Genevieve Warwick

Between Libraries and Museums. Housing the Early Modern Drawing Album

When the new British Library opened in 1998, leaving its old premises in The Round Reading Room at the British Museum, discussion arose about the correct collocation of drawings within such an encyclopaedic collection now divided into two. Historically conceived as both a library and a museum under one roof, books and artefacts had been housed together as commensurate bodies of knowledge since the Museum's inception in 1753.[1] For the most part the separation between the museum and the library was a clear distinction between materials and media – art and artefact objects stayed at the museum while books went to the new library at Saint Pancras. The one department presented with a potential dilemma, however, was that of prints and drawings. If, with hindsight, the decision to stay with the museum was self-evident, it is historically as well as epistemologically revealing that the question ever arose. Prints and printed books are clearly proximate, so that the separation of sheet prints from early books marks an institutional cleavage of collocation that is at some variance from the interwoven histories of their production.[2] Recent research has highlighted that drawing history is also closely tied to that of the early modern book. For from the inception of drawing collections right up to the nineteenth century, overwhelmingly, drawings were kept within book covers and on bookshelves, as books.

The collective enterprise of this volume is to map patterns or systems for the production of knowledge in early modern Europe as specifically manifest in collections of drawings. This essay's contribution is to consider the arrangement of early modern drawings into albums, or books, as a material manifestation of their historical relationship with early modern book culture. To recover the ›bookishness‹ of the early modern drawing album is therefore critical to any historical understanding of the drawing's cultural position. The

Publiziert in: Oy-Marra, Elisabeth und Kaul-Trivolis, Annkatrin (Hrsg.): Ordnen – Vergleichen – Erzählen: Materialität, kennerschaftliche Praxis und Wissensvermittlung in Klebebänden des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net-ART-Books (2024).
https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.1408.c20484

subject is nothing less than the history of the drawing album within the history of the book proper.

This paper has a number of converging points of origin to acknowledge from the outset. My foremost debt is to Elisabeth Oy-Marra's shared interests in early modern collections of drawings centred on knowledge production probed from a variety of directions. Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò's long-standing work and generous collaboration in the study of drawing albums fully underpins the research. Vita Segreto's 2018 conference and book on the organisation of drawings into albums argued that early modern collections of drawings were, almost entirely, collated or filed into books, on which this paper offers an extended reflection. In studying books of drawings, I am further indebted to literary scholars working on early modern writers' use of notebooks in which to compose, and so in the parallel between notebooks and sketchbooks, as equivalent instruments of creative knowledge production. I also take up the work of scholars of intellectual history concerned with early modern universal or encyclopaedic collecting, who have underscored the physical as well as conceptual proximity of collections of art alongside books, in which museums and libraries were conceived as closely-related instruments of knowledge. In addition, I owe a significant debt to those scholars of the rise of the illustrated art book, which was also an early modern historical development. Finally, the essay is indebted to scholarship on the history of the early modern book more broadly.[3]

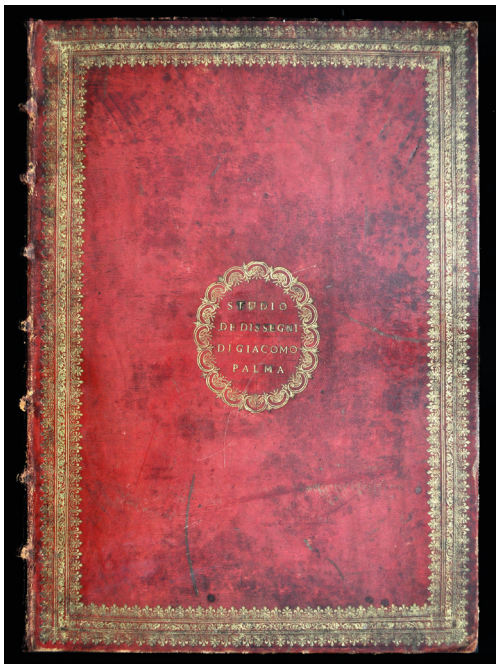
The interdisciplinary demands of the field of study are thus weighty, further prompted by the extensive nature of the material evidence itself – both of drawings, and of books. For throughout the early modern period drawing was the primary method of knowledge acquisition and documentation in the visual domain writ large. In this regard it is critical to recall that, in a pre-photographic age, drawing was an indispensable instrument of learning across disciplines, from medicine and engineering to art, architecture, and design. Drawing as the instrument of engraving was thus closely linked to the Renaissance development of printing and printed books, and so to the far greater possibilities of knowledge circulation it brought of both visual and textual information. Drawing was a tool, and a research method: it was the means by which to record, and therefore to know, the visible field. This is to acknowledge not only the vastness of the material for study, but also its wide-reaching significance across disciplinary boundaries – history of art, visual culture, and

intellectual history in all its domains, as well as a social history of art as of book production, and the history of their reception in terms of reading and viewing – by whom, where, in what contexts, and circumstances.

Codicology

The linked history of early modern prints and drawings with printed books depends, in the first instance, on their shared history of paper as a medium. The great expansion in paper production arising with the advent of printing in the fifteenth century meant that it became increasingly available, cheap and easy to buy, whereas medieval drawing on vellum and parchment made from animal skins was clearly much less so.[4] The conjoined history of the early modern graphic media as works on paper is further embedded in the early history of the ›prints and drawings cabinet‹. Thus, the exemplary Medici holdings, in which works of art on paper were housed largely within albums in what would become the Uffizi *Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe*, were situated in close proximity to the princely library as well as the burgeoning art collections gathered together under the able direction of Filippo Baldinucci as both the curator and librarian. Placing books, graphic media, and artefacts side by side, he evidenced their close inter-relation of all forms of knowledge within princely encyclopaedic collections of this kind and magnitude.[5]

Such early modern arrangements of drawings into albums was in the first instance for safe keeping – putting papers between covers was a means of keeping the pages flat and sheltering them from the fading effects of light. The seventeenth-century treatise on collecting by the papal advisor Giulio Mancini expressly counselled this as the best means of protecting drawings from undue wear, advising collectors to safeguard them in an enclosed room dedicated to the purpose, just like the Medici Gabinetto, where they might be consulted »a commodo« and with due care.[6] The practice continued across the eighteenth century, even as albums changed hands, when they were often rebound into new covers, both for conservation and to reflect their new ownership. Albums remained the standard case for drawings collections until the nineteenth century, when the great expansion of public museums committed to general access brought new curatorial needs. Over the 1800s drawings in museum collections were, by and large, removed from the albums that once held them, and placed as individual sheets in mounts within solander



1. Jacopo Palma il Giovane (1544–1628 Venice), Studio di dissegni di Giacomo Palma, album cover of red leather with gold tooling, 503 x 588 mm, Venice, Museo Correr. © Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia.

boxes. This greatly facilitated their display within exhibitions, allowing for different combinations of sheets according to changing thematics of their curation. It also corresponded to a renewed appreciation of drawings as independent works of art. The curatorial loss is that we no longer have the tangible evidence of their longstanding historical arrangement into books.

Today, museums still tend to remove drawings from albums, while also conserving the original book covers in which they were once bound as integral to their provenance history. But by and large, we have lost the material evidence of these erstwhile drawing books – the covers and bindings in which they were formerly housed. In so doing, we have lost the sense of their once book-like status. Remaining extant drawing albums, though rare, provide our best evidence for reconstructing this occluded aspect of early modern graphic culture as a form of book culture. The Venetian Palma Giovane's album titled by him as »Studio di dissegni di Giacomo Palma«, still in its original red leather binding with gold tooling, provides an instrumental example of this once ready equivalence between drawing albums and books (fig. 1). The album is today preserved at the Museo Correr in Venice, which again is both a museum and a library, reinforcing the historical position of such objects as artworks as well as books.The artist's title for the album further underscores the relationship between drawings and books by designating it as a ›studio‹ or ›*studiolo*‹, so acknowledging the place of drawings within the private study or ›cabinet‹ as a critical space of intellectual enquiry of the period, for scholars and artists alike.[7]

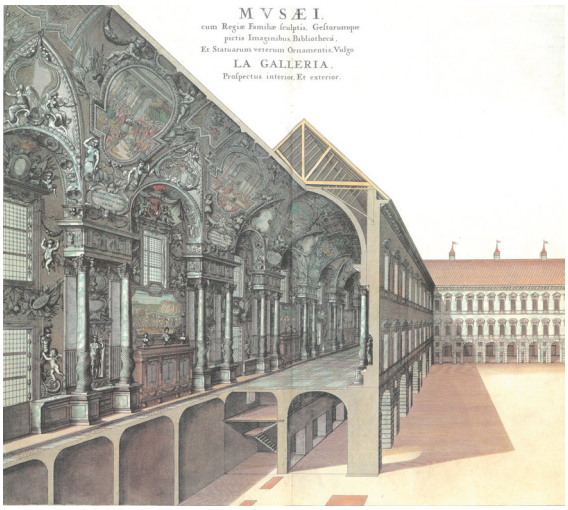
Through such remaining albums we grasp what they once were – volumes of all sizes, from great library tomes to the travelling pocketbook; bound in leather, parchment, wood veneers, or reinforced paper of various colours; kept on book shelves, in libraries, drawing cabinets, museums and galleries, studios and *studioli*, and artists' workshops; as collective reference works; but also as highly portable individual sketchbooks for artists to carry with them in the constant pursuit of their study of the visual domain. A glossary of terms by which to describe drawing books and books of drawings – from sketchbook, drawing album or volume, to *taccuino*, *Skizzenbuch*, and *livre de dessins* – evidences the various types of knowledge production to which they may be linked. As a field of enquiry there is a pressing interest, if much debate, for nomenclature as a mode of classification, to order the materials into a typology of such albums able to account for the many variations across languages, as well as time and place. Their shifting institutional collocations, too, are a key marker of changing artistic uses, and so of critical historical developments within Renaissance artistic practice, as further evidence to bring to bear alongside accounts of the changing types of drawings within them.

A key distinction by scholars and curators such as Albert Elen, among others, is instrumental. Elen differentiates at *prima facie* between the sketch- or drawing-book as an assembly of blank pages put together for an artist's ongoing use as part of a history of practice; and collectors' albums of extant drawings brought together as collections of art, or indeed other kinds of visual knowledge, as part of the history of collecting. Of course there is much inter-weaving historically – artists' sketchbooks that became collectibles; and workshop collections of a master's drawings for use by studio assistants. But to begin, this primary distinction between sketchbooks and collectors' albums is a critical guide.[8]

In this regard it is useful to reflect further on the history of where such volumes were, historically, housed. Even today, as the British Museum|Library dilemma highlights, drawing books may be housed in both museum and library collections. Similarly in the Royal Collections at Windsor the drawings are, historically, kept in the Print Room, which forms part of the library. Such holdings of drawings are thus both art collections, and books: this is precisely the point. Drawing albums may also be found in archives, as deposits of encyclopaedic documentation of all kinds of knowledge in the visual domain. One thinks here of the celebrated *museo cartaceo* of Cassiano dal Pozzo, assembled

in Rome but mostly now at Windsor, which entailed commissioning young artists to draw after natural history specimens, on the one hand; and antiquities and architecture, on the other. These drawings were then assembled into great numbers of volumes by subject categories, to serve as visual compendia of encyclopaedic knowledge across the arts and sciences.[9] Many other instances of this type of visual knowledge collection were undertaken through drawings compiled into albums as a key part of an early modern knowledge economy, particularly in the realms of antiquarian studies and natural history, in ever-burgeoning encyclopaedic extensions of Cassiano's exemplary ›paper museum‹. As such, they circulated forms of visual knowledge across Europe, as in the case of John Talman's albums of prints and drawings after classical architecture and architectural ornament. Compiled in Rome, then brought back to England, their subsequent dispersal through his position as a founder-member of the London Society of Antiquaries reached an extensive network of future collectors, such as Josiah Wedgwood, to play a key part in the development of eighteenth-century English antiquarian studies. While many were rebound to the specifications of their new owners, a small number remain as they were in Talman's possession. A large album bound by Talman in blue leather with gold lettering along the spine now at the Ashmolean Museum denotes its contents precisely for the purposes of ready identifiation on an architectural library bookshelf: »The Five | Orders & | Ornaments | Relating | Thereto | Prints & | Drawings.«[10]

Elsewhere drawing books also took their place between the library and the gallery, as at the now-destroyed *biblioteca-museo* of the Dukes of Savoy in Turin, built to contain all the marvels of the world: antiquities, art, and rare objects on the one hand, but also natural curios and scientific instruments on the other, as well as the ducal library. As an early modern princely collection, it was encyclopaedic in scope, spanning arts and sciences as a unified or multi-faceted corpus of knowledge. If the Savoy collections themselves are now lost or dispersed due to fire in 1667, prints and textual descriptions relate that the ducal collections of drawing albums were once housed on library shelves, immediately adjacent to the Great Gallery, as an early example of their integration within both the museum and the library (fig. 2). An architectural elevation by the Piedmontese draughtsman illustrates the internal display of the Great Gallery in the ducal palace at Turin, as well as its designation of graphic materials within its collections.[11]



2. The Great Gallery of the Ducal Palace in Turin, engraving after a design by Giovanni Tommaso Borgonio (Piedmont, 1620–83) with watercolour heightening, 580×505 mm, Turin, Biblioteca Reale. © MiBACT – Musei Reali.

To analyse the remaining historical evidence of the early modern drawing album requires, at a first level of enquiry, a codicological approach, or what may be termed an archaeology of materials. As in the analysis of early books and manuscripts, drawing scholars must also examine the physical composition of the objects under study, working in collaboration with library and book history colleagues. All remaining book bindings and covers, their clasps and ties, provide invaluable evidence of the historical position of the drawing album within early modern book cultures. Though few, they provide eloquent testimony. For example, a further Palma Giovane pocketbook-size album, composed of 24 parchment leaves, is still preserved in its original binding of stamped vellum with a metal clasp. Today conserved at the Frits Lugt Foundation, this also houses early printed books as well as prints, within the institutional setting of a once-private collection now configured as a public research centre for early modern works on paper (figs. 3/4).[12]

As drawing scholars we study above all the sheets within these albums. Generally made of textile rag paper, we analyse how and where this was made, the weight, the colour, the surface preparation, and the watermarks (fig. 5). Codicological analysis reveals further details of production and use: how a sheet may have been folded to form double or quarto pages, for example, or how these may have been inserted into book covers, and how the pages were stitched, and often restitched.[13] We also study the materials of drawing that mark the pages – metalpoints, chalk and charcoal, pens, brushes, inks – like scholars of rare books too. Thus Baldinucci's inventories of the Medicean Gabinetto drawings included descriptions of individual sheets by attribution as to artist and school, and by subject, but also comprised indications of mate-

3. Jacopo Palma il Giovane (1544–1628 Venice) pocketbook album, 24 parchment leaves in a binding of stamped vellum and metal clasp, 117 x 72 mm, Paris, Collection Frits Lugt, c. 1602–04. © Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris.

rials and media: ›*carta gialla in penna*‹, ›*acquarello*‹, or ›*di matita nera*‹. Moreover his catalogue consistently listed paper size – occasionally with specific measurements, but more often by identifying the standard sizes by which paper came to be made and sold: ›*foglio reale*, *mezzo reale*, *foglio imperiale*, *foglio ordinario da scrivere*‹.[14]

The early modern history of paper – its greatly expanded production and use – is thus central to our enquiry. This is what made possible the vastly increased number of drawings by artists over the course of the fifteenth century, which radically altered preparatory practice as well as artistic education. Plentiful paper, and hence the practice of drawing as an intellectual process, facilitated those methods of artistic enquiry instrumental to what we term the ›High Renaissance‹. Its ready availability enabled artists, for the first time, to make hundreds, in some cases thousands, of drawings as a method of visual research that may be termed ›experimental‹. As the case of Cassiano dal Pozzo's encyclopaedic *museo cartaceo* illustrates, this was in keeping with parallel developments in all aspects of visual knowledge and analysis, particularly in the domains of natural history, which configured the research methods of early modernity's ›scientific revolution‹. As Samuel Edgerton has argued, it was Galileo's training as a draughtsman in the Florentine Accademia del Disegno – as a requisite skill in all domains of visual knowledge prior to the advent of photography – that enabled him to recognise, and to reproduce in drawing, the lunar craters that his newly-invented telescope made visible for the first time. Through studying the effects of light and shade rendered by pencil on paper as the visible pattern of surface relief, Galileo was able to make sense of the shadow he perceived on the surface of the moon.

The drawings of his sightings of the moon and the stars, along with the record of his notes, constitute the scientific evidence of his astronomical findings which he published as an illustrated book, the *Siderius Nuncius* of 1610. If only one sheet by his hand has survived, the reproduction of his drawings as engravings in his scientific publications visibly demonstrates the close conceptual and material links between drawings, printed illustrations, and book cultures, in all domains of early modern enquiry and knowledge production.[15]

4. Jacopo Palma il Giovane (1544–1628 Venice), St Jerome, pocketbook album, prepared paper with buff ground, pen and ink wash over black chalk, 117 x 72 mm, Paris, Collection Frits Lugt, c 1602–04. © Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris.

Studio Album

A number of sixteenth-century artists bequeathed an extensive, indeed vast, corpus of drawings, which allow us to analyse their various uses within preparatory processes as well as artistic training. Palma Giovane is a leading example, whose artistic legacy comprises over 1000 sheets, including a number of intact albums such as the Lugt Foundation volume. Aptly described by James Byam-Shaw as a ›pocketbook of poses‹, this album contains figures of saints, such as a Jerome (appropriately holding a book), as well as a series of portrait heads, for study and reuse within painted compositions by the workshop (figs. 3/4).[16] Palma's methods constituted what the seventeenth-century Veneto art historian and collector of drawings, Carlo Ridolfi, later termed ›*disegno continuo*‹ in a discussion of this artist's practice. For this was a painter who drew constantly – in pen and ink, brush, and chalk, ranging from rapid sketches or ›*primi pensieri*‹, to detailed studies, and finished

5. Watermark with male torso in brown pen and ink, attributed to Alberto Alberti (1525–98, Borgo San Sepolcro) workshop, 275 x 206 mm, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1570s. © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.

cartoons for transfer in watercolour.[17] Palma is a particularly rich example, as he conserved his drawings from his earliest youth, collating them into albums for the study of his assistants and students.

Similarly, Federico Barocci of Urbino drew avidly, and also collected his drawings as an instrument of instruction within his workshop. He was himself trained by the Zuccari in Rome, within the context of their historic foundation of its Academy of St Luke, which was based in the practice of drawing as the primary pedagogic method. The legacy of Barocci's drawings thus reflects and sheds important light on both artistic education and preparatory practices of the period.[18] Like Palma Giovane, Barocci's corpus includes well over a thousand sheets, of every size and graphic media, and on every quality of paper, ranging from the luxury production of Fabriano's historic paper mills, the grey-blue papers of Venetian provenance, or the noble papers made in Fermignano for the ducal court, to those of a rapid workaday execution »di qualità ordinaria della carta fabricata in Urbino.«[19]

The so-named Gatteri album of drawings from the Tiepolo studio, now also at the Museo Correr, holds an unbroken provenance within artists' collections of the Veneto down to the late nineteenth century. As Catherine Loisel has recently argued, the album is a pictorial exposition of training methods in the Tiepolo studio, particularly of the then-young Giandomenico. Composed of 24 large sheets of figural studies – draperies, hands, arms, heads, torsos, legs and feet – on Venetian paper in red, black, and white chalk, it is a collection of research drawings, undertaken to study the precise arrangement of parts for various monumental fresco compositions then underway in the Tiepolo workshop. It was subsequently passed down through artists' workshop collections as a paradigm of ›Venetian style‹ for further generations of artists and students to imbibe. While it was disbanded following its acquisition by the Correr to facilitate new forms of display, its former status as an album has been carefully reconstructed to permit study of its function within the Tiepolo workshop and training. Its provenance history thus testifies to its continuous use as an instrument of instruction, both within artists' collections, and subsequently at the Correr.[20]

Similarly, Piranesi and Piranesi workshop albums of classicising architectural ornament have, among other places, entered the collections of the John Soane Museum in London, which was instituted as a museum – academy collection explicitly for the pedagogic use of architectural students. Such albums typify the trajectory from studios into academy collections, retaining while also changing their function as instruments of artistic pedagogy. This is marked by a shift from workshop practice methods to that of an academic art-historical approach to imitating past works of art as practised in early modern academies of art. A study of the circulation of these albums deriving from the Piranesi workshop is, in itself, to study the role of the drawing book as a vehicle for the diffusion of a classicising visual language in the decorative arts, particularly for the dissemination of designs for interior architectural ornament. Circulating across Europe, such books nourished the artistic education of architects from London to Germany and beyond.[21]

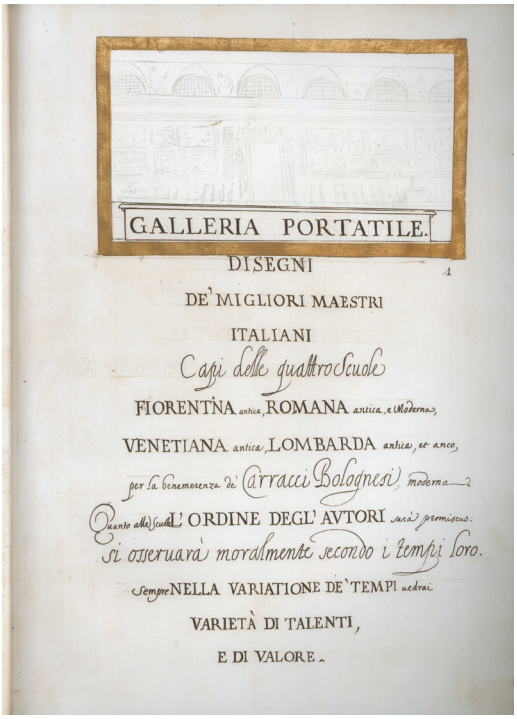
In the study of drawing book provenances, collectors' marks or other distinguishing traces of ownership are critical, for example recognisable types of framing devices as in the celebrated case of Giorgio Vasari. Vasari's famous if elusive *Libro* or book of drawings, which he refers to throughout his *Vite* or *Lives of the Artists*, was the focus of his interests both as a practising artist

and as an art historian. It surely manifests an understanding of the role of drawing as a mode of instruction for young artists within the workshop and in the Florentine Academy of Drawing he initiated. But it was also a visual compendium to his historical biographies of artists. Vasari's *Libro de' disegni* was both an illustrated history of art, and an early example of a connoisseurial drawing collection, in seeking to attribute drawings through methods of visual comparison with known works.[22]

Later examples by Vasari's Florentine successor, Baldinucci, continued this method, selecting and arranging drawings within albums in order to tell the story of art, and to demonstrate the individual graphic identity of each artist within it. As the *de facto* director of the Medici Grand-Ducal collections, Baldinucci established early and instrumental modes of ordering both its books and its drawings. Under his gifted jurisdiction, the Uffizi's dedicated cabinet of works on paper would cement the typology of the Vasarian connoisseurial collection. Arrangement of drawings was thus according to art-historical categorisations of artist and school. Correspondence details concern about the appropriate number of drawings to include in each album – ideally 40 to 50 – so that they would be practicable to consult, but substantial enough to demonstrate the visual characteristics of a particular artist or school. Consciously borrowing from classificatory systems of early modern natural history according to species, Baldinucci ordered the Medici graphic collection into books within linked categories of chronology, school, and artist. Thereafter, he arranged the albums by size and alphabetically for ease of consultation, as with library volumes.[23] Mancini had similarly advised that works on paper be kept in such types of art-historically discrete albums, though with a greater emphasis on materials alongside historical methods of chronology, which he defined as »libri destinti, secondo le materie, tempi, grandezza di foglio, nazione, e modo di disegno s'a penna, lapis, e carbone, acquarello, chiaroscuro.«[24]

Baldinucci's near contemporary in Rome, Sebastiano Resta, also brought together collections of drawings into albums constructed as various kinds of art-historical connoisseurial narratives, whether to tell the story of art from the point of view of northern Italy, in a counterpoint to the Florentine view of both Vasari and Baldinucci; or to bring together compendia of decorative ornament and design as an illustration of developing notions of authorial style in the graphic medium. Resta understood his albums as what he allegorically termed *gallerie portatili* – that is, portable picture galleries, as in his title

page from an album now in Milan's Ambrosiana, also an academy, museum, and library. The title page declares the album's arrangement by schools, with a drawing of a palace picture gallery surely by Resta himself (fig. 6). In other words, Resta understood the historically-arranged album of drawings as a book-size version of a paintings collection, and a means to tell the history of art through its connoisseurial arrangement and display, for both artists and collectors.[25]



6. Sebastiano Resta, Galleria Portatile titlepage, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana (aus: Giorgio Fubini, Cento Tavole del Codice Resta, Mailand 1955).

Within the broad category of studio or workshop albums there is every variety of drawing book, from albums on a particular artistic style, to those devoted to specified types of subject. We might classify such albums as studio visual resources. As such they are substantively different yet clearly related to late-medieval workshop model books, those stock collections of visual exemplars of, for example, animals, flora and fauna, or costumes. This type of album is exemplified in the Koenigs album now in the Boijmans Museum in Rotterdam, a fifteenth-century Northern Italian book of animals on parchment, generally credited as the earliest example of its kind still in its original binding; or the late fourteenth-century model book of Giovannino de' Grassi now preserved in the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai in Bergamo. Such albums served the medieval workshop as pictorial reference books for assistants in the composition and execution of paintings and manuscript illumination.[26]

By contrast with the medieval model book, early modern books of drawings for use by assistants within the studio differed in scope and purpose. They were far more plentiful, thanks to the growing availability of paper, and broader in function. Above all, they were graphic compendia and material tes-

timony to changing modes and models of artistic practice that we recognise under the term ›Renaissance‹, as anthologies of new forms of Renaissance visual knowledge. Whereas medieval model-books contained visual repertories of the depiction of plants, animals, and costumes, the Renaissance drawing album was primarily devoted to the study of the human figure, and of antiquity. Foremost are anatomy studies and nudes; while the study of antiquities comprised drawings after every manner of classical motif, including the architectural, sculptural, and pictorial. The pedagogic practise of drawing after classical models was, as Marzia Faietti has aptly described, the example of ›repetition as variation‹ in the study of antiquity.[27] This practice produced copious quantities of drawings as never before: as models, as imitations, as variations, as student copies and academy exemplars, and as workshop translations into the development of new works of art in other media. Such books of drawings for the purposes of instruction were also closely tied to the burgeoning illustrated printed books of anatomy and antiquities, also new to the Renaissance, in their shared histories of illustration. Such links are testament to the inter-related history of the drawing album within early modern book culture more broadly.

Turning now to a type of album Jonathan Bober has aptly termed ›repertory‹ in discussion of an example now in Washington's National Gallery from a dismembered volume of drawings by the Genoese artist Alessandro Magnasco, such books were explicitly assembled for imitation by studio assistants, so exemplifying Faietti's epithet of repetition and variation (fig. 6/7).[28] These albums, as compilations of visual examples of every type of pictorial subject, served in the workshop as a means of developing new works of art in other media, but also as a mode of artistic instruction or training for students to learn from by imitation. They are often composed of drawings after the master's paintings, or those of other celebrated artists' canonical works. These are albums of drawings for collective consultation and imitation in the studio, often classified in terms of subject matter – here a »Baptism of Christ« – with a letter »H« designation; while others bear numbers, very much like library shelf marks as we know them. In this sense there is a kind of continuity from the medieval model book, in that they are designed to be copied from collectively within the studio as examples of visual types. The designation of such albums as ›repertory‹ is a fruitful one in signalling a greater shift into artistic pedagogy as distinct from production proper, which we can immedi-

ately grasp in the practice of repetition as a key educational instrument. Thus, albums of repertory and copy drawings are a critical source for the study of a history of practice, and of the education of artists. More broadly, they are evidence of a vital means for the transmission of culture, and of all forms of visual knowledge. This is further manifest in printed representations of the practice of imitation by drawing as the prevailing early modern paradigm for artistic education. From early ›academy‹ prints such as that of Baccio Bandinelli, to William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty. I* illustrations of the pedagogy of mimesis included student-artists copying from albums of drawings or engraved drawings as well as plaster-cast models, as in the foreground of Hogarth's great print. The *copia* of visual *exempla* depicted in the surrounding border of Hogarth's engraving served as further would-be ›pages‹ for imitation like those from printed model-books of artistic instruction (fig. 7/8).[29]

7. Alessandro Magnasco (1667–1749 Genoa) Baptism of Christ, brush and brown wash heightened with white on beige paper, 306 x 221 mm, Washington, National Gallery of Art. © National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

If there are such historical continuities between the medieval model book and the early modern repertory album, yet the nature of the drawings within such volumes changed in ways that we recognise as defining of Renaissance culture. In tracing the history of studio albums of drawings we are witness to one of the most tangible forms of evidence to changes in artistic practice between medieval and renaissance modes of artistic conception and production. They are a window into the history of artists' preparatory processes, but also the larger intellectual history of the period, as a visual form of knowledge production and its dissemination. What we witness is nothing less than the emergence, in graphic form, of new types of artistic enquiry. They reveal

8. William Hogarth (1697–1764), Analysis of Beauty I, engraving, 381 x 501 mm, 1751. © University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.

the dual underpinnings of Renaissance art as founded in the study of, on the one hand, antiquity in its many manifestations; and on the other, the science of visual observation from natural history, and particularly the human body – draped, nude, and anatomical – studied ›from life‹. What we find in the history of the drawing album is an entire encyclopaedia of subjects new to Renaissance visual culture, from perspective, to landscape, to anatomy, to representations of human expression through gestural composition – in short, Leon Battista Alberti's methods of *storia*.[30]

Sketchbooks

To turn now from the repertory drawing to the sketchbook: these albums of drawings are in the first instance a record of the observations of one artist, made for their ongoing individual use for the purposes of visual research and enquiry. This is in itself new to Renaissance artistic practice. In many instances such albums might later become visual resources for the use of other artists, kept in early modern studio or academy reference libraries and study collections, whether formal or informal. But their beginnings are as books of blank paper bound together for artists to carry with them as a means of recording their passing observations and thoughts. This is markedly different from the medieval model book and in itself is rich evidence of entirely new methods of artistic practice linked to the now-ready availability of paper pertaining to Renaissance print culture.

As has frequently been pointed out, the *taccuino di viaggio* or travel sketchbooks of northern artists visiting Rome for the purposes of artistic study offer a particularly concentrated example, precisely because they are delimited by the period of the journey, and because they were undertaken for the purposes of artistic formation through the method of drawing after the example of established canons of art, understood as founded in the antique tradition. Thus, the Roman antiquarian, librarian, and art historian Gian Pietro Bellori gives eloquent testimony to such use of the artist's sketchbook in his description of Rubens's pocket sketchbook (now lost) from his early trip to Italy:

> »Essendo veduto un libro di sua mano, in cui si contengono osservationi di ottica, simmetria, proportioni, anatomia, architettura, & una ricercar de' principali affetti, ed attioni cavati da descrittioni di Poeti, con le dimostrationi de' pittori. Vi sono battaglie, naufragi, giuochi, amori, & alter passioni & avuenimenti, trascritti alcuni versi di Virgilio, e d'altri, con rincontri principalmente di Rafaelle, e dell'antico.«[31]

If we no longer have Rubens' Italian sketchbook, we do have that of Van Dyck, now at the British Museum (formerly Chatsworth). The drawings clearly manifest an understanding of the antique as an encyclopaedia of visual forms, organised according to thematic subjects such as Bellori describes of Rubens' sketchbook, as an anthology of visual knowledge that is both document and

artistic model.[32] A survey of Rome-prize student sketchbooks well into the nineteenth century evidences the long arc of this conception of artistic formation founded in the study of Rome and antiquity, and the key role of the drawing book within it, as Arnold Nesselrath has justly observed.[33] The foundation of national academies in Rome is closely tied to this model of cultural transmission, in both arts and letters, of what Salvatore Settis has termed the ›present-future‹ of classical studies. We could say that the formation of such academies constitutes the institutionalisation of a mode of study of which drawing and the sketchbook are the practice-based foundations.

In Bellori's description of Rubens's sketchbook, he particularly notes the inclusion of textual citations alongside drawings – Virgil quotations and copies after classical art side by side. For such albums comprising both notes and sketches, the Italian term *taccuino* serves best in its etymological convergence between notebook, sketchbook, and handbook, in which textual and visual knowledge are brought together as different but equal instruments of enquiry. There is no ready English equivalent in encompassing all these concepts and practices. From a somewhat dispersed etymology, Arabic in derivation, it is close to the double meaning of the French term *tache*|*tacher*, as both a mark, but also in the sense of a task, essay, or try. It connotes pocket size – *tascabile* – as well as a sense of portfolio as *portafoglio*, that is, loosebound and portable-size pages that can be rearranged, reordered, and added or removed. Seemingly from association with hand-sized compendia of medieval medical know-how, like a collection of recipe cards, the term *taccuino* carries connotations of ordering knowledge as well as of *re*cording it, as a form of *aide-memoire*.

Thus Bellori's description of Rubens' lost *taccuino* is precisely that of an instrument of research, in both the visual and literary domain, a document of his visual observations alongside textual readings. In this regard it is significant, as Vita Segreto rightly points out, that early modern Italian definitions of books of drawings, from the 1612 *Vocabolario della Crusca* to Pietro Fanfani's nineteenth-century dictionary, crystallise around the example of Leonardo.[34] Just as Erasmus advised the scholar to use the notebook as a method, taking it with you at all times in order to be able to make a note of thoughts arising, so Leonardo postulated the artist should always have a sketchbook to hand in which to record thoughts and visual observations as they occured.[35] His own are both notebooks and sketchbooks, in which drawings and text appear side by side as equivalent methods of research. We have long referred to

Leonardo's notebooks as codices, borrowing from the much older term used to denote manuscript albums from the earliest origins of books as objects, and the distant etymology of codicology for the study of books more broadly. The ancient codex was composed of multiple pages or tablets bound together by leather thongs to form a book of ›leaves‹, as distinct from the rolling lengths of a scroll. In Leonardo's own words, from his *Trattato della Pittura*:

> »Quando tu harai imparato bene prospettiva, & harai à mente tutte le membra & i corpi delle cose, sij vago nel tuo andàr a spasso, vedere e considerare i siti de gl'huomini, nel parlare, o nel contendere, o nel ridere, e azzuffarsi insieme, che atti siano in loro, e che atti facciano i circostanti, spartitori o veditori d'esse cose, e quelle notare con brevi segni in tuo picciol libretto, il qual tu debbi sempre portar teco.«[36]

The Leonardo corpus of notebooks, as we term them, is vast, numbering thousands of pages, and with an extensive history of copying, recopying, and reordering, by Leonardo himself and by his heirs. With the exception of his *Treatise on Painting* published in 1651, they remained unpublished until the nineteenth century, though they circulated in manuscript form and in multiple versions and copies.[37] Scholarship has gone in waves of modes of reading the notebooks – if the current view is to understand the notes as ongoing records of Leonardo's research and perceptions in every avenue of enquiry as they are found together on the same page as it occurred to him, an earlier generation of scholars – including Leonardo himself – has also sought to ›order‹ them, just like a *taccuino*, into possible books on different subjects. These include anatomy and optics, for example, but also those aspects of his work as an engineer – on fortifications, machinery, the movement of water and air. It is in this context highly significant that we term them codices or notebooks, with text and sketches side by side on the same pages – some are more notes, some are more drawings, some are more diagrams. Leonardo's codices are thus among the strongest representations of the early modern drawing album as an instrument of knowledge, and a ready equivalent with books themselves. Their provenance history, too, is revelatory of their role as fully interdisciplinary instruments of research. Thus, at Windsor as in Madrid, Leonardo's notebooks are today still housed between the museum and the library, because they are both works of art and works of knowledge *tout court*.

Notes

1 https://www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/british-museum-story/history (access March 2020).
2 Warwick 2003.
3 Oy-Marra 2016–2019; Prosperi 1994; Segreto 2018a; Lynch 2015; Schlosser 1908; Impey/MacGregor 1995; Findlen 1994; Pomian 1990; Haskell 1987. From an extensive literature on early modern print and book cultures: Febvre/Martin 1958; Chartier 1992.
4 Hunter 1947; Müller 2014; Munro 2015; Kurlansky 2015.
5 Goldberg 1988; Petriol 1986 and 2000; Fileti 2009.
6 Mancini 1956, vol. 1, p. 143 (c. 1620 ms).
7 Mason 1990, p. 11–29.
8 Elen 2018.
9 Haskell 1993; https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/research/research-projects/paper-museum-cassiano-dal-pozzo (access March 2020).
10 Sicca 2008, p. 1–75; idem 2018, p. 152–56.
11 Bava 2016.
12 Byam Shaw 1983, vol. 1, p. 47–51; Mason 1990, p. 11–29.
13 Segreto 2018a, especially the essays by Elen, Goguel, Spadaccini, and Tordella.
14 Published in Fileti 2009, especially the 1675–76 inventory, p. 235f.
15 Galilei 1610; Edgerton 1984; Bredekamp 2007.
16 Byam Shaw 1983, vol. 1, p. 47–51.
17 Ridolfi/von Hadeln 1919–24, vol. 2, p. 203.
18 Mann 2018.
19 Baroni 2018, p. 30.
20 Loisel 2018; Lorenzetti 1946.
21 Wilton-Ely 1993.
22 Haskell 1987; Collobi Ragghianti 1974; Moore 2020.
23 Fileti 2009, p. 15–17, 235–49.
24 Mancini/Marucchi/Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 143 (c. 1620 ms).
25 Warwick 2000.
26 Ames-Lewis/Wright 1983.
27 Faietti 2018.
28 Bober 2018.
29 Hogarth/Paulson 1997.
30 Alberti/Malle 1950.
31 Bellori/Borea 2009, vol. I, p. 266.
32 Dacos 1997 and 2012; Jaffé 1966 and 1985.
33 Nesselrath 2018.
34 Segreto 2018b, p. xi.
35 On Erasmus and the humanist use of notebooks, Bolgar 1954, p. 273f.; on Leonardo, Zwijnenberg 1999, p. 11–23; Bambach 2019, I, II.
36 Du Fresne 1651, p. 14.
37 Du Fresne 1651, as the earliest publication arising from Leonardo's notebooks. From a vast literature on Leonardo's notebooks, see Kemp 1989; Farago 1992 and 2009; Zwijnenberg 1999; Bambach 2019, I, II.

Bibliography

Alberti/Mallé 1950: Leon Battista Alberti, Della pittura, (mss 1436), ed. Luigi Mallé, Florence: Sansoni, 1950.

Ames-Lewis/Wright 1983: Francis Ames-Lewis and Joanne Wright, Drawing in the Italian Renaissance Workshop, London 1983.

Bambach 2019: Carmen Bambach, Leonardo da Vinci Rediscovered, 4 vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.

Baroni 2018: Luca Baroni, Tre libri di disegni di Federico Barocci, in: Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, ed. Vita Segreto, Rome 2018, p. 23–32.

Bava 2016: A.M. Bava, E. Pagella, G. Pantò and G. Saccani, Le meraviglie del mondo: le collezioni di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia, exh. cat. Turin, Genoa 2016.

Bellori/Borea 2009: Giovan Pietro Bellori, Le vite de pittori scultori e architetti moderni (Rome, 1672), ed. Evelina Borea, Turin 2009.

Bober 2018: Jonathan Bober, The Artists' Album in Baroque Genoa, in: Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, ed. Vita Segreto, Rom 2018, p. 55–66.

Bolgar 1954: Robert Ralph Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries, Cambridge 1954.

Bredekamp 2007: Horst Bredekamp, Galilei der Künstler: Die Zeichnung, der Mond, die Sonne, Berlin 2007.

Byam Shaw 1983: James Byam Shaw, The Italian drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection, 3 vols., Paris 1983.

Chartier 1992: Roger Chartier, L'ordre des livres: Lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en Europe entre XIV et XVIII siècles, Aix-en Provence 1992.

Collobi 1974: Licia Ragghianti-Collobi, Il ›Libro de' disegni‹ del Vasari, 2 vols., Florence 1974.

Dacos 1997: Nicole Dacos, Fiamminghi a Roma 1508–1608, Rome 1997.

Dacos 2012: Nicole Dacos, Viaggio a Roma: I pittori Europei nel '500, Milan 2012.

Du Fresne 1651: Rafaelle Trichet Du Fresne, ed., Trattato della pittura di Leonardo da Vinci, Paris 1651.

Edgerton 1984: Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr., Galileo, Florentine disegno, and the ›strange spottedness‹ of the moon, in: Art Journal, xliv, 1984, p. 225–32.

Elen 2018: Albert J. Elen, (Artists') Drawing Books and (Collectors') Albums: Similarities and Differences, in: Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospet-

tive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, ed. Vita Segreto, Rome 2018, p. 1–10.

Faietti 2018: Marzia Faietti, Il segno della ripetizione variata: I libri di disegni dall'antico di Amico Aspertini, in: Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, ed. Vita Segreto, Rome 2018, p. 11–22.

Farago 1992: Claire Farago, ed., Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone, Leiden & New York 1992.

Farago 2009: Claire Farago, ed., Rereading Leonardo: The ›Treatise on Painting‹ across Europe 1550–1900, Aldershot 2009.

Febvre/Martin 1958: Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, L'apparition du livre, Paris 1958.

Fileti 2009: Miriam Fileti Mazza, Storia di una collezione: dai libri di disegni e stampe di Leopoldo de' Medici all'età moderna, Florence 2009.

Findlen 1994: Paula Findlen, Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy, Berkeley & London 1994.

Galilei 1610: Galileo Galilei, Siderius Nuncius, Venice 1610.

Goldberg 1988: Edward Goldberg, After Vasari: History, Art, and Patronage in Late Medici Florence, Princeton 1988.

Haskell 1987: Francis Haskell, The Painful Birth of the Art Book, London 1987.

Haskell 1993: Francis Haskell and Mirka Beneš, The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo, London 1993.

Hogarth/Paulson 1997: William Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty, (London, 1753), ed. Ronald Paulson, London & New Haven 1997.

Hunter 1947: Dard Hunter, Papermaking: History and Technique of an Ancient Craft, New York 1947.

Impey/MacGregor 1985: Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds. The Origins of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Europe, Oxford 1985.

Jaffé 1966: Michael Jaffé, Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook, 2 vols., London 1966.

Jaffé 1985: Michael Jaffé, Rubens and Italy, Ithaca 1985.

Kemp 1989: Martin Kemp, ed., Leonardo on Painting, New Haven & London 1989.

Kurlansky 2016: Mark Kurlansky, Paper: Paging through History, New York 2016.

Lorenzetti 1946: Giulio Lorenzetti, Il quaderno del Tiepolo al Museo Correr di Venezia, Venice 1946.

Loisel 2018: Catherine Loisel, A propos de l'Album Gatteri du Museo Correr de Venise. Reflexions sur les méthodes de travail dans l'atelier des Tiepolo et sur

le role de Giandomenico, in: Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, ed. Vita Segreto, Rome 2018, p. 183–88.

Lynch 2015: Deidre Lynch, Loving Literature: A Cultural History, Chicago 2015.

Mancini/Marucchi/Salerno 1956: Giulio Mancini, Considerazioni sulla pittura, (c. 1620 ms.), eds. Adriana Marucchi and Luigi Salerno, 2 vols., Rome 1956.

Mann 2018: Judith W. Mann, Federico Barocci: Inspiration and Innovation in Early Modern Italy, St Louis 2018.

Mason 1990: Stefania Mason, Palma il Giovane 1548–1628, Disegni e dipinti, Venice 1990.

Moore 2020: Emily Latham Moore, Giorgio Vasari's Libro de' disegni and the Art of Drawing in Cinquecento Florence, Ph.D. University of Edinburgh 2020.

Müller 2014: Lothar Müller, White Magic: The Age of Paper. Translated by Jessica Spengler, Munich 2014.

Munro 2015: Alexander Munro, The paper trail: an unexpected history of a revolutionary invention, London 2015.

Nesselrath 2018: Arnold Nesselrath, Un libro di disegni francese intorno al 1800, in: Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, ed. Vita Segreto, Rome 2018, p. 223–39.

Oy-Marra 2016–2019: Elisabeth Oy-Marra, Die Materialität der Wissensordnungen und die Episteme der Zeichnung. Die Zeichnungsalben des Sebastiano Resta, DFG Projekt 2016–2019.

Petrioli 1986: Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 1986.

Petrioli 2000: Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, The Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Cologne 2000.

Pomian 1990: Krzysztof Pomian, Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1700, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier, Cambridge 1990.

Prosperi 1994: Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, with Annamaria Petrioli Tofani and Gian Carlo Sciolla, Drawing: Public Collections in Italy, Turin 1994.

Ridolfi/Von Hadeln 1919–24: Carlo Ridolfi, Le meraviglie dell'arte, ovvero le vite degl'illustri pittori veneti e dello Stato, (1648), 2 vols., ed. Detlev Von Hadeln, Berlin 1919–24.

Schlosser 1908: Julius von Schlosser, Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens, Leipzig 1908.

Segreto 2018a: Vita Segreto, ed., Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, Rome 2018.

Segreto 2018b: Vita Segreto, ›Come altori e maestri‹: Il libro di disegni dalla parte degli artisti. Introduzione, in: Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, ed. Vita Segreto, Rome 2018, xi–xviii.

Sicca 2008: Cinzia Sicca, John Talman: An early eighteenth-century connoisseur, New Haven & London 2008.

Sicca 2018: Cinzia Sicca, I disegni di figura nella collezione Talman: dalla formazione alla dispersione, in: Libri e Album di Disegni 1550–1800: Nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica, ed. Vita Segreto, Rome 2018, p. 149–60.

Warwick 2000: Genevieve Warwick, ›The Arts of Collecting‹: Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for Drawings in Early Modern Europe, Cambridge 2000.

Warwick 2003: Genevieve Warwick, ›Introduction‹, in: Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe c 1500–1750, eds. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, Genevieve Warwick, Aldershot 2003, p. 1–8.

Wilton-Ely 1993: John Wilton-Ely, Piranesi as Architect and Designer, London & New Haven 1993.

Zwijnenberg 1999: Robert Zwijnenberg, The Writings and drawings of Leonardo da Vinci: Order & Chaos in Early Modern Thought, trans. Caroline van Eck, Cambridge 1999.