

Drawing: Medium, Discourse, Object

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Fig. 1
Enea Vico, after Baccio Bandinelli, *The
Academy of Baccio Bandinelli*, 1544.
Engraving, sheet: 30.6 × 43.8 cm (12 $\frac{1}{16}$ ×
17 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.). The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York, Purchase, Joseph
Pulitzer Bequest, 1917, 17.50.16-135.

The aim of the present exhibition is to make visible — and palpable — the multifarious process of drawing’s emergence into modernity. To achieve this aim, we have dispensed with the traditionally privileged chronological, stylistic, or oeuvre-oriented formats of display in favor of a model of presentation based in a constellation of interrelated categories. The exhibition is divided into three main sections (Medium, Discourse, and Object) and, within them, into several subsections that address specific aspects of these divisions. Grouped under these headings are drawings produced at different moments in time — that is, the 18th- and 19th-century works on which we focus are shown interspersed rather than arranged chronologically — as well as different types of drawings. The most preliminary drawings, such as Fragonard’s *Astolphe Brings Back the Head of Orrile* (see p. 130), are juxtaposed with more advanced studies, such as Géricault’s *Four Studies of a Severed Head* (p. 131); a drawing the artist made for her own purposes, such as Morisot’s *Wooded Landscape* (p. 99), is contrasted with one that was meant to be shown, sold, or circulated as a print, like Bonnard’s *Street Scene, Evening* (p. 102).¹

This heterogeneity is deliberate. It does not stem from historical insouciance or aestheticist indulgence to present works that would resemble each other on a purely formal level (pseudomorphism), or that would simply “look good” together. Instead, it is a programmatic mode of presentation based in a belief — related to the old avant-garde principle of estrangement (*ostranenie*) — in the productive effects of defamiliarization. The goal behind this presentational strategy is not only to show what is known in a novel or refreshing way, but also to

propose a different, non-linear model of history based in objects. The traditional notion of historicity has recently been challenged by new scholarship on the time of art. We have been prodded to recognize a far more complex temporality of the art work—including the coexistence of different times in a single object, and the capacity of the object to embody time—than the traditional art history would allow.² We have also been alerted to the historical aspects of the untimeliness of art.³ This methodological shift in approach to temporality does not seek to de-historicize but rather *re*-historicize art objects, to reveal the plurality of their times and thus their more complex historicity. In espousing a historically discontinuous and heterogeneous model, our exhibition has a similar aim: to recover the plural, parallel, and non-coinciding trajectories of history materialized in drawings.

A similar point can be made with regard to one aspect that has been uniquely associated with the medium of drawing since the 18th century: its status as direct testimony to the physical act of mark-making. It has often been stated that unlike other mediums, drawing bears the traces of the body involved in its production; mapping the hand's movement across the page, drawing makes manifest the phenomenology of creation. This aspect has inspired philosophical attempts to formulate an ontology of drawing, whether by positing its open-ended, uniquely formative character, its status as a *forma formans* that generates or unfolds, rather than merely imitating the world (as Jean-Luc Nancy posited), or by suggesting the idea of “blindness” inherent in every drawing act (as Derrida did). The latter can be understood both literally, as the withdrawal of the look from the object one draws when one draws it, and metaphorically, as the “scotomization” (from scotoma, or blind spot), that is, loss that occurs when one enters one's vision into a shared language or a representational convention.⁴

This exhibition engages with the phenomenological dimension of drawing by posing the question (among others) of what drawing does, or can do, that other mediums don't or cannot. It explores drawing's particular mimetic, kinetic, and kinesthetic capacities. Yet while we seek to recover these material and performative

aspects of making, we wish to emphasize their historicity, their specific discursive ramifications. Drawing cannot be hypostatized as a universal kind of performance, something all artists do, if slightly differently; it can only be defined by, or deduced from, particular works. Our notion of “drawing” is, in other words, inherently plural. Never purely bodily acts, drawings are, moreover, always immersed in the field of social and cultural conventions. It is the difference in the way that these conventions are enacted and actualized that interests us. By emphasizing the plurality and diversity of its manifestations, we offer a certain history—a set of arguments—about drawing's modernity.

Drawing began to emerge as a modern medium in the 18th century. The roots of this transformation can be traced back to the Renaissance, when technological improvements in the production of paper made it more widely available and affordable for artists.⁵ Over the course of the 15th and 16th centuries, as paper sheets gradually replaced reusable wooden tablets and parchment, drawing began to acquire a new function and meaning. Less resistant to hand movements than older types of support, not as costly, and available in larger formats than parchment, paper allowed for the development of the practice of sketching and for a new approach to drawing in general.⁶ Artists began to use drawing as a means of thinking through their ideas and as a site of free experimentation and research, rather than only as a narrowly conceived, purpose-driven preparation for a specific work. Drawing became inseparable from the creative process, at once its instrument and its material record (one that did not need to be obliterated to make space for new ideas, as was the case with drawings made on erasable tablets). Parallel to this new development was the Renaissance reconceptualization of drawing as an intellectual activity epitomized by the notion of *disegno*. As Giorgio Vasari conceived of it, *disegno*, rather than a merely mimetic tool, was the principle of understanding



forms.⁷ Enea Vico's 1544 engraving *The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli* (Fig. 1) speaks eloquently to this new conception of drawing. Although the young draftsmen depicted here still use tablets rather than paper, their manual activity is shown to be inseparable from the mental process of reflection.⁸ (Note the figure seated by the fireplace, immersed in deep thought.)

It was not until the 18th century, however, that drawing truly became modern, in that its practice, status, understanding, and uses were extended in scope and radically redefined. This is when drawing left the narrow confines of the artist's workshop or studio to enter into an expanded field of discourse, culture, politics, and social life at large. This transformation is most fully evident in 18th-century France. While new attitudes toward draftsmanship appeared at the time elsewhere, most notably in Britain, it was in France that drawing was most significantly, and most influentially, repositioned and reconceptualized.⁹ This radical reevaluation of the medium was a result of several factors, principal among them the embrace of drawing by the French Academy. Adopted at the Academy's inception in the late 17th century as the basis of artistic instruction, drawing became not only a fundamental technique of academic pedagogy, but a sign of professional distinction: to be an artist, as opposed to a mere craftsman, was predicated on its mastery. The foundational role assigned to drawing in academic training had to do with the Academy's effort to distinguish its mission from that of the guild by defining its practice as an exercise in liberal rather than mechanical arts.¹⁰ This particular institutional desire differentiated the way in which drawing was understood in the French context from

Fig. 2
Benoît-Louis Prévost, after
Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *École de
Dessein*, 1763. Plate I, top vignette, of the
entry "Dessein" in the *Encyclopédie ou
dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des
arts et des métiers*. Engraving.

its earlier conception and practice in the Italian academies. Moreover, unlike its Italian predecessors, the French Academy was a state institution engaged in the promotion of the ideological and political interests of the crown.¹¹ The role of drawing in this institution was thus inseparable from these ideological and political functions.

Charles-Nicolas Cochin's vignette for the *Encyclopédie's* entry on "dessein" hints at this new, complex role that drawing acquired in the French academic context (Fig. 2). Its neatly orchestrated groups of students of different ages who follow the distinct stages of the academic curriculum—first copying Old Master prints and drawings, then moving on to sculptural fragments and statues, and, at the very end of their studies, drawing from the live model—make evident the role of drawing as an instrument of institutional and stately control over artistic practice. It is precisely the ordered, systematic, curricular nature of this exercise, as shown by Cochin, that distinguishes it from Vico's vision of Bandinelli's academy, where students practice drawing in a far less organized, individually determined way. Cochin's vignette is not, to be sure, an exact record of how the French students were actually trained—the compression of all stages of instruction into one room was, for one, imaginary—but it is a testimony to how, under the auspices of the French Academy, drawing became an institutional and ideological performance.¹²

Related to drawing's academic definition as an attribute of the artist rather than the artisan was its emergent conception as the most revealing manifestation of artistic individuality. Arguments for this new appreciation of drawing were formulated in theoretical reflections on art, either originating in the Academy or produced for its purposes, and in the new discourse and practice of connoisseurship, wherein drawing came to occupy a place of paramount importance.¹³ It was because of its perceived immediacy that drawing was taken to be a prime means of access to the artist's mind. Thus Roger de Piles, the principal theorist and an associate member of the Academy, saw drawing as an image of how the painter "thinks things," the imprint of his artistic personality, and the seal (*le sceau*) that distinguishes him from others.¹⁴ Unlike painting, which

was seen as a more elaborate and mediated process, the act of drawing put the artist directly on the page. De Piles even suggested that rough sketches were more instructive than elaborate and finished drawings in assessing what he called the artist's "character."¹⁵ In his view, drawing was, then, the very means of recognizing an artist's particular style, of ascertaining authorship, and thus also a tool of attribution. De Piles's views were developed and widely disseminated by collector, connoisseur, and writer Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, who consolidated the privileged position of drawing in connoisseurial discourse by emphasizing the unmediated qualities of drawing—its status as an imprint of the artist's mind—as the basis of connoisseurial expertise.¹⁶ Similar claims were made by the founder of British connoisseurship, Jonathan Richardson, who described drawing as "the mind itself, a quintessence of art."¹⁷

Connoisseurship understood itself as a science. Its basic protocols of observation, classification, and analysis were derived from empiricism.¹⁸ Inheriting the empiricist assumption that the senses are the main source of knowledge, connoisseurship marked a hermeneutic shift from philological analysis based in texts to visual analysis grounded in the sensory experience of objects. As the focus of connoisseurial study, drawing came to be appreciated and discussed as a visually and materially specific entity, an object of experience by sight and touch. As such, it became an epistemological tool, a favored instrument of the new empirical science of art.¹⁹ The new mode of describing drawings—visual analysis—has been seen as foundational for the discipline of art history.²⁰ But this new language had also a more immediate impact, in that it helped define drawing as a medium unto itself, a visual and material form governed by its own rules and conventions. It was precisely within the connoisseurial discourse that notions associated with drawing in particular, such as the artist's hand, were formulated.²¹

Connoisseurship affected how drawings were handled and displayed.²² The conception of drawing as a visual entity led to a concern with its legibility as an object and with the means to enhance it. Previously stored in portfolios and armoires, drawings began to be

matted and framed and displayed on the wall, like paintings. Sometimes they were even manipulated in order to secure their proper visual effect. As Kristel Smentek has demonstrated, renowned print dealer, drawing collector, and connoisseur Pierre Jean Mariette cropped, split, restored, and even “completed” Old Master drawings in his collection in an effort to present them at their visual best, and, specifically, to enhance the viewer’s capacity to perceive them in a *coup d’oeil*.²³ This paradoxical attempt to mediate the appearance of drawing, and even alter it, in order to enhance its *unmediated* quality as an image of the artist’s ideas, exemplifies, *in extremis*, how the drawing’s entry into the sphere of discourse affected not only its perception but its material existence.

The growing interest in drawing as a form and object led to a significant expansion of its social life in the 18th century. As its visibility increased due to collecting practices and public exhibitions, its circulation in society was simultaneously widened by the development of new commercial channels of distribution. Both phenomena contributed to the emergence of drawing as a key instrument in the formation of aesthetic taste understood as a mechanism of social distinction.²⁴ The connoisseurial conception of drawing as a conduit of the artist’s mind led to its growing appreciation as an autonomous form of artistic expression, thus increasing its attraction as an object to be collected, exhibited, and admired for itself. Some of the most significant private collections of drawings were formed in the 18th century. They comprised not only the works of Old Masters, exemplified by the extraordinary holdings of financier Pierre Crozat, but also—and this was new—of living artists, among them Boucher, and later Fragonard, whose works were avidly collected.²⁵ As Colin Bailey has noted, “[B]y the end of Louis XV’s reign, most collectors of any stature (or of any pretension) owned a certain number of French drawings that were kept on more or less permanent display.”²⁶ As collectible items, drawings contributed to the definition of the collector’s social status and cultural prestige. Some of these private collections were, moreover, made accessible to visitors—artists, *amateurs*, and foreign travelers—thus generating a wider interest in drawing. An important early

collector, Jean de Jullienne, whose pastel portrait by La Tour is in our exhibition (see p. 106), even commissioned a visitor’s guide for his famous *cabinet* housed in his *hôtel* on rue des Gobelins in Paris. This extraordinary document featured not only a comprehensive list of Jullienne’s holdings and floor plans of his galleries, but also watercolor renditions of elevations complete with thumbnail images of framed drawings interspersed with paintings on the gallery walls (Fig. 3).²⁷

Another symptom of the recognition of drawing as an independent form of expression was the inclusion of the works on paper in the Salon exhibition, a public display of art that became a regular event (first occurring annually, later biennially) from 1737. In Gabriel de Saint-Aubin’s *View of the Salon of 1767* (Fig. 4a), drawings can be seen pinned to the green drapery covering the tables at center right, and on the extreme left of the image, where they are being examined up close by the visitors, among them a man holding a magnifying glass (Fig. 4b). Critics urged artists to pull drawings from the “obscurity of their portfolios” to exhibit them at the Salon.²⁸ Later on, public exhibitions dedicated specifically to drawings also took place. In 1797, in the wake of the French Revolution, a remarkable exhibition of drawings from the royal collection was staged to celebrate the recuperation of the king’s private holdings as national patrimony. Constantin Bourgeois’s view of the Louvre’s Galerie d’Apollon (Fig. 5), where the exhibition took place, makes evident the organizers’ recognition of the challenge involved in exhibiting drawings and their effort to enhance the viewer’s experience of them.²⁹ (See, for example, the low hang of the smaller objects, the reasoned pattern of their arrangement on the wall, and the presence of mirrors at the end of the gallery to provide more light.³⁰) Through such public displays, drawing entered the social sphere of collective experience, commentary, and debate.

The social visibility of drawing was also enhanced by the burgeoning art market, where works on paper figured prominently, especially in the second half of the 18th century.³¹ Circulating in the commercial context—including dealers’ galleries, auctions, and inventory sales—drawing became a commodity, its status and meaning as

2.^{ème} Cabinet de M^r

Côté en face de l'Entrée

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Fig. 3
Page 50 from the *Catalogue des Tableaux de M. de Jullienne*, c. 1756. Pen and ink, watercolor, and gouache. The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, Purchased as the gift of the Fellows, 1966.8.



Fig. 4a and 4b (detail)
Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *View of the Salon of 1767*. Drawing. Private collection, Paris.

a marketable object defined by the discourse generated by these venues. Such was the role of sales catalogues and, in particular, the catalogue raisonné invented by art dealer Edmé Gersaint.³² Combining the legal format of an inventory with the intellectual ambition of a scientific publication, the catalogue raisonné adopted and refined the connoisseurial categories of identification and description of works of art for commercial purposes. As made clear by Cochin's frontispiece to Gersaint's 1744 catalogue for the posthumous sale of Louis Quentin de Lorangère's collection of art and curiosities, which included a substantial amount of prints and drawings, this kind of publication sought to determine not only the value of the objects, but also their social and cultural meaning (Fig. 6). By featuring connoisseurs and *amateurs* gathered around the table to peruse and discuss works on paper pulled out of their portfolios, the frontispiece presents drawing as both a commodity for sale and an object of collective appreciation, a catalyst of a certain form of elite sociability.

As such, Cochin's frontispiece addresses the new social function of drawing as an instrument of taste understood as a language and practice based in visual and material expertise in the object. As Charlotte Guichard has demonstrated, taste emerged in the 18th century as a connective tissue between experts of a particular kind, *amateurs*, who not only collected drawings but also emulated artists by cultivating their own modest drawing skills.³³ Within this community, both drawing and its cognate, etching, constituted a shared object of admiration and knowledge as well as a shared mode of practice. It was in this two-pronged sense that the taste for drawing and



Fig. 5
 Constantin Bourgeois, *Exhibition of Drawings in Year V, Galerie d'Apollon, Louvre, 1797*. Black ink with brown wash. Musée du Louvre, D.A.G., Paris.

etching distinguished and helped consolidate the social position of the *amateurs*. And it is as such that drawing served as an attribute of social distinction, its appreciation and exercise providing a ground of social alliance among *amateurs*. This is precisely the social nucleus that Cochin depicts in his frontispiece to the catalogue of Lorangère's sale. The image speaks to both the new culture of looking and the new form of social bonds formed through the collecting practices and connoisseurship on drawing and in the commercial fora, such as auctions and sales.

The new visibility and increased social circulation of drawing in turn caused changes in 18th-century drawing practice. One symptom of this change was the development of a new style of draftsmanship that self-consciously aimed at enhancing the "wall power effect" of drawings—that is, their visual legibility and appeal as objects on display. Boucher's 1763 *Reclining Female Nude* (Fig. 7) illustrates the transformation of the artist's style from the suave linearity witnessed in his earlier work (see p. 66) into a visually more emphatic form: the strong bodily contours, elaborate modeling of flesh, and dense, dark hatchings in the background that dramatically set off



to draw. Published in two installments (1726–28 and 1734), Jullienne's *Receuil* recast the cultural meaning of drawing from subsidiary studio tool to a means of asserting artistic individuality, thus also contributing to the growing interest in drawing among French artists. Drawing activity became so popular among artists as to raise some alarm. In a lecture delivered at the Academy on June 7, 1732, prominent connoisseur Anne-Claude-Philippe de Toubières, comte de Caylus, denounced artists who "let themselves be carried away by the pleasure of drawing," engaging in what he saw as a pernicious licentiousness (*libertinage*) that took their minds away from the more serious task of painting.³⁷ While Caylus seems to have ignored that drawing practice was in itself a site of artistic innovation and change, his commentary was important in articulating an influential idea of the unique kind of pleasure inherent in the activity of drawing.³⁸

One piece of evidence of the importance artists attached to their drawings—and the augmented sense of value associated with them—is the notorious dispute between Fragonard, one of the most celebrated French

Fig. 7
François Boucher, *Reclining Female Nude*, 1763. Black, red, and white chalk on tan (formerly blue-gray) laid paper, sheet: 37.8 x 29 cm (14⁷/₈ x 11⁷/₁₆ in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Robert Treat Paine, 2nd, 43.236.



Fig. 8
Plate XIV from Abraham Bosse, *De la manière de graver à l'eau-forte et au burin, et de la gravure en manière noire*, c. 1770.

painters and draftsmen of the second half of the 18th century, and his patron, the *amateur* and collector Pierre-Jacques Onézime Bergeret de Grancourt. Bergeret, who invited Fragonard to accompany him on a trip to Italy, assumed that the drawings the artist produced during their long travels belonged to him. Fragonard disagreed and brought his patron to court to recuperate his work.³⁹

Concomitant with these significant changes in the perception and practice of drawing was the increased scope of its use and functions and its new cultural mobility. The key factor that made this amplification and mobilization possible was the reproduction and dissemination of drawing through print.⁴⁰ Particularly important was the invention of a new reproductive technology, the crayon manner, for producing facsimiles of drawings.⁴¹ By using special tools—a spiked roller (*roulette*) and a mace-head, or *mattoir*—the crayon manner simulated the texture of crayon on the page, making visible the very grain of the artist's trace. (Both of these instruments and the results they produce are illustrated in the mid to lower part of Figure 8.) Allowing for replication of not only the image but also the technique—the distinctive marks of red chalk on paper—the *manière de crayon* turned the medium of drawing itself into a visual object. More affordable than the originals, these “populuxe drawings” disseminated artists' work in a wider social context.⁴² Print reproductions also allowed for the proliferation of illustrated drawing manuals for *amateurs*. These compendia, exemplified by Charles-Antoine Jombert's heavily illustrated *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner* (originally published 1740; revised and expanded edition published 1755) not only helped consolidate the status of drawing as a technique of elite cultivation, but also contributed to the wider social dissemination of the drawing skill (Fig. 9).⁴³

Beyond the realm of art making, be it professional or amateur, drawing acquired broader cultural import, having been recognized as the underlying structure of all kinds of activities, commercial as well as artistic. Either on its own or through print reproduction, drawing served as the means of transmitting the image across a visual field encompassing varied commercial domains. Belief in the pedagogical import of drawing, combined with the recognition of its

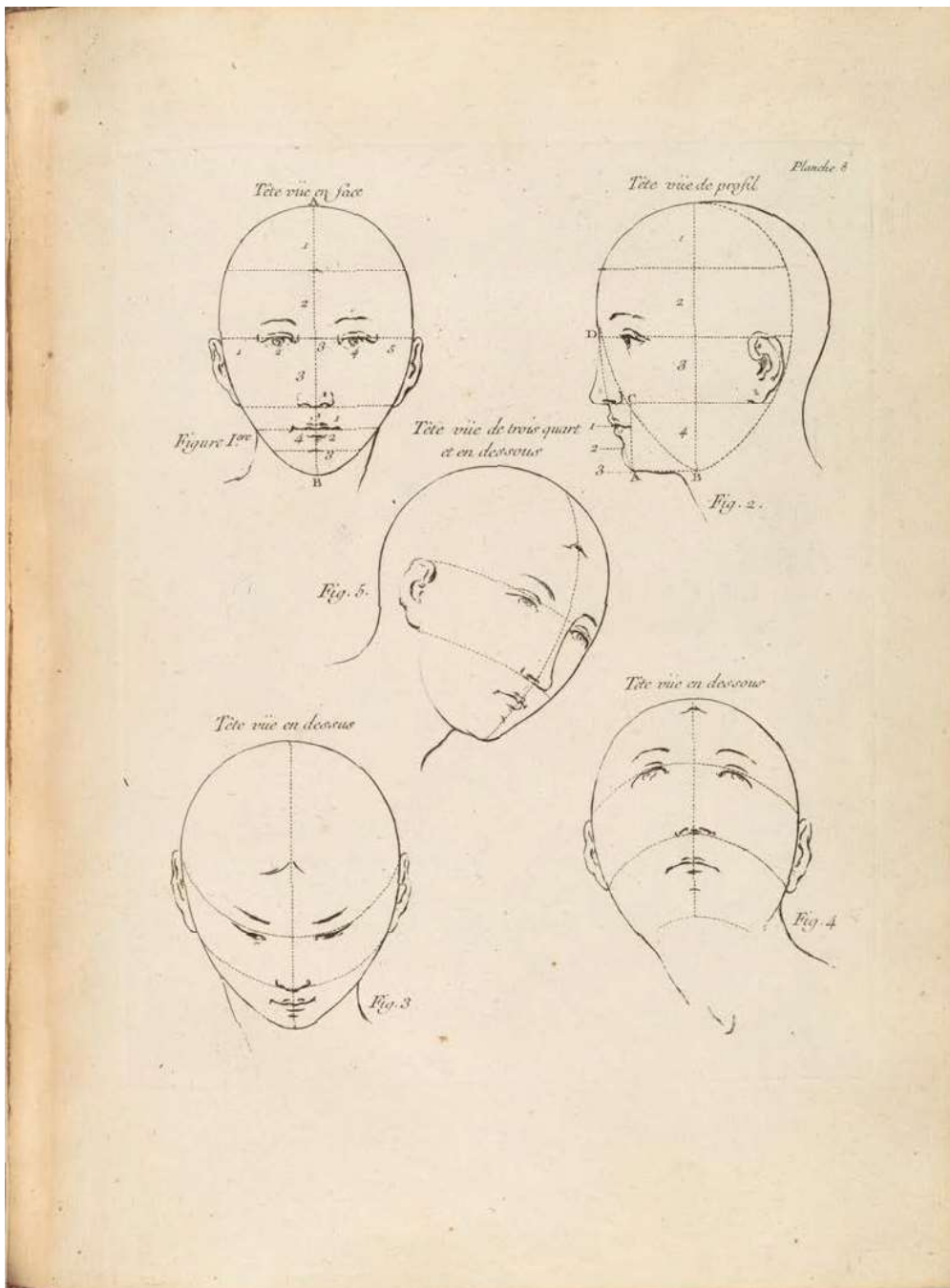


Fig. 9
Charles-Nicolas Cochin, plate XIV of Charles-Antoine Jombert, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à dessiner* (Paris: 1755). Etching, in book: 29.8 × 23.1 × 4.3 cm (11³/₄ × 9¹/₈ × 1⁷/₁₆ in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941, 41.100.47.

commercial potential as the means of replicating designs, led to the creation of the first public school of drawing for training young artisans. Founded in 1766 by Jean-Jacques Bachelier, the *École gratuite de dessin* established drawing as the basis of public education, a skill in which professionals of all trades had to be trained (Fig. 10).⁴⁴ Drawing has of course always been important for the *métiers*, but Bachelier's establishment marked its institutional recognition as a meta-medium that links *all* trades.⁴⁵

Through mechanical reproduction, drawing also operated in an expanded field of culture and knowledge. It

served as the basis for the plates in illustrated compendia of knowledge, botanical books, and medical treatises. The distinctive agency of drawing in such projects is epitomized by one compendium in particular, *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–28). Produced by a team of draftsmen enlisted together with soldiers, scholars, scientists, and engineers by general Bonaparte to accompany him on his 1798 expedition to Egypt, the multivolume publication illustrates the primary role of drawing in producing, transferring, and disseminating images and information about the foreign land and its culture, thus serving French colonizing



Fig. 10
École gratuite de dessin, drawing class.
Pencil. Print Department, Musée
Carnavalet, Paris.

ambition.⁴⁶ While *Déscription*, in its final form, consisted of print reproductions of the draftsmen's original work, it was the medium of drawing that made possible this massive exercise in the production of knowledge and power.

Liberated over the course of the 18th century from its subordinate function in the artist's atelier, drawing gained autonomy as a medium, its specificity having become an object of dedicated study and analysis. Yet at the same time, drawing was thoroughly embedded in, and reliant upon, a number of cultural discourses and practices. It was submitted to a variety of uses—from pedagogy, connoisseurship, and epistemology to art commerce and the manufacture of things—each delineating differently its function and meaning. This double process of unmooring drawing from its circumscribed place in the artist's studio and submitting it to the various disciplines of a wider cultural and social space was precisely what redefined drawing as a modern medium.

This process not only expanded and altered the aesthetic parameters of drawing, but also posed an altogether new problem of its ethics. On the one hand, defined as an autonomous activity, drawing was associated with freedom, a connection explicitly made by de Piles.⁴⁷ On the other, its entry into the public sphere and

its wider social use imposed new and diverse kinds of responsibilities and constraints on it. Caylus's 1732 lecture already points in this direction, when its author suggests the need to enforce a limit on the excessive freedom in the practice of drawing. The issue of the moral value of drawing was thus hinted at; what constitutes a "good" or "bad" drawing practice became a valid and important concern. Within the broader sphere of discussion on the social uses and merits of drawing as a practice and medium, its ethical dimension came even more emphatically to the fore.⁴⁸ Different protocols came to define, and limit, the modes and rationale of the practice. Thus drawing was at once "freed" and newly—and diversely—encumbered and confined.

In the 19th century, the aesthetic, cultural, social, and material bases of drawing underwent significant transformations, further altering the understanding and practice of the medium. The two most salient developments were an increased individuation and autonomization of practice, and the cross-pollination of drawing with new visual technologies that resulted in a re-materialization and reinvention of the medium. Both phenomena helped establish but also challenged the position of drawing within a larger cultural field of modernity.

As the Academy's institutional and aesthetic grip on artistic production loosened steadily throughout the 19th century, other venues of pedagogy and practice emerged, allowing for new visions and a broader cultural deployment of drawing. Especially in the second half of the 19th century, private academies flourished, offering drawing-based training that differed from the traditional academic approach by being less structured and encouraging students to develop their individual styles. These establishments also catered to more diverse constituencies, including women, who had been excluded or marginalized by the royal institution.⁴⁹ (The Academy's *École des Beaux-Arts* itself underwent a reform in the second half of the 19th century that addressed, among others, the

question of the nature and goals of drawing instruction.⁵⁰) At the same time, the social reach and import of drawing were radically expanded due to what has been called "the media explosion"; that is, the propagation of technological changes that helped introduce mass visual culture, such as the invention of lithography.⁵¹ The ease and speed of this reproductive technology led to the proliferation of the illustrated press and panoramic literature, through which a drawn image could be reproduced and disseminated on an unprecedented scale. Lithography, both as a technique and a form of widely distributed image, also affected the practice of drawing. This is most evident in the output of Daumier, who worked both as an illustrator for the press and as an independent artist-draftsman: his drawings, such as *The Butcher* (see p. 219), exemplify the interconnection between the printed imagery of social types that promoted the idea of society as an embodied entity, and drawing as a fine art.

As aesthetic attention shifted from the past to the present, drawing was reconceptualized as the very technique of modernity—not an instrument for emulating time-honored artistic models, but a uniquely suitable means for recording modern life. The advantage of drawing lay in its immediacy, speed of execution, and portability, aspects enhanced by the availability of new, commercially produced drawing tools and materials.⁵² But the decisive factor was the emergence of modernity as an aesthetic ideal, or, as Baudelaire saw it, an artistic imperative. It is telling that the critic based his conception of aesthetic modernity on the work of a draftsman, Constantin Guys.⁵³ It was Guys's pen and ink sketches and watercolor vignettes that Baudelaire took to epitomize his notion of the "painting of modern life" (see, for example, his *A Grisette*, p. 103). "Hurl[ing] himself headlong into the midst of the throng, in pursuit of an unknown, half-glimpsed countenance that has, on an instant, bewitched him," Guys turned drawing into a nimble instrument of curiosity, the means of observing and translating the multitude of life in its most quotidian, transient, and mobile aspects into visual forms.⁵⁴

It was this capacity of drawing that was embraced by the impressionists. We tend to think that impressionism's

ethos of painting *en plein air* dispensed with drawing as a preparatory tool. Yet, as has been pointed out, impressionists' commitment to contingency did not entail a total rejection of the preparatory process or other forms of mediation, but rather determined their use as the means of producing the *effects* of contingency. As Christopher Lloyd has put it, drawing was the very "agent of spontaneity" in impressionism, both when used as a preparatory form and as an autonomous means of expression.⁵⁵ The vital role of drawing in impressionist practice is manifest in the very number of drawings included in impressionist exhibitions: in all eight of the exhibitions the group held between 1874 and 1886, drawings in different mediums amounted to 40 percent of the works on display.⁵⁶ In a pamphlet published in 1876 on the occasion of the second impressionist exhibition, novelist and critic Edmond Duranty described drawing as the primary vehicle of modern vision, the means of creating a new repertory of fleeting gestures and momentary expressions of the human body and the inexhaustibly diverse appearances of nature. "The pencil," he declared, "will be soaked in the sap of life."⁵⁷

The most significant aspect of the drawing practice of artists associated with impressionism—illustrated by Manet's *Race Course at Longchamp* (see p. 186), Morisot's *Wooded Landscape* (p. 99), Pissarro's *The Market Place* (p. 226), and Degas's *After the Bath, Woman with a Towel* (p. 73), among others in our exhibition—was, however, its experimental and inventive character. Artists have of course always used drawing in varied and imaginative ways. As Diana Petherbridge reminds us, experimentation and innovation was not an avant-garde strategy but "a condition of drawing practice from its inception."⁵⁸ Nor has drawing ever been a monolithic medium; on the contrary, artists often mixed all available mediums, materials, and techniques to get the desired effects.⁵⁹

In the 19th century, however, the nature and purpose of experimentation changed. One reason for this was the expansion of the material bases of drawing. The mechanization and industrialization of manufacturing methods made an unprecedented range of tools and materials available to draftsmen, and altered their character.⁶⁰ While the supply of natural chalk, the predominant tool

of 18th-century artists, dwindled, new kinds of drawing mediums, notably Conté crayon, were fabricated and marketed in an array of forms, colors, and sizes.⁶¹ Synthetic pigments introduced previously unseen colors for creating novel chromatic effects. Mechanized paper production provided artists with a greater variety of surfaces to work on, while art supplies dealers, whose establishments proliferated in the 19th century, offered draftsmen an assortment of readymade, time-saving supplies such as pre-bound sketchbooks in different sizes. Drawing became easier, democratized by the wider availability of more affordable instruments and materials. For professional artists, this expansion and diversification of the material basis provided unprecedented aesthetic opportunities, moving inventiveness onto another level.

But the key factor affecting the nature of artistic experimentation in the 19th century was the emergence of new visual technologies, in particular photography, and the attending shift in the cultural status of the image.⁶² Photography challenged the *raison d'être* of the more traditional mediums of representation, such as drawing, forcing them to *compete* for a cultural position in the modern visual sphere. The uninhibited circulation of a reproducible image that offered an enhanced, unmatchable reality effect exerted pressure on manual mediums, and this affected the nature, goals, and outcomes of aesthetic and technical experimentation. There was as much curiosity and interest in photography as there was anxiety about it among artists.⁶³

Symptoms of this unease are evident in the character of their innovative approach to drawing. Thus, Degas's intra-medial experiments—illustrated in this catalogue by *Two Dancers Entering the Stage* (see p. 187)—and, most emphatically, his creative use of black monotype, which straddled drawing and print but also, through its engagement with the trope of black and white, photography, reveal the complex affect involved in this experimentation.⁶⁴ His brutal *Reading after the Bath* (Fig. 11), an example of Degas's "devenustation" of the nude—a deliberately ungainly, unformed, and deformed rendition of human anatomy—illustrates the artist's ambivalently appropriative approach to the reproductive mediums that results



in a radically different vision of the body from that of his predecessor Boucher.⁶⁵ For in Degas's hands, drawing strives not only to emulate but also to *infiltrate* and *dispossess* the other mediums. It materializes a desire to come to terms with the imposition of photography on the manual modes of representation, a desire that manifests itself, via the nude, as both submission to and de-figuration of the photographic image.⁶⁶ Evident in the crude outlines and monstrous shape of the woman's "negative" body, gouged out from, rather than drawn on, the black background, is an emulative impulse laced with a kind of hostility. The monotype is thus a dark document of the competitive, quasi-parasitic coexistence of the mediums, a record of an ambivalence that has to do not only with Degas's complex relation to the woman as a subject, but also with his relation to photography as a medium. At stake in the fraught originality of this performance is an aesthetic and cultural survival of the practice of drawing.

A similar argument can be made about Seurat's innovative drawing operations—illustrated in our show by his *Café-Concert* (see p. 91)—through which the artist self-consciously sought to position his work in relation to

Fig. 11
Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas, *Reading after the Bath*, c. 1879–83. Monotype in black on laid paper, 27.7 × 37.9 cm (10⁹/₁₆ × 14⁹/₁₆ in.). The Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, Purchased with support of the BankGiro Loterij, the Mondriaan Fund, and the Rembrandt Association, p2759S2014.

other mediums. Using Conté crayon and Michallet paper, Seurat generated quasi-photographic effects, taking up, if obliquely, the challenge posed by this new medium. The effect of his competitive engagement with photography is different from Degas's, however, manifesting itself in an obfuscation, muting, and blinding of his subject rather than bodily deformation and disfiguration.⁶⁷ What both artists thus visualize is the complexity of drawing's position in 19th-century visual culture: enriched and enabled but also challenged and displaced by the new technological developments. Their aesthetic and technical experiments communicate some tension underwriting the relation between, on the one hand, the autonomization and individualization of the medium, and, on the other, the self-conscious engagement with and resistance to the new material and technological conditions of the 19th century. These works raised the questions: what can drawing be, and how can it matter in modern culture?

The unorthodox structure of our exhibition seeks to emphasize the irreducibly complex, non-linear, and discontinuous character of the historical process of the modernization of drawing that I have sketched out here. Emphasizing the multiple senses of drawing understood as a theoretical concept, an aesthetic and cultural practice, and a material object, the format brings forth the complex interrelations—ties as well as tensions—among the medium's different facets and functions. Through the choice of objects and the mode of their display, the viewer's gaze is focused on the conventions, means, and techniques particular to drawing, such as line, touch, surface, and other aspects that may be said to constitute its specificity. But the exhibition also makes visible the key historical concepts, concerns, and debates that defined how drawings were made and seen, revealing their diverse cultural functions and uses over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries. In doing so, it seeks to demonstrate the role of the object not as an illustration of history but as the means of reimagining it.

This catalogue is organized in the same way as the exhibition's display: the three major sections herein and the grouping of individual object entries under subcategorical headings reflect the structure of the installation. There are, however, additional works discussed in the catalogue that provide nuance or expand on some of the arguments presented in the gallery. What follows here is a brief explanation of the exhibition's main categories, the rationale behind their choice, and an overview of the subcategories, which the authors further explore in their essays.

Medium

Neither a study of pure materiality nor a transhistorical essence, this category refers to the conjunction of materials and techniques with the historically specific conventions that govern their use in drawing.⁶⁸ Surface, line, touch, stain, and color are considered here as period-specific modes of operation, rather than givens. Evidently, the line drawn by Apelles in the often-quoted story recounted by Pliny the Elder is different from the line used by Daumier in the early 19th century.⁶⁹ While Apelles's line was seen as an unmistakable (because unmediated) trace of the painter's presence, Daumier's mode of drawing (see, for example, *Two Women and a Child*, p. 82) was inflected by the new printing technology: it shows how the line looked like after the invention of lithography. If, then, we are interested in the specificity of drawing as a medium, it is in the sense of it being changeable, historically contingent, plural rather than singular. In and of itself, concern with the material specificity of drawing has a history. Attempts to define its difference from other mediums were first made, as we have seen, in the 18th century. This is when the systematic typology of drawings was also established.⁷⁰ It is in the spirit of historicizing the medium that we wish to present objects as the material entities that the 18th-century art theorists, connoisseurs, and collectors first began to appreciate and describe.

Moreover, the exhibition treats the basic procedures of drawings not merely as the means but also the *agents* of representation. We activate surface, line, touch, stain, and color to account for the artist's interaction with, rather

than simply the use of, the material bases of drawings. In this way, the exhibition addresses the notion of drawing as an “act” not limited to the artist’s performance.⁷¹ Instead, our project seeks to recover the role played by materials and techniques in the process of making, an approach based in the assumption that these physical properties have a capacity to engage the draftsman in a kind of dialogue, to prod, guide, but also productively mislead or divert the draftsman’s hand and mind.

Thus, examining surface helps us consider the material support of drawing not as a passive receptor of the artist’s marks, but as a generative base, a matrix of form. We treat surface both as ground and function, exploring the ways a given support—parchment, paper, cardboard—may itself “draw,” as it were, its color or texture, participating in the accretion of form on its surface (see especially Degas’s *After the Bath*, p. 73). Line, the most basic element of drawing syntax, is considered here too in its formative rather than only mimetic effects.⁷²

We explore stain as a version of the historical term associated with drawing since the Renaissance: Vasari used the term *una macchia* (a blot) for a drawing produced with a visible facility.⁷³ “Blotting” was also a technique and an aesthetic strategy developed by 18th-century British watercolorist Alexander Cozens.⁷⁴ The purpose of this subcategory is to draw attention specifically to the transitive quality of ink or watercolor marks that act as indices of the artist’s body on the page, but may also make the page itself appear as a bodily surface. Pooling, pulsating, bruising: the stain in some works is itself like a living thing on the page (see Rodin’s *Study for “The Gates of Hell”*: *Shades Speaking to Dante*, p. 101).

We examine touch and its particular resonance in the 18th century, owing to the sense’s paramount importance in the emerging empiricist philosophy, but also to its role as one of the key aesthetic means of artistic self-individuation (see *Young Man with Downcast Eyes*, attributed to Parrocel, p. 86).⁷⁵ Touch speaks of the drawing’s connection to the artist’s body, but it may also be seen as a corporeal link between the artist and the viewer.

Color has been traditionally opposed to drawing insofar as the latter was understood as an exercise of line.⁷⁶

Yet one can certainly draw with color, and in a sense, color itself may be seen to draw. The technique of pastel, which became extremely fashionable in the 18th century, offers one example: as pigments hardened and bound into sticks, pastels are colors that draw (see La Tour’s portrait of Jullienne, p. 106). Another example is the 19th-century experiment with monochromatic pigments that activate color to mimic the effect of new visual mediums, such as photography (see Legros’s portrait of Victor Hugo, p. 110).

Discourse

In this section, we explore some of the ideas generated by, or associated with, drawing, but also the ways in which drawings themselves may be seen to “think.” We consider the notions that have been linked to drawing in particular, such as idea, hand, memory, or blindness, and examine others—such as process, time, body, eros, violence, and labor—that, while not specific to the medium, have nonetheless acquired a significant or intriguing articulation through this form of practice, or have played an important role in commentaries on it. Drawing is, then, considered as a discursive form insofar as it serves as a means of conceptualization, but also because it is in and of itself a form of visual discourse.⁷⁷ Delacroix asserted that to draw was to have “one’s thoughts at the tip of [one’s] pencil, as the writer does at the tip of his pen.”⁷⁸ What we wish to emphasize, though, is not mental activity per se, with which drawing has been associated since the Renaissance, but the thinking *inherent* in drawing’s materiality and process. Such an approach seemed to us appropriate for both historical and theoretical reasons: it was at the very outset of the period we are dealing with that empiricist philosophy posited the idea of “thinking matter.”⁷⁹ If we engage with this proposition, it is not literally; we do not ascribe, say, mental capacities to paper. Rather, we explore the ways materials have always already been inscribed by the historical conventions and uses to which they had been put. While a sheet of paper that the artist confronts may seem blank, it is in fact densely, if invisibly, populated with the previous uses, preexisting traditions, and meaning associated with the page. Like

Freud's "mystic writing pad," it is imprinted with a latent content that the artist always engages—activates—in some way.⁸⁰ To account for the material bases of drawing is thus to explore how they contributed to its making and meaning.

Under the subheading "idea," we consider the vicissitudes of the longstanding association of drawing with concept in the modern period. In the Renaissance, the notion of *disegno* was understood as artistic intention, not in a psychological sense but in an intellectual one, of an idea developed in the process of drawing.⁸¹ How did the process of autonomization of drawing that began in the 18th century affect its conception as a medium of intellect? In what way did the artists' self-consciousness about the means of representation influence their way of developing ideas—whether the revolutionary idea of representation, or an aesthetic idea of fantasy—by and through drawing? (See pp. 116, 123.)

Drawing became an instrument of artistic process at a specific moment in time, in the 16th century, when the availability of affordable paper enabled artists to begin sketching at will. In our exhibition, "process" is considered not only as a stage of preparation, but as a conceptual development and, as such, it is linked to notions of creativity. This understanding of drawing was formulated in the 18th century: de Piles postulated the importance of studying artists' drawings not only to develop attribution skills, but also to understand the mode of thinking particular to each artist.⁸² Considering drawings at various stages of artistic elaboration, we explore the particular, non-linear, fragmentary, open-ended mode of conceptualization that drawing as process allows.

Our approach to artists' albums and sketchbooks illustrates this point. While these are physical objects of specific, often directly preparatory use (and thus could also fall under our third main category, "Object"), albums and sketchbooks are also sites and images of creative process and, as such, they are dialogical forms. In them, artists collect, develop, and store their observations and ideas, but also conduct a creative conversation with themselves—or with their patrons.⁸³ (See pages of sketchbooks by Fragonard and David, pp. 137–39 and 140–42, respectively.)

The notion of "hand" has a special historical and conceptual relevance to drawing. It was introduced as a basic connoisseurial term for attribution, a process called *Händescheidung* ("separation of hands") in German.⁸⁴ However, the artist's hand was not only an empirical category but also a conceptual one that posited a privileged relation between drawing and the artist's body and, by extension, his or her mind and self. In this sense, it was related to the notion of authorship, which gained cultural importance and was first legally defined in the 18th century.⁸⁵ Throughout the modern period, the term has been used ambivalently—even by the same mouthpiece. Drawing expert Dezallier defined the hand as the slave of the mind, which is the true agent of execution. Yet, praising the merits of drawing practice for the development of aesthetic expertise, he also asserted: "One would not believe to what extent the operations of the hand form the taste and develop intelligence."⁸⁶ The tradition of challenging the idea of the hand as a merely passive instrument of the mind can be traced back to Giordano Bruno, who saw the hand as the "organ of organs," its operations distinguishing human beings from the animals.⁸⁷ This is also how art historian Henri Focillon saw it in his eulogy of the hand as the most important tool of art and making in general.⁸⁸ Conversely, art history has also questioned the anthropomorphizing assumption behind the concept of the hand as a ghost of a unified self of the artist. Thus, Mieke Bal sought to divorce this notion from the artist's self and mind and denaturalize the connection between manual activity and the identity of the person involved in it.⁸⁹

Blindness has also been historically associated with drawing. It was again de Piles who established a link between blindness and drawing in an effort to define the specificity of painting as a medium. Whereas painting was, in de Piles's view, defined by color, a visual component par excellence, drawing was an exercise of touch and could therefore be performed even by a blind person. Relegated to the tactile order, drawing was thus defined as "a blind part of painting."⁹⁰ In our times, Derrida embraced the notion of blindness in order to formulate a non-mimetic theory of drawing—what you draw is not

what you see—by underscoring its analogy to writing.⁹¹ Taking stock of these historical and theoretical discussions, we have considered blindness in a dialectical relation to vision on different levels: as an iconography, a motif, but also as a trope underwriting the very activity of drawing (see pp. 152, 157, and 158).

Is drawing more temporal than other mediums? Accounts of the phenomenological dimension of drawing have emphasized its privileged relation to time: the immediacy of the act of drawing aligns it with the present. As Norman Bryson has noted, this is the aspect that distinguishes drawing from painting: “The drawn line in a sense always exists in the present tense, in the time of its own unfolding, the ongoing time of the present that constantly presses forward.”⁹² But the moment it is deposited on the page, the line is also a record of the body’s past: a trace of an action no longer performed.⁹³ Notwithstanding its apparent simplicity, the line itself thus possesses a complex temporality. In this exhibition, the time of drawing is assumed to be, by definition, composite, layered, and plural. Whether as an act, a process, or an image, drawing implies multiple temporalities. A single sheet may be traversed by different and disjunctive times, some conveyed by the subject matter, others inherent in its form and structure (see Watteau’s *Six Studies of Heads*, p. 162).

According to one myth of its origins, drawing was invented as a tool of memory: an ancient Greek maiden is said to have created the art form when she traced the profile of her departing lover on the wall to retain his image (Fig. 12). In this mythic account, drawing is caught up with the notion of loss, with absence, but at the same time, with the idea of making present. From the rich collections of the Harvard Art Museums, we have chosen drawings that speak of memory as an ambiguous faculty, at once personal and collective, a pleasure and a problem (see pp. 172, 175, and 177). We wish to demonstrate the status of drawing as a complexly mnemonic practice.

Movement is considered both as an iconography and an aspect of rendering. It is precisely the kinetic and kinesthetic dimension of drawing that can be said to distinguish it from other mediums (though 20th-century painting practices, such as Jackson Pollock’s, complicate

this distinction). Drawing is a product of bodily movement, “a kinesthetic practice of traction,” in Catherine de Zegher’s words.⁹⁴ Yet, if kinesis and kinesthesia are part and parcel of the phenomenology of drawing, they are not manifest in it to the same degree, nor do they perform the same function (compare, for example, Nanteuil’s *Diana*, p. 182, with Toulouse-Lautrec’s *At the Circus: Jockey*, p. 190). We consider the different manifestations and meanings of movement—bodily motion in particular—in drawing, and the historical conditions defining them.

Related to the subcategory of movement is the section on the body, concerned with issues of pose and gesture. On a visual level, it was through rehearsal of different poses and gestures that the meaning of the human body was explored in art. While academic training immersed artists in the lexicon of bodily movements and expressions that, though based in the study of the live model, always harked back to the art of the past, avant-garde artists of the second half of the 19th century (such as Pissarro and Degas; see pp. 205, 207) sought to visualize precisely what was absent from this lexicon: the interstitial, momentary gestures and poses drawn from everyday life. On a morphological level, the drawing also testifies to another body—that of the draftsman. In Daniel Arasse’s evocative formulation, drawing is “a rhythmic configuration of the real born of the rhythm of the body.”⁹⁵ To what extent those rhythms are discernible in drawing, in what ways drawing testified to its maker at different moments in time, is what our exhibition explores.

Under the subcategory of eros, we discuss the function of drawing as an object, source, and means of pleasure. This pleasure is often linked to the representation of the body (the female body in particular). But there is another dimension of pleasure that is experienced in the very activity of drawing which has been recognized, at least since the 18th century, as libidinal. We have heard Cochin refer to 18th-century artists’ addiction to drawing as a form of *libertinage*. Contemporary philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy theorized drawing as an inherently erotic act.⁹⁶ This definition raises the question of sexual difference and gender. Given the iconographic privilege of the female body as a locus of pleasure—and the

Fig. 12
Joseph-Benoît Suvée, *The Invention
of Drawing*, c. 1791. Black and white
chalk on brown paper, 54.6 × 35.6 cm
(21½ × 14 in.). J. Paul Getty Museum,
Los Angeles, 87.GB.145.1.



identification of the draftsman as male artist, not only in Nancy's account—should the erotic dimension of drawing be aligned with masculinity? On the basis of the examples chosen from the museums' collections, we suggest the possibility of a different construction of eros: not as a force of male attraction to the feminine body, but as an androgynous agent that destabilizes gender distinctions (see especially Prud'hon's *The Genius of Liberty and Wisdom*, p. 196).

To draw is not only to engage the body in a certain rhythmic movement, or to experience a particular kind of pleasure; it is also to work. Recognizing this basic aspect of drawing, we have asked what happened to the artist's experience of his or her work when the subject of labor entered the iconography of drawing in the mid-19th century (see Millet's *Woman Baking Bread*, p. 222). How did drawing represent work? And what was the relation between drawing as a form of labor and its subject?

Within the section on discourse, this project also asks: is there a violence particular to drawing? De Piles spoke of "la douce violence" (gentle violence) that pushes artists to draw. The theorist ascribed it to what he saw as drawing's unique capacity to express the artist's character.⁹⁷ One can also think of the violence implicit in the drawing act. Because of drawing's immediacy—whether actual or only assumed—the aggression, intensity, or emphasis in the draftsman's touch is instantly perceivable. Whatever goes into making shows on the page. This aspect of drawing is particularly interesting when one considers works thematically involved with violence (see, for example, Regnault's *Study for "Judith and Holofernes,"* p. 218). What happens when violence is drawn rather than painted? What does drawing as a technique and medium "do" to the subject of aggression?

Object

The third part of the exhibition addresses the multiple functions and uses of drawing, focusing specifically on its role as a tool of artistic instruction, its relation to reproductive technologies, its uses in the domain of architecture and decorative design, and its contribution to the

production of knowledge. In the 18th century, drawing was not only the foundation of artistic education but was recognized as the "father of all arts."⁹⁸ It was employed in the transmission of the image in the commercial space, from the manufactories of luxury products, such as tapestry or porcelain, to the lower-end artisanal workshops producing more mundane commodities. At the same time, drawing was implicated in the vast epistemic enterprise of the 18th century as the basis of illustrations appearing in diverse types of publications, from encyclopedic compendia such as Buffon's multivolume *Histoire naturelle* (1749–67) or Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751–72), both of which relied heavily on images, to catalogues of natural specimens and curiosities collections, botanical books, and literature generated by the art trade.⁹⁹ While the exhibition signals this wide range of the uses of drawing, it concentrates on those that could be represented by Harvard collections.

The section on instruction presents examples of different types of drawing that served a pedagogical purpose, from anatomical studies to copies after Old Masters (such as Degas's *Studies of Figures after "Judgment of Paris" and "Parnassus,"* p. 242), combined with what may be called "scenes of instruction"; that is, more or less imaginary representations of artistic training (such as Gautier's *Artist Sketching on the Pediment of the Pantheon, Rome*, p. 240).¹⁰⁰ One of the key points is that while drawing became the cornerstone of artistic instruction, and was therefore the privileged tool of institutional discipline, it was also a means of artists' subjective formation—a technique of the self.

Under the subcategory of reproduction, we consider diverse forms of manual and mechanical multiplication of the image in which drawing is directly involved: from the most primitive and widely used 18th-century mode of reproduction, counterproof (as shown in *Head and Counterproof of Head of a Man*, p. 244), to the more complex and sometimes not widely known later reproductive technologies, such as *gillotage* (see Monet's *Two Men Fishing*, p. 251). The major issue these works raise is the effect of drawing's imbrication with reproductive technologies on the forms and modes of artistic practice:

on the one hand, new technologies exerted pressure on traditional modes of drawing; on the other, drawing had an impact on the development of the reproductive practices (most evident in the case of *manière de crayon*; see Demarteau's *The Farmer [Girl with a Dog]*, p. 248).

In the domain of architecture and design, drawing functioned not only as the basic means of representation but also as an agent of spatial imagination. The relation between drawing and the architectural object need not be seen in a purely utilitarian way: a design is not simply a proposal for, or a record of, form, but the means of producing ideas. Robin Evans, among others, has argued for the recognition of the creative role of drawing as a tool of architectural imagination. In his discussion of a common type of architectural drawing, the orthogonal projection, he demonstrates how a drawing technique itself can serve as an agent of spatial innovation.¹⁰¹ In the designs included in this exhibition, we too emphasize the crucial role of the representational modes adopted by architects and designers to convey and produce ideas. These works, particularly ornamental designs, also raise another important question of the role of prints in their dissemination. In the case of Oppenord's extraordinary sketchbook on loan from Houghton Library (see p. 256–62), however, it is not the book's status as a repertory of motifs to be disseminated through prints, but its function as a professional self-representation of the architect that is most interesting.

As in the previous section, works gathered under the subcategory “knowledge” are examined in their generative rather than merely illustrative function. Drawing was seen as a privileged vehicle of knowledge even before the modern period.¹⁰² But it was in the 18th century that the epistemological function of drawing was explicitly acknowledged and deployed. Taking advantage of the strengths of Harvard collections, we focus on drawings representing natural sciences, curiosities, and the fashion for science in the 18th and early 19th centuries. We foreground drawing's particular contribution to the construction of science and knowledge. Scientific illustrations tend to be seen as “objective,” but as Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison have demonstrated in their

influential study, objectivity is not a transhistorical mode of seeing but rather a historically situated convention of representing the visible world.¹⁰³ In 18th-century botanical illustrations, Daston and Galison discerned a specific epistemic strategy that emphasized the typical, general, and universal over the particular and individual aspects of a given specimen.¹⁰⁴ Examining Harvard's depictions of natural specimens, we have considered not only the visual conventions but also the material components of these representations—for example, the technique of watercolor, the vellum support—as producers of epistemic effects (see Redouté's *Study of a Peach, with Leaves*, p. 277). If drawing is a *form* of knowledge, it is not only in its visual but also material dimension.

While it provides a structure for our exhibition, this constellation of categories is not a system. It is neither self-sufficient, nor comprehensive in its content.¹⁰⁵ Rather, it was conceived as an open-ended *map* for rethinking drawing as a medium in the early stages of modernity. Sketching out as it does the modern trajectory of drawing—emerging from the narrow precincts of the artist's studio into the broader space of culture and discourse—our project also situates drawing in the viewers' space: it invites you actively to engage with the aesthetics and ethics of drawing as a modern medium.

I am grateful to Susan Dackerman and Elizabeth Rudy for their invaluable feedback on this essay. Many thanks also to Ashley Hannebrink for her help in preparing the manuscript.

1

We focus on French drawings for historical reasons that I explain below and for practical ones (French drawings are the strength of the Fogg Museum collections). However, we occasionally include the drawings of non-French artists (e.g., John Flaxman, Adolph Menzel) when their work is particularly relevant to our arguments.

2

See Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010). For a discussion of the temporal dimension of drawings, see my essay "Drawing Time," *October* 151 (Winter 2015): 3–42.

3

See Amy Knight Powell, *Depositions: Scenes from the Late Medieval Church and the Modern Museum* (New York: Zone Books, 2012).

4

See Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Pleasure in Drawing*, trans. Philip Armstrong (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 20–24; and Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

5

See Edward Saywell, "Behind the Line: The Materials and Techniques of Old Master Drawings," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 6 (2) (1998): 7–39. For a history of paper making, see Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande, *The Art of Papermaking*, trans. Richard MacIntyre Atkinson (Kilmurry, Ireland: Ashling Press, 1976). For a broader cultural history of paper, see Natalie Coural et al., *Le papier à l'oeuvre* (Vanves, France: Hazan; Paris: Louvre éditions, 2011); and Lothar Müller, *White Magic: The Age of Paper*, trans. Jessica Spengler (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2014).

6

Saywell, "Behind the Line," 7–8; and James S. Ackerman, "The Origins of Sketching," in *Origins, Invention, Revision: Studying the History of Art and Architecture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2016). Artists began sketching in the mid-14th century, but descriptions and definitions of sketch first appeared in the mid-16th century in writings by Giorgio Vasari and Lodovico Dolce.

7

See Karen-edis Barzman, "Perception, Knowledge, and the Theory of *Disegno* in Sixteenth-Century Florence," in Larry J. Feinberg, *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Dukes* (Oberlin, Oh.: Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, 1991), 37–48.

8

For a recent discussion of this work, see Linda Wolk-Simon's entry in Michael W. Cole, ed., *Donatello, Michelangelo, Cellini: Sculptors' Drawings from Renaissance Italy* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2014), cat. 38, 220–21.

9

For the cultural history of drawing in Britain, see Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000).

10

For drawing instruction at the French Academy, see James Henry Rubin, "Academic Life Drawing in Eighteenth-Century France: An Introduction," in *Eighteenth-Century French Life-Drawing: Selections from the Collection of Mathias Polakovits* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 17–42; Reed Benhamou, "Public and Private Art Education in France, 1648–1793," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 308 (1993): 3–183, esp. 46–88; and Emmanuelle Brugerolles, ed., *L'Académie mise à nu: l'école du modèle à l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris: Beaux-arts de Paris, 2009–10). On the institutional, theoretical, and ideological stakes of drawing instruction at the Academy, see Jacqueline Lichtenstein, "The Clash between Color and Drawing," in *The Eloquence of Color: Rhetoric and Painting in the French Classical Age*, trans. Emily McVarish (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 138–68. On drawing instruction in general, see Carl Goldstein, *Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

11

On this point, see Lichtenstein, "The Clash between Color and Drawing," 139. For drawing's connection to discourse and thus power in the French academic context, see also Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 29–57.

12

On the realities of drawing instruction at the French Academy, see Benhamou, "Public and Private Art Education in France"; Brugerolles, *L'Académie mise à nu*; and, for life classes, Rubin, "Academic Life Drawing in Eighteenth-Century France." David Pullins has recently suggested that, notwithstanding Cochin's image, the very early stages of instruction may have been relegated to private ateliers rather than conducted at the Academy. See his "Cut and Paste: The Mobile Image from Watteau to Robert," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2016.

13

On the rising interest in drawing and its theoretical reconceptualization in 18th-century France, see Christian Michel, "Le goût pour le dessin en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: De l'utilisation à l'étude désintéressée," *Revue de l'Art* 1 (143) (2004): 27–34.

14

Roger de Piles, "Des Dessesins," in *Abrégé de la vie des peintres avec des réflexions sur leurs ouvrages, et un traité du peintre parfait, de la connoissance des desseins, & de l'utilité des estampes* (Paris: C. de Sercey, 1699), 71. De Piles became an honorary advisor to the Academy in 1699. On de Piles's career and writings, see Bernard Teyssèdre, *Roger de Piles et les débats sur le coloris au siècle de Louis XIV* (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1957); and Thomas Puttfarcken, *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985).

15

De Piles, "Des Dessesins," 71–72.

16

Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, "Discours sur la connoissance des dessins et des tableaux," in *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres, avec leurs portraits gravés en taille-douce, les indications de leurs principaux ouvrages, quelques réflexions sur leurs caractères, et la manière de connoître les desseins des grands maîtres*, vol. 1 (Paris: De Bure l'aîné, 1745), xiv–xxxiv, esp. xvi. On Dezallier, see Anne Lafont, ed., *1740, un abrégé du monde: Savoirs et collections autour de Dezallier d'Argenville* (Lyon: Fage, 2012).

17

Cited in Kristel Smentek, "The Collector's Cut: Why Pierre-Jean Mariette Tore Up His Drawings and Put Them Back Together Again," *Master Drawings* 46 (1) (2008): 37.

- 18 The connection between British connoisseurship and empiricism was explicitly acknowledged by Richardson in his *Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as It Related to Painting and Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur*; he justified his approach by citing Lockean epistemology. See Carol Gibson-Wood, "Jonathan Richardson and the Rationalization of Connoisseurship," *Art History* 7 (1984): 38–56; and Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000). On the empiricist bases of French connoisseurship, see Kristel Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2014).
- 19 Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, esp. 115–38.
- 20 See Pascal Griener, *La république de l'œil: L'expérience de l'art au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2010).
- 21 See Joachim Rees, "Les Mains de Michel-Ange: How Eighteenth-Century Connoisseurs Made Sense of the Artist's Hand," *Revue de Synthèse* 132 (1) (2011): 53–74.
- 22 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 *Watteau and His World: French Drawing from 1700 to 1750*, ed. Alan Wintermute (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1999), 68–92.
- 23 Smentek, "The Collector's Cut."
- 24 For taste as a mechanism of social distinction—a notion derived from Bourdieu but adapted and altered to account for the specificity of its 18th-century manifestation—see Charlotte Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Seyssel, France: Champ Vallon, 2008); and Charlotte Guichard, "Taste Communities: The Rise of the Amateur in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45 (4) (Summer 2012): 519–47.
- 25 On Crozat, see Cordélia Hattori, "The Drawings Collection of Pierre Crozat," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500–1700*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (Aldershot, U.K.; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, in association with The Burlington Magazine, 2003), 173–81; and Rochelle Ziskin, *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012). Living French artists' drawings started to be collected significantly in the 1740s by, among others, Barthélemy-Augustin Blondel d'Azincourt; his wife, Catherine Charlotte Edmée; Pierre Louis Paul Randon de Boisset; Jean Claude Gaspard Sireul; and Pierre Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt. See Bailey, "Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention." On Blondel d'Azincourt, whose holdings included 500 drawings by Boucher, in addition to other drawings and paintings, see Colin B. Bailey, "Conventions of the Eighteenth-Century Cabinet de Tableaux: Blondel d'Azincourt's 'La première idée de la curiosité,'" *Art Bulletin* 69 (3) (1987): 429–47; and Bailey, "Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention," 84–85. On Boucher's drawings collectors, see Alastair Laing, *Boucher's Drawings: Who and What Were They For?*, The Annual Thaw Lecture 2015 (New York: The Morgan Library & Museum, 2016).
- 26 Bailey, "Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention," 86.
- 27 See *ibid.*, 81; Isabelle Tillerot, *Jean de Jullienne et les collectionneurs de son temps: Un regard singulier sur le tableau* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2010); and Jennifer Tonkovich, "Jean de Jullienne as a Collector of Drawings," and cat. 1, in Christoph Martin Vogtherr and Jennifer Tonkovich, *Jean de Jullienne: Collector and Connoisseur* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2011), 29–49, 58–71.
- 28 [L'Abbé Louis Gougenot], *Lettre sur la peinture, sculpture et architecture à M.**** (Paris: 1748), cited in Bailey, "Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention," 81.
- 29 On this exhibition, see Lina Propeck et al., *L'an V. Dessins des grands maîtres* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), 7–30.
- 30 For an account of the new mode of the viewers' experience facilitated by this form of display, see my book *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 136–37.
- 31 On the art market for drawings, see Bailey, "Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention"; and Patrick Michel, "Collection de dessins et marché de l'art en France au XVIII^e siècle," in *Liber Memorialis Erik Duverger: Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis van de Nederlanden*, ed. Henri Pauwels, André van den Kerkhove, and Leo Wuyts (Wetteren, Belgium: Universa, 2006), 169–220.
- 32 On Gersaint's invention, see Guillaume Glorieux, *À l'enseigne de Gersaint: Edme-François Gersaint, marchand d'art sur le Pont Notre-Dame, 1694–1750* (Seyssel, France: Champ Vallon, 2002), 385–98.
- 33 Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIII^e siècle*; and Guichard, "Taste Communities."
- 34 On the "wall power" of Boucher's drawings, see Beverly Schreiber Jacoby, "François Boucher's Stylistic Development as a Draftsman," in *Drawings Defined*, ed. Walter Strauss and Tracie Felker (New York: Abaris Books, 1987), 259–80. On the Museum of Fine Arts nude, see Regina Shoolman Slatkin, *François Boucher in North American Collections: 100 Drawings* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1973), cats. 44, 58.
- 35 Laing estimates that the number of known drawings by the artist may be 35,000; see *Boucher's Drawings*, 9.
- 36 The rich literature on Jullienne's project is impossible to quote in full here. The most useful texts are: Émile Dacier and Albert Vauffart, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris: Pour les membres de la Société [etc.], 1921–29) (a historical and technical account of his collection of Watteau's *Figures des différents caractères* appears in vol. 2); Marianne Roland Michel, "Watteau et les *Figures des différents caractères*," in *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): Le peintre, son temps, et sa légende*, ed. François Moreau and Margaret Morgan Grasselli (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1987), 117–27; Bailey, "Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention," 68–74; Isabelle Tillerot, "Graver les Dessins de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle," in *Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIII^e siècle* (Valenciennes, France: Musée des Beaux Arts, 2006), 27–55; Isabelle Tillerot, "Engraving Watteau in the Eighteenth Century: Order and Display in the *Recueil Jullienne*," *Getty Research Journal* 3 (2011): 33–52; and Sonia Coman, "The *Recueil Jullienne*: Collecting and Authorial Ambition," B.A. thesis, Harvard University, 2011.

- 37
Anne-Claude-Philippe de Toubières, comte de Caylus, "Discours sur les dessins" [1732], in *Les conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1712–1746*, ed. Jacqueline Lichtenstein and Christian Michel (Paris: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 2010), 450–57. I am quoting from the English translation of the lecture in Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed., *A Documentary History of Art, Volume 2: Michelangelo and the Mannerists, The Baroque and the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 323.
- 38
See, for example, Nancy, *The Pleasure in Drawing*.
- 39
On the dispute and its significance, see Pierre Rosenberg, *Fragonard* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 362–64, 370; Bailey, "Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention," 82; and Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIII^e siècle*, 341.
- 40
On the relation between drawings and prints, see Elizabeth Rudy's essay in this volume.
- 41
On the crayon-manner technique and its role in the dissemination of drawings, see Kristel Smentek, "'An Exact Imitation Acquired at Little Expense': Marketing Color Prints in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Margaret Morgan Grasselli (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003), 13–17; and Sophie Raux, "La Main invisible: Innovation et concurrence chez les créateurs des nouvelles techniques de fac-similés de dessins," in *Quand la gravure fait illusion*, 56–64.
- 42
I am using the term that Cissie Fairchild introduced to analyze the spread of cheaper luxury products in the 18th century. See her essay "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 228–48.
- 43
Charles-Antoine Jombert, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à dessiner* [1740], reedited and revised, with plates engraved by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (Paris: 1755). On Jombert, see Catherine Bousquet-Bressolier, "Charles-Antoine Jombert (1712–1784): Un libraire entre sciences et arts," *Bulletin du bibliophile* 2 (1997): 299–333. For the importance of drawing manuals for the formation of an amateur, see Charlotte Guichard, "Les 'livres à dessiner' à l'usage des amateurs à Paris au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue de l'art* 143 (2004): 49–50.
- 44
On the école, see Louis Courajod, *Histoire de l'enseignement des arts du dessin au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: J. B. Dumoulin, 1874); and Ulrich Leben, *Object Design in the Age of Enlightenment: The History of the Royal Free Drawing School in Paris*, trans. Sharon Grevet (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004).
- 45
One particularly elaborate example of the importance of drawing for the métiers—in this case, cabinetry design—is André-Jacob Roubo's richly illustrated *L'art du menuisier*, 2 vols. (Paris: Impr. de L. F. Delatour, 1769–75). Related to the trade uses of drawing is the mechanization of the medium that became a widespread phenomenon in the 19th century, harnessing drawing as a tool of industry. Celina Fox addresses this process most comprehensively in *The Arts of Industry in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009). This important issue is, however, beyond the scope of the Harvard exhibition.
- 46
The exhibition does not illustrate this aspect, as the Harvard Art Museums do not have such objects in their collections. On the Egyptian expedition and the publication that ensued, see David Prochaska, "Art of Colonialism, Colonialism of Art: The Description de l'Égypte (1809–1828)," *L'Esprit Créateur* 34 (2) (Summer 1994): 69–91; and Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Colossal: Engineering the Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, and Panama Canal: Transcontinental Ambition in France and the United States During the Long Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: Periscope Press, 2012).
- 47
De Piles, "Des Dessesins," 68.
- 48
The issue of the ethics of the medium became evident in the debate about the merits of drawing as a means of public instruction. On the latter, see Leben, *Object Design in the Age of Enlightenment*, 25–34.
- 49
The Académie Julian offered instruction to women. See Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 76–82; and Catherine Fehrer, "Women at the Académie Julian in Paris," *The Burlington Magazine* 136 (1100) (November 1994): 752–57.
- 50
On the 1863 reform, see Alain Bonnet, *L'Enseignement des arts au XIX^e siècle: La réforme de l'École des Beaux-Arts de 1863 et la fin du modèle académique* (Rennes, France: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006), esp. 269–75 (on drawing).
- 51
Though lithography was invented in the late 18th century, it became popular in France only after 1815. See Michael Twyman, *Lithography, 1800–1850: The Techniques of Drawing on Stone in England and France and Their Application in Works of Topography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). For the impact of lithography and other innovations in print technology on drawing, see Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, "Into the Modern Era: The Evolution of Realist and Naturalist Drawing," in *The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing, 1830–1900*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 21–38. For the impact of lithography on the development of popular press and mass culture, see Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th-Century Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). I use the plural Latin of the term "media" that has been used traditionally to describe the phenomenon of the unprecedented expansion of different technologies of the image. However, I retain the English plural "mediums" for the narrower domain of artistic forms and materials.
- 52
On these, see Kimberly Schenck, "Crayon, Paper, and Paint: An Examination of Nineteenth-Century Drawing Materials," in Jay McKean Fisher et al., *The Essence of Line: French Drawings from Ingres to Degas* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 57–79. For more on the expansion, diversification, and democratization of the material bases, see below.
- 53
Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life* [1860], trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1995).
- 54
Ibid., 7.
- 55
Christopher Lloyd, "The Beginning of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist Drawings: Methods, Materials, and Modes," in *Impressionism: Pastels, Watercolors, Drawings* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 2011), 48.
- 56
Ibid., 35.
- 57
In the original French: "Le crayon sera trempé dans le suc de la vie." See Louis Emile Edmond Duranty, *La Nouvelle Peinture: À propos du groupe d'artistes qui expose dans les galeries Durand Ruel* [1876], repr. in Charles S. Moffett et al., *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 44 (482 in the original). I have altered slightly Moffett's translation.
- 58
Deanna Petherbridge, *The Primacy of Drawing: Histories and Theories of Practice* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 120.
- 59
Ibid.
- 60
See Schenck, "Crayon, Paper, and Paint," 58. My account of new materials is based on Schenck.

61

Invented in 1795 by Nicolas-Jacques Conté, Conté crayon became most popular in the 19th century. Consisting of compressed powdered pigment bound into a stick, the crayons were less friable than natural chalks (their hardness could be controlled during manufacture), easier to handle, and more convenient to use. They also became available in different colors. See *ibid.*, 66; and Karl Buchberg, "Seurat: Materials and Techniques," in *Georges Seurat: The Drawings*, ed. Jodi Hauptman (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2007), 30–41.

62

The literature on photography and its sociocultural and aesthetic effects is too vast to cite comprehensively here. Among the important texts are: Walter Benjamin, "A Short History of Photography" [1931], in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Conn.: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 199–216; Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Elizabeth Ann McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848–1871* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994); and Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843–1875* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998). For the transformation of the understanding of vision and the development of new technologies, including photography, in the 19th century, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990).

63

The scholarship on 19th-century artists' reactions to, and use of, photography is extensive, but see in particular: Hubert Damisch, "Reading Delacroix's Journal," *October* 15 (December 1980): 16–39, esp. 31–39; Kirk Varnedoe, "The Artifice of Candor: Impressionism and Photography Reconsidered," *Art in America* 68 (January 1980): 66–79; Douglas Crimp, "Positive/Negative: A Note on Degas's Photographs," *October* 5 (Summer 1978): 89–100; and Malcolm Daniel, *Edgar Degas, Photographer* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998).

64

On Degas's monotypes, see Eugenia Janis, *Degas Monotypes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1968); Richard Kendall, "The Impromptu Print: Degas's Monotypes and Their Technical Significance," in Hanne Finsen, Richard Kendall, and Mikael Wivel, *Degas Intime* (Copenhagen: Ordrupgaard, 1994), n.p.; Jodi Hauptman, ed., *Degas: A Strange New Beauty* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2016); and, for the implication of Degas's monotypes in photography, see especially Carol Armstrong, "Degas in the Dark," in Hauptman, *Degas*, 36–45.

65

For a discussion of this work, see Armstrong, "Degas in the Dark," 41. For Armstrong's eloquent use of Leo Steinberg's term "devenustation" in relation to Degas's urban subjects, see her essay "The Art of Unlearning, Degas's *Album of Pencil Sketches*," in *A Degas Sketchbook* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 1–65. I do not wish to imply that photography as a medium was Degas's exclusive concern in this work—there were, of course, many factors that contributed to the distinct quality of his aesthetic vision—but I am suggesting that it was a significant one.

66

For the importance of, specifically, pornographic photographs for Degas's work, see Raisa Rexer, "Stockings and Mirrors," in Hauptman, *Degas*, 136–75. For a broader discussion of the relation between pornographic photography and art in the 19th century, see Elizabeth Anne McCauley, "Braquoehais and the Photographic Nude," in *Industrial Madness*, 149–94; and Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Reconsidering Erotic Photography: Notes for a Project of Historical Salvage," in *Photography at the Dock*, 22–37.

67

On Seurat's drawings, see Hauptman, *Georges Seurat*.

68

For the influential theoretical recasting of Clement Greenberg's classic (reductive) definition of the medium, see three works by Rosalind Krauss: "Reinventing the Medium," *Critical Inquiry* 25 (2) (Winter 1999): 289–306; "A Voyage on the North Sea": *Art in the Age of the Post-Medium Condition* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000); and *Under Blue Cup* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011).

69

In his *Natural History*, Pliny tells the story of Apelles, who, having missed the painter Protogenes in his studio, left a line on a blank board to mark his visit. See Pliny, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, trans. K. Jex-Blake, ed. E. Sellers (London: Macmillan, 1896), 121–23.

70

Dezallier distinguishes between different types of drawings: the *pensées* (also *esquisses* or *croquis*), *desseins arrêtés* (finished drawings), *études* (studies of heads, hands, etc.), *académies* (drawings of male nudes), and cartoons. See Dezallier, "Discours sur la connoissance des dessins et des tableaux," xvij.

71

For the understanding of drawing as an artist's act, see David Rosand, *Drawing Acts: Studies in Graphic Expression and Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

72

For an inventive discussion of line in 20th-century drawing, see Catherine de Zegher, "A Century under the Sign of Line: Drawing and Its Extension (1910–2010)," in Cornelia Butler and Catherine de Zegher, *On Line: Drawing through the Twentieth Century* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2010), 21–123.

73

Ackerman, "The Origins of Sketching," 1.

74

See Jean-Claude Lebensztejn, *L'Art de la tache: Introduction à la Nouvelle méthode d'Alexandre Cozens* (Montelimar, France: Editions du Limon, 1990).

75

The key 18th-century discussion of the paramount role of touch in the constitution of the self and in human experience is Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Traité des Sensations* [1754] (Paris: Fayard, 1984), esp. 103–7, 157–219. For a discussion of touch in Condillac and 18th-century French philosophy, see John C. O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience: Sensationist Theory in the French Enlightenment* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), esp. 13–59, 107–10.

76

This opposition goes back to the 17th-century debate that pitted the proponents of color against those who advocated drawing as the basis of art. On this richly discussed debate, see in particular Lichtenstein, "The Clash between Color and Drawing."

77

The idea of drawing as a mode of thinking, rooted in the Renaissance notion of *disegno*, was richly elaborated in 18th-century theoretical reflections on art, notably by de Piles (see above).

78

Eugène Delacroix, "De l'enseignement du dessin," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 7 (September 1850): 1141.

79

John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Roger Woolhouse (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 480. For an extensive discussion of Locke's claim and its implications, see John W. Yolton, *Thinking Matter: Materialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), esp. 4, 14–27.

80

Freud used the mystic writing pad—a device consisting of a semi-transparent paper sheet attached to a waxed support that retained traces of writing invisible on the top surface—to conceptualize the work of the unconscious, in which traces of experiences are inscribed without being visible. See Sigmund Freud, "Note on the Mystic Writing Pad" [1925], in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 19 (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–74), 227–32.

81

See Barzman, "Perception, Knowledge and the Theory of *Disegno*."

- 82
De Piles, "Des Dessesins."
83
On the issue of exhibiting sketchbooks, see Miriam Stewart, "Curating Sketchbooks: Interpretation, Preservation, Display," in *Recto Verso: Redefining the Sketchbook*, ed. Angela Bartram, Nader El-Bizri, and Douglas Gittens (Farnham, Surrey, U.K.: Ashgate, 2014), 163–75.
- 84
Rees, "Les Mains de Michel-Ange," 66.
85
On the 18th-century origins of authorship, see Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" [1969], in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 124–47; Carla Hesse, "Enlightenment Epistemology and the Laws of Authorship in Revolutionary France, 1777–1793," *Representations* 30 (Spring 1990): 109–37; and, in relation to art production, Katie Scott, "Authorship, the Académie and the Market in Early Modern France," *Oxford Art Journal* 21 (1) (1998): 29–41.
- 86
Dezallier, "Discours sur la connoissance des desseins et des tableaux," xxiv and xxxiii, respectively.
- 87
Bruno argued that all the achievements of man, "the institutions of knowledge, the structure of buildings and other things that signify human grandeur and excellence, and make man truly the victor over other species," are due "not so much to the style of mind, as to that of the hand, organ of organs." Giordano Bruno, *The Cabala of Pegasus* [Paris: 1585], trans. and annotated by Sidney L. Sondergard and Madison U. Sowell (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 58.
- 88
Henri Focillon, *Vie des formes: Suivi de L'Éloge de la Main* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1988), 99–121. For an English version, see Henri Focillon, "In Praise of Hands," in *The Life of Forms in Art* (New York: Zone Books, 1989; orig. transl. 1948), 157–85.
- 89
Mieke Bal, "Her Majesty's Masters," in *The Art Historian: National Traditions and Institutional Practices*, ed. Michael F. Zimmermann (Williamstown, Mass.: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2003), 81–109.
- 90
Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1708), 260. De Piles formulated this argument for strategic reasons—he wished to wrest painting from its submission to drawing in the academic doctrine. At the same time, he was, as we have seen, one of the most important and appreciative theorists of drawing. For the discussion of de Piles's use of the trope of blindness, see Lichtenstein, "The Clash between Color and Drawing," 158–59.
- 91
Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*.
- 92
Norman Bryson, "A Walk for a Walk's Sake," in *The Stage of Drawing: Gesture and Act: Selected from the Tate Collection* (London: Tate; New York: The Drawing Center, 2003), 149.
- 93
See, for example, Helen Molesworth on the drawings of Trisha Brown, which she describes as "a contradictory mixture of clumsy and graceful lines, smears and smudges, all of which spoke, with a quiet insistence, about the body that had made them: the body in its presentness, leaving marks to indicate its pastness," in "Dance/Draw: An Introduction," in *Dance/Draw*, ed. Helen Molesworth (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz; Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 2011), 11.
- 94
De Zegher, "A Century under the Sign of Line," 23.
- 95
Daniel Arasse, "The Memory of Drawing," trans. in Nancy, *The Pleasure in Drawing*, 43.
- 96
Nancy, *The Pleasure in Drawing*, esp. sections "The Pleasure of Drawing," "The Form–Pleasure," and "The Line's Desire," 15–19, 44–53, and 98–107, respectively.
- 97
De Piles, "Des Dessesins," 72.
- 98
Jacques-André Treillard-Desprats, "Premier mémoire à M. L'Intendant sur le sujet de l'établissement d'une école académique d'une école de dessin dans la ville de Grenoble," June 17, 1765, cited in Benhamou, "Public and Private Art Education in France," 7. In the original French: "Le dessin est le père de la peinture, la sculpture et l'architecture, tous les états de nécessité de commerce et de l'industrie sont subordonné au dessein."
- 99
On Buffon's illustrations, drawn by Jacques de Sève, with at least one collaborator, and engraved by a team of artists, see Thierry Hoquet, *Buffon illustré: Les gravures de l'Histoire naturelle (1749–1767)* (Paris: Publications scientifiques du Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2007), esp. 18–48. On the plates for the *Encyclopédie*, see the following notable texts: Roland Barthes, "The Plates of the Encyclopédie" [1964], in *New Critical Essays*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill & Wang, 1980), 23–39; Robert Darnton, *The Business of the Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979); Madeleine Pinault, "Sur les planches de l'Encyclopédie de d'Alembert et de Diderot," in *L'Encyclopédisme: Actes du colloque de Caen, 12–16 janvier 1987*, ed. Annie Becq (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres, 1991), 355–62; Celina Fox, "Publications: Rational Explanation, Visual Exposition," in *The Arts of Industry in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009), 231–92; and John Bender and Michael Marrinan, "Scenario," and "Diagram," both in *The Culture of Diagram* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010), 1–52.
- 100
For instruction as a "scene," see my essay "Scenes of Instruction," in *Painting Beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-Medium Condition*, ed. Isabelle Graw and Ewa Lajer-Burcharth (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016), 23–53.
- 101
Robin Evans, "Architectural Projection," in *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation*, ed. Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman (Montreal: Centre Canadien d'Architecture; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 19–35.
- 102
See Madeleine Pinault-Sørensen, "Le dessin instrument du savoir et de sa transmission (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle)," in *L'artiste savant à la conquête du monde moderne*, ed. Anne Lafont (Strasbourg, France: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2010), 203–17. For a related argument about prints as a vehicle of knowledge, see also Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Art Museums, 2011).
- 103
Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).
- 104
Ibid., 65–113.
- 105
There were objects we would have liked to include—for example, more works by women artists, especially in the 18th century, and drawings directly involved in mapping French colonial expansion—but couldn't, due to a lack of representative works in the Harvard collections. We hope that the exhibition will serve as an encouragement to fill these gaps, when possible.

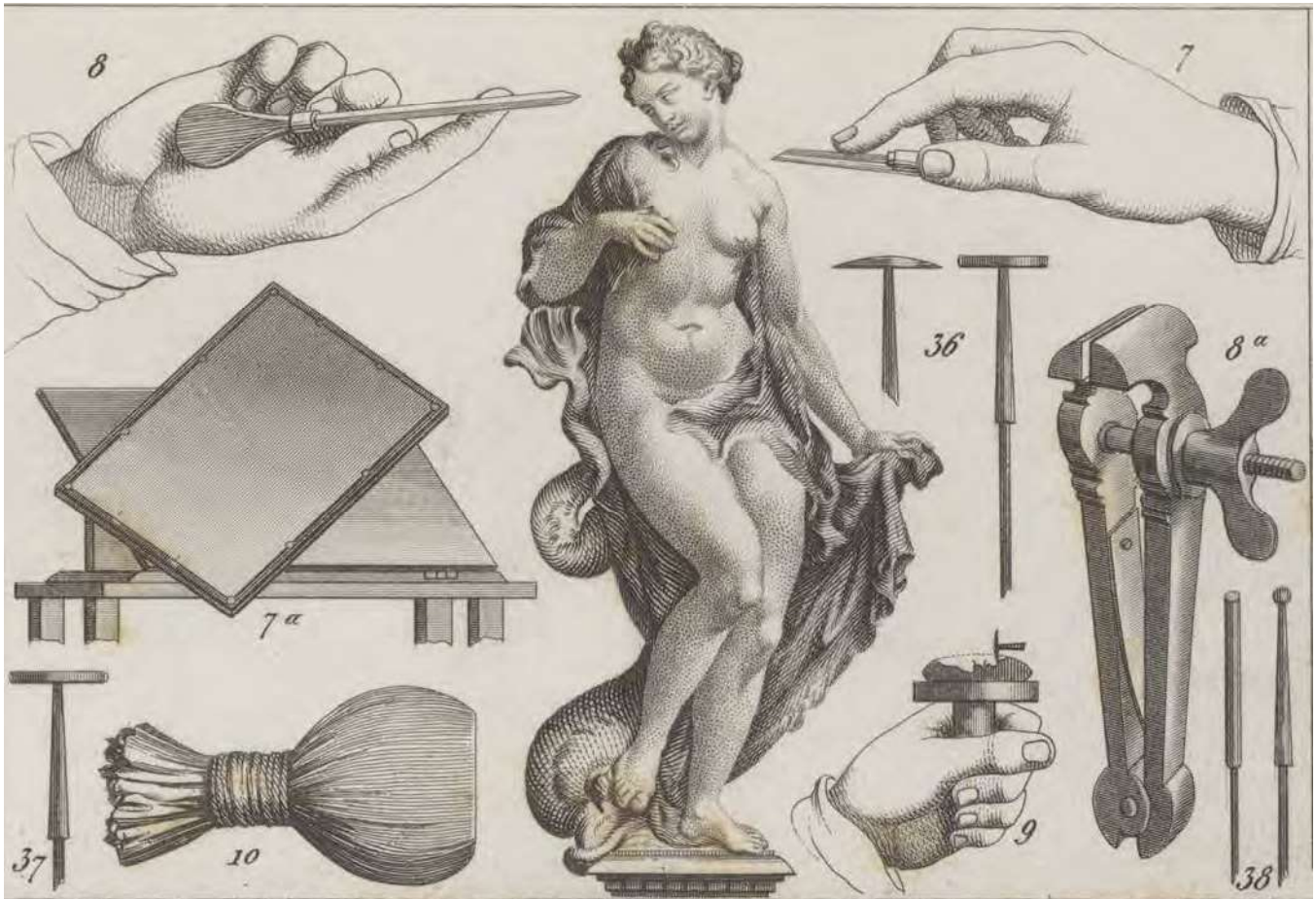


Fig. 1
 Alfred Krausse and Franz(?) Keller, after
 Johann Georg Heck, *Section 6 from*
Plate 22, 1851. Etching with engraving
 and stipple engraving, 6.2 x 9.3
 cm (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.). In *Iconographic*
Encyclopaedia of Science, Literature, and
Art, trans. and ed. Spencer Fullerton
 Baird, vol. 2 of plates, div. 9 (New York:
 Rudolph Garrigue, 1851). Cyc 177.5,
 Widener Library, Harvard University.