

# Master Drawings

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The Collector's Cut: Why Pierre-Jean Mariette Tore up His Drawings and Put Them Back Together Again

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# The Collector's Cut:

## Why Pierre-Jean Mariette Tore up His Drawings and Put Them Back Together Again

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KRISTEL SMENTEK

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In the eighteenth century, drawings emerged as objects of central importance to connoisseurs. Though they had been appreciated by collectors since the Renaissance, it was only then that they became the very foundation of connoisseurial claims to knowledge. Deemed by theorists of the period to be purer, less mediated expressions of an artist's characteristic *manière* than paintings, drawings became the empirical data on which attributions and art historical taxonomies were based. This belief in the primacy of drawing motivated the collecting and scholarship of the eighteenth century's most famous connoisseur, Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774). Yet Mariette frequently altered the very fabric of his Old Master drawings, completing, trimming, and reassembling the works he so prized—even, on occasion, splitting double-sided sheets into two separate works. How are we to reconcile these interventions with his profound appreciation of the stylistic purity of artists' sheets? Part of the answer may lie in the epistemological concerns that guided eighteenth-century scholar-collectors such as Mariette.

The eighteenth century was an age of empiricism—a time when knowledge did not derive from philology or abstract reasoning but rather depended on firsthand observation of phenomena. This applied as much to the study of art as it did to the natural world. Empirical theories of knowledge were grounded in a model of perception in which sensory experience was thought to

“impress” itself on the mind of the viewer or listener.<sup>1</sup> First impressions were thus the foundation on which more complex ideas were developed. For connoisseurs, whose claims to expertise were based on their study of drawings, the immediate apprehension of an artist's sheet was of pivotal importance. Securing the legibility of artists' drawings was, I suggest, a goal that is manifest both in Mariette's distinctive mounts and in his interventions into the drawings themselves.<sup>2</sup>

As eighteenth-century theorists repeatedly stressed, it was in drawings and not in paintings that the connoisseur could observe the artist's mind and hand most freely at work. This was a view shared by Mariette. Expanding on claims advanced by Roger de Piles (1635–1709) in his *Idée du peintre parfait* (1699), theorists such as Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (1667–1745), and Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville (1680–1765) posited that drawings were ultimately superior to paintings. De Piles had asserted that in paintings artists strove to outdo themselves and thus compromised their true style. By contrast, in drawings, artists “let themselves be seen as they are.”<sup>3</sup> Drawings were therefore a truer index of an artist's *caractère*, defined by de Piles as “the way a painter ‘thinks’ things,” and, deploying the metaphor of impression, the “seal that distinguishes him from others and with which he imprints on his work the lively image of his mind.”<sup>4</sup> By 1727 Dezallier could proclaim that “a

beautiful volume of drawings by the best painters is a true school of painting.”<sup>5</sup> Later, in 1745, in his *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, Dezallier repeated de Piles’s assertion that drawings, rather than paintings, offered the connoisseur unmediated access to an artist’s defining manner: “A painter, in painting a picture, corrects himself and suppresses the fire of his genius; in making a drawing, he throws down the first fire of his mind, he abandons himself and shows himself just as he is.”<sup>6</sup> In his *Traité de la peinture et de la sculpture* (1728), the source of much of Dezallier’s own theory, Richardson described drawings as “the mind itself and the quintessence of art” and went so far as to claim that paintings were but pale imitations of an artist’s more spirited, drawn originals.<sup>7</sup>

Mariette frequently expressed his belief in the significance of drawings for the “true connoisseur.”<sup>8</sup> In a sale catalogue published in 1750, he wrote eloquently that, “in a drawing, refined and enlightened eyes discover the whole of the master’s mind, the creative spirit, the sparkling and wholly divine fire that emanates from the soul and which a moment of reflection is prepared to extinguish and make disappear.”<sup>9</sup> Writing privately to Giovanni Gaetano Bottari (1689–1775) in 1762, he stated categorically that “the intellectual part [of painting] is more clearly discerned in the drawings of the masters than in their paintings.”<sup>10</sup> In one of the earliest publications with which Mariette was involved, the importance of drawings was made explicit in the very format of the book. The so-called *Recueil Crozat*, published in 1729, was one of the earliest reproductive print publications to include prints after artists’ drawings as well as after their paintings.<sup>11</sup> The inclusion of drawings was explained in language reminiscent of de Piles: “Drawings are, so to speak, the touchstone for attaining knowledge of each author’s relative merit; each reveals himself as he is, he cannot disguise himself.”<sup>12</sup> In the preface to the second volume, published in 1742, Mariette’s language is more forceful: “Nothing is more appropriate than drawings for a sound knowledge of the true character of each master.”<sup>13</sup> Nothing, therefore, distinguishes the connoisseur from a

mere *curieux* more clearly than the careful and systematic firsthand examination of artists’ drawings.

To be a connoisseur was to be an empiricist. “The science of the connoisseur,” as both Richardson and Mariette described it, depended on experience, on the unbiased observation and comparative visual analysis of numerous works of art, especially drawings.<sup>14</sup> As Carol Gibson-Wood has shown, Richardson drew heavily on John Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) in the exposition of his theory of connoisseurship.<sup>15</sup> Using the metaphor of the printing press, Locke hypothesized that sensations from the external world imprinted themselves on the mind as characters on a “white paper;” these impressions furnished the mind with simple ideas or representations put before the mind for apprehension, reflection, and rational analysis.<sup>16</sup> Ideas were fixed in memory through attention and repetition; internal reflection on them led to the building of complex ideas; comparison of those ideas led to hypotheses based on physical resemblance. Adapting Lockean epistemology to connoisseurship, Richardson argued that an attribution, for instance, is derived from a comparison of the object on view with the mental ideas or images of an artist’s style retained in the memory.<sup>17</sup> When agreement is reached between the object on view and the image in the mind, an attribution results:

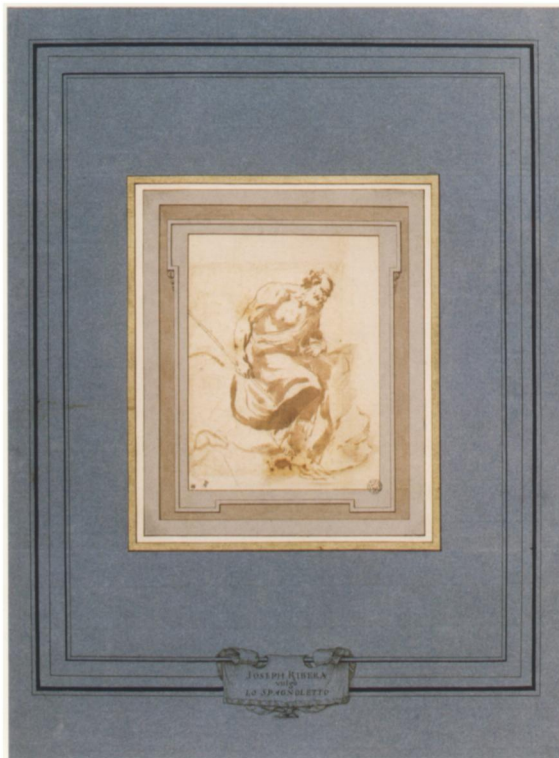
*For when we Judge who is the Author of any Picture, or Drawing, we do the same thing as when we say who a portrait resembles; In that case we find the Picture answers to the Idea we have laid up in our Minds of such a Face; so here we compare the work under consideration with the Idea we have of the Manner of such a Master, and perceive the Similitude.*<sup>18</sup>

The effectiveness of this process depended on the viewer’s initial reception of clear and distinct ideas such as are presented “in a well-ordered sensation or perception.”<sup>19</sup> Given the importance of sensory data in the acquisition of connoisseurial knowledge, the clarity of sense impressions was imperative. It was this perceptual clarity, I would argue, that was one thing Mariette sought to create in



Figure 1  
 BARTOLOMMEO  
 PASSEROTTI  
 Study of a Left  
 Hand Being  
 Drawn by a Right  
 Hand  
 Paris, Musée du  
 Louvre, Département  
 des Arts Graphiques

Figure 2  
 Manner of JUSEPE  
 RIBERA  
 Seated Draped  
 Man (A Saint?)  
 Paris, Musée du  
 Louvre, Département  
 des Arts Graphiques



the mounting and presentation of his drawings.

Few eighteenth-century mounts are more celebrated today than those designed by Mariette, and few, I suggest, are as revelatory of eighteenth-century visuality and the impression theory of sensation that shaped it. The practice of mounting drawings was not new; Mariette's mats draw on a tradition established two centuries before by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) in his *Libro de' disegni* whose elaborate presentation was prized and emulated by subsequent collectors, especially Mariette.<sup>20</sup> Evolved from Vasari's example, Mariette's blue paper mounts are anchored by cartouches inscribed with the name of the artist and are often embellished with elaborately drawn borders that simulate the carved moldings of picture frames, emulating, for example, bead-and-reel or laurel motifs, or the outset corners, guttae and garlands characteristic of eighteenth-century classicizing frames (Figs. 1–2).<sup>21</sup> Occasionally, Mariette added a line of text in Latin to the mount, elucidating the subject of the drawing or the circumstances surrounding the execution of a related work.



Unlike Vasari, however, Mariette matted his drawings individually. His sheets were thus not confined to a fixed order, like those found in the bound albums favored by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collectors, such as Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714) and the Marqués del Carpio (1629–1687; see pp. 3–35), as well as some eighteenth-century connoisseurs, including Dezallier d’Argenville.<sup>22</sup> In contrast to the predetermined organization of albums, Mariette’s individual mats physically enabled the study, side by side, of works of different periods, schools, and artists. His storage methods also accommodated the changes of opinion that were, in his view, the inevitable consequence of a connoisseur’s increasing knowledge: “I am not surprised that the person who has reached the degree of knowledge of which I speak often sees himself obliged to give up his first sentiments or at least correct the ideas he had made of certain masters.”<sup>23</sup> Mariette’s presentation thus facilitated the construction and revision of taxonomies (ordered by school, period, or stylistic genealogy) that were not determined by *a priori* systems but founded instead on empirical study.<sup>24</sup>

With few exceptions, Mariette’s mounts are of a standard size (20 x 15 inches; 510 x 380 mm), a feature that unified his diverse collection while also protecting the fragile sheets from abrasion within portfolios.<sup>25</sup> Their format also shielded the drawings from damage inflicted by eager connoisseurs. (That drawings were subject to much physical handling is suggested by contemporary prints showing connoisseurs bending mounts or bringing works on paper close to their often bespectacled eyes [Fig. 3].<sup>26</sup>) Indicative of both the importance he attached to his sheets and his pride in owning them, Mariette matched variety to symmetry in his mounts and thus conformed to contemporary standards of good taste. Variety held the viewer’s attention when going through a succession of drawings, while symmetry granted unity to the collection. In individual mounts, a symmetrical presentation helped the viewer to perceive the whole within a single glance or *coup d’oeil*.<sup>27</sup> At the same time, as historians of science have demonstrated, tastefulness and ornamenta-



Figure 3

CHARLES-NICOLAS COCHIN

Frontispiece to E. F. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné des diverses curiosités du cabinet de feu M. Quentin de Lorangère* (Paris, 1744)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

tion were not antithetical to eighteenth-century scholarly pursuits.<sup>28</sup> By deploying balance, ornament, and a host of other features, I would contend that Mariette aimed to manage the viewer’s initial perception of a drawing by the way it was mounted. That the mats are also beautiful does not preclude a serious purpose in their design.

If, in theory, drawings were transparent to an artist’s mental processes, Mariette’s mounts suggest that, in practice, the visual experience of drawings, like that of paintings, had to be managed. A frame-like mat for a drawing marked it as demanding a visual attentiveness that is different from everyday seeing; it would solicit the viewer to examine the drawing with the same concentration accorded to paintings.<sup>29</sup> The degree to which Mariette’s distinctive mounts do control viewer perception becomes obvious when a modern museum mat (which typically conceals historic collectors’ mounts from view) is opened, revealing

Mariette's mount for a sheet such as the *Seated Draped Man* (see Fig. 2), attributed by the collector to Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652). The effect on the viewer's experience of the drawing is striking and immediate. The distancing effect of the neutral modern mount is collapsed as Mariette's mat forcibly draws the viewer's eye to the image. The contrast between the relatively dark blue color of the mount and the white paper of the drawing creates an almost tunnel-like construction, compelling the beholder to focus on the image. As Daniel Le Marois has demonstrated, the visual impact of Mariette's mounts is intensified through subtle means. By varying the widths of the blue paper borders and the placement of ruled framing lines, Mariette (or more likely his mounter) constructed a subtle illusion of depth and recession that visually coerces the viewer's eye to the drawing at the expense of its frame.<sup>30</sup>

Mariette's most commonly encountered intervention—his enlargement of artists' sheets by adding strips of paper to their sides—helps to center the drawing in the middle of the mount and prevent the mat from encroaching on the viewer's perception of it. These strips also provide a support for Mariette's completions of fragmentary drawings, such as his wash additions at the bottom and right edges of the sheet with the *Seated Draped Man* (see Fig. 2). In every Mariette mount, a thin reserve of the cream backing is visible between the drawing and the gold border of the top mount, which prevents the mat from crowding the image; the addition of an ink framing line on the outer edge of the drawing eliminates any visual confusion between it and the backing paper. Further potential distraction is thus eliminated; nothing impedes the viewer's immediate apprehension of the sheet.

Yet no matter how carefully a drawing was presented, its legibility—and thus its usefulness for comparative analysis—would be compromised if it were too large to be viewed in a single glance. Such a concern may account in part for Mariette's rejection of sheets exceeding the dimensions of his standard window mount.<sup>31</sup> In a letter to the Venetian architect Tommaso Temanza (1705–

1789) asking for his help in securing a drawing by Giambettino Cignaroli (1706–1770), Mariette stated that the drawing should not be too big: "I do not want it to be too large, nor for it to exceed the dimensions of this letter when it is unfolded."<sup>32</sup> The letter measured 9 1/2 x 14 1/4 inches (240 x 360 mm).<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere, Mariette complained to Temanza that a drawing by Gaspare Diziani (1689–1767) offered to him was too large:

*His drawing, good as it is, would please me more if it were smaller for all of my drawings are stored in portfolios of the same size. This makes me prefer those that are of average dimensions; so that if you could engage Mr. Diziani to give me one which does not exceed twelve pouces on one direction and fifteen to sixteen pouces in the other direction, I would gladly receive it and give it a place in my collection.*<sup>34</sup>

Mariette did not refuse the Diziani sheet proposed to him,<sup>35</sup> but he did on occasion decline drawings that were too large for his portfolios. In a letter to a Mr. Jenincks, probably Henry Constantine Jennings (1731–1819), Mariette politely refused an offer of two animal studies by Roos.<sup>36</sup> Mariette explained that the drawings were too large, and that since he could not find an acceptable way to reduce them to his desired format, he could not keep them:

*...you may remember that I told you at the time that these drawings could not, because of their size, enter into my portfolios, where I have reduced to a unique size all those which have entered. You told me then that by suppressing something, it would be possible to reduce them. Being in my country house, I looked for the means [to do this] and I found that it was impossible. Suffer then, sir, that I return these two drawings to your portfolios.*<sup>37</sup>

Mariette's concern with size has been variously interpreted as a personal quirk, as "a need for order," or as a sign of his conservatism.<sup>38</sup> Yet Mariette was far from alone in his attentiveness to issues of scale in matters of art; his insistence on specific parameters for his drawings conforms to the idea, widely current in the eighteenth century,

that comprehension was impossible if the object of study exceeded the spatial range, or *coup d'oeil*, of the spectator's vision.<sup>39</sup>

Implicit in the notion of the *coup d'oeil* is the question of the viewer's field of vision. A connoisseur could not reliably take in, much less recognize, the subject or authorship of a work in a single glance if its scale exceeded his visual range. In his *Encyclopédie* entry on "Comparison" published in 1753, the chevalier Louis de Jaucourt (1704–1779) emphasized the importance of the *coup d'oeil* in the act of visual comparison:

*Every comparison proceeds from at least two objects.... When one compares, for example, two pieces of money, either one views both in a single coup d'oeil, or one conserves the idea of the first & consults it during the time one casts one's eyes over the second; since if one no longer had an idea of the first, it would not be possible to decide if it is equal to the second, or if it differs.*<sup>40</sup>

Effective comparison, according to Jaucourt, thus depended on the viewer's ability to seize one or more objects within a single glance. In the case of large drawings, the standardized dimensions of Mariette's mounts necessarily limited their size to a scale commensurate with the viewer's field of vision. As suggested by Jaucourt, when two or more objects were not apprehensible within a *coup d'oeil*, the comprehension of each individual item in one glance was necessary to facilitate its retention in the memory for future comparisons.

French writers on the arts were attuned to the importance of the viewer's spatial limits and their effects on the perception of painting, architecture, and the graphic arts. According to seventeenth-century French theorists such as André Félibien (1619–1695) and Henri Testelin (1616–1695), the visual effectiveness of a painting depended on the spectator's ability to grasp the subject in a single glance or *coup d'oeil*.<sup>41</sup> Paintings should be composed to accommodate a single view in which the spectator will instantaneously comprehend the subject and subsequently be drawn into a more extended appreciation of the work. For *Rubénistes* such as de Piles, color rather than composition

would deliver an immediate visual effect at the viewer's initial *coup d'oeil* and thereby lure the spectator into a more sustained examination of the image. As Thomas Puttfarcken has argued, de Piles's immediate visual effect and Félibien's instantaneous apprehension of the subject could occur only if the viewer were able to take in the whole of a picture at once. The *coup d'oeil* thus had both temporal and spatial components. Immediacy of effect or of comprehension was predicated on the canvas not exceeding the spatial limits of the spectator's vision.<sup>42</sup>

The conviction that a work of art should be instantaneously apprehensible in a single *coup d'oeil* was frequently voiced in the eighteenth century. Étienne de La Font de Saint-Yenne (1688–1771) and Louis Petit de Bachaumont (1690–1771) applied the concept to their assessments of architecture, the comte de Caylus (1692–1765) discussed it in his lectures to the Académie Royale, and Baron Grimm (1723–1807) deployed it in his criticism of contemporary art. As Caylus stated in a lecture on painting, "from the moment the eye perceives, it should embrace everything."<sup>43</sup>

Connoisseurs of the graphic arts were as attentive to issues of scale and the instantaneous apprehension of a work as were critics of painting and architecture. As Johann Friedrich Christ (1701–1756), author of a handbook on prints, complained in 1750, large sheets were not only difficult to store but they rendered impossible the ideal contemplation of a work on paper:

*...suppose one could conveniently store these large prints, that one esteems them, and that one wants to contemplate them, it is not difficult to conceive that they are already too large for this usage. Every print larger than an ordinary sheet, in order to be completely comprehended, as it should be, in the coup d'oeil of the spectator, demands to be seen from a distance of three feet or more. This means that one should not place it in a book but rather hang it on the wall, to see it from a distance and from its proper point of view. It is certain that in this situation, the work of the engraver becomes invisible, and one is right to say in this case that it is an engraving without engraving.*<sup>44</sup>



When viewing a large print from a distance, one takes in the full composition but not the handling. At close range, one can examine the marks of the burin, but one cannot comprehend the subject. Later commentators on the extremely large prints of Jacques Callot (1592–1635), such as the *Fair at Impruneta* (436 x 678 mm), with its 1,300 figures and animals, took pains to point out how the prints could be enjoyed despite the fact that they could not be apprehended in a single *coup d'oeil*.<sup>45</sup>

Complaints such as Christ's applied also to drawings. In Mariette's opinion, the prices paid in 1756 at the duc de Tallard's sale for a lot of drawings by Daniele da Volterra (1509–1566) were excessive both because the sheets were worn and because they were too large:

*These are heavily worked drawings, burdened with much effort as is typical of Daniel, but they are in such bad order and so worn, and in addition of such large size that I find them to have been sold at a very high price.*<sup>46</sup>

Commenting on a sheet by Raymond La Fage (1656–1684) offered at auction in 1771 and described in the sale catalogue as “in 9 pieces,” Mariette wrote, “These drawings originally composed one large, beautiful drawing from which it was impossible to derive any pleasure.”<sup>47</sup> The large scale of La Fage's composition prevented the viewer from absorbing within a single glance both the subject and the subtleties of the artist's hand. This was reason enough to section La Fage's original sheet into nine smaller, more easily apprehensible drawings.<sup>48</sup>

Given such contemporary attitudes, it is likely that Mariette's standardization of his mounts went beyond the question of practical storage constraints or personal taste. His mats have the format of a standard folio page (20 x 15 in.), and the drawings he mounted were thus the size of the ordinary sheet that Christ recommended for optimum viewing.

The concept of the *coup d'oeil* may also account for some of Mariette's more dramatic interventions into his sheets. The *Studies of Two Fauns* by Thomas Blanchet (1614–1689), in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 4),<sup>49</sup> for instance, is not executed on a single sheet but is composed of two separate studies laid down one above the other. Mariette arranged the drawings so that they fit his upright mount, causing the upper faun's hoof to overlap the sheet below it. This arrangement also resulted in the unusual placement of Blanchet's signature at the middle left of the recombined sheet. It is clear that the format of the original sheet with two studies—if, indeed, they were together on one sheet, perhaps a long horizontal—was larger than Mariette's standard mount.<sup>50</sup> Even in its reassembled state, the drawing's size leaves little room for Mariette's blue border. By sectioning and recombining the figures, Mariette created a more compact composition that conforms in scale to his standard mount and accommodates the connoisseur's *coup d'oeil*. Although it

Figure 4

THOMAS  
BLANCHET

Studies of Two  
Fauns

Paris, Musée du  
Louvre, Département  
des Arts Graphiques







recalls similar interventions by Vasari, such as his mounting together of two studies of a nursing woman by Liberale da Verona (c. 1445–c. 1526), both now in the Albertina, Vienna (Fig. 5)<sup>51</sup>—a sheet that subsequently entered Mariette’s collection—Mariette modified Blanchet’s drawing in accordance with the preoccupations particular to his era. As re-assembled by Mariette, Blanchet’s studies of *Fauns* can, in Christ’s words, “be completely contained, as it should be, within the eye of the spectator.”<sup>52</sup> (Mariette tended to leave Vasari’s assemblages of drawings untouched unless their condition warranted intervention; for him, the historical significance of the Vasari mount seemed to trump the importance of the *coup d’oeil*).<sup>53</sup>

Mariette’s unusual presentation of a series of nine heads by Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), in

the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (front cover),<sup>54</sup> may also be accounted for, at least in part, by a desire to impose optimum viewing conditions. By current standards, Mariette’s intervention here was drastic. Each head in this mount was torn from a larger sheet. The ragged edges are clearly visible, as are the mounter’s extensions of the original drawn lines; these later drawn additions compensate for losses that occurred during the division of the original sheets. As noted by Martin Eidelberg, at least two sheets from which the heads were removed were intact when they were in the collection of Pierre Crozat (1665–1740) and when Caylus etched them in 1735.<sup>55</sup> Mariette purchased these sheets of sketches at Crozat’s sale in 1741; it is therefore likely that it was he who tore apart the drawings before remounting them.<sup>56</sup> His reasons for doing so have not been previous-

Figure 5

LIBERALE DA VERONA

Two Studies of a Woman Nursing  
Vienna, Albertina

ly explained,<sup>57</sup> but the primacy of instantaneous visual comprehension may have prompted the arrangement: the heads are no longer randomly, and therefore confusedly, scattered over a single sheet. Whether in Caylus's published etchings, where they are presented as independent images or in Mariette's mounting of them in individual roundels, Van Dyck's sketches are transformed into discrete and immediately legible images; the individual, framed presentation of each head facilitates the viewer's formation of clear and unconfused ideas about the artist's style.

The restoration of damaged sheets was also important in promoting their legibility. Andrew McClellan has argued that the cleaning and restoration of canvases assumed particular importance in the eighteenth century as the desire for transparent or unmediated viewing increased.<sup>58</sup> Mariette's manipulation of his sheets suggests paradoxically that for drawings, as for paintings, ensuring the viewer's unmediated experience of the artist's *manière* actually required the mediation of a restorer. To intervene, as Mariette often did, would seem to compromise the purity of an artist's style, which he, among others, consistently claimed was most visible in his drawings. Yet the evidence shows that such restorations were not viewed as detrimental as they would be today. In fact, Mariette's abilities as a restorer were particularly admired by his fellow connoisseurs. In a diary entry of 1760, the Swedish collector Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770) wrote approvingly of Mariette's expertise in bringing sheets "back to life" without, however, specifying how he did so: "I have seen faded drawings come back to life under [Mariette's] hand as a result of his patience...and without diminishing their value."<sup>59</sup>

An analogy can be made to the widespread eighteenth-century practice of restoring antiquities. For antiquarians such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), it was self-evident that mutilated or fragmentary art objects should be restored.<sup>60</sup> The completion of a damaged work restored coherence to the subject and provided the viewer with a more complete sensory and intellectual experience of the original. Yet for

Winckelmann, as for Mariette, any addition to a fragmentary art object had to be a judicious one. An intervention should not be destructive, deceptive, or without historical foundation. It must not, as Tessin noted, diminish the value of the object.

Mariette himself made a clear distinction between deceptive and desirable restoration in his *Traité des pierres gravées* (1750), in which he railed against those who polished and thereby destroyed ancient engraved gems. Such polishing obliterated the characteristics that allowed a connoisseur to identify and classify an intaglio. Mariette compared such repolished gems to paintings that have been artificially aged in order to dupe buyers.<sup>61</sup> But he then clearly differentiated such practices from the restoration of damaged items:

*I must, however, do justice to the intelligent gem engraver who, when confronted with the fragment of an engraved gem, discretely adds or effaces something to create a complete subject.... This is not to deceive; it is to seek to present from a more satisfying point of view an object that, although beautiful in itself, would cause some upset if one considered it in its state of ruin.*<sup>62</sup>

A judicious addition did not denature the object but rather enhanced it. By making a fragmentary subject whole, the restorer spared the viewer the sensory pain evoked by an incomplete object. Winckelmann similarly approved of restorations, providing their historical plausibility were ensured by an expert. Historically accurate restorations were thus actively pursued since they conveyed a more complete impression of the art of the past.<sup>63</sup>

Two drawings by Parmigianino (1503–1540) completed by Mariette are striking examples of restorations presumably motivated by a concern for historical accuracy. They also suggest how Mariette established the plausibility of his interventions. Both sheets, one now in the Albertina (Fig. 6),<sup>64</sup> the other in the Uffizi, Florence (Fig. 7),<sup>65</sup> represent standing female figures with vases on their heads. In both cases, the vases are largely Mariette's work. His transformation of the vestigial vessel in the Albertina sheet into a two-handled vase was likely, as A. E. Popham argued, the



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Figure 6  
PARMIGIANINO  
Wise Virgin  
Vienna, Albertina

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Figure 7  
PARMIGIANINO  
Wise Virgin  
Florence, Gabinetto  
Disegni e Stampe  
degli Uffizi





Figure 8

GIORGIONE (?)

Putto Bending a Bow

New York,  
Metropolitan  
Museum of Art

result of his belief that the study was preparatory for one of the artist's most important commissions, the vault of S. Maria della Steccata, Parma, painted in the 1530s.<sup>66</sup> The completion of the vessel, as well as Mariette's addition of a vase to the Uffizi drawing, suggests that he interpreted the drawings as studies for the wise virgins painted along the edges of the vault, and that he restored them to an approximation of what he believed

their original composition to have been. His intervention was "authorized" by the traces of vessels on the original drawings and by comparative examples of studies by Parmigianino for the wise virgins. Fragments of Parmigianino's original base, bowl, and one handle of a vase are clearly visible in the Albertina sheet, and a base is discernable in the Uffizi drawing. Related drawings in the French royal collection and prints after Parmigianino's drawings for the virgins provided points of comparison.<sup>67</sup> Mariette may also have supplemented his visual analysis with textual evidence and eyewitness accounts communicated by his correspondents; he may also have seen the vault himself when he was in Parma in 1719.<sup>68</sup>

For Mariette, his completions of Parmigianino's drawings not only enhanced the viewer's visual experience of them by offering complete rather than fragmentary images, they underscored the connection between the studies and the artist's fresco, thereby granting the connoisseur a more substantive insight into the artist's thought process. The drawing is no longer a random figure study but represents Parmigianino's preliminary thoughts for a major public commission.

In another of his historical reconstructions, a *Study for a Putto* attributed to Giorgione (1477–1510), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 8),<sup>69</sup> Mariette replicated, with the addition of a niche, the original viewing conditions of the painting for which he thought the fragmentary drawing preparatory. He evidently related the fragment to one of Giorgione's major commissions, the fresco decoration of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi or German customs house in Venice. As Erika Tietze-Conrat argued, Mariette's niche-like setting betrays his familiarity with Vasari's account of the frescoes and his description of "an angel in the guise of a putto."<sup>70</sup> Evidence that the figure may indeed be related to this commission is found in the drawing itself. The foreshortened pose of the putto indicates that it was intended to be seen from below, a placement that would accord with Giorgione's frescoes located high on the Fondaco's façade, as is recorded in the etchings after the frescoes published in

1760 by Anton Maria Zanetti II (1706–1778).<sup>71</sup> This steep perspective seems to sanction Mariette's interpretation of the drawing as preparatory for the Fondaco frescoes.<sup>72</sup> The pronounced red color of the niche is further proof that he believed the study related to these frescoes. Mariette's liberal use of red is keyed to the red chalk of the drawing, but it also approximates the flaming red color of the frescoes described by various commentators.<sup>73</sup> Mariette may well have seen the frescoes himself when he visited Venice in 1719. As with the Parmigianino drawings, his additions to the putto amplify the viewer's experience of the sheet. The niche provides an acceptable context for the foreshortening of the putto and signals its relationship to an important commission by Giorgione. Confident of the plausibility of his reconstruction, Mariette restored to the tiny fragment its significance as a record of the artist's thought process.<sup>74</sup>

In his commentary on the restoration of engraved gems, Mariette stated that judicious completions do not seek to deceive. Accordingly, in the illustrations to his treatise on gems, reconstructed areas of damaged gems were clearly delineated by a dotted line. A similar concern to make additions obvious to viewers can be discerned in Mariette's restorations of his drawings. Discoloration, over time, of the papers, glue and media used by Mariette make his additions readily evident today,<sup>75</sup> but I suspect his restorations were apparent even to eighteenth-century viewers and were intended to be so. The frame surrounding the niche in the Giorgione drawing, for instance, is so spare as to be almost abstract (Fig. 8). The stark contrast between the carefully ruled precision of the frame and the freely drawn putto leaves the viewer with no confusion: the frame is not by the same hand as the figure. Similarly, in the black chalk *Study for the Muse Urania* by Michael Dorigny (1616–1665), also in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 9),<sup>76</sup> not only has the globe in the lower right corner been completed in a different hand and in lighter chalk, it is a perfect circle. Digital infrared photography of this area clearly shows the hole made by the compass (invisible to the naked eye), with which this

flawless circle was drawn.<sup>77</sup> It is unlikely that Dorigny would have interrupted his freehand sketching to describe his globe with such instrumental accuracy. It is, however, probable that an eighteenth-century restorer, mindful of creating a plausible but not deceptive completion, would have done so.<sup>78</sup>

In other instances, as in the *Seated Draped Man* (see Fig. 2), the laid lines of the paper added to the right of the drawing run perpendicular to the laid lines of the original sheet. This arrangement highlights rather than obscures the fact that this piece of paper and the completion of the drawing that it supports are not a continuation of the original. After their first glance, attentive observers would have noticed these interventions, as they would the jagged edges of the torn Van Dyck heads (front cover) or the generic character and the lighter red chalk of the vases added to the Parmigianino drawings (see Figs. 6–7). By tracing only the outlines of the vases rather than reproducing the actual amphorae painted in the vault (or even as originally sketched in undamaged drawings), Mariette enhanced the viewer's impression by conveying a complete idea of the artist's *pensée* for the Steccata frescos. A similar process is at work in the Dorigny and Giorgione sheets. In each case, the idea given is approximate but not deceptive; the media used are slightly different, the character of the drawing is more careful, and the seams between pieces of the drawings and the backing paper are clearly visible, then as now, particularly in raking light. Losses were considered jarring, even troubling in Mariette's view, but judicious restorations would obviate the visual distraction occasioned by such losses while conveying as accurate an impression as possible of the original without deceiving the viewer.

The desire for optimum viewing may also account for Mariette's most radical interventions: his splitting of double-sided drawings into two separate sheets. This is perhaps the most extreme example of mediation in the service of unmediated viewing. Contemporaries recorded their amazement at Mariette's ability to split single sheets of paper into two and thereby enable both



Figure 9

NICOLAS  
DORIGNY

Study for the Muse  
Urania

New York,  
Metropolitan  
Museum of Art



sides to be seen and studied. Although art historians have doubted these accounts, recent research has shown that it is relatively easy to split prints on laid paper into two halves and that the procedure has been in use since the nineteenth century. (It continues to be used in book restoration to this day.<sup>79</sup>) If we accept the reports of Mariette's colleagues, not only did the process emerge earlier, but the appearance of some of the oddest sheets in Mariette's collection begins to make sense.

The process of splitting a sheet of laid paper is simple, but not without risk (as several Mariette sheets prove). The paper to be separated is dampened, fine cloth or paper of slightly larger dimensions is pasted to both sides of the sheet with water-soluble glue, and the whole is allowed to dry under pressure. Once dry, a corner of the facing paper or cloth is nicked and the facing sup-

ports are evenly pulled apart. Ideally, the two sides of the original sheet come apart with them.<sup>80</sup> Once split, the two halves are bathed in water to remove the supports, and what was once one intact paper is now two very thin sheets.

The practice of paper splitting is thought to have begun in the nineteenth century, when the earliest published accounts of it appeared.<sup>81</sup> Historically, it has been associated with the false margining of Old Master prints. False margining is the process by which prints are split and the recto backed with half of a larger split paper, or a core paper is inserted between the two halves of the original sheet to give the print new, wider margins.<sup>82</sup> Since Old Master prints were almost always trimmed to their platemarks, false margining created false rarities, that is, Old Master prints with their "original," wide margins seemingly intact.



As a prominent print dealer in eighteenth-century Europe, one who was proficient in a number of print restoration techniques, Mariette may simply have applied to drawings a practice already in use for prints.<sup>83</sup> Perhaps he pioneered it.

Mariette's fellow connoisseurs actually approved of his ability to split drawings. In a letter to Padre Paolo Maria Paciaudi (1710–1785), which was sent in 1761, the comte de Caylus wrote admiringly of Mariette's separation of a recto-verso drawing by Raphael, noting that this was not the only instance of such an intervention:

*Mariette [is] the most skillful and patient man alive. I will give you but one example. He has more than once split [a sheet of] paper and placed on the same surface two drawings which the author had made on the recto and verso of the same sheet and those drawings were by Raphael! I don't insist that you believe me, but I can hardly describe my astonishment when I saw, in this state, two drawings that I knew especially well because I had copied and engraved them.*<sup>84</sup>

A more public declaration of Mariette's abilities was made in 1775 in the sale catalogue of his drawings collection. Under the lot describing two different studies of the allegorical figure *Night* by Francesco Albani (1578–1660), the auctioneer, François Basan (1723–1797), added an excursus describing Mariette's splitting of the artist's original double-sided ink drawing into two separate sheets to facilitate their viewing:

*In these two [drawings], one can assess the skill of Mariette who separated them despite the fact that they were made on the same sheet of paper, on the recto and verso, but in opposed directions which made them difficult to see. This made him attempt the operation, in which, with much patience, he succeeded. They are executed in pen and ink and come from Crozat's collection.*<sup>85</sup>

The two halves of this sheet are in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt-am-Main,<sup>86</sup> and the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden,<sup>87</sup> and were published in 1962 by Michael Mahoney (Figs. 10–11). Despite Basan's and Caylus's comments, Mahoney argued that



Figure 10  
FRANCESCO  
ALBANI  
*Night*  
Frankfurt-am-Main,  
Städel Museum



Figure 11  
FRANCESCO  
ALBANI  
*Night*  
Dresden, Staatliche  
Kunstsammlungen,  
Kupferstich-Kabinett

Albani's ink drawings must have originally been executed on two separate papers, hinged together by the artist, subsequently glued together by an unknown hand, and then separated again by Mariette.<sup>88</sup> Mariette's contemporaries, however, understood Basan's comments to refer to the splitting of a single sheet of paper. A subsequent owner of one of the two halves noted on the back of Mariette's mount that it was "one of the two sides of the drawing split in the thickness of the paper by Mariette."<sup>89</sup> Basan's comment that the opposed directions of the figures on the verso and recto made the sheet difficult to read suggests that the ink used to draw the figures was beginning to bleed through the paper and that Mariette undertook the process to prevent further damage due to ink migration. As Basan noted, Mariette's separation of the recto from the verso restored legibility to ink drawings that were "difficult to see." The process of splitting made increasingly unintelligible sheets newly available for unimpeded connoisseurial delectation while, at the same time, preserving them for future viewers.

For experienced conservators, the process of splitting recto-verso sheets is not difficult; my own attempt, however, at splitting an eighteenth-century piece of paper went terribly wrong (Fig. 12). Instead of separating completely, part of the front half adhered to the back and tore away; the

result was a fragmentary recto and an intact verso with fragments of the recto still attached.<sup>90</sup> The current appearance of the two Albani drawings suggests they suffered similarly in the attempt to separate them. The extensive later additions along the left edge of the sheet in Frankfurt reveal that substantial losses—notably of Night's feet, some of her drapery, the tips of her wings, and a portion of the landscape—occurred during the splitting process. Indeed, it may be that Mariette experienced a misfortune similar to mine: the strip with Night's feet may have adhered to the other half of the original sheet. The Frankfurt half of Albani's drawing has been laid down on a larger rectangular backing sheet, and the composition continued in lighter ink on the top and right and left sides. However, the Dresden half and the rounded outline of the original sheet visible on the right side of the Frankfurt mat show that it was originally a tondo. The present state of the Frankfurt drawing implies that this format did not readily lend itself to the even peeling required by the splitting process. The different dimensions of the two halves suggest that almost 70 mm of the Frankfurt half were lost when Mariette split the sheet: the diameter of the Dresden tondo is 250 mm while the Frankfurt fragment measures approximately 180 mm across and 240 mm at its highest point. Losses were thus incurred not only on the left edge but also along the bottom. Further losses can be seen in the trees at center, though these are most likely due to ink migration.

A recent study of Annibale Carracci's double-sided sheet of studies for the Tazza Farnese and the Galleria Farnese, now in the Art Institute of Chicago (Figs. 13–14),<sup>91</sup> provides convincing evidence of Mariette's willingness to split drawings in order to forestall the problem of ink migration, though he was apparently not always successful. Laura Giles and Margo McFarland have demonstrated that Mariette carefully tore away sketches of wreaths from the recto and reconfigured the resulting fragments into a more compact composition.<sup>92</sup> Such compression would have made a sheet that may have been much larger conform to the specifications of his mounts. In this instance,

Figure 12

Author's failed attempt to split an eighteenth-century piece of paper

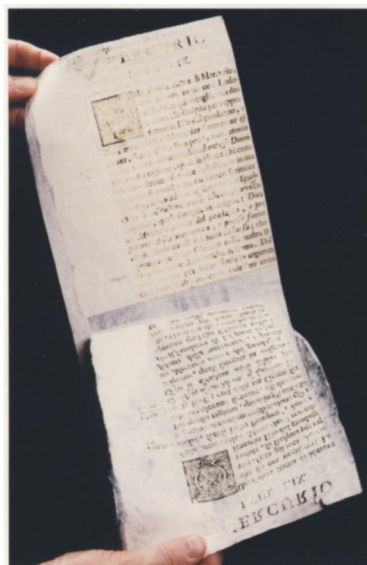






Figure 13

ANNIBALE  
CARRACCI

Studies for the  
Tazza Farnese:  
Drunken Silenus  
and Decorative  
Border (recto  
of Fig. 14)

Chicago, Art  
Institute of Chicago



Figure 14

ANNIBALE  
CARRACCI

Two Putti  
Fighting: Study for  
a Corner Fresco in  
the Galleria  
Farnese (verso  
of Fig. 13)

Chicago, Art  
Institute of Chicago



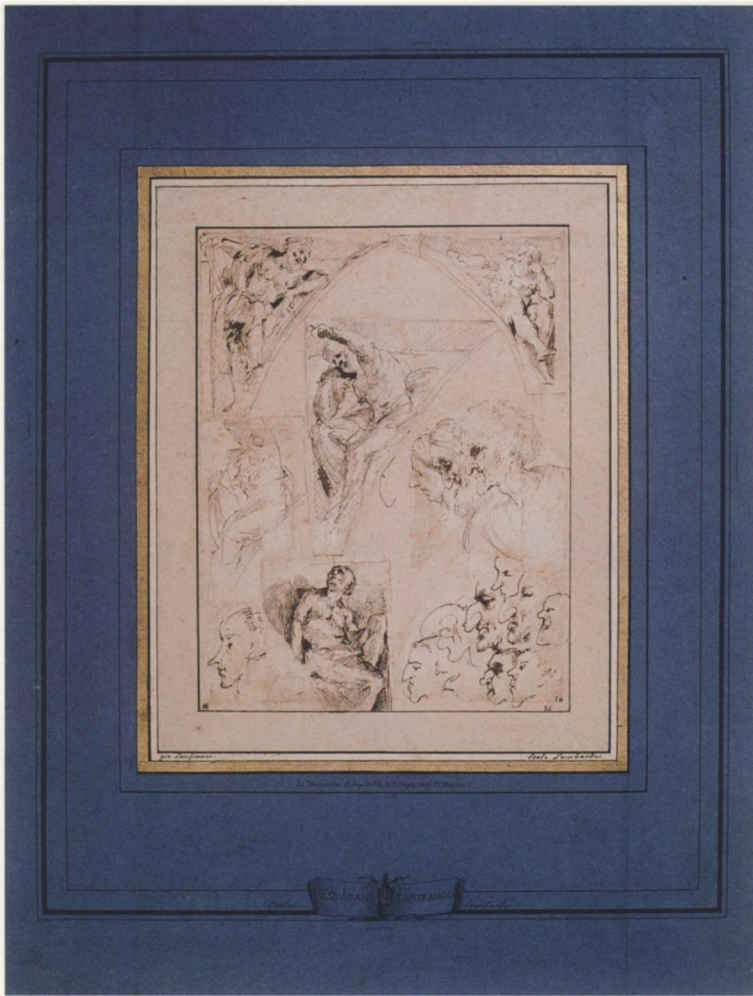


Figure 15

GIOVANNI LANFRANCO

Sheet of Studies

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

Figure 16

Diagram showing individual fragments that make up Figure 15



however, as Giles and McFarland pointed out, Mariette's interventions were motivated by the problem of ink migration. The ink Annibale used was apparently bleeding through the paper. To address the problem, Mariette added at least seventeen paper masks to prevent the bleeding ink from the drawing on the other side from destroying the legibility of the sheet. The most obvious of these masks is the large sheet of paper added to the verso, which leaves only the fighting putti visible (Fig. 14). Mariette also added a rectangular strip of paper to the top edge of the verso onto which he drew the top of the framing roundel, its loop, and a bow. This strip is the support for the wreath fragments on the recto.<sup>93</sup> (McFarland's paper-fiber analysis indicates that the fragments come from the same paper as the drawings.<sup>94</sup>) In light of

Mariette's documented ability to separate recto-verso sheets, it seems likely that his complicated interventions here resulted from an abortive attempt to split the drawing. If Mariette did try to separate the sheet, the wreath fragments may have resulted from a split that began badly, leading him to abandon the operation owing to the risk of further damage. Faced with this situation, he resorted to extensive paper overlays to mask the areas where the ink was showing through from the other side, thus restoring legibility to both sides of the sheet.

The appearance of some of the strangest sheets from Mariette's cabinet may be the result of paper splitting. A split may explain the odd losses and torn edges in Giovanni Lanfranco's pen-and-ink *Sheet of Studies* in the Louvre (Fig. 15).<sup>95</sup> The Lanfranco drawing is not, in fact, an intact sheet but a series of fragments with pen-and-ink caricature heads and figures in pendentives pasted onto a backing paper. (The edges of the fragments are outlined in blue in Fig. 16.) Losses at the extremities of the caricature heads, such as the disappearance of a nose and strands of hair in the fragment at the middle right or of chins in the fragment at the bottom right of the sheet, have been filled in with pen on the backing paper. These losses com-



Figure 17

GIOVANNI  
BENEDETTO  
CASTIGLIONE

Four Caricatures  
and Woman on  
Horseback  
Herding Animals

Paris, Musée du  
Louvre, Département  
des Arts Graphiques



bined with the extremely thin, chamfered edges of the fragments are telltale signs of a split sheet of paper. The unusual characteristics of the heads by Van Dyck cited earlier (front cover) and of four caricatures attributed by Mariette to Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–1664), now in the Louvre (Fig. 17),<sup>6</sup> which exhibit the same oddities, may be similarly explained. The thin ragged edges of the Van Dyck and Castiglione heads and the losses at the edges of the Lanfranco fragments suggest that we may be seeing the results of paper-splitting attempts gone awry. Mariette’s mediation of these sheets may have restored legibility to the sketches, but not without cost.

For eighteenth-century theorists, drawings were the purest expressions of an artist’s style. It was in drawings that artists revealed their most essential character, and it was thus through the close and continued study of their sketches and studies that connoisseurial knowledge was most advanced. In this quest for knowledge the transparency of a drawing to an artist’s *manière* was thus of crucial importance; if the immediate legibility of the sheet was compromised by damage, size, or external distraction, the connoisseur’s first impression, the one on which more complex ideas about an artist or school would be founded, might be compromised as well. Ideally, as Mariette stated, further study would eventually rectify false reasoning, but such problems could be mitigated at the outset through the proper presentation and judicious restoration of drawings. If Mariette’s mats continue a tradition of mounting drawings in elaborate surrounds appropriate to the display of precious objects, they also modify that tradition in accordance with the perceptual and epistemological concerns of the eighteenth century. By presenting complete, clearly legible, and instantaneously apprehensible instances of an artist’s style, Mariette’s mounts spared the viewer sensory trouble and secured drawings for the comparative visual analysis and taxonomic classification that was the “science of the connoisseur.”

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#### AUTHOR’S NOTE

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#### NOTES

1. On the impression theory of sensation, see Karl M. Figlio, “Theories of Perception and Physiology of Mind in the Late Eighteenth Century,” *History of Science*, 13, 1975, pp. 177–212 (esp. pp. 192–97).
2. Mariette was far from alone in taking liberties with his drawings, but his interventions, in my view, offer particular insights into how eighteenth-century connoisseurs thought drawings should be viewed. The seventeenth-century collector Everard Jabach (1618–1695), for example, “improved” the drawings in his collection by the addition of white gouache highlights (see Catherine Monbeig Goguel, “Taste and the Trade: The Retouched Drawings in the Everard Jabach Collection at the Louvre,” *Burlington Magazine*, 130, no. 1028, 1988, pp. 821–35). Similarly, eighteenth-century collectors in the Netherlands felt free to have artists add staffage figures or washes and other “improvements” to their Old Master drawings (see Ben Broos, “Improving and Finishing Old Master Drawings: An Art in Itself,” *Hoogsteder–Naumann Mercury*, no. 8, 1989, pp. 334–55).
3. See Roger de Piles, *L’Idée du peintre parfait*, ed. by Xavier Carrère, Paris, 1993, p. 77.
4. De Piles/ed. Carrère 1993, p. 81. French connoisseurs and theorists drew on Italian precedents in their discussions of drawings. During his visit to France in 1665, Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) was heard to remark that “the drawings of a great master were to a certain extent more satisfying than the works that he executed from them after great study and care” (see Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini’s Visit to France*; ed. and trans. by Margery Corbett, Princeton, 1985, p. 54). On de Piles’s debts to Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1697), see Mosche Barasch, “Personal Style: The Emergence of an Idea,” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 59, 1997, p. 185. Comments made by Baldinucci in his *Notizie de’ professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, 6 vols., Florence, 1681–1728, such as “works of art are not only paintings, but also the drawings made by painters, down to their



- first ideas and sketches" (vol. 6, pp. 569–80; cited in Chantelou 1985, p. 54, n. 54) would have supported de Piles's contentions. See also Gabriele Bickendorf, *Die Historisierung der italienischen Kunstbetrachtung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1998, pp. 273–96.
5. See Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, "Lettre sur le choix & l'arrangement d'un cabinet curieux," *Mercure de France*, June 1727, p. 1317.
  6. See idem, "Discours sur la connaissance des dessins et des tableaux," in *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, 2 vols., Paris, 1745, vol. 1, p. xvi.
  7. See Jonathan Richardson, *Traité de la peinture et de la sculpture*, 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1728; reprint, Geneva, 1972, p. 43. (Page numbers cited here refer to the 1972 edition.) Richardson's *Traité* is a French translation with numerous additions by the author of three books previously published by him in England: *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715, 2/1725), *Two Discourses* (1719, 2/1725), and *An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, &c.* (1722). On Dezallier's adoption of Richardson's theories and even, occasionally, his exact phraseology, see Carol Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, New York, 1988, p. 305, n. 35, and Irene Haberland, *Jonathan Richardson (1666–1745): Die Begründung der Kunstkenner-schaft*, Münster, 1991, pp. 170–74.
  8. This was the term used by Dezallier, Mariette, and others to distinguish themselves from fashionable consumers, or "demi-connoisseurs," of drawings. On the demi-connoisseur and the burgeoning market for drawings in the eighteenth century, see Colin B. Bailey, "Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention: The Early Appreciation and Marketing of Watteau's Drawings, with an Introduction to the Collecting of Modern French Drawings during the Reign of Louis XV," in Alan Wintermute et al., *Watteau and His World: French Drawing from 1700 to 1750*, exh. cat., New York, Frick Collection, and elsewhere, 1999–2000, pp. 68–92.
  9. See Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Description sommaire des statues, figures, bustes, vases...du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat*, Paris, 1750, p. iii.
  10. Mariette to Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, Paris, 29 October 1762 (Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Mariette–Bottari Correspondence, 32.E.27, fol. 105v).
  11. The full title is *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux, et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le Cabinet du Roy et dans celui du Duc d'Orléans, et dans autres Cabinets*, hereafter cited as the *Recueil Crozat*. The first volume was published in 1729 and the second in 1742. On the historiographical importance of this work, see Bickendorf 1998, pp. 289–95; Francis Haskell, *The Painful Birth of the Art Book*, London, 1988; Benedict Leca, "An Art Book and Its Viewers: The *Recueil Crozat* and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38, 2005, pp. 623–65; Cordélia Hattori, "Le Recueil Crozat," in *Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle*, exh. cat., Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2006–7, pp. 17–22; and eadem, "Contemporary Drawings in the Collection of Pierre Crozat," *Master Drawings*, 45, no. 1, 2007, pp. 38–53.
  12. See "Recueil d'estampes des plus beaux tableaux," *Mercure de France*, May 1728, p. 1004.
  13. See *Recueil Crozat*, vol. 2, p. v.
  14. In a letter to his father (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, BS b9 L14, Pierre-Jean Mariette to Jean Mariette, Vienna, 8 Jan. 1718), Mariette described connoisseurship (in this case of prints) as a science: "nothing is closer to my heart than to perfect myself in this science." Similarly, the title of part 2 of Richardson's *Two Discourses*, first published in 1719, was "An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur."
  15. See Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the Enlightenment*, New Haven and London, 2000, pp. 179–208.
  16. Locke (*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, London, 1689; ed. by John Yolton, London, 1961, bk. 2, chap. 1, pt. 2; see also Figlio 1975, pp. 192–97) described the mind before the impression of sensations to a "white paper void of all characters." On the use of prints as a metaphor to conceptualize perception and cognition, see William B. MacGregor, "The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective," *Art History*, 22, 1999, pp. 389–420 (esp. pp. 404–11). Elsewhere in the *Essay*, Locke used the visual metaphors of a wax tablet impressed with the stylus and the *camera obscura*. On the currency of the latter metaphor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 24–66.
  17. See Gibson-Wood 2000, p. 195.
  18. See Richardson 1719, pp. 107–8 (quoted in Gibson-Wood 2000, p. 194).
  19. See Locke 1689/ed. Yolton 1961, bk. 2, chap. 29, pt. 2.
  20. Useful overviews of this tradition are Catherine Monbeig Goguel, "Le Dessin encadré," *Revue de l'Art*, 76, 1987, pp. 25–31; and Carlo James, "Collectors and Mountings," in Carlo James et al., *Old Master Prints and Drawings: A Guide to Preservation and Conservation*, trans. and ed. by Marjorie B. Cohn, Amsterdam, 1997, pp. 2–35. On Mariette's debt to Vasari's *Libro*, see Loránd Zentai, "Quelques remarques sur un (deux) dessin(s) de Fra Bartolommeo," *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 88–89, 1998, pp. 99–114 (esp. pp. 113–14).
  21. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. nos. 717 (pen and brown

- ink; 180 x 286 mm; see Paul Joannides, *Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques. Inventaire général des dessins italiens, VI: Michel-ange, élèves et copistes*, Paris, 2003, no. R2, repr. [as Bartolommeo Passerotti] and 18448 (pen and brown ink, with brown wash, over traces of black chalk; 165 x 126 mm; see Lizzie Boubli, *Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques. Inventaire général des dessins de l'école espagnole*, Paris, 2002, no. 127, repr.).
22. See Bailey 1999–2000, p. 74.
  23. See Pierre-Jean Mariette, “Lettre sur Leonardo de Vinci. Peintre Florentin. A Monsieur C. de C.,” in *Recueil de testes de caractère et de charges dessinées par Leonard de Vinci florentin et gravées par M. le Cte de Caylus*, Paris, 1730, p. 2. Mariette left the cartouches on his mounts empty when the attribution of a drawing was uncertain, and he also changed the attributions of his drawings when warranted; see idem, *Abecedario de P. J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*; ed. by Philippe de Chennevières and Anatole de Montaiglon, 6 vols., Paris, 1851–60, vol. 4, p. 64: “J’ai deux desseins à la plume, rehaussés de blanc sur papier jaune, où, dans l’un, se reposent Adam et Eve mangeant du fruit de l’arbre de vie et les mêmes chassés du Paradis terrestre, qui me paroissent appartenir véritablement à Lelio de Novellare, et, si cela est, il faut effacer son nom de dessous les deux desseins mentionnés cy-dessus.” For an erased and reinscribed cartouche, see Roseline Bacou, *The Famous Italian Drawings from the Mariette Collection at the Louvre in Paris*, Milan, 1981, no. 52, repr.
  24. Ulrich Keller (“Visual Difference: Picture Atlases from Winckelmann to Warburg and the Rise of Art History,” *Visual Resources*, 17, no. 2, 2001, pp. 179–99 [esp. p. 179]) has recently argued that a precondition for the development of a historical hermeneutic was the reproductive print, the “availability [in the eighteenth century] of an experimental, archival arena of easily manipulable reproductions.” These reproductions helped to visualize a “dynamic of change in art” and thereby facilitated the rearrangement of objects in a temporal order. I would suggest that independently mounted drawings offered a similar opportunity for visual rearrangements, one that was ill afforded by albums.
  25. Writing of Louis XV’s drawing collection in 1747, Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694–1752) explained: “il seroit à désirer qu’on les [the unmounted drawings] fit coller sans quoi il est difficile de pouvoir les conserver longtems. ...D’ailleurs ils sont tous sur des feuilles inégales, ce qui est cause qu’ils froissent les uns contre les autres lorsqu’on remüe les Portefeuilles qui les renferment” (Paris, Archives Nationales, O<sup>1</sup> 1965 (2), “Memoire presenté à Monsieur le Directeur General des Batimens du Roy au sujet des Recueils de Desseins dont Sa Majesté a bien voulu confier la Garde à Coypel;” cited in Thierry LeFrançois, *Charles Coypel, peintre du roi [1694–1752]*, Paris, 1994, p. 92). Elsewhere Coypel suggested that uniformity was as much an aesthetic concern as it was a conservation issue:
 

“Les Desseins du Roi étant de différentes grandeurs, il s’ensuit que si Monsieur le Directeur General ordonne de les coller de nouveau sur une meme grandeur, autant pour leur donner une forme de recueils suivis et agréables à la vüe, que pour les mettre plus en sureté en les montrant au public” (Paris, Archives Nationales, O<sup>1</sup> 1965 (2), no. 3, “Memoire sur les frais qu’exigent les Desseins à coller du Cabinet du Roy à la Garde de M. Coypel Premier Peintre du Roy,” n. p.).
  26. See Marcel Roux, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*, vol. 4, Paris, 1940, p. 651, no. 299.
  27. See Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, “Goût” in Denis Diderot, ed., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*, 28 vols., 1751–72, vol. 7, pp. 763–64: “S’il faut de l’ordre dans les choses, il faut aussi de la variété: sans cela l’ame languit; car les choses semblables lui paroissent les mêmes...les choses que nous voyons successivement, doivent avoir de la variété; car notre ame n’a aucune difficulté à les voir; celles au contraire que nous appercevons d’un coup-d’oeil, doivent avoir de la symmétrie...on y met de la symmétrie qui plaît à l’ame par la facilité qu’elle lui donne d’embrasser d’abord tout l’objet.”
  28. See E. C. Spary, “Scientific Symmetries,” *History of Science*, 42, 2004, pp. 1–46.
  29. Mariette’s mats thus prompt what Svetlana Alpers (“The Museum as a Way of Seeing,” in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington and London, 1991, pp. 25–32) has identified as the “museum effect,” a way of seeing objects predicated on their removal from the world and their re-presentation in formats and spaces specifically designated for their display. Similar ideas were articulated before the age of the museum. In a letter of 28 April 1639 to Paul Fréart de Chantelou, Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) explained that a painting needs a frame, so that “when in considering it in all its parts, the rays of the eye are confined and not scattered outside by receiving [all] the kinds of other objects nearby, which, coming *pêle-mêle* and together with the depicted objects, would confuse the sight” (Eng. trans. in Thomas Puttfarcken, *The Discovery of Pictorial Composition: Theories of Visual Order in Painting, 1400–1800*, New Haven and London, 2000, p. 231).
  30. See Daniel Le Marois, “Les Montages de dessins au XVIIIe siècle: L’Exemple de Mariette,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art français*, 1982 (1984), pp. 87–96. I am grateful to the author for discussing his research with me, and I share his opinion that Mariette in all likelihood directed the construction of his mounts but left the more tedious process of assembling them to an assistant. When I refer to Mariette as the author of the mounts in my text, I mean his role as their designer.
  31. See Bailey 1999–2000, p. 78.
  32. Letter of Pierre-Jean Mariette to Tommaso Temanza,

- Paris, 25 January 1767; transcribed in Eugène Müntz, *Les Archives des arts: Recueil de documents inédites ou peu connus*, Paris, 1890, p. 106. For the Cignaroli drawing, depicting the *Flight into Egypt*, see Mariette, *Abeceario*/ed. Chennevières and Montaiglon 1851–60, vol. 1, p. 371; and the catalogue of Mariette’s estate sale (held on 15 November 1775–30 January 1776), written by François Basan (hereafter cited as Basan 1775a), *Catalogue raisonné des différens objets de curiosités dans les sciences et les arts qui composoient le cabinet de feu M. Mariette Controleur général de la Grande Chancellerie de France, honoraire amateur de l’Académie Royale de Peinture, et celle de Florence*, Paris, p. 60, lot 373.
33. Müntz 1890, p. 106, n. 2.
  34. Letter of Pierre-Jean Mariette to Tommaso Temanza, Paris, 22 February 1769; see Müntz 1890, p. 121. According to Le Marois (1984, p. 94), 12 x 15 or 16 *pouces* measures approximately 325 x 420 mm.
  35. Some authors have suggested that Mariette refused the large Diziani drawing, which depicted the *Fall of the Giants*, but as Roseline Bacou (*Le Cabinet d’un grand amateur, P.-J. Mariette [1694–1774]: Dessins du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh. cat., Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1967, p. 63) pointed out, it did figure in Mariette’s sale catalogue (see Basan 1775a, p. 63, lot 391), where the lot was marked with the symbol † to indicate its large format.
  36. Which member of the Roos family executed the drawing is not specified.
  37. Letter from Pierre-Jean Mariette to anonymous recipient, 6 March 1772 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Department of Manuscripts, MS. n.a.f. 21196, fols. 126–27; reprinted in Mariette, *Abeceario*/ed. Chennevières and Montaiglon 1851–60, vol. 3, pp. 6–7, where the addressee is identified as “Jenincks”). On Henry Constantine Jennings, see Frits Lugt, *Les Marques des collections de dessins et d’estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, no. 2771. Mariette trimmed most of the drawings he acquired to regularize their edges. A number of drawings acquired by Mariette from the Crozat sale in 1741 have had their characteristic Crozat numbers trimmed. On these numbers, which were likely added by Mariette and his assistants when he inventoried Crozat’s drawings, see Cordélia Hattori, “À la recherche des dessins de Pierre Crozat,” in *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art français*, 1997 (1998), p. 182; and Hattori 2007. Hans Mielke has suggested that an *Alpine Landscape* by Pieter Bruegel (1525/30–1569) from Mariette’s collection, now in the Louvre (inv. no. 19.728; pen and brown ink; 236 x 343 mm; see Nadine M. Orenstein et al., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, exh. cat., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, no. 12, repr. [in color]), was cropped and that the signature now seen on the sheet is a copy of the original, which had been trimmed away. The drawing is still in its Mariette mount, and it is tempting to speculate that he was responsible for this intervention.
  38. Bacou (1981, p. 38) interpreted this insistence as a sign of Mariette’s aspirations to “order, measure and perfection,” and to his conservatism, and Carlo James (1997, p. 20) referred to Mariette’s “need for order.”
  39. Despite his preference for smaller drawings, Mariette did own at least seventy-nine sheets whose scale exceeded the dimensions of his mounts; see the entries marked with an † in his 1775 sale catalogue. Of a collection that numbered several thousand sheets, the proportion of large-scale drawings is nevertheless quite small.
  40. Chevalier de Jaucourt, “Comparaison,” in Diderot (ed.) 1751–72, vol. 3, p. 745.
  41. See Puttfarken 2000, pp. 256–58; and Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot*, Chicago and London, 1980, pp. 88–90.
  42. See Thomas Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles’ Theory of Art*, New Haven and London, 1985, pp. 97–98.
  43. See Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières de Caylus, “De la composition,” *Vies d’artistes du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by André Fontaine, Paris, 1910, p. 160: “Dès l’instant que ce même oeil aperçoit, il doit tout embrasser.” See also Étienne de La Font de Saint-Yenne, *L’Ombre du grand Colbert, le Louvre et la ville de Paris, dialogue*, The Hague, 1749, and Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Essai sur la peinture, la sculpture, et l’architecture*, Paris, 1751, p. 67. For Grimm, not only did “*grands machines en peinture*,” such as vast painted ceilings and galleries, encourage subjects lacking in unity, but their immense scale denied viewers the immediate comprehension they expected: “Our mind cannot embrace many objects or many situations at the same time.... It wants to be struck at first glance by a certain ensemble, without hindrance and in a strong manner” (see Friedrich Melchior Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique*, ed. by Maurice Tourneux, 16 vols., Paris, 1877–82, vol. 3, pp. 317–21, 15 December 1756; reprinted and trans. in Fried 1980, p. 164).
  44. See Johann Friedrich Christ, *Dictionnaire des monogrammes, chiffres, lettres initiales logoglyphes, rébus, &c.*, Paris, 1750; reprint, Geneva, 1972, pp. xlvi–xlix.
  45. See Joseph Strutt, *A Biographical Dictionary Containing an Historical Account of All the Engravers*, 2 vols., London, 1785–86; reprint, Geneva, 1972, vol. 1, p. 169. I am grateful to Graham Larkin for this reference.
  46. Mariette’s annotation to lot 472 of the Tallard sale catalogue by Pierre Remy and J.-B. Glomy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux...qui composent le cabinet de feu Monsieur le Duc de Tallard*, Paris, Grignard, 22 March–13 May 1756. Mariette’s annotated copy is preserved in the National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, London; his notes are transcribed in the Getty Provenance Index, sale



catalogue database (<http://piweb.getty.edu>), from which this quote is taken.

47. Mariette's annotation to lot 312 (Raymond La Fage, *La Chute des anges*) in the Huquier sale catalogue by F. C. Joulain fils, *Catalogue de tableaux à l'huile, à gouasse & au pastel...du feu M. Huquier*, Paris, Chariot, 9 November–4 December 1772. Mariette's annotated copy of the sale catalogue is in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.
48. Eight fragments of La Fage's drawing are now in the Louvre (inv. nos. 23385, 23387, and 27332–37; see Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles, VII: École française*, Paris, 1912, nos. 5397–5404, five of them repr.; and Régis Michel, *Le Beau Idéal ou l'art du concept*, exh. cat., Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1989, no. 33, repr.); the ninth is in the Musée Atger, Montpellier (inv. no. 223; see Christiane and Pierre Nicq, *Petits et grands maîtres du Musée Atger: Cent dessins français des 17<sup>ème</sup> et 18<sup>ème</sup> siècles*, exh. cat., Montpellier, Musée Atger, 1996, no. 55, repr.).
49. Inv. no. 23788. Black chalk, heightened with white gouache, on two pieces of paper joined horizontally; 411 x 335 mm; see Lucie Galactéros-de Boissier, *Thomas Blanchet (1614–1689)*, Paris, 1991, no. D5, repr. Blanchet's fauns were studies for frescos, now destroyed, in the Hôtel de Ville, Lyons. An anonymous eighteenth-century print shows the fauns back-to-back along the bottom of the ceiling decorations of the great staircase (see *ibid.*, fig. 87).
50. It is equally possible that the drawings were initially on two separate papers and were conjoined by Mariette.
51. Inv. no. 17617. Pen and brown ink on two pieces of paper joined vertically; 203 x 279 mm; see Veronika Birke and Janine Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina: Generalverzeichnis*, 4 vols., Vienna, 1992–97, vol. 4, pp. 2168–69, repr. Here Vasari mounted two sketchbook pages together and continued the lines of the drapery over the seam of the two sheets.
52. See Christ 1750 (reprint 1972), p. xlix. Other examples of Mariette's joining together of separate sheets include his presentation of two studies on blue-gray paper by Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647), which he attributed to Correggio, one of hands and one of feet, together on the same mount (Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 5939; black and white chalks on blue-gray paper; 362 x 232 mm; see Bacou 1981, p. 254). Another example is a sheet by Giambattista Piazzetta (1683–1754) with *Studies of a Baby* (Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 5266; black and white chalks on light brown paper; 344 x 254 mm; see *Venedigs Ruhm im Norden: Die grossen venezianischen Maler des 18. Jahrhunderts, ihre Auftraggeber und ihre Sammler*, exh. cat., Hannover, Forum des Landesmuseums, and Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum, 1991–92, no. 127D, repr.), where a sketch of the child's head overlaps a larger sheet with a foreshortened study of the child lying on its side. See also the drawings by Fra Bartolomeo in Zentai 1998.
53. In his *Lettre sur Leonardo*, Mariette condemned the dismantling of Vasari's albums. He also owned an album of architectural drawings assembled by Vasari, which he left intact; see Mariette, *Abecedario*/ed. Chennevières and Montaignon 1851–60, vol. 3, pp. 160–61, n. 1.
54. Inv. no. RP-T-1950–392. Pen and brown ink; 331 x 272 mm (format of mount); see Carl Depauw and Ger Luyten, *Anthony van Dyck as a Printmaker*, exh. cat., Antwerp, Museum Platin-Moretus/Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, and Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1999–2000, no. 50a, repr. (in color). This mounted group is one of four such Mariette mats with studies of heads by Van Dyck torn from larger sheets. Two others are in the Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (inv. nos. MB 5015 and MB 5016; see A.W.F.M. Meij and Maartje de Haan, *Rubens, Jordaens, Van Dyck and Their Circle: Flemish Master Drawings from the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen*, exh. cat., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001, nos. 50–51, both repr. [in color]). The fourth mount (see Martin Eidelberg, "The Comte de Caylus' Tête-à-Tête with Van Dyck," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 131, 1998, fig. 14), formerly in the collection of Richard Ederheimer, is now lost, but the sheet of drawings is preserved in a private collection.
55. See Eidelberg 1998, pp. 11–12. Caylus's etchings after the individual heads were published under the title *Recueil des testes d'Antoine Van Dyck tirées du Cabinet de M. Crozat et gravées par M. le C. de C. en 1735* (see Rotterdam 2001, p. 192, fig. 1, and p. 193, fig. 2).
56. See Eidelberg 1998, p. 5.
57. Meij and de Haan (see Rotterdam 2001), Depauw and Luyten (see Rotterdam and Amsterdam 1999–2000), and Eidelberg (1998) all attributed the dismembering of the sheets to Mariette, but none of the authors speculated on why it might have been done.
58. See Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-century Paris*, Cambridge, MA, 1994, pp. 6 and 72–74.
59. Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Department of Manuscripts, Carl Gustaf Tessin's Åkerö Diaries (1756–1770), January 1760: "Jag har sett utslocknade teckningar åter upplifvas under hans hand och genom hans tålmod, och det som [illegible] var, utan förminskning av dera pris." I am grateful to Sigrid Ekblad for the translation.
60. See Johann Joachim Winckelmann, "Von der Restaurierung der Antiquen": *Eine unvollendete Schrift Winckelmanns*, ed. by Max Kunze, Mainz, 1996, p. 23.
61. See Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Traité des pierres gravées*, 2 vols., Paris, 1750, vol. 1, p. 98.
62. See *ibid.*

63. See Winckelmann/ed. 1996, p. 23.
64. Inv. no. 2687. Red chalk; original sheet: c. 142 x 51 mm; enlarged sheet: 164 x 74 mm; see A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino*, 3 vols., New Haven and London, 1971, no. 617, repr.; and Birke and Kertész 1992–97, vol. 3, p. 1502, repr.
65. Inv. no. 1983 F. Red chalk; original sheet: 138 x 60 mm; enlarged sheet: 170 x 80 mm; see *ibid.*, no. 91, repr.
66. Popham (1971, p. 189) noted of the Albertina drawing that it is “not impossible that whole of the amphora was an addition of this period [i.e. Mariette’s or his mounter’s] and that there is no connection with the Steccata.” The two drawings were in Jabach’s collection, and the descriptions of them in an inventory taken in 1695 support Popham’s attribution of the vases to Mariette. In the Jabach inventory (see Bernadette Py, *Everhard Jabach Collectionneur [1618–1695]: Les Dessins de l’inventaire de 1695*, Paris, 2001, p. 252, nos. 1113 [Uffizi] and 1114 [Albertina]), the Uffizi drawing was described as “une femme debout,” whereas the Albertina sheet was listed as “une ditto portant une cruche sur la tête,” suggesting, as Py noted, that the addition of the vase in the former and the transformation of the latter from a “cruche” or jug into a two-handled vase was due to Mariette.
67. At least one drawing for the Steccata was in the French royal collection; this was a drawing of two wise virgins sold by Jabach to the king in 1671 (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 6466; see Jean Adhémar, ed., *Collections de Louis XIV: Dessins, albums, manuscrits*, exh. cat., Paris, Musée de l’Orangerie, 1977–78, no. 54, repr.). In Jabach’s inventory of his “first collection,” the figures are clearly identified as carrying vases: “deux femmes se donnant la main ayant chacune un vase sur la teste.” This same drawing had been in the collection of Thomas Howard, 2nd (14th) Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), where it was etched by Hendrik van Borch the Younger (1614–c. 1690) as part of a series of prints after Parmigianino drawings, a series with which Mariette was familiar.
68. In a letter to his father (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, BS b9 L44, Pierre-Jean Mariette to Jean Mariette, Bologna, 2 February 1719), Mariette described his visit to Parma where he saw works by “le Divin Corregge” and “le gracieux Parmesan,” among others. Any inscriptions that Mariette might have appended to these drawings were lost when their mounts were removed.
69. Inv. no. 11.66.6. Red chalk; original sheet: 157 x 66 mm; enlarged sheet: 237 x 152 mm; see Jacob Bean and Lawrence Turčić, *Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1982, no. 98, repr.
70. See Erika Tietze-Conrat, “Decorative Paintings of the Venetian Renaissance Reconstructed from Drawings,” *Art Quarterly*, 3, no. 1, 1940, p. 32.
71. See Jaynie Anderson, *Giorgione: The Painter of Poetic Brevity*, Paris, 1997, fig. 174. The relationship between Mariette’s presentation and Zanetti’s *Varie pitture a fresco de’ principali maestri veneziani*, Venice, 1760, was suggested by David Alan Brown, *Berenson and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting*, exh. cat., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1979, p. 57, n. 84.
72. See Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 98.
73. For a summary of viewers’ accounts of the red frescoes, see Anderson 1997, p. 268.
74. Any explanatory annotations Mariette might have added to the mount for the Giorgione drawing were lost when the mat was trimmed.
75. James (1997, p. 194) noted Mariette’s use of poor-quality papers that discolor much more readily than the original sheets.
76. Inv. no. 1970.242.1. Black and white chalks, on light brown paper; 293 x 380 mm; see Jacob Bean and Lawrence Turčić, *15th–18th-century French Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1986, no. 102, repr.
77. I owe many thanks to Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge of the Paper Conservation Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Alison Gilchrest, who undertook the digital infrared photography of this drawing in July 2002 and who discussed the sheet with me at length. I am also grateful to George Goldner and Perrin Stein of the Department of Drawings and Prints for facilitating the analysis of the sheet.
78. Mariette certainly had the necessary tools at his disposal, as is clear from an entry in the catalogue of the second of his estate sales, also written by François Basan, *Supplement au catalogue des estampes de la succession de feu M. Mariette, dont la vente a commencé le premier février dernier, & laquelle continuera en mai prochain, après la vente de la bibliothèque, qui finira le treize*, Paris, 1775 (hereafter cited as Basan 1775b), lot 298: “Plusieurs Compas & autres ustensils à l’usage des Dessins & Estampes.” It is harder to attribute other modifications of the Dorigny sheet to Mariette. The head of the muse, at the left of the sheet, is on a separate piece of paper and has been glued down onto the larger drawing of her body. Jacob Bean (*17th-century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1979, no. 359, repr. [as Solimena?, but possibly French]) suggested that the head study may have been attached to the upper margin at right of the sheet and then removed and pasted onto the lower part of the original paper. By removing the head and pasting it onto the larger sheet, the drawing’s overall dimensions are reduced to 11 1/2 x 14 15/16 inches (293 x 378 mm), making it slightly smaller than Mariette’s standard mat. It is thus tempting to attribute this alteration to him. However, even when scrutinized under very high magnification, it

- is impossible to differentiate the medium used for the continuations of the lines of drapery in the head study onto the backing paper from that used for the head itself. By contrast, the continuations of the shoulder drapery and baton onto the backing paper along the upper right edge of the sheet may be in another hand, though again, even under high magnification, a definitive conclusion is difficult. Both Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée (“New Light on Michel Dorigny,” *Master Drawings*, 19, no. 4, 1981, pp. 453–54) and Hilliard Goldfarb (*From Fontainebleau to the Louvre: French Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, exh. cat., Cleveland, Museum of Art, and elsewhere, 1989–90, no. 98, repr.) believed Dorigny to have been responsible for the relocation of the head study.
79. See Judith Walsh, “The Use of Paper Splitting in Old Master Print Restorations,” *Print Quarterly*, 17, 2000, pp. 383–90; and Irene Brückle and Jana Dambrogio, “Paper Splitting: History and Modern Technology,” *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 39, 2000, pp. 295–303. I am grateful to Judith Walsh, formerly senior paper conservator at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, for this reference. See also Max Schweidler, *The Restoration of Engravings, Drawings, Books, and Other Works on Paper*, trans., ed., and appendix by Roy Perkinson, Los Angeles, 2006, pp. 104–5.
  80. See Walsh 2000, pp. 383–85; Brückle and Dambrogio 2000, pp. 296–97; see also Mark Stevenson, “Print Restoration in Northern Europe: Development, Traditions, and Literature from the Late Renaissance to the 1930s,” *Conservation Research 1995*, Studies in the History of Art, 51, Washington, DC, 1995, p. 125, n. 49.
  81. See Walsh 2000, p. 383; and Brückle and Dambrogio 2000, p. 297.
  82. See the nineteenth-century description of the process quoted in Walsh 2000, p. 387. It has recently emerged that Josef Meder, director of the Albertina from 1909 to 1923, and a noted authority on Old Master drawings, split both prints and drawings, including, presumably, works belonging to the museum. Meder also wrote the first detailed description of paper splitting; see Brückle and Dambrogio 2000, pp. 297–98 and 300–301. As late as 1950, the German restorer Max Schweidler advocated splitting double-sided drawings to facilitate their viewing (see Schweidler 2006, pp. 105).
  83. On false margins in this period (though ones that were not achieved by splitting), see Antony Griffiths, “Re-margined Prints” and “False Margins and Fake Collector’s Marks,” *Print Quarterly*, 13, 1996, pp. 62 and 187.
  84. Letter from the Comte de Caylus to Paolo Maria Paciaudi, Paris, 23 March 1761 (reprinted in Charles Nisard, ed., *Correspondance inédite du Comte de Caylus avec le père Paciaudi, théatin [1757–1765], suivie de celles de l’abbé Barthélemy et de Mariette avec le même*, 2 vols., Paris, 1877, vol. 1, pp. 256–57). The Raphael drawing(s) in question may have been those that were etched by Caylus for the first volume of the *Recueil Crozat* (1727). Mariette’s abilities as a restorer were not limited to drawings; in the same letter, Caylus mentioned that he had entrusted a recently acquired painted mummy cloth to Mariette for restoration.
  85. See Basan 1775a, p. 20.
  86. Inv. no. C 455. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash, over traces of red chalk; diam.: 250 mm; see Michael Mahoney, “Some Graphic Links between the Young Albani and Annibale Carracci,” *Burlington Magazine*, 104, no. 714, 1962, pp. 386–89, fig. 35.
  87. Inv. no. 557. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; original sheet: c. 240 x 180 mm, enlarged sheet, 253 x 205 mm; see Mahoney 1962, fig. 36.
  88. Bacou (1967, p. 22), by contrast, accepted the testimony of Mariette’s contemporaries.
  89. Anonymous annotation on the verso of the mount in Frankfurt.
  90. I am very grateful to Judith Walsh, who generously shared her expertise with me and supervised my own attempt to split laid paper. On the mishaps that can occur in this process, see Brückle and Dambrogio 2000, p. 311.
  91. Inv. no. 1989.188 (Restricted gift of the Regenstein Foundation). Pen and iron gall ink, with brush and brown wash; 284 x 177 mm; see Suzanne Folds McCullagh, ed., “Manieri to Miró: The Regenstein Collection since 1975,” *The Art Institute of Chicago: Museum Studies*, 26, no. 1, 2000, pp. 20–23, no. 4, both sides repr.
  92. See their entry in McCullagh (ed.) 2000, no. 4. I am indebted to the authors for discussing this drawing with me. Margo McFarland generously allowed me to see the sheet at a time when the collection was closed to visitors, an opportunity for which I am especially grateful.
  93. See *ibid.*, p. 22.
  94. See *ibid.*, p. 93, n. 8.
  95. Inv. no. 6333. Pen and brown ink; 240 x 185 mm; see Catherine Monbeig Goguel and Walter Vitzthum, *Le Dessin à Naples du XVIe siècle au XVIIIe siècle*, exh. cat., Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1967, no. 53. Mariette acquired the drawing at the Crozat sale in 1741; the torn Crozat inventory number at the bottom right of the sheet is further evidence that Mariette was responsible for the modification of Lanfranco’s drawing.
  96. Inv. no. 9465. *Four Caricatures*: each pen and brown ink; diam.: 80 mm. *Woman on Horseback*: red chalk; 107 x 137 mm; see Bacou 1981, p. 250.