

Becoming Tiepolo: Drawing, Graphic Exploration and Artistic Education¹

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The relative rarity of drawings by Tiepolo from his early career has long posed challenges for scholars both in reconstructing his activities and chronology, and in understanding his artistic development. A rapid survey of publications on the artist is sufficient to demonstrate the low rate of survival of drawings from the period from about 1715, when Tiepolo painted his first major commission of oil paintings for the Ospedaletto in Venice, until early 1730 when he made preparatory designs for the Palazzo Archinto, Milan (where he was painting in fresco that summer).² Survival can be a matter of chance, given the vulnerability of paper to the effects of humidity, or to accidental damage. Nevertheless, given the many types of drawings that can be placed in Giambattista's early years, and the range of media he used, it is surprising that more have not come down to us; elsewhere, I suggested that his drawings were not generally preserved until Domenico Tiepolo was active in the family studio, so that we have many more sheets from Tiepolo's maturity than from his early years.³

In this article I will review aspects of Tiepolo's early career in terms of his activities as a draughtsman before about 1722, proposing some alterations to the traditional view of his artistic and career trajectories. I will consider his artistic education and networks, and his formative involvement with commercial print publishing, and conclude by tracing the legacy of that education in his method of encouraging Domenico in his artistic development.

The earliest documentary reference to Tiepolo and drawing place him as a born draughtsman, a small boy scribbling on walls. Given Giambattista's success and prosperity by the 1730s, it is important to recall that his childhood was marked by abject poverty.⁴ His father Domenico had achieved a respectable income through his profession as a captain and then a shipping merchant, and the family were based in the Castello district, like many whose working lives were connected with the Arsenale. However, Domenico died when Giambattista, the youngest of a large family, was less than a year old, and his widow Orsetta, deprived of income, was soon overcome by poverty and near-destitution. New details emerged from documentary evidence concerning legal proceedings held in November 1750.⁵ The testimony of the canon of S. Pietro di Castello, Domenico Monello includes the recollection that the child Giambattista 'scarabozzava sopra el muro' and then, aged eight or nine, made 'santini', small devotional images of individual saints. According to Monello, at that time the Tiepolo family was not only poor but for four or five years had been 'in miseria'. Recognizing the child's prodigious talents, Monello intervened, placing Giambattista in the studio of the painter Gregorio Lazzarini (1655-1730). As a result, Monello recorded, by the time he was about eleven or twelve, the boy had been able to earn sufficient funds to feed and clothe himself, and that he helped to support the family

through painting pictures from the age of about fourteen or fifteen. Clearly, from about 1711 Giambattista was selling his own work.

From this moving account of Tiepolo's earliest years – amplified by other witnesses in the legal process – one can see the roots of the ambition that drove him in his career, doubtless fuelled by a fear of lapsing into poverty. Opportunities that came his way through his teacher were quickly grasped; indeed, clients of Lazzarini such as the Baglioni family, the Zenobio or the Cornaro would be among his earliest patrons.⁶ Tiepolo's artistic education involved openness to a variety of visual sources, while Lazzarini himself, as his biographer Vincenzo da Canal emphasised, had as a young artist deliberately widened his own range. Relatively few drawings are known by Lazzarini, although he must have been a prolific draughtsman (and a volume of his drawings was in the noted Sagredo collection); those that are securely identifiable range from vigorous, inventive compositional studies to more meticulously worked figure or detail studies, and to autonomous drawings.⁷ Da Canal highlights the many books that Lazzarini possessed, and he would also have owned prints as well as sculptural models, the kinds of visual and material resources common in late seventeenth-century Venetian studios. For example, Lazzarini's ambitious painting of *S. Lorenzo Giustiniani giving Alms* of 1691 for S. Pietro di Castello incorporates references to Annibale Carracci's *St Roch giving Alms* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), a composition disseminated through copies and prints. As has long been noted, an oval miniature painting by Giambattista in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, derives from an etching by Stefano della Bella: it is a youthful response to a sophisticated image, painted in a gestural, sketchy mode.⁸ This might have been one of the early works sold to support his widowed mother, a step up in ambition from the drawn 'santini' mentioned by Monello to eye-catching small paintings, in this case on an oval-shaped piece of copper that could have functioned as part of an object such as a snuff-box.

Sculptural models and real-life observation are seen in two sheets of studies that come from a series of drawings by Tiepolo often described as a sketchbook or *taccuino*, but perhaps originally surviving as a bundle of sheets in the studio. Now dispersed, important groups are held at the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, and at the Harvard University Art Museums.⁹ I would suggest that many of these studies reflect his early training with Lazzarini and are datable to around 1710-12. On a sheet recently acquired by the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris, the black chalk study after a plaster model of a foot is given vibrancy through accents on touch-points, and through the addition of white heightening [Fig. 1]. Alongside the vivacious profile study of a boy are rapid sketches of two bottles, perhaps of ink or oil, that may have been lying on the bench in the studio.¹⁰ Typical of a young artist also are hand studies, which are found on a number of early sheets; one in particular is crab-like as the hand is stretched to its limits [Fig. 2].¹¹ While the numerous hand studies in the series present precisely the kinds of hands that appear later in paintings, such as the gesturing Apostles at the Ospedaletto of about 1715, or the *Abduction of the Sabine Women* (Hermitage, St Petersburg) painted probably in 1718, such motifs were already embedded in Tiepolo's

memory as a result of early observational and analytical drawings such as these examples. Similarly, the correspondences that scholars find between some of the hand and head studies and details of the frescoes in the Galleria at the Palazzo Patriarcale, Udine, arise from their secondary purpose as a useful repertoire or archive, rather than indicating a direct preparatory function with a consequent dating to the 1720s.

The first documentary reference to an actual drawing by Tiepolo is found in the inventory of November 1722 of the drawings collection of Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri (1676-1742) in Florence.¹² The inventory specifies the date of 1716 for a drawing by Tiepolo, 'il Martirio d'un Santo, con molte figure', which was kept as a loose sheet rather than bound into a volume. Elaborately-modelled martyrdom scenes by Giambattista, such as *The Beheading of Two Male Saints* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (inv. 37.165.14) are generally datable on stylistic grounds to the late 1720s or early 1730s: they are highly worked in pen, ink and brown washes over black chalk, with white gouache emphasising the fall of light.¹³ Interestingly, Gabburri's inventory is precise with regard to technique: many drawings are described as in 'penna e acquarello', but this Tiepolo sheet is specified as drawn in pen alone ('Disegno a penna') and is of a substantial size, approximately 495 x 330 mm. Probably in technique and appearance it resembled drawings such as the *Miracle of St Anthony of Padua*, recently on the London art market; the very finished pen drawing of the *Annunciation with the Trinity* in the Museo Civico, Bassano; or the *Martyrdom scene with a statue of Jupiter* [Fig. 3]. The scholarly consensus on the authorship of these drawings is rightly in favour of the young Giambattista.¹⁴ However Tiepolo's drawing, as the inventory records, was 'fatto apposta per questo studio', specifically made for Gabburri's collection, in 1716.¹⁵ Clearly this was an opportunity for the young artist to create a memorable image to be shown in Florence as part of a much-visited collection. Possibly, the drawing is identifiable with the *Martyrdom* [Fig. 3], although given the detailed character of the inventory, one would expect the subject to have been more clearly described.

The question arises of how Gabburri had known of Tiepolo's talent as a draughtsman by 1716; the artist is mentioned for the first time as an independent master in 1717, although he had received various paintings commissions by then (and publicly promoted his career by exhibiting work at S. Rocco in August 1716). Gabburri's collection by 1722 included drawings by contemporary Venetians - Sebastiano and Marco Ricci, Antonio Pellegrini, Gaspare Diziani, Luca Carlevarijs, Antonio Balestra and his pupil Giovanni Battista Mariotti - but the collection did not include drawings by Tiepolo's master, Gregorio Lazzarini, and Vincenzo da Canal does not mention the Florentine collector in connection with either artist.¹⁶

While both Anton Maria Zanetti (1680-1767) and Marco Ricci immediately come to mind as possible intermediaries, neither can have held this role, since Zanetti was first introduced to Gabburri only in March 1723, and Marco was mainly working in London between late 1708 and late 1716.¹⁷ Giambattista would later become close to Zanetti and Ricci, and in a vivid vignette we learn of a sociable gathering, perhaps in the mid-1720s, with Marco making

etchings under Zanetti's eyes, and Tiepolo adding corrections with the pen.¹⁸ But in 1715-1716, Marco would not yet have known Tiepolo's work as a draughtsman, while Zanetti's friendship and connoisseurial exchanges with Gabburri were still in the future.

Instead, I would argue that the person who admired the young Tiepolo and arranged for Gabburri to have a substantial independent drawing by his hand must have been Antonio Balestra (1666-1740). In the earliest extant letter from Balestra to Gabburri of 25 December 1717, it is quite clear that they had known each other for some time and that the Venetian-based artist had regularly been acting as an agent and talent-spotter for the Florentine collector, suggesting the names of artists whose work he knew would appeal to Gabburri, and then commissioning drawings from them.¹⁹ In 1718, Balestra would strongly promote the work of his own pupil, Giovanni Battista Mariotti: the inventory of 1722 includes three drawings made especially for Gabburri by Mariotti in 1718, each in red chalk with white gouache highlights: these were a large life-drawing; a *Martyrdom of a male saint* with many figures and a companion work with *The Three Maries at the Tomb*.²⁰

Balestra's awareness of Tiepolo's talents as a draughtsman doubtless stemmed from his involvement in the Collegio dei Pittori in Venice, and in the drawing classes held by the Collegio for aspiring and professional artists. The highly finished black chalk drawing by the young Giambattista of a life-drawing class or 'scuola del nudo' with many artists of different ages involved in studying the nude model has often been discussed [Fig.4].²¹ The class takes place in a large, well-lit room with raised seating allowing for a considerable number of artists, and bespoke lighting consisting of a central chandelier with strong light, and a series of hanging lamps at intervals above the benches. Fifteen artists are mostly engaged in drawing but at least one sculptor is modelling in clay, as may be two others; further benches are possibly ranged behind us, the viewer. One tutor is making corrections and another senior figure who stands, overlooking the session, is probably responsible for posing the model: note the time-piece, giving the artists a set time to capture the current pose before it is altered. At the left, a cluster of four people observe the class in action: they might be collectors or 'dilettanti' who come out of curiosity, or perhaps with a view to spotting talent.²²

This is not an ordinary artists' studio in Venice: it is neither the studio of Piazzetta nor that of Lazzarini as has often been suggested; instead, the setting is that of the premises rented by the Collegio dei Pittori.²³ A community or union of Venetian artists, the Collegio, having broken away in 1684 from traditional guild structures, envisaged the eventual establishment of a state-sponsored academy of art, 'an accademia del disegno'; their desire was that their profession be viewed as one of suitably high status. The Collegio's first premises at the Fondamenta Nuove, rented from early March 1690, included a 'Sala grande' which was fitted out as an appropriate pedagogic space intended for the study of the human form, an 'Accademia de' corpi humani'.²⁴ Among the leading artists in 1690 were Gregorio Lazzarini and Niccolò Bambini, as well as Antonio Zanchi and Antonio Bellucci. The Collegio continued

its teaching activities in these and subsequent rented premises: the concern was not just with the education of young artists, which was primarily studio based, but with the continuing improvement of artistic practice and with the communal (and relatively public) activity of life-drawing classes. Tiepolo's characterful representation in black chalk of the activities of the Collegio surely had a celebratory as well as a documentary function; or it may have been intended for a particular collector.²⁵ While its dating is unknown, it could well have been made about 1715-16, considering the young artist's ambition, and his developing connections with print publishers (see below). Enrico Lucchese has convincingly argued that the two mentor figures might be Lazzarini, overseeing the class, and the younger Antonio Balestra acting as a teacher, and their likenesses are evident by comparison with portraits and self-portraits.²⁶ Rather neatly, Tiepolo portrayed himself at the upper right, his head in line with that of his master, Lazzarini. Balestra was well-established in Venice: originally a pupil of Antonio Bellucci, after a fruitful period in Rome studying with Carlo Maratti, he had based himself in Venice from at least 1701 until he returned to his native Verona in 1719.²⁷ Certainly, the artist was well-placed to notice Giambattista's talents in about 1715 or 1716, and to commission a drawing of a Martyrdom for Gabburri's admiration.

While art historians have tended to date Tiepolo's elaborate black chalk drawings to 1717 or later, perhaps because he is first documented as an independent master in that year, some could well be earlier, given that, as noted above, from the age of fourteen or fifteen, the artist was supporting his family by selling his work. Another way of earning money would have been through providing designs for prints in Venice's thriving publishing industry. An enchanting small black chalk drawing was clearly made as a design for an advertisement for the merchant Francesco Zancarelli, who sold textiles in the Mercerie [Fig.5].²⁸ Rather than being a portrait (as it is generally described), the drawing evokes a fashionably-dressed, ideal client with his sword and high-heeled shoes, pointing the way through the Piazza San Marco to Zancarelli's shop. Might this be an early example of Tiepolo's entrepreneurship, possibly around 1714-15? The lightness of touch and sense of playfulness are remarkable; the little vista of San Marco is only schematically drawn but with enough vivacity and indicative detail of boats and domes to make it plausible. This was one of a series produced as prints, in that an illustration of a similar shop advertisement designed by Tiepolo for Giovanni Maria Ton in the Merceria (where again, rolls of fabric spill out over the framing element) is known through a photograph: there, the printmaker's name, Francesco Zucchi (1692-1764) appears, but no artist is credited.²⁹

A rather more accomplished drawing also in the British Museum, the portrait of the priest, Domenico Zugno, seems extremely close to the *Scuola del nudo* in its approach and graphic handling - the marked features, large eyes and prominent, mobile hand are also seen in details of the *Scuola* drawing, which presents a similar limpid effect.³⁰ A related print was produced by Francesco Zucchi with a dedication to Alvise Pisani, 'Cavaliere e Procuratore': this is the Alvise Pisani of San Vidal (1664-1741), a future Doge, who commissioned Tiepolo's

early fresco of the *Assumption* in Biadene in 1716. Although Bernard Aikema dated the drawing to 1724, having reported that Zugno was parish priest at San Vidal from 1724-29, this is more likely to be the date of the print (a handsome mezzotint). Given the clerical networks that were important in Tiepolo's early life and in Lazzarini's career, the drawing may have been made around 1716 for Zugno, who later arranged to have a print made, dedicated to his patron at San Vidal.³¹

Some of Tiepolo's earliest patrons were of this Venetian professional and mercantile class: the large *Crucifixion* in San Martino, Burano with a portrait of its donor was painted for a local pharmacist or 'speziale medicinale', who has been plausibly identified as Marin Ferrazzi (1681-1724).³² He was prominent in confraternities based in the church from 1715. The *Crucifixion* is a young man's painting, ambitious – even showy - but not yet coherently composed, and quite possibly dates from about 1717-1718.³³ Later, another pharmacist, Giacomo Tonin, would order the large devotional work for the Suffragio del Carmine at Sant'Aponal in Venice that was begun by Tiepolo in 1722, while Giovanni Battista Baglioni (1659-1724) who commissioned the artist's first major fresco for his new villa at Massanzago in about 1719 was from a family long involved in the printing and bookselling business, ennobled in 1716.³⁴

Tiepolo's earliest documented association with print publishing concerns the highly ambitious publication by Domenico Lovisa, *Il Gran Teatro di Venezia*, which was announced and promoted from April 1715, with a notice seeking subscribers. It began to appear as a compilation of engravings in about 1717. Essentially, there were two volumes, one with views of Venice and the second with reproductions of major paintings, that provided a walking tour of Venice's notable artists and places, albeit with a bias towards Piazza San Marco. Tiepolo provided designs for four of the plates, which were engraved by Andrea Zucchi (1679-1740): he could have been asked to do this as early as 1715 or 1716, although his drawings have not survived. Many drawings after paintings were provided for Lovisa by Giuseppe Camerata and notably by Silvestro Manaigo, also students of Gregorio Lazzarini, who may have created this opportunity for Tiepolo.³⁵ There is confusion both in the dating of Lovisa's publication and the arrangement of the engravings: as Juergen Schultz has argued, the *Gran Teatro* was in constant evolution, and individual clients could buy ready-made volumes, or could create their own compilations; the first complete anthology appeared in 1720.³⁶ In any case it is important to note first that by about 1716 Tiepolo was already working with the Zucchi family of engravers, and second, that the young artist was paid to study and copy certain works by Jacopo Tintoretto, Giuseppe Porta and Francesco Bassano that undoubtedly stirred his imagination, as seen in his early drawings, or in later painted compositions. Moreover, the business of translating brilliantly coloured paintings into monochrome prints while respecting the distinctive style of a master is a complex one, and the ever-alert Tiepolo doubtless learned much from his collaboration with Andrea Zucchi. Probably the first painting to be copied and published was Bassano's *Battle of Valle di Cadore* since this is presented as a print in an unusual format with elaborate explanatory

texts on floating banderoles, and a dedication to Doge Giovanni Cornaro, while the other engravings after Tiepolo's drawings are in a more standardised format. Lovisa probably issued Bassano's *Battle* first in the form of a single-sheet print for individual sale; moreover, Giambattista's signature appears in a singular form, not apparently repeated in other prints during his career, so that it may represent his earliest involvement with Zucchi, at a time when he would have been 'pittore di casa' in the Cornaro household.³⁷

When he supplied designs for the engraver, Tiepolo worked in black chalk in an appropriate closely-hatched manner. This manner is often associated with the drawings of Piazzetta, and there may have been cross-fertilisation, given Giambattista's voracious appetite for visual sources, but the extent of Piazzetta's involvement with Venetian book-illustration and print publishing in this period is not entirely clear.³⁸ Questions of the dating of Tiepolo's engraver-style drawings arise, since prints were often published long after drawings had been supplied. For instance, his very tentatively-drawn black chalk portrait of the writer Sperone Speroni, a copy after a painting attributed to Titian, could have first been intended for a single-sheet print published by one of the Zucchi; Tiepolo's drawing was later used for an edition of Speroni's work in 1740, engraved by Giuseppe Pedrini.³⁹ The drawing could have been made around the time that the young artist was copying classic Venetian paintings for Andrea Zucchi, perhaps even as a test of his abilities.

In another case, numerous editions of the *Missale Romanum* were published under the name of Andrea Poletti, a firm active in Venetian book production over decades. When Giuseppe Pavanello noticed a 1741 edition of the Missal with four substantial illustrations designed by Tiepolo and engraved by Francesco Zucchi, he suggested that the related drawings (of which two are known) could not be as late as 1741 and might instead date from about 1735 [Fig. 6]. That dating must now be altered, since earlier editions can be found online, such as one from 1729 with the same four engravings after Tiepolo, and another from 1728.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Pavanello rightly argued that Tiepolo also designed the two cherubs with the papal insignia that appear on either side of an oval portrait in the frontispiece of the Missal of 1740; however, the same design is found, with a different sitter in the oval, in an edition of 1726. In fact, Tiepolo's enchanting cherubs supporting a blank oval frame appear first in a drawing in the British Museum, which has not previously been connected with this publication.⁴¹ The whole group of five drawings relating to successive editions of the *Missale Romanum* would doubtless have been supplied by Tiepolo to the Zucchi at the same date, and other editions may be found that will refine the dating, however on stylistic grounds the drawings surely date from no later than about 1720-1722.

Essentially, designs by Giambattista and other artists were part of the artistic capital of the publisher's business: once the designs were engraved, which might involve delays, the plates could be re-issued in as many editions as the market required. Interestingly, Francesco Zucchi had a reputation for looking after significant original drawings – which may have been sold on to collectors – and ensuring that they did not get damaged in the

reproduction process.⁴² Zucchi very likely used intermediate drawings perhaps based on tracings, in order to transfer the designs to the copperplates for engraving. The small British Museum design is similar in style and handling to the series of black chalk studies by Tiepolo in the Metropolitan Museum, New York and elsewhere depicting a range of historical subjects that relate closely to the ambitious project of the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, a compilation of historical texts in a series of volumes [Fig. 7].⁴³ These narrative scenes relate to headpieces above texts; Tiepolo also supplied designs for capital letters, and for some frontispieces. The drawings have a stylistic coherence, showing many characteristics of Giambattista's style in the early 1720s – the young men with bean-like heads, narrow ears and thick mops of dark hair for instance are seen in drawings and paintings.⁴⁴ Without going into detail here on this extraordinary project, it is important to strike a note of caution about dating. Tiepolo's vivid and innovative designs appear in different volumes that were published from 1726 to 1733. The project was already underway with texts being gathered for editing in late 1721, and a letter from Muratori on 27 November 1721 speaks of the illustrations as trifles that will ensure the commercial appeal of the volumes. Already in May 1723, copperplates were being etched by Zucchi.⁴⁵ So it is reasonable to think of Tiepolo's designs as dating from about 1722, to be kept together by the Zucchi brothers for use and re-use.

Questions of dating also arise in relation to a meticulously drawn and elaborately finished *Crucifixion* drawing by Tiepolo that was on the art market in 1997: the stormy atmosphere in which the crucified Christ is embedded is carefully rendered with flicked strokes and different kinds of hatching. Francesco Zucchi produced an undated mezzotint with the inscription identifying it as a representation of the miracle-working Crucifix of Poveglia, which was a much-venerated medieval sculpture of the Dalmatian school.⁴⁶ The style of this drawing is very close to that of the *Scuola del Nudo* [Fig. 4]. Tiepolo's association with Francesco Zucchi is often dated to post-1724, since the presumption is that prior to that, Giambattista provided designs for Andrea Zucchi, who was believed to have left Venice for Dresden in 1724 (but actually left in 1726). In fact, the brothers worked as part of a family enterprise, although surprisingly few details are known about their biographies. Francesco was certainly active as an engraver by at least 1717, and probably earlier given that he was born in 1692.⁴⁷ If Tiepolo's association with Andrea for the *Gran Teatro* project dates from perhaps 1715 or 1716, then he could well have supplied drawings such as the *Crucifixion* that were engraved by Francesco around that time. The *Crucifixion* print in fact, is rather awkward in some respects, notably the expression of Christ's face, which is far more subtle in Tiepolo's drawing, so that the print could have come at an early stage in their collaboration.

Tiepolo's earliest drawings show his openness to different approaches and explorations, following the practice of his master Lazzarini; as many scholars have noted he was familiar with prints by Pietro Testa, or by Giulio Carpioni. While he used black chalk for some preparatory studies, as he would do throughout his career, Tiepolo regularly employed a

technique of red chalk with red wash across the period of 1716-1726. This technique was used by Venetian artists of the mid and late seventeenth century such as Carpioni, Zanchi, Angelo Trevisani and Sebastiano Ricci with different degrees of polish or vigour.⁴⁸ Tiepolo developed the sensuous aspects of this technique, using it richly in different types of studies, whether in the powerful seated male nude drawn from the life in about 1715 (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv. C 1439), or preparatory drawings such as the upward-springing angels who appear in the *St Theresa* fresco at the Scalzi church (Courtauld Institute, London, inv. D1978. PG.375), or in studies perhaps made for their own sake, such as the drawing of a dashing Roman soldier of c. 1720-22 who is represented with such panache that his vivid presence is convincing, despite the lack of a solid body under the military flourishes.⁴⁹ [Fig. 8]

As a fledgling artist, whether in Lazzarini's workshop or viewing recent paintings in Venetian churches, Giambattista was attracted by dynamic, Rubensian subjects with tangled or tumbling bodies. This type of orchestration was much in demand in Venice in the later seventeenth century – one thinks of the masterly *Fall of the Damned* passage in Zanchi's *Last Judgement* at the Scuola Grande di S. Fantin - while Lazzarini painted subjects such as the *Brazen Serpent* and the *Massacre of the Innocents* in the years when Tiepolo was in his studio.⁵⁰ Amongst his earliest pen and ink drawings are some highly experimental works as Giambattista challenged himself to explore male intertwined bodies, sometimes modelling with hatching, or using wash to clarify the design and to give the group a sculptural solidity [Fig. 9]. Such drawings are responsive and imaginative rather than preparatory; even on one sheet in the National Museum, Gdańsk (inv. MNG/SD/872R), different types of handling with the pen are visible, from broken, dotted lines in one figure group to assured long strokes in another.⁵¹ Now scattered in various collections, this series of drawings has been the subject of discussion as to authorship, dating and purpose.⁵² While Tiepolo later painted subjects such as the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* in the Patriarchal Palace, Udine, or the *Brazen Serpent*, now in the Accademia, Venice, the pen and ink drawings that show his engagement with these themes must date from far earlier in his career when he was in Lazzarini's studio, and they probably functioned as rapid artistic exercises inspired by Giambattista's exposure to a range of visual sources. They are different in their visual language from the compositional study in pen and wash over black chalk, preparatory for the ceiling fresco of the *Assumption of the Virgin* at Biadene, hence datable to early 1716, first published by Bernard Aikema.⁵³ Doubtless one of a group of lost studies for the fresco, that rapidly-handled drawing is essentially concerned with establishing the effects of light and shade through variegated washes, and freely-indicated contours drawn with the brush. It is a rare survivor as a pragmatic and focussed preliminary drawing with a specific aim of blocking out the lineaments of this heavenly episode. Tiepolo's visual interests and gestural rhetoric are quite distinct in his more unorthodox experimental drawings. As inventive permutations on specific themes, they anticipate his later practice of playing variations on particular subjects.

In an interesting discussion of a large-scale study in Washington of convoluted, plunging male bodies, Andrew Robison suggested that the drawing dates from about 1712-15, but that Tiepolo might have returned to the sheet to re-work it in about 1716-18, adding more figures in a different ink and brushing on tonal washes.⁵⁴ [Fig. 9] This idea opens a new path, where we might consider Tiepolo's reflections on his own drawings, or his use of them as a visual archive of ideas, adding to the complexity of his formative years as a draughtsman. A further aspect on which Bernard Aikema has commented is that of the appearance of calligraphic exercises on a few of these early sheets, notably one in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne; but rather than providing evidence for an educational programme conceived by Tiepolo, such exercises were conventional practice for a young artist who will flex his hand in flourishes with the pen, as well as play with cursive handwriting and test formal epistolary styles.⁵⁵

Other early exploratory drawings show Tiepolo's fast-moving hand and thoughts, as he set down thumbnail figures as separate motifs, turning the page to fill the space: a sheet in Madrid with studies on recto and verso is typical of a small group that has survived, very likely from his formative years, around 1712-14.⁵⁶ [Fig. 10] Figures are standing, clothed, and they are seated, nude; they twist and turn, or they are relaxed; those on the verso are mainly of the female nude. Unlike the packed, intertwined figures seen in Fig. 9, the Madrid sheet is a compilation of separate motifs taken from memory, from fantasy and from observation, providing a repertoire for possible use. As he drew, Giambattista turned the paper to exploit the space fully, setting down his thoughts and respecting their separate nature in that the figural motifs rarely overlap. He used hatched pen lines for modelling, creating faceted areas, sometimes to decorative effect. This hatching occurs also in the early chalk drawings with their blocks of parallel strokes, in an economical, schematic mode of graphic handling (see Fig. 1).

Tiepolo encouraged these kinds of experimentation in the education of his eldest son, Giovanni Domenico (1727-1804), who would become his closest collaborator. Looking at trends and directions in Domenico's early draughtsmanship, the similarities with his father's trajectory are striking. Domenico filled sheets of paper with rapid motifs in brush and wash, or in pen and ink – motifs taken from memory, from details in Giambattista's paintings or drawings, or from his own fantasy. These are free-flowing thoughts, loosening up the hand and allowing new ideas to emerge. Brush drawings of expressive heads and of isolated figures, standing, seated or moving and often seen from below have come down to us, side by side with sheets of packed figures in a frieze-like arrangement drawn in thick strokes of pen and ink (see respectively examples at the Courtauld Institute, London, inv. D.1952.RW2349 and Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-T 1968.36). In another type of pen drawing, Domenico rotated the sheet as he drew, exploring a variety of rapidly-sketched images, including figures in exotic dress, in contemporary or carnival costume, and genre scenes.⁵⁷ [Fig. 11] If Tiepolo's imagination had been stirred by the Biblical subjects embraced by Zanchi, Lazzarini and others of that previous generation, the young Domenico in turn

responded to his father's inventiveness in expressive or exotic figures, and to the scenes of contemporary life that had become so popular in the 1740s.

Like Giambattista, Domenico experienced the discipline of copying works by old masters in drawing: a finely-executed copy in red chalk after a painting of *The Presentation* then attributed to Giovanni Bellini can probably be connected with payments made in 1743 by Francesco Algarotti, an intimate friend of Tiepolo who recognized the fifteen-year old Domenico's talents in drawing.⁵⁸ [Fig. 12] As an agent of the Elector of Saxony, Algarotti sent to Germany detailed reproductions of the Venetian old master paintings that he proposed to purchase for the royal collection in Dresden, and Domenico certainly made copies of works by Palma Vecchio and Titian. In his youth, Domenico too was closely engaged with print-making, primarily through copying and analysing Giambattista's paintings. His development can be traced in these early efforts as he worked towards grasping the essentials of his master's style. His tightly-worked chalk preparatory drawings for prints recall his father's early engraver-like manner in his finished drawings for Francesco Zucchi. A highly meticulous red chalk drawing representing the Franciscan St Peter Regalatus was made about 1746, the time of the saint's canonization, for an etching in reverse; by now Domenico was maturing as a printmaker, and may have been seeking to augment his personal income.⁵⁹ Similarly unrelated to Giambattista's paintings is a portrait drawing of Niccolò Machiavelli in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, presented in the form of a medal that may relate to a design for a print, perhaps in an illustrated edition of his works, or a compilation of historical texts [Fig.13]. Formerly attributed to Piazzetta, this is undoubtedly by Domenico, featuring his characteristic tremulous chalk line, probably in the 1750s.⁶⁰ The design also brings to mind the occasional portrait drawings of notable writers and clerics that Giambattista produced in his early career for printmakers, such as that of Sperone Speroni, previously noted.

Finally, it may be fruitful to investigate further a sequence of religious images drawn in red chalk by Domenico relatively early in his career [Fig. 14]. This series of miniature images within oval frames of individual sacred figures and religious emblems survives in a group of thirty-five sheets in Stuttgart.⁶¹ They surely date from the same time, a phase in the mid to late 1740s; some are inspired by Giambattista's devotional paintings of that period, such as the female saints in the Gesuati altarpiece, and stylistically they recall Domenico's *St Peter Regalatus*, as well as his etchings of the *Via Crucis*, on which he was working in 1748. The drawings originally belonged to Domenico Bossi (1767-1853) who obtained them in Venice.⁶² Above all, the oval images recall the 'santini', the little devotional images that Giambattista was designing as a young boy to help to support his poverty-stricken family: described as 'santini piccoli da anello' these were made as talismans, apotropaic images to be worn on the body, incorporated into finger rings.⁶³ In Domenico's case, he may have been stimulated by tales of his father's experience to create these designs. They were probably intended to be engraved as holy pictures, small-scale images that could fit into locket or decorate caskets; they could also personalize prayerbooks rather like the small

targhe or bookplates that were routine productions of eighteenth-century print-publishers.⁶⁴ Again, this may speak of a strand of entrepreneurship in Domenico's youth, emulating his father, which was later channelled into the creation of etchings for collectors. Appropriately, these miniature images from a formative period in Domenico's career provide a fascinating parallel with Giambattista's earliest documented activities in drawing.

¹ I am delighted to offer this paper to Catherine, a distinguished scholar of Roman and Bolognese art, whose many Venetian research interests have seen, across her career, publications on artists from Andrea Schiavone to Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, and on the rich topic of art and faith in the Venetian world.

² On the Ospedaletto commission, signalled by V. Da Canal, *Vita di Gregorio Lazzarini*, Venice, 1809, p. XXXII: '...negli Apostoli, che in età d'anni diciannove dipinse sopra le nicchie nella chiesa dell'Ospedaletto..', see E. Lucchese, *Apostolo Tommaso and Apostolo Giovanni*, in *Il giovane Tiepolo, la scoperta della luce*, exh. cat. by G. Pavanello and V. Gransinigh, Udine, Castello, Salone del Parlamento, Udine, 2011, pp. 142-44. For Tiepolo's drawings relating to commissions for Milan, see D. Ton, 'Tiepolo in Milan. Culture, Publishing and Art in the Archinto Circle', in *Tiepolo in Milan: The Lost Frescoes of the Palazzo Archinto*, exh. cat. by X. F. Salomon, A. Tomezzoli and D. Ton, New York, The Frick Collection, New York and London, 2019, pp. 83-104. On the early drawings, see the overview with references by B. Aikema, 'La formazione artistica di Giovan Battista Tiepolo. I disegni', in *Giambattista Tiepolo nel terzo centenario della nascita*, ed. by L. Puppi, Venice, 1998, pp. 21-25; and the important observations by G. Pavanello, 'Un pittore "tutto spirito e foco"', in *Il giovane Tiepolo*, pp. 21-61, with references. A recent publication provides further insights, A. Piai, 'Il "Taccuino di Danzica" nella produzione giovanile di Giambattista Tiepolo', in *Tiepolo: i disegni. Atti del convegno internazionale, Udine 2022*, ed. by M.P. Frattolin, S. Marinelli and A. Piai, Verona, 2024, pp. 33-57.

³ C. Whistler, *Venice and Drawing 1500-1800: Theory, Practice and Collecting*, New Haven and London, 2016, pp. 129-130.

⁴ See F. Montecuccoli degli Erri, 'Giambattista Tiepolo. Nuove pagine di vita privata', in Puppi, ed., *Giambattista Tiepolo nel terzo centenario della nascita*, pp. 69-74 for Tiepolo's family background (Montecuccoli degli Erri records that there were nine births before his father's death), and his eventual wealth and accumulation of property.

⁵ S. Bostock, 'Novità biografiche sugli anni giovanili di Giambattista Tiepolo', *Arte Veneta*, 66, 2009, pp. 220-28.

⁶ Similarly, the placement of the young artist as a 'pittore di casa' in a patrician household to assist his career may have been Lazzarini's initiative, since he had held this position with the Lini family (Da Canal, *Vita*, p. XLVI); Tiepolo's role with the Corner family at S. Polo led to a fruitful association (Da Canal, *Vita*, p. XXXII, with the implication that this began about 1715-16), while Giuseppe Camerata (1676-1762), another Lazzarini pupil, held the same position with the Miani family, dating from his time in Lazzarini's studio (see N. Ivanoff, 'Camerata, Giuseppe', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 17, 1974).

⁷ A. Pasian, 'Il cimento dell'invenzione. Studi e modelli nella grafica veneta del primo Settecento', *Arte Veneta*, 66, 2009, pp.64-83 with various drawings by Lazzarini that can be linked to paintings.

⁸ Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, inv. 1192, 11.5 x 9 cm, see R. Pancheri, 'Memento Mori (L'Età e la Morte)', in *Il Giovane Tiepolo*, pp. 146-148 for a discussion with references; for observations on Tiepolo's print sources, see A. Mariuz, 'Alcuni fonti visive di Giambattista Tiepolo', in Puppi, ed., *Giambattista Tiepolo nel terzo centenario dalla nascita*, pp. 33-38.

⁹ U. Ruggeri, 'Giovanni Battista Tiepolo: fogli da un taccuino al tempo di Udine', *Prospettiva*, 33-36, 1984, pp. 307-313 provides an excellent study with a brief catalogue. See also B. Aikema, *Tiepolo and His Circle. Drawings in American Collections*, exh. cat. Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museums and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1996, pp. 16-17 and 34-37; however the theory there advanced that these and other early chalk drawings were made as part of an instructional manual, and that Tiepolo had introduced innovative didactic methods to Venice in a type of 'Carracci revival' is not tenable, given seventeenth-century Venetian drawing practice and the long-standing tradition of teaching drawing in artists' studios and in informal academies, for which see Whistler, *Venice and Drawing*, pp. 81-103, and 129-145.

¹⁰ For details see Jean-Luc Baroni and Marty de Cambiare, *Works on Paper*, Florence, 2019, cat. no. 15, pp. 58-59; see also H. Gasnault, ed., *Les Tiepolo. Invention et virtuosité à Venise*, exh. cat. Paris, Ecole des beaux-arts, Paris, 2024, cat. no. 6, dated to 1726.

¹¹ A telling comparison is with the sheet probably by the young Raphael about 1497-98, showing a study of a contorted left hand and a head study, both based on observation but already distinctive Raphael 'types' (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, WA1846.8), see C. Whistler, 'Raphael's Hands', in *Raphael: The Drawings*, exh.cat. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2017, p.31.

¹² First noted by L. Moretti, 'Notizie e appunti su G.B. Piazzetta, alcuni piazzetteschi e G.B. Tiepolo', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, CXLIII, 1984-85, p. 378; for the inventory, see *Catalogo dei disegni e delle stampe di Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri, 1722*, published online in 2007 by the Fondazione Memofonte, www.memofonte.it/ricerche/francesco-maria-niccolo-gabburri/.

¹³ Aikema, *Tiepolo Drawings*, cat. no. 20, pp. 64-65, and also cat. no. 21, pp. 66-67 for a companion drawing in the same medium, together with comments on further similar *Martyrdom* drawings datable to the late 1720s and early 1730s.

¹⁴ See Stephen Ongpin Fine Art, *Master Drawings of the Venetian Settecento. Drawings by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo and Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo*, London, 2017, cat. no. 1 for a discussion of the *St Anthony* and stylistically related pen drawings. While the possibility of the authorship of Mattia Bortoloni had previously been raised for two of these drawings (Aikema, *Tiepolo Drawings*, cat. nos 93 and 94, pp.258-260), recent

scholarship accepts the Harvard *Martyrdom* and the other related drawings as by the young Tiepolo: for a summary of the arguments with references, A. Tomezzoli in *Il giovane Tiepolo*, under cat. no. 7, pp. 126-128. My argument regarding the Gabburri inventory and the potential links to the Harvard *Martyrdom* was presented on 25 January 2024 at the international Tiepolo symposium held at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, independently of the view published in 2024 by Piai, 'Il "Taccuino di Danzica"', p. 47, which was not then accessible to me.

¹⁵ Interestingly, the inventory description suggests that Gabburri – its compiler – might have been told in 1716 how a Venetian priest had first recognized Tiepolo's talents in drawing, leading to his garbled note on the artist. The full entry in the unpaginated inventory reads: '136. Disegno a penna, con quantità di figure, alto soldi 17, largo 2/3 per alto. Rappresenta il Martirio d'un Santo, con molte figure; di mano di Giovambattista Tiepolo, pittore e prete veneziano vivente, fatto apposta per questo studio l'anno 1716'. The dimensions translate as approximately 495 x 330 mm.

¹⁶ Lazzarini had Tuscan connections: he supplied a series of paintings to the collector Stefano Conti in Lucca, in 1705-1706, see F. Zava Bocazzi, 'I veneti della Galleria Conti di Lucca (1704-1707)', in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, 17, 1990, p. 113, notes 22-24. The Venetian artists whose drawings Gabburri owned by 1722, mentioned above, were mainly from the circle of Rosalba Carriera and Antonio Balestra. See S. Marinelli, 'Antonio Balestra e Rosalba Carriera', in *Rosalba Carriera 1673 – 1757. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi 26-28 Aprile 2007*, ed. by G. Pavanello, Venice 2009, pp. 115-128, and E. Lucchesi, 'Nel segno della grazia. Antonio Balestra maestro di Anton Maria Zanetti di Girolamo e nella "Scuola del nudo" di Giambattista Tiepolo', in *Valori Tattili* 9, 2017, pp. 154-175. Gabburri did not yet own drawings by Piazzetta (see note 19).

¹⁷ Marco Ricci described Zanetti's interests and passions to Gabburri in a letter of 13 March 1723 (in G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura scritte da' più celebri personaggi dei secoli XV, XVI e XVII, pubblicata da M. Giovanni Bottari e continuata da Stefano Ticozzi*, Milan 1822, II, pp. 128-130) while Zanetti's first published letter to Gabburri is of 10 April 1723, when he speaks of 'il comune quanto caro amico signor Marco Ricci'; see in general M. Nastasi, 'Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri', in Magrini, ed., *Lettere artistiche, Zanetti*, pp. 47-58, and Zanetti's letter, pp. 246-248.

¹⁸ Whistler, *Venice and Drawing*, p. 165, and note 29, p. 281.

¹⁹ Bottari and Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere*, II, pp. 123-126. Balestra mentioned here that he hoped he would soon have a drawing by Piazzetta to send to Gabburri.

²⁰ *Catalogo dei disegni...di Gabburri, 1722* (at note 12), '138-140, Un'Accademia, o sia nudo di lapis rosso, lumeggiata di biacca, sopra carta tinta, also soldi 19, largo 14; di mano di Giovambattista Mariotti Veneziano. Altro disegno fatto, come sopra, dallo stesso autore; rappresenta il Martirio d'un Santo, con quantità di figure. Altro disegno compagno, come sopra, dello stesso autore. Rappresenta la Marie al Sepolcro. Tutti tre questi disegni furono fatti in Venezia apposta per questo studio l'anno 1718.'

²¹ See Antonio Morassi's important observations (and the previous history of the drawing), A. Morassi, 'A Scuola del Nudo by Tiepolo', *Master Drawings*, 9, 1971, pp. 43-50; Whistler, *Venice and Drawing*, pp. 57-58, and pp. 151-152, and Lucchese, 'Nel segno della grazia', pp. 166-170.

²² C. Whistler, 'Life Drawing in Venice from Titian to Tiepolo', *Master Drawings*, 42, 2004, pp. 370-396, including the custom of visitors and 'dilettanti' attending life-drawing sessions in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Venice, and the respect in which Antonio Pellegrini was held in London for his ability to 'set' the model at the artists' academy held in Great Queen Street, of which he became a director in 1711.

²³ Argued by Whistler, *Venice and Drawing*, pp.151-153, and Lucchese, 'Nel segno della grazia', pp. 166-170.

²⁴ See Pietro del Negro, 'Dal mestiere alla professione di pittore nella Venezia di Giambattista Tiepolo: l'Arte, il Collegio e l'Accademia' in Puppi, ed., *Giambattista Tiepolo nel terzo centenario dalla nascita*, pp. 83-91. The rent at the Fondamenta Nuove premises proved too high and at an unspecified date the Collegio moved, with its subsequent premises including the Scuola di S. Vincenzo at SS Giovanni e Paolo; in 1749 the Collegio decided to rent a space nearer the Piazza, and in 1750 the artists obtained accommodation at the Fondaco della Farina.

²⁵ Another context for Tiepolo's finished drawing is the tradition in Venice of painting subjects that show artists at work, or feature the artist's studio, such as *Apelles and Campaspe*, see A. Mariuz, 'Ateliers veneziani del Settecento', in G. Pavanello, ed., *Antonio Canova e il suo ambiente artistico fra Venezia, Roma e Parigi*, Venice, 2000, pp. 3-33.

²⁶ Lucchese, 'Nel segno della grazia', pp. 168-170.

²⁷ For an authoritative study, A. Tomezzoli, *Antonio Balestra. Nel segno della grazia*, exh. cat. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona, 2016.

²⁸ See B. Aikema, 'Early Drawings for Prints by Giambattista Tiepolo', *Master Drawings*, 36, 1998, no. 48, p. 269 (with references), and Pavanello, 'Un pittore "tutto spirito e foco"', p. 50. This early drawing, and four others in the British Museum relating to Tiepolo's early print projects (inv. 1872,1012.3316-3320), were purchased in 1872 from Edward Daniell (1807-1892), a London dealer in fine art and prints. They must have remained together, perhaps initially with the Zucchi family firm.

²⁹ The print for Giovanni Maria Ton, produced by Francesco Zucchi, was reproduced by Pompeo Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata, dalle origini alla caduta della Repubblica, IV edizione interamente rifatta. Parte terza, Il decadimento*, Bergamo, 1908, p. 76, without an attribution; it was highlighted by A. Mariuz and G. Pavanello, 'Per la giovinezza di Giambattista Tiepolo', *Arte Veneta*, 47 (1994) 1995, p. 61, fig. 12.

³⁰ British Museum, inv. 1872,1012.3319, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 241 x 161 mm, Aikema 'Early Drawings for Prints', p. 252 and no. 46, p. 267, illustrating an impression of the print in the Kupferstich Kabinett, Dresden (inv. A106967); there is another in the collection of the Musei Civici, Venice.

³¹ Lazzarini's brother Antonio was a priest; importantly, two of his significant patrons in the period 1699-1714 were Padre Savoldello and Padre Quarti at SS. Giovanni e Paolo as Da Canal attests (see F. Sorce, 'Gregorio Lazzarini', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 64, 2005). Alongside Domenico Monello, the other clerical witness in the legal case that throws light on Giambattista's early years was Lunardo (Leonardo) Ferutti, parish priest at S. Biasio di Castello, who testified to his long acquaintance with the artist, see Bostock, 'Novità biografiche', pp. 224-225.

³² C. Cremonini, 'Contributo per la storia della chiesa di San Martino nel Settecento e un'ipotesi per la committenza di Tiepolo a Burano', in *Tiepolo e la Crocefissione di Burano. Un capolavoro restaurato*, ed. G. Manieri Elia, A. Mariuz and G. Nepi Sciré, Venice 2003, pp. 35-47.

³³ W. L. Barcham, *The Religious Paintings of Giambattista Tiepolo*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 30-34, had noted its lack of compositional resolution and relative immaturity, suggesting a date of c. 1719-20; certainly the large *Abduction of the Sabine Women* (Helsinki) generally believed to date from 1718 seems more controlled in its orchestration. Although Giambattista's use of the portable portrait motif is clever in representing the donor gesturing beyond the frame towards the scene of the Crucifixion, a precedent lies in the inclusion of a framed oval portrait of a donor (albeit static and conventional in this case) in Antonio Zanchi's *Martyrdom of S. Giuliano* at S. Zulian, Venice, a painting which might also have inspired some of Tiepolo's *Martyrdom* scenes.

³⁴ A. Mariuz and G. Pavanello, 'I primi affreschi di Giambattista Tiepolo', *Arte Veneta*, 39, 1984 (1985), pp. 101-113, and A. Mariuz and G. Pavanello, 'Le decorazioni settecentesche della villa e del palazzo dei Baglioni', *Arte Veneta*, 44, 1993, pp. 49-61, and Aikema, 'Early Drawings for Prints', p. 253.

³⁵ The fourth draughtsman on the *Gran Teatro* project was the slightly older Angelo Trevisani, born about 1669, but whose date of death is unclear, see A. Poletti, 'Angelo Trevisani', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 96, 2019, recording that Trevisani was probably taught by Andrea Celesti or Antonio Molinari.

³⁶ J. Schulz, 'Il Gran Teatro di Venezia di Domenico Lovisa', in G. Beltramini and A. Giavarina Ghisetti, eds. *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, Vicenza, 2000, pp. 443-457; see also D. Ton, "'Bizzarrie di pensieri": Giambattista Tiepolo e la sua cerchia', in *Tiepolo, Piazzetta, Novelli. L'incanto del libro illustrato nel Settecento veneto*, ed. V.C. Donvito and D. Ton, exh. cat. Padua, Musei Civici, Crocetta di Montello, 2012, pp. 60-63 on Tiepolo's association with Venetian print publishers.

³⁷ Dedicated to Doge Cornaro (reigned 1709-1722), the engraving after Bassano's painting celebrates the heroic actions of Giorgio Cornaro; Tiepolo's involvement is recorded in the form 'Zanbattista Tiepolo Delineò', unlike the other three prints where it is the more conventional 'Gio. Batt. Tiepolo Delineò'.

³⁸ G. Knox, *Piazzetta. A Tercentenary Exhibition of Drawings, Prints and Books*, exh. cat. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1983, cat. no. 61, p. 147, for the first known print designed by Piazzetta, a title page illustration of the Four Evangelists engraved by Isabella Piccini for the *Missale Romanorum* published by Poletti in 1714. Otherwise, Piazzetta's collaboration with Marco Pitteri seems to have begun in 1724.

³⁹ Ton in *Tiepolo, Piazzetta, Novelli*, under cat. no. I.10, p. 88; the drawing was with Christies, New York, 22 January 2003, lot 51. A lesser time-lag between drawings and published prints is documented in the correspondence of the erudite collector, Scipione Maffei, who already showed his impatience with Andrea Zucchi in December 1725, saying that Tiepolo's drawings had been delivered to him six months earlier: he had to wait until 1731-32 for the publication of his *Verona Illustrata* (see Ton, *Tiepolo, Piazzetta, Novelli*, under cat. no. 1.6, p. 79, with references).

⁴⁰ G. Pavanello, 'Un messale illustrato da Giambattista Tiepolo', in *Arte in Friuli, arte a Trieste*, 23, 2004, pp. 51-56; the authorship of the two known Tiepolo drawings had been questioned by B. Aikema, 'Some Early Drawings by Giambattista Tiepolo', *Master Drawings*, 42, 2004, pp. 361-369, who was unaware of the related prints with their 'G.B.T.D' signature. Illustrations of these prints from different editions of the *Missale*

Romanum can be found online, such as the 1729 edition of the missal, in the Diocese of Trento and also the Diocese of Bergamo; an image of the *Resurrection* on a page from a 1728 edition held at the Diocese of Treviso has recently appeared on the BeWeb (Beni ecclesiastici) website, see

<https://www.beweb.chiesacattolica.it/Ui/page.jsp?action=ricerca%2Frisultati&view=griglia&locale=en&ordine=&liberadescri=francesco+zucchi&liberaluogo=&dominio=1&ambito=CEIOA> (accessed 28 November 2024).

⁴¹ British Museum inv.1872,1012.3316, black chalk, the contours indented, 100 x 157 mm, Aikema, 'Early Drawings for Prints', no. 42, p. 265 (unidentified); the related print of 1726 from an edition held in the Diocese of Bergamo can be found on the BeWeb site,

<https://www.beweb.chiesacattolica.it/heritage/work/5807222/Zucchi+F.+%281726%29%2C+Ritratto+di+papa+e+angioletti#action=ricerca%2Frisultati>.

⁴² See D. Ton, 'Tiepolo in Milan: Culture, Publishing and Art in the Archinto Circle', in *Tiepolo in Milan*, pp. 83-104, here p. 85, and p. 100, n. 20.

⁴³ On Muratori's project, see Ton, 'Tiepolo in Milan', pp. 83-90, with references; Aikema 'Early Drawings for Prints', had matched some of the drawings to engravings in Dresden, confirming their authorship, while A. Middeldorf Kosegarten, "'E guerra e morte': Giambattista Tiepolos Entwürfe für Illustrationen der 'Rerum Italicarum scriptores', ediert von Lodovico Antonio Muratori', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3.F, 58, 2007, pp. 93-139, was the first to associate Tiepolo's drawings with the Muratori project.

⁴⁴ Compare for example the distinctive figure types and facial features in the *Procession of Monks and Penitents* (here Fig. 7) or the *Scene of Peace-making*, (Metropolitan Museum, inv. 59.600.196) with the figure types in the early Burano *Crucifixion*, in the drawing of *Three Nudes in a Landscape* in red chalk and wash in the Civici Musei, Udine (Inv.102) of c.1718-20, and in the four mythological paintings in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, generally dated to 1720-22.

⁴⁵ Ton, 'Tiepolo in Milan', p. 87.

⁴⁶ Aikema, 'Early Drawings for Prints', cat. no. 45, p.266 (with Colnaghi, London in 1997), reproducing also the mezzotint in Dresden.

⁴⁷ For instance, Francesco produced a commemorative portrait print of the Paduan canon lawyer Giovanni Clericato or Chiericato (1633-1717) in 1717.

⁴⁸ See Whistler, *Venice and Drawing*, p.xiii for a Carpioni example of c.1650, and p.126 for Zanchi's group portrait study of c. 1672 in the V&A Museum, London; a powerful *Passion* scene by Angelo Trevisani was with Galerie Nicolas Schwed, Paris, in early 2025; for a characteristic example by Sebastiano Ricci, see H.Buijs and J.R. Mengarduque, *Dessins vénitiens de la Collection Frits Lugt*, exh.cat. Paris, Fondation Custodia, Paris 1996, cat. no. 71.

⁴⁹ Aikema, 'Tiepolo and his Circle', p. 44, and p. 100, cat. no. 10 note 2; for further comments see C. Whistler, cat. no 76, in L.M. Giles, *Italian Master Drawings from the Princeton University Art Museum*, exh. cat. Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, 2014, New Haven and London 2014, pp. 183-185.

⁵⁰ See Da Canal, pp. LIX – LXI for a snapshot of many Biblical subjects Lazzarini painted between about 1707-10.

⁵¹ A point made by Ebria Feinblatt, 'More Early Drawings by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo', *Master Drawings*, 5, 1967, pp. 400-403, here p.400; she noted that George Knox had also called attention to the exploratory quality of Tiepolo's very early drawings which were not necessarily preliminary to paintings.

⁵² See the recent study by Piai, 'Il Taccuino di Danzico', for an overview of the literature, with references; I do not entirely agree with his conclusions regarding dating.

⁵³ Aikema, *Tiepolo and His Circle*, p. 7, see now Piai, 'Il Taccuino di Danzica', p.34; the sheet was sold at Sotheby's, London, 8 July 2021, lot 115.

⁵⁴ A. Robison, *La poesia della luce. Disegni veneziani dalla National Gallery di Washington*, exh. cat. Venice, Museo Correr, Venice, 2014, pp. 180-183, under cat. no. 63, National Gallery of Art, inv.1974.72.2.

⁵⁵ Aikema, 'Tiepolo and his circle', p.11 and pp.16-17 on calligraphy as part of a putative teaching programme promoted by Giambattista; see also Whistler, *Venice and Drawing*, pp. 178-181 regarding Venetian artists and their habits of writing on drawings.

⁵⁶ First published by Feinblatt, 'More Early Drawings'; see also A. Pasian, catalogue no. 53, in G. Bergamini, A. Craievich and F. Pedrocco, *Giambattista Tiepolo "il miglior pittore di Venezia"*, exh. cat. Passariano, Villa Manin, Passariano 2012, p.254.

⁵⁷ J. Byam Shaw, *The Drawings of Domenico Tiepolo*, London, 1962, p. 47, saw this as relatively early in date, yet connected to the Villa Valmarana frescoes of genre scenes, meaning about 1757; I would suggest that the drawing is more likely to be of the mid to late 1740s. For instance, on the verso, Domenico's small study of a foreshortened head is a copy or response to a masterly pen and wash drawing by Giambattista of the 1740s, Courtauld Institute, inv. D.1978.PG.152.

⁵⁸ C. Whistler 'Aspects of Domenico Tiepolo's Early Career' in *Kunstchronik*, 46, August 1993, pp 385-98, and A. Gealt and G. Knox, *Domenico Tiepolo Master Draftsman*, exh.cat. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 1996, Milan 1996, p. 111, cat. no. 3; the link between Algarotti's correspondence and drawing after Bellini was first noted by M. Levey, 'Domenico Tiepolo: his earliest activity and a monograph', *The Burlington Magazine*, 105, no. 720, 1963, pp. 128-129.

⁵⁹ The red chalk drawing is in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, see *Tiepolo. Venice in the North*, exh.cat. Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki, Milan 2020, cat. no.39, p. 128, and p.71; Gealt and Knox, *Domenico Tiepolo*, cat. no. 5, p.112, noted the rarity of the print.

⁶⁰ K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, II, *Italian Schools*, Oxford, 1956, no.1036, as Piazzetta but noting an affinity with Domenico's style; I am grateful to Andrea Tomezzoli and Denis Ton for discussing this attribution with me.

⁶¹ C. Höper and U. Westfeling, *Tiepolo und die Zeichenkunst Venedigs im 18. Jahrhundert*, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung and Wallraf-Richartz-Museum Köln, Graphische Sammlung, 1997, under cat. nos 37a-d, pp. 118-120, with further references and a suggested dating of c. 1751/53. The dimensions of the sheets vary slightly, but are approximately no more than 10x 7.8 cm, while the ovals, with integral frames, are much smaller. A complete list with comments is provided by G. Knox, *Giambattista and Domenico Tiepolo. A Study and Catalogue Raisonné of the Chalk Drawings*, Oxford, 1980, I, cat. M. 383 – M. 409, pp. 260-262.

⁶² Because of their longstanding Stuttgart provenance, and the relative lack of information on Bossi, there has been a presumption that Domenico made the drawings when in Germany, but see B. Falconi and B. Pappe, *Domenico Bossi 1767 – 1853. Da Venezia al Nord Europa. La carriera di un maestro del ritratto in miniatura*, Venice, 2012, especially pp. 15-26, establishing the Venetian background for Bossi, and the fact that he probably acquired his large cache of Tiepolo drawings from the heirs of Domenico in 1813.

⁶³ Finger-rings (often quite large) with miniature portraits were popular in eighteenth-century Britain, as were those incorporating cameos with reproductions of ancient gems, of which examples can be found in the British Museum and the V&A Museum. For sacred subjects, Jeremy Warren kindly informed me of parallels in small enamel pendants made to be attached to rosaries, of which many eighteenth-century examples from southern Italy are known.

⁶⁴ Byam Shaw, *Domenico Tiepolo*, p. 26, n.2, observed that the individual Evangelists in the series hold their pens in their left hands, so that a print series was envisaged.