedicated to Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duca di Mantova.
Title plate and 21 engraved plates.

Ribera, Giuseppe. Three sheets for a drawing book (fragment), 1622.


Title plate and 13 numbered etchings.


15 page booklet accompanied by 26 numbered engravings by Philip Esengren titled: Li primi elementi della simmetria o sia commensurazione del disegno delli corpi humani, & naturali, a giouamento delli studiosi di questa nobil Arte.) (Padua: P. P. Tozzi, 1623).

Second edition with the title: Discorso sopra il modo di disegnare, dipingere, & spiegare secondo l’una, & altr’arte gli affetti principali, si naturale, come accidentali nell’Huomo, secondo i precetti della Fisonomia di Gasparo Colombina Padovano (Padua: Giovanni Temini, c. 1650). Accompanied by 26 numbered engravings by Fillipo Esengren with the same title as the first edition. In the Temini edition, the title plate features an etching by Fialetti (after Palma il Giovane, not in Bartsch) originally part of Giulio Cesare Gigli’s La pittura trionfante (Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1615).

There is a single known group of 44 engravings in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova that lacks Colombina’s text and is titled: Il perfetto Disegno di Filippo Ferroverde Pittore. Giovanni Temini printed this group of engravings in Padua and dedicated them to Luigi Corradino (a Paduan doctor). The bound set of prints includes an alternate title plate, 17 additional prints not included in the 1650 version, and earlier states of 9 prints from the 1650 edition.

Anonymous artists after Guido Reni. Fragmentary series of 12 etchings and engravings (Bologna(?), before 1633).

Bartsch mentions a title plate for this series, but its present location is unknown.

Curti, Francesco (after Reni). Esemplare per li Principianti del Disegno (Bologna: F. Curti, 1633).

Dedicated to Marchese e Senatore Antonion Lignani.
Title plate and 16 numbered engravings.


Title plate and 29 engravings, mostly copies after prints from the Scuola Perfetta. Later edition (c. 1660) dedicated to Girolamo Farnese (in Bologna 1658-1662). His coat of arms has been added to title page in the later version.

Title plate and 22 engraved plates.


Title plate and 22 engraved plates.


Title plate and 24 etchings.


Title plate and 37 etchings.


Dedicated to Monsieur Malier, son of Monsieur du Houssay.
Title plate and 14 Etchings.


Mitelli, Giuseppe Maria. *Alfabeto in soggno, esemplare per disegnare di Giuseppe Ma Mitelli Bolognese* (Bologna: Mitelli, 1683).

Title plate, notice to the reader, and 23 etchings.


Twelve etchings after Guido Reni, Flaminio Torre, and Ludovico Carracci.
Mitelli, Giuseppe Maria. *Esemplari per disegnare di rame no. 12.* (Bologna: Mitelli, c.1699).

Twelve numbered etchings (no. 2 missing) dedicated to Ludovico Carrati.

Mitelli, Giuseppe Maria. *Contorni per facilitare il disegno* (Bologna: Mitelli, 1699).

Single etched sheet.
Appendix B: Italian text from Odoardo Fialetti, *Tuttle le parti/A* (Rijksmuseum, No. C/RM0024.ASC/552 * 1)

“Avertimento a gli Benigni Lettori”

Non vi maravigliate, Benigni Lettori, studiosi della nobilissima, & profondissima arte del disegno si bene non habbia anco compita la promessa fattavi di duoi altri Libretti, cioè di Donne, e Fanciulli. Non resto però con ogni mio spirito d’affaticarmi per condurli a fine, & far cosa che sij di sodisfattione commune, la quale vi possi col tempo apportate grandissimo giovamento. Questa Operetta, che hora mando fuori mi è stato un amoroso trattenimento, per scacciar la pigritia, l’otio, e’l sonno delle longhissime notti della vernata passata. Et se bene ho già preperati in bona parte li disegni per quel desiderato effetto, però non ardisco così presto intagliarli, havendo animo in breve tempo, ma con maggiore commodità, & studio di vederli riformarla, & emendrlì ma in quel mentre, accioche non vi rincresca l’aspettor tanto, ho messo in ordine questo altro libretto, il quale è tutto di linee con le sue esposizioni, & maggiore facilità che ho Saputo, per mostrarvi, & farvi capaci quanto sia bella le Theorica accompagnata dalla [p]rattica, & come con quella si possino formare le Teste in tutti i siti, senza esservi errori. Ma molto più servirà per incitare altri curiosi spiriti ad investigare & inventar cose forse megliori di queste essendo du quelli m’hanno fatto animo a tenerli compagnia, & così ho dato principio a questa mia poca fatica, fatta a modo di Simmetria. Non ardisco però darli questo nome, se non accidentalmente, poiche di questa materia ne è stato trattato da alcuni, & particularmente dall’ Ecellentissimo Alberto Durero in un volume copiosissimo, & con amplissimi discorsi, & regole bellissime.
Ma perché questi, & altri volumi sono di non poca spesa, & di grandissimo studio a veder & rivederli con longhezza di tempo & fatica grande, mi son volontariamente messo a questa impresa per commune beneficio, & molto piu per non confondere li principianti al primo tratto con tante dotte linee. Perciò ho procurato, con non poco studio, di ridurre con brevità, & facilità, il modo di fare le Teste di tale Huomo, Donna o Fanciullo che si sia, con ordine, & misure tali che volendole ogni uno per suo dilettò metter in atto, trovarà il modo facile di formare qual si voglia Testa, usando questi termine & regole lequali io vi insegnò. Et se questo mio debbole pricipio vi sarà grato, mi sforzerò di procedere piu oltra, & facilitarvi di parte in parte tutte le altre membra, & poi perfettamente le figure dell’uno, & dell’altro sesso di qual grandezza sarà bisogno, per valersene nelle occasioni, & in tanto mi raccomando.

“Dell’Orecchio, Cap. I”.

Havendovi già dimostrato nell’altro primo mio Libretto, il modo di far l’orecchio per ogni verso & sito necessario, se bene non ho scritto di quello, è che all hora non lo giudicai necessario per essere li tiri assai facili, & da se stessi pur intelligibili. Per questo non me ne son curato, perché mi pareva più necessario trattar cosa di maggior importanza. Ma poiche in questo libro voglio formar il giudizio de’ principianti nella pittura, & ancora di quelli chi non ne haveranno osservato le regole, tratterò primo dell’orecchio in un modo da me inventato, ne mai più da altri scoperto. Volendo dunque formare l’orecchio per questa via, fà bisogno prima formare un ovato nel modo ch’io vi lo rappresento nella sua tavola, cioè al numero primo, ma farlo più perfetto, & facile che sarà possibile. In esso con quella metodo, & ordine ch’ io vi disegno, andarete
leggiadramente giungendo i lineamenti di tiro in tiro, si come in ciascheduno ovato le vedere andar crescendo, fino al numero occavo. Così imitantdo tutti quelli tiri & delineandoli nell’ovate da voi formato, vi riuscirà unitamente l’orecchio fatto senza stento nè paura d’esser uscito fuori de i termini reali, & ragionevoli dell’arte. Non vi servirà solo quella regola nel formar l’orecchio di proportione corrispondente al naturale, ma ancora per formarlo con debita perfettione, & corrispondenza ad ogni grandissima testa, senza esser alcuni errori riprehensibili, come sarebbe à dire, di troppo longhezza, curvatura schizzo, o di smembrata, & sproportionata forma. Osservando dunque le regole, non si darà occasione che’l volgo possi dire, come spesso occorre che vedono nell’opera scapate oltra modi di sorbitanti, fatte senza termine ne ragione.

“Del Naso, Bocca, et Barbuccio. Cap. II”

Perche mi pare buono di fare breve discorso sopra questa tavola nella quale è disegnato il naso, la bocca, & barbuccio per questo vi darò certi generali avertimenti, poi più oltra si diffiniranno tutte le difficoltà ponto per ponto. Essendo dunque noto a tutti che’l naso è la piu eminente parte della faccia, & che [p]er476 quella occasione si fa innanzi per esser mirata la prima, sì come occorre spesse volte che vi si ferma l’occhio [a]ccioche477 della forma di quello faccia il giudizio del restante: Per quella ragione vi voglio mostrare duoi modi forse più facile di tutti già inventati, iquali vi serviranno à farvi capaci, di tiro in tiro, del modo di farlo bene. Fate dunque un tiro simile a quel del numero primo che ha l’origine dal principio dalla cava del naso, indi lo ripigliarete, & farete nel secondo tiro tutto il naso con la rotondità; nel terzo il forame; nel quarto le

476 Loss at left edge of page “er”
477 Loss at left edge of page “ccioche”
narici; nel quinto la pozzetta del labro superiore; nel sesto quello di sotto; nel settimo è
dornita la bocca, nel ottavo la rotondità del barbuccio; nel nono la sottogola; nel decimo
cosi unitamente con li tratti si finisce il naso, la bocca, il barbuccio in profilo. Volendo
formar in Maestà, riguardate quel tiro il quale fà un mezo cerchio rivolto in sù, & questo
è il primo; nel secondo, vedete li buchi del naso, con duoi ponti, uno per banda, i quali
accennano dove vanno situate le narici, ; nel terzo aggiungerete le narici; nel quarto nel
pozzetta co’l labro di sopra; nel quinto formarete tutta la bocca; nel sesto la finirete con li
suoi tratti; barbuccio & sottogola. Non devo manco tralasciar di trattare il modo di
formare la bocca, che al giudizio mio tengo per la più bella & nobile parte che posseda la
faccia. Questa per esser sottoposta al naso è necessario sapere di quanta importanza sia il
farla bene, perché una testa, per bella che sia\textsuperscript{478}, non havendo la bocca corrispondente,
riesce altra modo sgarbata, & porta disgusto grande all’animo di qualunque la mira, anzi
che tutte le altre parti per belle che fossero restano senza spirito, & indegne di lode.

“Delle Teste in Profilo col Triangolo Cap. III.”

Il modo di far le Teste in profilo per ogni verso con regola giusta & sicura senza
ponto errare è questo: Si forma un triangolo perfetto, & con esso si fa come vedete che
risguardi per qual si voglia verso. Habbiate dunque la mira a questo ch’io vi rappresento
con quelle linee, le quali formarette col compasso triangolare equilatero, cioè di tre linee
giuste & uguali per ogni ponto. Girarete il detto triangolo con una facciata di quelle tre,
per qual verso vorrete, ò in sù, ò in giù, ò più alto, ò più basso, & in quella farete la testa,
dividendo il lato del triangolo in tre parti giuste nel modo seguente. La prima dalla

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{478} Page break after “si” with “a” as first letter on next line. Does not appear to be cut off.}
cima de’ capelli fino alla fine del fronte; la seconda fino sotto le narici; la terza fino alla
pozzetta del barbuccio. Come haverete formato queste tre divisioni, secondo ch’io vi
dimostrò nel numero 2. andarete facendo col lapis una linea un poco curva, fuori della
linearetta & arrivarete fino all’altro punto, & così sarà formata la fronte; indi ripigliarete
con leggiandria la tralasciata linea curva, facendo un naso ò longo ò curto, ò grasso ò
secco, come vorrete, conterminandolo nel secondo punto sopra il quale finirà la nariccia.
Subdividerete poi la terza parte restante, & in mezzo di quella spartirete la bocca in
superiore & inferiore labro, poi giugnendoci il barbuccio, avertirete che’l punto della
linea perpendicolare non esca fuori della metà di quel barbuccio, aggiognendovi la
sottogola fino alla fontanella, le due altre linee delle quali l’una cadde dalla cima della
fronte in giù & fermarsi nel ponto, l’altra si parte dal b[a]rbuccio & va in sù a ritrovar la
superiore descendent, sono fatte per termine che l’orecchio non esca fuora colla
circonferenza, perciò che si così si facesse sarebbe troppo lontano. Questo lo farete colla
regola del circolo si come vi ho mostrato nel primo capitolo. Poi co’l vostro giudizio
pigliate la cima della fronte, & venite a stendere circolatamente una linea grande per
formare con essa la rotondità della testa fino alla nucca, guardando la proportione che vi
insegna la natura, & di là in giù formarete il restante del collo. Siate dunque avertiti che
l’orecchio non abbandoni le sotto narici, si che volgendosi la testa in qual verso si vorrà,
mai quello non abbandoni queste due linee accennate colli ponti.

“Dela Maesta’ et altri siti. Cap III:”

Poi che io vi hò mostrato ’l modo facile di disegnare le teste in profilo, così anco
è necessità che vi mostri come di debba disegnare la maestà & altri siti. Volendo
dunque disegnar la maestà, bisogna far un ovato perfetto come vi mostra la regola per formar l’orecchio, il che fatto lo dividerete con una linea per longo, laquale partirete con tre linee traversali giuste si come le vedete. Nella prima vanno assituati gli occhi, nella seconda il naso, & nella terza il barbuccio, poi trà quelle due ultime partite per metà, si forma la bocca come l’esemplare lo dimostra. Avertite tuttavia che situando gli occhi nella prima linea, siano tanto lontani l’uno dall’altro quanto la longhezza du uno di loro, & che le glabellae sue siano perpendicolari giusto alle narici come vi accennvo con li ponti. Me mettendo l’orecchio alle teste in maestà, farete in circolo molto stretto, nondimeno proporcionato, accioche l’orecchio fugga dalla parte di dentro & che sia di altezza del sopraciglio & delle narici giuggendovi il collo con li capelli nel modo che più vi piacerà.

“Delli Schizzi in Scurzo. Cap. V.”

In questa tavola faro una breve dichiaratione circa questi siti, avisandovi che sono fatti così alla grossa per darvi ad intendere il modo facile che si deve osservare nel crear le attitudini delle teste così in scurzo come nelli altri siti. Questo benche mostri poca fatica, nientendimeno l’ò fatto espressamente, accioche vediate il modo & la strada infallibile delle linee, come si girino & concordino insieme acciò imitando quelle simili, possiate con facilità mettere ne i loro luoghi il naso, la bocca & tutte le sue parti con bel ordine & concorde corrispondenza senza fatica. Ciò vi volsi dimostrare con queste semplici linee accioche vi asuefacciate à facilitar la mano & componere con giuditio tutto quello che farete.
“Delli Scurzi piu Perfetti Cap. VI”

Ho trattato fin hora delle teste in maestà & altri siti, ma perche sappiate tutto qualche fa bisogno per l’intelligenza di questa professione, è necessario ch’io specifichi il modo di fare li schizzi con via facile resoluta et bella. Tratto così con voi proponendovi quella maniera methodica perche l’intenzione mia è di facilitarvi le cose con modo tale che senza scrittura si faccino per se stesse inteligibili perciocche il disegno ben fatto, ha tal forza, che si fa intendere senza che l’autore suo parli. Tuttavia mi servirò dell’uno & dell’ altro modo, informandovi, [d]ell’intelligenza del dissegno, & poi con le parole. Dico dunque che li scurzi, à chi le suol fare con regola di graticola overo con i stromenti giometrici, riescono solamente una confusione di linee, il che non è per principianti ma solo per espertisimi ingegni. La ragione di questo è che difficilmente si possono misurare con alcuna regola, eccetto se vi si formasse unitamente tutto’l copro. Per ciò non vi dirò si non una regola facile & molto simile a quella delle teste in maestà, cioè di far l’ovato circolare che guardi in sù: Et si come nelle teste in maestà le linee traversali sono rette, così queste vanno circolari, come nella tavola del schizzo, precedente questa di scurzi, havete veduto.

Et se le teste si voltino in giù, voltate li tiri & le dimensioni in questo modo ch’io vi propono, & avertite che l’orecchio & gli occhi non eschino fuora de’ ponti.

“Delle Teste in Profilo Senza Misura  CAP. VII.”

Volendo far le teste in profilo senza triangolo ne altra misura, non bisogna far sempre il triangolo, ma con un poco di studio & prattica avezzar l’occhio che vi servi per compasso, accioche le teste & le altre parti del corpo sijno di proportione & fatte di
misura. Questo conseguirete facilmente formandone molte & così in un tratto facilatarete non solamente l’occhio & l’intelletto, ma ancora habilitarete la mano et avezzaretevi a far’ tutte le cose giuste. Che sia il vero che l’occhio voglia la sua parte, l’hò provato havendo fatto alcune volte certi ritratti, ò disegni nella natura istessa, et ridottili colla penna, lapis passtello, colori a oglio, i quali mi sono riusciti tutti giusti et di grandezza corrispondente puntualmente a quella ch’io imitava. Così finita l’opera mia & misuratela parte per parte, non hò ritrovato cosa alcuna disuguale, ma sempre mi sono riusciti giusti. Perciò vi dico che queste regole & misure le quali vi insegno, non sono già per impedire l’eccellenza dell’arte, nè meno debilitare il valor vostro, ma serviranno per avertimenti generali à chi non le possede, & anco per prevalervene in occasione di voler formare una testa di grandezza di dieci ò tante volte più del naturale, poi che con questa misura farete agevolmente giusta ogni gran testa. Et perche gli intelletti non sono ugualmente elevati, ma chi più chi manco capaci, servirà questa mia fatica à chi no haverà bisogno. Questi dunque daranno principio al primo tiro che in questa prossima tavola vedono, il quale è dalla fronte, come altre volte hò detto al principio del naso, cioè da i capelli alla cava del naso & delle narici, & da quelle al barbuccio. Bisognará poi seguitare, secondo che di mano vanno crescendo i tiri fino alla testa del numero undecimo, & così fate che sij diviso in tre parti giuste coll’occhio senza l’opera del compasso è altra misura il che facendo, puoterete facilmente assuefarvi, di maniera che poi farete tutto quel che vorrete senza fatica alcuna.
“Modo di Schizzare Teste per ogni Verso senza Misura   Cap. VIII”

Non è necessario sempre il far queste misure le quali più inanti vi hò dimostrato, perché sarebbe troppo fatica & stento. Ma l’intenzione mia è stata accioche vediate con qual inusitato modo da me inventato, potete formar nell’idea le misure & distanze giuste d’ogni sorte di testa & per ogni verso. Havendo la cognizione d’esse regole, & facendo poi alcune teste senza questi triangoli ò altri modi dimostrativi, conoscerete gli errori dell’altezza, ò longhezza, ò disparità, ne’ quali altrimenti potereste incorrere. Perciò vi dimostro in questa tavola, il modo facile che dovete tenere, & come con queste poche linee si possono far le teste di qual maniera vorrete.

“Delle Teste de’ Fanciulli. Cap. IX.”

Resta solamente ch’io tratti il modo col quale si debbono fare le teste de’ fanciulli con regola da me inventata, nè mai più d’altri posta in luce. Volendo dunque fare perfettamente le teste de’ fanciulli & di qual imaginabile grandezza si voglia, pigliarete un compasso facendo un triangolo perfetto, & per ogni punto di quello ponendo il vostro compasso & girandolo intorno, farete un circolo, come vedete, di qual grandezza vorrete. All’ altro punto farete il simile, & all’ altri l’istesso, & così saranno fatta Tre circoli, duoi saranno uguali & l’ altro s’unirà con tutti duoi, & questa è la prima dimostrazione. Nella seconda vedrete dalla parte dell’ duoi tondi uguali, uno che servirà per la fronte, l’ altro per le gole, & tra l’ uno & l’ altro, dove è intervallo, ci farete il naso, la bocca & un poco di barbuccio con un tiro appresso la gola aggiugnendovi poi l’ orecchio nel luogo ch’io vi mostro, dove si chiuderebbe il triangolo. Trà quelli duoi circoli poi, aggiugnetevi un poco di nucca & il collo, & così sarà finita la testa del fanciullo in profilo, con li contorni
reali, come vedete nel numero terzo. Nel quarto numero vi rappresento di quanta forza
sia la real regola & regione del disegno, sì che in questi tre circoli scoprirete l’eccellenza
dell’arte, poi che, come vedrete non vi è pronto, circolo, o linea che non facci il suo
effetto con tanta leggiadria quanto sia possibile. Vi faccio veder in una sola dimostrazione
tre teste, delle quali à piacer vostro, levandone due, potrete servirvi della terza senza
pericolo di far errori. Ma sì come nelle teste in profilo adoperate il triangolo, così nella
testa in maestà vi servirete del quadrangolo, il quale da voi prima disegnato, sarà guida
per mettere i circoli nel suo luogo come nella prima lettione vi mostro. Nella seconda vi
accennarete gli occhi, il naso, la bocca; & nel terzo lo finerete poi saldamente, come
vedete, colla sottogola, capelli & altre circonstanze. Ma siate sempre avertiti se bene in
questa tavola non vi accenno gli ponti della grandezza dell’orecchio, & del situar gli
occhi, ch’io l’ho fatto per non confondervi, aspettando che mettiate in pratica le vostre
precedenti dimostrationi, & vi rieschino i vostri lavori con maggiore intelligenza.

IL FINE.
Appendix C: Etchings and Letterpress of Odoardo Fialetti, *Tuttle le parti/A*:

There is no title plate. For pagination, I consider the lost title plate page 1 and its verso page 2.

3. Dedication to Giovanni Grimani (B 209).
4. “Avertimento a gli benigni lettori”

6. “Dell’Orecchio, Cap. I.”

7. (B 200).

9. (B 199).

11. (B 204).

13. (B 205).

15. (B 203).

17. (B 202).
18. “Delle Teste in Profilo Senza Misura CAP. VII.”
20. “Modo di Schizzare Teste per ogni Verso senza Misura  Cap. VIII”

21. (B 207).
22. “Delle Teste de’ Fanciulli. Cap. IX.”

Page 24 is blank.
Appendix D: English translation of the text from Fialetti’s *Tutte le parti/A*.

Part I: Translation of “Avertimento a gli Benigni Lettori” and beginning of Ch. 1 (not in Browne translation).479

Do not marvel, kind readers, students of the noble and profound art of disegno although I have not yet completed the two other booklets that I promised to make for you, that of women, and children. I do not rest but with all my spirit tire myself to bring it to an end, and to do a thing for the common satisfaction, that which will bring to you all the greatest profit with time. This small work, that now I bring out was a loving entertainment, to drive away the laziness, the idleness, and the sleepiness of the longest nights of the past winter. And although I had for the most part already prepared the drawings for the desired result, but not daring to engrave them so soon, thinking to see them reformed and amended soon, but with more comfort and study. But so that you all not regret the long wait, I put in order this other little book, that which is all of lines with their explanation and in the simplest way I know, to show you and make you aware of the beauty of Theory accompanied by Practice and how with this one can make the head in all the sites without being in error. But it will be much more useful to incite other curious spirits to investigate and to invent things maybe better than these because they incited me to keep them company, so I began this little work, made in the style of Symmetry. I do not dare to give it this name, not accidently, because this material has already been treated by others, and in particular by the most excellent Albrecht Dürer in a copious volume, and with most ample discourses, and most beautiful rules.

479 Translation is my own. Barbara Tramelli was kind enough to read over my translation of this text and to offer advice on some awkward passages. Any errors of translation are my own.
But because these and other volumes are expensive and [are] of the greatest study to see and re-see with length of time and great effort, I voluntarily made this undertaking for communal benefit, and even more not to confuse the beginners in the first part with many learned lines. Because I procured, not without little study, to reduce with brevity, and ease, the manner to make the head of every man, woman, or child that is, with such order and measure that every one who wants for his delight to put [them] into action, he will find the easy manner to form which head he wishes, using these limits and rules that I teach to you all. And if this my feeble start will be grateful to you, I will strive to proceed with another, and to facilitate you step by step all the other members, and then the complete figure of the two sexes of whatever size is needed, to be of use in every situation and in much I recommend myself.

“Of the Ear, Chapter 1:”

Having already shown you in my other first booklet, the manner of making the ear for every angle and necessary location, although I did not write about this, and that until now I did not think it necessary because the strokes are very easy and they can be learned by themselves. For this I did not write about it, because it seemed to me more necessary to treat things of greater importance. But since in this book I want to form the judgment of beginners in painting, and still for those who have not known the rules, I will treat first the ear in a manner invented by me, not yet discovered by others.
"Of the Ear. CHAP. I."

I Have observed this Rule, First to treat of the Ear, in a manner of my self invented, and not by any other discovered. Being then desirous to forme the Ear by this way; you are first to describe an Ovall, in such manner as I have represented in this Figure, at the Number 1. but to forme that in more perfection, and as easily as possible may be therein, with such Method and Order as I design. Proceed lightly joyning Stroak to Stroak, in that manner as in each of the sequent Ovalls they are encreased, even unto the 8. Number. So imitate every Stroak of each Ovall, that the Ear may entirely be formed without digressing from the bounds, and reasonable termes of the Art. This Rule serveth not only to forme the Ear in correspondent proportion to Nature, but also with due proportion and perfection for every greater Head, without any reprehensible Error; that is, without making that with too great length or breadth, hetrogeneal or disproportioned. For Observing then the Rule, there will be no occasion for the Spectator to say (as often it hapneth) that that was beyond reason, exorbitantly traced, and made without the bounds of reason.

"The Nose, Mouth, and Beard. CHAP. II."

FOrasmuch as I think that necessary, to make a brief Discourse upon this next Figure, in which the Nose, the Mouth, and the Beard is described, to give thereof certain general
advertisements; and that I may further define all the difficulties from point to point; the Nose being known to be the most eminent part of the Face, and therefore first seen; and then the Eye which resteth in the judgement, the next form of the Face: therefore I will demonstrate two of the most easie wayes hath hitherto been invented, which may serve reasonable capacities from Stroke to Stroke, to make the same well. Make then first a Stroke like that in the 1. Number, which hath the beginning of the hollowness of the Nose: and then proceed to the 2. Stroke of the whole Nose, with the roundness thereof: in the 3. the hole of the Nostrills: in the 4. the Nostrills themselves: in the 5. the place of the upper Lip: in the 6. the upper Lip: in the 7. the form of the Mouth: in the 8. the roundness of the Beard: in the 9. the under-Throat: in the 10. the uniting of them all, with the Stroke of the finishing of the Nose, the Mouth, and the Beard.

Describe a semi-Circle downwards, which is in the 1. in the 2. make the holes of the Nose, with the two Points on each side, and how each are placed: in the 3. the addition of the Nostrills: in the 4. the forming of all the upper Lip: in the 5. the form of all the Mouth: in the 6. the finishing of all the Strokes of the Beard and Chin. This for frameing the Nose is necessary to be explained, being of importance to describe the same well; because be the Head never so well done, the Mouth and it being not correspondent, that will be but disgracefull, and give great distast to any judicious beholder; be the other parts never so well and fairly done, that will rest without grace and unworthy of commendations.
“Of the Head upright, or with a Triangle. CHAP. III.”

The manner to make the upright Head by just and safe Rules without error, is thus: First form a perfect equal triangle so as you see, in what position you will, having a respect to the Draughts I have presented with the Lines that form with the Compasses a just Equilaterall Triangle, which is with 3 Lines just and equal every way, turning the Triangle to make the Face upon one of the 3 sides, be it which you will, either upwards, downwards, higher or lower, dividing that side into 3 equal parts, as in the sequent Figure. The 1. to serve from the lower part of the Hair, to the lower part of the Forehead: The 2. thence, to the under part of the Nostrills: The 3. to the lower part of the Chin. Now having framed these 3 Lines, as I have shewed Number 2 draw a little crooked Stroke with a Cole or Chalk out of the right Line, that that may reach to the other point, and that will form the Forehead, From whence draw a waved slope Line bending at the end, to form the Nose either long, short, gross, or thin, as you would have that; ending that at the 2d point, where the Nostrills end. Then subdivide the remaining 3d part in the midst, where the Mouth shall be placed, for the parting of the upper and under-Lips. Then frame the Chin, having a respect to the perpendicular Line, that that fall not out of the middle of the Chin; adjoyning thereto the under-Chin down to the Throat-pit. So with the other two dividing Lines, the one from the top of the Forehead downwards (and ends in the midst of the back part of the Ear;) the other proceedeth upwards from the Chin, ascending till that meet with the superior descending Line, whose intersection directeth the Ear, that the Circumference thereof stretch not too far; which in the first Chapter I formed by the Rule of the Circle. Thus with your judgement take the upper part of the Forehead, and come to
describe a great Circular Line about, to form with that the roundness of the Head, unto
the Nape of the Neck, keeping the proportion that Nature teacheth; and from thence
downwards frame the rest of the Neck, remembering that the tip of the Ear doth not exceed
the lower part of the Nostrill. So you may have the Head in what position you will, so this
abandon not the two other Lines; each concurring in their due points.

“Of the Foreright, and other Positions of the Face. CHAP. IV.”

Having demonstrated an easie way how to draw the upright Head; it will be also
necessary to shew the manner how to draw the foreright Face, and in other Positions.
Being then desirous to draw the foreright Face, it will be necessary to form a perfect
Oval, as I shewed in the Rule for drawing the Ear; which being made, divide in the midst
with a Line the longest way, which must from the lower part of the Hair be divided into
3. equall parts, by 2. Lines as you see. In the 1. is the Eyes to be placed; in the 2d the
Nostrils: then the lower part divided; in the midst thereof must the Mouth be formed, as
by the Figure may be conceived: alwayes remembering that the Eyes must be in the 1.
Line; and each of them distant from the other, the length of one of them: and that their
inner Corners be perpendicularly over the outside of the Nostrils punctually. But to make
the Ears in a foreright Face, the Oval must be exceeding narrow, yet proportional; that is,
that the Ears be drawn in, and be in height from the Nostrils to the Eye-brows: and then
adjoyn the Neck with the Hair, in such sort as may seem most pleasing to the judicious
Eye.
“Of the Inclining or Foreshortning of the Face. CHAP. V.”

IN this Figure I will make a brief Declaration concerning the scition or posture; and being respective of the bigness, to give easie wayes to observe in framing the altitude of the Head in any inclination, as well in Foreshortning or other postures. This then requireth small labour; and yet I have explained the same, that the manner thereof may be plainly seen; and the path infallible by the Lines, as they turn and concord together. Imitating the like, you may with facility draw in their places the Nose, the Mouth, and all the parts in good order, agreeing correspondently without much labour; as I will shew with these simple Lines; which with a little practice to prepare the hand and judgement thereto; all which may be absolutely well effected thereby.

“Of a more perfect Foreshortning. CHAP. VI.”

Hitherto have I treated of the Head, both foreright, and in other positions; but that you might know all that is needfull for the perfect understanding of this profession, it is necessary that I specifie the Manner how to draw the Face by an easie, absolute, and fair way. Treating thus, I propound to you Methodicall meanes therein; because my intent is to facilitate the matter in that manner, that without writing thereupon it may be intelligible: For a Draught well made hath that power, that it makes itself understood without any Discourse of the Author thereon. But I alwayes observe both the one and the other also; instructing by the Draught the intelligence first, and afterward by Discourse thereupon. I say then that the Foreshortning which is made only with Frets, Grates,
Squares, or with Geometricall instruments, breed only a confusion of Lines, which is not the best principle of expert ingenuity; the reason whereof is, that it can hardly be measured by any Rule, unless the whole Body be framed together. Therefore I will shew an easie Rule, very like to that of the foreright Face; that is, to make a Circular Draught with aspect upwards, or downwards, as in the foreright Head, where the Traverse Lines are straight; but these go Circularly, as in the Figures in the last Chapter going before may be seen. For if the Heads flye upwards, the Trace, Strokes, and the Divisions, must be raised as I have shewed; with Caution that the Ears and Eyes fall not without their due points.

“Of the upright or side-Face without any Measure. CHAP. VII.”

Being desirous to make an upright Head or side-Face, without any Triangle or other Measure; you shall not need alwayes to make the Triangle, but with a little care and practice to form the Eye, which will serve for direction sufficiently; because the Head and other parts of the Body are to be proportionals, and made from Measures, it will easily follow, framing many with one and the same Stroke, you may not only facilitate it by the Eye and Judgement, but also accommodate the Hand to trace and draw all things right; for it is true that the Eye will have his place. And I have proved, that having drawn certain Strokes and Draughts from the life of Nature, and reduced it with the Pen and Pencil into Oyl-Colours, I have found it to come off punctually right of a correspondent bigness to that which I have imitated. So that having finished my work, and measured it part by part, I have not found any thing disproportioned, but have alwayes found it fall
out right, as I would have it. Therefore I say that this Rule and Measure which I have set
down, is not any hinderance to the excellency of the Art, nor will weaken your worth; but
will serve as a general Advertisement, being once possest therewith; and also become
prevalent when occasion will require, to make a Head ten times as big as the natural; for
that with this Measure you shall readily frame it right by any great Head; and that
because the Understanding therein is equally extended; but the more the Capacity is
wanting, the more my labour will further, when need requireth. These then I give as
principal for the first Strokes, as in the next Figure may be perceived, which is from the
Forehead, as I have already said, for the beginning of the Nose; that is from the lower
part of the Hair, to the hollowness of the Nose and the Nostrils, and from thence to the
Chin. It will afterwards be necessary to proceed accordingly from Stroke to Stroke, by
increasing the Strokes until you come to the Head, Number 10. and so make it to be
divided into 3. parts by the Eye justly, without the help of Compasses or other Measures;
and in so doing, you may easily accustome your hand, in such sort that you may draw all
you would, without any labour at all.

“The Manner how to describe a Head every way without Measure. CHAP. VIII.”

IT will not be needfull alwayes to set down the Measures which I have before prescribed,
because it will be too troublesome: But my intent is to shew how by an unusuall manner
by me invented, you may form in the Idea, the just Measures and Distances of all sorts of
Heads; and in all Positions, having the knowledge of this Rule; and afterwards making
some Heads without any Triangle, or other manner of Demonstration, knowing the errors
of heights, lengths, and divisions, into which you may otherwise run. Therefore I shew in this Figure an easie manner that must be held; and how with those few Lines, to make the Head in what manner you will.

“Of Childrens Heads. CHAP. IX.”

IT resteth only for me to treat of the manner how to draw the Heads of Children, with a Rule, invented by me, and not yet by any put forth in writing. Being then desirous to form the Heads of Children perfectly, and of what imaginable bigness you will; take a pair of Compasses, and make a perfect equilater-triangular Triangle, and upon each point thereof by turning the Compasses round, make a Circle as you see, of that bigness that they may touch each other: The like done on each, you shall so have described 3. Circles, whereof 2. shall be even upon one side, and the 3d behind them, joyned to them both. And this is the 1. demonstration: In the 2d, upon that side which the two even Rounds are, the one of them shall serve for the Forehead, and the other for the Throat; and behind both where there is a space, you shall make the Nose, the Mouth, and some part of the Chin, with a Stroke near the Throat; afterwards adjoyning the Ear in the place which I shew, where we conclude the Triangle, and under those two Circles, joyn a little of the Nape and the Neck; and so will the Childes Head be finished in the side Face porfill, with the Crown, as you see Number 3d. In Number 4. I represent what force a real Rule and Reason hath in designing, as if in these 3. Circles I should open the excellency of the Art; because as you see, there is no point nor Circle but performeth his office, with that convenience that is possible; I make you 3. Heads in one Demonstration, of which at your pleasure you
may leave away 2, and take the 3\textsuperscript{d}, without danger of committing any error therein. But as I use the Triangle in the upright or side-Head, so do I use the Square or Quadrangle in the foreright Face; which being first described, will be a guide to place the Circles in their places; as in the 1. Draught I shew: In the 2\textsuperscript{d} falleth the Eye, the Nose, and the Mouth: In the 3\textsuperscript{d} I finish all together, with the under-Chin, Hair, and other Circumstances. But be alwayes advised in this Face, where and how to place the points and bigness of the Ear; and to situate the Eye, which I have made to avoid confusion, observing the Measures in practice by the precedent Demonstration: And so your work will come off with the greater life and judgement.

FINIS.
Appendix E: Italian text and English translation of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli’s *Alfabeto in sogno* (1683).\textsuperscript{480}

*Alfabeto in sogno*

*Esemplare per disgnare di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli*  
*Pittore Bolognese, 1683*

*Se del primo carattere il tenore*  
*Brami sapere, ei stassis à bocca aperta,  
Gridando à la virtù, si prenda Amore.*

*A suoi scolari*  
*Giuseppe Maria Mitelli*

*Ancorche dormano gli occhi, o miei Scolari, l’anima però sempre veglia, e molto più intorno a quegli oggetti, ove più di frequente esercita le sue potenze Io perciò, non è gran tempo, tutto rilassato in poter del Sonnò, fui da quell suo gentile ministro Morfeo circondato conforme, e Visioni pertinenti alla nobilissima Arte del Disegno vostro unico diletto, e mio singolar esercitio egli mi rappresentò le letere [sic] del Alfabeto formate da incoposti Fantasmi, e da confuse Imagine, e mi commandò, che dovessi disegnare in proporzionate Figure quegli Embrioni, ch [sic] appena nati, suaniscono; onde io di subito svegliato, qui gli ho’ disposti con simetria, et alla vostra diligente applicatione dedicati. Non vi rappresento l’Uve di Zeusi, ne il panno: di Parrasio, perché frà voi non v’è altra Emulazione, che di virtu, solo vi propongo i primi elementi del Disegno, acciò che vi sono scrota nel acquisto d’Arte si laboriosa; vi prieo intanto à far sì, che i miei sogni siano veri, e che i Disegni mi riescano, e ne saro certo allora, quando vedrò dalle mie fatiche, derivarne il vostro profitto, e Dio vi consoli*

Dream Alphabet

*Model [book] of drawing by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli*  
*Painter from Bologna, 1683*

*If you are eager to know the nature of the first letter/ it stays with the mouth open,/ screaming to virtue, take Love.*

*To his pupils*

\textsuperscript{480} Translation of the verses is by Barbara Tramelli.
Giuseppe Maria Mitelli.

Even when the eyes are sleeping, pupils, the mind is always awake, especially watchful of those things which she exercises her power to. For this reason, not long ago, while I was entirely relaxed in power of the Sleep, I was surrounded by his kind herald Morpheus, and he showed me Visions of that most noble Art of Drawing, which is your only delight and my unique exercise: [he showed me] the letters of the Alphabet made by flustered ghosts and [formed of] confused Images, and he ordered me to draw with harmonic proportions those embrionic figures, which disappeared in the same instant they were formed. So the second I woke up I drew them here, with symmetry, and I dedicated them to your diligent exercise. I do not depict Zeuxi’s grape, nor the cloth: of Parrasio, I just suggest here, because among you there must not be Emulation other than that of the virtue, first elements of drawing, so that they can help you in learning such difficult discipline. Meanwhile I pray you to make my dreams come true, and I pray that my drawings turn out well, and I will be certain of it when I will see that from my work comes your improvement, and may God help you.

A

L’altra lettera pur par che l’ esprima
L’affetto ch’ a quest’ Arte hai da portare
Che del tenor istesso è de la prima

The other letter also seems to express it/
the love that you should feel for this Art/
(the love) which is the character of the first.

B

Quasi gonfiando il B le guaucie sue,
Suona la tromba, e intuona a l’ignorante
Tu tu sarai, se non impari, un Bue

The B, almost blowing his cheeks up,/ plays the trumpet, and it threatens the ignorant,/ ‘You, you will become, if you not learn, an ox.

C

Dal C spronati à la Costanza io sento,
E però s’a lo studio utile è tanto,
Una lettera sol vale per Cento.
The C spur you all to constancy, I feel,/ and also if this is so useful to study/ one single letter stays for hundred.

D
Del D può far il Pittor mai senza,  
Se non vogliam considerar, ch’ei dica  
Necessaria è al Pittor la Diligenza.

A painter cannot be without the D/ if we don’t want to consider, that he says/ ‘Necessary is Diligence to the painter.

E
Quei ch’ hà le voglie à degna gloria intente,  
D’esser vulgar Pittor pago non sia,  
Ma l’E gl’imprima l’esser Eccellente.

He who wants to achieve glory/ Must not be satisfied of being a common painter/ but let the E push him to be Excellent.

F
Vuol’ l’Effè dir Fatica, e senza alcuna  
Difficultà da lei nasce sovente  
Un second’effè, e questo è la Fortuna.

The F means labour,/ and from her without difficulty a second F is born,/ which is Luck/Fortune.

G
Acquista à l’opre il G senso simile,  
Se conforme ti porti, ò male, ò bene,  
Un daratti, del Gosso, un del Gentile

To the job the G acquires a similar meaning/ whether or not you behave correctly,/ one will give you the name of Rough, one of Kind.

H
Quello, à cui di saper nulla s’attacca,  
Ben dir di pote, che non monta un zero  
Bendir si pote, che non vale un Hacca.
The one who doesn’t learn a thing/
He can be well said that he’s not worth a zero/
He can be well said that he’s not worth an H.

I
L’ I sopra il tutto ad Imitar t’inviti,
E d’arte, e di natura il più perfetto,
Ch’imitato sarai, se bene imiti.

The ‘I’ will invite you principally to Copy,/ 
both art and nature/ because you will be copied a lot/ if you copy well.

K
Questa lettera qui, che detta è Kappa
E come quella cappa, che non s’usa
Però ciò, che non s’usa il biasmo incappa.

This letter, which is said Key, / 
is like the ‘cappa’ which is not used/ But what is not used is to blame.

L
Tu, che dal tetro oblio fuggir presumi.
E fra Pittori diventir ben chiaro,
L’Elle ad oppor t’insegni à l’Ombra i Lumi.

And you, who presumes you will not be forgotten/
and (you presume that) you will be famous among painters/
let the L teach you to contrast Shadow and Light.

M
Tre gambe ha l’Emme, e sù trè gambe stà
La Potenza de l’Huom ch’ à l’opre attende
Intelletto, Memoria, e Volontà

Three legs has the M, and on three legs stays/
the Power of man who attends to work/
Intellect, Memory and Will.

N
L’Enne amonisce ogni Pittori, che tale
Deve à gl’ occhi mostrarsi ogni pittura,
Quale à gl’occhi si mostra il Naturale
The N warns every painter/
that every painting should appear to the eyes/
such as Nature appears to them.

O
E l’O per il Pittori un mal negotio,
Et è cagion, che mai non han denari,
Quando si danno à l’O, che vuol dir l’Otio

The O is a bad affair for Painters/
and it’s the reason why they have no money/
when they devote themselves to O, which means Laziness.

P
Da la mente di voi non sia di giunto
Il P che por vi deve in fantasia,
Ch’ il punto stà nel’ osservare il Punto.

The P shouldn’t be separated from your mind,/ 
(the P) should put imagination in you/
because the Point is to observe the Point.

Q
Del molto ch’ è cattivo assai più vale
Il poco, e buono, e questa lettera dice,
Che da stimarsi è più del Quant oil Quale.

Of the much that is bad more is worth/
the few and the good, and this letter means/
that you should value the Quality over the Quantity.

R
Di quell’ opra di in publico si pore,
Parlo Scolari à voi, l’Autor ne deve,
Al parer di ciascun render Ragione.

Of that painting that is put in front of the public/
I speak to you, pupils, the author must account for it/
to the opinion of each and everyone.

S
O miei cari studenti io vi protesto,
Ch’ osserviate nel S la Simmetria,
E ad aggiustarla adoperiate il Sesto.
O dear students,
I encourage you to observe the S of Symmetry/
and to use the compasses to set it right.

T
Se dipungi, o disegni il T t’accennia,
Ch’hai da Temprar con regola i colori,
Ch’hai da Temprar con regola la penna.

If you paint or draw, the T suggests you/
to temper the colour with regularity/
to temper the pen with regularity.

V
L’V sopra tutto in mente haver si dee,
Ch’ à far non s’han, come le cialde à un modo,
Mà s’hanno à Varier gli’atti e l’Idee.

You should have in mind principally the V/
that you shouldn’t paint in an unvaried way, as the wafers are made/
but you should vary the actions and the ideas.

X
L’IX dal tuo cor oia’ mai non si cancelli,
Che vuol, ch’habbiam Xenocrates pudico
Per modello in copiar vivi modelli.

The X must never be erased from your heart/
which takes the modest Xenocrates as a model/
to copy living models.

Y
S’à ritrar mai n’andrai giovani Donne,
Avverti à non imprime à mariti,
In cima della fronte un Ypsilonne.

If you’ll ever go to paint young women/
be careful not to imprint on the forehead of the husbands/
a Y.

Z
La Zetta insegna à te, che se dir bene
De l’opre altrui non poi, non dei dir male,
Ch’un ZOILO poco sano si mantiene.
The Z teaches you, that if you cannot speak well of the work of others, you must not speak ill of it because a Zoilo does not enjoy good health.
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Figure 4.28. Oliviero Gatti (after Guercino), Six Eyes from Esemplari per Disegno, Etching, 1619, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna.
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Figure 4.30. Guercino, *Suzannah and the Elders*, 1617, Museo del Prado.
Figure 4.31. Stefano della Bella, *Sheet of Studies from I principii del disegno*, Etching, 1641-49, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Figure 4.32. Stefano della Bella, *Title Plate from Recueil de diverses pièces servant à l’art de portraiture*, Etching, c. 1647, Image courtesy de Vesme.
Figure 4.33. Anonymous, *Title Plate for Scuola Perfetta* (possible prepublication state, or later reworked state), Engraving, National Gallery, Washington, D.C.
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Figure 4.36. Luca Ciamberlano or Francesco Brizio, *Head of an Old Bearded Man* from *Scuola Perfetta*, Engraving printed in red and black ink, c. 1609-1614, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
Figure 4.37. Luca Ciamberlano or Francesco Brizio, *Two Skulls from Scuola Perfetta*, Engraving printed in red and black ink, c. 1609-1614, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
Figure 4.38. Luca Ciamberlano or Francesco Brizio, *An Ear Accompanied by its own Contour Sketched in Single Draft* from *Scuola Perfetta*, Engraving, c. 1609-1614, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
Figure 4.39. Luca Ciamberlano or Francesco Brizio, *A Nose, Mouth and Chin, in Draft; the Same Parts Shaded, and the Head of a Girl in Profile from Scuola Perfetta*, Engraving, c. 1609-1614, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Figure 4.40. Giuseppe Ribera, *Large Grotesque Head*, Etching, c. 1622, British Museum.
Figure 4.41. Giuseppe Ribera, *Studies of Ears*, Etching, c. 1622, British Museum.

Figure 4.42. Giuseppe Ribera, *Study of Bat and Ears*, Red chalk and brush and red wash, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Figure 4.43. Giuseppe Ribera, *Studies of a Head in Profile*, Red chalk, Princeton University Art Museum, 2002-97.
Figure 4.44. Giuseppe Ribera, *Studies of Eyes*, Etching, c. 1622, British Museum.

Figure 4.45. Giuseppe Ribera, *Studies of the Nose and Mouth*, Etching, c. 1622, British Museum.
Left: Figure 4.46. Anonymous (after Guido Reni), *Two Eyes in Partial Profile*, Etching, c. 1630, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Right: Figure 4.47. Anonymous (after Guido Reni), *Two Eyes in Partial Profile*, Etching, c. 1630, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
Figure 4.48. Giovanni Luigi Valesio, *Dodici principali movimenti della Testa*, Engraving, 1620s, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna.
Figure 4.49. Pietro Aquila, *Studies of Eyes*, Engraving, 1670s, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Figure 4.50. Pietro Aquila, *Studies of Hands*, Engraving, 1670s, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
Figure 4.51. Pietro Aquila, *Studies of Legs*, Engraving, 1670s, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
Figure 4.52. Bernardino Curti, Copy of Esemplari per Disegno, Engraving, 1640s(?), Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna.
Figure 4.53. Image comparing (top) a plate from the original *Esemplari per Disegno* and (bottom) the copy by Bernardino Curti. Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna.
Figure 4.54. Francesco Curti, *Title plate from Scelta di Disegni del Caracci, Parmegiani et di Guido Reni*, Engraving, c. 1630, Rijksmuseum.
Figure 4.55. Francesco Curti, *Studies of Hands* from *Scelta di Disegni del Caracci, Parmegiani et di Guido Reni*, Engraving, c. 1630, Rijkmuseum.
Figure 4.56. Luca Ciamberlano (?), Copy after G. Franco, *Engraved Study of Naked Children*, Engraving, after 1611, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna.
Figure 4.57. Giacomo Franco, *Engraved Study of Naked Children from De Excellentia et Nobilitate Delineationis Libri Duo*, Engraving, 1611, Rijksmuseum.
Figure 4.58. Anonymous, Copy after Giacomo Franco, *Twelve Naked Children*, Etching, after 1611, British Museum.
Figure 4.59. Palma il Giovane, *Studies of Children*, Etching, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi.
trial, but according with the recollection of it, will be the ease or difficulty of their progress hereafter.

53. Having succeeded in becoming proficient in drawing a correct outline, next proceed to express the shadows that give roundness, and further develop the form of the mouth. Begin with the most distinct and prominent markings; they will serve as a basis upon which to elaborate and express more minute detail and finish, as well as to make you familiar with the actual formation of the object of imitation, and induce a systematic habit of study as well as execution, which are both of much importance to beginners. With regard to expressing tints by lines, what has been before said (13 and 19) may be recalled to mind, and the pupil should not attempt to finish up a drawing, until he is in a measure perfect in each progressive step. In the following examples, is shown the method of proceeding gradually with a drawing, and it is advisable that this, as well as each progressive example, should be practised over and over again, until not only facility in its imitation is attained, but the method by which that imitation is produced is thoroughly understood.

54. The directions with regard to this example have been thus fully given, and their importance especially urged, because of their application to those that follow, subject only to such variations as the peculiar form of the different features may require in their delineation. Difficulty may be felt, in the first attempts, in expressing the shadows, as well as in obtaining a correct outline, as the delicacy of hand and precision of touch requisite to their expression, are only to be acquired by care and practice. To become a good draughtsman this difficulty must be mastered, and it must be done now—in the beginning—when it is less formidable. Should the pupil in his anxiety to go forward, find it irksome to devote the time and patience to these rudimental studies that may be required, he may rely upon it, he will soon find himself involved in greater difficulties, from which it may not be easy for him to extricate himself. This injudicious hurrying forward has done much harm to education in design, by bringing disgust rather than delight in its pursuit. Never leave a difficulty behind you that you have not overcome, and those that lie before...