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The Taste of a Connoisseur: The Red Chalk Drawings coming from Filippo Baldinucci's Collection at the Louvre Museum*

FEDERICA MANCINI

By the time he passed away, Filippo Baldinucci (1625-1696) had gathered one thousand seventeen drawings in four volumes¹ (fig. 1). «Uomo di fiducia» of the cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici since 1665², he organized the cardinal's graphic collection³ while writing the *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, the theoretical compound of this classification.

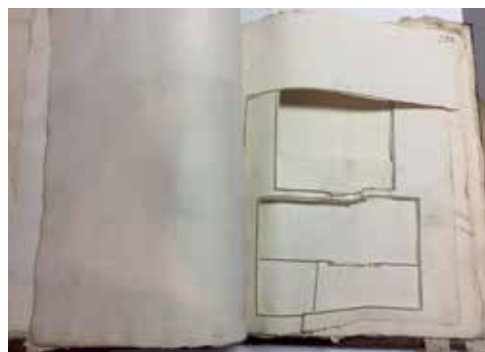
In 1806, Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747-1825) bought Baldinucci's volumes for the newborn Napoleon Museum. During the second half of the 19th century, the drawings

were detached (fig. 2) and included in the stocks⁴, according to the general alphabetical division made up by Frédéric Reiset (1815-1891), the curator in charge of the Cabinet des Dessins from 1849⁵.

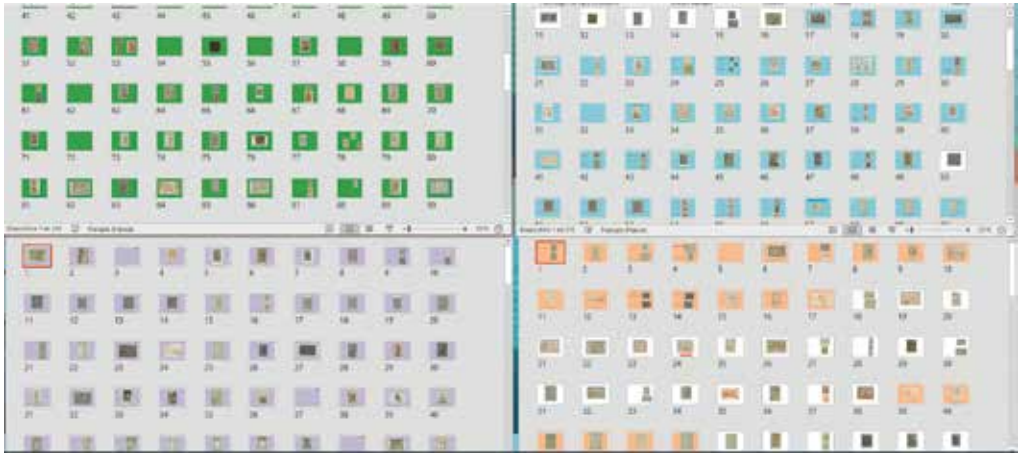
Since then, art historians have debated the attributions given by Baldinucci passing over their original position in the volumes, as did as well the author of the present contribution during the preparation of the *catalogue raisonné* of the Genoese drawings held in the Louvre⁶. The still accepted opinion by Baldinucci on some sheets related to Genoese masters seemed, however, so puzzling that, in order to clarify the Florentine collector's approach to this regional school⁷, I decided to assemble the original sequence of drawings in each volume (fig. 3)⁸. The reconstruction has helped indeed in giving some explanations on this issue. It has also raised many general



1. Baldinucci's binding, volume 4 (© Musée du Louvre)



2. Baldinucci's binding, volume 4, inside part, detail (© Musée du Louvre)



3. Digital reconstruction of the four Baldinucci's volumes, detail (© Musée du Louvre)

questions on this collection, like if the display represented Baldinucci's conception of drawing or if the selected graphic works and their layout influenced somehow his outlook of art. Baldinucci's peculiar interest focuses on the variety of the genres and techniques, especially of red chalk⁹ and that is why this latter tool has become the thread of the present study. The research has been developed in three directions: defining Baldinucci's taste for red chalk drawings; identifying the criteria he adopted in displaying the red chalk works versus the ones showing other techniques and, eventually, establishing the connections between the red chalk drawings he collected and the treatises he wrote.

Baldinucci's taste for red chalk drawings

While preparing the exhibition on the Florentine drawings coming from the Baldinucci's collection, Jacob Bean stated that Baldinucci's taste and judgment became clear for a group of artists before Ludovico Cigoli (1559-1613)¹⁰. The high quality of some red chalk drawings once displayed in the first

volume strengthens this statement. It is the case of *The Flood*, a drawing considered by Baldinucci as being by Paolo Uccello (1397-1475)¹¹ and pasted on the same folio with the famous *mazzocchio* sheet. Another example is given by the *Virgin with six children*, the only correct Fra Bartolomeo's (1472-1517) work among eleven ones attributed to him¹². The beautiful Andrea del Sarto's (1486-1530) *Drapery* (fig. 4)¹³ makes part of this series and embodies what Baldinucci wrote to Lorenzo Gualtieri in a letter: «Nell'accomodamento di panni fu [Andrea del Sarto] nella sua maniera unico». In the first volume Baldinucci displayed also the stunning Baccio Bandinelli's (1488-1560) *Portrait of a Lady*¹⁴. As for the second volume, the first red chalk sequence started from folio sixty-two with Jacopo da Empoli's (ca. 1554-1640) series of naked figures and horses, included in the decade from 1560 to 1570¹⁵, followed by other examples of red chalk naked figure studies by Gregorio Pagani (1558-1605)¹⁶, Andrea Boscoli (1550-1606)¹⁷ and Alessandro Allori (1535-1607)¹⁸. After studying the digital



4. Andrea del Sarto, *Drapery*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, Inv. 1712 (© RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage)

reconstruction, it looks like that Baldinucci wanted to underline the stylistic cohesion among artists. There are interesting links among red chalk sheets of the third volume, especially by Giovanni da San Giovanni (1592-1636)¹⁹ and Bernini (1598-1682)²⁰, Castiglione (1609-1664)²¹ and Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669)²² as well as by Giovanni Bilivert (1585-1644)²³, Giovanni Battista Pieratti (1599-1662)²⁴, Francesco Furini (1603-1646)²⁵ and Ottavio Vannini (1585-1644)²⁶ (fig. 5). As

for the fourth volume, he suggested the inner references through the close display of Cecco Bravo's (1607-1661)²⁷, Aniello Falcone's (1607-1656)²⁸, Mario Balassi's (1604-1667)²⁹ and Danarelli's (known between 1630 and 1640)³⁰ series.

Despite Baldinucci's concern for authenticity, many graphic works of his collection were not genuine. The ensemble was hardly criticized in the 18th century because the Florentine collector overestimated many copies



5. Digital reconstruction of Baldinucci's volume 3, detail (© Musée du Louvre)

as being originals³¹. However, some copies can be seen as an evidence of Baldinucci's profound connoisseurship, like the *Study of young man*³², that he attributed to Pontormo (1494-1557), possibly inspired by a sculpture by Michelangelo (1475-1564). Although the attribution to Pontormo is no longer accepted, Janet Cox Rearick suggested in 1965 that the graphic work might be an early one by Empoli imitating Pontormo³³. This hypothesis not only endorses Baldinucci's good eye in catching the high quality of the sheet but also recalls what he wrote about Empoli in his *Notizie*, i.e. the fact that he spent a lot of time in copying ancient masters' compositions during his apprenticeship³⁴.

Baldinucci's criteria for displaying red chalk drawings versus sheets showing other techniques

To organize the cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici's graphic collection, the original body of works of the future Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe at the Uffizi, Baldinucci first applied

the flexible model of the decades. However, he was soon forced to add other criterion, like the distinction between "Libri Universali" and "Libri Particolari" or the close-ups between masters and pupils³⁵, because he had to deal with an unusual condition: the constant increasing number of drawings due to the purchases of the cardinal³⁶.

As for his own collection, there is very little information about when Baldinucci started collecting the drawings. His son Francesco Saverio (1663-1738), the only one going on compiling Baldinucci's writings after his father's death, wrote that Filippo assembled a first collection offered to the cardinal Leopoldo before 1665 and that he started gathering a second one only by 1690, when he «would have eventually free time to do that»³⁷. In the *Notizia* on Cristofano Allori (1577-1621), Baldinucci father wrote that he kept Allori's landscapes in one of his "two books"³⁸ which means that he was already working on his volumes some years before Francesco Saverio's statement. Despite the chronological uncertainty, we can assume that arranging



6. Baldinucci's, volume 4, inside part, detail (© Musée du Louvre)

one thousand seventeen drawings should appear easier after having organized the more than eleven thousands sheets³⁹ he dealt with for the de' Medici⁴⁰.

The separation per decades has often been mentioned as the only criterion used by Baldinucci for his own collection⁴¹. If it the decades appear to be general sections under which pasting the entire artwork of the artists (fig. 6)⁴², the digital reconstruction has shown that Baldinucci's main concern was picturing the variety of compositions. To achieve his goal, on one side he patterned the combination of techniques on white and colored papers⁴³; on the other, he chose an arrangement that he would repeat whenever the number and variety of sheets made it possible, placing dry techniques before humid ones. The body of works by Santi di Tito (1536-1602)⁴⁴

shows this grouping for the very first time: portraits, naked figure studies (individual parts or entire bodies), studies of draperies (inverting the two latter in the case of di Tito's sheets), studies of animals, compositions on sacred or profane themes as well as architectures and landscapes⁴⁵. Conceived in this way, every expert eye, could visualize the history of drawing summed up in the volumes in a chronologic assessment⁴⁶.

The connections between the red chalk drawings Baldinucci collected and the theoretical compound expressed in his treatises

Baldinucci gave a definition of red chalk in the *Notizia* devoted to Cennino Cennini as being: «[...] quella pietra, con cui disegnasi, che noi diciamo matita, egli [Cennino] gli da nome di Lapis Amatito, conforme alla sua vera origine di Lapis Hoematitos, quasi pietra di color sanguigno»⁴⁷. In the *Vocabolario toscano dell'Arte del Disegno*, Baldinucci added that the red chalk was a strong natural stone used by artists to draw and that the best one came from Germany⁴⁸. He did not specify any other detail, either its inner quality, or the different kinds of existing red chalk or its effects on paper. He did not specify either the artists' capability in refining red chalk in a genre more than in another. Santi Di Tito represents the main exception⁴⁹, because Baldinucci wrote about him that he used to portray with red chalk his wife, his children, maids, chairs and also the cat and that he wanted his pupils to practice with the same curiosity he had, because everything was worthy to be drawn.

There are some considerations throughout the *Notizie* likely inspired by the red chalk

drawings Baldinucci owned, but they are not so many. For instance, he wrote that Alessandro Allori (1535-1607) used to draw anatomies starting from the bones and then covering them with skin⁵⁰ or that Cristofano Allori wanted to learn to do landscapes and so he went out of town to make real views with red and black chalks⁵¹.

Looking for more allusions on the red chalk technique and on his drawings, the research has been extended to the *Vocabolario* and to the *Cominciamento e progresso dell'arte dell'intagliare in rame*, but there is no trace of any stylistic estimate concerning the red chalk practice and, more generally, of any drawing technique in both writings.

As for the *Notizie*, scholars have pointed out Baldinucci's choice of being an «impartial observer» while describing the stylistic individuality of the artists, relying exclusively on chronology and visual examples⁵². The lack of stylistic references in the *Cominciamento* might correspond to a precise choice of the same kind. Evelina Borea has stated that the collector's expert eye surely distinguished the improvements in the art of engraving, «as he was such an expert in drawing»⁵³. The absence of any stylistic or technical hints would depend, according to the scholar, on Baldinucci's definition of progress. To him, it corresponded more to the capability of an artist in rendering the sense of natural more than to the improvement of a technique in itself⁵⁴. As Baldinucci did in the *Notizie* and in the *Comiciamento*, he could have willingly decided to be an impartial observer in his *Vocabolario toscano del Disegno*, too. In the note to the reader, he specified that he preferred describing the use of the tools⁵⁵ instead of giving a proper

definition of them, because only the masters could do that in a proper way⁵⁶.

Still, Baldinucci's choice of being silent on his appreciation of red chalk, on his personal taste and on his classification of style inspired by the graphic works he gathered is hard to accept. Although there are different hypothesis on his silence, like the one for he reserved for himself «some of the most unique drawings» which pushed him to be discrete with regard to his collection in the *Notizie*⁵⁷, his attitude might become clearer in considering his expectations. As critics have suggested, Baldinucci wanted to cut out for himself a new professional niche as expert-dilettante⁵⁸ in a field that conventional wisdom and practice considered belonging exclusively to the painters⁵⁹. As he did not want to put himself against the public opinion, his silence was possibly a part of this strategy⁶⁰. However, despite his efforts, the layout of the sheets in the four volumes contributed to shape his conception of the history of drawing more than he thought. It has often been stressed the fact that Baldinucci mainly praised and defended the Florentine artists of the past in his *Notizie*⁶¹. The arrangement of his collection shows that he appreciated even more his Florentine contemporary comrades like Cecco Bravo⁶², Volterrano (1611-1690)⁶³, Carlo Dolci (1616-1687)⁶⁴ or Pietro Dandini (1646-1712)⁶⁵. As for Lorenzo Lippi (1606-1665)⁶⁶, Baldinucci wrote that he «could have been the first and foremost Florentine painter of his day», had he not cherished «una semplice imitazione del naturale»⁶⁷. Baldinucci was angered by Lorenzo Lippi's «gusto tanto fermo nella dura imitazione»⁶⁸ (especially of Santi di Tito) that made him refuse to integrate that broader promising movement of

Baroque painting⁶⁹. It might be interesting to note that among the majority of Tuscan red chalks sheets in the fourth volume, Baldinucci inserted a rich number of drawings by the 17th Roman draftsmen such as Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661) (fig. 7)⁷⁰, Livio Mehus (ca. 1630-1691)⁷¹, Carlo Maratti (1625-1713)⁷² or Baciccio (1639-1709)⁷³. Their presence in the collection strengthens Baldinucci's belief that the Florentine artists should have opened themselves to new inputs.

While arranging the drawings of the de Medici's collection, Baldinucci wrote that: «[...] perché pareva a me, che questi cosi' fatti libri, ordinati per la successione de' tempi, fussero per avere un non so che della storia»⁷⁴. Although the period and the conditions in which Baldinucci gathered his collection are not known⁷⁵, the expression «un non so che della storia»⁷⁶ might correspond to his personal vision of the evolution of the art of drawing that he shaped, among other things, by going through his volumes again and again.



7. Andrea Sacchi, *Head of a child*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, Inv. 3829 (© RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / image RMN-GP)

NOTE

* All the drawings mentioned in this text are reproduced on the Internet site: <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/>.

¹ According to the database of the Prints and Drawings department of the Louvre Museum, the number is one thousand two hundreds fifty-one including the verso sheets. See <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/>.

² See Chiarini, 1982, p. 45 note 18, who follows the indication given by Baldinucci's son in Bernini's *Life*. See also Baldinucci, 1948 pp. 33-63 and p. 44. Evelina Borea has fixed the beginning of this collaboration at 1656, but she probably meant 1665. See Borea, 2013, p. XII.

³ After the death of the cardinal, in 1675, Baldinucci was charged of purchasing the drawings, leading the net of the "agenti-corrispondenti" throughout Italy under the grand duke Cosimo III (1670-1723). See Fileti Mazza, 2009, pp. 4-5 and p. 11.

⁴ On Frédéric Reiset's action of cataloguing, see Coural, 2013.

⁵ The order was alphabetical given the provenance of the draftsmen, i.e. regional schools for Italy and national schools for the other countries.

⁶ Mancini, 2017.

⁷ This research, whose title is *Connoisseurship beyond geography: some puzzling drawings from Filippo Baldinucci's personal collection*, was presented during the seminar *The Taste Artistic taste of Nations, Contesting Geographies of European Art, 1550-1815*, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, June, 13rd-14th 2019 (proceedings under publication).

⁸ To assemble the sequence of drawings, I have used the list that Roseline Bacou and Jacob Bean established in 1958 upon the inventory made by François Xavier Fabre (1766-1837) to evaluate the purchase. See *Dessins florentins*, 1958. The list is available for consultation at the Documentation service of the Prints and Drawings department of the Louvre Museum. I have checked as well all the temporary registration numbers written by Reiset (going from NIII 21249 to NIII 22266) on the edges of each folio in the three bindings still preserved in

the stocks. Therefore, for each current registration number the reader will find in brackets the correspondent temporary registration number.

⁹ The increasing number of red chalk drawings along with the volumes can be resumed as follow: twenty-eight out of three hundred and twenty for the first volume; forty-one out of two hundred and forty-five for the second; seventy-six out of two hundred and eighty for the third and ninety-five out of one hundred sixty-nine for the fourth one.

¹⁰ See Bean, in *Dessins florentins*, 1958, p. 11.

¹¹ Inv. 1971 (NIII 21265), more probably by Francesco Salviati (1510-1563). See the entry in the database.

¹² Inv. 215 (NIII 21364). *Dessins florentins*, 1958, entry n° 10: «[...] Parmi les onze dessins qu'attribuait Baldinucci à cet artiste, et qui pour la plupart ne peuvent être laissés sous son nom, signalons une autre belle étude, vraiment de la main de l'artiste».

¹³ Inv. 1712 (NIII 21426). Baldinucci to Lorenzo Gualtieri, *Lettera sopra i Pittori più celebri del secolo*, 19 gennaio del 1681, quoted in Fileti Mazza 2009, p. 25: «[...] In Andrea del Sarto fu il disegno, senza alcun dubbio, se non assai superiore a quello di ogni altro dei nominati maestri, almeno eguale, con questa qualità in più, che Andrea in tale facoltà fu irreprensibile affatto, non essendo mai stato occhio al mondo che abbia saputo scorgere nelle di lui pitture ombra di scorrezione; cosa che in quelle degli altri non è forse addivenuta. Nell'accomodamento di panni egli fu nella sua maniera unico». See also Bean, in *Dessins florentins*, 1958, n°12: «[...] C'est la seule pièce que puisse être inscrite au nom d'Andrea, parmi les nombreux dessins attribués à ce maître par Baldinucci consistant surtout en feuillets d'un album de croquis à la pierre noire sur papier bleu d'un artiste secondaire plus tardif».

¹⁴ Inv. 81 (NIII21553).

¹⁵ From Inv. 1045 to Inv. 1052 (NIII 21654-NIII 21661). Baldinucci knew very well this decade, because many drawings made in this period were still available for purchasing at his time. He suddenly decided to write his third book of *Notizie* on the artists

from 1550 to 1580 just after publishing the *Cominciamento*, in 1686, instead of going on with the book on *Quattrocento* artists. See Borea, 2013, p. XVII on this impromptus change.

¹⁶ Inv. 1382 (NIII 21715).

¹⁷ Inv. 671 (NIII 21756).

¹⁸ Inv. 8 (NIII 21768).

¹⁹ Inv. 2949, Inv. 1292 to Inv. 1302 (NIII 21987-NIII 21998).

²⁰ Inv. 9584-Inv. 9585, Inv. 9577-Inv. 9578 (NIII 21999-NIII 22002).

²¹ Inv. 9481-Inv. 9480 (NIII 22002-NIII 22004).

²² Inv. 497-Inv. 498, Inv. 519, Inv. 515-(NIII 22007-NIII 22013).

²³ Inv. 563-Inv. 574-Inv. 579, Inv. 586, Inv. 580-Inv. 584 (NIII 22017-NIII 22039)

²⁴ Inv. 1436-Inv. 1440 (NIII 22040-NIII 22044).

²⁵ Inv. 1208-Inv. 1210 (NIII 22045-NIII 22047).

²⁶ Inv. 2068-Inv. 2075 (NIII 22048-NIII 22055).

²⁷ Inv. 1331-Inv. 1347 (NIII 22117-NIII 22133).

²⁸ Inv. 9622-Inv. 9623, Inv. 9621, Inv. 9620 (NIII 22137-NIII 22140).

²⁹ Inv. 56-Inv. 59 (NIII 22142-NIII 22145).

³⁰ Inv. 8218 (NIII 22146).

³¹ Particularly sharp against him were the connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) and the painter François Xavier Fabre, who went up in advising Denon not to buy the collection. The studies and publications of the past sixty years by Roseline Bacou and Catherine Goguel, devoted to the Florentine sheets of this collection, have demonstrated Baldinucci's knowledge and taste. As for the over-estimated drawings, see Inv. 10837 (NIII21383), Inv. 6015 (NIII21445) and Inv. 790 (NIII21348), being copies after Titian (ca. 1488-1576), Correggio (ca. 1489-1534) and Michelangelo (1475-1564)

³² Inv. 951 (NIII 21453).

³³ See the entry on the database for the bibliography.

³⁴ For Empoli, he wrote that he spent his time going around in Florence to copy masters like Andrea del Sarto. See Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, vol. IV, p. 6: «[...] Diedesi questi di gran proposito agli studi del disegno, e fu suo costume fin da' primi anni di sua gioventù andare a studiare in diversi luoghi della nostra città le bellissime opere d'Andrea del Sarto, e con grand'ap-

plicazione tante ne disegnava, quante gnene potevan mai dare alle mani, ma particolarmente quelle del chioostro piccolo della Santiss. Nonziata, d'onde avvenne, che e' s'affeziono' tanto alla maniera di quel gran maestro, che egli poi riuscì uno de' più esquisite copiatori dell'opere di lui che fosse mai stato».

³⁵ De Luca, 2014, pp. 97-98 and note 7 and 9.

³⁶ See Chiarini, 1982, p. 47: «Assai gravoso era l'incarico assunto dal Baldinucci, costretto a confrontarsi e a dare ordine ad una mole sempre crescente di fogli e di maestri, tanto che al momento della prematura e improvvisa scomparsa del cardinale, avvenuta il 10 Novembre 1675, la collezione non aveva ancora raggiunto il suo assetto definitivo». See also Vermeulen 2010, pp. 128-129: «[...] The irregularities resulting from the combination of different criteria in the arrangement of the Medici's collection led Baldinucci not to follow that model for his *Notizie*».

³⁷ On the two collections of drawings, see Baldinucci, 1948, p. 43 and p. 52. An intervention by Francesco Saverio in the display of the drawings in the volumes can be excluded, if we consider the thought expressed by Bruno Santi, for: «[...] Il pieno assestarsi di Francesco Saverio nell'alveo della tradizione paterna, senza però l'esperienza diretta del mondo artistico che poteva aere Filippo e la frequentazione diretta dell'opera d'arte dovuta all'attività di collezionista del padre, è il limite dell'originalità dell'opera di Francesco Saverio, un'originalità che forse non è stata nemmeno ricercata, poiché dietro il suo lavoro è adombrata la più totale adesione al modello e al metodo di Filippo insieme con l'esigenza di preseguirne le ricerche. Francesco Saverio rientra così nella norma della storiografia artistica locale del tardo Seicento, senza peraltro lo spessore critico del padre, favorendo bensì, nelle biografie da lui redatte, l'aspetto decisamente aneddottico e curioso, molto di più di quanto questo elemento appaia nelle *Notizie* dell'anziano Baldinucci». See *Zibaldone baldinucciano*, 1981, pp. 548-549.

³⁸ See Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, vol. III, p. 298: «[...] Venne poi capriccio al nostro pittore d'imparare a far bene i paesi e per tale effetto andava sovente fuori della Città, ritraendo al naturale nelle vedute di Campagna con matita rossa e nera; di queste ave-

va fatte molte in un Quadernetto di quarto di foglio in circa, tanto ben macchiate, che parevano colorite, le quali tutte possiede oggi, chi queste cose scrive, e dato loro luogo in un de' due suoi Libri fra i Disegni de' più eccellenti Maestri di quei tempi, de' quali ha egli fatta raccolta». This means that Baldinucci didn't assemble the volumes one after the other, as the volume once containing Allori's drawings is the third of four held in the Louvre. The *Notizia* on Allori belonged to the decade between 1590 and 1600, which means that it was published by his son after Baldinucci's death.

³⁹ More than 11000 drawings were registered in Leopoldo's de' Medici collection back in 1675. See Fileti Mazza, 2009, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Vermeulen, 2010, p. 128: «Indeed, only the sum total of the volumes could be viewed as an artistic chronology from the 13th through the 17th century». The model Baldinucci had in mind is not known, but he knew what was done in the main collection of drawings. He refused the one suggested by Giulio Mancini, who aimed to a division per theme, chronology, size, school and technique. See on this issue Fileti Mazza, 2009, p. 17: «[...] L'uso di forma con i disegni, i libri per un'agile consultazione e per una maggiore esaltazione del manufatto, era diffuso anche in altri Gabinetti italiani e europei, e lo stesso Leopoldo faceva riferimento ad un passato eccellente ricordando il *Libro di Disegni* di Giorgio Vasari. Anche Giulio Mancini nelle sue *Considerazioni sulla pittura* scriveva con i toni di un prontuario ideale, come in una collezione “dei disegni a mano ne farà [un gentiluomo privato] libri distinti secondo le materie, tempi, grandezza di foglio, nazioni e modo di disegno, se a penna, lapis e carbone, acquarello, chirascurio, ... che così sarà padrone di mostrarli e farlo godere con gusto dei riguardanti [...] e facilità di chi mostrarrà quali libri si serviranno in luoghi più ritirati e da poter esser visti con comodo».

⁴¹ See *Dessins Florentins*, 1958; Serra, 2009 or Fileti Mazza, 2009, pp. 29-30.

⁴² More, he left some pages to fulfill for the decade from 1690 to 1700 at the end of the fourth volume.

⁴³ The division per decades has to be considered as is the main one, although the chronological separation is not respected in many cases.

⁴⁴ Struhal, 2016, p. 199 n. 182.

⁴⁵ He followed the same arrangement with Matteo Rosselli's (1578-1650) works in the third volume.

⁴⁶ This corresponded to Malvasia main principle. See Struhal, 2016, p. 195, notes 34-35.

⁴⁷ Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, vol. III, p. 93.

⁴⁸ Baldinucci, 1691, p. 92: «Una sorta di pietra tenera, che ci viene a noi in pezzetti, la quale, segata con sega di fil di ferro, e ridotta in punte, serve per disegnare sopra carte bianche e colorate. La migliore viene d'Alemagna». As for the absence of the Latin etymologies in the *Vocabolario*, see Sohm, 2001, p. 168.

⁴⁹ Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, vol. III, p. 551: «[...] Fu Santi di Tito valorosissimo in disegno, benché di non molto grazioso colorito; fu universalissimo, e tant'intelligente nella composizione delle storie, che forse si lasciò in dietro molti pittori di primo grido di quel suo secolo, tanto che parve che lo stesso Tiziano, col quale egli ebbe ragionamenti in Venezia, desse poi segni di invidiarlo alquanto, poiché nel sentir parlar di lui mostrava passione, e pronunciava il suo nome con ischernò, dicendo: Santi di Tiritititotò Matitaio; con che mostrava sì, ma con beffa, il concetto ch'egli avea del gran disegnare e disporre, ma nello stesso tempo voleva pure ch'è sapesse e si credesse, che a questa sola riduceasi ogni sua eccellenza».

⁵⁰ Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, vol. III, p. 185: «[...] Aveva egli fatti fin da fanciullo grandi studi nell'ignudo, e trovansi Disegni di sua mano incominciati dall'ossatura, poi veduti dell'Anatomia, e finalmente vestiti di carne, e pelle». See the drawings like Inv. 8 (NIII 21768) and Inv. 15 (NIII 21769).

⁵¹ Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, vol. III, p. 298: «[...] Venne poi capriccio al nostro pittore d'imparare a far bene i paesi e per tale effetto andava sovente fuori della Città, ritraendo al naturale nelle vedute di Campagna con matita rossa e nera». See the drawings like Inv. 42 and Inv. 42bis, Inv. 43, Inv. 44 and Inv. 44bis (NIII 21921-NIII 21923).

⁵² Struhal, 2016, p. 195.

⁵³ Borea, 2013, p. XXIX: «[...] Il fatto è che il Nostro non tratta di «manifatture», ossia dei modi con i quali nel corso del tempo gli incisori avevano via via arricchito il semplice linguaggio dei primi artefi-

ci, arrivando, per voler conseguire effetti di sempre maggior verità, ossia di maggior adesione alle forme del visibile [...] a muovere il bulino su rape per linee continue o discontinue, incrociandosi o parallele, diritte o curve, più o meno vicine, più o meno incavate, con o senza reticoli e punteggiati, quadrettati e losanghe..., oppure tutti questi modi insieme. Il suo occhio esperto del disegno non poteva non vedere, tuttavia non ne argomenta, appena qualche cenno. [...] Dunque il Nostro «il progresso» lo vedeva in una sempre maggior capacità dell'artefice di «esprimere» il naturale, come l'occhio vede le cose, dalle più massive alle più evanescenti, immerse nell'aria».

⁵⁴ The fact of staying close to a naturalistic description was a positive value for Baldinucci. He frequently underlines its importance in the apprenticeship of draftsmen.

⁵⁵ «Cose», meaning techniques and supports.

⁵⁶ Baldinucci, 1691, p. XI: «L'autore a chi legge [...] Non è stato mio fine, il trovare una proprissima definizione delle cose; ma di talmente quelle circonscrivere, e tanto dirne, che possa bastare, se non a voi (atteso la poca chiarezza del mio stile) per bene intendere il mio sentimento, almeno a me, per credere di avere fatto il possibile per far che voi bene m'intendiate. Né meno volli io nella mia Nomenclatura, nelle cose Matematiche o Geometriche, giugnere alle finezze de' Professori dell'Arte; ma solo portarle per modo, che basti a far conoscere, come elleno in pratica si adoperano».

⁵⁷ Monbeig Goguel, 1998, p. 134.

⁵⁸ Sohm, 2001, p. 170.

⁵⁹ Sohm, 2001, p. 170.

⁶⁰ Baldinucci's arrangement of his personal collection has never been so far included in the studies devoted to him as historiographer.

⁶¹ Struhal, 2016, p. 200. See also Vermeulen's pattern of Leopoldo's concern for authenticity. Vermeulen, 2010, p. 124.

⁶² Inv. 1331-Inv. 1344 (NIII 22117-NIII 22130).

⁶³ Inv. 1173, Inv. 1170-Inv. 1172, Inv. 1175-Inv. 1196 (NIII 22168-NIII 22194).

⁶⁴ Inv. 1136-Inv. 1142, Inv. 1148, Inv. 1143, Inv. 1149, Inv. 1144, Inv. 1145-Inv. 1147 (NIII 22210-NIII 22223).

⁶⁵ Inv. 1122-Inv. 1127 (NIII 22257-NIII 22262). According to Goguel: «Certain of these drawings have no equivalent among the contents of Leopoldo's collection, [which later entered the repository of the Uffizi] nothing comparable to the pastels of Giovanni Battista Vanni (1599-1660), Cristofano Allori, and Pier Dandini at the Louvre». See Monbeig Goguel, 1998, p. 134.

⁶⁶ Inv. 1258-Inv. 1266 (NIII 22148-NIII 22156).

⁶⁷ Struhal, 2016, p. 199.

⁶⁸ Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, vol. XIII, p. 277.

⁶⁹ Struhal, 2016, p. 200: «[...] Consequently, Baldinucci's love of everything Florentine focused mainly on the past rather than on painters who were contemporaries». It was truer for Leopoldo than for Filippo. Leopoldo had two main concerns: collecting Florentine drawings and originals. See on this issue Vermeulen, 2010, pp. 124-126.

⁷⁰ Inv. 3829, Inv. 3828, Inv. 3927 (NIII 22228-NIII 22230).

⁷¹ Inv. 20050 (NIII 22231).

⁷² Inv. 3407-Inv. 3408, Inv. 3405 (NIII 22237-NIII 22239).

⁷³ Inv. 9507, Inv. 9521-Inv. 9524 (NIII 22248-NIII 22252).

⁷⁴ Baldinucci, ed. 1974, vol. I, p. 11, quoted by Struhal, 2016, p. 196 and note 35: «[...] By shifting attention from the historical argument he was making onto the material itself, Baldinucci upheld the illusion that any conclusion drawn from the chronological succession of drawings emerged automatically from the drawings themselves». See also Vermeulen, 2010, p. 128.

⁷⁵ The availability of some drawings on the art market more than others is to take as well into consideration. In the case of Santi di Tito's portraits, for instance, Baldinucci wrote that they were illimited ("infiniti"). See Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, vol. VIII, p. 90.

⁷⁶ Something linking the drawings to the history.