PRINT QUARTERLY

MARCH 2012

VOLUME XXIX NUMBER 1

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PRINTS AND DRAWINGS

Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), *Kleine Welten*, complete set of twelve original prints, 1922 (one from the set illustrated above).

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Cover: Detail from *The Printmaker's Workshop* attributed to Hans Collaert after Jan van der Straet, called Stradanus

A Frontispiece for Galileo's *Opere*: Pietro Anichini and Stefano della Bella

Jaco Rutgers

The frontispiece for Galileo Galilei's *Opere*, issued in Bologna in 1656, is one of the most famous of Stefano della Bella's many illustrations for printed books (fig. 1).[1] An examination of the extensive correspondence on the *Opere* provides detailed information on the process of its publication and sheds a completely new light on the commission of its frontispiece. One would have thought Della Bella the logical choice for the job. He was the Medici court printmaker and the Galileo books appeared under Grand Ducal protection. Moreover, especially in the 1650s, he produced numerous frontispieces and had already provided one for Galileo's notorious *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* (The Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems) of 1632 (fig. 2).[2] In fact, writing to his Parisian publisher Pierre Mariette in 1654, Della Bella even used the effort associated with the frontispieces as an excuse for not having made anything great at the time.[3] However, he turns out not to have been the first choice for this project. And although he signed the print at lower left with his characteristic monogram, it does not seem to have been his own invention either. He was only called on during the last phase when the publisher was close to despair: reaching consensus on the final *modello* had taken a long time, approval from the Medici princes had been difficult and, finally, the selected engraver did not deliver as promised. Della Bella stepped in and saved the day.

As early as 1652, plans were being made for an edition of the complete works of Galileo Galilei, and by 1654 the Bolognese book publisher Carlo Manolessi had rallied sufficient forces for this ambitious enterprise. He organized the support of the Medici family and some of the scientist's students. Most notably, the group included Vincenzo Viviani, who called himself Galileo's last pupil, and was invited in the same year by Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici to write his master's biography for the publication, as mentioned in a letter by Carlo Dati to Cassiano dal Pozzo of 12 October 1652. The following year this *vita dell' autore* was still intended to be included, according to another letter by Dati to Dal Pozzo dated 25 May 1655. Eventually, however, the biography was left out, to be published only in 1717.[4]

Part of the correspondence between Manolessi and Viviani concerning the project is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.[5] The many letters give a vivid insight into its progress. From the beginning, it was clear that major problems would arise. In particular, obtaining the necessary permission for publication from the Inquisition was expected to be a serious obstacle, although at an early stage it was decided that the *Dialogo* of 1632 would not be included. Galileo's defence of the Copernican system against the traditional Ptolomaic one was still on the Index. It seems that the inquisitor in Bologna, Guglielmo Fuochi, was an especially fierce censor of any Copernican thought.[6] A successful lobbying campaign was started and favours were called in from several influential supporters of Galileo. As it turned out, getting the

I came across the documents under discussion during a fellowship in 2001–05 at the Dutch University Institute in Florence at the invitation of Bert W. Meijer. Heiko Damm encouraged me to write this article after I had mentioned the existence of these documents at the conference, 'Della bella linea: Graphische Bravour und epistemische Praxis im Werk von Stefano della Bella', Warburg-Haus, Hamburg, 9 and 10 July 2009, organized by the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz/Max-Planck-Institut in collaboration with the Kupferstichkabinett of the Kunsthalle Hamburg. Apart from those colleagues mentioned above, I owe thanks to Georg Dietz, Helen Langdon, Giorgio Marini and Evert Rutgers for their valuable help.

1. A. De Vesme, *Stefano della Bella: Catalogue Raisonné*, edited by P. Dearborn Massar, New York, 1971, I, pp. 7–8 (henceforth De Vesme/Massar or DV) and *Stefano della Bella illustratore di Libri*, edited by F. Borroni Salvadori, Florence, 1976; DV 965.
2. DV 905.
3. The letter by Mariette is published in De Vesme/Massar, p. 216.
4. A. Mirto, 'I rapporti epistolari tra Cassiano dal Pozzo e Carlo Roberto Dati', *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, 2001-II, pp. 37–38, no. 21 and p. 81, no. 65 and M. Segre, 'Viviani's Life of Galileo', *Isis*, LXXX, 1989, pp. 207–31.
5. The documents, kept in the so-called *Fondo Gallileiano*, were published with letters by pupils of Galileo in *Le Opere dei Discepoli di Galileo Galilei. Carteggio, Vol. 2: 1649–1656*, edited by P. Galluzzi and M. Torrini, Florence, 1984. Although much quoted in the context of Galileo studies, the letters have gone largely unexamined by art historians.
6. A. Battistini, *Galileo e I Gesuiti. Miti letterari e retorica della Scienza*, Milan, 2000, p. 258.

1. Stefano della Bella, Frontispiece for *Opere di Galileo Galilei*, etching, 1656, 210 x 152 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet).

texts printed was not such a problem after all. It was mostly the delays associated with the frontispiece that sorely tested the publisher's patience.

The support of the Medici for this project is not surprising. In fact, the family was quite eager to see Galileo's papers gathered and reprinted. As early as 1650 Cardinal Leopoldo had inquired about the possibility of receiving permission for such an enterprise.[7] The Medici relationship with Galileo Galilei dates back to 1605, when the young scientist started teaching mathematics to the infant Prince Cosimo, later Grand Duke Cosimo II. A few years later Galileo dedicated his discovery of Jupiter's four satellites to the Medici rulers and called them *I Pianeti Medicei* (The Medici Planets). Consequently, he was elected *primario Matematico e Filosofo* of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a title that features prominently on the title-pages of his publications from 1610 onwards. Apart from these obvious links between the Medici and Galileo, the Florentine court had a connection with the publisher as well. As Carlo Manolessi proudly stresses in his dedication of the *Opere* to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Medici had already allowed him to dedicate the 1647 edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Vite de'Pittori* to Ferdinand II.[8]

First mention of the intended frontispiece to the *Opere di Galileo Galilei* is made in a letter by Carlo Manolessi to Vincenzo Viviani of 16 March 1655, when the project was still in its initial phase. The publisher wants 'a capricious invention' alluding to Galileo's works, to the author himself, and to the Highnesses who had been responsible for making his discoveries possible.[9] Progress on the frontispiece, however, was slow. As becomes clear from his letters, Manolessi gathered various designs that were to be combined into a single *bozza* (design). Apparently, a certain painter, whose name is never mentioned but who seems to have been active in Florence at the time, was responsible for a working model that was to be engraved by a professional printmaker. On 28 September Viviani writes to Manolessi that the frontispiece was completed by the *pittore* but had not yet been approved by the Cardinal.[10] The several versions had to be shown to Cardinal Leopoldo and other *virtuosi* for advice and approval. Already in the first letter, Manolessi writes that he has gathered *alcuni schizzi* from various sources. He requests Viviani to show and discuss them with others who are

2. Stefano della Bella, Frontispiece for *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del Mondo* by Galileo Galilei, etching, 201 x 145 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet).

expected to give advice and that they should form a *bozza* together. On 8 May, the publisher writes that he is putting the different *schizzi* together himself and will be sending them to His Highness for his approval. On 8 June, *due schizzi di frontispicii* are mentioned as being sent to Florence to solicit the opinions of *coteste altezze*. On 10 August, Manolessi sends *il presente pensiere* to Viviani with another request to show it to His Highness and *altri virtuosi*.[11]

The publisher constantly tries to speed up the project and writes to Viviani on several occasions that there is little time and that he does not want more time to pass without anything happening. On 20 April Manolessi complained to Viviani that '*il tempo è breve*'.

7. M. Segre, *In the Wake of Galileo*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1991, pp. 104–06.
8. G. Galiei, *Opere*, edited by C. Manolessi, Bologna, 1656, I, s.p. and G. Vasari, *Vite de'Pittori*, edited by C. Manolessi, Bologna, 1647.
9. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 190, no. 581 and A. Battistini, op. cit., p. 258.
10. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 261, no. 640.
11. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 190, no. 581, p. 215, no. 600, p. 231, no. 616 and p. 243, no. 624.

3. Francesco Villamena, *Portrait of Galileo Galilei*, engraving, 205 x 157 mm (Photo courtesy Christie's, London).

On 8 June he writes that he still remains deprived of the *adornamento del frontispiccio in rame*. Two weeks later he complains that he has not received a syllable of instruction regarding the frontispiece. By 10 August he is getting really worried ('Mi dà fastidio grandemente il frontispiccio in rame ...'). And again on 17 and 24 August, 4, 7, 14, 18 and 21 September and 5 October he asks after the design.[12] Only on 9 October 1655 is he able to report back to his Florentine contact that he has received the sketch for the frontispiece with the adjustments proposed by the Cardinal. The approval of the *modello* took longer than expected because Viviani had to await Leopoldo de' Medici's return from the Villa di Artimino, and Viviani used Leopoldo's absence as an excuse for not having replied to three of Manolessi's letters.[13]

The publication of the *Opere* itself is well on its way by July of the same year. By then, Manolessi is establishing the sequence of the many essays, dialogues and letters by Galileo to be gathered into two volumes. According to the plans sent to Viviani, Francesco Villamena's engraved portrait of Galileo Galilei was to be recycled as well (fig. 3), which coincidentally disproves Dorothee Kühn-Hattenhauer's assumption that the plate had been lost by 1635.[14] The illustration was to be included between the index and the text of the *Compasso Geometrico e Militare* (The Geometric and Military Compass). It was already suggested that Galileo's portrait should be placed just before the *Compasso* on 8 May, but at the time the engraver was not specified.[15] Villamena probably made the portrait in or just before 1613, when it served as a frontispiece for Galileo's *Lettere sopra le macchie solari* (Letters on Sunspots). A decade later it was used again for the first edition of his *Il Saggiatore* (The Assayer), published in 1623.

By 7 September 1655 all but one of Galileo's works are printed and the missing *Continuatione del Nuntio sidereo* (Continuation of the Sidereal Messenger) was to take only another week.[16] At the same time the frontispiece is only in the planning phase, although the names of several printmakers as possible engravers for the still unfinished design are being considered. An unnamed competent young man and rising star is recommended by Marquis Ferdinando Cospi in a letter to Viviani of 4 September 1655. Cospi was in close contact with the *scienziati* at the Florentine court and especially with Cardinal Leopoldo.[17] Since this artist had not made a name for himself yet, Viviani is advised to make further inquiries about him with the goldsmith Vicenzo Salvi. If it turned out that this engraver was not capable of doing justice to the design, a more experienced engraver like Cornelis Bloemaert in Rome or Giacomo Piccini in Venice would be commissioned to do the job.[18] Even Stefano della Bella is considered, because His Highness (Cardinal Leopoldo) is thought to prefer

12. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 207, no. 593, p. 228, no. 613, p. 231, no. 616, p. 243, no. 624, p. 244, no. 625, p. 246, no. 626, p. 250, no. 631, p. 253, no. 633, p. 255, no. 634, pp. 256–57, no. 636, p. 259, no. 638 and p. 262, no. 641.
13. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 260–61, no. 640 and p. 263, no. 642.
14. D. Kühn-Hattenhauer, *Das Grafische Oeuvre des Francesco Villamena*, Berlin, 1979, pp. 120–22.
15. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 214–15, no. 600 and pp. 234–35, no. 618.
16. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 253, no. 633.
17. I owe this reference to Giorgio Marini: Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 250, no. 631 and F. Tognoni, in *Il cannocchiale e il pennello: nuova scienza e nuova arte nell'età di Galileo*, edited by L. Tomasi Tongiorgi and A. Tosi, Florence 2009, p. 381, no. 140. Tognoni also mentions Cospi as the one who suggested the engraver for the frontispiece.
18. The recommendation to get information from Salvi as well as the suggestion to send the design to Bloemaert or Piccini are made in the same letter of 5 October. See Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 262–63, no. 641.

him.[19] Manolessi declares that he does not have a favourite himself as long as the result is perfect.[20] Without further discussion it is decided that Cospi's protégé should receive the commission and his name is revealed for the first time in a letter of 5 October 1655: it is Pietro Anichini.[21]

Not much is known about the life and work of this printmaker who was based in Florence. Two dated engravings, one of 1654 showing *The Good Samaritan* after an invention by Jacopo Bassano and one of 1655 showing *The Holy Family and the Infant St John in a Landscape*, were until now the only dated documents. In the abovementioned correspondence from the same year he is called a *giovine* and *giovinetto*, indicating that he was probably not more than 25 years old at the time.[22] His portrait of the *granprincipe di Toscana*, later Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici, should also be dated to 1655 (fig. 4). It is noted in the correspondence between Carlo Dati, another pupil of Galileo, and Cassiano dal Pozzo from August of that year. Dati had obviously sent Dal Pozzo impressions of the portrait when it had just appeared and Dal Pozzo writes to thank him. He calls Anichini a *virtuoso* and adds that if these were the beginnings of this *giovanetto* then he was looking at a great future. In reply, Dati sends Dal Pozzo another ten impressions of the same portrait. In the accompanying letter, he also mentions that the young engraver was working on a portrait of the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de'Medici and on *un saggio d'alcune medaglie antiche* ('an attempt [at prints] after a few antique medals') commissioned by Leopoldo de'Medici.[23] The two biblical prints by Anichini appear to be very rare and he seems to have specialized in portrait prints.[24] Most famous is his 1659 depiction of Cassiano dal Pozzo (fig. 5), of which Carlo Dati sent numerous impressions to his younger brother Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo in May that year. One may therefore assume that the print had just

4. Pietro Anichini, *Portrait of the Granprincipe di Toscana, later Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici*, 1655, engraving, trimmed within plate mark, sheet 291 x 228 mm (Florence, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi).

appeared. The same portrait was used for the 1664 published funerary oration, *Delle lodi del commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo* by Dati.[25] As well as the portrait of Cosimo III, Anichini also engraved the images of

19. The letter is dated 9 October 1655; Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 263, no. 642.
20. Ibid.
21. The engraver was inaccurately identified as Paolo Enrico Anichini by Galluzzi and Torrini and their identification was followed by Tognoni; Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 262, no. 641 and p. 268, no. 647 and Tognoni, op. cit., p. 381.
22. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 263, no. 642. Pietro Zani gives Anichini's date of birth as 1610 but it seems unlikely that he would still be called a *giovine* and *giovinetto* in 1655 if this really was the case (P. Zani, *Enciclopedia Metodica Critico-Ragionata delle Belle Arti, Parte prima, vol. II*, Parma, 1819, p. 132). Nagler's assumption that he was still active in 1715 is probably based on the fact that his portrait of Evangelista Torricelli was used for the edition of Torricelli's *Lezioni Accademiche* of that year (G. K. Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Kunstler-Lexicon,* I , Munich, 1835, p. 130). The first dictionary to mention Anichini is Giovanni Gori Gandellini's *Notizie istoriche degl'intagliatori*, Siena, 1771, I, p. 15. Paul Kristeller's entry on the artist in Thieme/Becker gives the most complete list of his known works (*Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler. Erster Band*, edited by U. Thieme and F. Becker, Leipzig, 1907, p. 527). It appears to be largely based on the prints Heinecken found in the Dresden print room (C. H. von Heinecken, *Dictionnaire des Artistes, dont nous avons des estampes avec une notice detaillée de leurs ouvrages gravés, Tome Premier - A*, Leipzig, 1778, p. 267).
23. Langedijk, op. cit., I, p. 591, nos. 29-10 and 29-10a and Mirto, op. cit., pp. 85–88, nos. 70-2.
24. The two biblical prints are in the print room of the Gemälde Galerie in Dresden (inv. A110037 and A110038). I am very grateful to Georg Dietz who kindly looked up these prints for me there and provided me with snapshots.
25. *Segretti di un Collezionista: le Straordinarie Raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo, 1588–1657*, edited by F. Solinas, Rome, 2001, pp. 101–02, no. 4 and 110–12, no. 15.

5. Pietro Anichini, *Portrait of Cassiano dal Pozzo*, 1659, engraving, 238 x 176 mm (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett).

Galileo's most famous pupil, Evangelista Torricelli, and of Count Humbert Czernin. The initiative for Toricelli's image may have coincided with plans for the publication of his *Opere* mentioned in 1656. It was included in the 1715 *Lezioni Accademiche*.[26]

The corrected design to be engraved by Anichini is sent to Manolessi in early October. It appears to have been very much to his liking, not least because it was to the taste of the Highnesses, as he states himself. His summary of the suggested improvements gives some information on the composition. According to one of the *virtuosi*, the expression of the figures could have been done in a better way and the manner in which Galileo hands the telescope to an allegorical figure of *Astronomy* was criticized.[27] The publisher agrees to have the drawing changed before sending it back to Florence. A blank sheet of paper is to be enclosed as a model of the size of the plate and, as Manolessi adds, both the painter and the engraver should keep to these measurements. The unknown painter provided the final design, the *modello*, and Anichini himself seems to have been responsible for transferring the design to the plate. As a *post scriptum*, the Bolognese publisher adds that he is prepared to provide Viviani with the necessary money to be able to make the engraver start at once and not lose time again. As he stresses again, all the texts have already been printed.[28]

Although the design is ready now, Carlo Manolessi is still not confident the frontispiece will be finished soon. Orders for the book have started to roll in from all parts of the world and he is getting more impatient. By the end of October, Viviani is requested to visit Anichini to instruct him on the required adjustments to the original sketch and to give him the plate measurements. And, if the engraver has not commenced already, he should get him started straight away. Manolessi even suggests that Anichini be kept awake for several nights to speed him up.[29] A week later, he practically begs Viviani to see to it that Anichini really finishes his work in two or three weeks.[30] Manolessi's letters, dated 16 and 23 November and 4 December, reveal his growing despair over the frontispiece. He declares himself 'the most mortified man in the world' (*il piu mortificato huomo*) and he is suffering 'incomparable torments' (*tormenti impareggiabile*).[31] In the first week of December the publisher presses for action because two *mercanti* from north of the Alps are paying him a visit, one from England and one from Amsterdam. They are on their way to Rome and plan on buying 100 *corpi di libri* ('sets of books') each on their return in five weeks. Viviani is to urge Anichini to work exclusively on the Galileo frontispiece and leave everything else to make sure he finishes before Christmas.[32]

Exactly two weeks later, Vincenzo Viviani finally reports back to Carlo Manolessi. He had been out of town for a while, but before he left he had stopped at Anichini's to claim the plate. The artist seemed to be on the job and had already made preparatory studies.

26. The portrait of Czernin can be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and impressions of Cosimo III are in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin and the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi in Florence; Mirto, op. cit., p. 92, no. 75.
27. Indeed, the design is changed in the final print, as discussed below. See Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 263–64, no. 642.
28. Ibid.
29. The letter is dated 23 October 1655. See Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 268, no. 647.
30. The letter is dated 30 October 1655. See Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 270–71, no. 649.
31. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 274, no. 652 and p. 275, no. 653.
32. The letter is dated 7 December 1655; Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 277, no. 656.

As an incentive, Viviani offered him the prospect of a handsome sum for his efforts and the artist promised to get the plate ready promptly. Immediately on Viviani's return from the countryside he went to see Anichini again, expecting to find the engraving more than half ready, but the engraver turned out to have done nothing at all. He claimed to have been requested to engrave '40 portraits of princes in a limited time'. Fearing he would lose that commission, he could only be persuaded to finish the Galileo frontispiece first if 'il Sig.r Principe' would convince the Venetian patron who had requested the portraits to give him a month's respite.[33]

Not to lose precious time again, Viviani immediately saw Leopoldo de'Medici, who declared himself willing either to persuade Anichini's other patron, the *Veneziano*, to push him along, or just to order the artist to leave every other job *per questo nostro*. Alternatively, the Cardinal suggested that Della Bella be offered the commission if he could promise to finish it in a few days. Viviani preferred this third option and paid Della Bella a visit. The etcher was prepared to leave everything he was working on in favour of the Galileo frontispiece, if it was His Highness's wish, and estimated the work at fifteen days. The only obstacle for Della Bella would be that he was expected to go to Pisa for New Year on his master's service, but Viviani got him the necessary permission from Leopoldo to stay in Florence longer in order to finish the job.[34] Della Bella's fee was between fifteen and eighteen *scudi*, which was not more than Anichini had demanded.[35]

Viviani was very much aware that Della Bella would deliver an etched frontispiece, although an engraving was originally planned. Generally, of course, many more impressions can be taken from an engraving than from an etching, and Anichini may have been selected at first because he was an engraver. This is probably why Viviani had also asked him how many impressions could be printed from an etched plate. According to Della Bella, on the condition that the plate is handled by 'a practical and diligent printer who uses good inks that do not consume and wear out the copper plate', it would be possible to take up to 2,500 or 3,000 impressions or even more before the plate would wear down. Manolessi was not expected to object to the sudden change of plans: after all, he himself had suggested hiring Della Bella a few months earlier.[36] And indeed, in his reaction to Viviani's description of the course of events, the publisher fully agrees. He is astonished at Anichini's behaviour but his greatest concern was getting a finished plate. He stressed it would be fine if 'S.r Steffano' was really ready by the middle of January, but if there would be any further delay he would be ruined. Probably to underscore his commitment, Manolessi even offers to pay the etcher in advance.[37]

Manolessi's worries were unfounded this time. On 4 January 1656, a week before the plate was expected to be ready, instructions are given to prepare its shipment from Florence to Bologna. It should be sent by messenger, wrapped in several sheets of paper and put in a box between two pieces of wood. We are also informed that any lettering on the plate is unnecessary because the frontispiece is to be preceded by a *principio*, which reads *Opere di Galileo Galilei*, and by another, *Opere di Galileo Galilei Linceo*. However, 'S.r Steffano' was expected to print some proofs in case any adjustments or improvements had to be made. The anticipated last-minute changes would also be entrusted to Della Bella and could be done with the burin, 'which he would do exquisitely as only a true *virtuoso* can.'[38]

On January 15 Viviani proudly writes to Manolessi that the frontispiece is ready and corresponds almost exactly with the final design as determined by His Highness. He is sending two proofs for the publisher to judge if the plate needs retouching. Viviani assumes that neither he nor His Highness will have any objections and that the plate will be sent back to him promptly by messenger.[39] Considering Manolessi's urge to publish the books as quickly as possible, it was unlikely he would have suggested any last-minute improvements even if he had some in mind. Three days later, the publisher replies that he trusts that 'S.r Steffano' has done his job well. He states, however, that he cannot talk about something he has not yet seen, thereby indicating that he has not received any proofs.[40] The approval of Prince Leopoldo followed on the 22 January. Leopoldo's private secretary, Fabrizio Cecini, reports to Viviani that His Highness could not detect

33. The letter is dated 21 December 1655; Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 279–81, no. 659 and Tognoni, op. cit., p. 381.
34. Ibid.
35. Probably in the confusion of the day, Viviani initially forgot to discuss Della Bella's fee. On the same day he writes his report to Manolessi (21 December 1655), he sends Della Bella a short note to ask his rates. It is delivered by Vincenzo's brother Francesco Viviani and the artist is requested to write his response immediately on the same note or tell the bearer of the letter; Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 279, no. 658.
36. Viviani quotes a passage from the aforementioned letter by Manolessi from 9 October; Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 279–81, no. 659.
37. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 282, no. 660.
38. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 283, no. 661.
39. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 284, no. 662.
40. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 284, no. 663.

6. Cornelis Bloemaert, Frontispiece for Giorgio Vasari's *Vite de' Pittori*, engraving, trimmed within platemark, 221 x 156 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet).

any flaws or matters in need of correction and the immediate shipment of the plate to Bologna is requested to enable a swift publication of the *Opere del Galileo*.[41] Finally, on 25 January, Carlo Manolessi lets Viviani know that he has received the long expected plate and declares himself exceptionally pleased with the result. He immediately wants to make arrangements to come to Florence to present a copy of Galileo's *Opere* to the Grand Duke and the whole Medici court. Manolessi flatters Viviani by not only praising the artist but also the person who instructed him.[42]

Although Manolessi had offered to pay Della Bella in advance, this apparently had not happened. As soon as he hears the plate is finally ready, he makes sure his agent in Florence, *S.r Moriani*, reserves the amount due to the artist. Pietro Moriani is frequently mentioned in the correspondence between Viviani and Manolessi when payments have to be made by the Bolognese publisher to a Florentine, mostly for books.[43] Viviani is expected to collect the money and take it to the artist. In fact, the modest sum of fifteen *scudi* made Manolessi remark, even before he had seen the result, that if he was satisfied he would regret not having entrusted Della Bella with another dozen plates in the past. He notes that he had paid 25 scudi for the frontispiece to the edition of Vasari's *Vite* engraved by Cornelis Bloemaert in Rome after a design by Giovanni Angelo Canini (fig. 6).[44] S.r Steffano himself is satisfied as well. As early as 1 February, Manolessi writes he is happy to hear Della Bella is satisfied (*satisfatto*) because he himself is more than satisfied *(satisfattissimo)* with the artist and Della Bella is indeed paid the fifteen *scudi* by Viviani soon after finishing the job.[45]

The iconography of Stefano della Bella's etching looks rather straightforward at first sight.[46] As the publisher wished from the start, the image alludes to the author himself, to his works and patrons. In the foreground, Galileo kneels before a throne with three allegorical figures: Astronomy (*Astronomia)*, Geometry (*Geometria)* and Optics (*Optica)*, the keepers of the Temple of Wisdom. Astronomy wears a crown of stars, Optics is receiving Galileo's telescope (*cannocchiale*) and Geometry holds a type of compass.[47] The latter is not only an attribute, but also alludes to Galileo's *Compasso Geometrico e Militare,* published in Padua in 1606. With his left hand Galileo points towards the sky, while still touching the telescope with his right. His gesture connects his invention and the objects he had discovered with its help, while at the same time paying tribute to his benefactors, the Medici princes. Here, the iconography gets more complicated and even heretical. Galileo points to the sun surrounded by six planets,

41. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 285, no. 664.
42. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 286, no. 665.
43. Ibid.
44. Hollstein 281. See Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 284–85, no. 663, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700, volume II, Berckheyde-Bodding*, edited by F. W. H. Hollstein, Amsterdam, n.d., p. 79, no. 281. Several studies for the Vasari frontispiece have been preserved; N. Turner, 'Drawings by Giovanni Angelo Canini', *Master Drawings*, XVI, 1978, p. 391 and F. Viatte, 'Un dessin de Giovanni Angelo Canini pour *Le Vite* de Vasari', *Revue du Louvre*, XXIX, 1979, pp. 277–79.
45. Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 287–88, no. 667.
46. E. Panofsky, 'More on Galileo and the Arts', *Isis*, XLVII, 1956, p. 185, L. Tongiorgi Tomasi, 'I frontispizi delle opere di Kircher', in *Enciclopedismo in Roma Barocca*, edited by M. Casciato, G. M. Ianniello and M. Vitale, Venice, 1986, pp. 166–67, A. Angelini, 'Introduzione', in *L'Istituto delle scienze e l'Accademia* (Anatomie Accademiche 3), edited by A. Angelini, Bologna, 1993, pp. 40–42 and Battistini, op. cit., pp. 258–59.
47. Although not Galileo's invention, the first Italian telescopes were probably made by him. See S. A. Bedini, 'The Instruments of Galileo Galilei', in *Galileo: Man of Science*, edited by E. McMullin, New York, 1967, pp. 256–92.

7. Stefano della Bella, Early Study for the Frontispiece for Galileo's *Opere*, pen and wash over black chalk, 198 x 162 mm (Florence, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi).

8. Stefano della Bella, Later Study for the Frontispiece for Galileo's *Opere*, pen and ink over black chalk, 198 x 163 mm (Florence, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi).

which in their juxtaposition recall the Medici coat of arms. At the same time they form the Copernican constellation declared heterodox by the Catholic Church. Galileo had defended Copernicus's ideas in the banned *Dialogo* which was not included in Manolessi's edition. The planet at the top is Jupiter, surrounded by the four moons discovered by Galileo himself and named by him the Medici planets.[48] Sunspots can be observed on the surface of the sun, a phenomenon also studied and described at length by Galileo.[49] In the distance behind the scientist, a ship, a canon, a broken column or cylinder and a diagram recording the movements of a swinging pendulum appear. All but the ship seem to relate to passages in Galileo's last work, the 1638 *Discorsi e dimostrazioni mathematiche intorno a due nuove scienze*. The broken cylinder is even illustrated in the same manner in the original Leiden edition, which includes discussions of the pendulum and the parabolic path of projectiles as well (the fourth dialogue). The broken cylinder refers to the second dialogue, where the mathematics of strength, size and weight are discussed and where the image also can be found.[50] The ship may allude to his recurring interest in navigation on the open seas or possibly to the famous ship analogy in the banned *Dialogo* of 1632, an experiment to prove terrestrial rotation.

As becomes clear from the correspondence between Manolessi and Viviani, Della Bella's frontispiece followed a design that was established before he appears to have become involved in the project. It is not clear who made the working *modello* for the printmaker. All we know is that the person responsible was active as a

48. The heretical implications of the iconography of the frontispiece were first suggested by Erwin Panofsky and later by all authors mentioned in note 46.

49. The sunspots are described in Galileo's *Istoria e dimostrazioni intorno alle macchie solari*, Rome, 1613; Panofsky, op. cit., p. 185.

50. G. Galilei, *Discorsi e dimonstrazioni matematiche intorno a due nuove scienze*, Leiden, 1638, p. 133; Bedini, op. cit., pp. 256–92 and P. Machamer, 'Galileo's Machines, his Mathematics, and his Experiments', in *The Cambridge Companion to Galileo*, edited by P. Machamer, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 53–79.

painter, probably in Florence around 1655. It is also unclear who provided the other sketches. According to Manolessi, Salvator Rosa had promised to make a design but nothing is heard from him later. Of course, Rosa was well connected to the Medici court and the circle of *scienziati* working there, for instance Galileo's pupils Evangelista Torricelli and Carlo Dati. He is even mentioned in Torricelli's will, and is known to have made a few designs for frontispieces, one of them around the same time, 1653.[51] It is not impossible that Della Bella was among the artists who were asked to put their thoughts to paper. This would explain why one of his drawings reflects the design that was criticized by the anonymous *virtuoso* at the Medici court (fig. 7). Although Viviani states that Della Bella's etching strictly followed the original design, the position of the three allegorical figures here differs from that in the print. The figure of Astronomy is the one closest to the spectator and is presented with the spyglass, just as described by Manolessi. A further difference lies with Geometry, who holds a regular pair of compasses in the sketch. Furthermore, Galileo is standing with his back turned to the viewer. A second preparatory drawing may show Della Bella adjusting the design according to suggested changes (fig. 8).[52] It is much closer to the final result. Only Geometry's attribute still needs to be changed. Now it looks as though she is holding two further spyglasses instead of the compass as it is described in Galileo's *Compasso Geometrico e Militare*.

If we were to assume that Della Bella was already involved at the preparatory stage, this might explain why the composition of the Galileo etching is so close to a drawn frontispiece by the same artist from the early 1650s that was made for a manuscript of Tuscan poetry, intended as a gift for Queen Christina of Sweden from Leopoldo or Gian Carlo de' Medici. This project is described in letters from Carlo Dati to Cassiano dal Pozzo from 1652 and 1653. Only the frontispiece was done by Della Bella. Valerio Spada was responsible for the calligraphy and for further decorations of the manuscript, now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.[53] Coincidentally, the first sketch, fig. 7, was bought for Cardinal Leopoldo's collection of drawings on the Bolognese market in 1671 separate from the second drawing.[54] Might this early involvement explain why the artist had no problem putting a claim to the invention by signing the plate with his monogram?

In the end Della Bella's frontispiece seems to have been a success, although not everybody appears to have been equally satisfied with the Galileo edition. Galileo's pupils and especially Vincenzo Viviani himself were very critical. They may have wished for a much grander edition of their master's works. In at least two letters written to Elio Diodati and Cosimo Galilei in 1656, shortly after the publication of the *Opere*, Viviani complains about the quality of the paper, the many errors and the poor illustrations.[55] Galileo's discussion of the Copernican system was not included in the Manolessi edition of his works, but his revolutionary ideas were represented none the less by means of the print.

Apart from the inordinate amount of time and effort expended on procuring the frontispiece, there is otherwise not much to suggest the course of events was out of the ordinary. The careful preparation of the design seems logical considering its delicate subject-matter. The sudden switch from an engraved to an etched frontispiece is not that strange either. Etching had become a widely accepted medium for book illustration during the seventeenth century. One only wonders why the Florentine engraver Pietro Anichini handled a project that involved the most powerful patrons of the city so carelessly. Could it be that there was no mysterious Venetian after all? Was Anichini's full attention required for a Medici commission such as the portrait of Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici or the Medici medals project noted above? The extensive correspondence between Carlo Manolessi and Vincenzo Viviani by no means answers all our questions about the printmaking procedures in seventeenth-century Italy, but it does give a uniquely detailed and vivid insight into the whole process, including fees for artists and printing practices.

51. I owe thanks to Helen Langdon for this reference. See Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., p. 243, no. 624; F. Baldinucci, op. cit., pp. 561 and 568. For the letter which makes mention of Rosa's promise to make a design for the Galileo frontispiece, see Battistini, op. cit., p. 259; H. Langdon, 'Two Book Illustrations by Salvator Rosa', *Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, pp. 698–99 and *Le Opere dei Discepoli di Galileo Galilei. Carteggio. Vol.1: 1642–1648*, edited by P. Galluzzi and M. Torrini, Florence, 1975, pp. 424–25.
52. For the drawings (Uffizi 7991F and Uffizi 8042F) see De Vesme/Massar, I, p. 151, no. 965; Forlani Tempesti, op. cit. and Tongiorgi Tomasi, op. cit., pp. 166–67, fig. 16.
53. A. Weixlgärtner, 'Eine von Stefano della Bella illustrierte Handschrift für Königin Christine', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, XXI, 1952, pp. 100–01, fig.1; De Vesme/Massar, pp. 7 and 20, fig. 4 and Mirto, op. cit., pp. 33–34, 42 and 60–61, nos. 16, 25 and 43.
54. See M. Fileti Mazza, *Archivio del Collezionismo Mediceo. Il Cardinal Leopoldo. Volume Secondo: Rapporti con il mercato emiliano*, II, Milan and Naples, 1993, p. 799.
55. The letters are of 23 February and 21 March 1656; Galluzzi and Torrini, op. cit., pp. 305 and 321.

Engravings by Jacques Fornazeris with the Arms of René Gros

Henriette Pommier

The coat of arms of René Gros de Saint-Joyre (1568–1664), a 'gentilhomme' of Lyon, is represented in three engravings produced at the start of the seventeenth century by Jacques Fornazeris (c. 1585–1619?) who, having served at the court of the dukes of Savoy in Turin, settled in Lyon in 1600, where he engraved portraits and frontispieces.[1] The presence of the coat of arms raises questions about Gros's involvement in the creation of these works and specifically about their dedications: by whom and to whom were they dedicated? The answers to these questions cast new light on the economic, social, religious and political conditions that characterized this period in the history of Lyon, and on some of the city's prominent figures.

René Gros (or Groz) was born in 1568 to a family that had moved from Piedmont to Lyon in the first half of the sixteenth century.[2] His father César (b. 1510) called himself the Seigneur of Saint-Joyre. The family provided the kings of France with financial services during the Italian Wars and in return received offices and honours.[3] 'César Groz, sieur de S. Ioëre' was elected an 'échevin' (alderman) of the city in 1552, 1557 and 1569 along with François Sala, Claude Guerrier and Antoine Bonin, among others.[4] He made his will in 1577 and was buried at the church of Les Augustins.[5]

René Gros appears to have studied at Lyon's Collège de la Trinité in 1585–86 and is known to have attended the University of Padua in 1590. In 1600 he was living with his mother in Rue Juiverie, and it was at this time that he inherited the family property. Shortly afterwards he married Jeanne Thierry in the church of Saint-Nizier. He was named a 'gentilhomme ordinaire' of the chamber of Henri de Bourbon, Prince of Condé. In 1608 he became a 'capitaine pennon' for the quartier ('pennonage') of La Juiverie.[6] He was appointed a Chevalier de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel by letters patent on 28 February 1616,[7] taking the oath and receiving the chain of the Order from Charles d'Alincourt at the cathedral of Saint-Jean.[8] On 27 January 1617 he became a 'gentilhomme ordinaire' of the King's chamber. He died on 14 October 1664. The fact that he belonged to the nobility (who were not numerous in Lyon) is borne out by consular certificates and the representation of the family's coat of arms in certain publications.[9] The wealth he inherited was consid-

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1. H. Pommier, *AV MAILLET D'ARGENT, Jacques Fornazeris graveur et éditeur d'estampes, Turin-Lyon (vers 1585–1619?)*, Geneva, 2011.
2. J. Tricou, *Recherches sur les Gros de Saint Joyre*, Lyon, 1934. The dates given by Tricou would mean that Gros lived to the age of 96.
3. J. Tricou, *Bulletin de la Société littéraire, historique et archéologique de Lyon*, XI, 1929–32, quoted in *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, XX, 1934, p. 512.
4. Archives Municipales de Lyon, BB 371. C. de Rubys, *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon*, Lyon, B. Nugo, 1604, pp. 404, 408, mentions the years 1565 and 1566.
5. Tricou, *Recherches...*, p. 14.
6. Archives Municipales de Lyon, BB 144, *fol.* 39*v*., 6 March 1608, quoted by O. Zeller, *Les recensements lyonnais de 1597 et 1636 démographie historique et géographie sociale*, Lyon, 1983, p. 419, note 70.
7. Archives Municipales de Lyon, Charité, B 78-13, 7 March 1620.
8. Charles de Neufville, Seigneur of Alincourt, Villeroy, Magny, Parmes, Bury, Thaumier forest, etc., was the only son of the powerful secretary of state Nicolas IV de Neufville and Madeleine de l'Aubespine. He was the King's 'ambassadeur ordinaire' to the Pope, and was appointed Lieutenant General to the government of Lyon as well as the Lyonnais, Forez and Beaujolais regions, the Duke of Vendôme having been named Governor just a few days after the death of La Guiche on 14 June 1607. He made a triumphal return to Lyon in 1608. Charles d'Alincourt became the Governor of the city on 18 February 1612.
9. A certificate dated 29 November 1644, issued by the Provost of the Merchants and Aldermen of Lyon, testifies to 'the ancient nobility of the house, whose members include Messire René Gros, Seigneur de Saint Joire … ordinary gentleman of His Majesty's chamber'. It also mentions consular certificates dating from 1557, 1568 and 1604. Gros presented the Consuls with a text in two parts, 'the first in Latin, entitled *Picta Poesis*, the second in French, entitled *Imagination poétique traduicte en vers François des Latins, & Grecz … par l'auteur mesme d'iceux*, Lyon, Macé Bonhomme, 1552, dedicated to Master Jean Antoine Gros, uncle of the Sieur de Saint Joire, composed by Barthélemy Aneau, printed in 1552 and reprinted in 1556 by Pierre [*sic*] Bonhomme, which, by its date of printing, dedication, and the praise attached to the arms of the house of Gros, gives ever more credence to their ancient nobility and to the offices and qualities they possess, which at that time were granted only to gentlemen.' Archives Municipales de Lyon, Charité, B 78–12.

9. Nicolas Auroux, *Portrait of René Gros de Saint-Joyre*, in *Anagrammata*, Lyon, 1675, engraving, 162 x 123 mm (Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Photo D. Nicole).

erable,[10] as evidenced by his keeping a footman – a rarity in the city at that time.[11]

During the Renaissance the Gros de Saint-Joyre family was both educated and interested in the arts. Barthélemy Aneau and Charles Fontaine dedicated works to César's brother, Jean-Antoine.[12] César took Gabriel Symeoni under his wing and was the dedicatee of a work by Gabriel Chappuys on Ariosto. He also extended his patronage to musicians, as indicated by Dominique Phinot's dedication: 'Au Seigneur César Gros, son singulier amy D. Phinot', in the *Second livre, contenant vingt et six chansons nouvellement mises en musique par Dominique Phinot, A Lyon, en rue Mercière, à l'enseigne de la Foy, chez Godefroy et Marcellin Beringen frères, 1548*.[13] Having been raised in an environment that favoured the arts, René pursued this tradition of patronage and himself wrote several dedicatory epistles. He published Claude Guichard's *La Fleur de la pensée morale de ce temps consacrée à la fleur des rois, le roy des fleurs de lis …*,[14] and wrote a preface for Claude de Rubys's *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon*,[15] probably also composing the anagram that closes the third part of the book. He wrote diverse works such as *La Mire de vie à l'amour parfaict*,[16] which paid tribute to Marie de Levi de Ventadour, abbess of the Saint-Pierre convent, the *Accueil des Lyonnois … à Denys Simon de Marquemont leur Archevesque*,[17] and *Médaille et devise anagrammatisée*, which exists only in manuscript form.[18] But René's best known work is the *Anagrammata*, published in 1675 by his son Michel (at his own expense), heir to the family's artistic patronage[19] and himself a composer of anagrams.[20]

10. It included two houses that Michel Gros later bequeathed to Lyon's two hospitals. These were two-story buildings, one 'situated at the upper end of the Montée des Changes', the other in 'the parish of Veize, territory of Balmont', Archives Municipales de Lyon, Charité, B 78–11. (The document reads: 'acceptance of two houses belonging to the estate of the late Messire Michel Seigneur de St Joyre, after inventory'. The inventory in question was begun on 27 November 1703.)
11. Olivier Zeller found only 27 households in Lyon with footmen during the period in question (op. cit., p. 119).
12. Jean-Antoine was mentioned as 'uncle of Seigneur [Michel] de Saint Joyre' in the Gros family's 'Confirmation D'Armes' dated 7 March 1620 (Archives Municipales de Lyon, Charité, B 78-13). He was the King's valet, and Treasurer of the Fortifications of Lyon, according to Barthélemy Aneau, in the dedication to the *Imagination poétique*.
13. For César Gros as a patron of the arts, see V. L. Saulnier, 'Dominique Phinot et Didier Lupi musiciens de Clément Marot et des marotiques', *Revue de musicologie*, XLIII, 1959, p. 63.
14. P. Rigaud, Lyon, 1614.
15. On the title-page of this ambitious work Claude de Rubys styled himself 'Conseiller du Roy, en la Senechaussée & siège Presidial de Lyon, & Procureur generale de la communauté de ladicte ville'. He and his printer Bonaventure Nugo lacked the required financial resources for publication, but they obtained 236 pounds from the Consulate of Lyon, 'provided that they supply the Consulate with two copies of the History in question, bound in wood and covered in leather, to be held and conserved in the archives' (Péricaud, *Notes et documents … sous le règne de Henri IV*, II, undated, but no doubt c. 1844, pp. 204–05). It may be that René Gros also made a financial contribution to the enterprise, although no doubt less than that of the Consulate.
16. Printed in Lyon in 1616 by Claude Cayne.
17. Published in Lyon in 1613 by Nicolas Julliéron, the King's printer.
18. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits.
19. Traces of this artistic culture are to be found in the 1703 inventory of Michel's property, in particular numerous books and paintings, and even 'a spinet in its old pine case', which suggests either his own or his grandfather's interest in music; Archives Municipales de Lyon, Charité, B 78–11.
20. The inventory of Michel Gros's property, in his house in Vaise, mentions 'seventeen folio, thirty-six octavo and duodecimo volumes bound in calfskin, and two hundred and forty volumes in folio, quarto, octavo and duodecimo, by different authors, both sacred and profane', besides 'a cabinet in the antique style … in which were to be found only some old printed papers of anagrams', along with 'bags of papers containing only manuscripts of notes of history and studies'; Archives Municipales de Lyon, Charité, B 78-11. No similar material was recorded in the inventory of the house in Montée des Changes.

10. Jacques Fornazeris, *Hymn on the Angel Gabriel's Salutation to the Queen of Heavens*, 1601, engraving, sheet 325 x 470 mm; image of Virgin and child, 277 x 187 mm (Brussels, Royal Library, Department of Prints, Photo courtesy Brussels, Royal Library).

The *Anagrammata* is abundantly illustrated with engravings,[21] including a portrait of the author seated at a table in front of a bookshelf. He is shown with quill in hand, working on a typical page of his book, the upper part of which consists of two historiated circles (fig. 9).[22] On the right, in place of a window, is the author's coat of arms, enclosed by the chain of the Order of Saint-Michel and a subscript indicating the author's age: *ætatis suæ 88*. The engraving is signed *N. Auroux fec.* Nicolas Auroux, who was probably born in Pont-Saint-Esprit around 1630, spent all his working life in Lyon, where he died on 3 November 1676. If René Gros were born in 1568, as Tricou states, this portrait would have been made in 1656. Underneath the image is the phrase *Renatus Grossus de Sainct Ioyre*, and below that the anagram *Res rara is doctus et ingeniosus*.

The first of the three works by Fornazeris discussed here in detail is the large *HYMNE SVR LE SALVT DE L'ANGE GABRIEL, A la Reine des Cieux* (Hymn on the Angel Gabriel's Salutation to the Queen of Heavens) (fig. 10).[23] The engraving shows a half-figure of the Virgin delicately holding a rose between her left thumb and forefinger. The Christ child, who is holding and blessing an orb representing the world, is seated on her right arm. The image is flanked by engraved columns of text, which in turn are surrounded by a decorative floral border formed by woodcuts.

Featured in the middle of the inner border with flowers and foliage are the arms of René Gros.[24] The escutcheon is flanked by acanthus leaves, which also

21. Several engravers from Lyon, including C. Derbage, F. Cars and M. Ogier, participated in the illustration.
22. Inv. 316984.
23. The only known impression of this work is conserved in Brussels, in the Department of Prints of the Royal Library, inv. S.IV.86268 (Pommier, op. cit., p. 150, cat. no. 17).
24. Described in the Gros family's 'Confirmation D'Armes' (see note 12). The significance of the arms is given in the *Imagination poétique*… pp. 10–11.

11. Detail of fig. 5.

form the lambrequins of the helmet, whose crest is comprised of a second, smaller eagle facing left, surmounted by a scroll bearing the motto *NATO, RENASCENDVM* (fig. 11).[25] Composed on the occasion of René's birth, the motto, with 'rené' meaning reborn, could be understood as 'To be born is to be reborn'.

Flanking the arms is the engraved inscription: *I fornazerij Fecit et excudit 16011* [sic] *A LYON. / Pour Iean BLANCHON, en ruë noire / à l'enseigne de la gule du Lyon.* At the time of printing, the plate with the text was not correctly aligned with the upper edge of the Virgin and Child engraving, on which it slightly encroaches because two different presses were used. We have no information either about Jean Blanchon or the sign ('enseigne'), although the publishing and printing trades are known to have been well represented in rue Noire, which was near the Hôtel-Dieu.

What is of interest here is the central engraving with the coat of arms, above which is an oblong panel with a four-line text: *Fils, qui nés en degré / Rien moindre que ton Pere, / De la main de ta Mere / Prens cette ROS'EN GRE* (Son who is in no degree / less than your Father / from the hand of your Mother accept this rose willingly and with resignation), and below that *René Gros de / S. Joyre*. The '*ROS'EN GRE*' is of course an anagram of 'René Gros'. Here a further historical note is in order. After becoming master of his family's fortune, Gros devoted part of it to charitable works and patronage of the arts, including financial support for the restoration of the Franciscan Cordeliers de l'Observance monastery in Lyon. L. A. Pavy reported that 'At the start of the seventeeth century, a certain M. de St-Joyre had the church door restored at his own expense', and an inscription with a rose beneath it was carved over the monastery's main door.[26] This inscription was identical to the one in Fornazeris's engraving, except that (no doubt due to a transcription error) 'ros'en gre' became 'rose à gré', which precluded the formation of the anagram.[27]

There are clear links between Fornazeris's engraving and the Cordeliers monastery inscription. Gros made sure that his name appeared discreetly at the monastery in the form of an anagram, whereas it is explicit in the engraving, even though the presence of his arms makes it redundant here. In the former case, it was a signature to an act of patronage and would not have posed any problem of interpretation to his contemporaries, who were used to identifying individuals on the basis of their arms. In regard to the engraving, it is almost certain that Gros was the author of the quatrain and the anagram of his name. But did he actually commission the work? There is some doubt, given that the *Virgin and Child* bears the *excudit* of Jacques Fornazeris, which identifies him as the owner of the plate.[28] Did Fornazeris engrave and publish this work at his own expense,

25. In the arms of Jean-Antoine Gros, René's uncle (see notes 9 and 12), the motto on the scroll around three sides of the shield reads: *domino / factvm / est Istvd.*

26. In *Les Cordeliers de l'Observance à Lyon, ou l'église et le couvent de ce nom depuis leur fondation jusqu'à nos jours*, Lyon, 1836, p. 29.

27. Three years after the publication of Pavy's work, the anonymous author of the note on René Gros de Saint-Joyre in the *Supplément* to the *Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne, rédigée par une Société de gens de lettres et de savants*, Paris, LXVI, 1839, pp. 144–46, seems to have confused, on the one hand, the information published by Pavy concerning the inscription above the sculpted rose and the *Virgin in a Niche* (p. 29), and, on the other hand, the inscription at the Cordeliers monastery and Fornazeris's engraving, when he says that 'the first use [of his fortune] made by René Gros was to contribute to the restoration of the monastery of the Cordeliers de l'Observance. On the main door of the corridor there was a Virgin holding the hand of the Infant Jesus, and on the other a rose. Underneath it was engraved this quatrain, which can still be seen, and which more than once drove the archaeologists to despair: 'Fils qui n'es en degré / Rien moindre que ton pere, / De la main de ta mere / Prens cette ROS'EN GRÉ' (p. 144). This note suggests that its author knew about Fornazeris's engraving, which he describes accurately. He cites the text placed under the image with exactitude, including the capital letters, and does not reproduce Pavy's error. He also identifies Gros's anagram, perhaps thanks to the fact that he knew the engraving in which the name was given in full. But at the time he was writing the monastery was once again in ruins, and one would have to query the statement about 'this quatrain, which can still be seen'. The author seems to be referring to Fornazeris's engraving and also (though without verification) Pavy's text, which he quotes immediately after discussing the *Virgin and Child*.

then present it to René Gros de Saint-Joyre, whose arms he incorporated into the lower part of the composition? If that was so, then the arms may be seen as a 'mute dedication'.[29] In 1675 this same plate provided the image placed after the title-page in the edition of the *Anagrammata* financed by René's son Michel, although in this case the detail is less clear and subtle, probably due to the plate being re-engraved (fig. 12).[30] Furthermore, its historiated framing has been removed, which also means that the name of the engraver is missing. There is no doubt, however, that it is the same plate. The dimensions are identical, and despite the plate having been cut down, traces of the decorative motifs can still be made out, in particular around the middle of the right and left edges. The Gros de Saint-Joyre arms have also disappeared, and in the lower centre only the scroll and motto that once surmounted the crest remain. What seems unquestionable is that René Gros acquired the plate and the accompanying publication rights either during Fornazeris's lifetime or after the death of the engraver, who passed away in Lyon in around 1619. Michel Gros may have inherited the plate from his father, and in any case had it in his possession when he published in 1675 the posthumous edition of *Anagrammata,*[31] for which he had the plate cut down.

Although the year in which the engraving was produced is subject to discussion because of the equivocal dating *16011* on the print (which could be read as 1601 or 1611), there is evidence that *1601* was intended. The drawing style in particular is strongly marked by Flemish influences, which characterized the first works Fornazeris produced in France. If this were the case, the print would predate the intervention at the Cordeliers monastery, which appears to date from the 1610s. The chancel of the church, at any rate, was constructed in 1614.[32]

The second engraving is of another type, being the frontispiece to the *DIALOGVE DE MINERVE ET JVNO(N), Sur les nopces Royales du Tres chrestien Henry de Bourbon, Roy de France & de Nauarre: et de la ser(enissi).me Marie de Medicis. Prin(cess)e. de Toscane* (Dialogue of Minerva and Juno on the Subject of the Royal Wedding of the Very Christian Henry de Bourbon, King of France and Navarre and the Most Illustrious Marie de Medici, Princess of Tuscany), bound and published along with *La Rencontre des muses de France et d'Italie* (The Meeting of the Muses of France and Italy) by Jacques Roussin in Lyon in 1604 (fig. 13). These two works, dedicated to Queen Marie of France, are typical of occasional writings. An extract from the privilege, dated 20 November 1603, indicates that they were considered a pair:

12. Jacques Fornazeris, *Virgin and Child*, in *Anagrammata*, Lyon, 1675, engraving, 178 x 115 mm (Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Photo D. Nicole).

28. M. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, Geneva, 1986, pp. 8–9. Grivel writes: 'The *excudit* applies to the owner of the plate – whether or not this be the engraver – or the person who holds it in usufruct. The *excudit* confers a right to the use of a plate, and to make prints from it. The publication of engravings is subject to this right, often protected by a privilege … But publication is above all a matter for the professionals, and in the first place the engraver who publishes his own work.'
29. See M. Préaud, 'Les dédicataires d'estampes, amateurs d'art et collectionneurs', *L'âge d'or du mécénat (1598–1661)*, from the proceedings of a conference held in March 1983, *Le mécénat en Europe et particulièrement en France avant Colbert*, Paris, 1985, p. 376.
30. M. Préaud, *Les effets du soleil, Almanachs du règne de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1995, p. 13, note 15; inv. 316984.
31. It is likely that the plates inventoried in the second-floor room of the house in Montée des Changes, along with Michel Gros de Saint-Joyre's books, included those used for the *Anagrammata* and perhaps also the *Virgin and Child*: 'In this room, which contained a part of the aforementioned papers, there were twenty books bound in parchment, and eight others bound in calfskin, treating of religious and other matters, and thirty copper plates, both large and small, for the printing of different subjects, the total being valued at the sum of twenty pounds.' Archives Municipales de Lyon, Charité, B 78–11.
32. Pavy, op. cit., p. 29.

13. Jacques Fornazeris, Frontispiece to *Dialogue of Minerva and Juno*, Lyon, Jacques Roussin, 1604, engraving, 155 x 119 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Photo courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale).

It is permitted to Iaques Roussin, Printer & Bookseller in Lyon, to print or have printed, to sell and distribute two works, one entitled *Le* [sic] *Rencontre des Muses de France & d'Italie* : & the other, *le Dialogue de Minerue & de Iuno(n) sur les Nopces du Roy & de la Reyne*, so that others may not print them or have them printed, sold or distributed, for the time & term of five years from the day & date of the first printing of the said works, on pain of confiscation of the same, & an arbitrary fine, as is more fully set out in the said Letters …[33]

The first of the two works contains 43 *Sonnets François*, translated more or less freely by Philippe Desportes from the work of fifteen Italian poets. The second, the *Dialogue of Minerva and Juno*, is by Giovanni Battista Guarini, who is named in the dedication.[34] The text is given in both French and Italian. The choice of Italian poets would seem obvious when addressing Marie de' Medici, daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco de' Medici, who was raised at the court of Florence[35] and had been in France only since November 1600.[36] The choice of Guarini for the second work can be explained by the fact that, besides being famous as the author of *Il Pastor fido*,[37] he had spent two years in the service of the Grand Duke. Although the two works are dedicated to the Queen, the name of the dedicator is missing. In both, the expression: 'Of your very Christian Majesty, the very humble, very obedient & very faithful servant & subject', is followed by a blank space.[38] The second work, however, provides some clues. René Gros de Saint-Joyre's coat of arms is represented on the title-page of the *Dialogue of Minerva and Juno*, along with the inscription *R.G.A.S.TO IORYO* in the vignette placed after the dedication. And the four anagrams in Latin and French, based on the names of Henri de Bourbon and Marie de' Medici, which are found on the page that precedes the extract from the privilege, suggest the hand of Gros, who certainly presented at least the second book, and possibly both, to the Queen on the occasion of her marriage. His coat of arms would have functioned as a signature to the dedication. He was undeniably among Lyon's more important personages, and would frequently have encountered the royal couple at the banquets, balls, games and receptions that took place during their stay in the city between November 1600 and January 1601.

Like the *Hymn on the Angel Gabriel's Salutation,* the third engraving was drawn, engraved and published by

33. Only the first work bears the address of the bookseller and the note *A LYON Par Jacques Roussin 1604*. The extract from the royal privilege, granted for five years, is to be found at the end of the second work [p. 16]. The two books are bound together in a volume in the Bibliothèque Nationale (inv. Res. Ye 586), which, apart from the one in Paris's Sainte Geneviève Library, is the only copy we know of (Pommier, op. cit., p. 176, cat. no. 27).
34. Guarini (Ferrara, 1538–Venice, 1612) was a poet, orator, ambassador and courtier. He worked for Scipione Gonzaga and Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, who appointed him a gentleman and gave him the title 'Cavaliere'.
35. That the queen did not yet speak French is evidenced by the dedication: 'Your Majesty, who has a perfect knowledge of the one [Italian], and is every day acquiring the perfect graces of the other.'
36. Having arrived in Marseille in November 1600, Marie de' Medici travelled up the Rhône valley to Lyon, where she joined Henri IV, who was engaged in the war in Savoy. She had married him by proxy in Florence in October of that year. Her journey through France is recounted by Pierre Matthieu, the historiographer of Henri IV, in *L'Entree de tres grande tres chretienne et tres auguste Princesse Marie de Medicis reine de France & de Navarre. en la ville de Lyon, Le III decemb. M.D.C.*, published by Thibaud Ancelin, printer to the King, with privilege.
37. Begun in 1580, it was performed for the first time nine years later in Venice.

14. Jacques Fornazeris, *The Capuchin Monk Ange de Joyeuse Beside a Palm Tree*, 1602, engraving on dark brown paper, 364 x 241 mm, edges trimmed (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Photo courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale).

15. Detail of fig. 14.

Jacques Fornazeris, but it is less easy to interpret (fig. 14).[39] Dated 1602, it represents a Capuchin monk with a long beard beside a palm tree. He is wearing a patched habit tied at the waist with a rope, from which hangs a rosary bearing a cross and a skull. He embraces the trunk of the tree, which, among other things, is a symbol of piety. Fellow members of the Capuchin Order, but with short beards or none at all, and holding martyrs' palms and books, occupy the space to the left of the tree. A scroll with a quotation from chapter seven of the *Song of Songs* is displayed at lower left: *IE MONTERAY SUR LA PALME ET CVEILLERAY SES FRVITS*. At the base of the tree is a medallion formed by elements of René Gros's arms, namely an eagle resembling the one that forms the crest of the helmet, shown beside a gushing spring with a laurel branch on each side, and surmounted by a scroll bearing the inscription: '*NATO, RENASCENDVM*'. The monk is looking up at the large date-like fruit that are inscribed with uplifting precepts such as: '*Participation aux œuvres méritoires*' (Participation in worthy deeds) and '*Estre en protection de la Vierge sacrée*' (Being under the protection of the sacred Virgin). The monk has turned his back on temporal power and reputation, as symbolized by the accumulation of objects that he indicates with his free hand. The ewers, jewellery and gold coins represent wealth, while the chains of the Orders of Saint Michael and the Holy Spirit, the sword and the ermine-edged cape with the Maltese cross, denote prestige and worldly honours.

Some of the objects have a double significance. The horse, for example, belongs to the realm of war – also represented by the cannon, the suit of armour and the standards – and that of hunting (an exercise in preparedness for combat),[40] further symbolized by the two greyhounds and the hooded falcon. The trumpet placed before the drum suggests cavalry charges, while its proximity to the musical score on the ground links it to the arts and to fame. The arms are those of Henri de Joyeuse, Count de Bouchage (fig. 15). This reveals the meaning of the image, in that the Capuchin at the centre of the scene is this same Henri de Joyeuse, brother of Anne and François de Joyeuse.[41] Formerly a peer and Marshal of France, in the print he is simply Father Ange de Joyeuse, although the engraving also provides a summary of his life. After the death of his wife in 1587 Henri de Joyeuse became a monk, in fulfilment of a vow. But in 1592 he returned to serving the King,[42] having been authorized to do so in 1591 by a papal brief 'permitting any ecclesiastic to bear arms against the heretics and their adherents for the defence of the Catholic religion'.[43] In 1599 he once more, and definitively, donned the Capuchin habit.

What kind of relationship between Father Ange de Joyeuse and René Gros de Saint-Joyre – whose motto along with a part of his arms appears at the foot of the palm tree – is signified by this engraving? There seem to be three strands to an explanation. First, Father Ange was in contact with the Capuchins of Lyon and came to the city several times to preach, notably in 1599. Second, in 1601 Catherine de Bourbon, the sister of Henri IV, was reported to be converting from Protestantism to Catholicism, this being a prerequisite to the legitimation of her marriage to the Duke of Lorraine, which had been arranged by the King but was then annulled by a papal brief. This provoked a political crisis, and led to debates, conferences and instruction in the faith for Catherine. The Pope offered 'to go and catholicize her himself',[44] and eminent theologians were charged with winning her over. Séraphin Olivario and

38. The impression or impressions presented to the Queen may of course have been signed by the dedicator himself.
39. Inscription at lower left: *Jacobus de fornazeri lineavit et Fecit et exc.*; at lower right: *1602*. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, *Œuvres de Fornazeris*, inv. AA3 (Pommier, op. cit., p. 160, cat. no. 21).
40. On this question see S. Koslow, 'Law and Order in Rubens's *Wolf and Fox Hunt*', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXVIII, 1996, pp. 680–706.
41. He was born in Toulouse in 1563 and at the baptismal font was held by the Connétable [Constable] de Montmorency. He died in Rome in 1608.
42. He was made a Chevalier of the King's two orders. When he left the monastery to fight for the King, 'the Pope of his own accord sent him an authentic Bull, by which he declared him absolved of the vow he had made, to live & die a Capuchin, changing it to that of the Knights of Malta'. M. de Cailliere, *Le Courtisan predestiné, ou le duc de Joyeuse Capucin. Divisé en deux parties*, Paris, 1668, p. 119.
43. Quoted by D. Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue (1585–1594)*, Geneva, 1975, p. 408.
44. Mme la C^{sse} [Countess] d'Armaillé, *Catherine de Bourbon, sœur de Henri IV 1559–1604, étude historique*, Paris, 1865, p. 295.

the Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino played their part, as did the Capuchins. Thirdly, on 14 August 1601 'the Nuncio Selingardi, who was in Lyon at the time, wrote to Cardinal Aldobrandini that a story had been doing the rounds in Lyon and elsewhere, no doubt since Father Ange's visit. 'In this city [Lyon] there was a rumour that the King's sister, through the good offices of Father de Joyeuse, Capuchin, had declared herself a Catholic. And if this were true, she would be a great conquest for the holy religion'.[45]

The rumour was ill-founded, given that Catherine changed her position only a short time before her death, but according to this historical perspective the engraving might be understood as a sort of *Te Deum*, an expression of gratitude for the participation of Father Ange de Joyeuse in her conversion. There may also have been a link between Catherine and René Gros through the Order of the Cordeliers. As mentioned, a large part of Gros's fortune was spent on the renovation of the Cordeliers monastery, and the Duke of Lorraine's spiritual adviser was a Cordeliers monk. There were thus connections between the court, the Gros family, the Cordeliers and the Capuchins.

None the less, the question as to who actually commissioned this work remains undecided. Fornazeris was the publisher and thus the owner of the plate. Did he dedicate and present the engraving to René Gros, whose motto he had incorporated, in the hope, or expectation, of recompense? Or did Gros himself commission and finance it as a tribute to Ange de Joyeuse? In that case it would be tempting to see the figure at lower left, with distinctive features and clothing and beside the motto *NATO RENASCENDUM*, as René Gros, portrayed according to a system of representation that was still being used at that time. The fact that in the inscription at the bottom of the engraving Fornazeris is credited with having made the drawing does not rule out the possibility that Gros supplied the original design. Or again, might it not have been Duke Henri de Joyeuse who commissioned the work, thereby setting the seal on his wish to be identified henceforth as Father Ange de Joyeuse? Or might the Capuchin Order, rejoicing in this return to the fold, have used the work as a way of paying tribute to one of its principal donors?

With these three engravings, Jacques Fornazeris provides links between citizens of Lyon who were close to the King or belonged to his entourage. It should also be mentioned that in 1600–01, shortly after his arrival in Lyon, Fornazeris engraved and published portraits of Henri IV and Marie de' Medici, for some of which he requested, and obtained, a royal publishing privilege. Although a newcomer to the city, he had already acquired considerable experience as an engraver at the court of Carlo Emanuele I, Duke of Savoy. He was also conversant with the refined Flemish burin technique, which was not yet widespread in single-sheet engraving, but whose delicate nuances, in contrast to the more schematic, elementary treatment of the woodcut, must certainly have impressed potential clients. He was quick to court the leading personalities of Lyon and to set up operations that he hoped would be remunerative.[46] This is probably how he came to the attention of the city's most prominent publisher and bookseller, Horace Cardon, with whom he worked almost exclusively up to his death. It should be pointed out that besides René Gros de Saint-Joyre, those who supported the Cordeliers de l'Observance included 'the celebrated printer Horace Cardon' and 'the principal benefactor and father of this monastery, Monsieur d'Alincourt',[47] from whose hands, of course, Gros received the Order of Saint Michael.

The elite of Lyon was small enough for all its members to know one another personally, and they would no doubt have had a shared interest in money, power and the arts. A talented engraver working in a new style could not fail to gain their favour. And when someone like René Gros was looking for an engraver whose work would meet his aesthetic standards, while also flattering his image as a patron of the arts, Horace Cardon might well have suggested Jacques Fornazeris.

Finally, the well-established Italian presence in Lyon must surely have played a role in the relationships between individuals, events and works of art. The Queen was Florentine, the Gros de Saint-Joyre family, like Fornazeris, was Piedmontese and Horace Cardon was from Lucca.

In the *Imagination poétique*, the text that accompanies Jean-Antoine Gros's arms clearly identifies him as the dedicatee of the work. In the absence of any such text, the distinction may be less explicit and the function of a coat of arms less clear. It is to be hoped that the present article will make a contribution to the analysis of purely figured images, and in particular engravings.

45. L. Gonzague, *Le Père Ange de Joyeuse Frère mineur capucin, maréchal de France 1563–1608*, Paris, 1928, p. 404.

46. The above-mentioned royal portraits were a case in point.

47. Pavy, op. cit., p. 32.

Representant d'une grande nation: The Politics of an Anglo-French Aquatint

Amanda Lahikainen

In 1799 a little known publisher under the pseudonym of Obadiah Prim published a hand-coloured aquatint depicting a disparaging anatomical representation of the French Revolution entitled *Representant d'une grande nation* (fig. 16).[1] Measuring over two feet in height and over a foot and a half in length, the print exhibits a bold colour scheme and elaborate gold leaf detailing within an otherwise awkward composition. Apart from the byline written in English, which indicates that *Representant* was published in London and etched by J. Cooke (about whom still little is known), all the text within the print is in French. But despite the prevalence of French terminology and Revolutionary subject-matter, the print curiously depicts members of the British Whig Opposition alongside French Revolutionaries and members of the Directory. This awkward combination of individuals and languages, in addition to the difficulty of identifying precedents for this Revolutionary monster in any one European tradition, has rendered the study of *Representant* difficult and speculative.[2]

Fortunately for scholars of late eighteenth-century prints, a newly recovered four-page description in English of *Representant* from the archives of the Library of Congress, entitled *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation* (figs. 17–20), reveals a great deal about its context, and uncovers a number of surprises about this mysterious Anglo-French hybrid.[3] The pamphlet, which was likely distributed along with the print, describes in painstaking detail nearly every aspect of the print, including a description of each body part of the monster and an explanation of the words and expressions used in the caricature (a term used by the pamphlet to describe the print). It also includes a lengthy section advertising Obadiah Prim's other publications. This document and the list of publications it provides ultimately reveal the identity and professed religious convictions of the publisher ('one of the people called Quakers') and indicate his targeted audience and market intentions. Further, it helps establish the reasons behind certain representational choices and the print traditions that most likely influenced its design.

This highly unusual caricature, contextualized within the rich body of documentary material left by its publisher, confronts the presupposed boundaries of national affiliation and challenges the established political dichotomies, such as British versus French and radical versus royalist, most often employed to categorize and understand prints produced during the French Revolution. *Representant*'s publisher targeted a broad European audience and produced a print that comprises a Quaker's contribution to visual print culture and political caricature during the Revolutionary period.

By tracing the surviving prose publications advertised at the end of *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation*, it is now clear that the publisher of the print was Frederick Albert Winsor, a man born in Germany as Friedrich Albrecht Winzer. Of the nine tracts advertised in this pamphlet, three are listed in the Eng-

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1. Hereafter *Representant*. More detailed analysis of this print can be found in my dissertation at Brown University entitled 'Unchecked Ideas: Humor and the French Revolution in Late Eighteenth-Century British Political Graphic Satire, 1789–1805'. Several known impressions of *Representant* exist, but the Library of Congress owns a particularly well preserved version of the print. Other impressions are held in the British Museum (BMC 9349, although the right margin is truncated) and the Musée de la Révolution Française, Vizille.
2. David Bindman came close to surmising Prim's identity: 'the print may have originated in the French émigré community in London, among those worried about 'Jacobin' tendencies in the Directory.' See his 'The English Apocalypse', *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, edited by F. Carey, Toronto, 1999, p. 249. Dorothy George suggested that the 'design is unlike that of English satires and is probably French.' See her *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, VII, London, 1954, p. 534.
3. F. A. Winsor as Obadiah Prim, *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation*, pamphlet accompanying the print, 1799. The document is housed in the collection of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

16. F. A. Winsor as Obadiah Prim, *Represantant d'une grande nation*, 23 February 1799, hand-coloured aquatint and etching with gold leaf, 642 x 511 mm (Washington DC, Library of Congress).

lish Short Title Catalogue as authored by 'Winsor, F. A. (Frederick Albert), 1763–1830' (in total the English Short Title Catalogue currently lists seven works by Winsor). Two of these political tracts are so close in theme, date and political orientation to the print *Represantant* that they were likely published along with it as part of the same sustained publication effort designed to combat French Revolutionary ideology and military

MONSTROUS BUT TRUE REPRESENTATIVE

OF A

GREAT NATION.

Exhibiting the chief Ways and Means of the Revolution, with a Vocabulary of the most notorious new Words *in the Revolutionary Volume.*

The whole figure presents a most hideous Monster, in all its proportions of body, especially the face, and *truly emblematical* of a MONSTROUS REPUBLIC.

THE HEAD AND FRONT,

Or the seat of the Brain, is represented by an *Evil Constellation*, viz. the five Kings of Paris, in allusion to the five *deranged* senses, which form the *central sun*, surrounded by their *satellites*, the Ministers, and supported by two hideous eyes, with the figures of 200 and 500, as so many spies and abettors in the revolutionary system of the universe. The five *satellites* denote the Ministers of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, of the Marine, of War, of Finances; but the nose is an emblem of the Minister of Police, who *smells* nothing but *conspiracies* and *counter-revolutions*. The mouth is wide open, with large lion teeth, bawling out "*war, war, war!*" on which its whole existence depends. The chin is garnished with Raucl's monstrous *blue beard (barbe-bleu)* denoting its barbarities. Two long *Fox* ears, viz. the *right ear* giving audience to the revolutionary vagabonds from all quarters of the globe, but the *left* ear passes to "*the order of the day*" on the just cries and miseries of the nation. Its large Hussar-cap is ornamented with the Supreme Majesty and the Sovereignty of the Mob, and the shouts of "*Vivent les Republiques! Vivent les Revolutions!*"

THE THROAT

Exhibits a large *coach-gate*, or the passage of all the riches of different nations, digested into a *new* French vocabulary, that forms of the chief contents of the Belly.

THE CHEST AND SHOULDERS

Exhibit the chief *muscles of strength*, viz. TERRORISM and JACOBINISM, with all their barbarous appendages, by which the Revolution has been effected and maintained, through numberless scenes of bloodshed, plunder, and cruelties.

THE RIGHT AND LEFT ARMS

Shew all the means by which the Revolution was effected abroad; and the *left arm* exhibits all the internal tricks to overturn a regular legitimate Government. From the right arm hangs a huge sabre, with the *Sacred Rights of Men, Eloquence, Persuasion*, and *Conviction*. The left hand holds a bundle of proclamations, manifestoes, &c. beginning with the *cant* phrase of "*Liberty, Equality*, and *Fraternity! The General in Chief orders, &c. &c. under pains of confiscation, transportation, or death.*"

THE UNNATURAL BELLY,

which, together with the *Backside* and *Hump-back*, constitute the *natural frontiers* of the monstrous Republic, and its *too-far-advanced pregnancy*. The Backside contains also a French verse in allusion to the word *Liberty*, ordered to be embroidered on the hind flaps of the National uniforms in the beginning of the Revolution.

THE RIGHT THIGH AND LEG

Seem to be *lame*, from the weight of patriotic and civic gifts; but more especially from the immense quantities of paper currencies, such as Confidential-Bills, Assignats, Mandats, Inscriptions, Bon-Bons, Property of Nobles, Clergy, Churches, Palaces, and all rich Emigrants.

THE RIGHT FOOT

Tramples on Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Nobility, Honour, Honesty, Religion, Morals, Credit, Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation, which are but empty sounds in France, and are truly trampled upon by most modern Republicans.

THE LEFT THIGH, LEG, AND FOOT

Still support the whole Monster, seeming to crush under its weight, and exhibiting its present sustenance of Contributions, Requisitions, Forced Loans, Tributes, Plate of Foreign Churches, Palaces, and the property of all honest Aristocrats in the subjugated countries, Seizures of English Merchandize, Piracies at sea from all Neutral Powers, and some very trifling patriotic Gifts, collected under the pretext of invading England, together with that *notorious Loan*, payable from the plunder of the Bank of England. This left foot, moreover, tramples upon *Public Security, Public Faith, Confidence, Majesty of People* and *Sovereigns, &c.*

17. F. A. Winsor as Obadiah Prim, Page 1 of the Pamphlet Accompanying the Print *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation*, 1799 (Washington DC, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division).

[2]

THE HUSSAR CAP

Exhibits the supreme Majesty of the People, &c. &c. with the National Cockade, and the *Universality of Revolutions*, the chief motto of modern Republicans.

THE WHOLE MONSTER

Leans against a *Tree of Liberty*, emblematical of the *Tree of Knowledge*, that bears good and evil fruit. This Tree bearing evil fruit, is proved by its withered appearance, and the few rotten apples it has brought forth. It is nearly broke at the foot, by the weight of the Monster leaning against it. From this Tree of *Evil Knowledge*, one of the most dangerous, crafty, and mischievous characters of the Revolution seems to have imbibed all his consummate wisdom in revolutionizing the world; therefore the *ci-devant* Abbot has taken up his residence behind it, so as to skulk and screen himself from danger; in every storm he rises amongst the chief puppets of the Republic. He holds forth a rotten but *gilt* apple to all the Powers of Europe, speaking to them in French verse, as explained at foot, and the propositions and promises of which are quite in the modern stile of French Negociation, viz. a *play upon words*, so as to interpret them either *pro* or *contra*, just as it may suit the revolutionizing system; but the *great craft* lies in the continual jealousy, envy, and suspicion, they have hitherto maintained among those Powers, to prevent them from a hearty Union against their common and most dangerous enemy. The *serpentile tail* of the Abbot is closely entwined with that of another huge serpent, a representative of the Devil in Paradise, supporting a large Hydra, with *five Directorial Heads*, supposed to be all striking likenesses, entitled, the *Quintuple Anti-Democratism*, or *Anti-Aristocratism*; for they assume *every form of Government* in the same hour with the five *enslaved* nations of Europe—the Dutch, the Flemings, the Germans, the Swiss, the Italians—not to mention Malta, Naples, Sardinia, Egypt, &c. The *ci-devant* Monk being so closely *entwined* with the Serpent's tail, denotes his great intimacy and conspiracy with the Old Gentleman, by which he finds a great facility to make his *puppets move off and on* the stage of the *Revolution*, just as it suits the principles of his infernal league.

The five Republican Kings renew their annual and *solemn oath* in one breath and voice—"ETERNAL HATRED TO ALL KINGS;" and though they are decorated with Caps of Liberty, still they wear *one huge iron crown*, which covers them all, and under which they exercise *more power, tyranny, cruelty, and despotism, than any five of the worst Sovereigns in the history of the world.* The five triangular points of the iron crown shew fifteen of the chief subjugated countries, viz. *Germany, Flanders, Holland, Spain, Italy, Savoy, Rome, Naples, Sardinia, Switzerland, Modena, Milan, Corsica, Malta*, and *Egypt.*

The Serpent repeats that notorious expression of St. Just, in April 1794, in the Convention, "*What is a King compared to a French Citizen?*" and agreeable to this sentiment the Negociations of Rastadt have chiefly been carried on, and still continue, with the most *marked disrespect* to the negociating Sovereigns. The other chief fruit of this famous Tree consists in *corruption, intrigue, bribery*, &c.

To the right of the Monster, below, somewhat in the back ground, is represented Satan in his infernal regions, with a delightfully grinning countenance, stretching forth his left arm to embrace the Citizen Monster as his comrade, with a verse explained below, and holding in his right hand the iron sceptre of hell, with a Death's head. The miserable figures surrounding him are the chief Revolutionists in full reward for their great crimes, exclaiming some appropriate agonies of contrition and despair, which are explained among the verses at the conclusion, as the "*cries of some great men under damnation.*"

The Devil, the Monster, and the Hydra, are united by a tri-coloured ribbon, emblematical of their fraternal alliance, bearing the well-known motto of *Tres juncta in Uno*—inclosed in a larger one of a *dimuted* triangle, with, *Coalition of Great Jacobins against Little Princes always at variance.*

EXPLANATION OF THE CHIEF VERSES AND EXPRESSIONS CONTAINED IN THE CARICATURE

THE notorious Abbot, speaking to the different Powers of Europe, in offering a gilded but *rotten* apple as a golden one, says (in imitation of the French)

TO THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY,

If your great Majesty, reposing in our arms,
Rejects Old England's gold, and all the help of Russia,
This recompence you take,—we'll swear it high and low,—
"WITH YOU TO CRUSH THE TURKS, AND ALL THE POWERS OF PRUSSIA!"

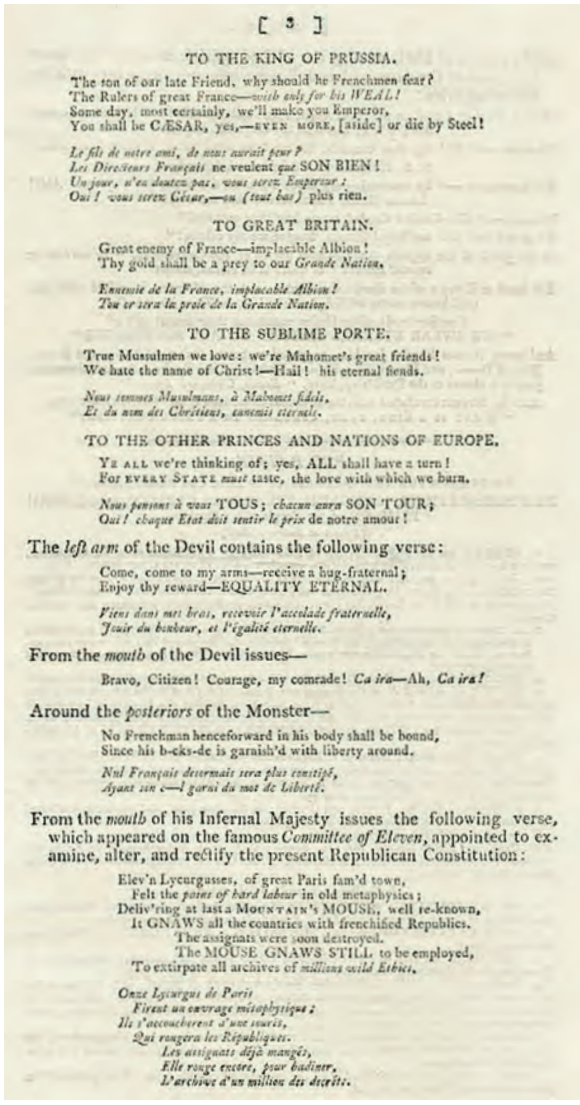
Si votre Majesté, se jettant dans nos bras,
Repousse l'or Anglais, et les secours des Russes,
Nous l'en couderons, en lui jurant (tout bas),
DECRASER *avec* LUI,—*le* grand Turc *et les* Prusses!

18. Page 2 of fig. 17.

aggression. These two lengthy political tracts, entitled *Prosperity of England midst the Clamors of Ruin* of 1799 and *Address to the Sovereigns of Europe* of 1798, further illuminate Winsor's political worldview and his professed identity. The former is signed 'F. A. Winzer', although the author is listed on the title-page as 'a Merchant of London', while the latter was published in two parts under the pseudonym Obadia Prim [*sic*] in 1798. The French version of the tract *Addresse aux souverains de l'Europe* also appeared in 1798 with a London imprint.

Syntactical oddities and the use of foreign words in Winsor's English language pamphlets indicate a sense of urgency in his publishing. He apologizes in *Prosperity of England midst the Clamors of Ruin* that 'the errors of the Press are many, owing to the Printers total unacquaintance with the English language'.[4] Although the imprint information for many of Winsor's publications

4. F. A. Winsor, *Prosperity of England midst the Clamors of Ruin*, 1799, p. v. The imprint reads: 'Printed for the Author and sold in three languages at the principle Booksellers of Great Britain and on the Continent.'



[3]

TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

The son of our late Friend, why should he Frenchmen fear?
The Rulers of great France—*with only for his WEAL!*
Some day, most certainly, we'll make you Emperor,
You shall be CÆSAR, yes,—EVEN MORE, [aside] or die by Steel!

Le fils de notre ami, de nous auroit peur?
Les Directeurs Français ne veulent que SON BIEN!
Un jour, n'en doutez pas, vous serez Empereur;
Oui! vous serez César,—au (tout bas) plus rien.

TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Great enemy of France—implacable Albion!
Thy gold shall be a prey to our *Grande Nation.*

Ennemie de la France, implacable Albion!
Ton or sera la proie de la Grande Nation.

TO THE SUBLIME PORTE.

True Mussulmen we love: we're Mahomet's great friends!
We hate the name of Christ!—Hail! his eternal fiends.

Nous sommes Musulmans, à Mahomet fidèle,
Et du nom des Chrétiens, ennemis éternels.

TO THE OTHER PRINCES AND NATIONS OF EUROPE.

YE ALL we're thinking of; yes, ALL shall have a turn!
For EVERY STATE must taste, the love with which we burn.

Nous pensons à vous TOUS; *chacun aura* SON TOUR;
Oui! chaque Etat doit sentir le prix de notre amour!

The *left arm* of the Devil contains the following verse:

Come, come to my arms—receive a hug-fraternal;
Enjoy thy reward—EQUALITY ETERNAL.

Viens dans mes bras, recevoir l'accolade fraternelle,
Jouir du bonheur, et l'égalité éternelle.

From the *mouth* of the Devil issues—

Bravo, Citizen! Courage, my comrade! *Ca ira*—Ah, *Ca ira!*

Around the *posteriors* of the Monster—

No Frenchman henceforward in his body shall be bound,
Since his b-cks-de is garnish'd with liberty around.

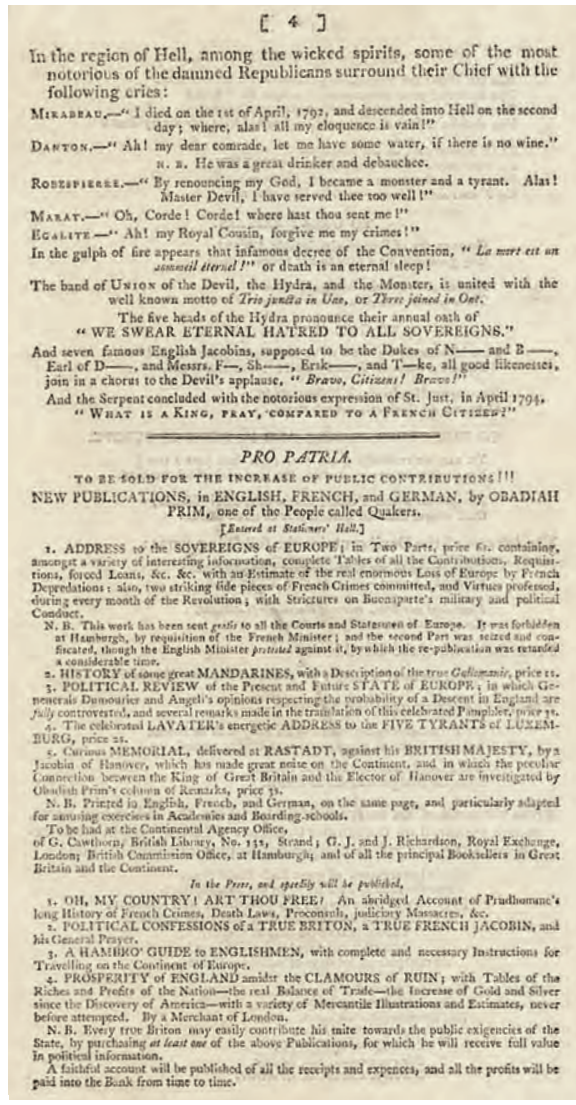
Nul Français désormais sera plus contraint,
Ayant son c—l garni du mot de Liberté.

From the *mouth* of his Infernal Majesty issues the following verse, which appeared on the famous *Committee of Eleven*, appointed to examine, alter, and rectify the present Republican Constitution:

Elev'n Lycurgusses, of great Paris fam'd town,
Felt the *pains of hard labour* in old metaphysics;
Deliv'ring at last a MOUNTAIN's MOUSE, well re-known,
It GNAWS all the countries with frenchified Republics.
The assignats were soon destroyed.
The MOUSE GNAWS STILL to be employed,
To extirpate all archives of *millions sold Ethics.*

Onze Lycurgus de Paris
Firent un ouvrage métaphysique;
Ils s'accouchèrent d'une souris,
Qui rongera les Républiques.
Les assignats déjà mangés,
Elle rouge encore, pour badiner,
L'archives d'un million des décrits.

19. Page 3 of fig. 17.



[4]

In the region of Hell, among the wicked spirits, some of the most notorious of the damned Republicans surround their Chief with the following cries:

MIRABEAU.—"I died on the 1st of April, 1792, and descended into Hell on the second day; where, alas! all my eloquence is vain!"

DANTON.—"Ah! my dear comrade, let me have some water, if there is no wine."
N. B. He was a great drinker and debauchee.

ROBESPIERRE.—"By renouncing my God, I became a monster and a tyrant. Alas! Master Devil, I have served thee too well!"

MARAT.—"Oh, Corde! Corde! where hast thou sent me!"

EGALITE.—"Ah! my Royal Cousin, forgive me my crimes!"

In the gulph of fire appears that infamous decree of the Convention, "*La mort est un sommeil éternel!*" or death is an eternal sleep!

The band of UNION of the Devil, the Hydra, and the Monster, is united with the well known motto of *Tria juncta in Uno*, or *Three joined in One.*

The five heads of the Hydra pronounce their annual oath of
"WE SWEAR ETERNAL HATRED TO ALL SOVEREIGNS."

And seven famous English Jacobins, supposed to be the Dukes of N—— and B——, Earl of D——, and Messrs. F—, Sh——, Ersk——, and T—ke, all good likenesses, join in a chorus to the Devil's applause, "*Bravo, Citizens! Bravo!*"

And the Serpent concluded with the notorious expression of St. Just, in April 1794,
"WHAT IS A KING, PRAY, COMPARED TO A FRENCH CITIZEN?"

PRO PATRIA.

TO BE SOLD FOR THE INCREASE OF PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS!!!

NEW PUBLICATIONS, in ENGLISH, FRENCH, and GERMAN, by OBADIAH PRIM, one of the People called Quakers.

[*Entered at Stationers' Hall.*]

1. ADDRESS to the SOVEREIGNS of EUROPE; in Two Parts, price 6s. containing, amongst a variety of interesting information, complete Tables of all the Contributions, Requisitions, forced Loans, &c. &c. with an Estimate of the real enormous Loss of Europe by French Depredations; also, two striking side pieces of French Crimes committed, and Virtues professed, during every month of the Revolution; with Strictures on Buonaparte's military and political Conduct.

N. B. This work has been sent *gratis* to all the Courts and Statesmen of Europe. It was forbidden at Hamburgh, by requisition of the French Minister; and the second Part was seized and confiscated, though the English Minister *protested* against it, by which the re-publication was retarded a considerable time.

2. HISTORY of some great MANDARINES, with a Description of the true *Gallimanie*, price 1s.

3. POLITICAL REVIEW of the Present and Future STATE of EUROPE; in which Generals Dumouriez and Angelli's opinions respecting the probability of a Descent in England are *fully* controverted, and several remarks made in the translation of this celebrated Pamphlet, price 3s.

4. The celebrated LAVATER's energetic ADDRESS to the FIVE TYRANTS of LUXEMBURG, price 2s.

5. Curious MEMORIAL, delivered at RASTADT, against his BRITISH MAJESTY, by a Jacobin of Hanover, which has made great noise on the Continent, and in which the peculiar Connection between the King of Great Britain and the Elector of Hanover are investigated by Obadiah Prim's column of Remarks, price 3s.

N. B. Printed in English, French, and German, on the same page, and particularly adapted for amusing exercises in Academies and Boarding-schools.

To be had at the Continental Agency Office,
of G. Cawthorn, British Library, No. 132, Strand; G. J. and J. Richardson, Royal Exchange, London; British Commission Office, at Hamburgh; and of all the principal Booksellers in Great Britain and the Continent.

In the Press, and speedily will be published,

1. OH, MY COUNTRY! ART THOU FREE! An abridged Account of Prudhomme's long History of French Crimes, Death Laws, Proconsuls, judiciary Massacres, &c.

2. POLITICAL CONFESSIONS of a TRUE BRITON, a TRUE FRENCH JACOBIN, and his General Prayer.

3. A HAMBRO' GUIDE to ENGLISHMEN, with complete and necessary Instructions for Travelling on the Continent of Europe.

4. PROSPERITY of ENGLAND amidst the CLAMOURS of RUIN; with Tables of the Riches and Profits of the Nation—the real Balance of Trade—the Increase of Gold and Silver since the Discovery of America—with a variety of Mercantile Illustrations and Estimates, never before attempted. By a Merchant of London.

N. B. Every true Briton may easily contribute his mite towards the public exigencies of the State, by purchasing *at least one* of the above Publications, for which he will receive full value in political information.

A faithful account will be published of all the receipts and expences, and all the profits will be paid into the Bank from time to time.

20. Page 4 of fig. 17.

remains specious (some works labelled 'London' were likely published on the continent), it is clear that he targeted a European audience in general, and England, France and Germany in particular. Winsor probably paid to publish these works himself and did so in these three principle languages. Publishing his various works in Britain made more sense on a number of levels, most importantly because Britain's publishing culture was more open, explicit and inclusive than in Germany.[5]

Represantant appeals to French and English viewers in both word and image, and his closely corresponding *Address to the Sovereigns of Europe* was published in both French and English. He clearly tried to distribute *Address to the Sovereigns of Europe* in Germany; otherwise it would not have been seized, confiscated and forbidden at 'Hamburgh'.[6] Accordingly, it would not be unreasonable to assume that Winsor tried to circulate *Represantant* in Germany as well.

5. E. Hellmuth, 'Towards a Comparative Study of Political Culture: The Cases of Late Eighteenth-Century England and Germany' in *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century*, edited by E. Hellmuth, Oxford, 1990.

6. F. A. Winsor, *Address to the Sovereigns of Europe*, part I, unpaginated 'Advice', and Winsor, *Monstrous . . .*, op. cit., p. 4.

Although this necessitates further research, it is possible that the Winsor who published *Represantant* is the same German engineer who was born in Brunswick in 1763 and died in Paris in 1830 after unsuccessfully starting the London gasworks called Gas Light and Coke Company in 1810. This assumes the dates given to the Quaker Winsor in the English Short Title Catalogue are correct. The engineer Frederick Albert Winsor (born Friedrich Albrecht Winzer), who published many tracts on gas such as *Description of the Thermolamp invented by Lebon, of Paris* in 1802 and *The Superiority of the New Patent Coke Over the Use of Coals* in 1804, is given the dates 1763–1830 in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; no mention is made in this biographical sketch of any political publications from the late 1790s. If we take the Quaker Winsor and the engineer Winsor to be one person, then he published over twenty tracts, many intended for English, French and German audiences, between 1795 and 1823. Only one print is currently known, but if this is the case then Winsor's presence in the production of British Satire was more than simply as the publisher of *Represantant.* Between 1807 and 1815 the engineer Winsor appeared (in one way or another) in a handful of satires by George Cruikshank, Samuel De Wilde, Thomas Rowlandson and James Sayers, see for instance *The Good Effects of Carbonic Gas* (BMC 10798).[7]

Represantant d'une grande nation invents an embodiment of what the Revolution had become by 1799 for anti-Revolutionaries on both sides of the channel. It depicts the French Revolution as a monster leaning up against the Tree of Liberty (also referred to as the Biblical Tree of Evil Knowledge), upon which the serpentine bodies of the five French Directors, seven English Jacobins, and a 'ci-devant Abbot' are entwined. The pamphlet *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation* proclaims that the 'whole figure presents a most hideous Monster, in all its proportions of body, especially the face, and truly emblematical of a monstrous republic' and further clarifies that the print exhibits 'the chief ways and means of the Revolution, with a Vocabulary of the most notorious new words in the Revolutionary Volume'.[8] The number '5' on the forehead of the monster represents the five Kings of Paris and serves as an allusion to the five deranged senses. Around this 'central sun' are five other constellations representing various ministers, such as the Minister of Police on the nose who 'smells nothing but conspiracies'.[9] The five Directors, all with 'striking likenesses', wear an iron crown over their liberty caps to indicate their hypocrisy for pretending to do away with tyranny and despotism, and to indicate the subjugated territories of Europe.[10] The Devil appears in the bottom left of the print with five speaking Revolutionaries, identified as Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, Marat and Égalité (listing these individuals by name would not have been controversial since they were all dead by 1799).[11] There remains some doubt as to the identity of the 'ci-devant Abbot' thought to be Talleyrand; the serpent may also be Sieyes.[12]

Every surface of the monster's body is inscribed with text, references and symbols, from André Grétry's opera *Raoul Barbe-bleue* to the forced paper currencies *assignats* and *mandats* which were distributed during the Revolution. The image displays the monstrous body from multiple perspectives all at the same time, the legs are drawn from the side but the upper chest is depicted in full frontal perspective. The bizarre anatomy of the monster (it seems to be missing a rib cage), perhaps partly due to a deficiency in draughtsmanship, indicates along with its 'unnatural belly' that it inhabits an aberrant body. The chest and shoulders 'exhibit the chief muscles of strength, viz. terrorism and Jacobinism, with all their barbarous appendages, by which the Revolution has been effected and maintained though numberless scenes of bloodshed, plunder, and cruelties'.[13] Consistent with Winsor's appreciation for British commerce, the left thigh, leg and foot of the monster list piracy, seizure of English merchandise and the loan payable upon the usurpation of the Bank of England as crimes. As is typical of contrast prints in Britain, the monster tramples 'upon Public Security, Public faith,

7. Thanks to Tim Pye, specialist in Rare Books at the British Library, for reviewing the cataloguing of Winsor in these two contexts. See BMC 10798, 11092, 11439, 11440, 11441, 11606, and 12633.
8. The monster's body represents more than the Constitution of the Year III, as suggested by George, op cit., p. 532. Despite these minor changes, the document for the most part verifies Dorothy George's identifications in the *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*.
9. Winsor, *Monstrous* …, op. cit., p. 1.
10. Winsor, *Monstrous* …, op. cit., p. 2.
11. Winsor claimed that the 'unparalleled perfidy of thy French rulers' was 'so diabolically horrible – that it strikes the mind of man with lasting impression'. Winsor, *Address to the Sovereigns of Europe*, part II, London, 1798, p. 23.
12. They were both abbots, both active in the early stages of the Revolution, both had acted as ambassadors on behalf of France (Talleyrand in London and the US, Sieyes to Prussia) and both aligned with Bonaparte upon his return from Egypt. The following quote supports this identification: 'In Holland the cunning ci-devant Abbey Sieyes, conjured…' Winsor, *Address* …, part I, op. cit., p. 13.
13. Winsor, *Monstrous* …, op. cit., p. 4.
14. See BMC 8436.
15. Thanks to Dian Kriz for this suggestion. A number of versions of *L'Hydre aristocratique* circulated in France. See *French Caricature*

Confidence, Majority of People and Sovereigns, &c.' Its Hussar cap indicates France is a war machine; we are told the existence of the monster depends on 'war, war, war!' (this phrase appears similarly as 'war, war, eternal war' inscribed on the headband of one of Isaac Cruikshank's more famous – and monstrous – *sans-culottes* depicted in *A Republican Belle: A picture of Paris for 1794*).[14] Aside from the occasional reversal of left and right in the description of *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation*, there are few discrepancies between the print and its description.

The 'seven famous English Jacobins' are the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, the Earl of Derby, and Messers Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, and Tooke. They form a beast with seven heads referencing the book of Revelation. The pamphlet assures the reader that these Englishmen, like the images of the French Directors, are 'all good likenesses'. It is doubtful that these printmakers were working from life or from portraits of the Whig politicians. This suggests, of course, that Winsor and Cooke were well versed in British caricature, if not specifically Gillray's caricature, and using previously published caricatures of the Whigs as models for their famous English Jacobins. Cooke and Winsor also combined these references with knowledge of French prints during the Revolution, with which they were also clearly familiar, by placing them in the form of a hydra that was a symbol of corrupt aristocracy exemplified, for instance, in the print *L'Hydre aristocratique*.[15] Still, the liminal placement of the 'English Jacobins' in *Represantant* presents a visual problem for the caricature. Their heads are half in the scene and half outside of it; they face off with the French, indicating antagonism, but are entwined tail to tail; they cheer in support of the Directory but do not directly act on its behalf. Why did Winsor and Cooke not include vocal politicians from other countries, such as Germany? Was the rivalry between France and Britain a good enough reason? Or did he only publish the print in these two countries?

In another published text Winsor attacks the Whig Opposition and its 'Echo' on the content, meaning any individuals considered to be enemies of the English government or those that spread rumours about its bankruptcy. He includes James Maitland the Eighth Earl of Lauderdale and Thomas Paine in this lamentable group of individuals throwing 'the fire brand of alarm', writing in the preface to *Prosperity of England midst the Clamors of Ruin*:

> During my travels on the Continent, I have had frequent opportunities to witness how far, even men the most renowned for their good sense and understanding had been deluded, in regard to the affairs of Old England, and chiefly from the many fugitive Publications above alluded to, which seem to be the Echo to the English Opposition Newspapers and some lamentable Speeches in Parliament, considered abroad as oracles of truth.[16]

This comment suggests one compelling reason why Winsor included the British Whigs in *Represantant*. Given his hostility to the Directory and his allegiance to the Constitution, it makes sense that he would also have contempt for any vocal faction remotely connected to spreading dangerous and false ideas. After all, aversion to the war against France is one of the main reasons that satirists continually labelled the Foxite Whigs as Jacobins. By including the Whigs in his caricature Winsor was able to indicate their influence in public debates throughout Europe, and also perhaps indulge his anglomania and familiarity with the market for British prints.

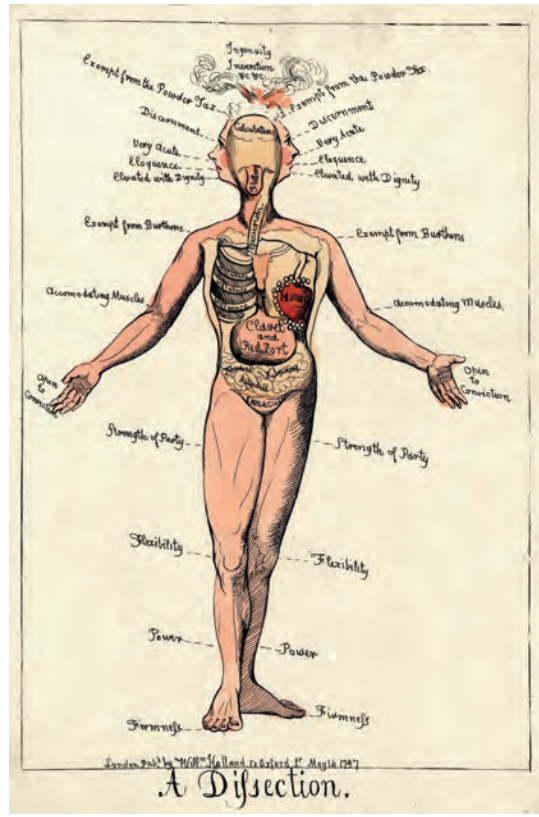
The year prior to the release of *Represantant* the journal *London und Paris* began publishing commentaries on English and French caricatures, with accompanying images, attesting to the 'wide and interesting cultural exchange' between Britain and Germany during the latter half of the eighteenth century.[17] Winsor's various cultural identifications (as a Briton, merchant and volunteer soldier; discussed below) indicate that he most likely favoured British traditions in print and caricature, perhaps especially the tradition that vilified the French Rev-

and the French Revolution, 1789–1799, edited by J. Cuno, University of California, 1988, p. 155; and A. de Baecque, *La Caricature Revolutionnaire*, Paris, Presses du CNRS, 1988, p. 137. See also A. de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800*, translated by C. Mandell, Stanford, CA, 1997, especially chapter 4.

16. In this tract Winsor engages in the larger discussion of British debt during the Revolutionary wars in the later 1790s. He refutes 'the detractions against the Credit and good Faith of England in representing the whole Country on the very brink of Ruin and Bankruptcy'; *Prosperity* …, op. cit., p. III. Paine's *The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance* of 1796 likely provoked some of Winsor's rage. In it Paine tied finance to the stability of government intimating the downfall of the British system of government: '[i]t is worthy of observation, that every case of a failure in finances, since the system of paper began, has produced a revolution in governments, either total or partial'; Paine, op. cit., p. 10. See the third chapter of my dissertation '*British Asignats*' [*sic*] for a discussion of British finances, William Pitt and the specie crisis of 1797. Unlike the Whigs, Winsor advocated the use of bank notes and paper credit.

17. See the excellent discussion of this in C. Banerji and D. Donald, *Gillray Observed: The Earliest Account of his Caricatures in London und Paris*, Cambridge, UK, 1999. Also, T. Clayton, 'Reviews of English Prints in German Journals, 1750–1800', *Print Quarterly*, X, 1993, pp. 123–37.

21. William Dent, *A Right Hon[oura]ble Democrat Dissected*, 15 January 1793, hand-coloured etching, 350 x 248 mm (London, British Museum).

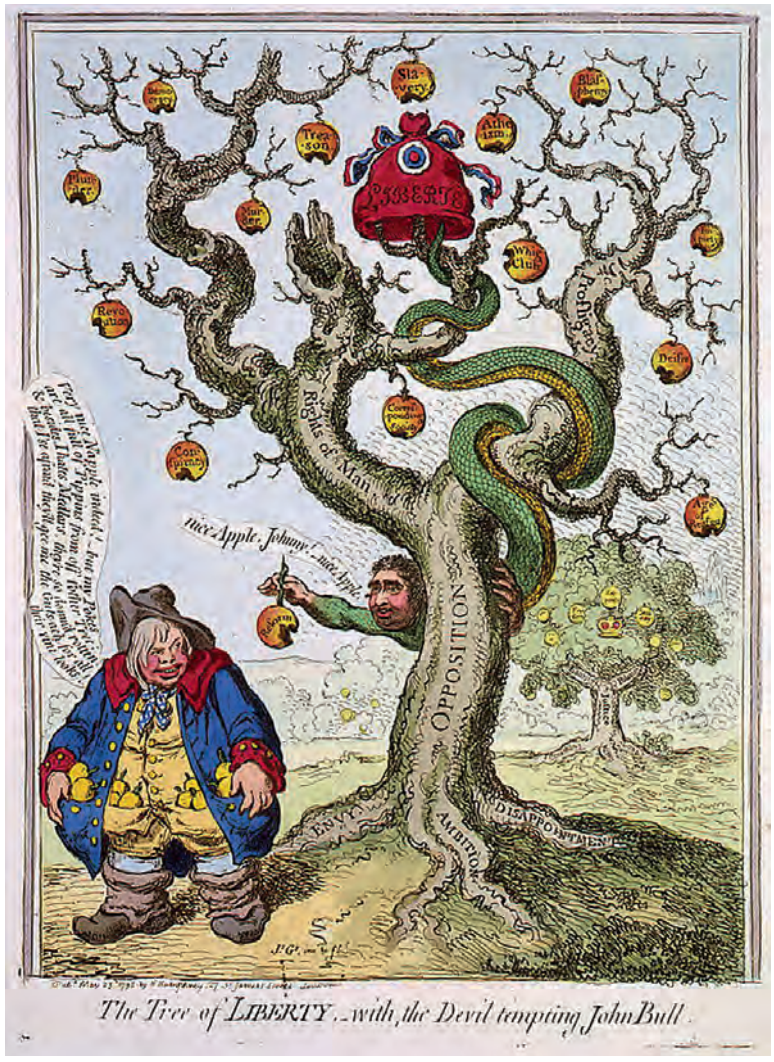


22. William Holland, *A Dissection*, 14 May 1797, hand-coloured etching, 386 x 246 mm (London, British Museum).

olution and those who opposed the war against France.

As David Bindman has pointed out, the meticulously labelled body in *Represantant* recalls early medical illustrations in Britain.[18] *Represantant*'s Revolutionary monster is posed for destruction as well as dissection and amputation, likening it to the politically charged dissection in William Dent's *A Right Hon*^{ble} *Democrat Dissected* of 15 January 1793 (fig. 21) and other satires in this same vein, such as William Holland's *A Dissection* of 14 May 1797 (fig. 22).[19] Further, Winsor deploys '*la grande nation*' with a hint of British irony, depicting a nation that is anything but important, remarkable or strong. The French also used irony in political prints, but as Amelia Rauser has argued, the association of irony and caricature was more strongly associated with Britain than other European countries.[20] In fact, Gillray's print *The tree of Liberty, with the Devil tempting John Bull* (fig. 23) of 23 May 1798 likely served as a precedent for *Represantant*.[21] In *The Tree of Liberty* Gillray had employed the biblical allegory of the tree of knowledge of good and evil (separated into two trees), replaced Fox's body with that of a serpent and wrapped him around a tree of 'liberty' placing his left hand around the trunk for stability. The rotten apples in *Represantant* read '*subornation*' (bribery),

18. Bindman, op. cit., p. 218. His discussion includes other apocalyptic and millenarian printmakers, such as Garnet Terry.
19. See BMC 8291 and 9013.
20. She writes that caricature 'was embraced on the continent … as a distinctly British aesthetic'; A. Rauser, 'The Britishness of Caricature in Revolutionary France' *'Better in France?': The Circulation of Ideas across the Channel in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by F. Ogée, Lewisburg, PA, 2005, p. 89.
21. James Sayer's *Mr. Burke's Pair of Spectacles for Short Sighted Politicians* (12 May 1791, BMC 7858) also combines this trope with the Revolutionary milieu. As David Bindman has shown, there was no shortage of the Biblical allegory of the tree of life in British prints from 1750 to beyond Winsor's death in 1883; Bindman, op. cit., pp. 214–19.



23. James Gillray, *The Tree of Liberty, with the Devil tempting John Bull*, 23 May 1798, hand-coloured etching, 365 x 261 mm (Washington DC, Library of Congress).

'*anarchie universelle*', '*intrigue*', and '*corruption*', which match well with Gillray's rotten apples of 'treason,' 'plunder,' 'revolution,' 'conspiracy,' and 'murder'. When the journal *London und Paris* published Gillray's *The Tree of Liberty* in 1798 they described the evil tree as French and the good tree as British: 'What, then, could be more natural than to contrast these two trees, the French the British, and to portray them for the edification and pleasure of the English nation, *vulgo* John Bull?'[22] Similarly, Winsor and Cooke placed the Whig Opposition in the 'tree of evil knowledge' and in doing so employed a polarization typical of the longstanding tradition of contrast prints in Britain, and in particular Gillray's oeuvre. Perhaps Hannah Humphrey's success gave Winsor hope that a caricature employing tropes familiar to Gillray lovers might be a more effective remedy to Jacobinism than engaging solely in published written debates.

Despite a few inconsistencies with the imprints of his publications from the late 1790s, Winsor certainly projected a consistent identity that helps illuminate the social and political context of *Represantant*. Although Winsor was German, he clearly maintained national

22. *London und Paris*, I, 1798, pp. 204–09, p. v; cited from Banerji and Donald, op. cit., p. 57.

24. Thomas Rowlandson, *The Contrast*, 1 January 1793, hand-coloured etching, 255 x 350 mm (London, British Museum).

affiliations that transcended any one particular label. Of these I intend to underscore his Britishness, especially his love of British commercial culture, and his religious identification as a Quaker.

His identification as a Briton seems to be more than simply an ideal. He dedicated *Prosperity of England midst the Clamors of Ruin* to 'the Gentlemen Volunteers of the British Realm in general, and to the Light Horse Volunteers of the Cities of London and Westminster in particular', of which he claimed to be a member of Number 145.[23] Perhaps the concept of national affiliation was weaker in Germany during this time and allowed for more choice in the matter, or perhaps he identified with the House of Hanover. In the last years of the 1790s many events kept Winsor away from England and his service for more than three years, including his business affairs in Germany and Holland, an attempt to supply the London market with corn from Hungary, a broken leg and the serious illness of his wife. Winsor arrived in Hamburg towards the end of this hiatus from England in November of 1797 to tend to her.[24] Such travel would have made him the ideal author of the work he advertised in *Monstrous But True Representative of a Great Nation*, 'A Hambro Guide to Englishmen, with complete and necessary Instructions for Travelling on the continent of Europe'.[25] He explained: 'I am born and educated in the practice of trade in general and have travelled through most parts of Europe on commercial business'.[26] After lamenting his absence from England, he explained how he intended to compensate for it with the publication of *Prosperity of England midst the Clamors of Ruin*:

> Thus have I for above three years been prevented from attending my duty under the banners of your Honorable Corps. I have in the interim however endeavoured to exercise my pen in defence of our Country and Constitution. Persuaded as I am that the great mass of books and pamphlets circulated at home, and abroad in favor of Revolutionary principles, tend greatly to contaminate the Public against all regular governments in Europe, and that of Great Britain in `particular, I employed my leisure time in attempting to refute the most material calumnies contained therein, viz, those levelled against British Finance, Trade and Navigation.
>
> For the general information of all Europe I re-

23. Winsor, *Prosperity* …, op. cit., unpaginated dedication.
24. I take Winsor at his word in the dedication to *Prosperity* to reconstruct this chronology.
25. Winsor, *Monstrous* …, op. cit., p. 4.
26. Winsor, *Address* …, part I, op. cit., p. 28.

solved to publish my observations in the English, French, and German languages: I now offer them to my Countrymen, to increase the public Contributions for the defence of our invaluable Constitution and Government.[27]

Here Winsor devotes his pen, life and sword to the defence of the British government, constitution, King, religion, laws and families, and declares his audience as English, French and German readers.[28] He writes with admiration for British trade and navigation, indicating his alarm at the books and pamphlets circulating in Britain that form a threat to 'all regular governments in Europe'.[29] His use of the possessive 'our' in regards to 'Country and Constitution' indicate a hybridized identity appealing to a deeply held set of values and accomplishments rooted in Britain, including British Naval power and the benefits of their commerce – and this amongst sympathetic remarks about his homeland ('O that devoted Germany! how cruelly is it treated by Frenchmen!').

Fitting with his claim to be a British volunteer, Winsor declares his patriotism with the two headings in *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation*: 'PRO PATRIA. TO BE SOLD FOR THE INCREASE OF PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS!!!' He also claims that his *Address to the Sovereigns of Europe* was 'sent *gratis* to all the Courts and Statesmen of Europe' indicating that his main objective in publishing it, as well as *Representant*, was to combat the spread of Revolutionary discourse and not to profit from his publications financially.[30] Because profit was, generally speaking, the prime mover of the London print market, Winsor's print makes an unusual contribution to this body of material culture. In light of this, *Representant* is aptly compared to prints that were distributed as propaganda and did not compete solely in the windows of print sellers, such as Thomas Rowlandson's print *The Contrast*, which was distributed in 1792 and 1793 (fig. 24).[31] Winsor implores at the end of the pamphlet *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation* that '[e]very true Briton may easily contribute his mite towards the public exigencies of the State, by purchasing at least one of the above Publications, for which he will receive full value in political information'.[32]

Further adding to his complex identity, in *Monstrous but True Representative of a Great Nation* Winsor described himself as 'Obadiah Prim, one of the People called Quakers'.[33] This religious affiliation likely shaped his involvement with commerce and his use of the printing press for political ends. As dissenters Quakers were denied entry into the universities and professions, which left few options for making a living beyond commerce, industry, manufacturing and banking.[34] Quakers were highly aware of the power of many forms of representation from object design to fashion, a point stressed by Marcia Pointon, and in Britain they had made prolific use of the printing press starting in 1652 to spread religious and political ideas, using prophetic language akin to the apocalyptic references in *Representant*.[35] Winsor likely chose Obadiah Prim as a pseudonym based on a character of the same name in Susanna Centlivre's satire *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, of 1718, that was performed in London a number of times in 1798 and 1799.[36] In the play, the Quaker Prim acts as a pious guardian to Mrs Lovely and only consents to her marriage after her suitor proclaims he was able to convert her to the Quaker faith.[37]

Despite this sly reference to a fictitious character, Winsor tries to articulate his political position as neutral and objective. This neutrality is evident in the lists of the crimes and virtues of the French Revolution that

27. Winsor, *Prosperity* …, op. cit., p. unpaginated dedication. He also professed that 'British character, for liberality and honor, shines superior to all the vile slander' of France. Winsor, *Address* …, part I , op. cit., p. 12.
28. Winsor, *Prosperity* …, op. cit., p. unpaginated dedication.
29. He writes: 'Englishmen brave all the dangers of the watery element to explore unknown regions, in order to establish *Civilization*, *Amity*, and *Commerce* between the Poles; they offer to all Nations the fruits of their labor and trade, to supply the necessaries, conveniences and luxuries of life, in return, for such natural produce as foreign Nations can neither use, nor consume themselves.' Winsor, *Address* …, part I, op. cit., p. 9.
30. Winsor, *Monstrous* …, op. cit., p. 4.
31. It was distributed by members of The Association for Protecting Liberty and Property Against Republicans and Levellers; D. Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, New Haven and London, 1996, p. 152.
32. Winsor, *Monstrous* …, op. cit., p. 4.
33. Winsor, *Monstrous* …, op. cit., p. 4.
34. P. Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, Cambridge, UK, 2007, p. 79.
35. M. Pointon, 'Quakerism and Visual Culture 1650–1800', *Art History*, XX, 1997, pp. 397–431. She writes that the Quakers' 'relationship with the world of goods was consciously predicated […] upon the power of representation' and that 'only a group like the Quakers, with their keen monitoring of all acts of display, […] could recognize the political power of the visual if legitimately harnessed, or the full impact of dress as a signifier' (pp. 415 and 422). See also K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, Cambridge, UK, 2005, and D. Lowenstein, 'The War of the Lamb: George Fox and the Apocalyptical Discourse of Revolutionary Quakerism', *The Emergence of Quaker Writing: Dissenting Literature in Seventeenth-Century England*, edited by T. N. Corns and D. Lownstein, London, 1995. Although listed as a 'gas engineer' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the engineer Winsor apparently 'had […] no technical skills and was essentially a persuasive entrepreneur with a great flair for promoting extravagant projects' (p. 760).
36. Between 1789 and 1804 *The Times* published nineteen advertisements for the play, including four in 1798 and two in 1799.
37. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'prim' as an excessively formal or precise person.

appear, arranged by year and month, in the *Address to the Sovereigns of Europe* (the list of crimes, however, is three times longer than the virtues).[38] His religious affiliation is meant to establish this neutrality. Thus, identifying himself as a Quaker serves as a strategy to establish political credibility. Not only does he indicate Quaker values with his appeal to brotherly love and peace at the end of the *Address* … tract, he states outright his religious affiliation and its relation to his political worldview in a passage worth quoting in full. What he called neutrality, however, might have been the very claim that destroyed his political credibility and led to his censorship on the continent:

> I wish O ye Sovereigns and rulers of the Earth to Know, that, we Quaker folks, are neither what are called Aristocrates nor Democrats, but perfectly Neutral beings in regard to the Politics of nations, which do not concern us any more than as the happiness of your fellow creatures is interested!
>
> We never speak but the words of truth, so we never need to vow, swear or protest any thing. Our opinion of Good Kings, and Princess &c. is the same as we entertain of all good Governors and Stewards on Earth. We have no particular choice or preference of any Worldly Government, but we certainly do prefer a good to a bad one; no matter by what name or title it may be known. We are a plain, sober, quiet, Religious sect, – at peace with the whole world, and have no fear of no man, nor of Kings. Though we do not doubt, that some People may live as happy without men called Emperors and Kings, as others do with them – Yet we mortally fear and detest Anarchy, Confusion, Persecution and Blood-shed which must inevitably ensue – should a total overthrow of all ye Sovereigns take place. – This is a short, plain and true confession of our political Creed, which ye worldly Governments are heartily welcome to, – with our well meant warning for your political Existence. – Should your indifference and incredulity not be affected by this appeal, pray call to your mind, the execution which the French have permitted, – on your Persons in effigy. Did they not burn them? The Crime is in the will. Can you longer doubt the principles of the disciples of Marat et Robespierre, when your heads are set a price upon?[39]

Like most Britons at the time Winsor was averse to the blood spilt during the Revolution. Although he advocates monarchical action against the spread of Revolution, his reasons for doing so are based on religious doctrine and emphatically not on the divine right of kings. Winsor was not a royalist. In his own way he presented a radical affront to sovereignty by having 'no particular choice or preference of any Worldly Government' and 'no fear of no man, nor of Kings'. His admission that 'some People may live as happy without men called Emperors and Kings' placed him in the very realm of dangerous abstract ideas that anti-Revolutionaries were trying to denounce. While his attitude towards sovereignty remains surprising for the publisher of a propagandistic print that engages in outright denunciation of the Revolution, it is not entirely surprising given his religious views.

By returning to the comparison of *Represantant* with Gillray's *The Tree of Liberty*, we can better unpack Winsor's worldview and imagined viewers. There is a difference in breadth of audience between *Represantant* and its cousins in London. Whereas Fox offers the rotten apple of reform to John Bull (as the British public), the 'ci-devant Abbot' offers a rotten golden apple of ambiguity to Germany, Prussia, Britain, the Ottoman Empire and 'other princes and nations of Europe'. Winsor conceived of the threat posed by Revolutionary France as global, including the colonies and regions beyond the 'fifteen of the chief subjugated countries', spreading to the borders of the European Empires and French satellite Republics (by 1799 the French had landed in Egypt and already set up, among others, the Batavian, Cisalpine, Cisrhenian, Helvetian, Ligurian and Parthenopean Republics).[40] While Gillray addressed John Bull and was generally concerned with British political stability despite his growing fame on the continent, Winsor targeted a European audience with his publications and feared that French values threatened to destroy more than Europe in the next century:

> Look to the cursed fruits of equilisation, and sansculotism ripening fast in the bleeding East and West Indies, – on the coasts of Asia, Africa and America; in the bosom of the Grand Sultans realm, – in Ireland, Scotland, and in England! – whilst their destructive flame rages in, and consumes the very vitals of Europe! – and that without any effectual resistance to keep it from spreading further.[41]

Neither royalist nor republican, nor strictly German or strictly British, Winsor took up the visual power of printed caricature to warn his fellow Europeans about French folly and military aggression and in doing so served, to turn a phrase of David Erdman, as a prophet against the French Empire.

38. Winsor, *Address* …, part II, op. cit., pp. 45–64.
39. Winsor, *Address* …, part I, op. cit., pp. 39–40.
40. Winsor, *Monstrous* …, op. cit., p. 2. These fifteen countries are 'viz. Germany, Flanders, Holland, Spain, Italy, Savoy, Rome, Naples, Sardinia, Switzerland, Modena, Milan, Corsica, Malta, and Egypt.'
41. Winsor, *Address* …, part I, op. cit., p. 9.

Shorter Notices

Some Early States by Martino Rota

Stephen A. Bergquist

Originally from Dalmatia, Martino Rota (c. 1520–83) arrived in Italy around 1540 and settled in Venice in 1558, where he was primarily engaged in producing engravings after Titian as well as maps and views of the city. Ten years later he left Venice for the court of the Habsburg emperor Maximilan II in Vienna, where he was soon appointed court artist. Presented here are undescribed early states of three engravings by the artist. Rota made four engravings of Mary Magdalen (Bartsch 21–24); the sources of two of them are unknown, but the other two, Bartsch 22 and 23, are after Titian.[1] Bartsch 23 is after a painting now in the Hermitage, dated to around 1560.[2] It is not directly after the Titian painting, however, but is a reduced copy, in reverse, of an engraving by Cornelis Cort.[3] Since Cort's engraving, dated 1566 in the plate, is itself in reverse of the painting, Rota's version reverts to the same sense as the original. The single state of Rota's engraving listed by Bartsch is described as bearing the inscriptions *TITIANUS* in the lower centre, *Martinus Rota Sibenicensis* in the lower right, and the dedication *Reuerendis.o / et Ill.mo Dno. / Dno Antonio / Verancio Epi / Agriensi D.* on a tablet at the lower left. Traces of an effaced inscription below the dedication to Antonio Verantio (1504–73) – a Dalmatian compatriot and Archbishop of Gran – are also noted. This is the state reproduced in *The Illustrated Bartsch* and *The New Hollstein*.[4]

Yet two earlier states of the engraving Bartsch 23 exist. Like the state described by Bartsch, the first has the inscription *Martinus Rota Sibenicensis* in the lower right corner and the dedication to Verantio on the tablet in the lower left (fig. 25). It differs, however, in three respects: it is before the inscription *TITIANUS* in the lower centre, it is before the addition of a small blank tablet in the lower right corner (similar to the device used by Marcantonio Raimondi), just above and to the right of Rota's name, and it is before the effaced inscription below the tablet in the lower left was even added.

In the second state the first three lines of horizontal hatching below the dedicatory tablet were removed, and in the blank space created was added an inscription, which must have read *Luca Guarinony formis*. Guarinoni was active as a book and print publisher in Venice around 1568–69.[5] Although the effacement of this inscription in the state described by Bartsch has rendered it an indistinct blur, the wording of the inscription can be deduced from the general shapes of the words and by comparison to the inscription on Bartsch 22, discussed below. This second state is described by Le Blanc as the first state, with the address of Guarinoni and before the retouching.[6] It is not clear what retouching or retouchings Le Blanc is referring to – the addition of Titian's name, the addition of the blank tablet in the lower right corner, or both. The blank tablet is presumably the device of a publisher who acquired the plate after Guarinoni; it seems likely that it was this later publisher who effaced Guarinoni's address, although this cannot be known with certainty. It is possible that there were other publishers in the chain of ownership, and

1. A. Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, Vienna, 1803–21, XVI, pp. 257–58.
2. See H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, London, 1969–75, i, p. 146, cat. no. 123 and plate 185.
3. M. Sellink, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort, Part II*, edited by H. Leeflang, Rotterdam, 2000, pp. 193–97, no. 132 (Cort), no. 132, copy b (Rota). For some background on Rota's relationship with Cort, see M. Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550–1620*, London, 2001, pp. 176, 190–91.
4. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXIII, edited by H. Zerner, New York, 1979, p. 31, no. 23.
5. Bury, op. cit., p. 227.
6. C. Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, Paris, 1854–90, III, p. 367, no. 28 '1er état: avec l'adr. de Guarinoni et avant le retouche'.

25. Martino Rota, *Mary Magdalen*, Bartsch 23, engraving, 195 x 150 mm (trimmed) (Private collection).

that one or more additional states exist in between those described here.

The *Mary Magdalen* of Bartsch 22 is similar to fig. 25; the saint has the same facial features, the same hair, and the same pose, with her head raised and her eyes turned heavenwards. However, she is facing to the viewer's left, and her left arm, instead of gathering her garment against her waist, is holding open a book. Although the Hermitage painting by Titian is also the ultimate source of this print, it is not clear whether there was an intermediate prototype. Rota may simply have executed the print as a variant of Bartsch 23.

Bartsch 22 is also described as existing in only one state. Reproduced in *The Illustrated Bartsch*, it too includes the inscription *Martinus Rota* in the lower right, and in the lower centre a blank tablet above an effaced inscription.[7] There is, however, an earlier state of this print in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 26).[8] It corresponds to the known state except that in the lower centre is the inscription *Luca Guarinony / formis* and the small blank tablet just above the Guarinoni publication line has not yet been added. As is the case with Bartsch 23, the chain of ownership of the plate is unknown, and the existence of one or more additional early or intermediate states cannot be discounted. Indeed, by analogy to the states of Bartsch 23, one might suspect the existence of a state before the Guarinoni publication line.

26. Martino Rota, *Mary Magdalen*, Bartsch 22, engraving, 191 x 146 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

The engraving of *The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr* (Bartsch 20), which probably dates from around 1568, is after Titian's altarpiece for the church of SS Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, which was delivered to the church in 1530 but was lost in a fire in 1867.[9] The print is described by Bartsch in one state, with a tablet hanging from a tree limb bearing the inscription *TICIANUS / INVENTOR / MARTINUS / ROTA SIBE*^{SIS} */ .F.* and with the inscription *LUCAE / GUERINONI / FORMIS* on a rock at the lower left.[10] This print also exists in a working proof (fig. 27). As Peter Parshall has pointed out, working proofs before 1600 are rare.[11] Those that do exist are interesting documents, revealing the order in which an artist chose to work on a plate. Often this order seems arbitrary, as, for example, with Agostino Carracci's *St Jerome*, and as is the case here. Most noticeably, the entire background remains blank, silhouetting the trees and figures; Rota completed this blank middleground primarily with simple horizontal hatching, but also with some low-hanging clouds behind the trees, rays of light emanating down from the putti, hills and small buildings (already lightly outlined with the burin), and, in the lower right, dense foliage, as well as two tiny figures fleeing on horseback. Of more interest are the random unfinished areas that are visible on the figures and the trees. The portion of St Peter Martyr's cloak that covers his left shoulder is engraved in outline only and the ground just to the left of the right knee of the saint's fleeing companion as well as the ground behind this figure's left foot has yet to be shaded. The small excrescence of foliage on the trunk of the central tree, about thirty millimetres below the left foot of the lower angel, exists in outline only; several small tree branches just to the right of the tablet are also in outline only; and three of the angels' feet – those of the angel holding the palm frond and the left foot of the other angel – remain to be shaded, as does the palm

7. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, op. cit., p. 30, no. 22.
8. Inv. P1560.
9. Bury, op. cit., p. 191, cat. no. 128.
10. Bartsch, op. cit., pp. 256–57; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, op. cit., p. 28, no. 20.
11. P. Parshall, S. Sell and J. Brodie, *The Unfinished Print*, Washington, 2001, p. 14.

27. Martino Rota, *The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr*, c. 1568, engraving, sheet 394 x 272 mm (Private collection).

frond itself. Finally, the inscription on the tablet as well as the Guarinoni publication line have yet to be engraved. Le Blanc describes the state known to Bartsch as the first state, but lists it as 'before the address of Stefano Scolari'. An impression of a later state published by Scolari, a printmaker and publisher active in Venice in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, remains to be identified.[12]

12. Le Blanc, op. cit., p. 367, no. 24 'Pierre (S.) Le martyre de. Tiz. Vecelli, In-fol. – 1er état: avant l'adr. de Stephano Scolari'; for Scolari see U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, xxx, 1935–36, p. 399.

Prints by Gabriel Huquier after Oppenord's Decorated *Ripa*

Jean-François Bédard

Scholars have long remarked on the liberties taken by the printmaker, publisher and art dealer Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772) in reproducing drawings by Antoine Watteau.[1] Prior to embarking on these etchings, Huquier invariably 'finished' Watteau's arabesque designs, which were little more than rapid sketches. Without compunction, he 'enhanced' his prints after Watteau by incorporating elements commissioned from other artists and even altered the plates of the *Figures de Différents Caractères* he had acquired from François Chéreau I's widow.[2] Huquier's casual approach to the originals shows his lack of concern for reproductive accuracy. His desire to supply the decorative print market with a constant flow of fresh products outweighed fidelity to his models.

To be sure, Huquier's architectural and ornamental prints were meant for a clientele altogether different from painting connoisseurs – primarily artists, artisans and their pupils, as well as art lovers who wished to decorate their homes.[3] These groups relied on images as sources of inspiration, teaching material, or ornamental objects and rarely considered them collectible items in their own right. They sought novelty over exact duplication or printmaking virtuosity. Indifferent to the original inventors' identity, they embraced the variety afforded by images that might combine the work of several artists. They had no objection to Huquier's rearranging elements taken from other draughtsmen, who probably practised the same sort of *bricolage* themselves. Far from betraying the artists he was reproducing, Huquier's modifications imitated their mode of invention.[4]

Huquier's reproduction of a copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* decorated by the architect Gilles-Marie Oppenord (1672–1742) demonstrates how the printmaker mirrored Oppenord's creative process of appropriation and transformation.[5] Around 1713 Oppenord drew vignettes, head- and tailpieces, borders and other ornamental motifs in the margins of a copy of Jean Baudoin's French translation of the *Iconologia*, illustrated by Jacques De Bié and published in Paris in 1636.[6] A subsequent owner of this copy rearranged the material, but a reconstruction of its original appearance shows that the architect's decorations were a graphic commentary on the printed text and

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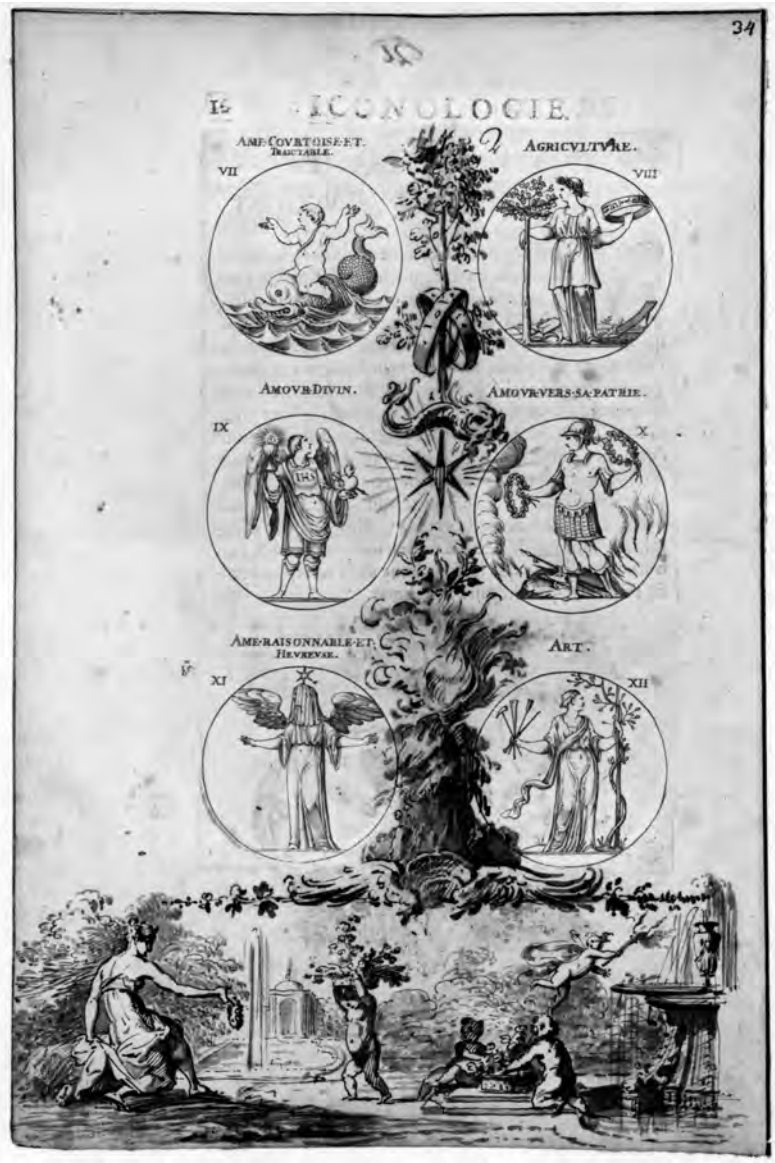
1. See for instance M. Eidelberg, 'Gabriel Huquier – Friend or Foe of Watteau?', *The Print Collector's Newsletter*, XV, 1984, pp. 157–64 and M. Eidelberg, 'Huquier in the guise of Watteau', *On Paper*, I, 1996, pp. 28–32, with references to previous literature. On Huquier, see Y. Bruand, 'Un grand collectionneur, marchand et graveur du XVIII[e] siècle: Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772)', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXVII, 1950, pp. 99–114; Y. Bruand, 'Huquier (Gabriel), le père', in *Inventaire du fonds français: graveurs du XVIII[e] siècle*, Paris, 1930–present, XI, pp. 447–538; M. Préaud, P. Casselle, M. Grivel and C. Le Bitouzé, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1987, *ad. nom.*
2. M. Roland Michel, 'Watteau et les *Figures de différents caractères*', in *Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), le peintre, son temps et sa légende: actes du colloque international de Paris (October 1984)*, edited by F. Moureau and M. Morgan Grasselli, Paris and Geneva, 1987, pp. 117–27.
3. On the market for eighteenth-century French ornament prints, see C. Le Bitouzé, 'Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIII[e] siècle', thesis, École Nationale des Chartes, 1986, particularly pp. 217, 238 and 354.
4. Katie Scott referred to Huquier's 'co-authorship' of François Boucher's prints in terms of collaborative *bricolage*. K. Scott, 'Reproduction and Reputation: "François Boucher" and the Formation of Artistic Identities', in *Rethinking Boucher*, edited by M. Hyde and M. Ledbury, Los Angeles, 2006, pp. 91–132. She also used the term *bricolage* to characterize the design process of grotesque ornament in general. K. Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris*, New Haven and London, 1995, pp. 132–33.
5. Peter Fuhring has illustrated selected prints by Huquier after Oppenord's *Ripa* in P. Fuhring, *Design into Art: Drawings for Architecture and Ornament, the Lodewijk Houthakker Collection*, London, 1989, pp. 82–110; see also Appendix I. Valery Shevchenko, 'Risunki Zhilia-Mari Oppenord v graviurakh G. Huquier [The Drawings of Gilles-Marie Oppenord in the Prints by G. Huquier]', *Hermitage Museum Reports*, LVI, 1995, pp. 16–24, does not discuss Ripa's prints.
6. C. Ripa, translated by J. Baudoin with illustrations by J. De Bié, *Iconologie, Ov, Explication Novvelle De Plvsievrs Images, Emblemes, Et Avtres Figvres Hyerogliphiques des Vertus, des Vices, des Arts, des Sciences, des Causes naturelles, des Humeurs differentes, & des Passions humaines*, 1st edn, Paris, 1636.



28. Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Decorated Page from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie*, c. 1713, pen and brown and black ink, with grey wash, on a printed page, 326 x 217 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

engraved illustrations. Oppenord sketched elegant vignettes and delineated graceful grotesques to illustrate the Ripa-Baudoin descriptions. He also elaborated on De Bié's original plates, which depict Ripa's emblems as personifications disposed in groups of six roundels. Around these roundels, he devised fantastical grotesques that included elements selected at random from De Bié's engraved figures. In the book's second plate, for example, Oppenord inserted an elongated trophy between De Bié's vertical rows of roundels (fig. 28).[7] For this design, he bor-

7. Montreal, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture. Inv. CCA DR1991:007, fol. 16. The album was reproduced in its totality in Fuhring, 1989, op. cit, pp. 82–110, with an essay by E. Dee ('The Oppenord Sketchbook') on pp. 79–81. For a reconstruction of the original aspect of Oppenord's Ripa and a more detailed discussion, see J.-F. Bédard, *Decorative Games: Ornament, Rhetoric, and Noble Culture in the Work of Gilles-Marie Oppenord (1672–1742)*, Newark, DE, 2011.

rowed from the engraver, from top to bottom, a tree and zodiacal rings copied from the emblem 'Agriculture'; a dolphin from the emblem 'Âme courtoise et tractable' (Courteous and kind soul); a star from the emblem 'Âme raisonnable et heureuse' (Reasonable and happy soul); and a laurel wreath and flames from the emblem 'Amour vers sa patrie' (Love for one's country). Oppenord's striking composition resulted from the combination of elements brought together solely by the alphabetical order De Bié adopted to organize his figures. Disregarding the didactic nature of the publication, Oppenord generated his decorations from a playful, haphazard reworking of another illustrator's compositions.

Oppenord's decorated copy of *Ripa*, with the drawings trimmed from the margins and pasted into an album of sixty folios, is now at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal.[8] The Montreal album was probably the creation of Huquier, who is thought to have arranged the contents in their current form. Not only are the reorganized drawings numbered from one to 247 in a different hand than Oppenord's – corresponding exactly to the number given in the description of the volume in the 1772 sale of Huquier's collection – but also the reorganization, which groups the drawings according to format, anticipates the layout of Huquier's plates.[9]

Huquier did not appropriate Oppenord's *Ripa* in its entirety or follow the sequence of drawings as they must have appeared in Oppenord's original. Instead he produced three series of etchings –the *Moyen* and *Grand Oppenord* and his own *Iconologies* – featuring elements randomly chosen from it.[10] Huquier etched the largest number of plates derived from Oppenord's *Ripa* for his

8. Montreal, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture. Inv. CCA DR1991:007:001*r* to 060*v*.
9. '619 Iconologie de Jacques de Bie, enrichie de 247 desseins d'ornemens & sujets de figures sur les marges & les revers des estampes & du discours, par Oppenord, vol. in-fol.' F.-C. Joullain the younger, *Catalogue De Tableaux à l'huile, à gouasse & au pastel ... De feu M. Huquier, Graveur*, Paris, 1772, p. 115, no. 619. F. Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques, intéressant l'art ou la curiosité*, The Hague, 1938–87, no. 2075 is a reference to this sale. The current album is missing drawings 134 to 140 (between *fols*. 42*v* and 43*r*).
10. See Appendix I.

29. Gabriel Huquier after Oppenord, Plate D 2 from *Moyen Oppenord*, 1737–38, etching, 317 x 195 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

30. Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Decorated Page from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie*, c. 1713, pen and brown ink and wash, on a printed page, 326 x 219 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

31. Gabriel Huquier after Oppenord, Title-page of the *Grand Oppenord*, 1749–51, etching, 370 x 239 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

own series known as the *Moyen Oppenord* of 1737–38, whose full title reads *Premier[- XI^e] Livre de Differents morceaux A L'Usage de tous ceux qui s'appliquent aux beaux Arts Inventé par G. M. Oppenort Architecte du Roy Et Gravé par Huquier*. Later, in 1749–51, he included other designs from *Ripa* in the series *Œuvres de Gille Marie Oppenord Ecuier Directeur General des Batiments et Jardins de son Altesse Royale Monseigneur Le Duc D'Orleans Regent du Royaume*, known as the *Grand Oppenord*. He turned to the Ripa album one last time for his own *Iconologies* of 1767–69.

In the *Moyen* and *Grand Oppenords*, Huquier chose the architect's designs as frontispieces[11] and for sequences of decorative motifs such as pilasters, cartouches and fountains.[12] By grouping Oppenord's designs according to theme and format Huquier optimized the use of space in the layout of his plates and made them easier for readers to refer to. Thus horizontal panels and cartouches were grouped together, and vertical pilasters and fountains formed separate sequences in the *Moyen* and *Grand Oppenord* publications.[13] Huquier relied on the same pragmatic approach in other suites he published, such as the first reissue of Watteau's *Figures de Différents Caractères*.[14]

As with Watteau's drawings, Huquier did not hesitate to alter Oppenord's original designs. He simply cropped the architect's sketches that proved too wide for a given layout. Thus, when he etched plate D 2 of the *Moyen Oppenord* (fig. 29), he eliminated the pair of putti in the drawing on *fol. 21r* of the Montreal album (fig. 30). Huquier also devised new compositions by rearranging elements from different drawings in the book, as occurs with the title-pages. For fig. 31, the title-page of the *Grand Oppenord*,[15] for example, he combined a trophy from *fol. 13v* (fig. 32) with the left border of *fol. 4v* (fig. 33).[16] Huquier also added elements to Oppenord's inventions, thereby disrupting the architect's compositional strategy that had relied on De Bié's alphabetical ordering of the engraved emblems. Finally, as he had done in his second reworked edition of Watteau's *Figures*, he added backgrounds to Oppenord's originals. To plate HH 3 of the *Grand Oppenord* (fig. 34), based for the most part on *fol. 10r* (fig. 35),

11. *Moyen Oppenord*, plates C 1 and D 1; *Grand Oppenord*, plates BB 1 and HH 1. The *Moyen Oppenord* is composed of 78 plates grouped in eleven books. Nine of these books, identified by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, K, L contain six plates each (each plate numbered, e.g. A 1 to A 6, and so on for each book); the two remaining books (H and I) comprise twelve plates. An additional suite of twelve plates on fountains is usually bound at the end of the *Moyen Oppenord*. The *Grand Oppenord* comprises 120 plates. Eighteen books, identified by the letters AA, BB, CC, DD, EE, FF, GG, HH, II, KK, LL, MM, OO, PP, QQ, RR, SS, TT, are composed of six plates each (each plate is marked individually AA 1 to AA 6, and so on for each book); the remaining book, marked NN, comprises eight plates. Four individual plates complete the set: a title-page (plate I), a 'preface' (plate II), a portrait of Oppenord (plate III), and an elevation of a design for the choir of Meaux cathedral (plate CXX).
12. In the *Moyen Oppenord*, panels for plates C 2 to 6, pilasters for plates D 2 to 6, and cartouches for plates E 2 to 6. In the *Grand Oppenord*, fountains for plates HH 2 and 3.
13. Horizontal panels and cartouches constitute suites C and E in the *Moyen Oppenord*; vertical pilasters and fountains the *Moyen Oppenord*'s suite D as well as the *Grand Oppenord*'s suite HH.
14. Marianne Roland Michel has noted that on this occasion Huquier modified Jean de Jullienne's carefully considered sequence. Instead, he grouped Watteau's sketches thematically, bringing together military figures, women's heads, etc. Roland Michel surmises that, by adopting this new arrangement, the print publisher hoped for a more profitable return on the *Figures*, which he could now sell as short thematic suites. Roland Michel, 1987, op. cit, p. 125.
15. Plate BB 1.
16. Similarly, for a trophy on plate D 3 of the *Moyen Oppenord*, Huquier combined elements from *fols. 17r* and *12r*.

as noted by Peter Fuhring,[17] Huquier added a statue of a nude female seen from the front, taken from the left margin of the middle register of *fol.* 54*r* (fig. 36) and a landscape background from a source that has not been identified. Huquier also enriched other sequences of the *Grand Oppenord* with landscapes, most likely borrowed from Jacques de Lajoüe.[18]

Huquier returned to the decorated *Ripa* one last time at the end of his printmaking career. In his own set of *Iconologies*, he pushed creative license to the point of plagiarism.[19] He simply plundered designs from Oppenord's *Ripa* without the inscription *Oppenord inv.* he had scrupulously added to his previous plates after the architect. For a composition symbolizing 'Artifice' (fig. 37),[20] Huquier duplicated a composition from *fol.* 15*r* (fig. 38). He plagiarized the architect again for plates D 12, the emblem 'Bellonne', and S 8, 'L'Art militaire'. Perhaps Huquier was reluctant to divulge his debt to an architect whose reputation had by then been besmirched by critics of the Rococo. These mid-century promoters of a return to Antiquity in the visual arts had identified Oppenord as one of the principal instigators of the despised *goût moderne* (modern taste). Undoubtedly issued to compete with Jean-Charles Delafosse's celebrated *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* of 1768, Huquier's *Iconologies* adopted Delafosse's severe style, popular in the second half of the century.[21] Huquier's *Iconologies* discloses a shrewd businessman wanting to make the most of his stockpile of Oppenord drawings despite a decline in the designer's standing.

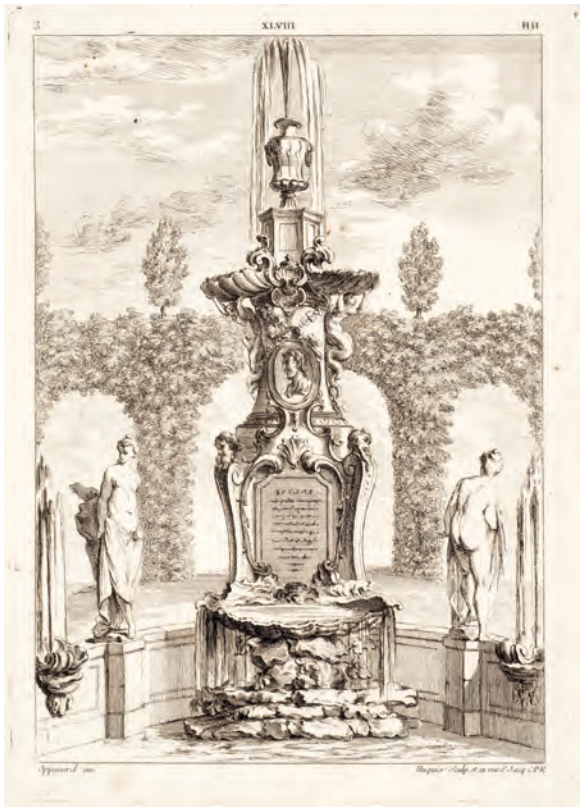
In their creative work Oppenord and Huquier were both *bricoleurs* who had no qualms about rearranging others' compositions. However, they pursued different objectives in their interpretative projects. In his decorated copy of Ripa, Oppenord let both the Ripa-Baudoin text and De Bié's images stimulate his inventiveness. He illustrated passages from Ripa with decorative compositions that were thematically related to the text. With De Bié's plates he played even more complex games, using the engraved attributes as building blocks for grotesque compositions that gave new currency to Ripa's emblematic system.

On the other hand, Huquier's eye for profit guided his

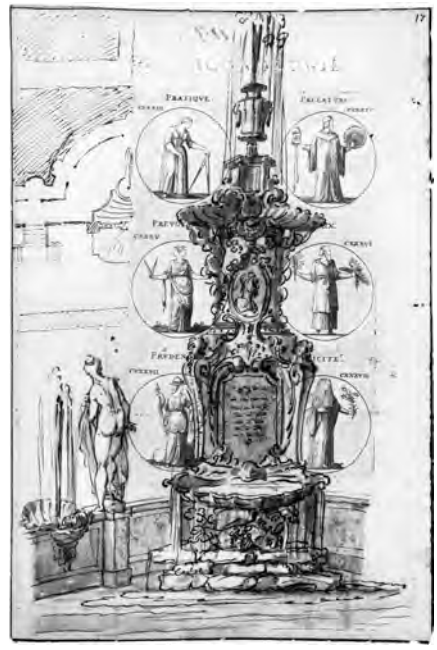
32. Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Decorated Page from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie*, c. 1713, pen and brown ink, on a printed page, 325 x 214 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

33. Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Decorated Page from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie*, c. 1713, pen and brown ink, on a printed page, 318 x 208 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

17. Fuhring, 1989, op. cit, p. 86.
18. Roland Michel, 1984, op. cit,. pp. 158–61.
19. G. Huquier, *Iconologies où sont représentés les vertus, les vices, les sciences, les arts et les divinités de la Fable en deux cent seize estampes*, Paris, 1767–69; *Inventaire du fonds français: graveurs du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1930–present, ad. nom., nos. 62–277. A complete copy is at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris (pressmark 8° Rés. 54).
20. *Iconologies*, plate Q 6; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art), pressmark 8° Rés. 54.
21. J.-C. Delafosse, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique, ou, Attributs hieroglyphyques qui ont pour objets, les quatre elements, les quatre saisons, les quatre parties du monde et les differentes complexions de l'homme*, Paris, 1768.



34. Gabriel Huquier after Oppenord, Plate HH 3 from *Grand Oppenord*, 1749–51, etching, 333 x 234 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).



35. Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Decorated Page from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie*, c. 1713, pen and brown ink, grey wash, on a printed page, 326 x 217 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

36. Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Decorated Page from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie*, c. 1713, pen and brown ink, on a printed page, 336 x 218 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

etching of Oppenord. Insensitive to the architect's complex use of decorative interplay, Huquier dismembered Oppenord's original, both physically and conceptually. By grouping Oppenord's embellishments according to theme and format in easily marketable suites, Huquier obscured the architect's sophisticated dialogue with Ripa, Baudoin, and De Bié. And in publishing his *Iconologies*, he concealed the Oppenord provenance in order to mitigate a growing disenchantment with the architect.

Had Oppenord been alive, he would rightly have objected to Huquier's dishonesty and no doubt condemned his blatant methods. Yet, he might have appreciated Huquier's flair for business, as he himself had derived considerable profit from the sale of drawings throughout his career. All in all, despite their different approaches to invention, Oppenord may have felt a certain affinity with his etcher. Huquier's radical alteration of Oppenord's designs was perhaps less a betrayal of the architect than an adaptation of his own graphic *bricolage* to the demands of a changing market.

37. Gabriel Huquier, 'L'Artifice' from the *Iconologies*, 1767–69, etching, plate 167 x 114 mm, sheet 236 x 175 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art).

38. Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Decorated Page from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie*, c. 1713, pen and brown ink, grey wash, on a printed page, 318 x 212 mm (Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture).

Appendix

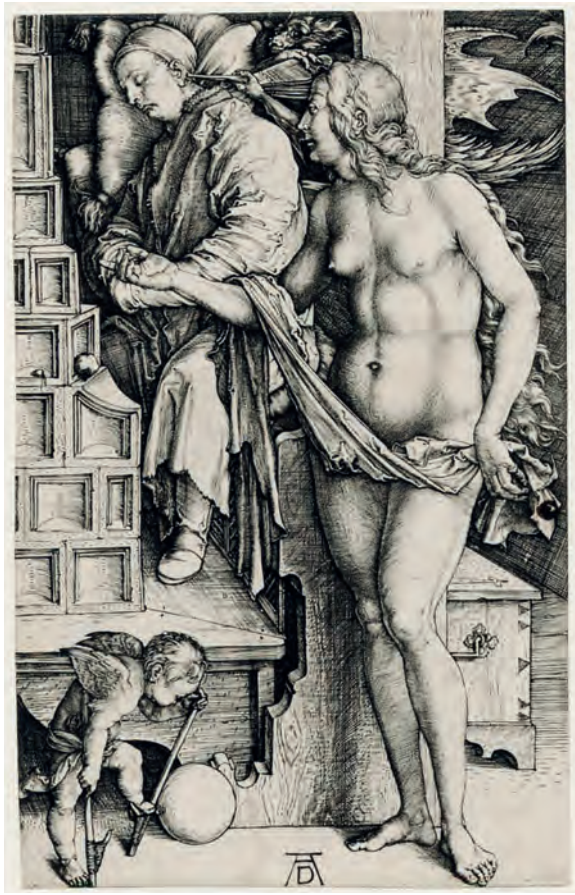
Drawings from Oppenord's Decorated *Ripa* Etched by Huquier

Pages from Oppenord's *Ripa* CCA DR1991:0007:0	Plates in the *Moyen Oppenord* (1737–38)	Plates in the *Grand Oppenord* (1749–51)	Plates in Huquier's *Iconologies* (1767–69)
02*v*	G 2		
04*v*	D 5	BB 1	
09*r*			D 12
10*r*		HH 3*	
12*r*	D 3		
13*v*		BB 1	
15*r*			Q 6
17*r*	D 3		
18*v*	C 6		
19*v*	C 2		
20*v*	D 5, D 6		
21*r*	D 2		
22*v*	C 3		
23*r*		HH 2	
23*v*	E 5		
24*v*	E 2*		
25*v*	D 3		
28*v*	C 5		
29*r*	E 6*		
29*v*	C 1	HH 1	
31*r*	D 1		
31*v*	C 2, D 6		S 8
32*v*	D 5		
33*r*	D 6		
34*r*	C 2		
36*r*	D 2		
39*r*	D 4		
39*v*	C 4		
40*r*	D 4		
40*v*	D 4		
41*r*	C 1, C 5		
41*v*	D 2		
42*r*	C 5		
43*r*	E 6*		
44*v*	C 4		
46*r*	E 6*		
46*v*	E 2*		
47*v*	C 3		
50*r*		HH 1	
50*v*	C 6		
51*r*	E 5		
51*v*	E 3*		
52*r*	E 2*		
54*r*		HH 3	
54*v*	C 3		
58v	E 4		

* Identified by Fuhring, 1989, op. cit., pp. 82–110.

Notes

DÜRER'S TILED STOVE. In a recent paper delivered at the Pulitzer Foundation for the Arts, Sarah Westphal-Wihl, professor of German at Washington University, St. Louis, provided an interesting explanation of the linguistic and visual play associated with the tiled stove in Albrecht Dürer's engraving *The Temptation of the Idler* of c. 1498 (fig. 39). 'Kachelofen', the German word for the type of stove depicted in this domestic scene of a sleeping man and a classical goddess, was known simply as a 'Kachel' in Dürer's age. 'Kachel' referred to earthenware pots with multiple uses, including as chamber pots, and building on this meaning Westphal-Wihl notes that 'Kachel' was also a colloquialism for an old woman. The beautiful Venus points to the 'Kachel' as the sleeping man embraces it, an ironic message that suggests sexual fertility while urging cultural rebirth. The entirety of Westphal-Wihl's lecture, including bibliography and images, is available on the Pulitzer Foundation's website: http://2buildings1blog.org/pulitzer/2011/05/12/albrecht-durer's-the-temptation-of-the-adler/ [*sic*]. CAROLINE MANGANARO



39. Albrecht Dürer, *The Temptation of the Idler*, engraving, 183 x 119 mm (London, British Museum).

GERMAN LITTLE MASTERS. *Zwischen Dürer und Raffael: Graphikserien Nürnberger Kleinmeister* is a handsomely produced collection of essays consisting primarily of Master's theses (Magisterarbeiten) at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte at the University Erlangen-Nürnberg and draws upon the collection at the Graphische Sammlung of the University Library (edited by Karl Möseneder, Petersberg, Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010, 256 pp., 134 b. & w. ills., €39.95/CHF62.90). The essays use the holdings of prints in the Graphische Sammlung as a point of departure to consider themes evoked by print series by the German Little Masters. Because this collection of studies is driven by the resources in Erlangen there is a necessary emphasis on the artists that are well represented there: Heinrich Aldegrever, Sebald Beham and Georg Pencz.

An introductory essay by Martin Knauer explores printmaking 'in an era of cultural upheaval', and includes short biographies of the artists. The following essays treat a broad range of subjects: *The Seven Planets* by Heinrich Aldegrever (Lylyana Fietzek); *The Seven Works of Mercy* by Georg Pencz (Stefanie Csincsura); Pencz's *Six Triumphs after Petrarch* (Oliver Nagler); Sebald Beham's *The Twelve Labours of Hercules* (Justine Nagler); Pencz's *Tobias* series (Martin Knauer); Pencz and his relationship to antiquity and to Italy, with an emphasis on sources in Ovid and Livy (Bettina Keller); Pencz's series *The Five Senses* (Katrin Dyballa); Sebald Beham's *The Peasant Festival or the Twelve Months* (Melanie Grathwohl); and a concluding essay by Justine und Oliver Nagler concerning the aftermath of the Little Masters and the uses of printed art, with a focus on the tension between the print as autonymous artwork and the print as a model or as source material.

The essays as a group bring a good deal of detail and fresh insight on subjects including the history of print collecting (with the Beham family mentioned in several essays), connections between the Little Masters and their contemporaries, peasant iconography, and the use of prints by the Little Masters in the decorative arts (with many new examples). The volume concludes with an extensive bibliography. STEPHEN GODDARD

40. Johannes Wierix, *Portrait of Johannes Celosse*, c. 1570–74, engraving, diameter 60 mm (Brussels, Print Room of the Royal Library of Belgium).

41. Anonymous artist, *Portrait Medal of Johannes Celosse*, 1574, polychrome painted lead, diameter 62 mm (Brussels, Numismatic Collection of the Royal Library of Belgium).

WIERIX'S PRINT OF JOHANNES CELOSSE. The portrait print of the Antwerp merchant Johannes Celosse (c. 1518–80) is an exquisite example of Johannes Wierix's (1549–c. 1620) mastery of the burin (fig. 40). Although the four preserved impressions only bear the engraver's signature *IHW*, the identification of the sitter is indisputable thanks to the inscription on an identical portrait moulded by an anonymous medallist that is part of the Numismatic Collection of the Royal Library of Belgium (fig. 41; Z. Van Ruyven-Zeman, *The Wierix family*, edited by J. Van der Stock, *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1540–1700*, Part IX, Rotterdam, 2003–04, no. 2071).

Generally dated rather vaguely 'before 1585' (*New Hollstein*), a more exact dating of the print and new information on Celosse's profitable trade with the British Isles can be gleaned from recently discovered documents in the Antwerp city archive (*Certificatieboeken*, vol. XIV, *fols.* 169*v*, 208*r*–209*r*; vol. XXVIII, *fols.* 99*r*, 156*v*; vol. XXX, *fols.* 298*r*–*v*; vol. XXXI, *fol.* 398*v*, microfilms 180K, 192–194K). As can be deduced from the medal inscription *IOANNIS·CELOSSE·ÆTATIS·SVÆ·LVI·AN·1574*, Celosse must have been born c. 1518, and it was known that on 5 July 1549 he was registered as an Antwerp citizen, the son of a merchant from Ronse. In addition, however, the documents in Antwerp record that Celosse had a 'droogh vat met creemerijen' (cask with luxury goods) loaded on a ship with various commodities that awaited favourable winds to sail to England before the coast of Flushing on 6 February 1559. On 21 June 1568 Celosse was registered as an agent who had to travel to England frequently ('dicwils te reysen in Engelant') and on 3 October 1570, when he was back in Antwerp, he sent his servant overseas to deal with some of his business affairs. In that same year he was also documented as trading in costly English wool with the well-known merchant Jan della Faille (1515–82), to whom he was related. At this time Celosse's trade network also included other regions such as Amsterdam, Bruges and Calais. His commercial activities in England, however, must have already been established before his official move to Antwerp in 1549, as he had obtained English naturalization around 1545, while working as an agent for Hendrik van Onchen (O. De Smedt, *De Engelse natie te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw (1496–1582)*, II, Antwerp, 1954).

Even though the archival documents reveal only a glimpse of Celosse's English trade activities, it is beyond doubt that his various prestigious posts made him one of the most consequential merchants of this shipping route. Important in this context is Celosse's prominent role in the efforts to claim damages from the English government for the economic disaster caused by the 1569 embargo between England and Spain (Y. Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, I, Brussels, 1965). A compensation of no less than 22,000 pounds sterling was awarded by the English government to Antwerp merchants on 21 August 1574, the year inscribed on the portrait medal. To mark this achievement, it is likely that Celosse decided to immortalize himself with a medal or was honoured with one and it is not inconceivable that the print was also made for this commemorative purpose. Five years after the British payment Celosse was appointed head of the newly formed College der Nederlandsche Cooplieden op Engeland (Board of

Netherlandish Traders with England), established to protect the mercantile interests of their members during the Eighty Years War.

It would seem likely that the print was made at a time when both Wierix and Celosse resided in Antwerp. Wierix lived in Antwerp most of his life, with the exception of the years from early 1575 to 1579, when he was in Delft, although he is known to have briefly visited his native city in 1576 in order to marry Elisabeth Bloemsteen. Taking into account that Celosse lived overseas in 1568, but was documented as living in Antwerp in 1570, the dating of the print can in all probability be narrowed to the first half of the 1570s. An earlier dating appears unlikely also because the engraver did not use the monogram *IHW* until 1566. This proposed dating of the print thus suggests that it was created around the same period as the rare polychrome painted medal. The great similarities in dimension and detail between the portraits give rise to a further tantalizing thought, already mooted by Van Ruyven-Zeman, namely that 'theoretically Johannes [Wierix] might have made portrait medals, like Goltzius and De Passe' (*New Hollstein*), and that therefore figs. 40 and 41 might have originated in the same workshop. LEEN KELCHTERMANS

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH PRINTMAKING. When Maxime Préaud retired from the Bibliothèque Nationale in 2010, he was presented with a Festschrift, which will be reviewed in these pages. Its title, *L'Estampe au Grand Siècle*, precisely defines the area which he has made very much his own, and to which he has made major contributions. We trust that he will make many more in the years to come as he is freed from the burdens of his post. His own quasi-valedictory statement appears in a long review article titled 'Les arts de l'estampe en France au XVIIe siècle: panorama sur trente ans de recherches'. This was published in the third issue, in September 2009, of a journal that may be unfamiliar, *Perspective: la revue de l'INHA*, these initials being those of the new Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, formed in 2001 to occupy the site of the old Bibliothèque Nationale in the rue Richelieu by combining the Cabinet des Estampes with other bodies, including the Fondation Doucet.

The article covers 34 pages, of which nine form a comprehensive bibliography. It is well worth studying as an informative and intelligent survey of recent publication, and non-publication, in this area, written with the author's characteristic verve and wit. His verdict in general is gloomy, and he stresses how much still remains to be done. But for an outsider the impression is very different. There has been a very considerable amount of publication, more, perhaps, than for any other school or century before 1800. What is more, the standard is very high. There has been a renaissance of French print scholarship in these thirty years, much of it led by the example of Maxime himself. Its great strength is that it has based itself not just in museums and libraries, as is the case in most countries, but has also spread to the university world. Many of the major French print scholars are teaching in universities (one thinks of Véronique Meyer, Marianne Grivel, Christian Michel, to name only a few), and their pupils are producing a flood of high quality work. Students are still given a sound training in France; they understand the subject and know how to exploit the staggering wealth of the French archives. They are also given proper funding and support (the INHA itself is one such manifestation). The results are very impressive, and we must hope that this long continues to the great profit of all of us engaged in this field. ANTONY GRIFFITHS

REBUS. Considering that a rebus consists of images and letters, one might be led to believe that it would be understood all over the world. That assumption, however, is wrong because in fact rebuses are very strictly bound to the language in which they are invented. The only universal one I know is Ian Rankin's inspector John Rebus.

Although at first glance rebuses are images, they represent the sounds of words or parts of words, so we can rather easily identify the language of a rebus by the frequency of certain figures appearing in it. For example, one finds in French rebuses many 'haies' (hedges or hurdles) to express 'et', many 'laies' (wild sows) to express the article 'les', many 'toues' (a type of barge) to express the word 'tout' or the sound 'tou'. In Italian appear many 'dwarfs', who transcribe the sound 'nano', as in 'u-na no-tte' (one night), or 'nani', as in 'u-nani-mità'. And in English we see numerous images of hands, to express the conjunction 'and'. Thus, contrary to what one might think, the rebus is not first and foremost a pastime of painters or printmakers, but an amusement of linguists or of amateur wordsmiths. In most cases it is necessary to be an excellent connoisseur of the language of invention in order to decipher a rebus correctly, as these pictorial enigmas are often all the more redoubtable because the sentences that they conceal generally do not make much sense.

So it is always a pleasure for me to remember the extraordinary work achieved by Jean Céard in the transcription and interpretation of the famous medieval *Rébus de Picardie* (Paris, 1986). Those rebuses, as well as others, are evoked in the publication of Antonella Sbrilli and Ada De Pirro, *Ah, che rebus! Cinque secoli di enigmi fra arte e gioco in Italia*, which accompanied an exhibition organized by the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica in Rome and curated by Rita Bernini (Rome, Palazzo Poli, 17 December 2010–8 March 2011, Rome, Mazzotta, 2011, 152 pp., 92 col. and 80 b. & w. ills., €28).

Although it is not really a catalogue of the exhibition (regrettably, it does not include a list of all the works shown), the book is quite interesting all the same. It is a collection of seventeen essays, too numerous for us to list

42. Stefano Della Bella, *Rebus on the Subject of Fortune*, c. 1639, etching, 286 x 208 mm (London, British Museum).

in detail here. One of them is a trajectory through the exhibition, and is in fact a summary of the concept of what a rebus is in general and what it is in Italy in particular. Agostino Carracci's *Ogni cosa vince oro* as well as rebus screens (or fans) by Stefano della Bella (fig. 42) are well known. We understand here that the young Jean-Baptiste Oudry was very familiar with the rebuses of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, because it is his manner that is followed when he publishes his own (I refer the reader to the article by Jean-Gérald Castex, 'Le livre de Rébus ou Logogriphes gravé par Jean-Baptiste Oudry: un péché de jeunesse?', in *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, XVIII, 2004, pp. 57–69). Moreover, there are and always have been frequent exchanges between France and Italy, as the comparison between the images gathered in the book of Sbrilli and De Pirro and those in earlier literature clearly demonstrates (see in the above-mentioned issue of the *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* articles by M. Préaud, 'Brève histoire du rébus français, suivie de quelques exemples de rébus pour la plupart inédits'; M. Pastoureau, 'Les armoiries parlantes'; V. Sueur-Hermel, 'Rébusomanie et estampe au XIX^{e} siècle' and C. Chicha, 'Le rébus détourné dans l'œuvre graphique de Marcel Broodthaers').

However, the most prolific among the French authors of rebuses, Léopold Mar and Théodore Maurisset, are nineteenth-century people and have no equivalent in the twentieth century (in spite of Philippe Honoré's and Jacques Colombat's productions, for which see for instance P. Honoré, *Cent nouveaux rébus littéraires, avec leur question-devinette et leur solution*, Paris, 2006 and the exhibition 'Colombat', Atelier André Girard, Paris, 30 March–5 May 2011). On the other hand, rebus art in the second half of the last century in Italy was dominated by Maria Ghezzi (b. 1927), known as 'the muse of the rebus'. With the help of her husband, the theorist of the rebus Giancarlo Brighenti, who died in 2001, Ghezzi supplied thousands

of cunning and elegant illustrations, especially for the magazine *Settimana Enigmistica*. Numerous examples of her talent are reproduced in *Ah, che rebus!* As the rebus is not simply a succession of objects forming a non-stop sentence, but a composition where the various elements interact, these are highly intellectual exercises the solution of which is extremely difficult to find. To go through the book of Sbrilli and De Pirro, who move seamlessly between the present and the past and back again, is very stimulating for our little grey cells. MAXIME PRÉAUD

PLAYS OF LIGHT AND BLAZES OF COLOURS. The Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, has recently published a second small but stunning exhibition catalogue showcasing lesser-known examples of early colour printmaking from its own collection, supplemented by objects from the nearby Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig. *Lichtspiel und Farbenpracht: Entwicklungen des Farbdrucks 1500–1800, Aus den Beständen der Herzog August Bibliothek* by Melanie Grimm, Claudia Kleine-Tebbe and Ad Stijnman, with a foreword by Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, edited by Christian Heitzmann (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011, 108 pp., 62 col. ills., €14.80) expands upon the exploration of the relationship between book illustrations and single-sheet prints, from 1420 to 1515, in *Hochzeit von Bild und Buch* (see *Print Quarterly*, XXVII, December 2010, p. 401). The exhibition starts where the last left off, approaching the question of early modern colour printing holistically, concerning texts, images and diagrams throughout the history of art and the history of the illustrated book. With only 37 entries, the catalogue concisely demonstrates that colour was used by early modern printmakers in previously unrecognized ways and on a previously unrealized scale.

43. *The Virgin Mary* from Petrus Michaelis, *Serta honoris et exultationis* (Cologne, 1567), woodcut, sheet 96 x 74 mm (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek).

A fifth of the catalogue is dedicated to a succinct history of colour printmaking by Stijnman. Integrating single-sheet prints and book illustrations, it describes the development of relief and intaglio colour printing techniques over 350 years. The catalogue itself specifically addresses book decoration, title-pages, portraits, astronomy, anatomy, templates for metalwork, and reproductive art. The exhibits seem chosen to offer a chronological cross-section of each of these themes in just a few examples, encompassing different techniques, functions and visual effects. Many of the prints are unpublished or largely unknown, and several entries point at important but unpublished new research that could reshape our understanding of the use of colour in early modern printing. The focus is firmly on technique, and the catalogue is bursting with intriguing approaches to printing in colour. Like the previous exhibition catalogue, it raises numerous questions for future research.

The catalogue draws attention to the astonishing variety of ways in which colour was used in books in particular. Some colour prints covered cardboard bindings, such as the blue etching and aquatint from 1794 attributed to A. W. Küssner. Many were placed at the start of books; vast numbers of two-colour woodcut titles, with borders and vignettes, were printed in Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and several technical variants, of which *chiaroscuro* is only one, are represented. Some were repeated on every page, like the pale green woodcut borders around black text and images on both sides of every folio of Petrus Michaelis, *Serta honoris et exultationis* (Cologne, Arnold Quentelius, 1567; fig. 43). Lest it be forgotten that text can form part of an image, examples of etched title-pages with the borders in black and text in red are represented with a puzzle print (Konrad Saldörffer, title-page to Nicholas de Nicolay, *Der Erst Theyl von der Schiffart und Rayss in die Türckey uund gegen Oriennt* (Nuremberg, Dietrich Gerlatz, 1572)) and a print *à la poupée* (Wendel Dietterlin, *Architectura*, Liber I (Strasbourg, Bernhard Jobin, 1593–95)).

Another surprise is the significance of individual colours of ink. The authors argue that metalwork templates followed colour codes, interpreting Otto prints (intaglio designs for platters printed in monochromatic blue) as designs for silver and their counterparts in monochromatic red as designs for gold. This is illustrated by an anonymous Italian design for a platter, c. 1475 (S. Karr Schmidt, 'A new Otto print', *Print Quarterly*, XXV, 2008,

44. Workshop of Johannes Teyler, *Urn with Mythological Scenes*, engraving printed *à la poupée*, 367 x 265 mm (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek).

pp. 162–66), and a template in J. L. Roth, *Unterschiedliche Zeichnungen von neuer Invention vor Goldarbeiter*, 1768, respectively. Although it is unclear to what metal the faded greenish-brown ink of another template once referred, the three examples suggest that colours of printing ink had a hitherto unrecognized informative function, at least in studio models for metalwork, from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Other prints in which the colour of inks contributed meaning in unusual ways include the small red, green and blue (now green-brown) monochromatic sundials in Johann Wolhopter, *Ain new subtill und fast kunstreich werk … gennant Phebilabium* (Augsburg, Hans Schönsperger, 1512). The hours of the day are divided into sections printed in different colours, and the instructions for telling the time clarify the section against which the reader should hold a needle by specifying the appropriate colour.

A discussion of materials would have been a welcome contribution to this study of techniques. Some colours of ink have now faded in surprising ways that may affect their interpretation (including the two prints mentioned above that are now green-brown), and others are extremely unusual. For instance, the catalogue does not mention that the pale green of the borders in *Serta honoris et exultationis* (fig. 43) appears in few, if any, other sixteenth-century German colour woodcuts, and identifying what the colour was made from is as relevant as recognizing how it was printed. However, scientific analysis clearly lies outside the scope of this already very ambitious publication, as does the in-depth analysis of every object mentioned. The brevity leaves little room for the discussion of attributions, iconography and broader context (*Serta honoris et exultationis*, with its 400 green woodcut borders, is given only one sentence), but the catalogue seems designed to raise, rather than answer, crucial questions in this new field of enquiry.

The catalogue is richly illustrated. The colours are accurate; the difficulty of discerning the dark green and purple inks from the black in the etched text, printed *à la poupée*, on the title-page of Heinrich Zeising, *Theatri machinarum* (Leipzig, Hennig Grosse II, 1607–10), is true to the original, as is the sharp contrast of orange highlights against the navy body of an urn in an engraving printed *à la poupée* by the workshop of Johannes Teyler in 1688–97 (fig. 44). The reproductions include the full borders, not just the printed areas (excepting four small illustrations). Magnified details would have contributed to the discussions of technique, but all exhibits can be viewed in high resolution at www.virtuelles-kupferstichkabinett.de by searching for 'Lichtspiel und Farbenpracht'. The catalogue challenges many assumptions about early modern colour printing, and the small scale of the publication belies the large amount of original research and new material it contains. L. ELIZABETH UPPER

WATTEAU AND THE RECUEIL JULLIENNE. *Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe* by Marie-Catherine Sahut and Florence Raymond takes as its subject the *Recueil Jullienne*, four volumes of more than 600 prints after Watteau (1684–1721) that were published by his wealthy friend, the collector and amateur etcher Jean de Jullienne (1686–1766) between 1726 and 1735 (Marie-Catherine Sahut and Florence Raymond, *Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 8 July–11 October 2010, exhibition catalogue, Paris, 2010, 160 pp., 124 col. ills., €28). Quickly making Watteau's work known throughout Europe, the project stands out as one of the eighteenth century's most important print initiatives for many reasons, including its scale (involving more than thirty printmakers), its financing, orchestration and oversight by Jullienne, and not least of all its subject – nearly the complete works of a contemporary artist. It is, to quote Sahut, a catalogue raisonné 'avant la lettre'.

The related exhibition of the same title, which was on view at the Louvre, was one of a series of exhibitions that highlighted the strengths of illustrated books and prints from the Edmond de Rothschild collection. The Louvre

45. Antoine Watteau, *Les Habits sont italiens*, etching, state I/VI, sheet 295 x 201 mm (London, British Museum).

was the ideal institution to organize this show, for the Rothschild collection includes not only a complete set of the *Recueil Jullienne*, but also more than 300 individual impressions, including early states. Of the 111 works in the show – 102 prints, eight drawings and one painting – only four were loans. The prints were thoughtfully chosen to demonstrate the range of Watteau's work in terms of media and genre, encompassing familiar images such as Watteau's *fêtes galantes* as well as his lesser-known landscape studies.

The eight thematic chapters are loosely organized in chronological order to correspond to the genesis and realization of the *Recueil Jullienne*, including chapters on Jullienne and on Watteau's own small body of prints. At the end are two brief appendices – a summary of the *Recueil Jullienne* prints in the Rothschild Collection and an overview of the papers and watermarks that makes reference to Raymond Gaudriault's *Filigranes et Autres Caractéristiques des Papiers Fabriqués en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* of 1995. These are followed by an exhibition checklist and a chronology.

The handsomely designed catalogue features many high-quality colour illustrations, and the thoughtful layout, juxtapositions, and details of images impart a sense of the visual lessons of the show. Take, for example, the comparison between the two states of *Les Habits sont italiens*. Watteau etched the first state c. 1715/16 with his quirky and flickering line work (fig. 45, inv. 1933,0411.2) before handing over the plate to the printmaker Charles Simonneau to finish with the burin. Simonneau's extensive reworking

46. François Boucher after Antoine Watteau, *La Troupe Italienne*, etching and engraving, proof before lettering of state I/VI, 279 x 208 mm (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Collection Edmond de Rothschild).

of the plate essentially ruined the composition – the extent of the unfortunate transformation is made immediately evident in the illustrations. (Another version of this composition, made later by François Boucher, appears twenty pages earlier in the catalogue (fig. 46; inv. 21702 LR)). There are also several illuminating side-by-side comparisons of drawings or paintings with the prints made after them, in pairings sometimes exclusive to the catalogue.

Raymond devotes two chapters to the 351 etchings made after Watteau's chalk drawings, which were published in the *Recueil*'s first two volumes entitled *Figures de Différents Caractères*, in November 1726 and February 1728. The hero of this section – and one might say the entire exhibition, second to Watteau – is François Boucher, who etched more than one hundred of the artist's drawings (fig. 47; inv. 18122 LR). One marvels at Jullienne's foresight in hiring for the task the young Boucher, hardly twenty years old, who eagerly embraced this unparalleled opportunity to study and interpret Watteau's drawings. Although Boucher could imitate neither the colour nor the distinctive physical appearance of Watteau's chalk marks as could printmakers who specialized in chalk-manner engraving in the second half of the century, his elegant and fluid line, combined with his remarkable range of mark making, enabled him to convey something of the 'esprit' with which Watteau had created his drawings. The novel presentation of these etchings also evoked the appearance of the originals through the minimal lettering (Watteau's name at lower left, the plate number and initials of the printmaker at lower right) and the practice of leaving

47. François Boucher after Antoine Watteau, Plate 122 from *Figures de Différents Caractères*, etching, 310 x 240 mm (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Collection Edmond de Rothschild).

large areas of white paper in reserve – to say nothing of the close correspondence of dimensions and proportions – contributing to a sense that the viewer is perusing a sketchbook or portfolio of Watteau's drawings. The two volumes were not organized according to subject-matter; Raymond suggests that their ordering may have been influenced by the availability of drawings and the speed with which the printmakers worked.

If the first two volumes of the *Recueil Jullienne* were realized relatively quickly, by contrast the last two volumes took much longer to produce. Published under the title *Œuvre gravé*, the roughly 270 prints after Watteau's paintings and ornament designs were mostly made by reproductive printmakers using a combination of etching and engraving. As Sahut discusses, these prints, especially the large-scale works like Pierre-Alexandre Aveline's *L'Enseigne* or Charles Nicolas Cochin's *La Mariée de village*, required a considerable investment of time. Thanks to advertisements in the *Mercure de France* we know that individual prints were issued for sale beginning in 1727 before the two volumes were made available in their entirety in 1735.

Given the large and ever-growing body of scholarship on Watteau and on Jullienne, the authors, wisely, did not attempt to make the catalogue a comprehensive overview (to which should be added the 2011 exhibition catalogue *Jean de Jullienne: Collector & Connoisseur*, with essays by Christoph Martin Vogtherr, Jennifer Tonkovich and Andreas Henning). Rather it is a quite serviceable introduction to the *Recueil Jullienne*, drawing on much of the recent literature on the subject. Those curious to learn more may consult works in the catalogue's bibliography for further reading, particularly Emile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart's seminal four-volume publication *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIIIème siècle* (1921–29).

The *Recueil Jullienne* set a very high standard, from the creation of the etchings and engravings, to the printing of the impressions, to the quality of paper (for which we know Jullienne spared no expense). What *Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe* offers is a greater appreciation of the prints not just as reproductions of Watteau's work, but as works of art in their own right. RENA M. HOISINGTON

PATRICK MCMORLAND. In *Print Quarterly*, XX, 2003, pp. 380, 382, I published a letter of 14 November 1791 from Paul Sandby to the Scottish-born miniaturist, landscape painter and printmaker, Patrick John McMorland (b. 1741). At that time no aquatint by this artist had come to light. However, one can now illustrate here an example of his work in the collection of the British Museum (fig. 48). Signed *P.M fec*, it is a *Seascape with Shipping* after a design by the marine painter Dominic Serres, whose son John Thomas Serres spent some time in Liverpool in the 1790s. Robert Preston advertised a set of four engravings of shipping after works by J. T. Serres in the Liverpool press in 1797 (*Print Quarterly*, XXIV, 2007, p. 112), the last of which was published in February 1798. We do not know for certain exactly when Serres left Liverpool (A. Russett, *John Thomas Serres*, Lymington, 2011, pp. 91–97). The painting of St George's Dock, Liverpool, which the artist exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1807, may either have been a decade earlier, or have been based on a much earlier picture or drawing. The British Museum aquatint bears an inscription in pen and ink on its reverse by the Liverpool auctioneer, Thomas Winstanley, which confirms that the print was executed by McMorland, but his handwriting is difficult to read. Hence the aquatint was placed under the name of the fictitious McMalland, an interpretation, which was taken by the author of the pencil inscription on the front of its mount. Winstanley's inscription reads *P. McMorland fecit/ Mine. Painter – Manchester*. It should be explained that *Mine* is an abbreviation for Miniature, and does not indicate ownership. A further inscription in pencil on the reverse reads *lot 38*. As Dominic Serres died in 1793, it is possible that McMorland executed this print after the marine artist's death and that the work that he copied was supplied by his son, J. T. Serres. The aquatint is not identifiable in Christie's sale cat-

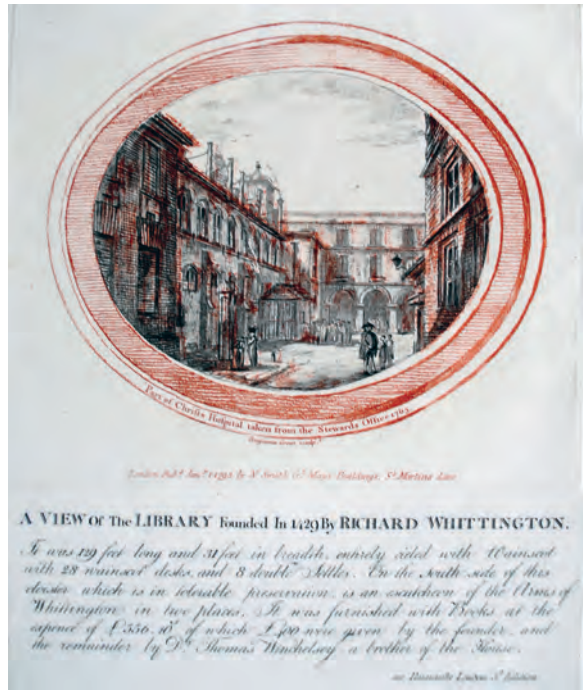
48. Patrick McMorland after Dominic Serres, *Seascape with Shipping*, aquatint, 198 x 245 mm (London, British Museum).

alogue of Dominic Serres' collection held from 13 to 15 March 1794. McMorland worked in both Liverpool and Manchester. He had earlier, in 1782, provided the image for two line engravings of the celebrated Manchester cook, Elizabeth Raffald (1733–81), author of the highly popular *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, originally published in 1769, which went through numerous editions until 1825. One of these two portraits was the frontispiece to the eighth edition of 1782. Portrait prints by McMorland are mentioned in *Print Quarterly*, XXIII, 2006, pp. 423–24. A number of his topographical drawings were recorded in the mid-nineteenth century by the lithographer W. G. Herdman. MARTIN HOPKINSON

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL. A publication on prints related to a particular public school may not immediately hold promise for scholars. Mike Barford's *Christ's Hospital Heritage 2: Engravings* (The Counting House, Christ's Hospital, Horsham, 2010, 50 pp., incl. 28 col. & 59 b. & w. ills., £9.50), however, is worth attention here. Founded for the orphan children of poor Londoners in 1552 when it was given the use of the buildings of Grey Friars Monastery, the school was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. Consequently all early representations disappeared from the school's library. None the less there is much of interest within this slim volume. Other than in maps, images of the Franciscan monastery of Christ Church, Newgate, which was built between 1346 and 1348, seem to be exceedingly scarce before the mid-seventeenth century. The school owns about 500 prints related to the school from the late seventeenth century onwards, but this probably does not amount to every print of Christ's Hospital and its students, as, for instance, both the British Museum and the Guildhall Library own works not illustrated here.

Barford, a master at the school for 40 years, provides a concise history of the institution and its satellites in the Hertfordshire towns of Ware, Hoddesdon and Hertford. In 1902 the boys were transferred to its present buildings near Horsham in Sussex. The girls remained in Hertford until 1985, when they too moved to Horsham. There are no known engravings of the Hoddesdon school for girls which existed from 1672 to 1697, or the Ware school for boys which lasted from 1675 to 1760. A small number of engravings of the Hertford School, opened for boys in 1682, are illustrated here, the most important being that of 1700 in a prospect of the town, published in Sir Henry Chauncy's *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*.

The most significant prints, of course, relate to the London site. These are arranged by subject, rather than chronology. So one finds here engravings of the buildings arranged historically, the famous bluecoat uniform, traditional events, everyday school occurrences and curiosities. Christ's Hospital was fortunate in its choice of its Drawing Masters in the eighteenth century, who included Bernard Lens, his son Edward, Alexander Cozens and Benjamin Green from Halesowen. The last came to London in 1762 to be an assistant to Thomas Bisse, whom he succeeded in 1766. Green was one of the British pioneers of soft ground etching, and the two most interesting prints in this book are two oval coloured soft ground etchings published by Nathaniel Smith in 1793 (fig. 49), but based on drawings



49. Benjamin Green, *Part of Christ's Hospital Taken from the Steward's Office*, 1793, etching, 178 x 226 mm (London, Christ's Hospital).

that Green had made in 1765 and 1775. Some drawings by Green of Christ's Hospital were engraved by Francis Grose and others. One of the most striking works is a view of the Mathematical School engraved by James Taylor and published in 1761 after a drawing by Samuel Wale, who had painted an oval of the same subject c. 1748, a picture which he gave to the Foundling Hospital. The earliest prints in this collection are of the boys who attended the school. It is probable that the woodcut title-page portrait of the actor Robert Armin's play *The History of the two Maids of More-clacke* of 1609, here represented by a reprint of 1790, shows the original school uniform. An engraving of a student was used as a frontispiece for *The Seaman's Tutor,* of 1682, a posthumous publication of Peter Perkins, the Master of Christ's Hospital's Mathematical School. The finest representation of a Bluecoat Boy is undoubtedly William Nicholson's colour woodcut, one of his prints published by William Heinemann in 1898. Small eighteenth-century woodcuts in the vein of popular prints show girls' uniforms as well as boys. Various events were recorded in Ackermann's *The Microcosm of London* and *The Illustrated London News,* including such traditions peculiar to Christ's Hospital as 'The Bowing Round' and 'Housey Rugger'. The famous costumes attracted both the French and the Americans to publish prints. MARTIN HOPKINSON

MUSICAL PRINTS. An exhibition held at the William Benton Museum of Art in Storrs is accompanied by a 93-page catalogue titled *Musical Prints 1568–1949* (Stephen A. Bergquist, *Musical Prints: 1568–1949*, exhibition catalogue, Storrs, CT, William Benton Museum of Art, 30 September–16 October 2011, Storrs, CT, William Benton Museum of Art, 2011, 93 pp., 69 col. ills., $20). The author, Stephen Bergquist, is the owner of the collection, and sole lender to the exhibition. Of the 64 prints in the show, the first 49 are all portraits of musicians, the rest show musical performances of various kinds. The text and bibliography concentrates almost entirely on the musical aspects, giving informative biographies of the people shown, with information about the printmaker or designer tucked into a final paragraph. Similarly the introduction runs through the centuries and schools, listing what printed portraits are available for the collector to buy, without discussion of why so few were made before the eighteenth century, or what function these portraits may have served. One of the few hints about the latter is contained in the entry on the prize piece of the collection, J. B. Delafosse's engraving of Carmontelle's group portrait of 1764 of the Mozart family playing together (fig. 50). This is a proof before letter, apparently one of two that are recorded. We are told that Leopold Mozart, the father of Wolfgang, purchased large numbers of impressions of this print for distribution as gifts as he toured his infant prodigy children around Europe. ANTONY GRIFFITHS

50. Jean Baptiste Delafosse after Louis Carrogis Carmontelle, *Leopold, Wolfgang and Nannerl Mozart Making Music Together*, 1764, engraving, 376 x 220 mm (Boston, collection of Stephen A. Bergquist).

SHUNGA. Fine design, exquisite technique and costly materials distinguish the erotic art produced in Japan between 1600 and 1900. Nearly all the leading artists of the ukiyo-e school worked in the genre; many of them built their reputations on their erotic paintings and woodblock printed book illustrations. The British Museum Press recently published a handsome book devoted entirely to Japanese erotic art (Rosina Buckland, *Shunga: Erotic Art in Japan,* London, British Museum Press, 2010, 176 pp., 140 col. ills., £19.95; fig. 51, inv. 2008,3027.1). This richly illustrated volume is not just another compendium of Japanese erotica. It is text-driven and explores issues raised by the cultivation of this genre by ukiyo-e artists. Among the topics considered are the picturing of sex in Japan, the distinctive features of shunga ('spring pictures', the name given today to the erotic imagery of the Edo period), the positive attitude toward sex that permeates

so much shunga, the commercialization of production and widening of audiences for the material made possible by the rapid development of printing in Japan in the course of the seventeenth century, modes of distribution and consumption, and the government's singularly unsuccessful efforts to suppress 'lascivious books'. The full range of material carrying erotic imagery is considered: woodblock prints and woodblock printed books; painted handscrolls, hanging scrolls and folding screens; and decorative arts. Sex toys from the period are also illustrated and discussed.

Erotic painting is given due notice but graphic art rightly dominates the discussion. At last count some two thousand illustrated woodblock printed books with explicit erotic content have been recorded as surviving. Study of this large body of material reveals that throughout the period under consideration, erotica always figured prominently among the best produced printed illustrated books. These astonishing items reached a far wider audience than the more expensive paintings.

Since the 1860s Western collectors have been fascinated by 'Japanese obscenities' but the tendency until very recently has been to treat the images separately from the accompanying texts. Rosina Buckland engages with the written word as well as the images, and employs refreshing candour in treating the uncompromisingly explicit nature of the material. Her book will be of interest to students of printing, graphic art, sex and sexuality, and erotic imagery.

This illustrated book draws upon the holdings of the British Museum supplemented with material from other public and private collections to provide a rounded picture of the genre. The images are derived from the high-resolution digital photographs of the Museum's entire Japanese print and book collection created in recent years by Professor Akama Ryô and his team from the Art Research Center at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto. Akama conceived and is leading a visionary project to digitize the Japanese prints and woodblock printed books in public and private collections in Europe and worldwide. This book gives us a foretaste of what can be expected in a major exhibition of Japanese erotica to be held at the British Museum in the autumn of 2013. ELLIS TINIOS

NEW DOCUMENTS ON JOHN LEWIS MARKS. A recent article by Chris McManus and Janet Snowman noted that only scant biographical information is available about the early nineteenth-century engraver John Lewis Marks. His birth and death dates are in doubt and some confusion exists about the period during which he was working (I. C. McManus and J. Snowman, '"A Left-Handed Compliment": A Newly Discovered, Early Nineteenth-Century Lithograph by John Lewis Marks',

51. Katsukawa Shunsh , Scene from the *Haiku Book of the Cuckoo* (*Ehon haikai yobuko-dori,* Edo, 1788), woodcut, 282 x 364 mm (London, British Museum).

Laterality, XV, 2010, pp. 270–88). Most sources suggest that he flourished between 1814 and 1832 from various London addresses and while McManus and Snowman have discovered that he was still active into the 1840s they were only able to suggest a possible date of death between the 1851 census when John Lewis Marks, aged 55, victualler and print-seller, born in the City of London was resident at the Portland Arms, 2 Long Lane with wife, Sarah, and three children and the 1861 census when no record is found for him.

I have traced a will and death certificate for Marks which allow a date of death to be assigned but have had less success pinpointing his date of birth, despite his death certificate giving his age as 62 (The National Archives, London, PROB 11/2210 28 April 1855 (will); General Register Office, London, Deaths March Quarter 1855 West London 1c 40 (death certificate)). He died on 21 March 1855 at 91 Long Lane and his occupation at time of death is given as printseller. The will, written 13 March 1855, has one codicil stipulating that 'The stock in trade and the goodwill of my business should be disposed of to the best advantage by my executors and the proceeds thereof to be applied in the manner hereinbefore set forth' for the benefit of his wife Sarah and three named children – Benjamin, David and Mary Ann.

None of the standard genealogical reference sources identify a baptism or birth date either for John Lewis or for of any of his children although burials of two children are recorded in the registers of St Bartholomew the Great in 1839 and 1844 from 91 Long Lane. Several of the children were baptized as adults after Marks's death. Only weeks after their father's death, his sons David and Benjamin were baptized into the Church of England at St Botolph's Bishopsgate at the ages of 15 and 18. Both married in the established church although I have been unable to trace any record of their parents' marriage. One wonders if John Lewis may have been Jewish but his records do not appear in any of the standard Jewish genealogical sources. His age at death would indicate a birth date between March 1792 and March 1793.

After Marks's death the firm continued to publish under the name of S. Marks & Sons – presumably referring to Sarah and her sons – moving to 72 Houndsditch by 1859. An imprint of that date states 'Printed and published by S. Marks & Sons, 72 Houndsditch, Bishopsgate Street, late of Long Lane, Smithfield, 1859' (C. Vyse, *Vyse's New London Spelling Book*, London, S. Marks & Sons, 1859). Another undated work from the same firm and address has blue decorated wraps with advertisements for J. L. Marks's publications (W. Cowper, *The Diverting History of Johnny Gilpin*, S. Marks and Sons, 72 Houndsditch, [n.d.]).

In 1866 Sarah Marks was involved in an unseemly court case, charged with fraud by the Zoological Society of London for an April Fools' day prank which involved printing tickets with the following copy: 'Subscribers Tickets. – Admit bearer to the Zoological gardens on Easter Sunday. The procession of the animals will take place at three o'clock and this ticket will not be available after that hour. J. C. Wildboar, Secretary'. The tickets, sold at one penny each rather than the normal admittance of sixpence, resulted in large crowds presenting their tickets at the Zoo, being refused admittance and causing a riot. The summons was eventually withdrawn when Sarah expressed extreme contrition and claimed it was a prank perpetrated by her sons. The 1871 census shows only the widow Sarah Marks resident at 72 Houndsditch, aged 63, stationer, born in the City of London. She died on 10 February 1877 and her will was proved by her sons Isaac and Benjamin Marks of 72 Houndsditch, wholesale stationers and publishers. This would confirm the identity of the firm of S. Marks & Sons as Sarah Marks and sons Benjamin and Isaac. The firm of S. Marks and Sons was still in business at 72 Houndsditch as late as 1893. VALERIE FAIRBRASS

SIR JOHN GILBERT (1817–97) was one of the grand old men of the mid- and late Victorian art world. Yet today, other than keen students of illustration, few will have encountered his work despite the fact that in his own lifetime the artist made several significant gifts of representative examples of his work to major British museums. In fact, the reputation of this painter and draughtsman suffered a catastrophic fall, ensuring that his pictures and watercolours have long languished in institutional storerooms. However, an exhibition of Gilbert's work in the Guildhall Art Gallery, which was the recipient of his largest donation, and an accompanying book, *Sir John Gilbert: Art and Imagination in the Victorian Age*, edited by Spike Bucklow and Sally Woodcock (exhibition catalogue, London, Guildhall Art Gallery, 29 April 2004–29 September 2011, Farnham, Lund Humphries, 2011, 264 pp., 127 col. and 58 b. & w. ills., £40), will remind enthusiasts of British nineteenth-century art of the enormous energy and prolific output of this artist to which ten essays and three informative appendices are devoted.

Two contributions are of significant interest to print lovers, for Gilbert was by far the finest artist to provide designs for the wood engravers of *The Illustrated London News* from the date of its foundation in 1842. His extraordinary energy resulted in tens of thousands of images. Paul Goldman explains the great appeal to publishers of Gilbert's facility, business-like character and ability to deliver on time. He describes the artist as 'the Errol Flynn of mid-nineteenth-century illustration.' Gilbert's talents made him better suited to portray age, heroic character and the grotesque rather than youth and beauty. Two works stand out beyond his contributions to *The Illustrated London News*: his illustrations for *The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, published by David Bogue in 1858, and the four-volume *The Works of Shakespeare*, published by Rout-

ledge, Warne and Routledge in 1863–64. For these latter volumes, as Goldman points out, Gilbert made careful study of the engravings in Boydell's *Shakespeare Gallery* of the previous century. The artist also provided many designs for steel engraving or steel etching, and executed ten colour lithographs for *Shakespeare's Songs and Sonnets,* edited by Joseph Cundall for Sampson Low in 1862. These were printed by Vincent Brooks, and one can be sure that the printers interpreted Gilbert's designs, rather than that the artist himself worked directly on the stones.

Of more general interest to readers of this journal will be Max Bills's very informative essay on production methods in *The Illustrated London News,* accompanied by helpful contemporary illustrations. His account will prove invaluable to many students of Victorian art. In his memorial article on Gilbert in *The Magazine of Art,* Marion Spielmann remarked on how fortunate the artist was in his engravers, for undoubtedly their quality varied very considerably. No doubt the editors of the day set high value on Gilbert's contributions and like the artist insisted on the best. Bills makes reference to the work of William Luson Thomas and Edward Whymper. One learns that Gilbert did not always draw on the block, but on occasion provided quite an elaborate design from which the engraver was expected to work. MARTIN HOPKINSON

THE PRE-RAPHAELITES. It may seem somewhat surprising to readers of this Journal that a work devoted to drawings rather than prints should warrant a Note in these columns. Nevertheless, the exhibition catalogue *Pre-Raphaelite Drawing* by Colin Cruise reveals in fine style the significance of wood-engraved illustration in the work of the Pre-Raphaelite artists, notably Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais, William Holman Hunt, Edward Burne-Jones and Frederick Sandys (Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery, 29 January–15 May 2011; Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 17 June–4 September 2011, London, Thames & Hudson, 2011, 248 pp., 312 col. and 1 b. & w. ills., £29.95). The book accompanied an exhibition entitled 'The Poetry of Drawing: Pre-Raphaelite Designs, Studies and Watercolours'. It is also pleasing to report that today most publications dealing seriously with this movement mention the central role played by wood-engraving in the dissemination of the work of these artists, at least for a short period in the 1860s when true Pre-Raphaelitism (if such a notion really exists) flourished. At this time it was story-telling and the accompanying of text with image that proved to be integral to what these artists cared about and wanted to explore through the medium of black and white as well as paint.

Their art was, at its core, literary, and illustration flowered in so many ways into a new form that proved revolutionary and disconcerting for large numbers of readers, both of poetry books and periodicals. While just one chapter, entitled perceptively 'The Poetry of Illustration: Disseminating Pre-Raphaelite Drawing in the 1850s and 1860s', is devoted specifically to the subject, Cruise is sensitive throughout his study to how single-sheet prints influenced design and draughtsmanship. As an example, it is pointed out that Ruskin's remarkable studies of foliage are echoed in the foreground of Sandys' great image, *The Old Chartist*, impeccably engraved by Joseph Swain, which was published in *Once a Week* on 8 February 1862 to a poem by George Meredith (fig. 52). It is worth mentioning that Sandys, who was arguably the illustrator most self-consciously affected by Dürer, Hans Sebald Beham and the other German Renaissance printmakers, can only really be studied fully in this role in the pages of fragile periodicals rather than in books. Here he apes the monogram of Dürer, which he places ostentatiously beneath the leaning Chartist on a prominent stone slab. Elsewhere he even encloses his monogram in a square – a device frequently employed by his German predecessors in print.

52. Joseph Swain after Frederick Sandys, *The Old Chartist*, 1862, wood-engraving, 103 x 127 mm (Private collection).

Although the similarity between Sandys' illustrations and Dürer's prints has been regularly discussed by previous critics, it is worthwhile repeating the point here as well as noting Percy Bate's comment of 1904 on 'that unerring touch, that resolute draughtsmanship, which is so notable a feature of [Sandys'] work; the masterly handling to equal which we must go back to the drawings of Dürer and the panels of Van Eyck.' It is also instructive to be reminded that the Pre-Raphaelites were working at the same time as periodicals containing cartoons were flourishing, notably *Punch* and *Tomahawk*. Cruise remarks, quite rightly in my view, that the 'existence of so much black-and-white illustration encouraged a general ambition to succeed in the graphic arts and to experiment with imagery and techniques.'

In the chapter devoted to 'Pre-Raphaelite Compositions: Drawing History, Drawing Modernity' the comparison is deftly drawn between the composition in Rossetti's 1858–59 study of *Mary Magdalene at the Door of Simon the Pharisee* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) and that in Dürer's engraving, *The Temptation of the Idler* or *The Dream of the Doctor* of 1498 (for which see fig. 39 on p. 44 of this issue). Whether one is entirely convinced by the suggestion or not, it is intriguing none the less.

Turning to the chapter that specifically examines the illustrations, one is immediately struck by the care that has been taken with the quality and sharp focus of the black-and-white reproductions – a feature not always found in publications today, notwithstanding the advantages offered by digital scanning. Black and white remains notoriously tricky to get right and it is finely done here, although the tendency to employ a buff background to the engravings is not avoided as much as I feel it should be. Cruise makes a number of helpful comments, not least to reveal that Rossetti was much influenced by French periodical illustration and 'was particularly proud of his collection of prints by Paul Gavarni and his contemporaries.' Having said this, it becomes far clearer in Rossetti's graphic work just how much he owes to the likes of Achille Devéria, Tony Johannot, François-Louis Français and others involved both in the magazines and, most notably, in the seminal wood-engraved *Paul et Virginie* published in Paris by Curmer in 1838 and the next year in London by W. S. Orr. Did Rossetti own a copy, one is tempted to ask? A quotation from Ruskin makes a potent point, even today, on the significance of the print as a means of artistic expression: 'It is not like a single picture or a single wall-painting; this multipliable work will pass through [a] thousand thousand hands, strengthen and inform innumerable souls, if it be worthy; vivify the folly of thousands if unworthy.' There is much of value in this chapter, and the author's conclusion that 'After the 1860s the Pre-Raphaelite effect on illustration became so widespread that it was somewhat dissipated in power' is a provocative one.

For Cruise, this initial impact was revived only by the 'Book Beautiful' in the 1890s and the works of Charles Ricketts, Laurence Housman and others, notably Robert Anning Bell, Reginald Savage, Henry Ospovat to name but three. In later chapters one finds more of interest and relevance on Blake, Beardsley and especially Frederick Hollyer and his perfecting of the platinotype process, especially in the reproduction of drawings and prints by Simeon Solomon.

The book concludes with a list of works exhibited and discussed, arranged alphabetically by artist, which is adequate but not really a substitute for full catalogue entries. It is understandable that publishers see a catalogue as having a shelf-life merely during the period of exhibition, but for many print enthusiasts only detailed descriptions will really suffice. Nevertheless, this is a laudable venture with much to offer those interested in the prints and illustrations of the Pre-Raphaelites, and as such it is to be welcomed. PAUL GOLDMAN

GAUGUIN. *Paradise Remembered: The Noa Noa Prints* is a fascinating and thoughtful study of the history and technique of Paul Gauguin's (1848–1903) famous series of woodcuts executed in Paris in 1894 which evoke his Tahitian experiences (Alastair Wright and Calvin Brown, *Paradise Remembered: The Noa Noa Prints*, exhibition catalogue, Princeton University Art Museum, 25 September 2010–2 January 2011, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010, 236 pp., 85 col. and 1 b. & w. ills.,

53. Paul Gauguin, *Nave nave fenua* (*Delightful Land*), 1894, woodcut on Japanese paper, block 356 x 203 mm (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Rosenwald Collection 1947, Photo courtesy the Board of Trustees).

54. Paul Gauguin, *L'Univers est créé* (*The Universe Is Created*), 1894, woodcut with touches of watercolour and gouache on Japanese paper, sheet trimmed to block 206 x 356 mm (The Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection © The Art Institute of Chicago).

$35). The authors explore the evolution and meaning of the images and Brown goes on to suggest a logical order for the prints gathered into the *Noa Noa* album. Both authors' writing styles are refreshingly free of obtuse vocabulary; it is as if we, the readers, are having a casual conversation with them, complete with tangents, digressions, unresolved points of debate and intriguing plunges into new territory.

In Wright's text, 'Paradise Lost – Gauguin and the Melancholy Logic of Reproduction', there is a touch too much drama at times, such as the fanciful (though based on fact) description of a December 1894 'open house' held in Gauguin's Paris studio when the *Noa Noa* suite was exhibited or the discussion of Gauguin's use of masks of invented identities to change or hide his own personality. As Wright explains, this sometimes took the form of pseudonyms or alter-egos, such as the mysterious Mani Vehbi-Zunbal Zadi who wrote a tract on painting with words and ideas suspiciously similar to Gauguin's own. We might add his *double-entendre* signatures such as *P.Go* or the name of one of his dogs, Pégo, French slang for penis. Via Julien Leclercq's 1894 review of Gauguin's work, Wright notes Gauguin's display in his studio of reproductions from masters he admired, such as Cézanne, Rodin, Van Gogh and Japanese master printmakers. Could these juxtapositions with his own work also suggest Gauguin's attempt to place himself among these artistic greats?

Wright's analysis of Gauguin's game playing and psychological state in 1894 is less convincing than his clear explanation of Gauguin's various techniques and his radical use of the woodcut as an experimental technique in itself and not just as a marketing tool. The author dissects the artist's unprecedented approach to the expressive possibilities of the medium, which quickly led him away from printmaking's traditional focus on printing editions and reproducing paintings towards the unchartered waters of expressionism. This analysis should delight printmakers and challenge us all to rethink printmaking as more than an essentially reproductive process relying on technical precision to repeat the original composition. Gauguin created an artistic practice for which the initial subject, the standing nude seen in *Te nave nave fenua*, for example, was only one instance of its appearance. Certain subjects evolve through different prints and different media, a process creating distance from the original image through consecutive interpretations. Sometimes this distancing is created by repeated use of the same image in watercolour, oil, woodcut, photography, or monotype. Sometimes it occurs through the printing process itself by inking the block in various ways or by using different colours, obscuring or highlighting the image or printing it twice offset. Sometimes the subject changes identity but not form such as a portrait of the artist's mother subsequently seen as an *Exotic Eve*, then as Gauguin's Tahitian mistress, Teha'amana, and finally, coming full-circle back to an Eve-like figure in the *Noa Noa* print *Nave nave fenua*

(fig. 53). Wright concludes that the process supersedes the narrative identity of the original subject. One might also suggest a Mallarmé-influenced delight in the element of the *hasard* as Gauguin printed an image that offered an unplanned but intriguing aesthetic effect or symbolic association, as seemed to have occurred in the various states of *The Universe is Created* (*Noa Noa* album; fig. 54, inv. 1948.260).

In 1894, Gauguin asked the writer Charles Morice to write a text to accompany the *Noa Noa* woodcuts. The goal was to provide words that would educate the buying public about Gauguin's startlingly new and to them obscure Tahitian subjects. In his catalogue essay, Calvin Brown abandons Morice's text and goes directly to Gauguin's own *Noa Noa* manuscript, now at the Getty Research Institute. His challenge was not only to explain the imagery of the prints, but also to place the ten woodcuts in a narrative sequence. Gauguin's own words suggest that the prints map the artist's experiences of Tahitian daily life, many of which Brown associates with specific myths and customs. *Mahna no varua ino* (*The Day of the Evil Spirits*), for example, refers to the *Upaupa*, or Fire Dance. According to Brown, the portfolio also charts the artist's spiritual as well as physical transformation 'from a civilized European artist into an island primitive'. Print specialists will regret that Brown's contribution is not longer, as its technical explanation of Gauguin's working and reworking of each print as well as their 'stories' clearly evoke Gauguin's ultimate disillusion with his Polynesian idyll. The woodcuts, with their dark, brooding, and mysterious references to Tahitian myths, whether historically accurate or not, reflect Gauguin's nostalgia for a lost world, but also his acceptance that he would never completely understand or even totally experience the mystery of Polynesian life. CAROLINE BOYLE-TURNER

ART AND THE EARLY PHOTOGRAPHIC ALBUM, a compilation of scholarly papers produced by Washington's Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, contains much to interest the historian of prints (*Art and the Early Photographic Album*, edited by Stephen Bann, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011, 288 pp., 131 col. and 63 b. & w. illus., $70). Of obvious relevance are two essays devoted to prints rather than photographs: 'Before Photography: The Album and the French Graphic Tradition in the Early Nineteenth Century' by Benedict Leca and 'Art History in the Age of Photography: Constant Leber's *Pantographie* of 1865 and the "Painful Birth of the Art Book"' by Pascal Griener. The latter takes to task the identification by Francis Haskell of the *Recueil Crozat* as the first art book and instead proposes Constant Leber's *Histoire de l'Art: des estampes et de leur étude*, the catalogue of his print collection published in 1865. The purpose of the volume, edited by Edouard Swagers (and illustrated with a few photo-engravings of prints), was 'to outline the development of art, that is, to conceptualize the birth and the progress of different styles or genres, to define the typology of artistic production throughout the ages,' to quote Griener's justification of it as the first art book. Griener also discusses antecedents to Leber and Swagers's production, notably *recueils* of prints after paintings arranged by schools and a new style of art histories that dwelt on an artist's oeuvre and not his biography, which might be published with reproductive engravings or individually grangerized.

The essay by Leca, which deals entirely with gatherings of prints in traditional techniques, 'argues for the agency of a book type (the album) in the shifting historiographic discourses around the illustrative image and the French engraving tradition.' His special interests are lithographs, which, issued in albums or gathered there by their collectors, threatened 'the extinction of high-art prints [and] the eclipse of classic burin engraving,' and also the personal album in particular, in which reproductive prints, whether they be lithographs or intaglios, even the slightest outline engravings, might be assembled for an individual's enjoyment and education.

Several of the other ten authors in this volume emphasize that the albums under consideration employ photographic reproductions not of paintings but of prints after paintings. Stephen Bann, in his essay 'The Photographic Album as a Cultural Accumulator' cites Franz Hanfstängl's *Die vorzüglichsten Gemälde der Königlichen Gallerie zu Dresden* (1860), in which the text never states that its 'photographic reproductions' are in fact after lithographs by Hanfstängl of works in the Dresden royal collection. On the other hand, Richard Henry Smith's *Expositions of Great Pictures* (1868) 'makes no bones of the fact that his photographs have been taken after burin engravings [to] capitalize on the prestige of the engraving tradition and insist at the same time on the historical value of such renowned earlier reproductions.'

Other essays, notably 'The Opéra Disseminated: Charles Garnier's *Le Nouvel Opéra de Paris* (1875–1881)' by Martin Berssani and Peter Sealey, deal with albums that combine photographic and traditional print techniques, in this case in order to illustrate details of architectural decoration best rendered in steel engravings. Philippe Jarjat's contribution, 'Michelangelo's Frescoes through the Camera's Lens: The Photographic Album and Visual Identity,' inserts Adolphe Braun et Cie's photographic portfolios of the Sistine Chapel into the geneology begun by copper engravers and etchers such as Giorgio Ghisi, Cherubino Alberti and Domenico Cunego. Regretfully, this essay was not the occasion to muse on the restoration of the Sistine Chapel underwritten more recently by a Japanese publishing company so that it would have a short-term monopoly on the issuing of albums of colour reproductions of the fresco's newly brilliant colours. MARJORIE B. COHN

THE ERAGNY PRESS. Luminous colour wood-engravings distinguish Lucien (1863–1944) and Esther Bensusan (1870–1947) Pissarros' Eragny books from other artist printers' works in the private press movement that formed around William Morris during the 1890s in London. The abundant, accurate colour illustrations in Jon Whiteley's *Lucien Pissarro in England* make this catalogue for the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, a significant contribution to Eragny Press scholarship (Jon Whiteley, Colin Harrison, and Simon Shorvon, *Lucien Pissarro in England: The Eragny Press, 1895–1914*, exhibition catalogue, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 8 January–13 March 2011, 160 pp., 170 col. and 7 b. & w. ills., £15). Whiteley is Senior Keeper in the Department of Western at the Ashmolean. His accessibly written introduction, essay on the art of the Eragny Press, and catalogue entries reveal a careful study of the rich holdings of the Pissarro family archive at Oxford. While many know the letters documenting Lucien Pissarro's close relationship with his father and teacher, Camille Pissarro (1830–1903), a founder of French Impressionism, until now, few have seen Lucien Pissarro's colour works from the 1880s and early 1890s or his poster-sized studies from the early twentieth century for figures in the Eragny version of Judith Gautier's *Album de poëmes tiré du Livre de jade,* or *The Book of Jade,* as it is known in English. Gautier's poems are a selection of French translations from the renowned Chinese collection, *Po Yu Shih Shu.*

Additional essays by Colin Harrison, on choosing the texts for the Eragny Press, and Simon Shorvon, on Lucien and Esther Pissarro at home 1894–1914, offer new insights from the Pissarros' business records, letters, and, in Shorvon's case, new family photographs and reminiscences. In his essay Harrison, curator at the Ashmolean and of the Pissarro family archive, details the financial and legal struggles overcome by the Pissarros at the Eragny Press. Shorvon, a neurologist and Pissarro family member, convincingly suggests that the illness Lucien suffered in May 1897 was a 'small posterior circulation stroke' that did not adversely affect Pissarro's artistic abilities; Shorvon explains, however, that Lucien was physically weakened by the stroke and thus from 1897 forward Esther took a larger role in assisting at the Press. An apparent contradiction in the catalogue, about the beginning date of the Eragny Press, is resolved by a close reading of Shorvon and Whiteley's different discussions of the first Eragny Press book, *The Queen of the Fishes*. Shorvon focusses on 1894 since that was when printing of the book began; while Whiteley uses 1895 as the commencement of the Eragny Press because printing of *The Queen of the Fishes* ended in February of that year.

Why is the Eragny Press the only one of the nineteenth-century private presses to make extensive use of colour wood-engravings? Possibly the answer is the time-consuming, technically demanding process. Each time a new colour block is printed, the colours change on the page, and often

55. Lucien Pissarro, Opening Page from *La Reine du Matin* (Oxford, 1909), wood-engraving, page 218 x 138 mm, block 184 x 107 mm (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum).

the change is unexpected. Therefore numerous trial pages must be printed to achieve satisfactory results. Whitely allows readers of *Lucien Pissarro in England* access to the Pissarros' process by illustrating many examples of the trial prints as well as pages from Eragny books in the Ashmolean. Particularly informative are the nine trial prints for *Le Lotus Rouge* (*The Red Lotus*), from the 1911 Eragny *The Book of Jade*. The only other comparable catalogue of Eragny Press books to investigate the Pissarros' colour process so closely is *Illustrating the Good Life: The Pissarros' Eragny Press*, of 2007, where along with studies for *The Book of Jade* there are illustrations of single trial sheets of the red, the yellow, the blue and the line block shown beside the final colour wood-engraving used for the first page of the 1909 Eragny version of Gérard de Nerval's *Histoire de la Reine du Matin et de Soliman Prince des génies* (fig. 55). Adding to our respect for

the Pissarros' abilities as colour printers, Whiteley includes numerous colour illustrations of *La Reine du Matin*, placing particular emphasis on the Ashmolean's gold and colour studies for the historiated initial letters in this spectacular Eragny book.

Lucien Pissarro did not say directly why he chose to print colour wood-engravings but he gave some insight into the delight he experienced in printing in his unpublished 'Notes Concerning the Revival of the Art of Printing' preserved at the Ashmolean. There he wrote: 'The printers of the end of the XIX century have been able to produce a series of books of wonderful beauty, most of them have been printed with the greatest care on hand printing presses giving all the time and attention necessary for the production of a work of art and therefore of love.' ALICE BECKWITH

KER-XAVIER ROUSSEL. The most Arcadian of the Nabis was the subject of a recent exhibition at the Musée de Pont-Aven, which was accompanied by the catalogue, *Ker-Xavier Roussel: Le Nabi bucolique 1867–1944* (Paris, Somogy Editions d'Art, 2011, €29). The artist flirted only briefly with a style indebted to the circle of Gauguin, coming closest to Sérusier before launching into a very different vein. This in part explains the relative lack of scholarly attention that he has received compared with his colleagues. Roussel's preoccupation from the second half of the nineties with a pastoral world, far from most of the subjects which engaged his Nabis friends, has side-lined him for historians, as has the relative lack of outstanding works, although he maintained a consistent quality right into the 1930s. That he was a Parnassian in spirit, and his evident appreciation of the poetry of Henri de Regnier and his circle seems to have escaped some art historians. The quality of Roussel's magical and aetherial series of colour lithographs of around 1898 of women in landscapes matches the better known suites of prints by Bonnard and Vuillard.

Little is said in this publication about his printmaking, but Olivier Roussel, one of the two descendants of the artist to contribute essays, discusses a forgotten suite of 32 lithographs devoted to Virgil's *Eclogues*, which escaped the notice of the Salomons' 1968 catalogue of his prints. Printed by André Clot and published in Paris in 1943 by Les Bibliophiles franco-suisses, these lithographs, of which there was an edition of 125, may have had very little circulation because of the date of publication and of the death of Roussel in 1944. Clot's father, Auguste, had died in 1936, and André, who had helped him print Vuillard's plates for *Cuisine* the previous year continued the family business. No legal deposit in the Bibliothèque Nationale seems to have been made, probably due to the unsettled conditions at the height of the war. It may be also the case that most copies found homes in Switzerland. A thirty-third lithograph may have been a trial print. Les Bibliophiles franco-suisses seem to have begun publishing *livres d'artiste* in 1930. Their first publication recorded in the Bibliothèque Nationale was *Le marié magique,* translated by the Egyptian Armenian orientalist traveller, Dr Joseph Charles Mardrus, which was illustrated by Antoine Bourdelle. The last noted there was Guy de Pourtalès' 1986 *Marins d'eau douces,* for which Joëlle Serve provided ten colour etchings.

Curiously, not a single impression of these Virgil illustrations was included in the Pont-Aven exhibition, nor are any illustrated in this catalogue. Roussel was one of those artists whose prints were published by Vollard. Could this project have been one of the several initiated by the famous dealer and publisher some years earlier, which only came to fruition after his unexpected death? A series of landscapes in colour lithography had been commissioned by Vollard from the artist in the late 1890s, but only six of the intended twelve plates and cover executed c.1898 were published. These were also printed by Clot. A seventh was printed and issued posthumously. It appears that Roussel was also intending to illustrate Virgil's *Georgics* with lithographs. A *maquette* known as *Les Bucoliques* is dated 1938, and Olivier Roussel refers to the existence of a number of other drawings and preliminary studies, which can be linked to the rediscovered project. The translation which Roussel's lithographs accompanied was by Xavier de Magallon, Marquis de Magallon d'Argens (1820–1903), a right-wing nationalist close to Paul Déroulède and Edouard Drumont, and a contributor to Charles Maurras' *L'Action française.*

Roussel was much interested in German philosophy, particularly in Nietzsche's *Spirit of Tragedy*. His pastorals are Dionysian. Vollard wanted him to illustrate the early nineteenth-century Maurice de Guérin's *Le Centaure* and *La Bacchante*, another commission never completed. Roussel's stage designs included those for Henri de Regnier's *Les scruples de Sganerelle.* He also frequently turned to Mallarmé's *L'Aprés-midi d'un faune* as a subject. The visual antecedents for his dreamy Arcadianism lie in the later Corot and the nebulous Wagnerianism of the lithographs of Fantin-Latour. Also significant for Roussel were the drawings of Poussin, as one can see even more clearly in his etchings than in his lithographs, although no etchings were included in this exhibition. Early lithographs in the show such as the contre-jour *L'Eplucheuse* of 1893, comparable to contemporary Munch, and the very inventive and theatrical *Noli me tangere,* which he contributed to *La Revue Blanche* in 1894 show that Roussel could well have developed in other directions, while his *L'Education du chien* demonstrates that he was very wise to decide to move away from the Ecole de Pont-Aven. One major article is missing from the bibliography of this catalogue, Pat Gilmour's 'Cher Monsieur Clot' in *Lasting Impressions: Lithography as Art* (London, 1988, pp. 129–82). MARTIN HOPKINSON

BOURDELLE'S ILLUSTRATED BOOKS. Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the *beaux livres* of the sculptor Antoine Bourdelle (1861–1929) since Charles Saunier's short article in *L'Amour de l'art*, 1927, pp. 69–74, although he provided illustrations for 27 books between 1888 and 1943. In addition to these there were several further publications projected, but never brought to fruition. Now the Musée Bourdelle has published *Du relief au texte: Catalogue raisonné des livres illustrés par Antoine Bourdelle* (Musée Bourdelle – Paris Musées, Paris, 2009, 236 pp., 407 col. pls. & 87 b. & w. ills., €39). The books have been very fully catalogued by Annie Barbera, while Ségolène Le Men and Colin Lemoine have contributed essays. The reason for the lack of attention soon becomes apparent: interpretative or reproductive printmaking over the last 130 years has seldom engaged scholarly research. Bourdelle almost always supplied drawings or watercolours which were translated by professionals.

Indeed, except for the etching which Bourdelle executed in a romantic, almost Pre-Raphaelite style for Emile Pouvillon's *Le Cheval bleu* in 1888, there is no reference here to any other prints made by the sculptor. Bourdelle had already etched a portrait of the poet Auguste Quercy in 1884. He also executed a drypoint of Saint Ongé du Causse c. 1888. It is likely that he made very few other prints, although there is a signed lithograph of a sleeping shepherdess in the collection of the Hunterian Art Gallery (fig. 56). This was described as a proof, when it appeared as no. 6 in C.G. Boerner's *Neue Lagerliste*, 51, in 1968. It looks as if it may have been connected to a design for a tapestry or for an illustration or for a relief. The incomplete border or frame may indicate that the artist intended the design to be completed as a repeat, rather than that the work was left unfinished. Stylistically it could date from the very late 1880s or early 1890s.

One could compare the subject with Bourdelle's drawings for his friend Pouvillon's *Césette*, a project never completed, and hence not catalogued in the publication under review. While the shepherdess could have been based on the sculptor's study of one of those working on the Causses, the high plateaux of the southern Massif Central, not far from his hometown of Montauban, the image may have its source in contemporary poetry, possibly in the circle of Mallarmé. In 1890 Verlaine introduced Bourdelle to Jean Moréas and the naturalist writer Félicien Champseur, two of whose books he later illustrated. After the Franco-Prussian War the motif of a shepherdess sometimes acquired a political meaning, being associated with Joan of Arc, St Genevieve (Charles Péguy's 'vigilante bergère'), France itself and Paris. Péguy's *La tapisserie de Saint Genéviève et de Jeanne d'Arc*, although only published in 1912, may well have been written a lot earlier. Jules Lepevneu painted a *Jean d'Arc bergère* for the Panthéon in the later 1880s. However, one should bear in mind the existence of a plaster *Césette* in the collection of the Musée Bourdelle, where it is dated to 1881, and of another unti-

56. Antoine Bourdelle, *Sleeping Shepherdess*, lithograph, 240 x 305 mm (Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery).

tled plaster relief dated to 1884 in the same museum. It seems most unlikely that the lithograph was made in the first half of the 1880s, but the composition could have been developed from an early work by the artist.

Already when it came to the second illustrated book to which Bourdelle contributed, the art critic Roger-Milès' *Les Vieillées noires,* Auguste Delâtre etched the sculptor's design, which was based on his sculpture *L'amour agonise* executed a couple of years previously. Eugène Decisy and Charles Massart executed the etchings after Bourdelle's drawings for George Bois' *Les damnées* of 1890. For the catalogue entries on each of these books and throughout the volume the artist's originals are reproduced alongside the final illustrations. Other drawings by Bourdelle connected to individual projects are also illustrated here. Four-page quarto insertions provide the full bibliographical information and a discussion of each volume prefacing the illustrations of Bourdelle's contributions to each book. These include very valuable information on the authors of the texts, some of which will be quite unfamiliar to all but the specialists.

For the following three volumes the sculptor provided pastels in the fashionable eighteenth-century style, touched with a *sfumato* derived from Carrière, for photographic interpretation. It is only in 1912 that one encounters the mature Bourdelle in his *hors texte* drawings of dancers for Marie Imikhail Zeitlin's *Lyrica.* The dance was a recurrent motif in his later illustrations. The lines in his drawings of Isidora Duncan in *Fille de Prométhée* unexpectedly echo certain late lithographs and drawings by Whistler. One learns from Lemoine that Bourdelle owned the sixteenth edition of Mallarmé's *Vers et Prose* of 1922, which included the portrait of the poet by the American master. For the first time in illustration the French artist is clearly revealed as a Parnassian, and, at heart, although deeply versed in classical art, as one of the late romantics. At times, one is reminded of Bourdelle's friendship with the painter and etcher Dunoyer de Segonzac.

Most of Bourdelle's post-1918 contributions to publishers were in watercolour. In 1922 he began working with Jean Saudé, the pioneer and promoter of *pochoirs*. We are shown several proofs much annotated by Bourdelle with suggestions as to improvements in colour and tone for the illustrations to Maldrus' *La Reine de Saba.* These reveal just how much attention the sculptor paid to the accurate interpretation of the designs that he had supplied. Bourdelle was one of the contributors to Saudé's famous *Traité d'enlumineure d'art au pochoir* of 1925. The copper matrix for Bourdelle's *pochoir* is reproduced here. When it came to André Suarès' *Poème du temps qui meurt* and the veteran Clemenceau's *Démosthène,* Jules-Léon Perrichon translated the artist's watercolours into wood-engravings. To supplement one's understanding of Bourdelle's illustrations and works on paper one should consult Florence Viguier's catalogue, *Emile-Antoine Bourdelle (1861–1929) oeuvres graphiques,* Montauban, Musée Ingres, 2001, which was omitted from the bibliography of the volume reviewed here. MARTIN HOPKINSON

MAX SLEVOGT. Slevogt (1868–1932) was one of the most prolific printmakers among the central members of the Berlin Secession. Unlike Max Liebermann and Lovis Corinth, however, his reputation has not lasted well into later years. A sign of this has been for many years the lack of any catalogue of his prints. He was enormously prolific as a printmaker, with some 2,100 plates to his name. In 1924, while Slevogt was still alive, his dealer Bruno Cassirer, one of the two Cassirer cousins who from 1899 acted as the managers of the Secession, published a short 55-page pamphlet that listed all the series of prints that he had published. But this did not describe the individual plates in the volumes, and it was not until 1962 that J. Sievers and E. Waldmann published the first volume of the complete graphic work, covering the years from 1890 to 1914. Then there was another long gap, and the second volume, covering 1914 to 1933, only appeared in 2002, compiled by Gerhard Söhn. This was hardly a convincing demonstration of widespread interest in Slevogt's work, and a new exhibition catalogue helps clarify the problem (*Max Slevogt: Malerei und Grafik,* edited by Ingrid Mössinger, with contributions by Kerstin Drechsel, Nicole Hartje-Grave and Sigrun Paas, exhibition catalogue, Saarland Museum, Saarbrücken, Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz, 11 June–4 September 2011, Leipzig, E.A. Seemann, 160 pp., 138 col. and 16 b. & w. ills., €19.90).

The material in the exhibition was drawn entirely from the collections of Chemnitz and the Saarlandmuseum in

57. Max Slevogt, *Hasan Arrives at the Castle, Where the Princesses are Playing Chess*, from *Die Inseln WAK WAK: Eine Erzählung aus Tausendundeiner Nacht* (Berlin, 1921), 1921, chalk lithograph, 358 x 469 mm (Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz, Photo László Tóth).

Saarbrücken, and the catalogue contains 30 paintings and 100 prints. The entries are brief, and the weight lies in the essays by a number of authors. What emerges strongly is a dichotomy between the painter and the printmaker. Slevogt's landscapes, still lifes and portraits are painted with a touch and colour range that unmistakably shows the debt of the Berlin Secession to French Impressionism (a field in which Paul Cassirer, the other cousin, was the leading dealer in Germany). The graphic works, however, are something different. Apart from a few drypoints and woodcuts, almost all are chalk lithographs that illustrate fantastical tales of adventure, whether from the *Arabian Nights* (fig. 57), the Wild West or classical mythology. The scenes are populated with a wild accumulation of bodies of people (mostly naked) and animals, all unified in a swirling chalk line that confuses as much as it delineates. Slevogt was clearly a born illustrator, with the most vivid of imaginations who responded with enormous verve and gusto to the stimulation of an exciting narrative. These illustrations have nothing whatever to do with French Impressionism. So how does the sub-Impressionist painter fit into this world? ANTONY GRIFFITHS

THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS. The exhibition catalogue *Lust und Laster: Die 7 Todsünden von Dürer bis Nauman* (edited by M. Horst, F. Eggelhöfer, C. Metzger and S. Vitali, Kunstmuseum Bern and Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern, 15 October 2010–20 February 2011, Ostfildern, 2010, 380 pp., 480 col. ills., €39.80), a cross-media survey of imagery dealing with lust and vice, offers some commentary on old master prints. Accompanying a show at the Kunstmuseum Bern and the Zentrum Paul Klee, this lavish book's essays nestle a small group of Northern European engravings amidst an overview of sin iconography spanning six centuries. Of interest are the ways Cornelis Cort, Heinrich Aldegrever, Philips Galle and Pieter van der Heyden (works by whom are included here) figure as dabblers in the subject, at a time when the sins were understood as a folk thematic. The Bern curators present these artists as establishing typologies persisting from Félicien Rops to Nan Goldin. The iconography of Lust, Anger, Sloth, Envy, Gluttony, Pride and Avarice is far from new territory, even where printed art is concerned: in 2011 the Nationalmuseet in Stockholm hosted a giant and similarly pan-epoch show, with an identical focus and title, *Lust & Last*. What is distinct in the Bern material is an attention to the deceptively simple issue of cycles as an artistic medium. European prints form only a minor part of the exhibition and catalogue, around thirty objects in all, but their role in its broader discussion of seriality and art is potent.

In one essay Christine Göttler and Anette Schaffer argue that the earliest engraved images of the sins can be set alongside the tradition of ornamental grotesques. Faced with visualizing an abstract concept such as Envy, artists like Hans Baldung Grien and Hans Burgkmair turned to late medieval manuscript illuminators' interest in monstrous forms. What resulted in the famous sin cycles by, say, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, was a renewed 'Renaissance' valuation of antique *inventio*, coupled with, and materialized through, lingering 'medieval' strategies of personification. A rarely seen set of engravings after Luca Penni (pp. 92–93) is one of the few unusual additions the show brings to the narrative.

58. Alfred Kubin, *Anger*, 1914, lithograph, 440 x 360 mm (Kunstmuseum Bern).

But in early modern Europe, the print medium problematized the very manner in which sins are represented. The images were themselves didactic, but their proliferative character shored up the idea that sin will take countless, and infinitely comparable forms. An essay by Samuel Vitali touches on the strange codification of the deadly sin imagery in print after about 1560. Engraving sets by Marten de Vos from around 1561 and by Hieronymus Wierix, from around thirty years later, situated personifications of the sins in alpine and Netherlandish landscapes. Reissued and retitled in numerous editions, they supplied cheap templates for painters and other printmakers. By the time we get to the harrowing lithographs of Alfred Kubin (1914) the sins have became, in dual senses, *exempla*; moral as well as artistic (fig. 58). The serial format activates the idea of, say, Anger as something constantly, and inevitably, recurring.

Latter sections of *Lust und Laster* move away from overtly Christian notions of sin. But typologies still matter. Dealing, excitedly, with art that is sometimes considered scandalous (Jeff Koons, Yinka Shonibare), the curators suggest that art's visualization of 'forbidden behaviour' has never gone away. All well and good, even if such works have long been drained of any power to shock. What is missing from these sections (seven in total – each devoted to a specific sin), however, and which the invocation of prints would have helped, is consideration of how specific media have interacted with the sin iconography across history.

Save for two pieces by Bruce Nauman and one by Annette Messager, all of the art objects in the Bern catalogue are figurative. The sum implication is that sin – even if it takes luridly diffuse forms – inheres in art only as image. And yet, perhaps the print medium's personal scale and attributes also serve as a reminder that the work of art may itself be the object of – possibly sinful – lust and desire. A luxurious item itself, the thoughtful Bern publication points to the survival of such processes today. CHRISTOPHER P. HEUER

NEKES COLLECTION OF CARICATURES. In 2011 the Karikaturmuseum in Krems, Austria, celebrated its tenth anniversary by exhibiting a careful selection of items from the Werner Nekes Collection. The result was an exhibition translating as 'I Don't Trust My Eyes' and a catalogue (Werner Hofmann, Werner Nekes and Jutta M. Pichler, *Ich traue meinen Augen nicht,* Krems, Karikaturmuseum, Residenz Verlag, 2011, 160 pp, 84 col. and 114 b. & w. ills., €24.90).

Werner Nekes is an experimental film-maker who has made over a hundred films but has also assembled a gigantic and amazingly comprehensive collection of what, for a better term, tends to be called 'pre-cinema', basically optical phenomena such as anamorphic prints, camera obscuras, flick books, 'Chinese fireworks', *jouets séditieux*, magic lanterns, myrioramas, peepshows, phenakistiscopes, praxinoscopes, puzzle pictures, thaumatropes, zoetropes, and two-way and three-way pictures. Nekes is keen his collection should be seen and used. By now there must have been at least seven exhibitions entirely sourced from his collection. Two of them have been block-busters – 'Ich sehe was, was du nicht siehst' (I Spy with My Little Eye) at the Museum Ludwig, Cologne, in 2002, and 'Eyes, Lies and Illusion' at the Hayward Gallery, London, in 2005. Nekes's private collection is housed in Mülheim an der Ruhr. Another excellent, though smaller public collection of pre-cinema items – the collection of Karl-Heinz W. Steckelings – is housed in the Water Tower in the same city. The Getty Research Institute is the proud owner of a second Werner Nekes collection.

Ich traue meinen Augen nicht consists of a preface by Jutta M. Pichler, Director of the Karikaturmuseum, and several chapters by the distinguished art historian, Werner Hofmann, who acted as the exhibition's guest curator. Hofmann was a pioneer explorer of territories at the fringes of art. Over the years his writings and exhibitions have made study in this area respectable. For him caricature is at the centre of art. It is not subsidiary.

The volume concludes with an essay by Werner Nekes in which he gives a survey of caricature and its affinity to perspective, photography and film, all being born from the camera obscura. RALPH HYDE

BLUE RIDER. The romantically named Blaue Reiter – Blue Rider – was never a group. Nor, strictly speaking, was it a movement. It was the title of an almanac, edited by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc and published in Munich in 1911. The almanac consisted of articles by a variety of artists and musicians, and many illustrations of everything from the work of contributors to Renaissance tomb sculptures and drawings by children. Two exhibitions organized by the editors and bearing the name of the almanac followed in quick succession, and that was that, except for the growing eagerness of the art public from Tokyo to Tasmania to see a movement in what was chiefly a book.

Kandinsky and August Macke had little in common. Paul Klee and Alfred Kubin ploughed their own wayward furrows and Arnold Schoenberg, a painter as well as composer, was not much more than an enthusiastic dauber. Kandinsky and Marc were determined printmakers but painting was always their major activity. The catalogue of an exhibition devoted to the extensive Blue Rider collection at the Lenbachhaus in Munich (Karin Althaus, Sven Beckstette, Annegret Hoberg, Helena Pereña, *The Blue Rider: Watercolours, Drawings and Prints from the Lenbachhaus Munich, A Dance in Colour*, edited by Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg, exhibition catalogue, Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, 19 June–26 September 2010; Vienna, Albertina, 4 February–15 May 2011, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 2010, 263 pp., 217 col. and 2 b. & w. ills., €49.90) touches on the subject of prints. For those who know the essentials of the Blue Rider, not much will be gleaned from this, apart perhaps for the names of some of the now virtually forgotten contributors to one or other of the exhibitions, such as Bloch or Sacharaoff. FRANK WHITFORD

MATISSE. The handsomely produced catalogue *Matisse: Radical Invention 1913–1917* by Stephanie D'Alessandro and John Elderfield was published in connection with an exhibition held in 2010 in Chicago and New York (Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 20 March–20 June 2010; New York, Museum of Modern Art, 18 July–11 October 2010, Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 2010, 368 pp., 515 col. and 138 b. & w. ills., $45). Co-curated by Elderfield and D'Alesssandro, the exhibition drew together paintings, sculptures, drawings and prints

59. Henri Matisse, *Bathers by a River*, 1909–10, 1913 and 1916–17, oil on canvas, 2,600 x 3,920 mm (Chicago, The Art Institute, Charles H. and Mary F. S. Worcester Collection © 2010 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York).

produced by Matisse between 1913 – the year of his return to Paris from Morocco – and that of his departure for Nice in 1917. This period has typically defied easy categorization within Matisse's output. Works comprising ruthless geometries and a restrained palette alternate with canvases characterized by fields of bold colour and freer gestural work, evincing Matisse's relentless exploration of new compositional techniques and methods of handling paint. For the authors, the unprecedented level of stylistic variety in Matisse's works created during these years makes this period one of 'radical invention' in the artist's oeuvre.

In a series of essays that alternate with detailed technical analyses of individual works, Elderfield and D'Alessandro embed Matisse's aesthetic aims and working methods in the broader artistic currents and political climate of early twentieth-century France. They provide a detailed description of Matisse's shifting terms of engagement with Analytical Cubism, but are sensitive to the fact that the modernist art world witnessed the development of many distinct versions of Cubism that extended and challenged the pictorial language initiated by Picasso and Braque. By taking into account Matisse's innovative responses to different 'Cubisms', including those of Juan Gris and Jean Metzinger, the authors offer a more subtle account of the artistic dialogues that informed Matisse's experimentation with, or rejection of, the compositional precepts favoured by his contemporaries.

Consideration of the socio-political upheavals caused by World War I looms large in any account of European art produced during this period, yet it is a subject that is often insufficiently treated in discussions of Matisse's work. Deemed unfit for military service on account of his age (44), Matisse was forced to witness the conflict from the sidelines, learning only indirectly of the fall of his hometown, Bohain-en-Vermandois, to German forces and losing the benefit of conversation with those of his artistic circle who volunteered or were called up. Elderfield and D'Alessandro are keen to provide new insight into the impact of World War I on Matisse's self-conception as both an artist and a citizen of France. They identify the material aspects of Matisse's wartime contribution, specifically, his donation of profits from the sale of paintings and prints to support food shipments to civilian prisoners and the provision of financial support to injured servicemen. Portraits comprising the suite of monotypes and

60. Henri Matisse, *The Moroccans*, 1915–16, oil on canvas, 1,813 x 2,794 mm (New York, The Museum of Modern Art; gift of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel A. Marx, 1955 © 2010 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York).

etchings sold as part of this effort, *For the Civil Prisoners of Bohain-en-Vermandois,* of 1914–15, form a poignant, though understated reference to the impact of war on the personal lives of individuals. A different form of cultural commentary is, the authors argue, found in the subjects treated in Matisse's works produced at a later stage of the conflict. For Elderfield and D'Alessandro, the artist's exhibition and publication of paintings and prints featuring Moroccan themes and motifs in 1916 was an attempt to call attention to the imperialist co-opting of North African soldiers into French military forces. By the authors' own admission, however, Matisse's attitudes to the war were only obliquely stated in his art. Furthermore, as Elderfield and D'Alessandro concede, numerous significant paintings produced in 1916 remained unknown to the public for many years, making it difficult to see how they could be interpreted as public statements.

Despite Matisse's experimentation with different stylistic and compositional techniques between 1913 and 1917, the authors make a case that the artist's works from this period can be viewed as a coherent whole. This does not, however, take the form of a straightforward linear development, but rather consists in a 'point and counterpoint between different expressive modes' in Matisse's methods and reworking of canvases. It is argued that such connections are primarily visible at levels beneath the paint surface itself. *Bathers by a River* is taken as a prime example of Matisse's inventive 'revisionism' of this period (fig. 59; Chicago, The Art Institute, inv. no. 1953.158.). Begun in 1909 and revisited by the artist in 1913 and 1916–17, this work (like several others included in the exhibition) underwent new cleaning and technical analysis for the purposes of the two shows. Use of the latest X-radiography, infrared reflectography, laser imaging, and digital technologies reveals significant changes made by Matisse at different stages of composition, facilitating not just a reconstruction of his working methods, but also insight into aesthetic continuities that link this painting to his experiments in different media. With ample photographic evidence drawn from this painstaking research, the catalogue throws fresh light on some familiar, large-scale works of this period such as *Backs*, *The Piano Lesson*, and *The Moroccans* (fig. 60) (each New York, Museum of Modern Art) as well as on the artist's more intimate portraits and still lifes.

Emphasizing further continuities across media, the authors also demonstrate the crucial role played by Matisse's experiments in monotype during this period. Discussion of monotypes produced between 1914–15 illustrates Matisse's repeated use of this format for the purposes of testing compositional ideas that were later incorporated into his paintings. For the authors, Matisse's move away from an experimental style of working in 1917 paralleled the artist's loss of interest in the monotype form as a staging ground for such ideas.

Taken as a whole, the book successfully combines biographical, technical, archival, and historical evidence in support of the arguments made about Matisse's works of 1913–17 and their connections to the artist's broader oeuvre. For readers interested in the insights offered by new

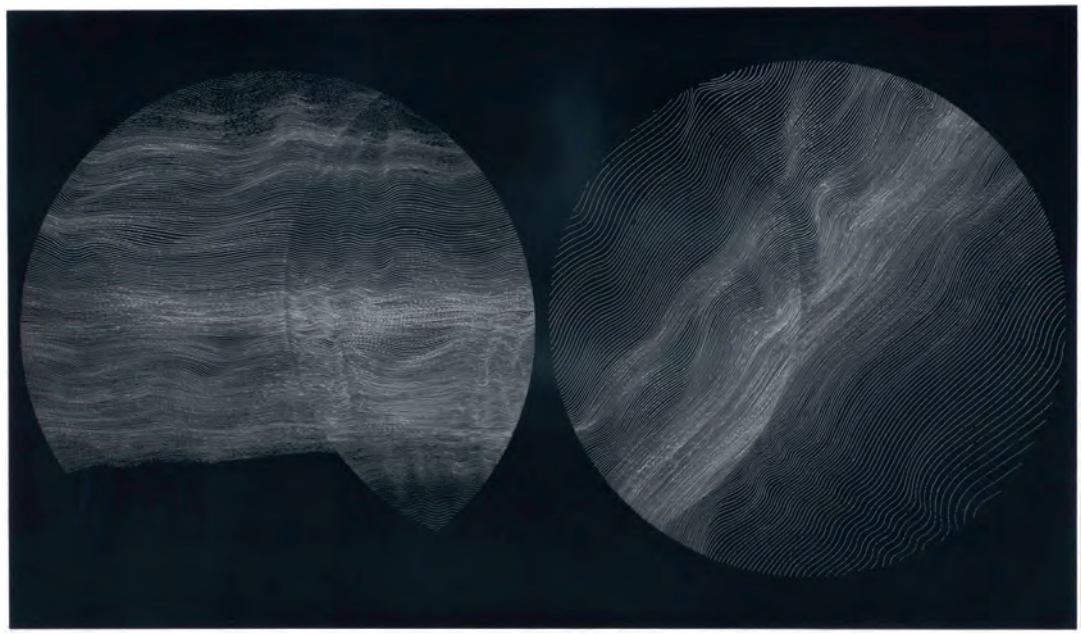
technologies in conservation, the entries, photographs and x-radiographs of specific objects will provide compelling reading. For those seeking to comprehend the connections between Matisse's prints, paintings and sculptures, as well as the processes of making and remaking that characterize this period of 'radical invention', there is much of value in the essays that provide the conceptual framework of this catalogue. KATHRYN BROWN

THE PIERACCINI COLLECTION OF ITALIAN PRINTS. The Ateneum, Helsinki, staged *Viiva Italia* (Italian Line), an exhibition of 300 twentieth-century Italian prints, drawings and watercolours, drawn from the collection donated by Rolando and Siv Pieraccini to the museum in 2010. The collection numbers over 700 works and must be one of the largest of its kind outside Italy. Published on the occasion of the exhibition, *Italian mestareita 1900 – luvulta. Rolando ja Siv Pieraccinin kokoelma* (Ateneum in taidemuseo and Valtion taidemuseo, Helsinki, 2010, 276 pp., 560 col. and 47 b. & w. ills., €37), includes a short essay by Franco Fanelli and a catalogue by Erkki Anttonen, who provides biographical entries for 42 artists and illustrations of numerous works in the collection. Also appended is a brief bibliography of monographic treatments of each printmaker. The publisher Rolando Pieraccini, who has lived in Finland since the 1970s, began collecting in the early 1960s, when he encountered many of the leading printmakers associated with the Scuola at Urbino. Thus one finds here fine examples of the works of such artists as Arnaldo Battistoni, Renato Bruscaglia, Leonardo Castellani, Arnoldo Ciarrocchi, Fiorella Diamantini, Nunzio Gulino and Walter Piacesi. The collection includes prints by many of the most outstanding printmakers of the period 1920 to 1975, from the masters of Pittura Metafisica, Carrà and De Chirico, to Burri and Dorazio. Works by Severini, Magnelli, and Capogrossi provide highlights among the abstract prints, but the bias of the collection is more towards landscape and figuration. Marini is represented by 80 works, while Bartolini is favoured over his rival, Morandi. MARTIN HOPKINSON

ROBERT TAVENER. The seaside town of Eastbourne is known for four painter-printmakers: John Hamilton Mortimer, Eric Ravilious, William Gear and Robert Tavener (1920–2004). The last of these taught printmaking at Eastbourne School of Art from 1953 to 1980, ending his career there as Vice Principal. The monograph *'Oh, Mr Tavener, I wish I had the original!': Robert Tavener Printmaker and Illustrator* (Bread and Butter Press, Eastbourne, 2010, 96 pp.,140 col. and 19 b. & w. ills., £20), written by Emma and Richard Mason, is the first extended account of his career. The title refers to the artist's encounters with enthusiasts who did not comprehend that a lithograph or linocut was an original print.

The London-born Tavener made his first linocuts, an alphabet, when he was just thirteen years old. Prior to demobilization at the end of the war, during which he took part in the Normandy landings, he studied briefly at the arts and crafts institute at the University of Göttingen, the formation college of the Rhine Army. On his return to Britain, he attended Hornsey College of Art from 1947 to 1950, specialising in lithography and reproductive processes. Tavener's abilities were soon recognized when in 1950 he became a member of the Senefelder Club. After teaching at a secondary school in Strood and at Medway College of Art in Rochester, he moved to Eastbourne. From 1954 to 1988 he regularly sent his lithographs and linocuts to the Royal Academy, and their exhibitions are recorded here. Tavener wrote that the works of John Piper, Edward Bawden and John Minton 'remained constant with me throughout the years' and that he admired the 'wonderful' lithography of Toulouse-Lautrec. His early drawings, watercolours and prints were particularly reminiscent of Minton. Bawden became of more significance to him in the mid- to late 1950s. Jack Beddington, famous for commissioning work from leading artists to promote the Shell oil company, chose to include Tavener in his book *Young Artists of Promise* (Studio Publications, 1957). The other printmakers featured were Philip Reeves, Charles Keeping and H. Swinnerton Cook. Tavener soon received a poster commission from London Transport, and did illustrative work for *Radio Times*. His cover designs were frequently seen on *Lilliput Magazine, Homes and Gardens* and *The Listener*. He was also a prolific illustrator of children's books, while he repeatedly exhibited with the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers, of which he became a member in 1966. A commission in 1966 from London Transport of a poster for the Horse Guards developed into a long series of prints made over the best part of a decade. Tavener also executed many prints of English architecture. To judge from this book, however, his best work was to be found in his evocative prints of the landscapes and villagescapes of Kent and Sussex treated in the neo-romantic English tradition of the post-war years. Tavener's house had a gate directly onto the South Downs, the rounded sides and tops of which often featured in his art. Sussex fishmongers, fishermen and their boats were also favourite subjects of his in the 1950s and early 1960s. This little book is a fine and sensitive introduction to the art of a printmaker whose work has given much pleasure over the years to its owners. MARTIN HOPKINSON

SEWELL SILLMAN. The Florence Griswold Museum in Old Lyme celebrated in 2010 the art of one of the town's long-time residents, the painter, printmaker and printer, Sewell Sillman (1924–92), also known as Si Sillman. The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue, *Sewell Sillman: Pushing Limits* (13 February–18 April 2010, 32 pp., 17 col. and 9 b. & w. ills., $17.50). Sillman, who was



61. Sewell Sillman, *Orb #2,* 1970, screenprint, 403 x 700 mm (Florence Griswold Museum, Old Lyme).

born in Savannah, Georgia, was studying civil engineering when he joined the United States Army. In the winter of 1944–45 he was wounded in the Ardennes in the Battle of the Bulge. While Sillman was recuperating in England in 1945 he saw an exhibition of 30 paintings by Picasso at Jack Bilbo's Modern Art Gallery, a venue associated with London Surrealists. Bilbo (1907–67), a colourful Jew born in Germany as Hugo Baruch, was a self-taught maverick painter and sculptor, working in a manner that could be seen as related to the beginnings of CoBrA. His London gallery, which existed from 1941 to 1948, showed the work of European contemporary masters.

On his return to America, Sillman re-enrolled in 1946 at the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta, from which several students had moved to Black Mountain College near Asheville in North Carolina. His tutors had already remarked on his abilities in design and the graphic arts. So, early in 1948, Sillman followed his colleagues there, attracted by the progressive ideas promoted in this small upcountry establishment, where students included Kenneth Noland, Arthur Penn, Robert Rauschenberg and Kenneth Snelson. The tutors then included the poet Charles Olson, the mathematician and philosopher Max Dehn, and most significantly for Sillman's future development, Josef and Anni Albers. Initially, the young man studied architecture, but soon, dissatisfied with the ideas and teaching of Buckminster Fuller, gravitated to the classes of Josef Albers. It was at Black Mountain that Sillman was introduced to printing and to screenprinting by the dancer Warren Pete Jennerjahn. Jennerjahn also ran a light, sound and movement workshop, which may have had some influence of Sillman's later interests. Mary Emma Harris contributes an essay on the Georgia artist's period of study at the college. None of Sillman's early prints, however, are discussed or reproduced here. Instead, the emphasis of both the exhibition and catalogue was placed on his art from 1960 to his death.

Sillman left Black Mountain in 1950 to teach at Windsor Mountain School in Lenox, Massachusetts, before following Albers to Yale University in 1951, where the older man was now Head of the Design Department. He became Albers' teaching assistant while studying for an MFA. Soon after completing this, Sillman joined the staff in 1954, teaching colour, drawing and painting, and eventually becoming Director of the undergraduate programme in art. Amanda C. Burdan discusses his drawings and paintings of the 1950s and early and mid-1960s, and his collaboration with Albers, which lasted for some years after Albers' retirement in 1958. Sillman's work was very much in the Bauhaus tradition of Klee, as well as in that of Albers, grounded in its principles of drawings and design. He was noted for rhythmical wave studies, which probably were influenced in part by modern textiles. Sillman had studied weaving with Anni Albers.

None of the publications that I have seen refer to his printmaking of the 1950s. In 1962, however, Sillman founded the printing firm of Ives-Sillman with a colleague, the painter, sculptor and designer, Norman Ives

(1923–78). The two men had been deeply involved in Albers' 1956 retrospective at Yale University Art Gallery, of which Sillman was the curator. The accompanying catalogue included two tipped-in screenprint reproductions, which foreshadowed their later work together. For Ives one can consult the catalogue of the exhibition of his work held at the Neuberger Museum of Art, in Purchase, NY, in 1977. He had formed his own studio in a basement in New Haven in 1958. Ives' posters and screenprints combine Bauhaus-influenced graphic design and lettering with a burgeoning interest in Pop Art. The partnership's first project was Albers' *Homage to the Square* series, quickly followed in 1963 by the publication of Albers' *Interaction of Color,* with 80 screenprints illustrating the fundamentals of the artist's teachings on colour, with explanatory texts. In all, Ives-Sillman produced six portfolios and 37 individual prints for Albers. Their first screenprints were printed at R. H. Norton, but most of their work was made at Sirocco Screenprints.

An in-depth study of their work is much needed, as they worked on both original screenprints and on reproductions. Piet Mondrian clearly had nothing to do with the ten screenprints issued under his name in 1966. The artists with whom the two men worked included Ives' friend, Walker Evans, as well as Romare Bearden, Willem de Kooning, Roy Lichtenstein, Ad Reinhardt, Jacob Lawrence, Andy Warhol, Ellsworth Kelly, Jean Dubuffet and Dieter Roth. No doubt the active participation in the creation of the screenprints differed considerably from artist to artist. Sillman also made prints to his own design. He was given an exhibition in Paris in 1987 by Denise René. From at least as early as 1970 Sillman's work took a turn towards Op Art. The one screenprint reproduced here – *Orb #2* of 1970 (fig. 61) – seems to indicate a sympathy with the art of Victor Vasarely. It would be very good if a wider range of his prints became better known.
MARTIN HOPKINSON

ALAN GREEN (1932–2003) was one of those British abstract painters whose work appealed more to German museums and collectors than to British ones. So it is no surprise that the first major exhibition to be staged since his death in 2003 should have been held in Germany at Museum Wiesbaden (6 June–26 September 2010). Previously, in 1979, the Kunsthalle Bielefeld had mounted the most significant exhibition of his lifetime, *Alan Green: Paintings 1969–1979,* a show that included three suites of his etchings. This was subsequently displayed at the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford. The catalogue to this exhibition included an important essay by Martine Lignon. The Wiesbaden show displayed a substantial number of Green's prints, which have had little public exposure since an exhibition of 1976 at the Tate Gallery. The 106 plates illustrated in the exhibition's dual language catalogue, *Alan Green: Paintings, Drawings, Prints* (Wiesbaden, Museum Wiesbaden, 2010, 144 pp., 166 col. and 1 b. & w. ills, €15) probably represent a large proportion of the artist's work as a printmaker.

The catalogue includes essays by Volker Rattemeyer and Jörg Daur, neither of whom says much about Green's printmaking. The principal source of information on his prints, apart from the brief typescript accompanying the Tate Gallery show, is a tape-recording of a long interview with him conducted by Pat Gilmour on 25 August 1976 in connection with the planning for that exhibition, unknown or unmentioned by the authors of the Wiesbaden catalogue. Essential listening for all those interested in understanding Green's early prints, the interview warrants transcription and publication in an edited form in hard copy (the interview and its typescript are consultable in Tate Britain Archive). Green's dealer, Annely Juda Fine Arts, London, included prints in a number of one-man shows, as well as staging a small exhibition, *Alan Green Etchings 1973–1976,* which was accompanied by a card, rather than a catalogue. Green's work, however, was regularly seen at international print biennales, where its quality was often recognized by prizes, including four awards at the Bradford Print Biennale in 1974, 1976, 1979 and 1982. Other cities where his prints were shown are Cracow, Ljubljana, Limerick, Frederikstad, Tokyo and Jyvaskyla. From 1981 to 1996 he had five solo exhibitions at the Gallery Kasahara, Osaka. Given Green's admiration for the art of Ad Reinhardt and Jasper Johns, it is surprising that his work has not been exhibited in the United States more often.

Born in London in 1932, Green studied at Beckenham School of Art in the Kentish suburbs of the city, where he practised illustration and graphic design. It was only when he attended the Royal College of Art that he began to paint. Green had made a few landscape etchings at Beckenham, but his sole significant instruction in intaglio printmaking came from Julian Trevelyan at the Royal College. An etching of onions executed on a zinc plate in 1956, an impression of which is in the Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, is in a realist 'kitchen-sink' style, highly fashionable at the time but far removed from the art that established his reputation. Trevelyan illustrated another of Green's still lifes of this period in his book *Modern Methods of Intaglio Printmaking* (London, 1963, pl. 15). Green soon decided that he preferred to work on copper rather than zinc. A series of etchings of coal mines dates from this time. A travelling scholarship enabled Green to visit France and Italy in 1958. He was much struck by the work of a group of painters who exhibited in Paris at the Galerie de France; Roger Bissière, in particular, left a lasting impression on him. These artists stressed the importance of *matière.* For most of the rest of his career Green considered the nature and tactility of the surface of both his paintings and his prints as vital to his art. Green also paid a brief visit to Atelier 17 to see S. W. Hayter, but was not much taken by his methods. He much preferred the purity

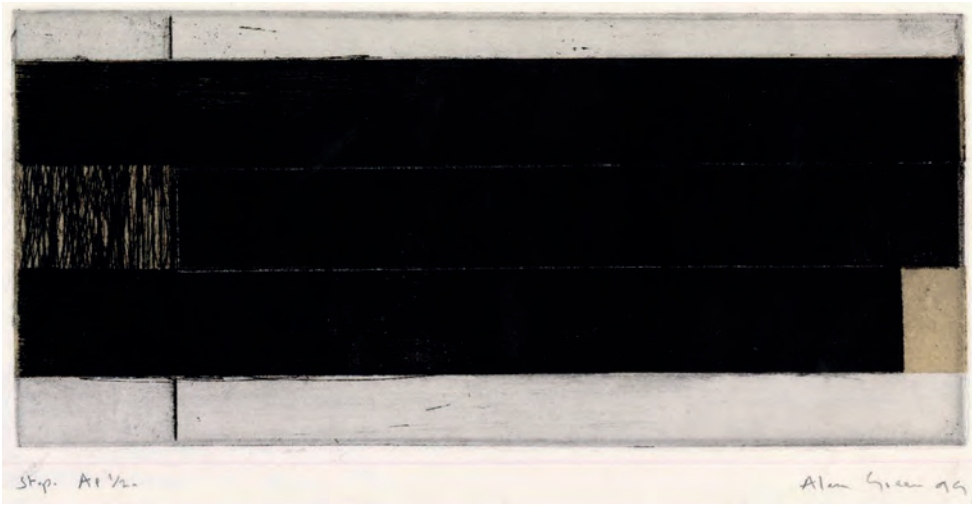
62. Alan Green, *Two Squares / Red Angle,* 1982, etching, aquatint, mezzotint and collage from two plates, 415 x 415 mm (London, British Museum).

of method of Hayter's friend, the Polish *animalier* engraver Joseph Hecht, who had died a few years before, but whose prints were easily visible in Paris in the late 1950s. Green felt that Hayter's techniques involved too much of what he felt was trickery.

The earliest prints in the Wiesbaden exhibition were a suite of seven small colour etchings of 1966, five of which were printed from shaped plates. Two of them also included aquatint and the last three incorporated collage through *chine collé* applied at the time of printing. For these colour was rolled onto the plates. These abstract compositions all included irregular hand-drawn rectangles in various forms. Seven more colour etchings followed in 1967, some of which were distinctly sculptural. The last of these was printed from four interlocking shaped plates. All these works related to reliefs that he was making concurrently. Green printed these cut plates himself, but unlike with other work preferred to work closely with a professional printer.

Green made a number of screenprints in 1968 and 1969. The last four of these were printed on white-screened card and for the first time in his work the compositions were made up of gridded squares. His practice of printing on card is paralleled in the contemporary work of Bridget Riley, whose printing of the *Eleven Grays* of 1968 he deeply admired. In these works one can sense Green's great appreciation of the prints of Sol Lewitt, two of which he himself owned. He made these prints at Ravensbourne College of Art at a time when screenprinting was much practised in Britain, but he never really took to the technique, and soon returned to intaglio printmaking.

On leaving the Royal College Green taught for fifteen years at Hornsey College of Art, Leeds Polytechnic and Ravensbourne College of Art. Annely Juda gave him the first of twelve solo exhibitions in 1970. Her support and his success at the Bradford International Print Biennale persuaded him in 1974 to become a full-time painter and printmaker. Green's mature style first manifested itself in prints in 1973. Although he continued to work with squares, the introduction of hatching, sweeping freehand lines and wash-like colours added in aquatint introduced new notes to his art. No square is treated alike, conse-



63. Alan Green, *Stop,* 1999, engraving and collage, 110 x 245 mm (London, British Museum).

quently, although the squares are arrayed in three horizontal bands, the resulting image is not dominated by traditional geometric abstraction. The colours are very pale and delicate. Some of the lines are engraved. To quote Gilmour, he used the copper-plate 'almost as if it were drawing paper on which he could add or erase marks at will'.

The critic Bernard Denvir had persuaded Joe Studholme in 1973 to invite Green to work with Editions Alecto. The results were the suites *Five out of Five,* published by Annely Juda, and *Three Variations A, B* and *C,* which Alecto itself published in 1974, but otherwise Annely Juda published all his prints. Green had made a lithograph as a student, and made a further one in connection with his work on *Three Variations,* but was very dissatisfied with the result and never returned to the technique. This was a period when Green was very interested in series and progressions. All eight of the prints in *Five out of Five* and *Three Variations* were printed from the same plates. Lignon felt that Green's work of this period had affinities with the art of Agnes Martin, Dorothea Rockburne and Edda Renouf. She also compared his interests to the contemporary French group Supports Surfaces, noting that Jean-Pierre Pincemin's works were the closest to those of Green.

From 1975 to 1979 Green largely abandoned colour, working instead with blacks and shades of grey, and also making use of the white of the paper. His hatching was generally regular. These prints are those that approach closest to Jasper Johns, but alongside Green's elegance Johns would seem brashly American. Although he was no longer on the staff at Ravensbourne, he returned there regularly on weekends to use the college's printmaking studio and to work with Thomas Freeth and his assistant Paul Bristow. Green credited Freeth's knowledge and ability as a printer as playing a major part in the success of his intaglio prints of the 1970s. Freeth, who was a part-time instructor of painting at Beckenham School of Art, which in 1962 amalgamated with Sidcup Art School and Bromley School of Art to become Ravensbourne College of Art and Design, was appointed head of painting at the new college. He is otherwise known as a designer of church metalwork and stained glass, working in the style of John Piper and Patrick Reyntiens.

A new interest in Albers emerged in 1979 with the suite *Centre to Edge.* Squares within squares were to preoccupy Green until 1984. A rusty red colour was sometimes introduced from 1982 (fig. 62). The aquatint was used to create gentle variations in tone, which are unlike Albers. From 1982 Green also occasionally used mezzotint and soft ground as part of his armoury. For some of his *Seven Framed Images* of 1983, he returned to collage, and for one of them he employed drypoint instead of soft ground. In *Centre Red* a startling red-and-white composition reminiscent of *abstraction lyrique* challenges the quietness and decorum of the surrounding mezzotint.

No prints from 1985 to 1989 were included in the Wiesbaden exhibition. Perhaps few or none were made. The first print after this break, an etching and aquatint, *18 White 50 Blacks,* most unusually for Green, is a narrow vertical composition, in which thin black and white bars float on a greenish grey background. These floating forms were also employed in two squares of 1991, but the artist soon changed his style again to one in which the right angles between contrasting colours dominate the compositions. One feels that there is an affinity with Sean Scully in Green's organization, but he aimed to be much more elegant than the Irishman. The remaining works in the catalogue are long horizontals (fig. 63), first etchings, and then

intaglio monoprints. The artist wrote a few paragraphs on the latter in the catalogue to Annely Juda Fine Art's 2002 exhibition, *Alan Green Monoprints: 1999–2000*.

In his later work, Green frequently used Japanese papers in a manner akin to *chine collé*. Once again he limited himself to black, grey and white. From January 2000 Green scattered small discs like pricks of light onto the horizontals. The last work in this catalogue seems to consist of a plain sheet of a Japanese paper attached to Whatman paper, the only colours coming from the paper and from the round holes perforated in it in the manner of Lucio Fontana. As Daur notes, Green's experiments in these monoprints were developed further in his final drawings and paintings. In writing about the period after 1970, Daur says that the artist's 'drawings and prints appear to be created parallel to his paintings or even seem at times to be drafts of the paintings'. One finds, as he remarks, similar hatchings and superimpositions in Green's paintings to those in his prints. His regular use from 1973 of two plates is echoed in the layering visible in his pictures. MARTIN HOPKINSON

SIGFRIDO BARTOLINI. The Tuscan artist Sigfrido Bartolini (1932–2007) was a great champion of the culture of his native city of Pistoia. His love of it, of the neighbouring communities and of the low hills overlooking the river Ombrone bulk large in the multi-authored monograph *Sigfrido Bartolini: Fra luoghi e tempo la parola e l'immagine* (Andrea Amadori, Franco Cardini et al., Florence, Edizioni Polistampa, 2010, 253 pp., 266 col. and 54 b. & w. ills., €45). The book is peppered with illustrations of his prints, particularly his woodcuts and monotypes. Although the volume includes very little discussion of Bartolini's printed oeuvre, it does feature a description and several photographs of his studio and presses. The main focus lies on his writings, both on his diary and on his published work. Bartolini was the author of catalogues of the prints of Ardengo Soffici, Mario Sironi, Giulio da Pistoia, Achille Lega, Otone Rosai and Italo Cremona, as well as of publications on the monotypes of Romeo Costetti. He also devoted studies to Giovanni Boldini and Arturo Stanghellini. He was a great admirer of the Idealist thinker Giovanni Gentile, the self-proclaimed 'philosopher of fascism'. Bartolini was a staunch Catholic, belonging to the conservative wing of the church, and was critical of developments stemming from the Second Vatican Council. Conservatism was also deeply engrained in his art. Bartolini's woodcuts could be seen to be in the vein of the Livorno printmaker and print historian Luigi Servolini. Stylistically, they continue the art of the 1930s, and indeed the subjects in themselves recall the work of Soffici, Lega and Rosai, and of Carlo Carrà. This last artist executed prints of isolated buildings on the Versilian coast, an area which also attracted the attention of Bartolini. Some of the Pistoia artist's works reveal clear antecedents of an even earlier date, in the etchings of the Macchiaioli, Telemaco Signorini and Giovanni Fattori. MARTIN HOPKINSON

SIGMAR POLKE: Rasterfahndung was published by the artist and print publisher Klaus Staeck in homage to his friend and sometime collaborator Sigmar Polke (1941–2010), on the occasion of the exhibition 'Sigmar Polke – Eine Hommage: Bilanz einer Künstlerfreundschaft Polke/Staeck' at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin (*Sigmar Polke: Rasterfahndung*, edited by Klaus Staeck, Berlin, Akademie der Künste, 14 January–13 March 2011, Göttingen, Steidl Verlag, 2011, 208 pp., 132 col. and 51 b. & w. ills., €25). This book includes all 59 of Polke's prints and multiples published by Staeck, all lavishly illustrated in colour. They range in date from the 1969 object *Apparat, mit dem eine Kartoffel eine andere umkreisen kann* (Machine With Which One Potato Can Orbit Another, also known simply as *Kartoffelmaschine* or Potato Machine), created two years after the artists first met, to prints from 2008. Staeck, a qualified lawyer as well as an artist noted for his acerbic posters and postcards, shares with Polke an interest in social commentary and politically relevant art. Not featured in the catalogue, but included in the exhibition curated by Staeck and Kirsten Klöckner, was the ten-piece *Wir Kleinbürger* (We Petty Bourgeois), a series of oversized gouaches on paper created between 1974 and 1976.

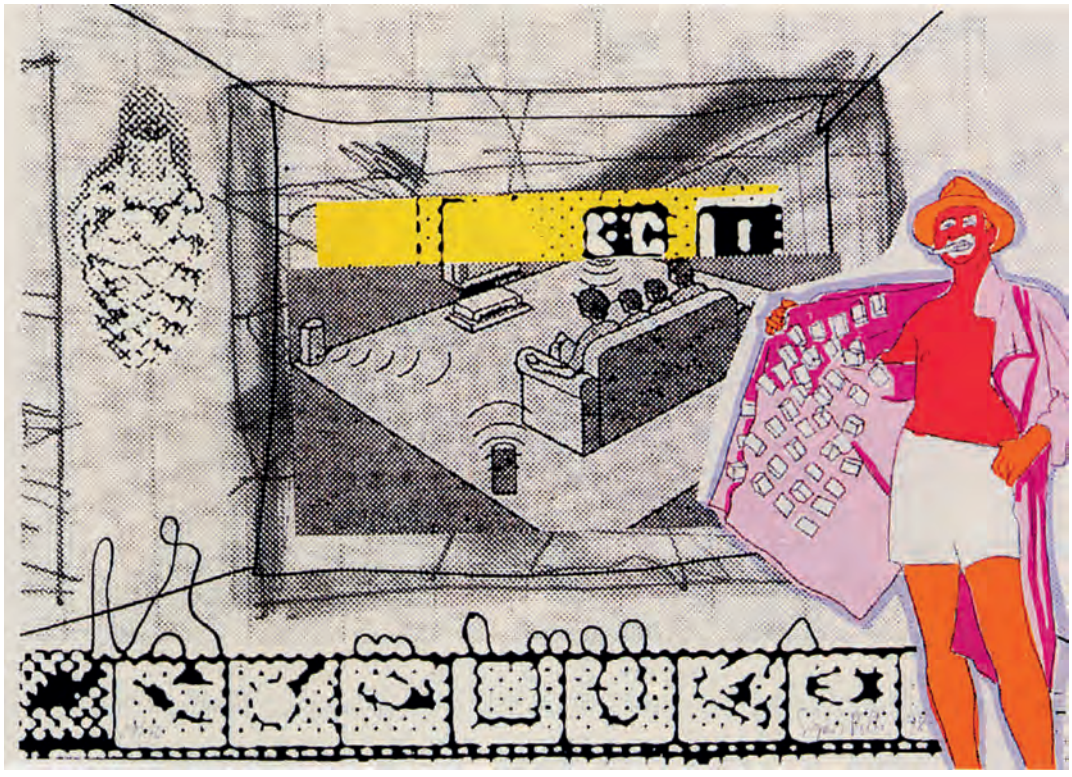
Coincidentally, Polke's complete series of prints was the subject of a recent exhibition at the Museu de Arte de São Paulo, Brazil. Featuring 220 works spanning the years 1963 to 2009, the accompanying catalogue primarily showcases the extensive collection of Axel Ciesielski, who owns all of Polke's prints, and some in multiple impressions, as well as posters, pamphlets and books by the artist (Teixeira Coelho and Tereza de Arruda, *Sigmar Polke: Realismo Capitalista e outras histórias ilustradas. Capitalist Realism and Other Illustrated Histories*, exhibition catalogue, São Paulo, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 28 October 2011–29 January 2012, Rio de Janeiro, Comunique Artes, 2011, 189 pp., 243 col. ills., €69). Attractive and fully illustrated in colour, but with the equivalent of only three pages of rather badly translated commentary, it will serve well as a checklist and picture book of Polke's printed art.

As both catalogues observe, prints are central to Polke's oeuvre. On the one hand this is because they often treat recurrent themes in his paintings. More importantly, however, much of Polke's artistic vocabulary, such as his trademark dots, is reflective of the print medium and frequently draws on newspapers and comics. The Berlin publication's title 'Rasterfahndung' – a German term for a dragnet investigation in which the police search for a wanted person by cross-referencing government databases – is also a punning reference to the grid used for screenprinting as well as to the raster, or screen dot patterns, so visible in

Polke's work based on enlarged photographs.

As was already apparent in *Potato Machine* of 1969, Polke's art reveals a close affinity to Dada. This is obvious in a print such as *Klassenzimmer* (Classroom) of 1995, which recalls Max Ernst's use of nineteenth-century engravings as sources, especially in the Loplop series. Similar to American Pop art, Polke engages with mass culture. In contrast to the American painters, however, his work is imbued with a sardonic wit implicitly critical of social and political trends and consumer society. *Filmverführung* (Film Seduction) of 1998 is a case in point (fig. 64). The title is a conflation of the German words Filmvorführung (showing of a film), with an 'e' replacing the 'o', and Verführung (seduction). A family united on a couch – themselves part of a larger 'picture' within the print – watch television or a video. Evocative of a character from a gangster movie, a semi-nude male 'flashes' the viewer, revealing the inside of his coat lined with 'contraband' in the shape of small cubes and rectangles. Both these scenes combine to create a humorous commentary on the seductive appeal of the media. A flat strip of yellow at top negates the perspectival construction of space while its dotted areas, reflective of newsprint, serve as a reference to the print medium. Along the lower margin a band of rectangular shapes with organic protrusions – a kind of film strip gone mad – again reveals the artist's love of patterning and texture.

The exhibition and catalogue include extensive memorabilia in Staeck's possession, such as faxed correspondence and photographs. A faxed note of September 2004 is a desperate plea by him to be given the titles for three prints that the publisher was already advertising. Staeck threatens to title them himself, with 'unforeseen consequences for posterity'. Staeck's repeated request to Polke to sign two print editions that were to be offered at the Art Cologne fair in 2008 – presumably a reference to *I got the Blues* (fig. 65) and *An die Macht der Wünsche glauben* (To Believe in the Power of Wishes) – is the subject of another fax. The situation was particularly dire because some impressions had already been sold. A run of almost a hundred photographs at the heart of the book reveals the artist's studio in Cologne, piled high with photocopies, paints and other materials. Besides a brief overview by Staeck of his collaboration with Polke, with special consideration of the origins of the *Potato Machine,* the book includes a shortened version of Martin Hentschel's essay 'Printed Matter or The Art of Communication: Sigmar Polke's Prints, 1963–2000', from an early catalogue raisonné of Polke's editioned works (Jürgen Becker and Claus von



64. Sigmar Polke, *Filmverführung* (Film Seduction), 1998, screenprint on Schoellershammer cardboard, 500 x 700 mm (Edition Staeck © VG Bild-Kunst).

65. Sigmar Polke, *I got the Blues*, 2008, screenprint on cardboard, 550 x 750 mm (Edition Staeck © VG Bild-Kunst).

der Osten, *Sigmar Polke: Die Editionen 1963–2000, Catalogue Raisonné*, Ostfildern-Ruit, 2000). Taken as a whole, *Sigmar Polke: Rasterfahndung* presents a succint and well-illustrated introduction to the artist's printed oeuvre, yet even here a detailed analysis of individual prints, in the form of catalogue entries, for instance, remains lacking. RHODA EITELPORTER

DAVID LYNCH LITHOS. Best known as a director and writer of films, Lynch trained as a painter at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. He has spoken of making a painting, as an art student, that included grass and of wanting to see the grass move, something that led him to begin making animated films in 1966. Lately also recognized as a photographer and painter, Lynch took up printmaking in earnest in 2007. In his films Lynch has tended to prioritize the image over the narrative, the visual over the verbal, submitting himself to the compulsion of dreams and subconscious association. Lynch's cinema is powerfully pictorial and his prints have a strong cinematic quality.

David Lynch Lithos 2007-2009 documents two series of lithographs very different in character in a catalogue for an exhibition in Gravelines, France (Chihiro Minato and Dominique Païni, *David Lynch: Lithos, 2007*-2009, exhibition catalogue, Gravelines, Musée du dessin et de l'estampe originale, 27 June–17 October 2010, Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz, 2010, 192 pp., 250 col. ills., €39.80). The exhibition coincided with the publication *Dark Splendour: Space Images Sound*, of 2010, a wider ranging study of Lynch's prints, paintings and photographs (for which see *Print Quarterly*, XXVIII, 2011, pp. 190–91). The first series, *The Paris Suite*, of 2007, consists of twelve prints, square in format and printed in black and red on cream paper (fig. 66). A second group of lithographs made from 2007 to 2009 are in black on Japanese paper (figs. 67). The former set is close to screenprint in its boldness of design, flat uninflected colour and lack of nuance; the latter are close stylistically to monotypes and are much more expressive in terms of imagery and technique. Both sets were made at Idem éditions, Montparnasse.

The Paris Suite is largely abstract, with organic and mechanical forms interacting in indeterminate space, in the manner of late Dubuffet. Engaging but hardly compelling, these prints are accomplished essays which give no indication of the ambitious work which followed, and are derived from ink-marker drawings. Lynch admitted that working on zinc plates he did not feel much connection with the process of lithography, something which happened only with the succeeding suite on stone.

In the monochrome lithographs (99 prints) figures and animals interact with each other and with elemental phenomena such as fire and smoke in dark landscapes which blend post-industrial wildernesses and rugged terrain. Sometimes incidents take place in sparsely furnished interiors, detail subordinated to areas of tone. The artist covered lithographic stone with ink and removed it with rags, often diluting with turpentine, leaving a washed-out sandy quality in places. Lynch frequently manipulated ink with his hands, leaving visible hand prints and finger marks. The resultant prints are close to monotypes produced by the subtractive method. In places Lynch has spattered the plate with ink, drawn in crayon and occasionally used stencils. The titles are written inside the image, words distributed like floating elements mingling with figures and forms. A sense of menace and sexual de-

66. David Lynch, *Paris Suite V*, 2007, lithograph, 540 x 540 mm (Photo © the artist).

67. David Lynch, *Two Figures Dance by a Tree with Ladder*, 2007, lithograph, 660 x 915 mm (Photo © the artist).

sire animate many scenes, as in *Man Examines Woman*, of 2009. *Valley of Shadow*, from the same year, has rounded hillocks with a dark and guttered valley between them. In the context of the other images it is hard not to see it as a sexual analogy.

In some prints Lynch's distinctive humour lightens the pervasive air of nocturnal foreboding. Lynch's bugs have a pathetic comedy in their jumbled legs not far removed from Philip Guston's jovial and terrible collections of limbs, boots and bricks. The visual grammar and humour of Guston and Lynch bear comparison.

The imagery is mysterious; Lynch has left open narrative interpretation. Although Lynch often publicly discusses his films and art, he never interprets or explains. Some tableaux are reminiscent of Lynchian cinema: *Woman by the River at Night*, of 2009, and *A Parting Kiss*, of 2007, are almost film stills. Among other images *Woman with Memory of Doll* (2007) recalls Lynch's early animated short films, though in the lithographs there are no specific references to Lynch's film characters or scenes.

The exuberant playfulness of an artist discovering the limits of his medium combined with the gnomic (and frequently sinister) imagery has a certain frisson that is often lacking in the work of longstanding printmakers. Likewise, the openness and evident lack of self-consciousness is a real lesson for all artists and the most surprising aspect of the monochrome lithographs. In comparison *The Paris Suite* appears rather too artful, composed and 'expected'. In the painterly lithographs Lynch has approached his compulsions and dreams and been ambushed by the demands of a new medium. The fact that these lithographs are so memorable and inventive is the result of the encounter of visionary grace with the gravity of unpredictable (and sometimes intractable) ink.

This title includes an introduction by the Director of the Gravelines museum, Paul Ripoche, an interview with the artist and a short essay. All texts are in English and French. Every print is illustrated full page and, at the end, itemized with thumbnail images and edition details. ALEXANDER ADAMS

NEW ISSUES BY WILLIAM KENTRIDGE. A couple of years ago I discussed the *Domestic Scenes* (fig. 68), an important series of etchings from 1980 by William Kentridge (b. Johannesburg, 1955) in these pages ('On Some Early Prints by William Kentridge', XXVI, 2009, pp. 268–73). I mentioned that the artist 'justified each print out of 30, but printed only ten to twenty impressions of each plate.' A footnote described the artist's abortive attempt, in 1999, to complete the edition: he had a trial proof of each plate printed (fig. 69), but the plates were so badly damaged that he decided not to continue. Since then, however, impressions designated '*A/P*' and signed by the artist have emerged, including one sold at auction in Johannesburg in February 2011, where it fetched a respectable price (fig. 70; Stephan Welz & Co., sale 1101, lot

68. William Kentridge, Plate 3 from *Domestic Scenes*, 1980, etching with aquatint, 113 x 174 mm (Private collection, Spain).

69. William Kentridge, Plate 3 from *Domestic Scenes*, 1980 (printed 1999), etching with aquatint, 113 x 174 mm (Private collection, Spain).

70. William Kentridge, Plate 3 from *Domestic Scenes*, 1980 (printed before February 2011) etching with aquatint, 113 x 174 mm (Private collection, South Africa).

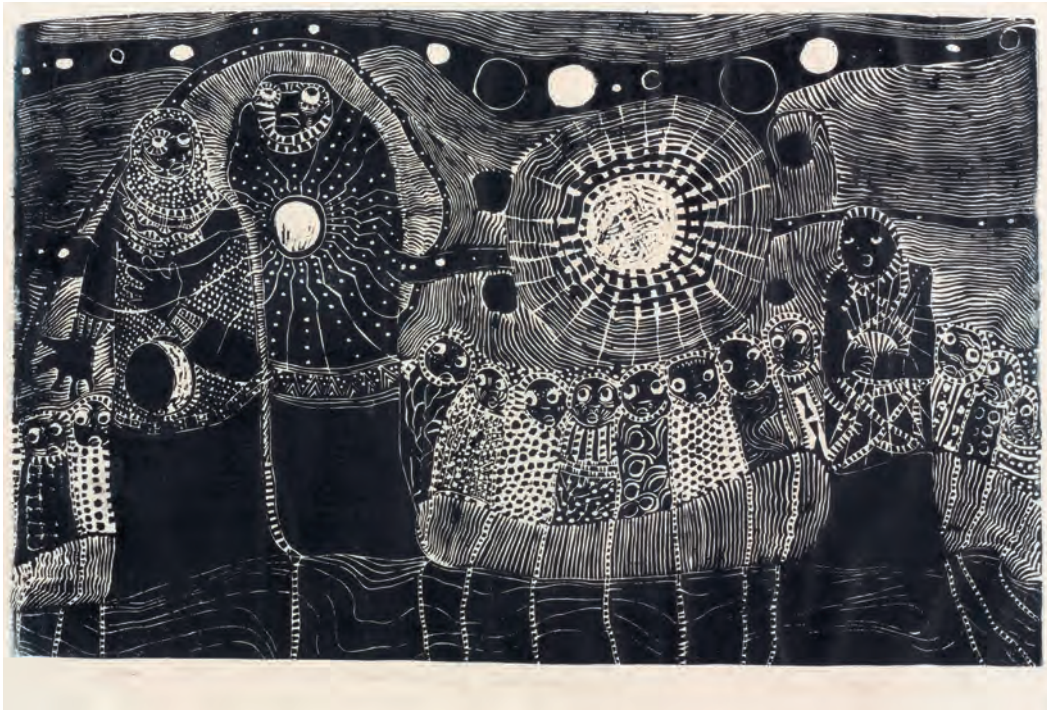
601, brought R 24,640 including premium. The cataloguers described the print as *The Lion on the Sofa*, apparently unaware that the artist did not bestow titles on the individual prints in the series). The printer evidently had cleaned up the plates somewhat. They are better than the 1999 trial proofs, but markedly inferior to the impressions from 1980. One must hope that a sorely-needed catalogue raisonné of Kentridge's prints will appear before too long, and will fully explain the various issues of these prints.
WILLIAM COLE

SOUTH AFRICAN PRINTS. During the 1960s significant numbers of black South Africans took up printmaking, usually under the auspices of organizations run mostly by white Europeans. Lacking the funds, tools, machinery and technical expertise necessary for more sophisticated media, they devoted themselves more or less exclusively to monochrome linoleum cut. By this time, white South Africans had been producing prints for decades. Undoubtedly the turbulent political situation in the country led many artists of both races to imbue some of their prints with political connotations, understandably harsh but almost always somehow veiled.

As the apartheid régime became increasingly oppressive, other artists who might more accurately be described as graphic designers, usually working anonymously, created posters, stickers, handbills and other ephemera vociferously denouncing the injustice of the system. They employed reproductive techniques such as offset lithography and stencil, which were better suited to mass production than traditional (painstaking and expensive) printmaking methods.

Since the democratic transition of the early 1990s, the line between old-fashioned printmaking and photomechanical reproduction has become somewhat blurred. Thus we now have signed, limited editions of 'prints' that until recently we would have called 'reproductions'. And the mass-produced ephemera, directed at such plagues as AIDS, crime, poverty and illiteracy, has expanded its audience to include scholars, curators and museum-goers in far-off lands unscathed by the ills besetting South Africa.

This is a story worth telling, and the book under review – the catalogue of an exhibition of contemporary South African prints from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, written by Judith Hecker, assistant curator of prints at that institution – tells it concisely, with all of the necessary details (Judith B. Hecker, *Impressions from South Africa 1965 to Now: Prints from the Museum of Modern Art*, edited by Emily Hall, exhibition catalogue, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 23 March–14 August 2011, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 2011, 96 pp., 68 col. and 23 b. & w. ills., $29.95). This attractive quarto, which in many respects is similar in design to Hecker's *William Kentridge Trace*, published by MoMA in 2010 (for which see this issue pp. 110–12), comprises a



71. Dan Rakgoathe, *Moon Bride and Sun Bridegroom,* 1973, linoleum cut, block 400 x 632 mm, edition of 50 (New York, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, The Edward John Noble Foundation Fund © 2011 Dan Rakgoathe).

brief foreword by director Glenn Lowry; an introductory essay by Hecker; a catalogue with several dozen plates and descriptions; a synoptic chronology of South African history since 1948, with colour-coded entries describing events in printmaking, arts and culture, history and politics; brief bio-bibliographies of the relevant printmakers, organizations, publishers and printers; and a general bibliography (figs. 71 and 72).

Hecker should have contented herself with recounting the facts. These days, however, curators must justify even modest exhibitions (and their catalogues) with grand, sweeping conclusions – and Hecker does her best to deliver. But these conclusions come across as unsupported claims, with the author assuming rather than proving her views. She argues for the exceptionalism of South African prints, especially in terms of their relationship with South African society at large. The thesis rests on three very shaky pillars.

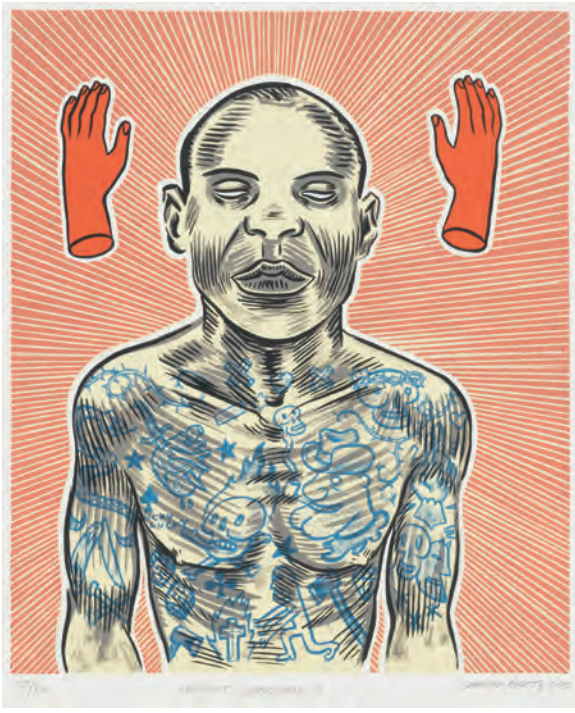
The justification begins in the first paragraph of the acknowledgments on p. 8, where Hecker describes the important connection that South Africans have with prints. Here Hecker draws on her experiences while travelling in South Africa. It is probably safe to assume that when an assistant curator of prints from MoMA goes somewhere to do research, the people she meets are considerably more likely to be involved with prints than be a random sample of the population. Are South Africans really more engaged with prints than Belgians or Slovaks or New Englanders? Hecker offers no evidence.

The second pillar is that prints have had a profound, perhaps unparalleled influence on South African culture, society and especially politics:

> In the years during and after apartheid rule in South Africa, printmaking played a critical role in a country fighting for and building democracy. It is a particularly striking example of how this particular medium – and the expressive languages produced by its range of techniques and formats – can be used to further political goals (p. 11).

The author cheats a bit by counting mass-produced posters and even stickers as prints. But have such materials really had more influence in South Africa than posters and bumper stickers do, for example, in a typical electoral campaign in a Western democracy? Which is surely not much, in any case, in our age of newspapers, magazines, radio, television and now cellphones and the Internet. Again, Hecker provides no supporting evidence.

Moreover, with four exceptions (two political posters and two stickers), the apartheid-era items described in this catalogue were issued in limited editions, ranging from two to a few hundred impressions. Before the dismantling of apartheid, such prints were usually acquired by mem-



72. Conrad Botes, *Secret Language II*, 2005, lithograph, composition 450 x 380 mm, 27 of an edition of 30 (New York, The Museum of Modern Art, General Print Fund © 2011 Conrad Botes).

bers of a small, white, progressive, educated English-speaking elite that already opposed racial segregation. It is difficult to imagine an Afrikaner farmer changing his sociopolitical views – inculcated since childhood – while touring the art galleries of downtown Johannesburg or the printmaking studios that welcomed black artists. Did Picasso's *Sueño y mentira de Franco* (Dream and Lie of Franco) – perhaps his most stinging political attack – win a single convert to the republican cause? It seems unlikely. Sociopolitical circumstances definitely affect prints; it does not follow that the converse is true, at least not to anything approaching the same degree.

The third point is even more of a stretch than the other two. Discussing MoMA's collection of South African prints in its entirety, Hecker declares that

> These works dispense with notions of classification that distinguish between contemporary and traditional, fine art and craft, high and low art, the art world and community arts; instead, they take a broad-ranging and inclusive definition of contemporary art. (p. 12)

It is not the works, but rather the curator who has dispensed with notions of classification. If we exhibit a Rembrandt etching alongside a Heinecken beer label, do those two Dutch 'prints' 'dispense with notions of classification'? Underlying Hecker's claim is the equally peculiar idea that this ability to confound categories somehow differentiates South African prints from any other group of prints, such as Italian prints, maritime prints, or prints made by left-handed artists. Once more, we see no evidence.

We also detect the unspoken assumption that South African prints have always been a force for good. Why didn't the exhibit include pro-apartheid graphic propaganda as well, or at least acknowledge its existence? While we might like to think that artists cannot possibly be evil, in our hearts we know this not to be the case (see Louis-Ferdinand Céline).

In fairness to Hecker, it is difficult to study something intensely for years without acquiring a grossly exaggerated view of its importance – we see copious proof of this phenomenon in publishers' catalogues (*Gorgonzola: The Amazing Story Behind the Cheese that Brought Down the Roman Empire and Created Modern Society*).

The designers of this volume did an excellent job and the book is easy and agreeable to consult. Hecker's prose is generally clear, despite occasional critical jargon ('inherent reproducibility of printmaking', 'multiplicity of narratives'). Somehow a mention of Daumier's sociopolitical 'intaglios' slipped past the editors.

The main interest of the exhibition and the book, naturally, lies in the prints themselves. As one would expect, William Kentridge casts a long shadow: five wonderful prints of his are here – all of which had also been included in *Trace* (the complete catalogue of the Museum's holdings of his prints) – and his name comes up throughout. Unfortunately, MoMA has so far acquired many large-format works but has not yet managed to obtain any of his pre-1990 intimate intaglios, brimming with suggestive and ambiguous connections to South African realities, such as the 1989 drypoint *The Battle Between Yes & No* (fig. 73). MoMA has the larger and less accomplished screenprint of the same title, date and subject, but it was not included in the exhibition.

Other than the Kentridge prints, little here would seem out of place at a show of recent work by a class of freshly-minted art school graduates. There are a few nice naïve linoleum cuts (although Hecker avoids the word 'naïve', perhaps feeling that it would be condescending to use the adjective to describe works by black African artists). There are fine hand-coloured drypoints by Norman Catherine and skillfully executed intaglios by Diane Victor (a Kentridge-lite). And then there's the plethora of stencils, screenprints, offsets, photolithographs and digital prints. And a couple of 'artist's books', which look suspiciously like the comics my friends and I bought as children. We even find photocopies, such as the image partially reproduced on the front cover (and the catalogue does not explain the original image).

Not so very long ago, the term graphic art had two

73. William Kentridge, *The Battle Between Yes & No*, 1989, drypoint, 195 x 195 mm (Private collection).

meanings. On the one hand it referred to traditional printmaking and prints, such as etchings, lithographs and woodcuts. On the other, it referred to commercial design used for marketing: the kind of mass-produced reproductive images we find in bumper stickers, magazine adverts, refrigerator magnets, and so forth. In the former, we looked for artistry; in the latter, 'catchiness'. For many in the art world, these distinctions have disappeared. If current trends continue, we will soon reach the day when every multiplied image will be a printed work of art and every newspaper, magazine, and corporate financial report will be considered an artist's book. If that day arrives, all notions of classification will indeed have been dispensed with and print connoisseurship and scholarship will be dead. WILLIAM COLE

JULIAN OPIE. Over the period of twenty-five years, Opie has produced an astonishing range of printworks. These have included screenprints, laser cut silhouettes, prints which explore the use of lenticular lenses, high resolution photographic prints from digital sources, computer animation on LCD screens and a large assortment of printed objects such as T-shirts, fridge magnets and posters for among others, the pop group Blur. Opie's overall graphic language, with its reductive imperative and flat areas of saturated colour, have made printmaking an obvious choice for exploring his themes. In particular screenprinting, with its natural capacity to print large areas of colour free of gesture or modulation, has been a medium to which he has frequently returned. *Julian Opie: The Complete Editions 1984–2011* provides a catalogue raisonné of the artist's prints, the majority of which has been published through Alan Cristea Gallery in London (Jonathan Watkins, with an introduction by Alan Cristea, *Julian Opie: The Complete Editions 1984–2011*, exhibition catalogue, London, Alan Cristea Gallery, 9 June–9 July 2011, London, Alan Cristea Gallery, 2011, 272 pp., 337 col. and 29 b. & w. ills., £75).

In a rather touching comment, Opie describes how having previously viewed prints as an afterthought – an obligation to produce commercial multiples to accompany an exhibition – things changed, when in 1994 he met Alan Cristea. From this point he became increasingly interested in the print medium itself, adding that 'since working with Alan, editioned prints have been able to take a much more central role in the way I approach projects.' Since then he has produced numerous editions and projects, including a large number which explore the idea of walking, pole dancing, and stripping – in all reducing the figure to a sign with the minimum of clues. In the accompanying essay, Watkins describes the depiction of the woman in *Bijou Gets Undressed*, a screenprint made in 2004, as follows: 'Her shape is defined clearly by a bold black line. Her head is a circle that hovers above her good, square shoulder, with no neck in-between. Her hands have no fingers…'. Watkins provides a good overview of Opie's work, drawing particular attention to the creation of movement as in the series of prints such as *Watching Suzanne* or the pole dancing *This is Shahnoza*, or the lenticular acrylic panels that form the series *Figures Walking* and *Shahnoza Dancing*. In recent years there is a move in the work towards more complex images. The series of lenticular *Japanese Landscapes* are particularly beautiful, acting both as an homage to Hiroshige and a reminder of how important and influential the Japanese woodcut tradition has been for Opie.

In a series of *Portraits* of 2011, Opie begins to play pictorial conventions off each other; the simple black outline of the skin is contrasted with greater realism in the depiction of the dress or fur collar, reminiscent of Patrick Caulfield's use of *trompe l'oeil* set against otherwise flat depictions. While in these portraits, as in many of his works, Opie reduces the head to a circle, in the most recent prints, *Elena and Cressie Get Ready for the Party*, for instance, we find the faces suddenly the subject itself and the influence of Manga graphics is evident. Suddenly the face has details, featuring eyebrows, eyelashes and a suggestion of light modelling the form. It is interesting to view *Gary, Popstar* – a black-and-white screenprint made 25 years ago where the face is represented by two round dots for eyes, two tear-shaped marks for nostrils, a line for a mouth framed by a beard and hair – in conjunction with these latest works, which in contrast harken back to photoreal-

ism. As with all of Opie's figures, there is a frozen gaze, with the sitters aware of being captured by the artist and complicit in that transaction.

Julian Opie: The Complete Editions is beautifully laid out and presented. Opie's work lends itself to reproduction, but even so the quality of the illustrations is exemplary. Besides Watkins's essay, which makes the ideas in the works readily accessible, the book includes an introduction by Alan Cristea. Cristea writes candidly about how the project of the book evolved, and for those who know him, his voice can be heard through the text. According to Cristea, the authors opted for a 'slightly hazardous way of working' by having the artist provide notes on the work. If this was hazardous, it certainly pays off. Opie writes with apparent ease and openness about each series, providing a much welcome commentary. PAUL COLDWELL

CHRISTIANE BAUMGARTNER. Two separate but related publications were produced to accompany an exhibition of 2011 that was shown at the Alan Cristea Gallery in London and reconstituted at the Museum Franz Gertsch, in Burgdorf, Switzerland (*Christiane Baumgartner: Reel Time*, edited by Alan Cristea Gallery, exhibition catalogue, London, Alan Cristea Gallery, 17 February–19 March 2011, Eindhoven, 2011, 58 pp., 27 col. and 49 b. & w. ills., £20 and Anna Wesle with Christian Rümelin, *Christiane Baumgartner: Schnitte ins Herz und in die Augen,* exhibition catalogue, Burgdorf, Museum Franz Gertsch, 26 March–4 September 2011, Eindhoven, 2011, 58 pp., 7 col. and 22 b. & w. ills., CHF48). While the publications for both exhibitions are identical in terms of design, layout and reproductions, they differ in terms of text, with Alan Cristea Gallery opting for an interview between the artist and Helen Waters of Cristea Gallery, while for the Museum Franz Gertsch, Geneva curator Christian Rümelin has written a critical essay contextualising the artist's work. This provides by chance an interesting comparison between the needs of a commercial gallery and a museum's responsibility to present a more objective view of an artist's work.

The interview takes the form of direct questions to which the artist replies. While Baumgartner is very articulate and clear in describing both her process and source material, as a format this is too neat and and reads as if the questions had been provided in advance, thus lacking spontaneity. While this structure allows the artist's voice to be heard, there are many issues that are left unexplored or under-developed and critical engagement is sacrificed. As an introduction to Baumgartner and her approach to printmaking, however, it serves its purpose and for those unfamiliar with her work, it provides a very good starting point. For the version for the Franz Gertsch Museum, Rümelin provides more exacting and discerning analysis, focussing on questions around modes of perception and subject-matter as a way of interrogating the work. Both of these aspects are explored with clarity and insight and importantly Rümelin is able to highlight the role of video in her working method as a means of capturing experience and providing a source of imagery which is then subjected to further technologies before resulting in the final woodcut.

The exhibition brings together a selection of Baumgartner's prints, beginning with the monumental woodcut *Transall,* of 2002, a work of both extraordinary technical accomplishment as well as an image of latent menace and power. This print, developed from a small press photograph of a military transport plane on the tarmac, was one of the works that first drew international attention and placed her in that rare group of printmakers whose work is seen outside of the confines of craft and technique and is discussed within mainstream art. Following *Transall*, the exhibition focusses on prints of the last five years, demonstrating that while clearly having established a mature style, Baumgartner does not limit herself to a narrow confine but engages in a wide range of experiments. Her work brings together both the traditional craft of woodcut with that of new technology, juxtaposing the slowness of cutting against the speed of image capture and processing. She sources her images predominantly from video, selecting stills, which she then transforms through Photoshop before transferring the image onto wood. The cutting of the wood itself then represents an extraordinary commitment to revisualising the image, often taking months to complete.

Baumgartner's prints are often presented in series and sometimes displayed as grids, as in *Nachtfahrt* ('Night Drive'), of 2009, a square of nine prints hung in three rows which show liminal spaces seen from the motorway, those spaces in between places that seem to have no name or discerning identity. Some series are laid out as a ribbon, such as *1 Sekunde* ('1 Second'), of 2004, which consists of twenty-five woodcuts, each representing a single frame from one second of video. The exhibition concludes with the artist's most recent commissioned work, *Ladywood*, a diptych measuring over five metres across. Based on reflections in water, this work introduces new, surprising imagery of a more organic and almost surreal aspect. It is here that the text by Rümelin really helps the reader understand this apparent shift and is able to place this major work within the context of the artist's exploration of means of perception, and her use of video to gather source material.

The publications are generously illustrated and beautifully laid out. The works themselves are ideal material for reproduction and their strong graphic quality creates an immediate impression on the page. Of course what cannot be gleaned is the physical sensation and sense of shifting focus when confronted by the actual works. PAUL COLDWELL

PHILAGRAFIKA; THE GRAPHIC UNCONSCIOUS. The general approach towards print biennials/triennials has often been to announce an open call to artists for submissions from which a jury selects. There may or may not be an overall theme to which the artists are invited to respond and the conditions for submission, including size and material limitations, may vary. But the general result is an exhibition, which offers a broad snapshot of current practice, dependent on the overall submission.

While fulfilling general democratic principles, this approach does have a number of disadvantages. First, it principally attracts those artists who would define themselves specifically as printmakers and as a consequence can fail to represent work by artists for whom print is one aspect of their practice or indeed who consider their approach to print to be marginal. Second, the submission process can either wittingly or unwittingly lead to a more conventional view of printmaking based on the traditional editioned print, thereby excluding those artists working outside of this convention. And finally it can result in exhibitions that feel familiar, featuring a proportion of the same regular exhibitors and an emphasis on inclusion rather than attitude.

Philagrafika was an ambitious attempt to stage a major printmaking triennial which sought to avoid these pitfalls and establish from the outset a triennial that would be driven by curatorial ideas rather than open submission and that this would permeate through and inform all the decision-making, staging and subsequent publication. The resulting event held in Philadelphia between 29 January and 11 April 2010 was a celebration of the importance of printmaking within visual culture achieved through a rigorous approach to the selection of artists and a genuine attempt to reach out to new audiences.

The triennial consisted of *The Graphic Unconscious* – the core exhibition curated by José Roca; *Out of Print* – a series of projects in historic sites overseen by Caitlin Perkins; and *Independent Projects* under the umbrella of the triennial. *The Graphic Unconscious* is the resulting publication, which documents this important event (Teresa Jaynes, José Roca, Sheryl Conkelton, Shelley R. Langdale, John Caperton, Lorie Mertes, Julien Robson, Caitlin Perkins, Luis Camnitzer, with a foreword by Judith K. Brodsky, *The Graphic Unconscious: Philagrafika*, exhibition catalogue, Philadelphia, 2010, 29 January–11 April 2010, Philadelphia, 2011, 256 pp., 214 col. ills., $30).

In Jose Roca's excellent essay 'The Graphic Unconscious or the How and Why of a Print Triennial', he unashamedly sets the bar high, laying out his intentions as curator, writing:

> How can one reclaim printmaking as a means and not as a goal in and of itself? And most importantly, how can one make visible the various forms of print that sit at the very core of contemporary practice? The Graphic Unconscious intended to show the pervasiveness of printed matter in contemporary art. But this exhibition also had a larger purpose: to show how these practices inscribe themselves in culture and society writ large.

74. Julius Deutschbauer, *Bibliothek ungelesener Bücher (Library of Unread Books)*, 1997–2010, installation with posters advertising the project, dimensions variable (Photo courtesy the artist and Galerie Steinek, Vienna).

These are lofty ambitions but I would argue ones that are largely met, and through the publication a strong flavour of the triennial is preserved and can be savoured. The publication contains a series of well thought through and focussed essays, which together make this essential reading for all those involved in contemporary printmaking. It includes sections on each of the selected artists including a number of conversations between the artists and Roca, many of which were originally part of the ongoing blog that accompanied the triennial. The language is accessible with complex ideas expressed with clarity and a desire to communicate. The artists selected include an extraordinary range of nationalities, backgrounds and approaches, including the German Thomas Kilpper, famous for his epic woodcuts

75. Óscar Muñoz, *Narcisos en proceso (Narcissi in Process)*, 2010 (series 1994 and ongoing), screenprinted charcoal powder on paper floating in water in six Plexiglas vitrines, each vitrine 499 x 500 x 103 mm (Philadelphia Museum of Art, Photo: Constance Mensch; Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art).

from parquet flooring, Julius Deutschbauer from Austria with his *Library of Unread Books* (fig. 74), Regina Silveira, from Brazil whose obsessive graphics seem to multiply and spread across walls, floors and furniture, Óscar Muñoz from Columbia whose portraits, printed in charcoal pigment, fade and gradually disappear (fig. 75), through to Eric Avery from Texas whose toilet seat with raised text prints an impression on the buttocks of the sitter (fig. 76). A wittier comment on the matrix would be hard to find.

The publication throughout is well illustrated and beautifully designed and its essays situate the art within a wider historical perspective. I particularly liked Shelley Langdale's essay in which she reflects on the pervasive influence of Marcel Duchamp, with special reference to the work of Muñoz and Tabaimo. I am certain that *The Graphic Unconscious* will be seen as a standard reference for all those studying print or for those simply curious about what printmaking can be. More importantly the whole enterprise of Philagrafika preserved in this publication has now set a benchmark against which all subsequent biennials will be judged. PAUL COLDWELL

FREDERICK MULDER. The Canadian print dealer Dr Frederick Mulder of Belsize Park Gardens, London, who is also the Founder of The Funding Network, was made a CBE (Commander of the Order of the British Empire) for his charitable work.

76. Eric Avery, *Print Back*, 2009, sandblasted and painted wood composite toilet seat, edn I/IV (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Gift of the artist and Marjorie B. Cohn, 2011.2).

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS.

GOSSAERT. The etching of *Charles V* by Jan Gossaert that appeared in *Print Quarterly*, XXVIII, March 2011, p. 85, was first published by Christian von Heusinger in the article 'Karl V. von Gossaert', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, II, old series XCIV, Mainz, 2001, pp. 9–72 as well as in 'Die "Sammlung illuminierter Porträts" im Braunschweiger Kupferstichkabinett', *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte,* XL, 2001, pp. 9–43.

IRVIN. The recent monograph on Irvin reviewed in *Print Quarterly*, XXVIII, June 2011, pp. 189–90, is not selective as stated in the review. The 111 illustrations within the book include the complete 76 of Irvin's editioned works, plus the one 'open edition' print Irvin made with Peacock Printmakers. Every signed, limited edition print the artist has made is catalogued and illustrated in the publication, as well as some related imagery such as a linocut, drypoint or painting. Furthermore Irvin did not complete 80 monoprints. During the proofing process for any original printmaker there are copies which fall by the wayside, and, as correctly noted in the review, only 41 were successful. Furthermore, artist's personal greetings cards are almost never included in catalogue raisonnés of prints (although one of Irvin's is, in fact, illustrated on p. 8. *Abbot* is illustrated (p. 49) although the review states that it is missing, and Irvin did not make a solo print at Coriander Studios as the review suggests. Instead Irvin contributed to an image as part of a collaboration with dozens of artists. We apologize for accidentally cropping the accompanying image of Irvin's screenprint *Stratford*.

ANDROUET DU CERCEAU. The credits of the monograph *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau* reviewed in *Print Quarterly*, XXVIII, June 2011, pp. 200–202, are 'sous la direction de Jean Guillaume; en collaboration avec Peter Fuhring; avec le concours de Valerie Auclair.' Furthermore, the monograph was not conceived as an exhibition catalogue as our listing might have implied, but instead the exhibition accompanied the publication.

Catalogue and Book Reviews

The Imagery of Proverbs

Peter van der Coelen

Walter S. Gibson, *Figures of Speech: Picturing Proverbs in Renaissance Netherlands*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press, 2010, 236 pp., 81 b. & w. ills., £34.95.

Nowadays Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Netherlandish Proverbs* of 1559 in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie is the most familiar of all proverb pictures of its time. It is therefore no surprise that this painting is the point of departure in Walter Gibson's book, where it is described as 'a veritable proverb country whose inhabitants are literally figures of speech acting out some one hundred or more proverbs'.[1] Although Gibson discusses many other paintings, among them Hieronymus Bosch's *Haywain* triptych, he also pays attention to printmaking. More than half of the illustrations in his book show prints.

Three case studies – devoted to Bosch's *Haywain*, a *Twelve Proverbs* print series influenced by Bruegel and a number of works of art illustrating the proverb 'The Battle for the Breeches' – form the core of the book, but the first two chapters address some broader issues. Chapter one, 'A Passion for Proverbs', offers a brief history of the genre from antiquity to the sixteenth century, paying special attention to Erasmus whose lifelong preoccupation with this subject is well known. The Dutch humanist published his first *Collection of Adages* in 1500, presenting 818 proverbs. His later *Adagiorum Chiliades*, as the title reveals, even offers 'thousands of adages' and the sixth edition, of 1536, no fewer than

1. Gibson, op. cit., p. 1.

77. Remigius Hogenberg, *Allegory of Avarice*, c. 1560, etching, 250 x 316 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

4,251, each with its own commentary. The enormous success of Erasmus's Latin adages inspired the publication of numerous vernacular proverb collections. Symon Andriessoon's *Duytsche Adagia ofte spreecwoorden*, of 1550, is an important example because it is the only Netherlandish compilation to explain the meaning of the listed proverbs.

Chapter two, 'The Proverb Portrayed', explores the history of proverb pictures, focussing on the Renaissance. A quotation from Erasmus's *De ratione studii,* of 1511 serves as an epigraph: 'Brief and pithy sayings such as aphorisms, proverbs, and maxims . . . you will paint on doors and walls or even in the glass of windows so that what may aid learning is constantly before the eye'. Although Erasmus is referring here to the painting of inscriptions, by this time the depiction of proverbs and other figures of speech was becoming common. In printmaking, early examples can be found in the work of Israhel van Meckenem and Jörg Breu. The heyday of proverb prints came in the 1550s, with the engravings and etchings of Pieter Bruegel, Frans Hogenberg and Remigius Hogenberg. Bruegel's first proverb print, *Big Fish Eat the Little Fish*, appeared in 1557, while Frans Hogenberg's *Die Blau Huicke* (The Blue Cloak) was published in 1558. A year later, the latter print, a 'proverb country' with figures acting out some 43 proverbs, became the model for Bruegel's Berlin painting.

The prints of the Hogenbergs play an essential role in the argument of the first case study, a stimulating essay about Bosch's *Haywain* and its prolonged influence. The central panel of Bosch's triptych depicts a massive hay cart surrounded by a crowd of people. The rich and the poor, the mighty and the humble, all try to get their part of the 'hay', in other words the transitory goods and honours of this world. In Frans Hogenberg's etching *Al Hoy* (Nothing but Hay), dated 1559, the hay wagon is placed at the centre of a broad landscape that provides the setting for 29 isolated figure groups. These groups display a diversity of human follies, many inspired by proverbs. An etching by Remigius Hogenberg, made around 1560, is also related to Bosch's *Haywain*, even quoting some of its figure groups. Instead of a hay wagon, however, it shows a cart heaped with turnips (fig. 77). These represent a pun on the Dutch word 'rapen', which as a noun means 'turnips' and as a verb, 'to gather

or scrounge'.[2] Gibson tentatively connects these etchings, as well as other prints like Bruegel's *Big Fish Eat the Little Fish*, to the economic decline in Antwerp and the Netherlands in the troubled times after 1550, when the pursuit of private profit and pleasure was questioned and criticized.

The next chapter is devoted to a rather neglected print series, the so-called *Twelve Proverbs* engraved by Johannes Wierix and Pieter van der Heyden around 1568. It is uncertain if Bruegel was responsible for the designs, although some of the prints are closely related to his compositions.[3] One of these engravings illustrates the saying: 'Every merchant praises his own wares', in the form of a dialogue between a peddler (A) and his fat companion (B) (fig. 78). The text of this dialogue is conveniently placed near the feet of these two men. The *Twelve Proverbs* series had an interesting afterlife. The amusing scenes inspired numerous paintings by Pieter Brueghel the Younger and his followers, and eight of the prints were copied by Johann Theodor de Bry as illustrations for the *Emblemata saecularia* (1596; 1611). Rather surprisingly, the subject of the last chapter is not a regular proverb but a verse from the book of Isaiah: 'And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying: We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name, take away our reproach' (Isaiah 4:1). The earliest depiction of this verse, showing seven women battling for the man's breeches, was engraved by Frans Hogenberg about 1558–60. The reason to include Isaiah's seven scandalous women in this book is that they were to achieve a 'proverbial status' in the seventeenth century, when they were the subject of several prints designed by Adriaen van de Venne.

The Conclusion once more discusses Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs*. Gibson tries to reconstruct its meaning, comparing it to Hogenberg's *Blau Huicke* print and examining how the artist's contemporaries would have responded to this painting. In his previous book, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter*, Gibson had already asked the intriguing question about the audience's response, splendidly demonstrating the importance of laughter in Bruegel's work.[4] As a book, *Figures of Speech* is less cohesive, obviously because it is based on a number of older essays. Gibson does succeed in showing how important proverbs were in the literary culture of the sixteenth-century Netherlands (Erasmus's proverb collections, for instance). It remains unclear, though, how widespread proverb images were in this period since a survey is

78. Johannes Wierix, *Every Merchant Praises his Own Wares*, c. 1568, engraving, diameter 180 mm (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen).

lacking. Describing them as 'immensely popular' seems slightly exaggerated.[5] Even in the oeuvre of Bruegel, whose interest in the theme is almost proverbial, the number of proverb pictures is limited, especially when one compares them to his numerous religious scenes and landscapes. Next to Bruegel, the Hogenberg brothers played a major role in the development of proverb imagery, but we know of no more than a handful of prints in this field by Frans and two or three by Remigius.[6] The (reconstructed) list of Hieronymus Cock, the publisher of Bruegel's engravings, counts only a dozen examples among a total of almost 1,200 prints.[7] To assess the popularity of proverb imagery a closer study of the Antwerp print publishers would have been most helpful. This is not to say that Gibson is unaware of the importance of Cock and his colleagues, who distributed their prints on an international market, for he certainly is, stressing for example that it is through their efforts that 'the message of Bosch's *Haywain* enjoyed an afterlife never dreamed of by its creator'.[8]

2. See also the comment of Matthijs Ilsink in his fascinating dissertation, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch: Kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel (c. 1528–1569) en Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450–1516)*, Nijmegen, 2009, pp. 252–58, where he interprets the *rapen* in the etching in an artistic sense: Hogenberg reveals that he is 'stealing' from Bosch.
3. In the Hollstein series they are described as 'after Pieter Bruegel' (Z. van Ruyven-Zeman, *The Wierix Family*, Part VIII, Rotterdam, 2004, nos. 1861–67), while Nadine Orenstein places them in the Appendix of her New Hollstein volume (*Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2006, nos. A7–18).
4. W. S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2006.
5. Gibson, op. cit. p. XIII.
6. For the Hogenbergs, see the recent New Hollstein volume by U. Mielke, *Remigius and Frans Hogenberg*, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2009.
7. See the (preliminary) handlist in T. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher*, New York and London, 1977. Cock did not provide all of his prints with an address. See Ilsink, op. cit., p. 221, note 1.
8. Gibson, op. cit., p. 145.

Polish Collectors of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Waldemar Deluga

Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki. Ludzie i Instytucje (Polish Collections of Graphic Art: People and Institutions), edited by Ewa Frąckowiak and Anna Grohala, Warsaw, Neriithon, 2008, 365 pp., 402 ills., €17.

Miłośnicy grafiki i ich kolekcje w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie (The Graphic Art Lovers and Their Collections in the National Museum in Warsaw), edited by Ewa Frąckowiak and Anna Grohala, Warsaw, 2006, 254 pp., 57 b. & w. ills., €8.

The conference papers contained in the volume *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki: Ludzie i Instytucje* (Polish Collections of Graphic Art: People and Institutions) deal with the history of graphic art collections in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Warsaw. The conference was held in 2006 in conjunction with the exhibition 'Miłośnicy grafiki i ich kolekcje w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie' (The Graphic Art Lovers and Their Collections in the National Museum in Warsaw) and its accompanying comprehensive catalogue.[1] Prepared with the assistance of a group of younger art historians, the exhibition catalogue by Ewa Frąckowiak and Anna Grohala is among the best Polish publications of recent years on the history of graphic art.[2] It includes essays on the major donors of prints to the National Museum, for which the authors had examined archives in Poland and abroad, especially in France, where many Polish emigrés settled in the nineteenth century. The exhibition organizers also prepared the conference that yielded the contributions for the 2008 publication. The published papers are divided into two parts: one dedicated to collectors, the other to the collections held by individual institutions.

The first serious collector of engravings in Poland was August Fryderyk Moszyński (1731–86), who is the subject of a paper by Michał Kłosiński. Unofficial curator of the royal collections of King Stanisław August Poniatowski, Moszyński presented the ruler with part of his collection gathered in the course of his travels across Europe. Since the king had not inherited any prints, this was the start of the royal collection; it grew to become the largest collection of prints in eighteenth-century Europe.[3] According to the accounts of foreign travelers, it included maps, views of cities and portraits, and was housed in two rooms lined with cabinets. Kłosiński stresses that the prints were arranged by subject rather than artist – an arrangement that copied the systematization of the House of Wettin's engravings collection in Dresden developed by the curator Carl Heinrich von Heineken. Around 1782, the Polish royal collection already numbered about 100,000 engravings. After the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonweal in 1795 the collection was confiscated by the Russian government. After the Treaty of Riga of 1921 between Poland and Soviet Russia, a part of it was returned to Warsaw and is now held by Warsaw University Library.

79. Feliks Jabłczyński, *View of Venice*, 1910, oilcloth print, 381 x 275 mm (Warsaw, National Museum, formerly Witke-Jeżewski collection).

1. See www.kolekcjonerzy.mnw.art.pl/index2.html.
2. For earlier publications see M. Mrozińska, *Grafika szkół obcych w zbiorach polskich*, Warsaw, 1978 and T. Sulerzyska, *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki i rysunku*, Warsaw, 1980.
3. T. Kossecka, *Gabinet rycin króla Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, Warsaw, 1999.

Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine's collection of prints, reconstructed by Paweł Ignaczak on the basis of auction catalogues, was somewhat different. The eminent French engraver came to Poland in 1774 following an invitation by Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. He assembled a comprehensive collection of prints by northern artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including etchings by Rembrandt, some of which Norblin personally retouched. As was typical for the collection of an engraver of this period, it contained masterpieces needed by Norblin as inspiration for his own compositions.

Yet another collection gathered early in the nineteenth century was that of Maciej Wodziński, Senator and Voivode (governor) of the Kingdom of Poland. Magdalena Adamska reconstructs and presents the history of the collection, which mainly consisted of European engravings with Polish subjects, including a large group of works by Romeyn de Hooghe. Besides Polonica, there were also a few Rembrandt etchings. In his last will of 1840, Wodziński donated his collection to the Literary Society in Paris, who decided to hand over to Poland all the European prints not connected with Polish history and culture. Since 1931, the collection is divided between the Polish Library in Paris[4] and the Polish Academy of Arts in Cracow.

One of the largest and at the same time most important holdings of graphic art in Poland is the often discussed collection of the Czartoryski family. Ewa Czepielowa relates how, beginning in the late eighteenth century, the collection was assembled. The discussion is continued by Janusz S. Nowak, who analyses the engraving-adorned manuscripts of Izabela Czartoryska in Puławy, dating from the early nineteenth century. They included portraits of emperors, kings and princes – first and foremost the likenesses of all the French rulers. A part of the Czartoryski collection was added to the dowry of Izabela, who, having married Jan Działyński, took it with her to Gołuchów.[5]

There are also brief essays focussing on the print repositories: the National Museum in Cracow, the Polish Library in Paris, the Poznań Society of the Friends of Sciences, and the Emigré Archives of the University Library in Toruń. The section on the National Museum in Warsaw includes a study on Wiktor Gomulicki (1848–1919), whose collection was taken over by the National Museum. He was an art theorist and critic as well as novelist, and collected engravings as well as glass and china. He also authored many articles on Polish graphic art published in Warsaw periodicals.

Some of the authors present in depth studies on collector-donors to the National Museum, expanding upon what was published in the 2006 catalogue. Beata Gadomska discusses Dominik Witke-Jeżewski in the light of archival material from the collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw. His collection of engravings included Polish and European works (fig. 79). The plates and prints by Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine which he owned are particularly worthy of attention. Another donor, Kazimierz Woźnicki, is the subject of two papers. Danuta Pługawko mainly presents Woźnicki's political activity, while Marcin Romeyko-Hurko provides a discerning analysis of the collector's correspondence. The author of the latter paper reconstructed the history of how the collection was formed (figs. 80 and 81), as well as the relations between Witke-Jeżewski and the Warsaw antique dealer Hieronim Wilder, and the sales of Polonica from Paris to Warsaw and Lvov. Also of interest are the digressions about Woźnicki's correspondence with the Polish art historian Zygmunt Batowski.

80. Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1755–89, etching, 372 x 409 mm (Warsaw, National Museum, formerly Woźnicki collection).

The correspondence of various collectors was analysed and the findings presented in the book under discussion. Ewa Milicer discusses the collection of engravings by Feliks Stanisław Jasiński accumulated by Leopold Wellisz, who, eager to purchase works by one of Poland's greatest engravers, placed advertisements in *L'Amateur d'Estampes* and *Weltkunst*. Wellisz bought prints from antique dealers as well as from French and British publishers, who some-

4. E. Fischer and D. Wrotnowska, *Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris: Catalogue des estampes*, 3 vols, Paris, 1949.

5. For the print collection see N. Stogdon, 'Prints from Gołóchów Rediscovered', *Print Quarterly*, XIII, 1996, pp. 149–80.

81. Cyprian Kamil Norwid, *Pythia*, 1863, etching, 125 x 110 mm (Warsaw, National Museum, formerly Woźnicki collection).

82. Feliks Stanisław Jasiński after Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of Man*, first state, 1897, engraving with etching and drypoint, 330 x 203 mm (Warsaw, National Museum, formerly Wellisz collection).

times still owned Jasiński's plates (as was the case, for instance, with the publisher of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*). In the 2006 exhibition catalogue *The Graphic Art Lovers and Their Collections in the National Museum in Warsaw*, the author analyses the individual prints used as sources for Jasiński's composition, whose oeuvre includes a print after Jan van Eyck's painting *Portrait of a Man (Self-Portrait)* in the National Gallery, London (fig. 82).

Feliks Jasieński Manggha (1861–1929), who donated his collection to the city of Cracow, was yet another outstanding patron.[6] Agnieszka Kluczewska-Wójcik draws the profile of this collector, who travelled between Berlin and Paris in search of art from the Far East. The part of his print collection that still arouses the greatest admiration are his Japanese woodcuts, kept today at the Centrum Sztuki i Techniki Japońskiej Manggha (Manggha Center of Japanese Art and Technology) in Cracow on deposit from the National Museum. Manggha also collected the work of his contemporaries, the Polish engravers Józef Pankiewicz and Leon Wyczółkowski.

The collection of Henryk Grohman (1862–1939) of Łódź was somewhat different in nature. Like many other factory owners of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he collected mainly modern graphic art, including works by such eminent French artists as Camille Corot, Jean-François Millet, Edouard Manet and Auguste Rodin, but also by printmakers from other countries: Félicien Rops, Frantisek Simon, Joseph Pennell and Oskar Kokoschka. During his trips to Paris and London he would visit antique dealers and auction houses. He also purchased books on graphic art. Grohman was not the only collector in the industrial city of Łódź. Worth mentioning here are the Biedermann, Geyer and Eitingon families. Zenon Kon, whose collection of English engravings is discussed in a paper by Dariusz Kacprzak, was yet another Łódź factory owner. He bought a number of prints, mainly mezzotints with genre subjects, from the antique dealer Fajwel Gutnajer in Warsaw, who operated in the years 1895–1910. Finally, the collection of Leopold Méyet deserves to be mentioned here (fig. 83).

Twentieth-century graphic art not only became the focus of modern collectors among the Polish aristocracy and rich factory owners, but also aroused the interest of intellectuals. For financial reasons however, they rarely bought prints, although in order to meet the needs of collectors with more modest means, artists organized subscriptions to graphic art. Agnieszka Chmielewska discusses the subscriptions offered by Ryt, one of the most popular art associations of the early twentieth century. Stanisław Piasecki, editor of the art journal *ABC* offered folders of engravings that 'should be made available to the

6. E. Miodońska-Brookers, M. Cieśla-Korytkowska, *Feliks Jasieński i jego Mangha*, Cracow, 1992.

intellectuals' thin purses.' The first subscription, in which twelve members of Ryt participated, was launched in 1933. The practice continued until 1938, and it was owing to subscriptions that Polish graphic art became widely popular during the 1930s.

In the years between the two world wars, Polish museums and libraries systematized their print collections. A number of publications on the history of graphic art also appeared in Poland during that period, some of which were published in art historical journals which may be considered among the first professional periodicals. Alfred Brosing, the first print curator at the Wielkopolskie Museum in Poznań was among the first to arrange the collection of that museum after Poland regained its independence. Educated at universities in Berlin, Königsberg and Munich, he possessed profound knowledge in the history of graphic art. In charge of the new collection, he strove to enrich it with modern Polish engravings.

In that same period, a number of ex-libris collections emerged. Piotr Czyż writes about the collection of ex-libris prints donated to the National Museum in Warsaw during the first half of the twentieth century. Another institution to gain an immense ex-libris collection was the University Library in Toruń. After World War II, it acquired many prints from collections from the Vilnius region. This was because Polish nationals were migrating to Toruń from Vilnius (today the capital of Lithuania) and its surroundings.

The cataloguing of Polish collections continues apace, carried out by the same team of researchers at the National Museum in Warsaw. In 2008 the museum mounted an exhibition of engravings from the collection of Polish writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski ('Kolekcja z Suchej', Collection from Sucha) (fig. 84).[7] This collection, which had belonged to the Tarnowski family, was purchased in 2006 with the support of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. In 2009, the exhibition travelled to an estate in Sucha Beskidzka in the picturesque mountain region in southern Poland.[8] A complete catalogue of the 7,960 engravings, drawings, maps and other works that constitute the collection is in preparation.

The scholarship of this young generation of historians of art is worthy of careful notice by broader circles of foreign researchers. We will no doubt have many opportunities to follow the authors' thorough research and findings in the near future.

7. A. Grohala, *Kolekcja z Suchej*, Warsaw, 2008. Cf. *Catalogue d'une Collection Iconographique Polonaise composée des dessins orginaux, gravures, xylographies, lithographies, illustrant l'histoire, la géographie, antiquités, costumes, moeurs, armes, meubles etc. de l'ancienne Pologn, de ses provinces et pays limitrophes*, Dresden, 1865. The print of the *Holy Virgin of Częstochowa* attributed to Overandt and Rab was published by Balthasar Caijmox in the seventeenth century.
8. *Pro Fide et Patria. Kolekcja z Suchej–wystawa grafiki i rysunku*, Sucha Beskidzka, 2009.

83. William Dickinson after François Pascal Simon Gérard, *Portrait of Zofia Zamojska with Her Sons Konstantyn and Władysław*, 1806, mezzotint, 598 x 432 mm (Warsaw, National Museum, formerly Méyet collection).

84. Peter Overandt (?) and Servatus Rab, *Holy Virgin of Częstochowa*, engraving, 393 x 320 mm (Warsaw, National Museum, formerly Kraszewski collection).

Samuel Palmer Revisited

Elizabeth E. Barker

Samuel Palmer Revisited, edited by Simon Shaw-Miller and Sam Smiles, Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT, Ashgate, 2010, 184 pp., 22 b. & w. ills., 10 music ex., £60, $114.95.

2005, the bicentenary of Samuel Palmer's birth, saw a resurgence of interest in the British Romantic painter and printmaker, marked by new publications and a retrospective exhibition.[1] *Samuel Palmer Revisited* emerged from that context. Five of its seven essays originated as papers delivered at a symposium held in conjunction with the exhibition.[2] One symposium paper, whose key ideas were published elsewhere, does not appear in the present volume.[3] Two essays, by William Vaughan and Paul Goldman, are new to it.

In the Preface, the editors assert the volume's intention: to illuminate Palmer's circumstances and thereby demystify, without diminishing, his distinctive artistic character. The chapters that follow are largely, but not wholly, successful in realizing that goal. Nevertheless, the varied and sometimes significant new research presented in *Samuel Palmer Revisited* makes it an important addition to libraries of British art.

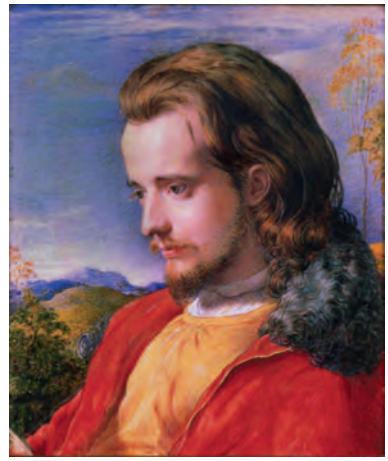
The introduction by Vaughan offers a lucid reflection on the critical reception of Palmer's work. It is a comprehensive, but never belaboured assessment of the Palmer historiography. Vaughan is also the author of the volume's first, and most revelatory, chapter, in which he mines a cache of hitherto overlooked primary source documents, including tax and court records, trade directories, and the unpublished diary of a family friend, Benjamin Wrigglesworth Beatson. The view of Palmer's early life that Vaughan meticulously reconstructs contradicts the long-held conception of the artist's upbringing as relatively prosperous, near-rural, and solidly middle-class. Instead, Vaughan reveals that – probably when Palmer was as young as three, and certainly before he was nine – his family left their leafy suburban home in Walworth, and moved to Houndsditch, a poor area where the artist's father worked in a cheap clothing store and ran a nearby bookshop. Vaughan draws the persuasive conclusion that Palmer's failure at the Merchant Taylors' School likely resulted from inadequate academic preparation, rather than from bullying or physical weakness, as has previously been assumed. By resetting the coordinates of Palmer's formative years, Vaughan shifts our understanding of the trajectory of the artist's career.

Greg Smith's contribution repositions Palmer's visionary monochromatic drawings of the Shoreham period – six sepia drawings (1825) and more than a dozen Indian ink 'blacks' (c. 1826–32) – in relation to the contemporary discourse on 'modern' watercolour painting. In an era that valued colour over line, and celebrated watercolour's ability to capture atmospheric effects as a national triumph, Palmer's public exhibition of monochromatic images marked by emphatic outlines (a quality associated with reproductive prints) and the use of Indian ink (a material reminiscent of 'tinted drawings') signified a deliberate archaism – albeit one achieved using up-to-date techniques. In an intriguing passage that merits further explication, Smith links Palmer's sepias and 'blacks' with Alexander Cozens's earlier monochromes, brush-and-ink drawings unified with all-over washes of ink or watercolour. Here, as throughout this chapter, the absence of illustrations makes Smith's lucid arguments opaque.

In his essay on Palmer and the education of the artist, Martin Postle revisits, without revising, the development and consolidation of Palmer's conventional ideas about arts education. Postle draws perceptively on Palmer's enthusiastic correspondence with Edwin Wilkins Field about the foundation of the Slade School of Art, letters that Postle first published in 1996, and which merit this additional exposure.[4] Blake scholars will be curious to learn of Postle's proposed linking of a Palmer figure drawing in the 1824 sketchbook to Blake's *Pestilence: The Death of the First-Born*, of c. 1805, in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Postle does

1. W. Vaughan et al., *Samuel Palmer (1805–1881): Vision and Landscape*, London and New York, 2005. *Samuel Palmer: The Sketchbook of 1824*, edited by M. Butlin with a foreword by W. Vaughan, London, 2005. S. M. Palmer, A. H. Palmer, and F. G. Stephens, *A Memoir of Samuel Palmer*, introduction by W. Vaughan, London, 2005. T. Wilcox, *Samuel Palmer*, London, 2005. Subsequent publications include A. Life with P. Life, 'Leonard Rowe Valpy: Patron of Samuel Palmer and Dante Rossetti, Part 1,' *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, XVI, 2007, pp. 28–65. T. Barringer, '*I am a native, rooted here*: Benjamin Britten, Samuel Palmer and the Neo-Romantic Pastoral,' *Art History*, XXXIV, February 2011, pp. 126–65. R. Campbell-Johnston, *Mysterious Wisdom: The Life and Work of Samuel Palmer*, London, 2011.
2. *Revisiting Samuel Palmer*, Symposium, London, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 13 January 2006.
3. Wilcox, op. cit.
4. M. Postle, 'The Foundation of the Slade School of Fine Art; Fifty-eight Letters in the Record Office of University College London', *Walpole Society*, LVIII, 1995–96, pp. 127–230.

85. Piero di Cosimo, *Portrait of a Young Man*, tempera on wood, 387 x 405 mm (London, Dulwich Picture Gallery).



86. George Richmond, *Portrait of Samuel Palmer*, 1829, watercolour and bodycolour on ivory, 83 x 70 mm (London, National Portrait Gallery).

not speculate on Palmer's access to the Blake watercolour (then owned by Thomas Butts), nor on its meaning for the Palmer sketch, which appears to develop a figure drawn two pages before it.[5] Postle provides the clue to another source of artistic inspiration by illustrating Piero di Cosimo's *Portrait of a Young Man* (Dulwich Picture Gallery, c. 1500; fig. 85), whose sky Palmer found 'wonderful', and whose style struck him as 'superior' to the gallery's other portraits. It seems reasonable to suggest (although Postle does not) that the pose, palette, illumination and setting of this Renaissance portrait informed George Richmond's 1829 miniature of Palmer, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London (fig. 86).[6] Postle's informative essay is marred by an apparent editorial oversight: in characterizing Palmer's formative years as 'sheltered and relatively pampered', comparatively 'well off', and 'cosseted', Postle perpetuates the myth of youthful privilege debunked in Vaughan's preceding chapter. Surely, had he been informed of Vaughan's discoveries, Postle would have adjusted certain phrases and related conclusions.

The sea images of Palmer's middle period are the subject of Christiana Payne's contribution. By methodically reconstructing Palmer's excursions to North Devon and Cornwall, Payne makes several revisions: correcting my own misidentification of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *View of Clovelly* as Ilfracombe in the first edition of the exhibition catalogue;[7] separating the Princeton watercolour decisively from Palmer's sunset studies;[8] identifying Trebarwith Strand as the likely site for that lost series, and thereby redating it to 1848 (from 1849); and identifying the same place, to which Palmer returned in 1857, as the site of his wave studies (previously dated to 1858). Intriguingly, Payne links the wave study series to Gustave Le Gray's celebrated sea photographs, exhibited in London during the winter of 1857–58. Payne offers equally fresh assessments of Palmer's finished sea paintings, linking his coastal subjects to works by other Victorian painters, especially James Clark Hook; to contemporary events, such as the reorganization of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution; and to the artist's longing for his deceased son. If this important chapter has a flaw, then it would lie in the author's imperfectly persuasive assertion that the circumstances and aims of Palmer's coastal views recall his Shoreham works.

Readers of this journal will be eager to examine 'Samuel Palmer: Poetry, printmaking and illustration' by Paul Goldman. Although accurate and perceptive, this chapter does not match the groundbreaking precedent set by the author's previous Palmer scholarship. Nor is the reason for its inclusion in the present volume clear, since it does not offer new discoveries, corrections, or interpretations, nor comprehensively summarize earlier scholarship. Readers interested in Palmer's original etchings will find more complete information elsewhere.[9] Those curious to learn about Palmer's designs for Victorian book il-

5. *Samuel Palmer: The Sketchbook of 1824*, op. cit., pp. 153–55, 215.
6. Vaughan et al., op. cit., p. 129, cat. no. 54.
7. Vaughan et al., op. cit., p. 197, cat. no. 118.
8. Vaughan et al., op. cit., p. 198, cat. no. 119.
9. R. G. Alexander, *A Catalogue of the Etchings of Samuel Palmer*, London, 1937. R. Lister, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of Samuel Palmer*, Cambridge, UK, 1988. P. Goldman, *Samuel Palmer, Visionary Printmaker: A Loan Exhibition from the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*, London, 1991. E. E. Barker in Vaughan et al., op. cit., '*The Excitement of Gambling, without its guilt and its ruin*: Palmer and Printmaking', pp. 47–54. Vaughan et al., op. cit., pp. 188, 204–08, 210–13, 216–22, 239–44, cat. nos. 110, 126–29, 133–34, 139a–42, 159–63.

87. Samuel Palmer, *The Lonely Tower*, 1879, etching, 189 x 251 mm (London, British Museum).

lustrations will appreciate Goldman's concluding pages, which, although unillustrated, expand upon his earlier work, and assert Palmer's distance from contemporary stylistic developments in England and France.[10]

The essay by Sam Smiles, one of the volumes co-editors, explores Palmer's importance for the neo-Romantic printmakers of the late 1920s to 1940s, and for anti-motorway campaigners of the 1970s. Rather than retracing Griggs's, Drury's, Sutherland's, Tanner's and Badmin's technical and esthetic debts to Palmer, Smiles considers their prints' relationship to England's agricultural depression of the 1870s to the 1930s, and to their era's widespread anxiety about social changes fueled by technological innovation – concerns that the wood-engravings of Clare Leighton, the poems of the Georgian group, and the novels satirized in Stella Gibbons's *Cold Comfort Farm* (1932) also addressed. Smiles accomplishes the challenging task of reintegrating the Palmer revival, with its deliberate positioning of the rural English landscape as anti-Modern, within the context of Modern practice and concerns.

The concluding chapter by Simon Shaw-Miller, the volume's other co-editor, considers the 'dark' pastoral in twentieth-century English music as exemplified by Ralph Vaughan Williams's *Pastoral Symphony*. Through a close musical analysis, Shaw-Miller links Vaughan Williams's harmonic landscape of organic, germinating and decaying forms, informed by structures in folk music, to Palmer's visual evocation of the pastoral, particularly in works such as *The Lonely Tower*, thought to depict a site near the composer's childhood home (fig. 87).

Taken as a whole, *Samuel Palmer Revisited* offers important additions and revisions to the Palmer scholarship. It

10. P. Goldman, *Victorian Illustration: The Pre-Raphaelites, The Idyllic School, and The High Victorians*, Aldershot, Hamphsire, and Burlington, VT, 2004.

also raises timely questions about the future of academic print publishing in the arts. While independent publishers such as Ashgate should be applauded for continuing to produce books of academic art history in the current economic climate, the price of volumes such as this one places them beyond the means of most students and increasing numbers of academic libraries. The present volume's accessibility to a wide readership is further hindered by its paucity of illustrations, which requires readers to consult multiple volumes in order to decipher the authors' compelling arguments. Ashgate's move to eBooks – and its posting of the present volume's Introduction on its website – marks a promising step towards more easily used and more readily accessed publications;[11] one hopes the publisher will increase the (currently, two) Art and Visual Studies titles in its growing catalogue of 2,000 electronic books.

11. www.ashgate.com/pdf/SamplePages/Samuel_Palmer_Revisited_Intro.pdf, accessed on 11 August 2011.

Jules Chéret

Howard Coutts

Réjane Bargiel and Ségolène Le Men, *La Belle Époque de Jules Chéret: De l'affiche au décor,* exhibition catalogue, Paris, Les Arts Décoratifs, 23 June–7 November 2010; Munich, Museum Villa Stuck, 10 November 2011–4 February 2012; Albi, Musée Toulouse-Lautrec, 2012; Paris, Les Arts Décoratifs et la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2010, 368 pp., 1,428 col. and 22 b. & w. ills., €59.

Few reputations in the art world were as international and dazzling as that of Jules Chéret (1836–1932) in Paris one hundred years ago, and few have been so obscured by later developments, both by his own disciples, and other artists who developed his ideas and techniques independently. Chéret's chosen medium was not painting, but the large, multi-coloured lithographic poster, of which he was both the originator and the main proponent. Artistically, he incorporated the developments of modern French Impressionist painting (angular, cut-off compositions, dazzling lighting effects, scenes of modernity and the depiction of smart ladies or 'Parisiennes') into the advanced technology of the chromolithographic poster. Since these became recognized as works of art and collectors' items immediately after their appearance, their development and style is extremely well documented both in contemporary French magazines and other publications. Furthermore, as copies of all printed material had to be deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale, they are relatively easy to date and well preserved. A catalogue raisonné of Chéret's posters was produced some years ago (Lucy Broido, *The Posters of Jules Chéret*, New York, 1980, revised edition 1992).

As the title *La Belle Époque de Jules Chéret* suggests, the recent exhibition catalogue under review here takes Chéret's art beyond that of the poster into new fields he explored at the end of his life, particularly as artist and decorator. His style was developed almost exclusively during his work as a poster artist in the 1880s and 1890s. Extraordinarily, for an art form now seen as so French, both he and his later biographers admitted a huge debt to England, where he trained in the period before 1866. There he worked for the perfumer Rimmel, learning to use the large lithographic presses then coming into use, and, as this catalogue stresses, saw numerous English circus and theatre posters that gave him a love of clowns and pantomime. On his return to Paris in 1866 Rimmel helped him set up his own lithographic workshop in Paris. A French police report of the time records that the artist was married with two children, had worked in London for six years, was completely honourable and able, and wished to make chromolithographic 'ornements' for the likes of Rimmel and other perfumers.

The artist's first great success was the poster for Offenbach's 'Orpheus in the Underworld' in 1866. It makes use of just three colours, but with a striking asymmetry in the design and a vibrant contrast between light and shadow. Over the next twenty years, Chéret developed both technique and style in line with French Impressionism, but was also himself an influence on modern French art. Its central tenet, the depiction of modern urban life, is natural to the commercial world, which has to sell modern consumer products, and Chéret soon developed a style using the pretty girl or Parisienne, usually in a revealing, low-

88. Jules Chéret, *Four Clowns*, 1882, lithograph, proof before letters, 1,240 x 890 mm (Paris, Les Arts Décoratifs, Photo Jean Tholance).

89. Jules Chéret, Poster for the Folies-Bergère, 1893, lithograph, 1,250 x 900 mm (Paris, Les Arts Décoratifs, Photo Jean Tholance).

cut dress, to sell anything from lamp oil to throat pastilles. These images became so ubiquitous in nineteenth-century Paris that the women became known colloquially as 'chérettes'. He embraced the world of theatre and pantomime, and some of his best posters show clowns and actors, all bathed in a reflected light (fig. 88). It could be argued that his most effective posters were those that naturally made use of his skill in depicting the glare of light (such as those featuring the Saxoléine lamp oil or the dancer Loïe Fuller in her illuminated dress (fig. 89)). It should be noted that the range of products Chéret helped advertise was of expensive, semi-luxury items, and needed the support of an affluent, educated middle class.

Chéret was the supreme master of the lithographic technique, and was not constrained by the relatively limited range of colours available to him, each of which needed a separate printing from a separate stone. He first drew an outline, sometimes on the stone itself, that was printed in black, and then added separate stones for printings of blue and red to create a colour picture. He stippled colours in dots that were mixed by the eye to create a range of flesh tints, and he has thus been recognized as an originator of Pointillist painting. By the end of the century, a range of up to eight colours (including yellow, which he used to great effect in the Loïe Fuller poster) was available to give him a full chromographic range. These posters are all illustrated in the second half of this catalogue, mostly by impressions from the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Musée de la Publicité, with some commentary, and some notes on documented but now missing posters.

Chéret sold his printing workshop to Chaix in 1881, but continued as artistic director. He had his first official exhibition as a poster artist (a new phenomenon and largely self-created) in 1889, five years after a more general exhibition of the new poster art form in Paris (see also fig. 90). His success brought him a villa in Nice and a cottage in Brittany. In 1891 he produced a series of decorative panels representing the theatre using seven or eight stones, sold by the poster dealer Sagot in the manner of limited edition prints, but without any decorative lettering naming a product or place. In this manner, some of his work took on the appearance of purely decorative panels with an entirely visual appeal.

Chéret received the Légion d'Honneur in 1890, a year after his personal retrospective. He featured prominently

in the Paris exhibition of 1900. By this time, he had many imitators, most notably the great poster artist Toulouse-Lautrec, though some contemporary commentators stated Lautrec was initially inspired by the example of Bonnard. Much of Chéret's energy was now directed to purely decorative schemes, such as panel decorations for the Baron Vitta at his villa at Evian (painted in thin spirit or 'essence'), and the very public wall decorations for the new Hôtel de Ville in Paris. He also painted for the oil magnate Maurice Fenaille in the manner of Tiepolo or Boucher a series of panels depicting the pleasures of life – spirits, gaming, coffee and tobacco – as enjoyed by elegant young ladies. They are not as visually successful as his work with lettering, and in truth show the main defect of his art, which is a certain shallowness of vision, lacking any comment on the ambiguities of modern society that artists of the calibre of Manet or Degas might have suggested.

By the early twentieth century he was recognized as a significant artist, and two contemporary and perceptive critics, Roger Marx and Gustave Kahn, noted that his influence extended beyond the artistic world into the world of commerce and publishing. In these early days of the 'artistic' poster (that is, those with images), there was much discussion over its place on the ladder of artistic hierarchy, and Roger Marx presciently advocated the formation of a special museum of posters to show them as an adjunct of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs or the Bibliothèque Nationale, but not the Louvre itself.

This book updates prior catalogues of Chéret's posters, though collectors and researchers of his work may wish to use it in conjunction with former publications. It adds about 350 items to Broido's catalogue raisonné, partly by including all the posters issued from the artist's press before he sold it to Chaix in 1881, some of which do not look as if they can be by his hand. Chéret was an artist who outlived his own age, and a remarkably plain photograph of the later 1920s shows him and his wife looking like any aged bourgeois couple. Though interviewed on many occasions, he seems not to have written his memoirs. What memories he would have had, as a key player in the Belle Epoque and in the transformation of art from an elite interest to a subject for a mass audience!

90. View of the Gallery of the Royal Aquarium, London, showing posters by Chéret, Toulouse-Lautrec, Métivet and Steinlen on view in 1894, from *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 10 November 1894, image 110 x 145 mm, with text 155 x 145 mm (London, British Library).

Modern British Posters

Martin Hopkinson

Paul Rennie, *Modern British Posters: Art, Design & Communication,* London, Black Dog Publishing, 2010, 192 pp., 217 col. and 1 b. & w. ill., £29.95.

The author Paul Rennie uses his own collection and that of his wife, Karen, to explore the distinctive contribution that posters made to culture, design and mass communication in Britain from 1915 to 1970 in *Modern British Posters: Art, Design & Communication*. The starting point is the year of the foundation of the Design & Industries Association. Fifty-five years later, wide-spread ownership of television sets had transformed the advertising world so that the poster had lost its dominant position in the world of mass communication. The psychedelic age is represented by a General Post Office (GPO) poster designed by Negus Sharland (the partnership of Richard Negus and Philip Sharland) (fig. 91) and the age of Pop by a 1962 work by the young David Hockney advertising the exhi-

91. Negus Sharland, *Properly Packed Parcels Please*, c. 1967, lithograph, 762 x 1,015 mm (Private collection).

bition 'Towards Art?' at the Royal College of Art.

The strength of this volume lies in its illustrations, introducing images by designers less prominently featured than in other recent publications on posters. One of the unexpected stars is Leonard Cusden, whose dates are apparently unknown. Cusden made dramatic use of blacks in a series of designs for the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents and British Railways in the 1940s. Hans Arnold Rothholz (1919–2000), who came to England in 1933 and was interned during World War II as an alien from an enemy country, designed posters for the Post Office and for the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents in the 1940s and 1950s, which deserve appreciation alongside those of his friends, Abram Games and Tom Eckersley. His work was rediscovered in an exhibition at Margaret Howell's gallery in London's Wigmore Street in 2006. Patrick Cokayne Keely (d. 1970) followed the advice, which he delivered in 'Better posters can build up public's interest' in *Advertisers' Weekly* (9 December 1943, p. 257), in a series of striking designs dating from both before and after World War II. We are also shown the work of the Hungarian Arpad Elfer (1910–99), who from 1935 worked for the advertising agency Colman, Prentis and Varley, and who eventually became Head of Graphic Design at the BBC. A poster of 1946 for the journal *Lilliput* demonstrates his ability to use photomontage (fig. 92). Royston Cooper (1931–85) is another who is deserving of more attention, to judge by a humorous *Keep Britain Tidy* poster of a bird carrying a basket of rubbish in its beak. He worked for many European clients before forming his own design consultancy in 1963.

Rennie selected five artists to profile: Edward McKnight Kauffer, Paul Nash, Abram Games, Tom Eckersley and Fougasse. The most interesting and relatively unfamiliar prints by one of these, which are illustrated here, are four labels or trademarks for cotton bales intended for the South American market, which were designed by McKnight Kauffer for the Manchester firm, Steinthal & Co. Three more can be found illustrated at www.textiletrademarks.com/?p=471. Gouache studies for these are in the collection of Manchester City Art Gallery. McKnight Kauffer received the commission for the first of these in 1916 and over the next twelve years designed 36 of them for Steinthal & Co. A group of these labels are in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, including some intended to be attached to bales sent to Russia and South Africa, as well as to South America. Some of these are dated [19]18. The simplified blocks of colour of some of these lithographs reveal McKnight Kauffer's knowledge of the art and theory of Arthur Wesley Dow. Their boldness anticipates the poster designs of Tom Purvis. Not all the labels for Manchester shipments for

92. Arpad Elfer, *Such a Nice Change,* 1946, lithograph, 762 x 1,016 mm (Private collection).

cotton were colour lithographs. In the same group of prints as those by McKnight Kauffer in the Victoria and Albert Museum are two designed by the forgotten Manchester painter, illustrator, poster designer and actor, John Garside. These are among the earliest screenprints made by a British artist that have been discovered up to now. *The Mills Print* and *Mabsoumalaka* were intended to be attached to shipments to Persia and their design incorporates Arabic script. In the latter screenprint a man with a scimitar is about to cut down a tree. They are not dated, but stylistically could be assigned to the late 1920s. Their *terminus ante quem* is 1934, the year in which they were acquired by the museum. A third label designed by Garside, which is a colour lithograph representing an elaborate dance, was for goods intended for Russia. Garside's parentage doubtless helped him to gain the commission, as he was the son of a cotton manufacturer.

The Glasgow architect and designer, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, who knew McKnight Kauffer in London, designed similar labels for the Northampton maker of model railways, boats and ships, Wenman Joseph Bassett-Lowke, between 1915 and 1923. They are in a more advanced style which bears some relation to Vorticism. Examples of six of these labels together with four of the architect's preparatory watercolours are in the collection of the Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow. The style of Mackintosh's labels seem to indicate that the Scottish artist was aware of some of the contemporary graphic art created by artists in the circle of Herwarth Walden and the magazine *Der Sturm,* working in a Constructivist vein. Bassett-Lowke had close contacts with the German toy industry, particularly the Gebrüder Bing. His knowledge of advanced design in Germany led him to commission Peter Behrens to design a house for him in Northampton, 'New Ways', in 1925, when Mackintosh was no longer available to him as by then the Scot had settled near the Spanish border on the Mediterranean coast of France. Did Bassett-Lowke show Mackintosh some of the German technical and design journals in his possession, or even copies of *Der Sturm* and other German journals of advanced art?

Rennie also writes about a select number of patrons of poster designers, of whom Sir Stephen Tallents (1884–1958) of the Empire Marketing Board and General Post Office is least familiar. The same author's *GPO Posters Design* (Antique Collectors' Club, Woodbridge, 2011, 96 pp., 118 col. pls. & 4 b. & w. ills., £14.95) provides more information on Tallents. We learn that in 1923 the Post Office was the largest single employer in Britain and that when the Empire Marketing Board was closed a decade later, it followed under Tallents' direction the successful public relations strategy of his previous employer. Contributory to its success were John Grierson and Jack Beddington on the GPO's Publicity Committee and the art historian Kenneth Clark and the art critic Clive Bell on its Advisory Committee. Although Tallents left the staff in 1935 to become the director of public relations at the BBC, in a short time he had shaped the Post Office so that it became one of the leaders in poster design and production. His successor, Tristram Crutchley, continued his work, although he was much less sympathetic to advanced art, but high standards were maintained, as one can see from the illustrations in this book. One of the initiatives of the Post

Office, largely forgotten in this decade when there has been so much interest in prints for schools, was to publish sets of posters for display in the classroom. Issued every year until the outbreak of World War II in editions of about 30,000 and printed on slightly thicker paper, in scale and ambition the prints echo those of the Fitzroy Picture Society and F. Ernest Jackson's School Pictures Project (for which see Margaret Bear, *Print Quarterly*, XXVII, 2010, pp. 381–92). Among the most successful of these posters were ones designed by John Armstrong, John Vickery and McKnight Kauffer. The lettering in many of these works did not intrude into the compositions, but was placed below them. McKnight Kauffer chose a different means of maintaining the integrity of the image, placing a photographically-based monochrome 'picture' within a frame which sometimes resembled a cinema screen. One type of poster which was particular to the Post Office, and is rarely found elsewhere, is the long thin strip poster which was stuck to the sides of the GPO's delivery vans and lorries. The earliest illustrated here, designed in 1937, is by Barnett Freedman. The principal collection for GPO posters is the British Postal Museum & Archive, formed in 2004 by the amalgamation of the Royal Mail Archive and the National Postal Museum, for which one can consult www.postalheritage.com. Although there are no footnotes to Rennie's study, he does provide a very useful bibliography of books important to the study of the Post Office's use of graphic design.

Also discussed in Rennie's other book, *Modern British Posters,* is the role of the Ministry of Information, formed at the start of the war in 1939, and of its peacetime successor, the Central Office of Information. The posters issued by Ealing Studios from 1943 onwards promoting their films are also singled out for attention. Sidney John Woods commissioned work for the Studios from painters and illustrators who had established high reputations in the 1930s. Many of these artists had left-wing sympathies and had been active in The Artists' International Association, while others were key figures in the Neo-Romantic movement of the 1940s.

The increasing demand for accountability and safety in the work place, government, on public transport and in the home led to the public funding of campaigns to raise awareness of dangers and how to avoid them. Ashley Havinden and Tom Eckersley were on the Publicity Committee of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents. Their presence doubtless contributed considerably to the high standard of poster design in these fields. In the field of Post Office posters, one finds many comparable designs which encouraged customers to wrap and pack parcels safely, and to ensure that they addressed what they were sending legibly and correctly. Rennie devotes more space to this sector than one generally finds in other publications on British posters and his illustrations also reveal how much humour was employed to force home the message. Indeed he sees 'the use of humour in poster design' as 'crucial in defining the specific development of a uniquely British graphic language'.

War Posters, Sustainable Posters and Street Art

Paul Gough

James Aulich, *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2011, 256 pp., 303 col. and 26 b. & w. ills, £18.95.

Jürgen Döring, *Phantasie an die Macht: Politik im Künstlerplakat / Power to the Imagination: Artists, Posters and Politics*, exhibition catalogue, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 18 March–13 June 2011; Galerie Stihl Waiblingen 7 July–25 September 2011, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 2011, 170 pp., 153 col. and 20 b. & w. ills., £24.90.

Dmitri Siegel and Edward Morris, *Green Patriot Posters: Graphics for a Sustainable Community*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2011, 128 pp., 68 col. ills., £19.95.

Riikka Kuittinen, *Street Art: Contemporary Prints*, London, V&A Publishing, 2011, 96 pp., 80 col. ills., £14.99.

What a treat. Four lavishly illustrated books on the political poster. Where once we had to rely on an extremely limited repertoire of academic or outsize books we now have renewed interest in this the most ephemeral of graphic communications. Although ubiquitous in our popular imagination there has been surprisingly little critical examination or sustained critique of either their material culture or their value as cultural artefacts. Few have bothered to ask questions about how they were commissioned, how they were printed, and – above all – what difference, if any, they made to public opinion.[1]

All this appears to have changed. Last year the University of Nebraska Press published Pearl James's edited collection of essays revealing the full extent of the poster as an instrument of mass propaganda in times of war.[2] It was argued that posters played a pivotal part in both waging and perpetuating the war on the home front, celebrating in both form and content the modernity of the conflict while offering – almost simultaneously – reassuring messages and provocative biddings to join up, donate and commit. Graphic communication on this scale nationalized, mobilized and modernized entire civilian populations. Through the very act of looking at such posters the workers and the civilians who had been left behind learned to regard themselves as members of a collective home front to be swayed (or not) by the simplistic rhetoric of the ubiquitous poster. And indeed, ubiquity is the key word. What each of these four books draws upon is the persistence of the poster, its irrepressible, eye-catching and memorable imagery, and – to quote James – their overwhelming 'everywhereness'. Mass produced on cheap paper, using innovative printing processes and often featuring the work of eminent artists and graphic designers, war posters across Europe and America reached an enormous international audience through a continuous cycle of display and reproduction in pamphlets, magazines and newspapers. In the digital age, however, the printed poster has obvious limitations; it is wall-reliant, static, time-constrained, a single issue linked to a particular polemic. What is its future? Has it only a past? And what of those artists who thrive on making spontaneous responses to the charged issues of the day? How do they visualize their concerns, and when they do, who takes notice, and (quite crucially) who gathers, catalogues and eventually displays such ephemera? All these questions, and more, are keenly and spiritedly addressed in these substantial additions to the genre.

Best start with James Aulich, a British academic based in Manchester, who has kept alight the torch first ignited by Joe Darracott and Maurice Rickards[3] in systematically exploring the vast collection of posters that had been tucked away at RAF Duxford, an outpost of the Imperial War Museum's archive of British art from the twentieth century. Drawing on Arts and Humanities Research Council support, Aulich has worked with curators at the museum to catalogue and publish on the web some 10,000 posters, making them easily accessible to academic, curatorial and general audiences (www.vads.ac.uk/collections/IWMPC.html). By giving each poster a unique reference number the posters can be accessed online, and this current tome offers an impressive collection of some 330 posters spanning much of the twentieth century, from the impassioned *On ne passe pas!* (They Shall Not Pass) imagery of 1918 to the emphatic *No More Lies* issued by 'Stop The War' Coalition in 2004, with the 'o' in 'No' and 'More' substituted by vivid drops of blood-red ink. Appropriately, Aulich divides his subject chronologically, starting on the eve of World War I, liberally illustrating the iconic imagery of that terrible conflict, followed by the inter-war years – including lesser-seen images from the Spanish civil war and the Communist rhetoric of Hungary and Austria – and a significant section covering World War II. As often it is not the reproductions of the posters themselves that halt the eye, but such general views as that of Piccadilly Circus or Marble Arch, or indeed Benton Harbor, Michigan, liberally strewn with superbly designed *Save Coal* posters. There is a fine photograph of a vast 1943 poster at Union State Station, Washington DC, exhorting 'Americans Will Always Fight for Liberty', which dominates the vast auditorium of the booking office, although it appears largely unseen by the myriad passengers below. The ubiquity of such posters is evident from another photograph which shows a room full of female war workers sorting rivets in a private room in Guildford, Surrey; above them hangs a *Wings for Victory* poster, the pilot thumbs-up to the women diligently hunched over their essential work.

Aulich's book ends with a flourish as he explores the Cold War and, more urgently, contemporary conflicts with grim images drawn from Abu Ghraib and other places of disrepute. The graphics may be a parody borrowed from the iconography of Coca-Cola or the United Colors of Benetton advertising campaign, but they hurt and scorn in a way that the heroic figures of the recruiting posters just don't. Here, as Aulich argues, the rhetoric of a very angry peace holds sway.

Aulich's rich compendium is a must for anyone interested in the visual culture of war. For those interested in the material culture of print his extensive illustration list does include the name of the company or press that printed the piece, but not a jot about the technique of the print – whether it be offset lithography, block- or screen-print. It is as if all the many processes have been homogenously (and unnecessarily) lumped into one.

That accusation cannot be levelled at Jürgen Döring's rich compilation of poster art produced by some of the most familiar names of the twentieth century. *Phantasie an die Macht: Politik im Künstlerplakat*, which translates into *Power to the Imagination: Artists, Posters and Politics*, is the weighty exhibition catalogue to a stunning show mounted

1. For some recent explorations on the iconography and material culture of the poster see R. Schoch, 'War Posters', *Print Quarterly*, XXV, 2008, pp. 461–63 and P. Harrington, 'The Great Sacrifice: From War Souvenir to Inspirational Icon', *Print Quarterly*, XXVII, 2010, pp. 148–56.
2. *Picture This: World War One Posters and Visual Culture*, edited by Pearl James, Lincoln, NE, University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
3. J. Darracott and B. Loftus, *First World War Posters*, London, 1972; J. Darracott and B. Loftus, *Second World War Posters*, London, 1972; M. Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*, London, 1968.

93. Marlena Buczek Smith, *Oil Spill Gulf of Mexico 2010*, 2010, lithograph, 864 x 607 mm (Photo courtesy the artist).

in Hamburg and Munich during 2011.

The tone is set in the endpapers which features Yoko Ono's 2003 exclamation *Imagine Peace*, followed promptly by Picasso's poster for the 1949 World Congress for the Friends of Peace, helpfully revealed as an offset print of precisely 600 by 400 mm. For this is a book about artists, most of them major figures in the Western world, who at some time or another have turned their hand to political statement. Taking broad thematic headings such as 'Protest', 'Freedom', 'Equal Rights' and 'Globalisation', Döring assembles the work of dozens of well-known (and some lesser known) artists, each section headed by a brief essay that provides the thinking behind the theme. Some of the claims are a little tenuous. The final section on globalization, for example, suggests that it was artists who took the lead in transgressing national boundaries by taking their work into those states previously considered enemies of their own country. In early 1985 Robert Rauschenberg toured, worked and exhibited in Havana, East Berlin, Peking and Moscow, wilfully disregarding all national boundaries and their opposing political systems. He later produced posters for the United Nations and the International Trust for Children's Care. The US hegemony is impressive. Many leading American artists appear in this section: Keith Haring's typically energetic poster for the 1985 African Emergency Relief Fund, entitled *Rain Dance*, is an interesting example of an artist having to modify his pictorial language to communicate some basic data – the what, where and when. Elsewhere American artists are rather more direct. Both Tim Rollins/Kids of Survival, and Roy Lichtenstein produced striking posters in support of Bill Clinton's election campaign in 1992. Here, Pop art meets politics in a shameless display of partisan allegiance: 'A New Generation of Leadership' announces the Lichtenstein, and a little lower down in a rather smaller font 'Paid for by the Democratic National Committee'. Yet as is often the case, it is the less familiar names that are so impressive: Adel Abidin's ironic tourist posters for a war-torn Baghdad, or Arman's 1983 lithograph protesting against apartheid.

Although some may take exception to the thematic headings, which can seem a little forced at times, there is no quibbling with the quality of this catalogue; the selection is intelligent and truly global in its reach; the posters are well reproduced; and the captions, in German and English, informative without being overbearing.

Which takes us into the rather novel publication that is *Green Patriot Posters: Graphics for a Sustainable Community*, compiled by Dmitri Siegel and Edward Morris as both a timely reference book and, yes, a suite of detachable posters ready to hang in your own bedroom, office, or campaign headquarters. With each page neatly perforated, the book is the ultimate statement in publish recycling, even the back cover announces how much water was saved, how many greenhouse gases prevented and how much crude oil not used as a result of the innovative printing processes applied in the book's production. For this we have to thank Mohawk Fine Papers and their corporate-wide greenhouse gas emissions inventory.

So what of its contents? Some familiar designs, some familiar rhetoric, but no less impressive for that: Shepard Fairey's *Global Warming* is a terrific image, as is Marlena Buczek Smith's singular 2010 print of an oil-drenched seabird over the Gulf of Mexico – a gash of dense, dripping black on a solid wall of cobalt blue (fig. 93). Here, graphic design takes centre stage. Unlike the previous two books, which show professional artists turning their hand to design for posters, this impressive collection shows communication designers employing a full panoply of graphic devices – provocative slogans, crisp images, bold juxtaposition – to prove their temporary credentials as 'Green Patriots'.

Vivid imagery aside, what distinguishes this volume is not the evergreen, recyclable pages but one or two of the introductory essays which address some of the burning dilemmas facing the graphic designer. 'Why Posters?' asks Steven Heller, 'Isn't print dead yet?' No, he argues, there are just too many platforms, too many so-called important messages clogging the ether, too much digital traffic, too many overly clever animated flash sequences or rotating decks on the semantic web. Like the craze for slow-food,

posters, he argues, are for gradual, incremental consumption, retaining their resonance and relevance, sometimes achieving iconic status to become hardwired into the mind and registering on our visual vernacular. 'Contemplation', he concludes, 'breeds intelligent action, not rote reaction.' After all, we don't hang websites, blogs or tweets on the wall or the side of the refrigerator.

From green patriots and the purposeful, message-driven imagery of the sustainability school, to its polar opposite – street art. Riikka Kuittinen's book *Street Art: Contemporary Prints*, is published by the Victoria and Albert Museum who now own a substantial collection of work by once underground figures such as Sickboy, Blek le Rat, D*face and the incorrigible Banksy (fig. 94). This may sound rather a contradiction in curatorial terms. After all, street art is meant to be disruptive, anarchic and transient and street artists are an anonymous lot, even when not lurking in shadowy corners of the metropolis or hiding behind catchy pseudonyms. Yet, as Kuittinen patiently argues, street artists have taken to the gallery, indeed taken it by storm. The most democratic means of visual production – the print – has met the most egalitarian of public artworks, such as the tag, the stencil or the huge letters expertly transposed by Ben Eine to an unwitting shop shutter or some innocent gable end. More so than the other books reviewed here, this is a stimulating read: street artists are revealed as feisty individuals who spar with each other for the most prominent and unusual locations, their work has a charged performative aspect made up of interventionist acts to which we bear witness only after the event. It is a language of one-liners – sarcastic, caustic, sometimes even witty – of whom Banksy is the best known. Yet even he recognizes that street art, its stars and its styles have become perhaps too well established. It is now distributed instantaneously via the internet, it has moved indoors from ephemera to permanence, it is courted by galleries, museums and auction houses; prices have reached dizzying heights. As we have read in the other books in this review, such artists as Keith Haring and Jean-Michel Basquiat had already straddled the gallery-street divide, but the trickle has turned into a flood. The V&A has stayed ahead of the curve and, as this well-assembled book shows, it has a substantial collection – not all of it especially memorable, but much of it loud, subversive and politically volatile. As artist Pure Evil would say (and does in a large woodcut on paper): *Your Heart is a Weapon the Size of Your Fist. Keep Fighting. Keep Loving.*

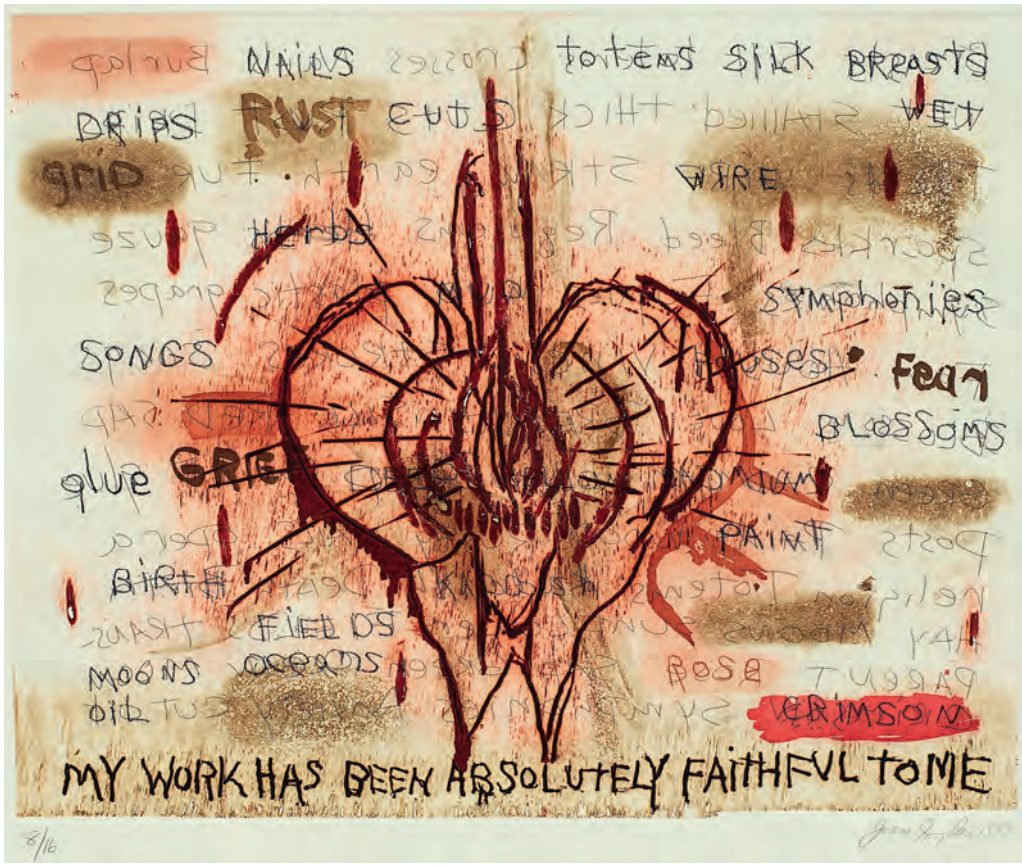
94. Banksy, *Americans Working Overhead*, c. 2004, digital print sticker (London, Victoria & Albert Museum © Banksy).

Joan Snyder

Bill North

Faye Hirsch and Marilyn Symmes, *Dancing with the Dark: Joan Snyder Prints, 1963–2010*, New Brunswick, Zimmerli Art Museum, 29 January–29 May 2011, exhibition catalogue, New Brunswick, Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, and London, DelMonico Books, Prestel, 2011, 176 pp., 189 col. and 15 b. & w. ills., $60/£40.

Artist Joan Snyder (b. 1940) and her work have long been associated with the women's art movement of the early 1970s. As Richard Field wrote in his 1987 survey of the work of twenty-four printmakers *A Graphic Muse: Prints by Contemporary American Women*, 'The only artist among those considered here who has been seriously described



95. Joan Snyder, *My Work Has Been Absolutely Faithful to Me,* 1997, five-colour etching, soft ground etching, aquatint, spit bite, scraping and colour woodcut, 400 x 502 mm (Photo courtesy the artist).

as the author of feminist imagery is Joan Snyder.'[1] *Dancing with the Dark: Joan Snyder Prints, 1963–2010*, the first book-length examination of Snyder's prints, thoughtfully casts the artist's abiding and meaningful engagement with the medium as a deeply personal and human-centred enterprise.[2] In this sumptuously illustrated volume Marilyn Symmes and Faye Hirsch present Snyder as a serious and committed printmaker, her reputation and renown as a painter and feminist artist notwithstanding. The artist's printmaking is shown to be an independent activity with its own concerns, often distinct from those of her painting. By situating Snyder's graphic work within her life and journey as an artist, *Dancing with the Dark* provides a rich perspective that relies as much on biography as on a feminist context.

In addition to the usual scholarly apparatus of notes, selected bibliography, an index and a foreword by Zimmerli director Suzanne Delehanty *Dancing with the Dark* contains three main sections: an introduction to the printed oeuvre by Hirsch, who is senior editor at *Art in America*; an essay cum chronology by Symmes; and a catalogue of the prints, also by Symmes, but with contributions by the artist and Mira Dancy. Collectively, the contributions of these authors provide a compelling account of Snyder's activities as a printmaker, from her inchoate exercises in woodcut as a graduate student at Rutgers in 1963 to her most recent graphic explorations.

The authors proffer no claims for Snyder as a significant figure in the history of printmaking. Instead, they present an inward-looking view of the artist's contributions to the field. Symmes's 'Private/Not Private: An Illu-

1. R. S. Field, 'Printmaking Since 1960: The Conflicts Between Process and Expression', in R. S. Field and R. E. Fine, *A Graphic Muse: Prints by Contemporary American Women*, New York, 1987, p. 46, note 117.
2. Symmes and Hirsch, op. cit.

minated Chronology of Joan Snyder' is especially effective toward this end. A hybridization of essay and the traditionally dry and terse biographical chronologies that often appear in monographic studies, Symmes's contribution is a lively-written review of Snyder's life and work as a printmaker. While retaining all the utility of a standard chronology, its subject comes to life through Symmes's deft prose, a profusion of illustrations (all in colour, many full-page), and the inclusion of the artist's perspective through recollections, diary entries and extended quotations. Snyder's willingness to frankly share intimate biographical details with Symmes is notable, and the author's judicious use of this information enriches the book considerably

Hirsch's introductory essay, '"See What a Life": The Prints of Joan Snyder', is an engaging overview that begins with a discussion of Snyder's 1997 print *My Work Has Been Absolutely Faithful to Me* (fig. 95). The artist created this image, like many of her prints, using a variety of techniques – in this case, colour etching, soft ground etching, aquatint, spit bite, scraping and colour woodcut. It features a heart-shaped form that the author characterizes as a part valentine and part anatomical hybrid, a 'heart/vulva'.[3] Placed in the centre of the sheet, this red heart/vulva sits amid a field of hand-written words, each of which holds personal meaning for the artist. A number of these words appear over lightly inscribed mirror images of themselves, an assertion of printmaking's reflexive nature. Snyder's print is a love letter to her art; the simple declaration emblazoned across the bottom margin underscores the inextricable and direct relationship between the artist's biography and work.

The editioned version of *My Work Has Been Absolutely Faithful to Me*, co-published by the artist and Diane Villani Editions, was the result of multiple experiments with various combinations of technique and handwork. Eight proofs from this process are reproduced in a two-page spread, affording an opportunity to observe the artist's inclination for unfettered investigation. Snyder's graphic oeuvre is replete with such explorations. As Hirsch writes, her 'proclivity for variant editions, monoprints, and monotypes' results in a body of work 'that is vexingly difficult – if not impossible – to grasp in its entirety, and in all its details.'[4] Thankfully, the Catalogue of Prints in *Dancing with the Dark* sorts out these complexities, much to the benefit of future scholars of Snyder's work. By the authors' estimation, Snyder produced at least 176 different print compositions between 1963 and 2010, the majority of which are monotypes and monoprints created between 1988 and 1995. 70 prints are documented here, including all 28 that have been published in editions. Like *My Work Has Been Absolutely Faithful to Me*, many of Snyder's compositions are documented in multiple variants and in as many as ten

96. Joan Snyder, *Portrait of Emily*, 1963, woodcut, 559 x 289 mm (irregular), (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Collection Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University).

proofs. The depth of information provided is impressive, befitting a catalogue raisonné. In addition to the basic facts – title, date, technique, paper, image and sheet size, printer, publisher, edition size and inscriptions – information about the matrix's whereabouts, reference to related works in other media, recollections of the artist and others, and related pertinent information are given. The Catalogue alone makes *Dancing with the Dark* a valuable addition to any print room library.

Snyder's earliest prints, five woodcuts created in 1963 during her first year as an art graduate student at Rutgers, are examined here and reveal her longstanding predilection for the autobiographical. Among them is *Landscape*, a large, bluntly-carved image of a farmhouse and its surroundings. The house belonged to Snyder's undergraduate professor, Emily Alman, and her family, with whom

3. F. Hirsch, in Symmes and Hirsch, op. cit., p. 11.

4. Ibid., p. 14.

97. Joan Snyder, *Dancing in the Dark*, 1984, woodcut printed in two black inks, 584 mm x 508 mm (Photo courtesy the artist).

the artist lived for a period beginning in the spring of 1963. *Portrait of Emily* (fig. 96), the most accomplished print in this group of woodcuts, is a bust-length likeness of the professor, with whom Snyder had a long and complicated relationship. This intensely expressive visage invites comparison to the German Expressionist Emil Nolde's woodcut *The Prophet* of 1912, which is reproduced opposite it. Though she did not return to woodcut for two decades after her initial foray, these early prints anticipate the powerfully expressive works Snyder would create in the 1980s and beyond. Prints like *Mommy Why?*, a frenetically-gouged and stridently-coloured woodcut of mother and child from 1983–84, place the artist firmly within the woodcut revival of the 1980s.

Loss and hope, two of the most basic and universal human emotions, inform many of Snyder's prints, as their titles often suggest. For example, her *FMSWNL* [For My Son Who Never Lived], a nine-colour lithograph printed by Maurice Sánchez, is a mournful reflection on the miscarriage she suffered in 1978, begun four months after the birth of her daughter Molly in 1979. Within months of Molly's birth, Snyder's marriage to photographer Larry Fink started to unravel. They were divorced in 1984. Her woodcut *Things Have Tears and We Know Suffering* of 1983–84 references the artist's personal loss. The print takes its title from a passage in Virgil's *Aeneid* in which Aeneas laments the loss of his comrades in the Trojan War. In 1987 Snyder met Maggie Cammer, a New York City judge with whom she has since developed a long-term, loving partnership. Soon after meeting Cammer, Snyder began a protracted and fruitful involvement with monotype, resulting in a bounty of decidedly lush and joyous images of landscapes, nudes, flower gardens and other uplifting subjects, many of which she also explored in her painting at the time.

Snyder's prints are at once intensely personal and resonant with universal human experience. The book's title, a play on Snyder's 1984 woodcut *Dancing in the Dark* (fig. 97), is an apt metaphor for the artist's relationship with her art. For nearly five decades, she has courageously confronted and celebrated the full range of her life experiences through the medium of printmaking, from the mournful to the joyous. *Dancing with the Dark: Joan Snyder Prints, 1963–2010* is a worthy consideration of this celebration.

Elizabeth Peyton

Wendy Weitman

Sabine Eckmann, Beate Kemfert, Hilton Als, David Lasry, *Ghost: Elizabeth Peyton*, edited by Sabine Eckmann and Beate Kemfert, exhibition catalogue, St Louis, MO, Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, 28 January–18 April 2011; Rüsselsheim, Stiftung Opelvillen, 9 February–15 May 2011, Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011, 168 pp., 91 col. ills., €48.

When Elizabeth Peyton began exhibiting in the early to mid-1990s, painting was in another of its notorious declines. Not only was Peyton a painter, but she worked on a notably small scale and her subject-matter, portraiture, was among the most traditional. Moreover, and perhaps most unsettling, her paintings were expressively rendered and captivatingly beautiful. The art world took notice.

This unusual and seemingly conventional work sparked controversy. Peyton, along with a couple of compatriots, returned vanguard attention to the visceral appreciation of painting. Influenced by the grand tradition of European and American portraiture from Ingres to Hockney, her popular realism articulated the essence of a generation, much the way Andy Warhol – a figure Peyton acknowledges as a seminal inspiration – did for his.

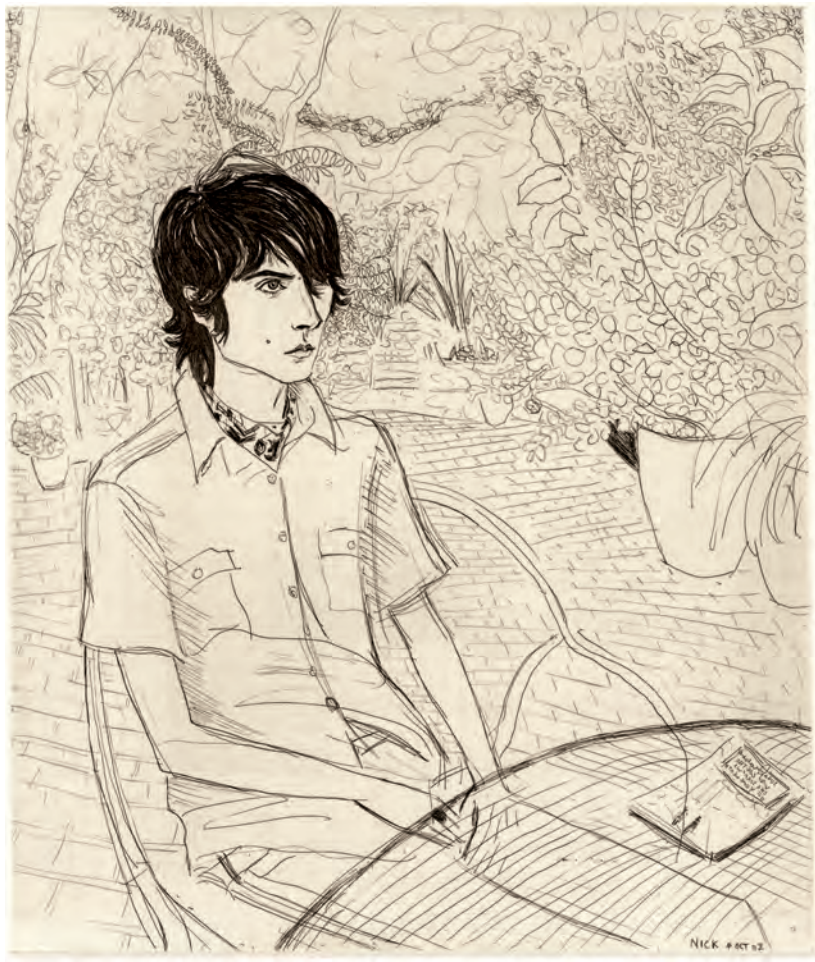
Peyton's earliest portraits are historical figures she admires – Napoleon and Louis XIV among them. In the mid-1990s she added contemporary celebrities to her roster, most notably rock stars such as Kurt Cobain, Sid Vicious, and others whom she believes have had powerful, influential careers. More recently she turned to those around her, friends and colleagues, many of whom are also artists, whose beauty has affected her own life deeply. Peyton typically shows her subjects young and in close-up, and usually titles her works with their first names only, drawing the viewer into her own intimate perceptions of Spencer, Mark, or Klara. She works primarily from photographs; some she plucks from the mass media and others she takes herself. Her gestural style encompasses broad brushstrokes and drips of paint or watercolour that enhance the sense of a fleeting moment captured. Peyton intensifies this expressive approach with luscious colour. Her harmonies are rich and unexpected, imparting a jewel-like quality to these images of languorous, beautiful people.

In 1998 Peyton began making prints and she has become an active printmaker since then, completing roughly 35 etchings and dozens of monotypes as well as a few lithographs and woodcuts. This body of work is the focus of the impressive, large-format catalogue *Ghost: Elizabeth Peyton* that accompanied exhibitions at the Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum at Washington University in St. Louis and the Stiftung Opelvillen in Rüsselsheim, Germany. A new body of etchings is nearing publication as well. Her first print, *Oscar and Bosie,* was a lithograph prompted by an invitation to contribute to the special edition of *Parkett* and immediately revealed her natural affinity with the medium (fig. 98). Her fluid watercolour technique translated easily into lithography's liquid tusche, from which the youthful, amorous couple emerges. Depicting Oscar Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas (known as Bosie), Peyton featured the subculture of a past century with a glamorous and androgynous timelessness. The figures' faraway stares, characteristic of Peyton's contemplative poses, contribute to the work's melancholy and somehow evoke the pair's doomed futures. The artist revealed her source for this image, citing the film *Wilde* as her inspiration.[1] She read several books about Lord Alfred Douglas as well and, contrary to the accepted cliché that he brought about Wilde's downfall, she commented, 'there was something very special and beautiful about Bosie and that he and Wilde were very in love…'.[2] When asked why she chose this image, which already existed as a painting, for the lithograph, Peyton responded, 'It would be nice to have a picture of two men in love reproduced 60 times.'[3]

98. Elizabeth Peyton, *Oscar and Bosie*, 1998, lithograph with pearlescent dust, 578 x 622 mm (Photo courtesy Gavin Brown's Enterprise, New York).

With this first print, Peyton signalled her facility with printmaking. She made several more lithographs over the next few years, including a series of five in large editions that hang in two Manhattan hotels, pointing to her interest in merging public and private spheres. These images, of Princes William and Harry, and John Jr. and Jackie Kennedy, are similar in their sensuous handling of the medium but depict more recent public figures. Sadly, Peyton abandoned lithography after this series. But in 2002 she turned her attention to etchings and monotypes. Her first suite of etchings comprises six images of seated figures, each posed diagonally against a stark, blank background. The sketch-like scratches resemble her approach in earlier pencil drawings. While the sitters' bodies and clothing may be loosely defined, certain other areas – the face, hair and beautifully delineated scarf in *Rikrit*, for ex-

1. *Wilde*, directed by Brian Gilbert, performed by Stephen Fry, Jude Law, Vanessa Redgrave and Jennifer Ehle. BBC, Capitol Films and Dove International, 1997.
2. Elizabeth Peyton: Artist Questionnaire, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Department of Prints and Illustrated Books, artist file.
3. Ibid.



99. Elizabeth Peyton, *Nick in L.A.*, 2002, etching, 254 x 203 mm (Photo courtesy Two Palms Press, New York).

ample – are carefully and thoroughly represented, reminiscent of Ingres's masterful pencil drawings. Peyton also completed a single etching at this time, *Nick in L.A.,* distinctive for its elaborate background setting (fig. 99). Matisse's early etchings also come to mind when viewing this group and *Nick in L.A.* in particular, with its surfeit of quickly-drawn plants and lush foliage. A portrait of the British artist Nick Relph, seated in the garden of the Chateau Marmont hotel, this etching also inspired Peyton to continue working from life as opposed to photographs. 'He sat very still', she commented.[4]

Peyton collaborated with New York's Two Palms Press for these etchings and has worked there ever since. She completed her first body of monoprints with Two Palms as well and continued the practice of working from life as opposed to photographs. In this catalogue's generous and informative interview between co-curator Beate Kemfert and the artist, Peyton reveals what both the medium and the workshop environment offer her, as well as the ways printmaking has affected her overall practice. For example, when discussing how she began making monotypes at Two Palms, Peyton remarked, 'it's a way of working very quickly with paint that you can't do in any other way… Because I wasn't living in New York [in 2002 when she

4. Elizabeth Peyton, 'A Conversation with the Artist', in *Elizabeth Peyton,* edited by M. Higgs, New York, 2005, p. 253.
5. Elizabeth Peyton, 'Ghost Impressions', in *Ghost: Elizabeth Peyton*, op. cit., p. 111.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

began making prints at Two Palms] I was inviting people to come and sit for me, and that's when I first started painting people from life…it was really the print studio that started me doing it, because there I worked very fast, because of the way things have to happen there.'[5] When asked about the difference between making a print or a painting of one of her sitters, Peyton replied, 'There is also a lightness about printmaking sometimes…A monotype is made in a few hours, or a day, and it dictates a different – more of an open – kind of structure and brushwork.'[6] In another revealing exchange Peyton compared her working process for etchings to that of monotypes: 'It's [etching] more of a quiet drawing process than the more active, painterly monotype process. Maybe it's more intimate feeling and, to try to convey a person with just a line, more condensed in a way.'[7] The interview is nicely bookended by photographs of Peyton and various sitters in the workshop.

Peyton has pursued monotype more than any other print medium and this catalogue illustrates nearly 50, ranging from her first attempts in 2002 to some of her most recent work. She excels at the sinuous brushwork that is the medium's most distinctive feature. Closest to her watercolours, the monotypes also exhibit Peyton's brilliant use of colour. Among her earliest, *Nick in Red and Green*, of 2002, presents a casually elegant, androgynous figure in three major tones, the red and green of the sitter's shirt and the black of his hair. The white of his skin, pearlescent against these bright hues, is punctuated by Peyton's signature red lips. A few years later, Peyton completed *Michael (One)*. Large in scale at nearly 38 by 30 inches, the image is again divided into three major colour zones, the black of the figure's clothing, the luminous pale blue of the background wall, and his tanned skin tone. Here facing the viewer, his red lips exert a magnetic pull. Peyton's recent monotypes show a more sombre palette and a new interest in negative space as the white of the paper becomes an increasingly significant compositional element. Her brushstrokes are even more vigorous now as she shifts toward a looser, more abstract structure. She is also exploring an exciting new arena, focussing on historic cultural figures and even fictional characters, from Georgia O'Keefe and François Truffaut to Wagner's Tristan and Isolde.

Several catalogues devoted to Peyton's work have appeared in the past few years but few discuss her prints, making *Ghost: Elizabeth Peyton* a very welcome addition to the literature. The publications on her paintings and drawings seem to follow a similar picture-book design, no doubt the artist's preference. Dominated by large colour plates, often without captions and page numbers, many of these earlier catalogues compromise reader-friendliness for aesthetic impact. Texts are reserved for the margins, with essays concentrated in the front or back, usually accompanied by a list of works and a bibliography. The design of *Ghost: Elizabeth Peyton* is in keeping with its predecessors and boasts rich full-page reproductions, with blank facing pages in most cases, except where cognates are shown. Helpful brief captions and small page numbers, though, are included here. After a brief Foreword the reader is immediately immersed in the images, absorbed in their seductive colour and captivating faces. Essays are interspersed; nearly a hundred pages in, the reader comes upon the first short essay, by critic Hilton Als. Most of the rest of the text appears in the back of the book. The interview discussed above comes next, followed by another long run of images and the remainder of the text. All texts appear in English and German since this book accompanies both exhibitions.

Co-curator Sabine Eckmann's important essay begins with a brief history of modern portraiture and its concerns with celebrity in the context of a burgeoning leisure class. She discusses Baudelaire's ideas surrounding modernity and dandyism and links Peyton's unique approach to portraiture and beauty with his thinking. She further highlights Peyton's 'democratization of portraiture', stressing how public familiarity with her subjects enhances the accessibility of the work. She also notes Peyton's source materials – public photographs, film stills, as well as illustrations found in literature and her own snapshots – as a feature in this 'democratic re-configuration'. Eckmann examines Peyton's approach to beauty, distinguishing the beauty of her art from the beauty of her sitters. She writes,

> Her form of emotional realism does not merge subject matter with beauty, but brings both into a dialogue. It is not so much the person she portrays that is beautiful, but the brushstroke, colors, and linear treatment through which she portrays them, and through which she reveals her compassion for them. In that sense, beauty materializes itself outside of or alongside the social context.[8]

Eckmann concludes with a detailed reading of a few of Peyton's recent prints, identifying distinctive features that reveal a new direction in Peyton's work – the introduction of still lifes, a greater abstraction in her brushwork, a new emphasis on figure/ground volumes, and even a change in her titles, which now include last names and references to her source material. This close analysis of specific prints is illuminating and would have been welcome earlier in this

8. S. Eckmann, 'Daystar', in *Ghost: Elizabeth Peyton*, op. cit., p. 149.

9. Verbal communication from the artist, courtesy David Lasry, 21 October 2011.

insightful essay as well. Certain questions about Peyton's printmaking, however, remain unanswered by this catalogue. It would have been interesting to learn why she abandoned lithography, which seemed like a natural medium for her or how she compares the complex etching techniques she uses with master printer Craig Zammiello with the directness of monotype. Have other artists of her generation embraced monotype this seriously? As it is unlikely that another catalogue on her prints will appear for some time, this seems a bit of a missed opportunity.

Eckmann's scholarly essay is followed by a charming and revealing piece by David Lasry, founder of Two Palms Press, offering a wonderful window into a day in the workshop with Elizabeth Peyton. The book closes with the List of Artworks and a biography. The list is arranged by medium: monotypes, lithographs, etchings and woodcuts. Unfortunately, no explanatory head note is included, which creates some confusion. It is not indicated whether the list represents a catalogue raisonné of Peyton's printmaking to date, but this author inquired and established that the lists of editioned prints are comprehensive to date.[9] The list of monotypes represents a selection for these exhibitions and is not meant to be complete. The documentation in these sections is not consistent, with some entries including sheet and image dimensions and others not. In the latter cases the reader does not know what the dimensions represent. That is particularly problematic with the etchings where sheet margins have been cropped from the otherwise beautiful reproductions. This is a loss as plate marks and margins often highlight the 'etching' quality of the work. These small details are in the 'irritating' category but hardly detract from this otherwise impressive volume.

The exhibition's title, *Ghost*, is particularly well chosen, referencing the paler, second images often obtained after printing the first run of a monotype. Peyton frequently reworks her 'ghost' images, generating exciting variations on a theme. The opening of the book beautifully illustrates this practice with a series of three monotypes, *Flowers and Books (Camille Claudel*, Vertumnus and Pomona, 1905), from 2010. This luxurious book is the first major presentation of Peyton's prints and an important contribution to the understanding of her overall work. It is also gratifying to see such a capacious monograph devoted to the printmaking accomplishments of a young artist. Hopefully this is a trend that will continue.

William Kentridge

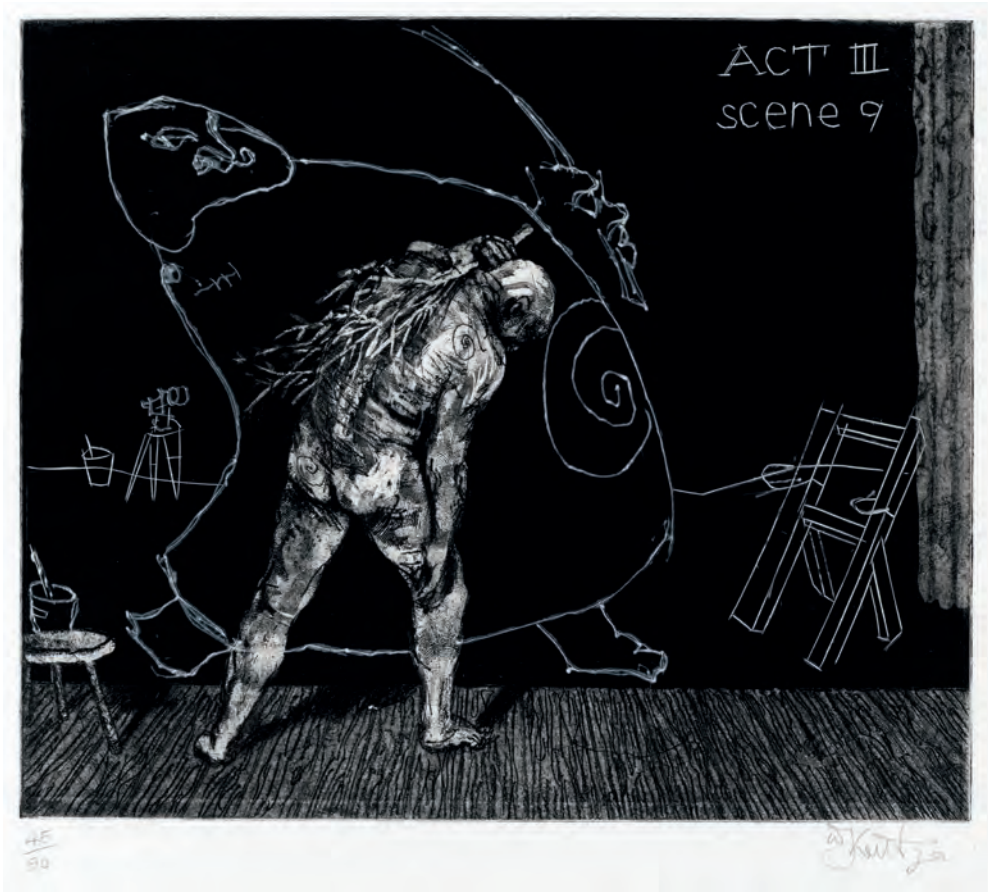
Paul Coldwell

Judith B. Hecker, *William Kentridge: Trace. Prints from The Museum of Modern Art*, exhibition catalogue, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 24 February–17 May 2010, New York, 2010, 75 pp., 104 col. ills., $29.95.

William Kentridge is one of that small number of contemporary artists whose graphic output is central to an understanding of their overall practice. In Kentridge's case, prints and books made over three decades sit alongside a body of work that also includes drawing, animation and performance. *William Kentridge: Trace* was made to coincide with the showing at MoMA of the touring exhibition, 'William Kentridge: Five Themes', a major survey of the artist's work previously on view at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and the Norton Museum of Art. The exhibition at MoMA was augmented by the substantial holdings of prints and artist's books from their collection and which are the focus for this publication.

William Kentridge: Trace is both artist's book and catalogue and serves as an exemplar of an imaginative collaboration between artist and museum. Conceived by Judith Hecker, the book serves not only as a catalogue of prints and books by the artist held in the collection at MoMA, built up over 20 years, but also as an artist's book in its own right. The publication is interlaced with pages of new drawings and annotations by the artist on translucent paper that add striking new readings to the reproductions and text that can be seen through the pages. This juxtaposition and sense of reflection brings to the fore the essential nature of Kentridge's practice, namely the layering of image, memory and time and the idea of drawing in all its manifestations as a means to challenge and animate discourse. This is an art that uses graphic language as a direct form of address. It is also an art that revels in jarring and stylistic collisions.

While on many levels this is a publication to savour, one frustrating aspect is the fact that while the series, *Little*



100. William Kentridge, *Act III, Scene 9* from *Ubu Tells the Truth*, 1996–97, aquatint, etching and engraving, 250 x 300 mm (The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Acquired through the generosity of Agnes Gund © 2010 William Kentridge).

Morals, of 1991, and *Ubu Tells the Truth*, of 1996–97 (fig. 100) are reproduced in their entirety, others are represented by selections. Since Kentridge's work carries such a strong narrative motion, this can be disrupting and the viewer is left hanging, having to imagine what has been omitted. On the other hand, instead of a dry, factual presentation of the works as one would expect from a catalogue raisonné, here the artist's pages serve to link series and works together suggesting that the ideas are still in flux and open to reinterpretation. A particularly strong example of this is a double-page spread, where phrases such as 'The stained blanket', 'The clean sheet' and 'The foul bite' printed on the translucent papers sit above Kentridge's prints of typewriters, serving as questions, propositions or alternative titles (fig. 101).

Kentridge's engagement with the book format is well represented. A number of the pages of the folio *Receiver*, made in 2006, are reproduced, including the wrap-around letterpress cover giving a clear sense of the book's physical presence and the relationship between text and image across the page. Likewise the concertina book *Portage*, of 2000, is reproduced in its entirety, the torn silhouettes of figures marching across a background of encyclopedia pages.

The book contains three substantial pieces of writing.

101. Double-page spread from the book *William Kentridge: Trace* by Judith B. Hecker.

102. William Kentridge, *Walking Man,* 2000, linoleum cut, sheet 2,502 x 978 mm (The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Jacqueline Brody Fund © 2010 William Kentridge).

The first, the essay 'Trace' by Hecker, eloquently establishes the importance of print to Kentridge's overall oeuvre and most importantly the manner in which themes 'cut across all his mediums' and the improvisational nature of his practice. This later point is clearly evidenced in the surface of his intaglio work where the plate acts as a record of the artist's hand, its trace. The second written section is an annotated list of the prints. This is succinct and informative, not only from a curatorial perspective – clear facts concerning the printers and other technical information – but also for placing the works within Kentridge's personal history in the wider context of South Africa. The third piece of writing is a talk by the artist himself to the Associates of the Department of Prints and Illustrated Books at MoMA. It feels appropriate, given the nature of his practice that it should take the form of an address. In this he speaks with disarming clarity of his work and the importance he places on his prints, citing for example how the etchings for *Ubu Tells the Truth* were the starting point rather than the conclusion of a project which finally resulted in the theatre production *Ubu and the Truth Commission*. He also talks about linoleum as the quintessential material of printmaking in South Africa, due not only to its cheapness as a material and that it can be easily printed without a press, but for its quality of committing the artist to a mark (fig. 102). For this reason he says that he is still wary of the digital print because that it can result in 'no one finally having to take responsibility for a decision'. This is significant for an artist whose work has been predicated on a clear political position and for whom printmaking is an essential means of testing ideas.

This publication will be a welcome addition to even those very familiar with Kentridge's work and one hopes that it will inspire more museums to be similarly imaginative in their approach to future publications.

Contemporary Printed Art in Switzerland

Antonia Nessi

L'art imprimé en Suisse. Die Schweizer Druckgrafik 2004–2007, edited by Stéphanie Guex, with contributions by Christophe Cherix, Chantal Prod'hom, Beatrix Ruf, Laurence Schmidlin, Paul Tanner and Roland Wäspe, Le Locle, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 26 September 2010–13 February 2011, Bern, Benteli Verlag, 2010, 140 pp., 123 col. and 6 b. & w. ills., €24.50.

L'art imprimé en Suisse. Prints in Switzerland 2007–2010, directed by Stéphanie Guex, with contributions by Gilles Saunders, Laurence Schmidlin and Bernadette Walter, Le Locle, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 26 September 2010–13 February 2011, Bern, Benteli Verlag, 2010, 104 pp., 54 col. and 3 b. & w. ills., €24.50.

103. Installation view at Copenhagen of John M. Armleder, *Spirale Blanche*, 2008, portfolio of 10 coloured lithographs (Photo © the artist and Edition Copenhagen, Copenhagen).

Consisting of a group exhibition of seventeen artists, a solo exhibition of prints by Jean Crotti and a display of the work of Swiss publisher Edition Cestio, the Triennale de l'art imprimé contemporain at the Locle Museum of Arts is the most important event for printmaking in Switzerland. 'Printed art in Switzerland' (L'art imprimé en Suisse), and not 'The Print in Switzerland' (L'estampe en Suisse), is the title chosen to designate the most recent editions of this event, and is, in such a context, revealing. The two books published on this occasion provide a contemporary perspective and reveal the need to rethink the vocabulary of and approaches to printmaking. A revival of printed art is also reflected by the decision made three years ago to convene a jury consisting of the leading specialists of printmaking and curators of prints and drawings at Swiss museums. Its members are tasked with the rigorous selection of works of art epitomizing the fundamental issues of contemporary printmaking.

Printed Art in Switzerland 2004–2007, the first volume, provides a comprehensive assessment of printed art in Switzerland between 2004 and 2007. By way of introduction, Paul Tanner reconstructs the main tendencies of the last twenty years. These range from printmaking understood as a 'sensory' process that carries with it an implied physical component, such as in the works of Martin Disler, Joseph Felix Müller and Miriam Cahn, to an almost opposite approach inspired by the external environment, as in the geometrical works of Olivier Mosset, and to the advent of digital prints in the 1990s and the combination of traditional techniques with photography. These developments had already been traced in the exhibition 'Schweizer Druckgraphik 1980–2005: Die Graphische Sammlung der ETH Zürich zu Gast im Helmhaus Zürich' (Swiss Printmaking 1980–2005: The Print Collection of the ETH Zurich on View at the Helmhaus Zurich) of 2005 and its accompanying publication *Schweizerische Druckgraphik im 20. Jahrhundert.*[1] Tanner's introduction also touched on the crucial role of printers, such as Kurt Zein in Vienna, Thomas Wolfensberger in Zurich, Urban Stoob in St Gall or Raynald Métraux in Lausanne, and their contribution to the artists' investigations of different techniques.

Three texts by Stéphanie Guex outline three main tendencies of Swiss printed art through the example of artists exhibited at the Triennale. Building on developments of the 1980s, Olivier Mosset's geometrical works, Günther Förg's 'pictorial' lithographs and John Armleder's combination of plates and inking variations investigate the intrinsic, material characteristics of prints and question their capacity for representation (fig. 103). The works included in the chapter 'Signes et empreintes du monde contempo-

Translated by Camilla Murgia.

1. See *Print Quarterly*, 2006, XXIII, pp. 439–40.

104. Jean Crotti, *Untitled*, 2009, lithograph, image 385 x 510 mm, sheet 500 x 650 mm, published by VFO Zurich (Photo © the artist and VFO Zurich).

rain' (Signs and Marks from the Contemporary World) belong to another category. They appropriate and reinterpret manifestations of mass culture by integrating words as well as images particular to popular culture, such as tattooed bodies. The last of Guex's texts concerns the hybridization with and 'contamination' of printmaking by new techniques, notably photography. Particularly representative of this trend is Crotti's series of lithographs depicting anonymous sitters or magazines cuttings, which the artist first reproduces with acrylic paint or colour pencil and then transfers onto the stone (fig. 104).

The two short and final contributions provide an appraisal of print publishing in Switzerland. While Laurence Schmidlin presents an assessment of the main Swiss publishers, Paul Tanner focusses on the Swiss Society for Printmaking (Société suisse de gravure). Shorter notes on printmakers and their works as well as a list of all print publishers and a selective bibliography complement this volume.

The second book, dedicated to printed art in Switzerland from 2007 to 2010, takes a more selective and radical approach. The limits of printmaking are its guiding principle and common thread. Emblematic of the hybridization that characterizes contemporary printmaking, wallpaper is at the core of the discussion. Starting with Andy Warhol in the 1960s, artists' interest in this medium is characterized by the opposition between wallpaper's negative reputation as mundane decoration and the challenge of finding individual expression within its limitations. Like posters, wallpaper signals the aspiration of printmakers to transcend traditional bounderies by taking over walls and architecture.[2]

In her contribution, 'Les impressions du dessin contemporain: Copie, répétition et métamorphose à l'horizon de l'estampe' (Impressions of Contemporary Drawing: Copy, Repetition and Metamorphosis on the Frontier of Printmaking), Laurence Schmidlin extends the study of the limits and dynamism of printmaking by contrasting it with drawing. As she points out, photography liberated printmaking from its occasional role of merely reproducing drawings, and opened up avenues for a new dialogue with and an exploration of drawing. What drawing borrows from printmaking needs to be redefined; one can no longer consider the techniques of drawing and printmaking as precise and separate categories. The most representative example of such overlap is provided by the methods employed to reproduce drawings, such as copying through pressure, stencilling, tracing, or using carbon paper, mechanical

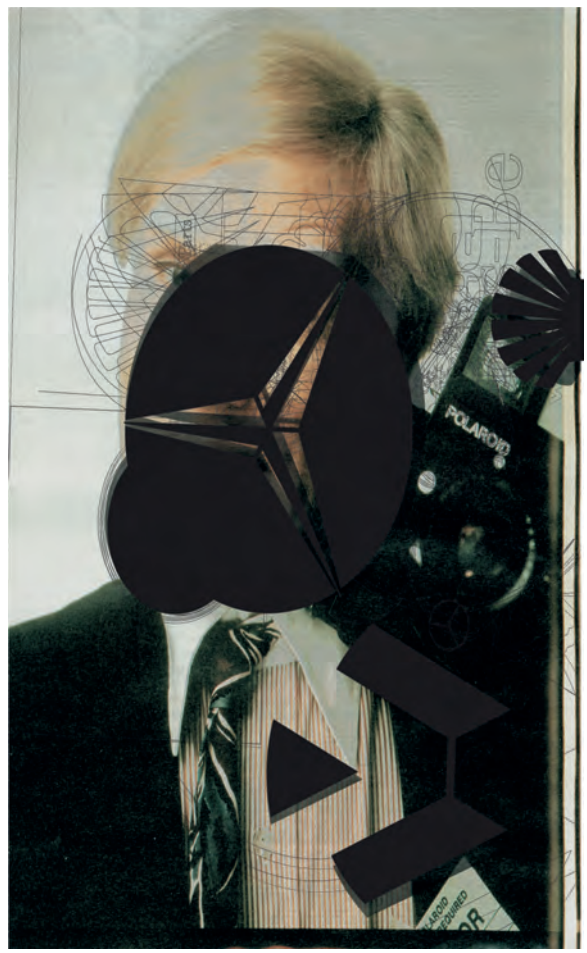
2. See *Print Quarterly*, 2011, XXVIII, p. 179.

processes, xerography, photography and finally digital techniques. The aim is not to reproduce, but to duplicate a drawing. Especially in the production of digital images, there is an increasing interaction between different media; for instance, a drawing can be digitized and printed. It is therefore no longer strictly produced on paper, but through infographic software. As new technologies allow drawing and printmaking to share certain techniques, we wonder what exactly defines them. This is the case for Fabrizio Giannini, who appropriates the vocabulary of brands and international companies (fig. 105). His work recombines commercial vocabulary and prints it with a plotter on a blank canvas. The recomposition of these images taken from the world of advertising aims to denounce the alienating character of consumerism and to reaffirm the practice of drawing and painting.

The last essay, which is by Bernadette Walter, studies the publishers' contribution. Within the context of contemporary art and depending on the publisher, the term printed art may cover prints, photos, artist's books or even multiples in the sense of three dimensional objects produced in limited editions. Walter provides examples of different situations. In the majority of cases, Swiss publishers have their own workshops for printing. Some of them, such as the Lausanne-based printer Raynald Métraux, are involved at every step of the printing process as well as being responsible for the distribution of the work. In other instances the artists – either as a collective or as independents – are responsible for the production and all the steps of the edition. In all these settings, however, the role of the artist remains fundamental. Publishing a print means not only exploring new forms of expression, but also signals the desire to reach a diversified public, with multiples allowing artists to introduce their work to new markets.

These two volumes are more than exhibition catalogues. Besides representing the written and visual memory of a particular exhibition, they will continue to be consulted as independent reference books. Their physical appearance and compact size recall a notebook and we are inclined to think of them as the first two issues of a series. Although their content is different, their scope and guiding principle are the same: both deal with specialist analyses of contemporary printed art, a field that is constantly developing. Compared to the publications accompanying the Triennale de l'estampe originale (Triennial of Original Printmaking) in 2001 and the Triennale de l'estampe contemporaine (Triennial of Contemporary Printmaking) in 2004, they provide a new critical approach that strives to identify emblematic cases and to encourage further research to improve definitions. They pioneer an approach still uncommon in Switzerland, but which is beginning to be sporadically adopted, such as for the exhibition 'Swiss Printmaking 1980–2005: The Print Collection of the ETH Zurich on View at the Helmhaus Zurich' in 2005 and the exhibition 'Borderlines' at the Geneva Cabinet d'Arts Graphiques in 2010.

The ambitious character of these two publications lies mainly in their investigation of new techniques, possibly to the detriment of attention paid to individual artists and to printed art's position as a historical and thematic mirror of our time. While the shorter notes at the end of the volumes provide us with a glimpse of these issues, we would have been curious to know more about the world of these creators, maybe via a series of interviews. A comparison between printed art in Switzerland and abroad would have offered an additional sociological perspective. Finally, a short glossary summarizing the main techniques and innovations of printmaking would have been a welcome addition, particularly given the enduring perception of printmaking as a demanding medium. These last remarks, however, are only the expression of curiosity and reflect a desire for more profound knowledge. The two volumes are a testament to work in progress and represent an innovative approach that holds promise for future perspectives.



105. Fabrizio Giannini, *Untitled*, 2009, inkjet print on canvas, 1,000 x 800 mm (Photo © the artist).

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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