The Evidence of Drawing
Giovanni Battista Paggi and the Practice of Draftsmanship in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy

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Laying out the evidence

Drawings bear witness to many aspects of the artistic enterprise, from the most basic questions of authorship to the most unfathomable questions of creativity. To introduce one example among many, Guercino's *Three Bathers Surprised by a Monster*,[1] c. 1621–1623, appears to be a chimerical work in pen and black ink inspired by "accidental" ink blots that now form the monster's head at left and the splashing water in the center of the startled women (» *Fig. 1*). Along this flexible and capacious line from attribution to motivating force, we discover that drawings can also attest to every living thing (*ogni cosa creata*),[2] from natural phenomena – as in Annibale Carracci's *Landscape with Figures by an Estuary with Sailing Boats* (» *Fig. 2*)[3] – to the grim reality of early modern justice – as in Annibale's *Study for an Execution* (» *Fig. 3*)[4]; or, from the blush of youth –

1 Turner 1991, cat. 22. The earliest observer of accidents and random occurrences as sources of artistic ideas is, of course, Leonardo da Vinci. David Rosand provides a useful summary of these concepts in Rosand 2002, p. 52: "…the stains of walls, or the ashes of a fire, or clouds, or mud…if you consider them well, you will find really marvelous ideas…the composition of battles of animals and men, various compositions of landscapes and monstrous things, such … as devils and similar creations, because the mind is stimulated to new inventions by obscure things."

2 This is a phrase that Carlo Cesare Malvasia (Malvasia 1841, vol. I, p. 307) uses to describe the Carracci family's interest in understanding and subsequently in mastering through drawing all living things.

3 See the online entry for Annibale Carracci's Landscape with Figures by an Estuary with Sailing Boats: http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.72075.html [15.5.18].

4 For the drawing of the Execution by Annibale Carracci, see Benati/De Grazia 1999, cat. 76.

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Fig. 1 Guercino, *Three Bathers Surprised by a Monster,* Windsor Castle, RCIN 902477, Royal Collection Trust / © HM Queen Elizabeth II 2017.

Fig. 2 Annibale Carracci, *Landscape with Figures by an Estuary with Sailing Boats,* c. 1590/1595, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. David P. Tunick in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art, 1991.17.1.

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Fig. 3 Annibale Carracci, *An Execution,* Windsor Castle, RCIN 901955, Royal Collection Trust / © HM Queen Elizabeth II 2017.

Fig. 4 Annibale Carracci, *Anteros Victorious,* 1560–1609, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pfeiffer Fund, 1962, 62.120.2.

Fig. 5 Anthony Van Dyck, *The painter Sofonisba Anguissola,* leaf from van Dyck's Italian Sketchbook, 1624, British Museum, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1957, 1214.207.110.

as in Annibale's *Anteros Victorious* (» *Fig. 4*) – to the twilight of life – as attested in van Dyck's drawing of the 96-year-old Sofonisba Anguissola from his sketchbook (» *Fig. 5*).[5]

And that is before we begin exploring the relationships between drawings and text, as one sees in Anthony van Dyck's verbal description and commentary that accompany the portrait of his aging heroine Sofonisba, "avendo la memoria e cervello prontissimo, cortesissima" (possessing a very keen memory and mind, and most courteous), then living in Sicily. Further, we might consider Giovanni Battista Paggi's inscribed drawings from his "quinterni di ricordi di pittura a mano" (notebooks of records of painting by hand) such as the one from the Uffizi (» *Fig. 6*) that enabled me, many years ago, to connect it with an unattributed work in San Gimignano (» *Fig. 7*).[6]

In the same way, drawings shed light on an artist's working practices from sketch to completed work, as for example in the rapid black chalk preliminary sketch (» *Fig. 8*),

5 For the drawing of Sofonisba Anguissola by Anthony van Dyck, see: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=208249001&objectid=708551 [15.5.18]. The inscription on the drawing seems to me to be dated July 12, 1629; however, since Sofonisba Anguissola died in 1625, and since van Dyck was living in Palermo from 1624–1625, the portrait more likely dates to summer 1624. The compilers of the catalogue entry on the British Museum's website in fact provide a date of July 12, 1624.

6 Lukehart 1988, p. 67.

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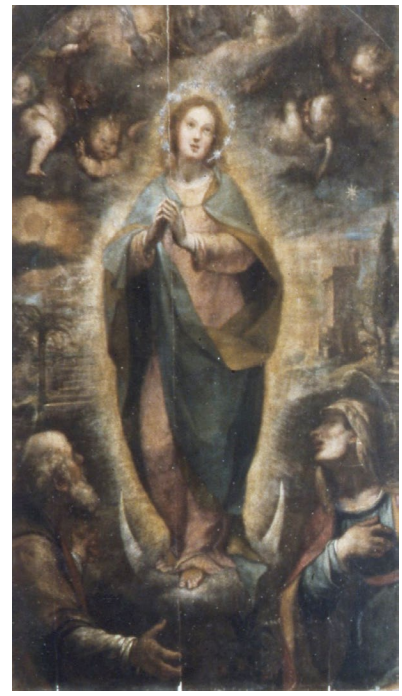

Fig. 6 Giovanni Battista Paggi, *Immaculate Conception,* c. 1590s, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Inv. 7303 s.

Fig. 7 Giovanni Battista Paggi, *Immaculate Conception,* c. 1590s, Collegiate Church of San Gimignano, San Gimignano.

now attributed to Annibale Carracci, for the fresco depicting *Jason Meeting King Aeëtes* in the Palazzo Fava, Bologna, from the mid-1580s, followed by, on the recto of the Munich sheet, a complete compositional drawing in brown pen and ink with wash over a faint black underdrawing (»*Fig. 9*). The whole sheet was then squared twice in black and red chalk for transfer to cartoons (lost) that were then laid against wet plaster and incised to guide the painters in the *giornate* they applied in fresco.[7] Drawings,

7 For the drawing of The Meeting of Jason and King Aeëtes by Annibale Carracci, see: Benati/DeGrazia 1999, cat. 5.

Fig. 8 Annibale Carracci, *Jason Meeting King Aeëtes,* Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. 6823, verso.

Fig. 9 Annibale Carracci, *Jason Meeting King Aeëtes,* Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. 6823, recto.

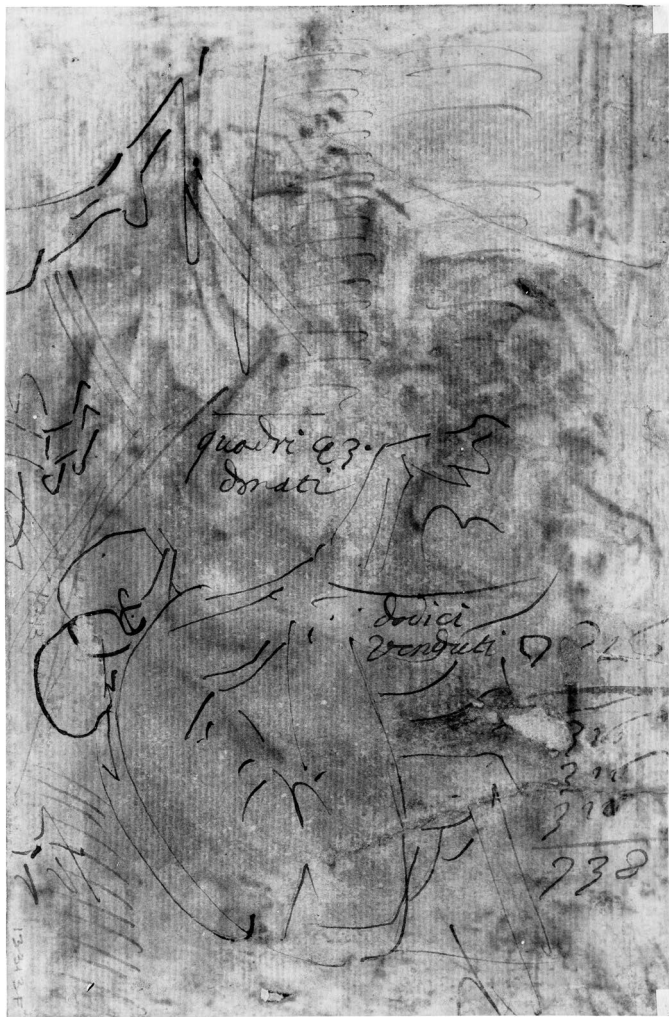

Fig. 10 Giovanni Battista Paggi, *Pietà*, verso, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Inv. 13313 F.

I would argue, can just as easily reveal the artist's economic practices (»*Fig. 10*). Here, the drawing paper seems to be doubling as a ledger entry that documents Paggi's custom (otherwise known only anecdotally from his biographer, Raffaele Soprani) of donating works of art to his clients or patrons. Thus Paggi avoided the appearance of compromising his *casa aperta* (open house) by charging fees for his paintings or by leaving his studio to work in another's home or a public space, a point to which we will return.[8]

8 Lukehart 1988, chapter 1, esp. pp. 11–16.

This brief excursus leads us back to first principles, well known to any art historian – even if some of the examples are new – but there is a logic to starting with our most basic assumptions both about what constitutes a drawing and about the different purposes to which they were harnessed in the early modern period. Further, it was necessary to lay out my claims for drawings as forms of evidence[9] before proceeding to the more finely grained analysis of Part II. I want to underscore a difference between my use of the word "evidence" and that employed by Klaus Krüger and his colleagues engaged in the investigation of *Bildevidenz*. Rather than communicating or defining "the social, political, and religious realms in which [images] operate," as interesting and important as Krüger's studies are, I am here examining drawings as representations of personal agency or contingency: whether authorship, technique, visual intelligence, or historical circumstances.[10] My interests lie instead in the period of ideation that precedes *Bildevidenz*; that is, not the creation of an image meant for a patron or public but a process of creation most often prior to the finished work of art, perhaps one in need of its own neologism, such as *Zeichnungsevidenz* (the evidence of drawing). These concepts are not incompatible or mutually exclusive endeavors; rather, they are sequential.[11] In her recent magisterial exhibition, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman & Designer*, Carmen C. Bambach charted a new course for the study of Michelangelo's drawings that depends equally on a thorough engagement with contemporary sources, the latest scientific and technical means of analysis, and careful observation.

9 My study owes something to the panel entitled "Art as Evidence: The Scientific Investigation of Works of Art". (http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/videos/public_lecture_videos_audio/art_evidence.html [5.15.18]) organized on December 1, 2009 by the Getty Conservation Institute. David Bomford, then associate director for collections at the J. Paul Getty Museum, moderated the presentations and discussion. Two points in particular are essential to the present study, the statement: "Scientific technologies have made it possible to examine and analyze art works from the macro down to the nano scale." And the query: "What happens when scientific research reveals information that challenges the accepted interpretation or authenticity of specific works of art?"

10 Krüger 2015; a précis of the work of the research group BildEvidenz: History and Aesthetics at the Freie Universität in Berlin can be found on their website: http://bildevidenz.de/en/ [5.15.18]. The term evidentia also has a prominent place in classical rhetoric: "The successful employment of *evidentia*…caused the listener to picture what was described with 'the eyes of the mind' (Quintilian. 3.8.62). The subject matter of such descriptions can be found listed in later rhetorical treatises, for the technique became one of the standard exercises (progymnasmata) of the oratorical schools of the [Roman] Empire." Vasaly 1993, p. 90; see also, pp. 94, 96–104.

11 I would here like to draw attention to the important research and discoveries that have been advanced by colleagues, such as Bambach 2017, pp. 15–265) and Mauro Mussolin (for example, in Bambach 2017, pp. 273–286).

> For the mature Michelangelo and much of his Central Italian culture, the term *disegno* embraced the acts of artistic creation in their widest possible sense. *Disegno* denoted both the physical work on paper and the intellectual conception of an idea.[12]

Without establishing the author, or as I will argue, authors, the multilayered context of the drawing – and with it the subsequent work of art – remains historically and culturally untethered.

Drawings as forensic instruments

In the past several decades, art historians and conservators have been joining forces to study works on paper under varying circumstances, from natural light to raking light, or from macrophotography to Infrared Reflectography (which I will hereafter refer to as IR). Each method or process yields different information that in turn has the ability to shed new light on the kinds and degrees of evidence that drawings offer to art and cultural historians.

If x-rays and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) have increased physicians' ability to diagnose and treat diseases of and traumas to the human body, so too has IR considerably expanded art historians' understanding and conservators' treatment of paintings, and more recently of drawings. They are and remain tools, of course, but IR introduces new forms of investigation and yields new forms of information that allow us to look beneath the surface of ink and wash to view layers of underdrawing that often reside on the support of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drawings. These underdrawings are especially apparent beneath iron gall ink drawings with or without wash, such as Paggi's *Immaculate Conception* (» *Fig. 6*).

As Maria Clelia Galassi has recently argued, such drawings became increasingly common in Genoa from the latter decades of the sixteenth through the late seventeenth centuries. IR camera in hand, she and her colleagues, Margherita Priarone and Valentina Frascarolo, have undertaken a systematic study of Genoese drawings from this period, as a result of which new revelations about technique and attribution have emerged. Thus, I want to acknowledge my own indebtedness to their seminal research, without which the current study would not exist.[13]

12 Bambach 2017, p. 21. Her definition is indebted to Giorgio Vasari and underpins the very cornerstone of the philosophy and teaching program the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, founded in 1563.

13 See their studies: Galassii/Priarone 2014; and Frascarolo/Vignola 2016. In addition, recent communication with Frederica Mancini has led to a most helpful exchange on Genoese drawings in the collection of the Louvre. In preparation for an upcoming exhibition, she has ordered infrared studies of several drawings, including two (*Figs. 14b* and *16b*) reproduced here.

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b

Fig. 11 a Giovanni Battista Paggi, *Ecce Homo,* 1587, Palazzo Rosso, Genoa, Inv. 1780.

Fig. 11 b Infrared detail.

Flushed with the implications of their work, I was struck by the frequency with which Giovanni Battista Paggi's (1554–1627) drawings were examined. The creator of innumerable drawings in pen and ink over black chalk (» *Fig. 11a; Fig. 11b*), Paggi could be called one of the earliest and most prolific practitioners of this medium in Genoa. Having studied with Luca Cambiaso as a *giovane* (young boy), Paggi learned to work with pen and ink and chalk, but Cambiaso tended to wield them separately in his oeuvre: he does not seem to have mixed the two as frequently as his students and followers did. Thus, it may be more productive to look for points of origin in the Florentine ambient, where Paggi spent nearly twenty years in exile between about 1581

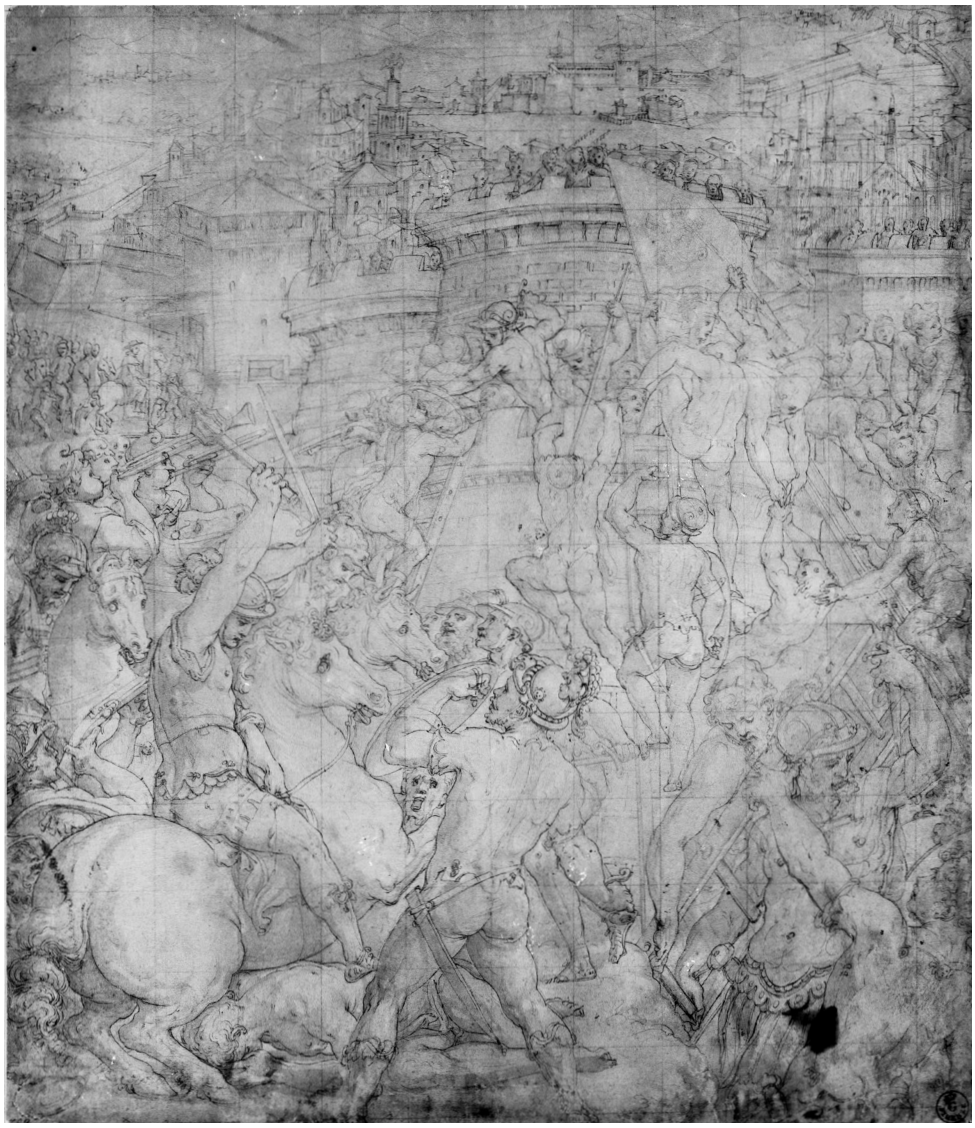

Fig. 12 Giorgio Vasari, *The Florentine Victory over Milan,* Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Inv. 626 F.

and 1599/1600.[14] In Florence we see artists using pen, ink, and wash over traces of black chalk from the mid-sixteenth century forward in the drawings of Giorgio Vasari (» *Fig. 12*), and Alessandro Allori (» *Fig. 13*), who worked in Florence when Paggi lived there. This technique continued to be used right through the seventeenth century.

14 Lukehart 1988, chap. 2, pp. 49–111.

Fig. 13 Alessandro Allori, *Pitcher,* Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Inv. 716 Orn.

In light of the new infrared reflectograms being made of Genoese drawings, I was intrigued to read the recent article by Frederica Mancini in which she attributes to Paggi a problematic drawing in the Louvre (» *Fig. 14a; 14b*) created in pen, ink, and wash over traces of black chalk, with white heightening – the whole squared for transfer. Previously attributed first to Andrea Ansaldo, then to Orazio Cambiaso, *The Return of Ambrogio di Negro, Who Attends the Unveiling of a Sculpture in His Honor at Palazzo di San Giorgio* served as the model for a fresco of the same subject in the Villa Di Negro Rosazza (» *Fig. 15*) in Genoa, the decorations for which date to the first decade of the seventeenth century. Of these four statements, only one is certain: that the Louvre drawing was the model for the fresco in Villa Di Negro Rosazza. Further, this drawing suggests another way to conceive of the problem of attribution by thinking about it in relation to the lessons that IR has to teach us about artists' underdrawings.

Before exploring a forensic solution to the conundrum of attribution, it is essential to introduce more biographical information about Paggi and the reasons why – regardless of the authorship of the drawings – the frescoes of *The Return of Ambrogio di Negro* (» *Fig. 14a; 14b*) and the *Three Fates* (» *Fig. 16a; 16b*), also a preliminary study for a fresco of the identical subject in the Villa di Negro Rosazza (» *Fig. 17*), could not have been painted by the Genoese artist. As a nobleman who practiced his profession precariously and under intense scrutiny in Genoa, Paggi was expressly prohibited from

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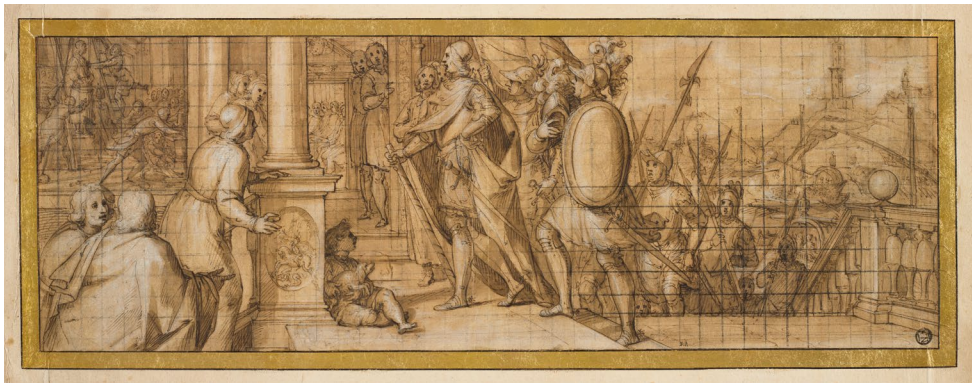

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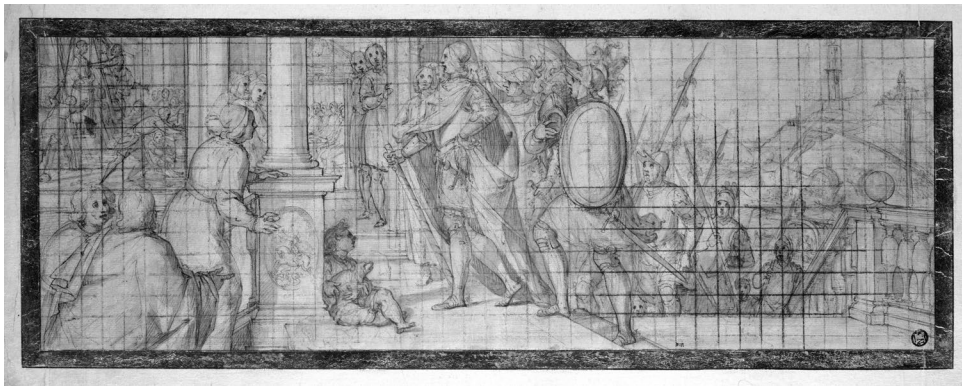

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Fig. 14 a Giovanni Battista Paggi (?), *The Return of Ambrogio di Negro, Who Attends the Unveiling of a Sculpture in His Honor at Palazzo di San Giorgio,* c. 1600–1610, the Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, INV. 4643.

Fig. 14 b Infrared.

Fig. 15 Artist unknown, *The Return of Ambrogio di Negro, Who Attends the Unveiling of a Sculpture in His Honor at Palazzo di San Giorgio,* c. 1600–1610, fresco, Villa di Negro Rosazza, Genoa.

Fig. 16 a Giovanni Batista Paggi or Lazzaro Tavarone, *The Three Fates,* c.1600–1610, the Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, INV. 12618.

Fig 16 b Infrared.

Fig. 17 Artist unkown, *The Three Fates,* c. 1600–1610, fresco, Villa Di Negro Rosazza, Genoa.

working outside his own open house (*casa aperta*); thus, he could not leave his home to work for anyone.[15] Instead, he worked in his studio[16] within a *casa grande* near the new gate (Porta Soprana) of the city, making hundreds of drawings and dozens of paintings over the course of his mature career (c. 1600–1627). Similarly, Paggi could not directly accept payment for his paintings, but rather made gifts of his work and accepted gifts in return (» *Fig. 10*). There is much more to be said about this idiosyncratic practice and what it meant for Paggi and for painters in early modern Genoa. For our purposes it is sufficient to underscore such strictures that preclude his having compromised his nobility by venturing out to the Villa di Negro to dirty his hands with plaster and paint. More to the point, he did not want to be seen working publicly for any patron.

Faced with these conflicting narratives: 1) attributing to Paggi a drawing of the *Three Fates* (» *Fig. 16a*) related to the decoration of the Villa di Negro, and 2), allowing for the reality of his sacrosanct *casa aperta*, Mary Newcome suggested that the artist painted the fresco in his studio and then had the work transported across town where it was immured by other artists or artisans who had no such qualms about mechanical

15 Lukehart 1988, pp. 11–16, 147–160; for my previous discussion of the drawings for the frescoes in the villa Di Negro Rosazza in Genoa, see pp. 155–156 and note 107.

16 See Frascarolo/Vignola 2016, pp. 16–33.

work (as fresco painting was then considered in Genoa).[17] Whereas I understand Newcome's conviction that the squared preliminary drawing in the Louvre is by Paggi's hand, this is an elaborate workaround for the social constraints under which Paggi practiced. What I would like to propose is a somewhat less convoluted solution, which I will now lay out.

The evidence of drawing

Starting with the drawing of *The Return of Ambrogio di Negro* (» *Fig. 14a*), I was initially compelled by Mancini's argument because, like her, I detected stylistic affinities to the work of Paggi, as, for example, in the *Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints* (» *Fig. 18a*): dark ovular eye sockets, open mouths, long, loopy fingers, among others—to adopt a Morellian argument. And yet, some things were not right, particularly the handling of the shading and hatching lines, which terminate in small blots or in weakly curved movements of the pen. Whereas Paggi made long contour lines and crisp, parallel shading lines that tend to hook toward the right at one end and to the left at the other, the artist who executed the pen lines on top of the black chalk underdrawing (» *Fig. 18b*)[18] on the Louvre sheet made very simple straight or crude curves and rough strokes to indicate a knee, a bend in the armor, or an epaulette. The one exception to this non-Paggi hand can be observed in the figure of the young boy with the dog in shadow at the base of the column where di Negro turns to view his sculptured likeness. The boy is very much in keeping with Paggi's pen work, from the physiognomy to the angled shading lines.

In contrast to the Louvre sheet, the National Gallery of Art's drawing bears witness to Paggi's use of black chalk underdrawing as a means to work rapidly and fluidly before fixing the composition of the figures with pen and ink. The manner of handling the various media also fits neatly into Vasari's definition of the *schizzo*, here identified with the black chalk underdrawing, and the *disegno*, which would accord with the more refined and finished compositional study in pen and ink.[19] Filippo Baldinucci's *Vocabolario Toscano dell'arte del disegno* defines the *schizzo* as a drawing executed in "very light (rapid) touches of pen or chalk with which one establishes one's ideas with-

17 Newcome 1995, pp. 18–19 and 21 n. 31.

18 Infrared image capture, "J" filter (1.1–1.4 microns), Santa Barbara Focal Plane ImagIR LC InSb camera, October 2016. Infrared reflectogram composite, Adobe Photoshop assembly, National Gallery of Art Painting Conservation Department.

19 The concepts of *schizzo*, *disegno*, and *cartone* have a long history in art-historical literature. For a particularly perceptive overview of Vasari's vocabulary of drawing, see Bambach 2012. See also Rosand 2002, pp. 53–54, with reference especially to Leonardo.

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b

Fig. 18 a Giovanni Battista Paggi, *Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints,* 1600–1610, National Gallery of Art, DC, Alisa Mellon Bruce Fund 2004.132.2.

Fig. 18 b Infrared reflectogram composite, National Gallery of Art Painting Conservation Department.

out bringing all parts to completion."[20] The *disegno*, by contrast, is meant to create a sense of relief and as a step that precedes painting (*colorire*).[21] In Paggi's black chalk

20 Filippo Baldinucci 1809, vols. II and III: for the definition of *schizzo* see Baldinucci 1809, vol. III, p. 134: "Dicono i Pittori quei legerissimi tocchi di penna o matita, con i quali accennano i lor concetti senza dar perfezione alle parti, il che dicono schizzare."

21 For the definition of *disegno*, see Baldinucci 1809, vol. II, pp. 183–184: "…figura e componimento di linee e d'ombre, che dimostra che s'ha da colorire, o in altro modo mettere in opera..." What I have not yet seen in contemporary sources is a specific mention of the practice under

sketch (» *Fig. 18b*) there are multiple contours for the figures (including a pentimento in the position of the Virgin's head) and several suggestions of how draperies should fall. Once Paggi (and here I believe the same artist is responsible for both the underdrawing and the upper layers of pen and ink) returns with the pen in his *disegno* (» *Fig. 18a*), he reinforces the outlines of his figures, establishes the flow of the drapery, adds more putti to the celestial host surrounding the Madonna and Child, and regularizes the shading with his signature hooked lines. Everything in the *Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints* bespeaks Paggi's use of media and his particular hand.

There is thus a difference between the drawing at the Louvre and those found in the National Gallery, the Uffizi, and the Palazzo Rosso, a disconnect between the underdrawing and the upper layers of pen, ink, and wash. I would like to suggest that the reasons for that anomaly are relatively easy to resolve: *The Return of Ambrogio di Negro* was, I contend, executed by two different hands: the underdrawing in black chalk can be assigned to Paggi; the pen, ink, and wash to another artist, possibly Andrea Ansaldo or Orazio Cambiaso as others have argued (or possibly another artist yet to be identified), and that this second artist was also responsible for squaring the drawing and likely painting the fresco on the wall of the Villa Di Negro (» *Fig. 17*), where the relation to Paggi's style is not at all apparent.[22] My reasons for believing this are twofold: on the one hand, Paggi could well have been asked to provide the idea for fresco, but knew that his social status would be compromised if he were to work outside his home; he therefore entrusted the actual commission for painting the fresco to another colleague who was not forced to live under the stringent laws governing nobility. On the other hand, there are the stylistic reasons summarized above.

In much the same way as the above examples, scholars have shuttled the preliminary drawings for *La Gloria di Colombo* (» *Fig. 19; Fig. 20*) between Lazaro Tavarone (Mary Newcome) and Paggi (Piero Boccardo).[23] This *schizzo* from the Galata, which could well be by Paggi, is like the work of a scientist where the text and the drawing are

investigation here: sketching with chalk and then reinforcing contours with a pen and adding wash. It has certainly been observed in the study of drawings, but not reinforced or described in contemporary written sources (to my knowledge).

22 At this time I do not have a candidate for the pen and ink layers of the Louvre sheet. Since this is a squared drawing, one could assume that it is the artist who executed the fresco. The names of Andrea Ansaldo and Orazio Cambiaso have been suggested for this latter role; however, Margherita Priarone (personal communication, February 28, 2017) does not believe that the fresco of the *Return of Ambrogio Di Negro* is by Ansaldo's hand. Orazio Cambiaso's oeuvre is poorly documented and few securely attributed works are given to him.

23 Boccardo 1992. The pair of drawings was highlighted recently in Borniotto 2016, pp. 39–44. Her discussion of the problematic attributions is found on p. 44, n. 50. This complex attribution history of Genoese drawings should be related to that undertaken by Bambach 1996, cat. 22, regarding the pen and ink drawing (over black chalk) by Bernardo Castello of *The Ambassadors Sent by Antoniotto Adorno before the King of France, Charles VI*, which Bambach believes may be a preliminary disegno for the fresco painted by Lazzaro Tavarone in Palazzo Cattaneo Adorno.

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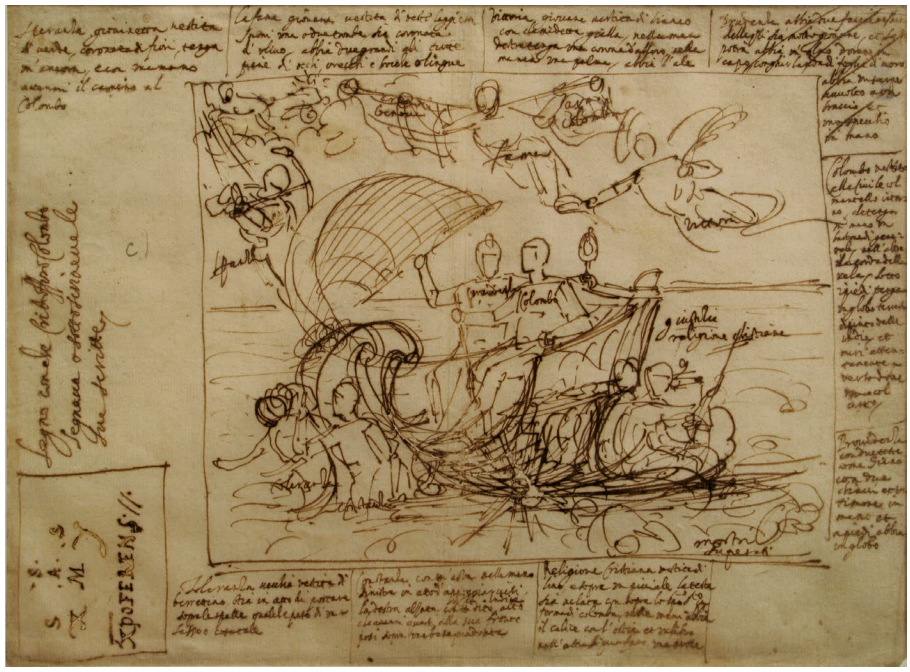

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Fig. 19 Giovanni Battista Paggi (?), *La Gloria di Colombo,* c. 1600–1610, schizzo, "Codice dei privilegi di Cristoforo Colombo", Galata Museo del Mare, Genoa.

Fig. 20 Giovanni Battista Paggi and/or Lazzaro Tavarone, *La Gloria di Colombo,* c. 1600–1610, Palazzo Rosso, Genoa, Inv. D 3141.

all generated from a single pen and ink source. There is a seamlessness between one form of graphic expression and the other without the intervention of a black chalk underdrawing. I have not yet seen an IR of the *disegno* housed in the Palazzo Rosso (» *Fig. 20*), but careful personal examination of the drawing suggests to me that there are again two hands: one for the black chalk underdrawing and another for the upper layers in pen and ink. Whereas the facial expressions, and the tightly curled hair of the allegorical figures (particularly Tolerance at front left) resemble Paggi's style, the lack of hooked shading lines and the slightly elongated proportions of the figures suggest a hand other than Paggi's. To my eye, the *Glory of Columbus* (» *Fig. 19*) resembles the penwork of the *The Three Fates* (» *Fig. 16a*), now thought by Newcome to be Paggi, but by me to be Tavarone, who likely also executed the fresco of the same subject (» *Fig. 17*).[24] And, in fact, Tavarone is known to have painted two Columbus cycles in fresco, one in the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini and the other in the Palazzo De Ferrari Belimbau, c. 1630s.

With just a few examples of IR photographs and a limited discussion of their implications, I put these arguments forward as hypotheses deserving far deeper analysis and a closer look than has heretofore been possible. Further, I am fully aware that most previous discussions of multiple hands in a single drawing have tended to argue that there are qualitative differences that can be resolved by assignment to a master and a pupil. Here, I want to suggest instead that Paggi handed off his *schizzi* to an equally respected artist who would be responsible for completing the pen and ink *disegno* and likely executing them in fresco (see below).

Before concluding, I would like to place my discussion into the larger context of this volume. One of the things that struck me in the months leading up to the Munich symposium is that the multistep process of working first in black chalk, and then coming back to fix the composition, the figural positions, as well as the light and shadow with pen and ink, brush and wash – and sometimes white heightening – is by and large the work of the professional class of artists working in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One very particular way in which drawing and writing are not identical processes is that most writing is done freehand on the page without preliminary lines in other media (except perhaps a rule line to keep the writing in parallel rows and evenly spaced). It is thus rare that dilettantes and amateurs who use pen and ink do so over a chalk underdrawing.[25] To take one prominent example, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) in his notebooks (» *Fig. 21*) and his illustrations intended to be transferred into prints

24 See the Louvre catalogue entry by Frederica Mancini, who, in personal communication (February 2017), expressed concern about the proportions of the figures, a point with which I agree. This pen and ink drawing as well as that for the *Gloria di Cristoforo Colombo* (Genoa, Palazzo Rosso) do not fit well within Paggi's autograph works. The same figural exaggerations exist in the completed fresco of *The Three Fates* (» *Fig. 17*).

25 Whereas Vincenzo Borghini's drawing (Petrioli Tofani 2008, cat. 38: Study for a fountain, c. 1565) for the marriage of Francesco and Giovanna d'Austria bespeaks his use of pen and ink over black chalk, Galileo's lunar landscape (» *Fig. 21*) does not.

Fig. 21 Galileo Galilei, MS. Gal. 48, fol. 28r, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

apparently worked solely with pen, ink, and wash. On one hand, the notebook drawings would presumably have been completed all of one piece (like the Columbus codex mentioned earlier): Galileo wrote his notes and made his observational sketches with the same materials and equipment. Yet, as far as I can tell without having worked with a microscope or IR, none of his finished *disegni* displays a chalk underdrawing. There is clear evidence that he used a compass to create the circumference of the moon or the sun, but unless he used an imperceptible medium such as metalpoint to plot out the location of mountain ridges or sunspots, it looks rather that he worked freehand.[26] It makes his accomplishments all that much more remarkable, but, I argue, also consistent with the creations of his amateur colleagues in the early modern period.

These new scientific means of studying drawing provide ever more abundant – and more sophisticated – forms of information about the media and the application of lines to a flat surface. Further, we have more ways to establish specific hands and ticks in the handling of materials; that is, more ways of adducing and evaluating evidence. Even as we now have additional answers – about the hands of artists or the chronology of creation – we simultaneously generate more questions. For example, if Paggi were responsible for the ideation of the compositional black chalk *schizzi* (which in turn became underdrawings) for frescoes, such as the *Return of Ambrogio Di Negro* or the *Three Fates*, we would still have to determine who, then, worked up the pen, ink, and wash *disegni*, as well as the squaring for transfer. In many cases, there is the related problem of a lack of consensus on who executed the actual frescoes.

Similarly, if we return to the drawing of *Jason Meeting King Aeëtes* attributed to Annibale Carracci (» *Fig. 9*), we see traces of black chalk underdrawing with the naked eye, notably in the spears and halberds carried by the sailors. The attributions of early Carracci drawings are notoriously fraught, not least because the cousins themselves are said to have insisted that there were no differences between them: "It is by the Carracci, we all did it."[27] In the examples where they were using chalk underdrawing, might we – with the aid of IR and other techniques – soon be able to detect individual hands in the *schizzo* and the *disegno* in pen and wash? And, going back several more decades into the sixteenth century, might these techniques also help us to understand Vasari's method of working with teams of artists on enormous projects, such as those for the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio?[28]

26 The most complete art-historical account of Galileo's lunar and solar studies remains Bredekamp 2007. Even so, there is little discussion of Galileo's drawing media, and few of the illustrations list more than pen, ink, and wash. See also, Schlitt 2016.

27 See Feigenbaum 1993; for the quotation from Carlo Cesare Malvasia, see p. 70.

28 I am reminded here of the perceptive work of Annamaria Petrioli Tofani on Vasari and his workshop, which she presented in her colloquium, "The Role of Drawing in the Sixteenth-Century Decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio: Vasari and His Colleagues and Followers," at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in April 2006 (A précis can be found in Petrioli Tofani 2006). Some of her ideas find further expression in her essay and catalog entries for the

For Paggi, who also directed a relatively large studio in Genoa, the stakes of authorship were unique and markedly different: since he could not leave his home to perform labor in the house of another, the preliminary sketch served as a work-around to the laws governing nobility. Even if he could not paint frescoes, he could nonetheless provide compositional ideas and iconographic programs. These newly observed Genoese underdrawings – in studies by Valentina Frascarolo, Maria Clelia Galassi, Frederica Mancini, Margherita Priarone, as well as the present author – attest to Paggi's artistic creativity and clever juridical strategizing. The *schizzi* could be handed off to an executant artist who did not have to comply with the *Leges novae* of Genoa to maintain a *casa aperta*.[29] Based on the proportions, retardataire choice of colors, and pronounced contours, the draftsmen responsible for the pen, ink, and wash drawings that cover – to varying degrees – the chalk underdrawings likely also painted the related fresco. I hasten to add that these subsequent artists were probably not students or apprentices, but Paggi's peers who openly practiced their profession as a "mechanical" rather than a liberal art. In fact, Paggi made a point of only bringing *giovani sotto padre* (young boys under their fathers' care) into his studio for lessons: they were there to learn the practices of drawing and painting and were not allowed to do manual labor or work for hire while under his tutelage.[30]

The evidence of drawing depends, therefore, not only on connoisseurship and familiarity with artists' hands, but also on technical, documentary, historical, social, and economic research, among many other factors. As David Rosand averred in *Drawing Acts*: drawing is a "fundamental pictorial act." I would like to extend that active image of draftsmanship to include a potential network of artists from the *schizzo* to the squared *disegno*, to the *cartone*, to the painted decoration. The examples shared in this study point to a richer, more nuanced process of drawing that extends from ideation to execution in another medium. If the forensic capabilities of IR and other investigative techniques have introduced new complexities and ambiguities concerning the various hands engaged in making a multilayered drawing, they may simultaneously help us formulate better-informed questions – and answers – concerning authorship and practice in the early modern period.

exhibition at the Morgan Library: Petrioli Tofani 2008, pp. xiii–xviii; in the section devoted to Vasari's drawings (pp. 55–79) virtually every pen and ink drawing is made on top of black chalk underdrawing. The same holds true for many in his team at the Palazzo Vecchio and elsewhere: see, for example, Stradanus's The Triumph of the Florentine Army after Taking Siena (cat. 40, pp. 88–89) of c. 1563–1565.

29 Doria/Savelli 1980.

30 Lukehart 1993; and Lukehart 1988, pp. 161–185.

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