

THE STUFF OF LIFE: GESTURE IN GIUSEPPE MARIA MITELLI'S *ALFABETO IN SOGNO*

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Jacques Derrida's *The Gift of Death* uses the Biblical story of the sacrifice of Isaac to contrast two ways of communicating, one language-based and the other more corporeal:

In not saying the essential thing, namely the secret between God and him, Abraham doesn't speak, he assumes the responsibility that consists in always being alone, retrenched in one's own singularity at the moment of decision . . . as soon as one speaks, as soon as one enters the medium of language, one loses that very singularity. One therefore loses the possibility or the right to decide.¹

Abraham cannot reconcile his moral obligation to God – to do God's will – with his moral obligation to his family – to not harm his son Isaac. To speak would fulfil his responsibility as father and husband, but it would also mean that he would not complete his task as given by God. His two obligations cannot coexist in speech, but they can in gesture. Much like an image, and unlike text or speech, gesture always holds something back from comprehensibility. It does this because it is not just about communication, but also about the internal processes of life that take place within the body. The continuation of Abraham's bodily actions is only permitted through abstaining from speech. Language, on the other hand, brings to a halt the boundless creativity of gesture. This tension between language and gesture as alternative, even competing or mutually exclusive, ways of expressing meaning is central to Giuseppe Maria Mitelli's print series *Alfabeto in Sogno* (Bologna, 1683). In this paper I will analyse Mitelli's print series in order to reassess the role of gesture in early-modern Italian art moving away from Alberti's definition of *historia* and taking into account contemporary understandings of gesture from an anatomical, if not outright scientific, point of view.

Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634–1718) was a prolific printmaker from Bologna active in the second half of the seventeenth century. He was a member of the same social circles as many prominent Bolognese painters, and even trained with a number of them, such as Francesco Albani (1578–1660), Francesco Barbieri (known as il Guercino, 1591–1666) and Simone Cantarini (1612–48). Nonetheless, he was often dismissed by his contemporaries due to the ‘popular’ nature of the bulk of his print production.² His most notable creations include series of prints based on concepts such as the four seasons and the twelve months, as well as festival prints and game broadsheets. Most interestingly for the purpose of this article, he used the organising principle of the series, such as the seasons or the senses, as a way of commenting on some part of human behaviour, something that has hitherto been overlooked. His 1683 human alphabet book, the *Alfabeto in Sogno (Dream Alphabet)* is no exception. A hybrid between an alphabet book and a drawing manual, it was meant to teach students the ABCs of *disegno*, but it tackled much more complex issues, as will be demonstrated.

Mitelli’s *Alfabeto* is uniquely well-suited to a case study on gesture for several reasons. First of all, it is about drawing, a highly embodied technique where the artist learns about the movements of the drawn body through the movements of his or her own. Secondly, and even more importantly, it tackles head-on the difficult relationship between gesture and language. Gesture is often misunderstood to be essentially a language using the body as its instrument of communication. I suggest, on the contrary, that there is a conflict between gesture and language. Mitelli’s letter V (1683, fig. 1), for example, demonstrates how Mitelli’s letter-bodies have a fraught relationship with the letters they make up. The V is formed by a blindfolded man tied to a tree trunk. Mitelli represents him in the moment in which he breaks free with his arms, but remains bound to the tree trunk at the feet. The character, like many of Mitelli’s letters, is created by the struggle of the man against his restraints, very literally showing how restrictive the attempt to fit gesture into the mould of language can be. The other key element of Mitelli’s alphabet are anatomical fragments, such as the limbs floating around the character L, showing gestures of the arms (1683, fig. 2). Fragmentation is the final element of my definition of gesture. I define gesture as a process of fragmentation and unification in which the gesturing body part becomes fragmented from the body-whole, but the body nevertheless continues to live at the same time.

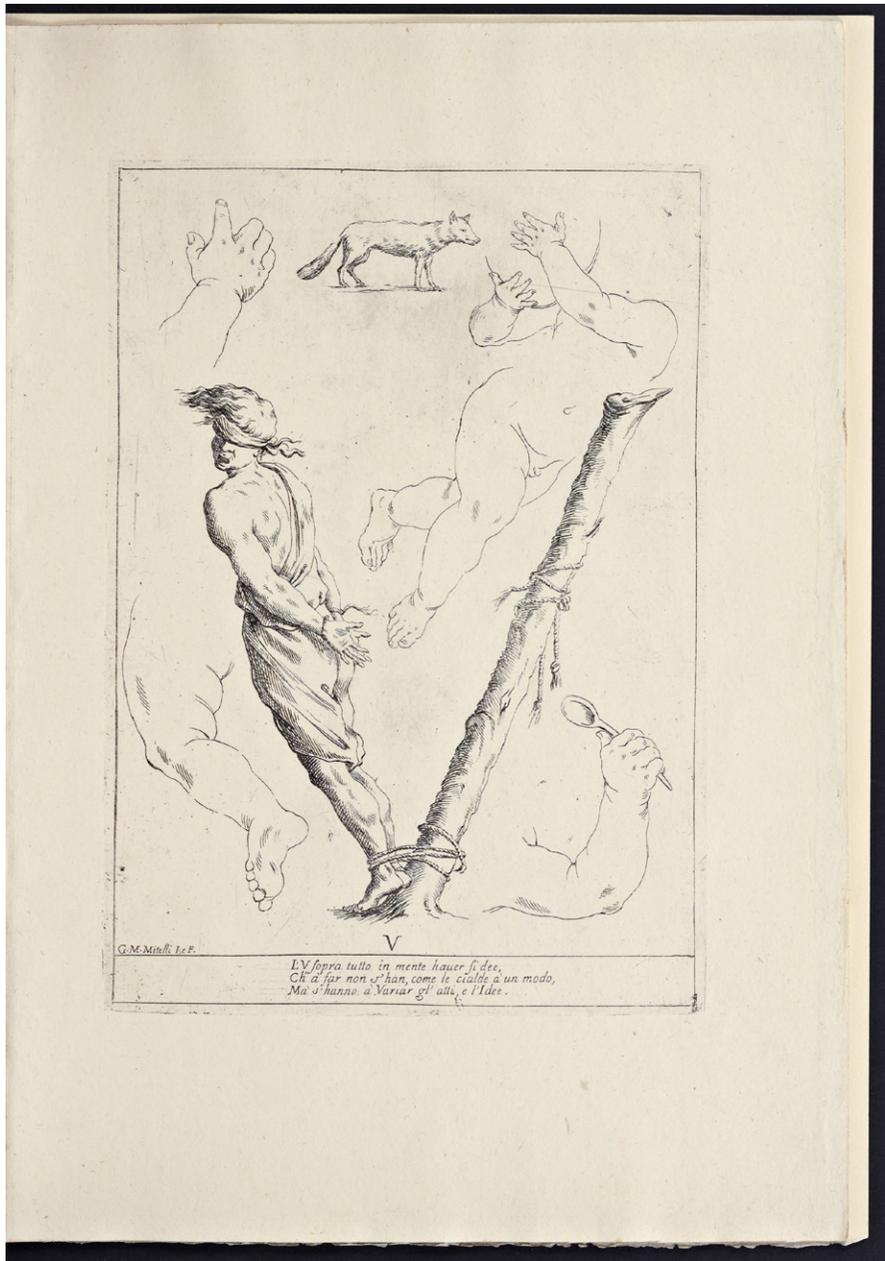


Figure 1 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, Letter V from *Alfabeto in sogno*, 1683. Etching, 270 mm × 189 mm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo: Getty Research Institute.

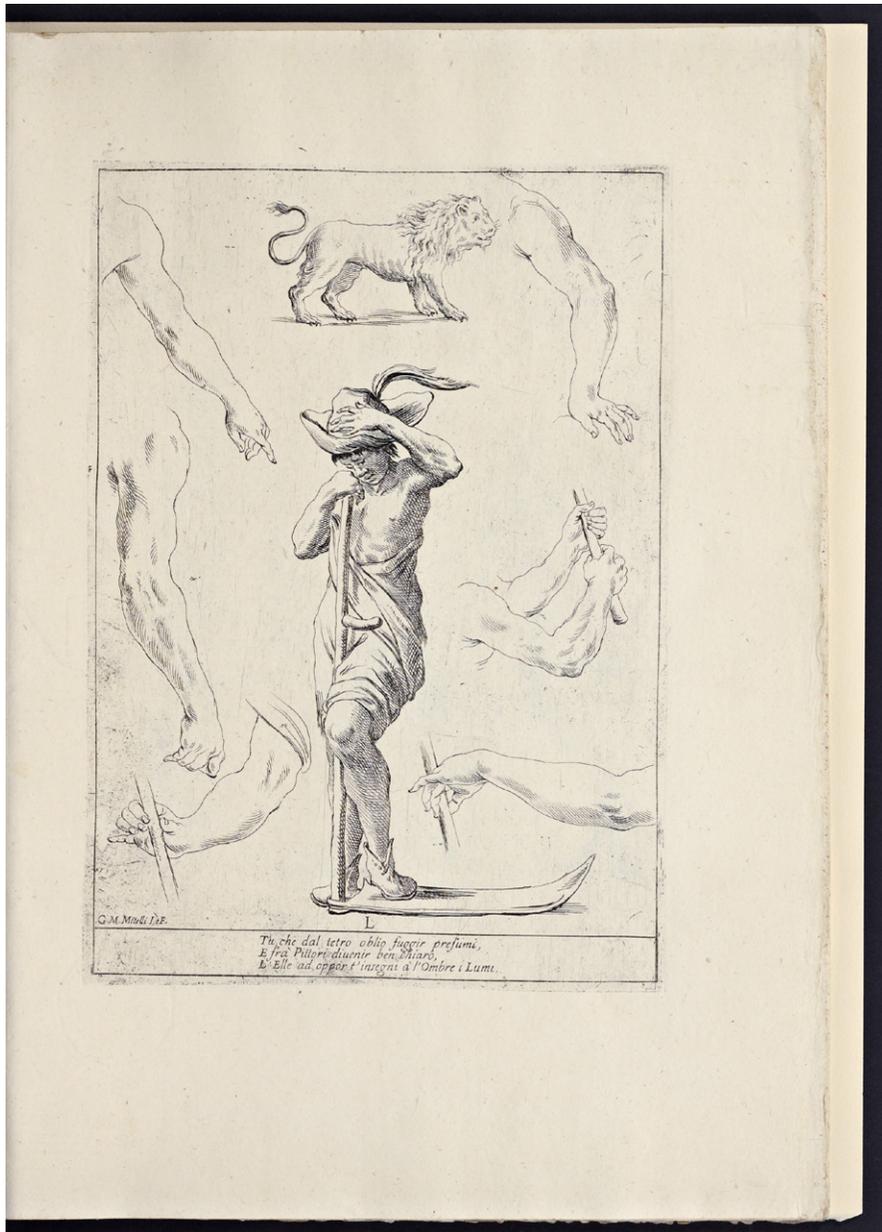


Figure 2 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, Letter L from *Alfabeto in sogno*, 1683. Etching, 270 mm × 189 mm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo: Getty Research Institute.

Gesture certainly has a relationship to language, but more than anything it is an extension of the processes going on in the living body, many of which are some versions of this process of fragmentation and reunification.

In art history, gesture is a key lens for the interpretation of figurative images, yet it often functions as a way to bring language or intentionality to a silent or even indecipherable form of representation. Art history frequently returns, consciously or unconsciously, to the model provided by Leon Battista Alberti's idea of the *historia*, a multi-figure narrative painting. Alberti defined the parts of the *historia* as the bodies, and the parts of the bodies as members.³ Therefore, the *historia* communicates through the movements of the body and its members, or its gestures.

Gesture is key to Alberti's understanding of painting. He exhorts artists to use gesture to show not just the movements of the bodily structures beneath the skin, but also the movements of the unseen mind which make viewers feel the emotions in the *historia*.⁴ In fact, he actually connects gesture closely to the living body when he notes that in a live painted body, all movements must show this quality of life, just as in death they must all show death.⁵ As James Heffernan concludes, however, Alberti ultimately contradicts his purpose by making the *historia* defer to the principles of spoken language and not gesture in order to make this communication clear enough.⁶ Other art historical interpretations of gesture did often foreground the body, but used their knowledge of the body as a way of strictly codifying its movements, Charles Le Brun's *Expressions of the Passions* being probably the most notable example.⁷ Perhaps because the neural mechanism of how gesture happens is now taught in high school biology, trying to formulate gesture as an art historical concept may seem almost like deliberate self-deception. This mechanism is not incorrect, but the process of gesture as described by modern neuroscience does not apply to the body of Mitelli's time. The body now is not primarily a structure, as it was to Vesalius, or defined by the movement of vital spirits like the humoral body. It is a chemical machine, and it fragments down to individual metabolic processes based in specific chemical reactions. Still, the gestures of the contemporary body, just like gestures in general, remain defined by how life is seen to take place.

Following the alphabet's lead, I will begin my investigation of gesture with Mitelli's letter A (1683, fig. 3). In a human alphabet, the A is not just the beginning of a series of letters, but also represents the embodied basis of



Figure 3 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, Letter A from *Alfabeto in sogno*, 1683. Etching, 270 mm × 189 mm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo: Getty Research Institute.

all the rest of the alphabetic letter-bodies to come. Both Michael Gaudio in *Engraving the Savage* and Erika Mary Boeckeler in *Playful Letters* point out that the letter A in human alphabets usually alludes more or less openly to Adam and Eve.⁸ In Theodor de Bry's single-plate alphabet, for example, the A is made up of a man and woman making up the legs of the A, quite literally 'falling' into each other while holding between them an apple.⁹ The other bodies seem therefore denoted as the result of the genesis of that first letter, just as all humans are the result of the union between Adam and Eve. Similarly to de Bry's alphabet, Mitelli's letter A (fig. 3) has the form of two figures falling into each other, but they are both male. This, together with their ruffled hair and dress, bring to the scene the appearance of a fight. The Biblical allusions carried by the genre of seventeenth-century body alphabets, combined with the conflict of the two young men suggests that instead of the Fall, Mitelli tweaks the narrative of the letter A to show the story of the brothers Cain and Abel. The similarities between the two sets of figures are close enough that he must have been consciously manipulating the Biblical implications of the letter. Even the apple is shown held between the hands of the two figures. Mitelli's change brings attention to how gesture is an extension of the body, and a manipulation of it. But what does the change from that of a conjugal coupling to a fight to the death say about the rest of Mitelli's letter-bodies? It is important to note that at the beginning of the alphabet Mitelli does not show a dead or an ill body, as he does, for example, later in his letter N (1683, fig. 4). Despite its threat, the opening scene is not about death. Mitelli seems to be telling us that what sexual reproduction was for earlier human alphabets, embodied violence is for his. The violence is also between two brothers, which makes it all the more striking. In some ways they are two parts of the same body, but conflict prevents them from recognising their connection. Mitelli's treatment of the A suggests that, in gesture, the fragmentation of the body is always a difficult, even violent process.

The notion of gesture as violence has other precedents. In the letter X (1529, fig. 5) from the *Champ Fleury*, printmaker Geoffroy Tory's 1529 ode to the structure of written language, the man that occupies the letter X appears physically tortured – he is spread-eagled as if being quartered. Simultaneously, the text beside the image shows how the rows of the grid correspond to the different liberal arts. Tom Conley writes in *The Self-Made Map* that the diagonal axes of the grid are the axes of torture which form



Figure 4 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, Letter N from *Alfabeto in sogno*, 1683. Etching, 270 mm × 189 mm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo: Getty Research Institute.

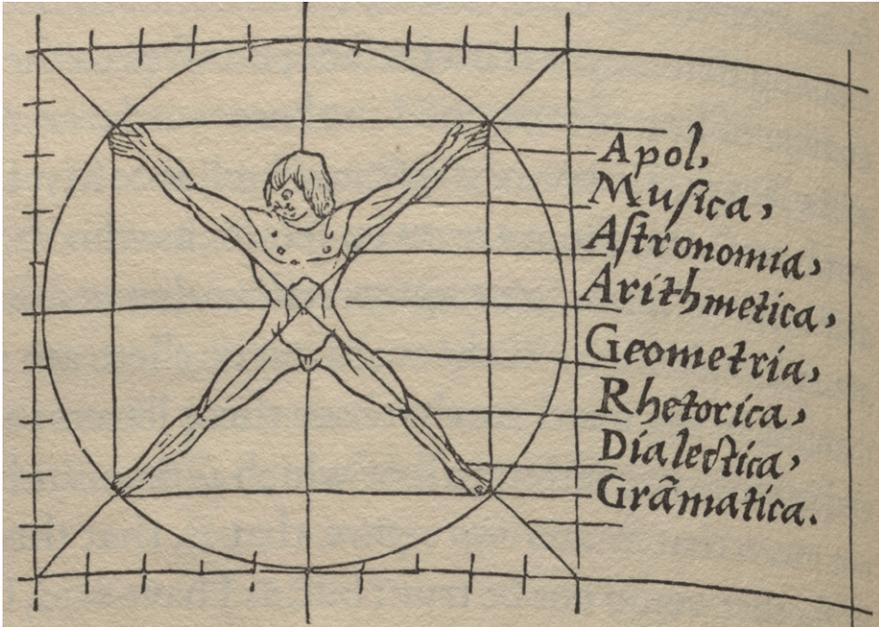


Figure 5 Geoffroy Tory, *The quartered man who trains in the liberal arts* from Geoffroy Tory, *Champ Fleury*, 1529. Woodcut, dimensions unknown. Library of Congress, Washington DC. Photo: Library of Congress.

the letter, while the ‘free’ X and Y axes making up the grid allude to the creative power of the letter in the liberal arts.¹⁰ Gesture is a kind of torture for the body, but it also presents a creative freedom. Mitelli creates a highly evocative illustration of gesture as creative torture in the various tied-up figures of the *Alfabeto*. In the letters V and X, the restraints of this torture are quite literal and come in the form of ropes that are taut with the strength of the bodies’ resistance to them. Yet, it is their battle against their restraints that creates the letter-forms. Similarly, in de Bry’s single-plate alphabet, while the bodies are not directly restrained, there is a kind of pressure and torture on the body in the fact that the bodies represented are those of North American indigenous people. As Michael Gaudio points out, the bodies are used to form an alphabet they themselves do not understand, twisted to conform into this scheme.¹¹ Meanwhile, their own language remains indecipherable to the viewers of the alphabet. This again underlines the difficult relationship between language and gesture.

Like the ropes that bind the man in the V (fig. 1) to the tree trunk, certain organs within the body rein in the various parts of the body, controlling their movements. According to some contemporary anatomical descriptions of gesture, the literal paragon of Mitelli's restraints within the body are several 'centres' of the body which control gesture. Often, they are the physical locations of the soul in the body. The English physician John Bulwer describes gesture in his book *Pathomyotomia*:

The brain commandeth as soon as it hath judged whether the thing is to be avoided or prosecuted . . . the muscle illustrated with animal spirits obeys, . . . and as a rider by the moving of his reins, guides his horse, so the force of the soul residing in the brain, moves the muscles by the nerves, as with the reins.¹²

The muscle is like a lesser being compared to the brain, which is to muscle as human is to steed. But this very structure hides within itself the fragmentation that is the key to gesture, and the chief threat to this order – although the brain reins them into a functioning whole, Bulwer must divide the body into a hierarchy of parts in order to describe the process of how gesture happens. Similarly, Mitelli also literally reins in his figures for the purpose of expression. But, in order for the V to be created, the man inside it must fight with all his might to distance himself from his restraints. The reining in creates the letter and the gesture, but it also emphasises the opposing forces between the elements that make it up. Bulwer's description fragments the very system it hopes to describe. The same is found in Charles Le Brun's theory of expression, in which all facial expressions are created through combinations of eyebrow and mouth movements, showing the movements of the brain and the heart, respectively.¹³ But again, Le Brun's description of the gesturing body leads him to break the body down into ever smaller parts. Going beneath the skin to examine the way that gesture happens, we find that this fragmentation is inevitable, just as the surface of the letter hides the struggle necessary to achieve it. In fact, the battle of the centres of the body to rein in their charges is somewhat hopeless. A body conceived of as a command centre is already fragmented by this very fact, and the infinite inventiveness of gesture, the creativity that comes with the range of motion of different parts of the body, as well as their orientation towards the world outside the body, will always represent a challenge to this centralised

structure. The V, with its semi-bound body and broken ropes, shows that the fragmentation of the gesturing body is itself irreparable.

At the same time, even in its fragmented state, the body continues to live. Mitelli indicates that only the absence of gesture is truly death. Mitelli's N page (fig. 4) shows a woman, clearly either dead or at death's door, tied to a wooden stretcher. Rather than live gesturing body parts, the fragments surrounding the procession are human skulls. The key difference between the woman and her counterpart in the V is that she does not in any way resist against the rope. It lies slack against her abdomen, only there to ensure she does not slip off the wooden stretcher. Her arms are folded just above the rope, pointedly inactive. Her body melts into the wooden surface and bows completely to the force of the man dragging the body. She does not gesture, therefore she does not live. In fact, in contemporary medical discourse some of the basic physiological processes of life were understood in terms of the body's interplay of restraint and release.

For Andreas Vesalius, for example, the issue of firmness versus elasticity, a controlled tension that allows for the necessary amount of movement, is key to what it means to be human. He calls the thorax the ultimate example of the Creator's genius because of its blend of bone and muscle. Its protective shell keeps the essential organs of the human body safe. Simultaneously, its flexibility allows the body to expand as it takes in air. Just like the letter V, the lungs are semi-anchored. This ingenious alternation of solidity and give that shapes the chest and abdomen is to Vesalius not just the basis of breathing and digestion, but the very foundation of human society.¹⁴ The construction of the respiratory system allows not just for the breath, but also for speech. Meanwhile, the abdomen's lack of bones enables humans to eat enough at a time to avoid constantly having to be looking for food. Vesalius posits that 'if we needed a constant supply of food and drink as we do of air we should have to lead a life devoid of philosophy and the arts; we should have to concentrate all the time on food and should have no efforts to spare on things of excellence and beauty'.¹⁵ Many of the creative arts we explore through gesture – painting, sculpture, rhetoric, dance, theatre – are in turn made possible by a gesture-like process. After all, what is bone in this structure, but a way of maintaining the unity of the body, keeping things in and keeping things out? What is the expansion of the lungs but a movement away from the whole that always bears the risk of breaking away? The example of breathing that Vesalius uses is, in

its physical realization, exactly like gesture. Of course, breathing is the most utilitarian of movements, but on the level of the physical process it shows that fundamentally – to gesture is to be alive. The gestural process of fragmenting outwards and reunifying into the whole is one constantly taking place in the body – it is that very process that allows the body to support a specifically human existence. To breathe is not to gesture, but in their functioning and its fragmentation and reunification of the body, breathing and gesture are the same and, indeed, one makes the other possible.

If Mitelli's V highlights the fragmenting part of this process, then his X (1683, fig. 6), the same letter which Tory used to show the creative power of gestural torture, highlights reunification. The X consists of a male and a female satyr, trussed and tied together at the waist. As in the V, the satyrs' struggle against their restraints creates the shape of the letter. Mitelli's X is alike to the reproductive role of the A in most human alphabets, in that it shows a male and female figure falling into one another. In the X, they are falling into each other backside to backside, their facial expressions showing an unwillingness to be restrained in this way. Nevertheless, the figures also inadvertently support each other. This matches both the thread of violence that runs through Mitelli's alphabet, and his reinterpretation of the traditions of the human alphabet. The creative sexual act in itself is a kind of reunification of fragmented body parts as well. Vesalius's famous illustration of the uterus (1543, fig. 7) illustrates the still-widespread belief that the male and female reproductive organs were merely inverted versions of one another. The perceived difference was that the female organs never made their way out of the body because of a lack of internal heat. The essential reproductive apparatus is the same, the differences are in the humoural balance of the body and the movement, the gesture, it causes outwards beyond the limits of the body. The Venetian lawyer and polymath Giovanni Bonifacio, in his 1616 book on gesture *L'arte de' cenni*, even lists being female as a gesture of the genitals.¹⁶ Therefore, reproduction is not just the creation of more living, gesturing bodies, but also an illustration of how human genitals, essentially like two pieces cut from the same cloth, represent the reunification of two parts of the same whole. This reunification has a Biblical dimension as well, since Eve was created from a fragment of Adam's body, the rib, so that the parts of the two bodies can even literally be seen as a reunification of fragments from the same form.



Figure 6 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, Letter X from *Alfabeto in sogno*, 1683. Etching, 270 mm × 189 mm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo: Getty Research Institute.



Figure 7 John Stephan Calcar, *Illustration of a uterus* from Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, 1543. Woodcut, 387 mm × 260 mm. Wellcome Collection, London 'Photo: Wellcome Collection'.

As well as the literal generation of more human bodies, the X includes a covert reference to language. The movement of the two bodies gives the arching ropes the shape of a pair of lips – a hidden bodily fragment far less obvious than the disembodied feet that surround the two satyrs. This is emphasised by the pursed lips of the turbaned man above the letter. Lips are doubly important for the issue of generation. On the one hand, they denote speech, the generation of language in an alphabet. On the other hand, appropriately for a coupling in a human alphabet, they could also represent female genitals, the site of human reproduction and of the generation of more gesturing letter-bodies. The creation of gesture, Mitelli tells us again, as of life, is not a peaceful nor a smooth process. The violence and unwillingness of the satyrs' union shows that gesture is never merely located in the centres of the body nor completely in its peripheral limbs, but is in itself a contradictory process resulting from the relationship of fragment and whole. Gesture is a testing of the body's ability to encompass.

Although it is undeniable that gesture is embodied, it has certain acquired, culturally codified aspects that must be addressed. The teaching of gesture took on an extremely literal dimension in the attempts made to turn gesture into a language, particularly in the seventeenth century. Some, like John Bulwer's compendia of hand gestures, resulted in a more successful legacy than others, like Giovanni Bonifacio's dictionary of gesture. Early-modern Italy saw an increased publication of treatises on gesture, especially those that explored the links between gesture and regional identity.¹⁷ Of particular interest were not just the meanings of individual gestures, but also their grammar, and how this grammar differed regionally, much like a dialect. Mitelli himself must have been acutely aware of how gesture could come to take on extremely specific meanings, since his game broadsheets were often based on specific gestures. In the context of situations like games, the communicative aspect of gesture is artificially heightened. In *Il gioco nuovo da ridere (The New Game of Laughing)* (1697, fig. 8), when a player rolls a number on the dice, they must perform the gesture shown in the image on the broadsheet corresponding to that number. In this case, the image becomes far more proscriptive than language to the creativity of gesture, because it allows a smaller degree of variation from the original instruction to movement. In situations in which gestures are defined by strict rules, a movement can even be like a word – it has its specific places where it is appropriate, it can be used proficiently or



Figure 8 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Il gioco nuovo da ridere*, 1697. Etching, 312 mm × 447 mm. British Museum, London. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photo: British Museum.

clumsily, it can be enacted with a specific twist, almost an accent. Just like a word, if corporeally ‘mispronounced’ to a degree high enough, gesture too becomes unrecognisable. These are not languages – they are too simple and too specific for that. But if necessary for a specific purpose, gesture can take on language-like traits, if only on a highly localised scale. Ironically, though, the reason why gestures never became the kind of corporeal Esperanto that Bonifacio hoped for is precisely the limitless power of the body to create and communicate. Even the smallest movement, the barest twitch of a finger, can be redolent with meaning. Then, there are also the constant movements of life taking place in the body that interweave with gesture. The body is simply too infinite in its variation, too prolific in its inventiveness. Gesture can always be taken one step further.

In such situations where gesture is highly codified, almost language-like, the living body does not disappear. The gesture-like processes of the living body, such as breathing, or digestion, still continue. Even those body parts

which are highly regulated might gesture more freely during brief periods of respite when specific movements are not so highly scrutinised. The living body resembles Michel de Certeau's definition of *la perruque*. *La perruque*, or the wig, denotes a merging of official work and outside activities, in which the personal activities are done at the time and in the location of work, in a way that masks them as work. de Certeau describes how *la perruque* 'grafts itself onto the system of the industrial assembly line (its counterpoint, in the same place) as a variant of the activity which, outside the factory (in another place), takes the form of bricolage'.¹⁸ The body performs its desired tasks, but the numerous movements of the living, gesturing body continue in the same time and in the same place that the 'work' of codified gesture happens. For De Certeau, these are necessarily two separate, different yet interconnected activities, but in the case of gesture, *la perruque* could also denote a single gesture doing the 'work' of multiple meanings. In fact, the processes of fragmentation and reunification could be described in the terms of *la perruque*. The fragmentation is the result of specific body parts performing gestures in response to specific stimuli – what we might call work – but the continuing movements of the inherently gestural living body continue to take place even in those parts of the body responding to the requirements of the personal activity. Mitelli's figures in the *Alfabeto* show an interesting play on this idea of work; they are mostly engaged in traditional activities of work, but are simultaneously doing the work of making up the alphabet. Their gestures play a dual purpose, which might not always be recognized. I am left to wonder which is the officially sanctioned work, and which is *la perruque*.

The difference between *la perruque* and gesture, however, is in the balance of power. The small amount of language-like gestural activities makes up only a tiny portion of human gesture. The appearance of *la perruque* is merely that – an appearance. The living body finds no need to conceal and mask itself, like the personal activities of *la perruque* do. It is merely that from the perspective of highly regulated systems like one of Mitelli's game broadsheets, the broad scope that living gesture entails is temporarily sublimated. Gesture's relationship to language, which often sidelines our perception of the living body, contains a large degree of slippage in that gesture can become language-like. This slippage is, however, only local and means that any true and lasting definition of gesture must be based in the living body and not in gesture's brief excursions into language-like territory.

Going back once more to the letter A (fig. 3), Mitelli shows how gesture is language-like and highly communicative in certain situations, but remains a result of the living body's inherently embodied condition. The two men in the A are surrounded by multiple eyes in something approaching opposite positions. The eyes remind us of the readers of letters (since this is, after all, an alphabet) and also of the viewers of images. The question these disembodied viewers must ask themselves while gazing at the letter-bodies is the same question anyone dealing with gesture must: should the bodies be read as language, or viewed as an image? After all, gesture is much like an image in that it is usually viewed. Both gestures and images are often subjected to reading as if they were language. Like images, furthermore, gestures have the ability to obscure and be indecipherable. Although it is true that the two different ways of viewing the letter coexist, they do get in the way of each other in the moment. In order to see the letter we have to temporarily ignore the bodies and vice versa, just as we must ignore the living body and its processes when we are viewing gesture as a highly regulated, language-like method of communication with specific meanings. I have attempted in this paper to describe how these two ways of perceiving gesture coexist, but without compromising on the fact that gesture is always an extension of the living body. In the fragmented, hierarchical system, this leads gesture to be a constant process of fragmentation and unification. In different systems of perceiving the body, such as the humoural body, this process will differ in its exact mechanism. Gesture's combination of externalisation and internalisation and its fraught relationship to language, however, mean that this process will never be painless, and will always, to some degree, constitute a creative torture.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

- 1 Jacques Derrida, *The Gift of Death: Second Edition & Literature in Secret*, trans. by David Wills (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 61.
- 2 For a biography of Mitelli, including his training with Francesco Albani, Guercino and

- Simone Cantarini, see Giampietro Zanotti, *Storia dell' Accademia clementina di Bologna* (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1739), 181–184. For an example of the duality often expressed between Mitelli's 'high' and 'low' personas, see Anton Boschloo's contrast between what he calls the 'official' and the 'folkish' Mitelli in Anton W. A. Boschloo, 'Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634–1718): Kunstenaar Of Handwerks Man?', *Netherlands Yearbook For History Of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 38 [1] (1987): 40–52 .
- 3 Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, ed. and trans. Rocco Sinisgalli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 55.
 - 4 Alberti, *On Painting*, 61–62.
 - 5 Alberti, *On Painting*, 57–58.
 - 6 James A. Heffernan, 'Alberti on Apelles: Word and Image in "De Pictura"', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 2 [3] (1996): 345–359.
 - 7 Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
 - 8 Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 13; and Erika Mary Boeckeler, *Playful Letters: A Study in Early Modern Alphabets* (n.p.: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 58–60.
 - 9 Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, 13.
 - 10 Tom Conley, 'The Letter and the Grid: Geoffroy Tory' in Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 69.
 - 11 Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, 5.
 - 12 John Bulwer, *Pathomyotomia or a Dissection of the Significant Muscles of the Affections of the Minde* (London: W.W. for Humphrey Moseley, 1649), 13–14.
 - 13 Le Brun in Montagu, *Expression*, 126–140.
 - 14 Andreas Vesalius, *On the Fabric of the Human Body: Book I, Bones and Cartilages*, trans. by William Frank Richardson and John B. Carman (San Francisco: Norman Publishing, 1998), 207–208.
 - 15 Vesalius, *On the Fabric*, 209.
 - 16 Giovanni Bonifacio, *L'arte de cenni* (Vincenza: Francesco Grossi, 1616), 378.
 - 17 Peter Burke, 'The Language of Gesture in Early Modern Italy' in Jan N. Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, *A Cultural History of Gesture: from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 74–75.
 - 18 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 29.