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NUMBER 1

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Lucas Van Leyden (1494-1533), *The Conversion of Saint Paul*, 1509, engraving with hand-coloring, Hollstein 107

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Contents

- Alessandro Gandini: Uncovering the Identity of a Chiaroscuro Woodcutter 3
JAN JOHNSON
- The Print Drawer of the Coaci Inkstand 14
JANE IMMLER SATKOWSKI
- Gyre and Gimble: The Artist Books of Takei Takeo (1894–1983) 23
RACHEL SAUNDERS

Shorter Notices

- Rembrandt's *Reclining Nude* Reconsidered 39
ELMER KOLFIN
- Whatever is Coveted will be Forged – 44
Forgers Set Their Sights on Contemporary Prints
HUBERTUS BUTIN

Notes 54

Catalogue and Book Reviews

- | | |
|--|--|
| Antonio Lafreri's Religious Prints 87
ECKHARD LEUSCHNER | The Strobridge Company's Circus Posters 99
NANCY FINLAY |
| The Business of Prints in
Amsterdam's Golden Age 90
JACO RUTGERS | Peter Blake: One Man Show 103
BEN THOMAS |
| Pierre Lepautre (1652–1716) 93
PETER FUHRING | Markus Raetz 106
LAUREN LAZ |
| The Efflorescence of French
and English Caricature 96
JAMES CUNO | Print/Out: 20 Years in Print 109
RONI FEINSTEIN |
| | Paula Rego 112
SUE HUBBARD |
-

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Alessandro Gandini: Uncovering the Identity of a Chiaroscuro Woodcutter

Jan Johnson

Apart from the reported treachery of Antonio da Trento and the outlines of a biography for Ugo da Carpi (c. 1480–1520/32), we know little of the lives, either professional or private, of the sixteenth-century makers of chiaroscuro woodcuts. Deductions that could potentially be drawn from their respective oeuvres are undermined by the fact that the woodcuts are as often unsigned as signed, or resigned by Andrea Andreani, and subject to the frequent shifting of attributions. When looking for historical traces one is hampered by the nature of several of their names, which like Da Trento, Da Carpi, Vicentino, and Gallus, are essentially or potentially place names in lieu of family names. Though early scholars made the useful discovery of the family name Da Panico for Ugo da Carpi (adding another place name to his nomenclature), other attempts to attach family names, such as Rossigliani for Giuseppe Niccolò Vicentino and the conflation of Antonio Fantuzzi with Antonio da Trento, have not been generally accepted.¹

In light of these handicaps it is gratifying when archives render up a few morsels which can help to flesh out a person behind a signature. Such is the case for Alessandro Gandini, one of the more shadowy figures among the sixteenth-century Italian practitioners. All that is commonly known about him is that he made two chiaroscuro woodcuts, *The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Donor* and *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, both

of which he signed in a distinctive and emphatic way, *Taglio d'Alex.ro Ghandini* (figs. 1 and 2; Bartsch XII, 65, 25 and 41, 18).² The insertion of an 'h' in his name is not consistent and doubtless serves to emphasize that it is a hard 'g'. For example, in Bolognese documents of his period the name Marcantonio can occur with an 'h' inserted after the 'c'. Not content with a monogram, or even simply his full name, he seems to draw attention to himself as the cutter. This might well be owing to the novelty of cutting colour woodcuts for one who is ordinarily a mathematician, as will be shown here.

A document in the Libri Partitorum (Books of Decisions) of the Bolognese Senate dated 30 September 1555 reveals Alessandro Gandini as a propertied resident of that city who is having trouble with his neighbours.³ The Dolfi, an important local family with a large house abutting his, appear to be dumping garbage on the corner of his property, and he is granted permission to build a wall or barrier closing the corner to prevent this nuisance. Besides this dispute, Guidicini, the tireless chronicler of events, family histories and property transactions in Bologna, also recounts surrounding property sales in 1564 in which Gandini is mentioned. These give us a somewhat complicated picture of Gandini's location at number 39 Via San Mamolo (now Via d'Azeglio) immediately below the first vault of the Corte dei Galluzzi (still extant), and adjacent to the former modest church of the confraternity of San Giovanni dei

1. G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Modena, 1786, VII, part III, p. 423; M. Gualandi, *Di Ugo da Carpi e dei Conti da Panico, Memorie et note*, Bologna, 1854, pp. 1–39.
2. A. von Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, Leipzig, 1803–21 (hereafter Bartsch), XII, p. 65, no. 25 and p. 41, no. 18.
3. Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Libri Partitorum, provvedimenti deliberativi presi nel corso dello sedute, VII, fol. 7, 30 September 1555, 'Concessio Soli Alex[and]ro Ga[n]dino: Item Per fab[ulas] alb[as] xxvii. nigr[as] iii. Licentiam concesserunt Alex[and]ro Gandino claudendi angulum quendam quem paries eius domus facit cu[m] pariete ecclesie confraternitatis Florentinor[um] in via sancti Ma'me [Mamolo] ita ut filo a dicto angulo ad parietem domo[rum] Dulfor[u]m in longitudine pedu[m] circiter decem, qui in nihilo[m] desinant capere et in proprios usus convertere possit pedes quatuor et tres quartas soli publici (tot enim pro h[uius]modi angulo claudendo sufficiunt) Attento quod ex relatione ornatus civitatis prefector[um]

id nedum nemini privato obesse, sed etiam occasionem immunditiaru[m] quae in h[uius]modi angulis fieri consueverunt telli, ac ornatu[m] publicu[m] augeri intellig[un]t. Contrariis cu[m] [m]' (Grant of lands to Alessandro Gandini: For twenty-seven white beans [in favour of the licence], three black [against]. Licence granted to Alessandro Gandini to close the corner between the wall of his house and that of the church of the Florentine Confraternity in via San Mamolo in such a manner that from the said corner to the wall of the house of the Dolfi is about ten feet in length, which is land they do not wish to keep and he can convert for his own use four and three quarter feet of public land (this much certainly should suffice for this sort of closed angle) Tried on the grounds of the prefecture's report because no individual should be deprived of the rights of a citizen, but also, because the opportunity for dumping garbage becomes a habit with this sort of corner of land, they judge it to be for the public betterment.)

Fiorentini.⁴ Up until 1546 this church had been Santa Maria Rotonda dei Galluzzi, and Gandini had a perpetual lease from that body, so he had probably been located there since well before the order of Tuscans took it over in that year, subsequently renovating the church in 1552.⁵ This was only one of numerous construction jobs which would have impinged on Gandini's life in the 1550s and '60s. He was very near the *fabbrica* (workshop) of the Basilica of San Petronio, which, in the throes of chronic vacillation over the design for the façade (never resolved), reinitiated the marble cladding of the lower part of the front in 1556. Immediately to the east of the section in which he lived work began in 1562 on the Archiginnasio, the now-famous building commissioned by Pope Pius IV and completed in 1563 that was to unite the various schools of the university in a single building. The Pope insisted on a piazza to set it off, so Piazza dell'Accademia (now Piazza Galvani) was opened in 1563 between the Archiginnasio and the block in which Gandini lived. Piazza Maggiore, just above San Petronio, was equally being remodelled in the years 1565–68.⁶ One can readily imagine the chaos all this would have created in the centre of the city.

These temporary annoyances notwithstanding, the neighbourhood was a very desirable one. Several of the largest and finest senatorial and noble palaces in Bologna were in the block just below Gandini's residence, south of Via dei Carbonesi and Via dei Libri, such as palazzi Legnani, Marsigli and Sanuti-Bevillacqua. In this latter palace, then occupied by the Cardinal Campeggi, Bishop of Bologna, meetings of the Council of Trent had taken place in 1547. Surrounded as he was by neighbours such as the Galluzzi and the Dolfi, titled landowners (however badly behaved), and with his lease at a later date passing to a noble family, the Castelli, Gandini can fairly be assumed to have been comfortably off. Indeed, Guidicini concerns himself only with residents of title or distinction within the arts and sciences. In a further reference to the notarial document of 1564, he lifts the veil on our subject's occupation: he is referred

to as 'mastro Alessandro Gandini matematico'.⁷ Something prompted this member of a learned profession to try his hand at a complex printing method.

Gandini was located in a city where there was a significant printmaking tradition and where, more specifically, the chiaroscuro woodcut had been transplanted by way of Parmigianino's arrival among the artistic refugees of the Sack of Rome in 1527. During his three-year stay in Bologna Parmigianino taught this process to the woodcutter Antonio da Trento and a quantity of prints (of which six are documented) were jointly produced. It is also possible that, as recounted by Vasari, the remarkable *Diogenes* by Ugo da Carpi was made in Bologna (though recent scholars prefer to place its creation during Parmigianino's prior Roman years).⁸ In addition, many chiaroscuro woodcuts after Parmigianino drawings were produced by anonymous cutters over an indeterminate period of time after the collapse of the original project. According to Vasari, when the small business in print publishing for which Parmigianino had prepared drawings was sabotaged by Antonio's theft of these (and possibly blocks and plates, depending on interpretation of the text), as well as prints that were soon retrieved, it placed him in severe financial distress, causing him to return to portraiture and other forms of painting.⁹ If Vasari is correct, it was only after his death in 1540 that large numbers of chiaroscuro woodcuts after his drawings began to be produced, published – and in some cases cut – by Giuseppe Niccolò Vicentino.¹⁰ The affinities in cutting style, the range of colour choices, and the printing quality among these – as well as the anonymity of the cutter in so many cases – strongly suggest a workshop situation, one that would logically have been in Bologna and that may have been reaching its peak of production during Gandini's residency there. Apart from Ugo da Carpi's oeuvre, this body of prints by various hands after Parmigianino, given cohesion by their designer, constitutes the well-known core of Italian chiaroscuro woodcuts of the sixteenth century. How-

4. G. Guidicini, *Cose notabili della città di Bologna*, Bologna, 1868–73, 1982 edn, III, pp. 102–03.

5. Guidicini, op. cit., p. 102 'i Gandini enfiteuti di Santa Maria Rotonda'.

6. Information on buildings and building projects from: *Atlante storico delle città italiane/Emilia-Romagna*, 2, *Bologna*, II, edited by F. Bocchi, Bologna, c. 1995–; C. Ricci and G. Zucchini, *Guida di Bologna*, Bologna, 1930–50, repr. 1976; *La basilica incompiuta: progetti antichi per la facciata di San Petronio*, edited by M. Faietti and M. Medica, Ferrara, c. 2001.

7. Guidicini, op. cit., p. 102, Rogito Paolo Casanova, 1564. A mistake in the spelling of Gandini's name in the first paragraph of p. 102 is corrected in L. Breventano, *Supplemento alle Cose notabili delle città*

di Bologna e alla Miscellanea storico-patria di Giuseppe Guidicini, Bologna, 1908, repr. 1972, Index.

8. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori: Vita di Francesco Mazzuoli*, Florence, 1568, edited by G. Milanesi, Florence, 1906, v, p. 226. As to a collaboration in Rome: A. Gnann, 'La collaborazione del Parmigianino con Ugo da Carpi, Niccolò Vicentino e Antonio da Trento', *Parmigianino e il manierismo europeo*, Parma, 2002, p. 288; D. Franklin, *The Art of Parmigianino*, New Haven, London and Ottawa, 2003, p. 143; D. Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, New Haven, 2006, p. 219.

9. Vasari, op. cit.

10. Ibid., *Vita di Marcantonio Bolognese*, v, p. 423.

ever, many individual cutters outside this circle were drawn to the technique, and Gandini was not alone among these in demonstrably springing from Bolognese soil. Giulio Bonasone, who made one known experiment with a chiaroscuro block, is a case in point. Caroline Karpinski has pointed out the Bolognese origins of the Master ND or NDB, who produced a sizable body of chiaroscuro woodcuts. The small, rare print of a man with upraised arms which she attributes to this artist has, in intact impressions, a printed marginal inscription declaring irrefutably *BONONIAE*, or 'in Bologna' (Bartsch XII, 143, 4).¹¹ She also rightly deduces that Bologna was Gandini's place of activity. The two would in fact have been exact contemporaries, as the Master ND dated two of his prints 1544, and we know Gandini to have been in Bologna before the change in ownership of Santa Maria Rotonda in 1546.

Gandini would not have had to look far for his sources in Bologna. *The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Donor* reproduces in the same direction but with some variations the painting by Girolamo di Tommaso, called Girolamo da Treviso the Younger, executed c. 1529–31 for the Boccaferri family chapel in the basilica of San Domenico, Bologna (now in the National Gallery, London). This church was very close to Gandini's neighbourhood. *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee* has generally been assumed to reproduce the engraving in the same direction by Marcantonio Raimondi of c. 1522–24, related to the fresco by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni (after a presumed Raphael design) then in the Massimi Chapel in Trinità dei Monti, Rome (Bartsch XIV, 29, 23). Though doubtless done in Rome, the engraving could have come to Bologna through Marcantonio's connections with the city where he trained under Francesco Francia and lived until about 1510, possibly returning there for a time after the Sack. However, Achim Gnann has convincingly argued that the model for the chiaroscuro is the Parmigianino copy after a lost Raphael drawing, which is closer in terms of space and details like the overturned bowl or lid.¹² As discussed above, Parmigianino drawings were circulating in Bologna after his death, so it is not inconceivable that a well-connected amateur could have obtained one to copy.

Both prints are in need of some discussion. Beyond the rare impressions of Gandini's *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee* known to me from the Albertina (fig.



1. Alessandro Gandini, *The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Donor*, chiaroscuro woodcut in three blocks, 360 x 245 mm (London, British Museum).

2), the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (two) and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (fig. 3), with the Albertina version in three blocks, the other three prints in only two, there is another, four-block version of this composition. Bartsch found the two treatments sufficiently irreconcilable that he created the identity of a second print, which he called an Ugo da Carpi woodcut republished by Andrea Andreani, an attribution which has been adhered to by most subsequent scholars (fig. 4; Bartsch XII, 40, 17). He acknowledged that he had never seen impressions before the Andreani monogram but presupposed their existence. Gandini's signed print should be recognized as that first state, as also concluded by W. H. Trotter.¹³ It is clear from a comparison

11. C. Karpinski, 'Le Maître ND de Bologne', *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, xxvi, Paris, 1976, pp. 23–27.

12. A. Gnann, in *Roma e lo stile classico di Raffaello*, Milan, 1999, p. 182, no. 119 (alluding to Bartsch XII, 40, 17). For the drawing, A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino*, New Haven and

London, 1971, I, no. 746.

13. W. H. Trotter, *Chiaroscuro Woodcuts of the Circles of Raphael and Parmigianino: A Study in Reproductive Graphics* (PhD, University of North Carolina, 1974), University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, 1989, p. 121.



2. Alessandro Gandini, *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, chiaroscuro woodcut in three blocks, 247 x 375 mm (Vienna, Albertina).

of the two impressions in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (figs. 3 and 4), that the two blocks in which Gandini's working proof is executed correspond to the two lightest tone blocks in fig. 4. Gandini's chiaroscuro is printed with great precision in slate-grey and pale grey (elsewhere it is in black and dark grey), without a key-block, rendering the highlights stark, hence the effect is utterly different from Andreani's usual messy printing in thin grey-brown inks. Where Gandini's signature clearly appears carved into the lightest block on the base of Christ's seat in fig. 2, there are knife slashes evident in fig. 4. Even supposing that Andreani used the Gandini print as his model to recut certain blocks, should the old ones have been damaged by then, possibly adding his own fourth block, this is no different from numerous other instances where this artist/publisher substituted his own blocks to compensate for wear when reprinting earlier woodcuts. Owing to tracing, his lines are wider than the original ones; registration problems can also point to re-cutting, as well as other small differences in detail and condition. The oiliness of his inks and unevenness

of his printing always render comparisons difficult, but I think that Gandini's and Andreani's prints should be treated as one and the same.

Reinforcing this position is the existence of a pre-Andreani state for *The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Donor* in the Rijksmuseum, first noted by Carlos van Hasselt but not widely known (fig. 5).¹⁴ Bartsch knew the print only in Andreani impressions, with Gandini's signature on the step in the middle tone block, and did not speculate in this case on an earlier state. The Rijksmuseum's impression is once again printed in slate-grey, this time in the key-block only, and is devoid of any name. As the key-block is the one in which Andreani's monogram later occurs, presumably added by way of an insert, there is virtually no likelihood that this impression represents a colour separation from Andreani's edition, but rather the key-block as Gandini produced and proofed it. Until other early impressions surface to provide comparison, we must assume that in this case Gandini was responsible for all three blocks, which survived to fall into Andreani's hands in the first decade of the next century. The fact that Andreani ac-

14. C. van Hasselt, *Gravures sur bois clairs-obsurs de 1500 à 1800*, Paris

and Rotterdam, 1965–66, p. 41, no. 121.



3. Alessandro Gandini, *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, chiaroscuro woodcut, proof from two blocks, 250 x 375 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).



4. Alessandro Gandini reprinted by Andrea Andreani, *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, chiaroscuro woodcut in four blocks, 250 x 370 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).



5. Alessandro Gandini, *The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Donor*, key-block only, first state before Andreani's name, 359 x 243 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum).

quired the blocks for both these prints may suggest that they somehow made their way into the stock of the Vicentino workshop, the likely source of the large quantity of chiaroscuro blocks Andreani reprinted later in the century. Their scarcity in pre-Andreani impressions, and their colour choices, however, would militate against Vicentino ever having printed an edition of them for Gandini.

Gandini's darkly sombre colour choice and presentation in the *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee* (most evident in the three-block impression in the Albertina, fig. 2) seem at odds with the lighter, brighter colours

so often found in the first generation of chiaroscuro woodcuts, especially those emanating from the Vicentino workshop. (Even grey impressions of other subjects are generally quite different in quality, containing more white lead.) This treatment may have been dictated by the materials at hand with which he could manufacture ink, supposing that he undertook his own hand-printing.¹⁵ If, on the other hand, it was an aesthetic choice, it is hard to see how it was prompted by either the Parmigianino drawing or the Marcantonio engraving. The drawing is executed in the artist's characteristic pen and brown ink with brown washes creating varying degrees of shading, heightened with white lead, and the scene is in fact flooded with light. Broadly speaking, the Parmigianino drawings which served as models for woodcuts depart from the German precedent of the truly dark/light drawing from which earlier northern chiaroscuro woodcuts sprang, carried out on a deeply tinted paper and dependent on a network of fine white lines for three-dimensionality, the emphasis more on the 'oscuro' than the 'chiaro'. Parmigianino's predilection is for a lighter palette, more transparent washes, and broader application of white heightening. Another mode of chiaroscuro presentation, adhering to the tradition of denser monochrome and higher contrasts, would have been highly visible in Bologna at this time, that is, paintings and frescoes in the grisaille manner (shading from light grey to black), and the drawings emulating these effects that were in circulation. Gandini's fluid white lines on a dark ground in this print share a particular affinity with the 'picturesque' drawings by Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio, for instance, whose influence was widespread and whose graphic style was reinterpreted by the Bolognese Biagio Pupini.¹⁶ Girolamo da Treviso himself had a specialization in both monochrome drawing and painting. He carried out a series of eight grisailles depicting the miracles of St Anthony of Padua for the Cappella Saraceni in the church of San Petronio, as well as chiaroscuro paintings for the Palazzo Torfanini, also in Bologna.¹⁷ The great popularity of monochrome façade painting in Bologna, as in other Italian cities, would have ensured that Gandini was exposed to this style, for example in the frescoed battle scene in chiaroscuro by Amico Aspertini on a building near the

15. Trotter, op. cit., p. 120, assumes that Gandini did his own printing and makes some interesting technical observations based on one of the Boston impressions.

16. L. Ravelli, *Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio*, Bergamo, 1978, e.g. p. 94, fig. 2, and p. 102, figs. 17 and 18. Polidoro was of course copied in other chiaroscuro woodcuts, such as Bartsch XII, 77, 25, any-

mous, and 99, 9 by Vicentino.

17. G. Guidicini, *Miscellanea storico-patria Bolognese*, edited by F. Guidicini, Bologna, 1872, p. 377, regarding the chiaroscuro paintings on the Palazzo Torfanini on Via Galliera. As the work is now unknown, it is likely to have been on the façade. Niccolò dell'Abbate's frescoes on the theme of Orlando Furioso decorated the interior.

Galluzzi property north of his house, and Girolamo's paintings on the façade of the Dolfi palazzo next door which are likely to have been in chiaroscuro.¹⁸ The influence of grisaille painting, which has not been adequately explored in this context, is a potential factor in the production of other chiaroscuro woodcuts printed in the same low-key, matt and very precise way. There are very early, rare examples of Ugo da Carpi's *Death of Ananias*, *Aeneas and Anchises* and *Raphael and his Mistress* printed in a crisp, muted slate-grey quite unlike later printings. Though the Raphael compositions from which the first two derive are brightly coloured, the woodcuts pursue a different aesthetic, possibly with an eye to the grisaille elements that were a frequent part of his decorative schemes. The recent discovery that before Ugo took up the chiaroscuro woodcut he was involved in wall and façade painting may have pertinence to these observations.¹⁹

The bulk of sixteenth-century Italian chiaroscuro woodcuts exist in so many variant reprintings – and these editions have received so little published analysis – that it is rare to find an instance where we can be sure of what the original cutter desired by way of effect. Gandini's handful of proofs for this print provide a fascinating aperçu into the maker's actual artistic intentions and deserve to be understood for this reason.

The small ways in which the woodcut *The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Donor* diverges from Girolamo's oil painting make it likely that a drawn model in monochrome could have crossed the amateur's path and helped him to conceive the tonal separations for his woodcut. Various drawings of this type with similarities to our subject survive, such as the *sacra conversazione* in the Louvre.²⁰

Four other prints that are stylistically very different must be mentioned in connection with Gandini. Firstly, *David and Goliath* is a two-block print catalogued as anonymous by Bartsch, but existing in impressions in the Albertina and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with the inscription *Æ/Gan/dino* carved inconspicuously in the tone block in the lower right corner (figs. 6 and 7; Bartsch XII, 26,7).²¹ Were the signature not so specific, one would not think it was by the same hand as the above two prints. The treatment is almost entirely linear, and the key-block, quite skilful in its fluidity, is very complete unto itself. There is no question of this being but a partial proof of a more fully-developed chiaroscuro



6. Alessandro Gandini, *David and Goliath*, chiaroscuro woodcut in two blocks, 304 x 207 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Bequest of W.G. Russell Allen).



7. Detail of fig. 6.

18. Ibid., p. 371.

19. M. Rossi et al., *Ugo da Carpi, l'opera incisa*, Carpi, 2009, pp. 20, 181.

20. Inv. 4297.

21. The inscription was also noted by Trotter (op. cit., p. 212) but twice overlooked by *The Illustrated Bartsch*.



8. Attributed to Alessandro Gandini, *The Resurrection of Christ*, chiaroscuro woodcut in two blocks, 295 x 192 mm (London, British Museum).



9. Attributed to Alessandro Gandini, *The Resurrection of Christ*, key-block only, 295 x 192 mm (London, British Museum).

print. The handling of the highlights in the tone block bears some resemblance to that in Bartsch XII, 41, 18. The self-effacing mode of signing, with a miscalculation in the key-block causing it to overlap both the cut-out signature and the right edge of the tone block, as well as the composition's realization in only two blocks, make it very likely that it is an earlier work.

A woodcut that should be considered for this oeuvre despite its lack of an inscription is *The Resurrection of Christ*, found in the British Museum in both key-block and two-block impressions (figs. 8 and 9).²² Campbell Dodgson, former Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, wrote on the mount that it was clearly a 'companion print to Bartsch XII, 26, 7', an identification that I find persuasive.²³ Although the cutting is

more gauche, the reliance on contour, the schematic parallel shading, the similar size, and the highly mannered source all link it with the *David and Goliath*.

The attribution of *The Resurrection of Christ* to Gandini sheds new light on another undescribed chiaroscuro that has long been a mystery. This depicts two men, one reclining, sharing a drink of water at a rocky source, correctly identified by the British Museum as pilgrims by the long staff each carries, their hats, and the pouch slung over the chest of the upper one (fig. 10). The British Museum leaves the print unattributed. Two impressions are known, the above one and another in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, which is more clearly printed but has hand-applied wash (fig. 11).²⁴ When one compares fea-

²² Inv. nos 1860.0414.182 (fig. 8) and W.4.14 (fig. 9).

²³ I would like to thank Mark McDonald, Curator of Old Master Prints and Spanish Drawings at the British Museum, for kindly

assisting me with information on the inscription.

²⁴ Prints Album IV, no. 178.

tures like the structure of the profile of the soldier bottom left with that of the standing pilgrim, Christ's ear with that pilgrim's ear, the same soldier's mannered hand that holds the pike with that of the reclining man holding the staff, and the slashing upward parallels used to describe the rocky backdrop with drooping vegetation that hems in the figures in each case, one can see close resemblances. Equally, the distinctive left foot of Goliath with the large toe bent forward in *David and Goliath* is very like the left foot of the standing pilgrim, while the soldier second from the right has a profile reminiscent of that of the right-hand soldier in *The Resurrection of Christ*. In all three the hatching inclines to fairly straight lines, with the occasional chevron-like meeting of shading at opposing angles. The designer and the cutter appear to be the same for the three. *Two Pilgrims at a Spring* is slightly

smaller than the other pair, but similarly done in two blocks, while the grey-blue colour of the tone block in both impressions (on yellowed paper in the British Museum) corresponds to that in the Boston *David and Goliath*.

In terms of the development of cutting skills and the willingness to claim credit for these prints, the logical order of the three works would be first *The Resurrection of Christ*, second *Two Pilgrims at a Spring*, and third *David and Goliath*. The source for these compositions may be sought in the Vasari circle. *The Resurrection of Christ* shares features with the painting of this subject done by Vasari around 1545 with the probable assistance of Raffaellino del Colle (now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples), in which the figure of Christ leaps from the rectangular aperture of the tomb, his left leg bent back in a running position, his right hand



10. Attributed to Alessandro Gandini, *Two Pilgrims at a Spring*, chiaroscuro woodcut in two blocks, 220 x 143 mm (London, British Museum).



11. Attributed to Alessandro Gandini, *Two Pilgrims at a Spring*, chiaroscuro woodcut in two blocks, 220 x 143 mm (Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees).



12. Monogrammist AG, *St Catherine*, chiaroscuro woodcut in two blocks, 168 x 96 mm (Vienna, Albertina).

making the gesture of benediction and his cape swirling around him.²⁵ However, his movement is more dynamic than in the print, he is gazing off to the left of the composition rather than down, and a loincloth shields his nudity. None of the poses of the startled soldiers in the woodcut, with his back muscles under the strain of twisting around with his head over his right shoulder

and his left elbow thrust back, finds parallels in other Vasari compositions, such as a foreground figure in the *Cena di San Gregorio*, completed in 1540 for the new refectory of San Michele in Bosco, Bologna (now in the Pinacoteca of that city).

The reclining old man in the chiaroscuro woodcut of *Two Pilgrims at a Spring*, with his beetling brow and long, flowing beard, is a stock character in both the paintings and drawings by Vasari. Though the artist twice painted San Rocco, the patron saint of pilgrims, no composition similar to the woodcut has yet been located. In general his figure types are less lean and sunken-cheeked than those in this print and *The Resurrection of Christ*, so it seems more likely that the source is an artist within his sphere of influence.²⁶

It should be pointed out that there are several affinities between the *David and Goliath* and *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, another fairly small two-block woodcut by an anonymous cutter (Bartsch XII, 22, 3). Here the links with Vasari and circle are equally demonstrable, though it has frequently been attributed to Parmigianino. The stocky figure of Abraham with his half-lost profile turns his back to the viewer and almost hides the crouching Isaac, as he does in the fresco for the Compagnia del Gesù in Cortona, which has been attributed to Vasari's assistant Cristofano Gherardi.²⁷ A still closer resemblance to the woodcut Isaac, his bare shoulders bent forward and his long hair swept off his neck and drooping over his face, can be found in the Turkish captive on the right in an allegorical drawing of *Victory* made during Vasari's work on the triumphal arch for Charles V's entry into Florence in 1536.²⁸ This head in turn brings to mind the bare neck and long, drooping hair of Goliath, an oddly mannered feature, in Gandini's *David and Goliath*. In both compositions a sword is being swung into the air by a figure who entirely or partially turns his back, revealing pronounced muscles. Robes billow with the vigour of the motion. In the case of *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, however, the less delicate cutting is not sufficiently close to propose an attribution to Gandini.

Finally, at a similar remove from the multi-block woodcuts stylistically is the small, equally rare, *St Catherine* done in two blocks and signed simply AG in the tone

25. A. Cecchi et al., *Giorgio Vasari. Disegnatore e Pittore*, Milan, 2011, p. 82, no. 7, repr. A fuller discussion of the pose with one foot on the ground, in relation to the *Resurrection* attributed to Prospero Fontana, also a very similar Christ figure, is set out by G. Sassu, in *Il Cinquecento a Bologna*, op. cit., pp. 235–37, no. 61.

26. The British Museum online database states that Popham attributed the design of the *Resurrection of Christ* to Vasari, but

no reference or further detail is given.

27. P. Barocchi, *Vasari Pittore*, Milan, 1964, p. 134 and pl. 50b, for Gherardi's drawing of the composition, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, inv. 7083F.

28. A. Cecchi, 'Qualche Contributo al Corpus grafico del Vasari e del suo Ambiente', *Il Vasari storiografo e artista: congresso*, Arezzo and Florence, 1974, pp. 144–45, pl. 23.

block (fig. 12; Bartsch XII, 84, 36). Although associated with Gandini since Bartsch, it is less indisputably by him than the *David and Goliath*. The tighter source composition may account for its overall dissimilarities to the latter print and its companions. (The designer is again unknown, though there is a Parmigianesque element in the saint's pose, which can be compared, for instance, to that of the woman in the lower left foreground of his drawing of *The Marriage of the Virgin* in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, also engraved by Caraglio.)²⁹ The print displays far more internal shading and the execution is more cohesive and skilled. Certain features of the cutting, on the other hand, do resemble Gandini's: the key-block again describes the design in its entirety; the shading meeting at a sharp angle on the saint's right leg and the long lines of hatching throughout the rocky grotto she sits in are not unlike similar elements in *The Resurrection of Christ*; and the cross-hatched modelling on her thighs cut into the tone block can be compared to that on Christ's thighs in *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*. The unique known impression is printed in brown like *The Resurrection of Christ*.

Albeit difficult to demonstrate beyond a shadow of a doubt, the identification of the Alessandro Gandini of the documents with the author of the woodcuts is upheld by several persuasive factors: the exactness of the match in names, by no means common ones; the appropriateness of the city and period to the practice of the craft; the near certainty that the documented Gandini knew the work of contemporary artist Girolamo da Treviso owing to the proximity of his residence to various of Girolamo's frescoes and oil paintings, in the nearby churches of San Domenico (where the painted source of one of the chiaroscuro woodcuts hung), San Petronio, San Giovanni in Monte and San Salvatore, and, most strikingly, on the façade of Casa Dolfi next door; and finally the fact that the cutter of only three to six prints would inevitably have

had another occupation, while his amateur status is underscored by the changes in style from one woodcut to another and the extreme scarcity of proofs. It is not as improbable that 'mastro Alessandro Gandini matematico' should have dabbled in the chiaroscuro woodcut as it might at first appear. There was not the perceived gulf between the arts and sciences that pertains today, arithmetic and geometry enjoying a place alongside music among the Seven Liberal Arts. The study of perspective which was essential to a Renaissance artistic training wedded mathematics and the fine arts in practical terms, and there are numerous examples of artists who were skilled in technical fields such as architecture and engineering which clearly required advanced levels of calculation and geometry. Among these was, indeed, Girolamo da Treviso, who, after 1538, became military engineer to King Henry VIII of England. Mathematicians were in this period equally multifaceted, for instance, Gerolamo Cardano, a famous mathematician who sojourned in Bologna in the 1560s who was also an important physician and inventor, a 'voracious polymath' in the words of one author.³⁰ Gandini, for his part, may not have been sequestered from the world of productivity: he does not seem to have lectured in mathematics, since his name does not appear in the Rotuli of the *Studio* (the common designation for the University of Bologna, centre of the most distinguished Renaissance school of mathematics in Italy), so he may have practised his profession in an applied context and rubbed shoulders with various trades.³¹ Alternatively, the location of his residence and his apparent affluence may indicate that he was one of those mathematicians who were welcomed as theorists and learned men in the homes of the nobility. It was in these circles that supporters of the arts were to be found.

By diversifying with this small body of prints Alessandro Gandini has left his mark in a way he would not otherwise have done.

29. Inv. 339.

30. P. L. Rose, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics*, Geneva and Droz, 1975, p. 146.

31. U. Dallari, *I Rotuli dei Lettori Legisti e Artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799*, II (1513–1660), Bologna, 1889.



The Print Drawer of the Coaci Inkstand

Jane Immler Satkowski

The exuberance and complexity of artistic patronage in late eighteenth-century Rome is succinctly expressed in the ornate inkstand by the master silversmith and sculptor Vincenzo Coaci (1756–94), now in the collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (fig. 14).¹ One of the most splendid decorative art objects of the entire eighteenth century, this portable writing desk reproduces in miniature the redesign undertaken in 1786 during the reign of Pope Pius VI (Giovanni Braschi) of the monumental sculptural complex on the Piazza del Quirinale in Rome. Coaci signed the object and dated it 1792 (fig. 13). Despite the inkstand's importance as a masterpiece of craftsmanship and creativity, and as a document of the Quirinal monument's appearance in the late eighteenth century, it remains enigmatic. Most intriguing of all is its silver drawer and the significance of the trompe-l'oeil prints it contains, which are the subject of this article.



13. Detail of fig. 14 showing the signature and date.

Despite serious financial and political crises during most of his pontificate, Pius VI pursued the augmentation of the papal art collections and an ambitious building program, which included the erection of the Quirinal monument. The monument incorporates a pair of colossal ancient Roman sculptures of horses and their tamers known as the Dioscuri and an Egyptian obelisk unearthed near the Mausoleum of Augustus near the Tiber.² While the statues had been standing on the site for centuries, in 1786 the architect Giovanni Antinori reoriented them and inserted the obelisk between them. Although a fountain was part of Antinori's original design, the present granite basin was from the Roman Forum, where it had served as a watering trough, and was only incorporated into the monument in 1818, after the death of Pius VI.³

Coaci fashioned this writing desk according to Antinori's original design of 1782 for the Quirinal monument, but the object is more complex, incorporating decorative elements found neither on the austere stone monument nor in Antinori's design.⁴ The lion's head biting a serpent forms a handle (fig. 15), which, when pulled, causes the pedestals of the horse tamers to swivel out and come into direct alignment with the obelisk, thus revealing containers for ink and sand in their bases. The recumbent sphinxes supporting the monument wear headdresses that conceal sockets for candles. A lever under the fountain brings the turtle doves, situated on the rim of its upper basin, together to kiss. The inkstand's original tooled-leather carrying case, resembling

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1. Gift of the Morse Foundation, 69.80.1 a,b. The ensemble was acquired for the museum in 1969 by its then director, the distinguished eighteenth-century specialist Anthony Morris Clark. For the most recent thorough analysis of the inkstand see A. González-Palacios in *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by E. P. Bowron and J. J. Rishel, Philadelphia, PA, 2000, p. 192.
2. For the Horse Tamers see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, New Haven and London 1981, pp. 136–41, and in E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, Copenhagen, 1968, pp. 117–18. See also C. D'Onofrio, *Gli Obelischi di Roma*, Rome, 1967, p. 257; and B. A. Curran et al., *Obelisk, a History*, Cambridge, MA, 2009.
3. For the complete history of the monument, see J. Collins: 'Non

Tenuis Gloria: The Quirinal Obelisk from Theory to Practice, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1997, XLII, pp. 187–245, and J. Collins: *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts*, Cambridge, MA, 2004, pp. 195–203. Collins (1997) gives all the documents and contemporary accounts concerning the discovery, restoration and elevation of the obelisk, the repositioning of the Horse Tamers, and spectators' reactions in full. The plan for the new fountain was approved by Pope Pius VII, as documented in a fresco by Domenico de Angelis in the Galleria Clementina in the Vatican Library; Haskell and Penny, op. cit., p. 115, fig. 65.

4. G. Antinori, *Proposal for Erecting the Quirinal Obelisk with the Dioscuri*, ink and wash on paper, 1782. Rome, Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Fondo Lanciani; Collins, 2004, op. cit., p. 197, fig. 116. There existed also an original plaster model, no longer extant.



14. Vincenzo Coaci, *Inkstand and Writing Desk Representing the Quirinal Monument, Rome*, 1792, silver, silver gilt, lapis lazuli, on a base of rosso antico marble, 724 x 521 x 345 mm (The Minneapolis Institute of Arts).

an Ottoman fortified town with gates, battlements and a bell tower, has also been preserved. Under the silver lion's head above the base, there is a pull-out drawer, made entirely of silver, meant to contain paper and writing implements. It reveals trompe-l'oeil prints engraved directly into the silver floor of the drawer, over-

lapping as if they had been casually thrown in (fig. 16).

The importance of the Quirinal monument in the intersection of papal and civic power was emphasized by the plaster models that Pius VI commissioned Antinori to make of the proposed design for presentation to foreign diplomats.⁵ None of these models has sur-

5. Lorenzo Prospero Bottini, dispatch sent to the government of the Republic of Lucca, 31 December 1785, in G. Sforza, 'Episodi della Storia di Roma nel Secolo XVIII. Brani Inediti dei Dispacci degli

Agenti Lucchesi: Parte V: Saggi de' dispacci di Lorenzo Prospero Bottini, I: Aneddoti del pontificato di Pio VI', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Florence, Italy, 1887, XX, no. 60, pp. 411–20, especially p. 415.

vived. However, in 1787 Marchese Luigi Ercolani presented Pius VI with the surprise gift of a replica of the model commissioned by an anonymous donor and executed in silver and other precious materials by Coaci. Lorenzo Prospero Bottini, an agent from the Republic of Lucca at the papal court, sent a dispatch on 8 December 1787 reporting this event and giving a complete description of the inkstand. Ercolani, a protector and patron of Coaci, evidently acted here as the intermediary for another party.⁶ The whereabouts of this gift, which was intended to flatter the pope, remain un-



15. Detail of fig. 14 showing the drawer with images of prints below the lion's-head handle.

known. Several years later, on 14 April 1792, it was again reported in the *Diario Ordinario* that Coaci had finished a replica of the Quirinal monument. Also known simply as Chracas after the original publishers, the *Diario* chronicled the activities in the Papal States and in the Vatican and was issued as a small newspaper on Saturdays.⁷ The minute description of the object accords so closely with the appearance and functioning of the Minneapolis inkstand that recent scholarship assumes them to be identical.⁸ The owner of this sumptuous possession, who might have had personal connections to the prints engraved in the silver drawer, is not recorded in the document.

At the top of the fictive array of prints appears the artist's calling card, inscribed *Vincenzo Coaci Argentiere*, beneath the ruin of the Temple of Venus in Baia. The image is inspired by a print in *Teatro della Guerra: Regno di Napoli*, a guide book of the antiquities in the region around Naples published by Vincenzo Coronelli in 1707 (fig. 17).⁹ It is given extra prominence by being overlapped by details from the two prints stacked beneath it which seem to grow out of their space. Near the top a second fictive print with an architectural ruin becomes visible, with the letters *Tem* of the word *Tempio*. This image closely resembles the one entitled *Tempio del Gigante* at upper right on the same page as the Temple of Venus in Coronelli's book. The Tempio del Gigante was located in Cumae, situated on the Bay of Naples, four miles from Baia. Close examination allows the exact identification of Coaci's source, which is the print first published by Pompeo Sarnelli in 1685 and subsequently reproduced in several guidebooks readily accessible in the eighteenth century, although Coaci transposed the inscription from the top to the lower

6. Bottini, 8 December 1787, see Appendix 1 for transcription.

7. Transcribed in Appendix 2.

8. The misconception that the 1787 replica presented by Ercolani and the one described by Chracas in 1792 were identical with each other and with the object in Minneapolis was first questioned by A. González-Palacios, op. cit., who noted that the 1787 description of the object does not refer to the sphinx candlesticks, nor to the engravings that decorate the silver drawer, but only states that the inkstand was given to Pius VI, not long after the Quirinal monument was completed in 1786 (p. 192). A significant detail in the Chracas 1792 description that is not included in Bottini's 1787 account is the movement of the turtledoves, which the Chracas report strangely calls 'due mosche, che pajano vere' (two flies, which seem real). Moreover, Chracas notes that the object is visible 'nello Studio del sudetto Professore' (in the study of the aforesaid professor), who was most likely Coaci. The Chracas report does not say that this inkstand, which bears the same date as the Minneapolis inkstand, was ever given to the pope. González-Palacios correctly concluded that Coaci made two inkstands 'very similar but probably not identical.' This new theory

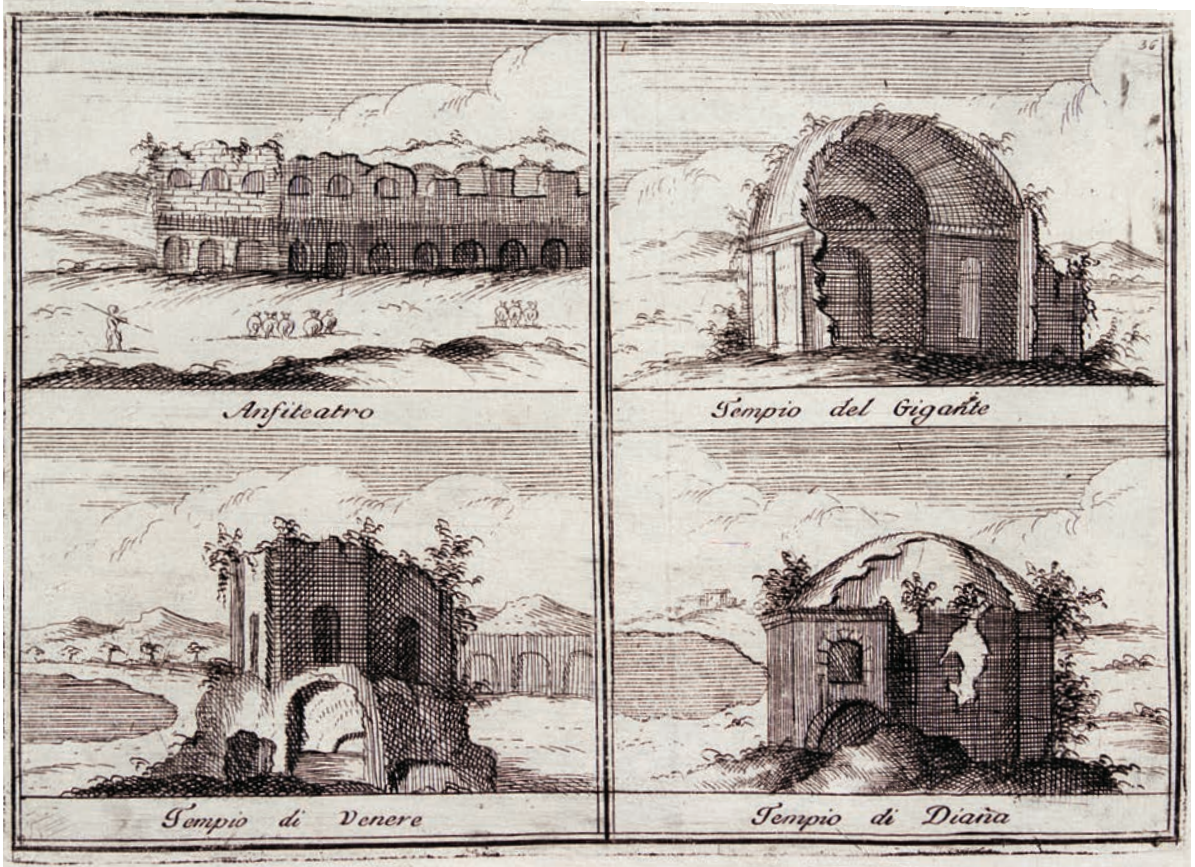
appears credible because neither the Minneapolis masterpiece nor its leather case bears any reference to Pius VI. Only at the top of the obelisk is the pope's heraldic device visible, which, however, corresponds to that represented on the ancient obelisk.

9. I am grateful to Giorgio Marini, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, for the identification of the printed sources of this and the following inkstand images, figs. 17 and 18. Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Anfiteatro, Tempio del gigante, Tempio di Venere, Tempio di Diana*, in *Teatro della Guerra: Regno di Napoli*, 1707, fol. 34, 125 x 176 mm (image), Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, call number: 203.d.198.

10. P. Sarnelli, *Guida de' forestieri: curiosi d vedere, e considerare le cose notabili di Pozzoli, Baja, Miseno, Cumia ed altri luoghi convicini*, Naples, 1685. Eight editions were published between 1685 and 1697. A similar image of the *Tempio dei Giganti*, embellished with shepherds and sheep, is found in Pietro Petri, *Vedute delle antichità della città di Pozzuoli*, Naples, 1718; reproduced in G. Alisio, *Napoli nel Seicento: Le vedute di Francesco Cassiano de Silva*, Naples, 1984, p. 198. Both Sarnelli and Petri published several regional guide books, in which the same images were reused.



16. Detail of fig. 14 showing the silver drawer of engraved prints.



17. *Amphitheatre, Tempio del Gigante, Tempio di Venere, Tempio di Diana* from V. M. Coronelli, *Teatro della Guerra: Regno di Napoli* (Rome, 1707), fol. 34, etching, 125 x 176 mm (image) (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana).



18. *Tempio del Gigante*, from P. Sarnelli, *Guida de' forestieri... di Pozzuoli, Baja, Miseno, Cuma* (Naples, 1702).

margin (fig. 18).¹⁰

The print immediately beneath the calling card reproduces Salvator Rosa's etching of a standing figure of an old warrior leaning on a long sword (fig. 19). It is no. 11 from Rosa's series of 62 *Figurine*, which can be reliably dated late 1656 to sometime in 1657.¹¹ As Rosa declared in his frontispiece, the *Figurine* are simply *capricci*, and as such were undoubtedly meant to be free of any specific meaning, their sense of remoteness enhanced by their lack of setting.¹² Well over half of the *Figurine* plates portray soldiers or lightly equipped troops, wearing armour that varies from classical to contemporary, being, for the most part, amalgams of renaissance parade dress and the artist's

11. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, edited by Walter L. Strauss, New York, 1978–[2012], XLV, p. 279, no. 28. The etching plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, Rome (inv. 7473, 28B). See R. W. Wallace, *The Etchings of Salvator Rosa*, Princeton, 1979, no. 1.

12. Wallace, op. cit., p. 25.

13. J. Scott, *Salvator Rosa His Life and Times*, New Haven and London, 1995, p. 114.



19. Salvator Rosa, *Standing Figure of a Soldier Leaning on a Sword*, etching, 141 x 93 mm (London, British Museum).

imagination.¹³

Beneath the soldier appears the image of a copper-plate engraving of a *rosone*, a stylized rosette identified as from the forum of Nerva in Rome and similar to the engravings published in Carlo Antonini's *Manuale di varj ornamenti* in 1781 (fig. 20).¹⁴ This book was meant as a manual for architects, sculptors and artisans needing models for the ornaments that appeared on the exterior and interior of houses and palaces. Each plate shows the face of the rosette, and at the bottom of the plate the same rosette is shown in profile. The rosettes are

mostly circular in format, with acanthus leaf designs in spirals, floral designs, and in some cases in combination with figural images in the center. In each plate, the specific location of the rosette is indicated below the image. The image in Antonini's *Manuale* labeled *Rosone Antico nel Foro di Nerva* differs from the image here in having eight petals of two alternating designs, all uniform in size, and a center with no seeds. The drawer print has a round center studded with seeds, surrounded by irregularly shaped leaves, and lacks the delineation of its profile. The *rosone* was a common repetitive element used

14. C. Antonini, *Manuale di varj ornamenti tratti dalle fabbriche, e frammenti antichi: per uso, e comodo de' pittori, scultori, architetti, scarpellini, stuccatori, intagliatori di pietre, e legni, argentieri, gioiellieri, ricamatori, ebanisti &c.: opera raccolta, disegnata, ed incise*, Rome: Casaletti, 1781. Vol. 1: *La serie de'rosone antichi esistenti in Roma*.

15. Fragments of the entablature of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar, rebuilt and rededicated by Trajan in A.D. 113, make up a frieze of similar rosettes alternating with projecting scrolled modillions. See J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, New Haven and London, 1981, fig. 34.



20. Rosette from the Forum of Nerva, from C. Antonini, *Manuale di Vari Ornamenti* (Rome, 1781), vol. 1, etching (Spring Hill, TN, Trillium Antique Prints & Rare Books).

for a number of antique temples.¹⁵

The least visible print is the musical score that lies at the bottom of the fictive pile in the drawer. The inscription at the head of the score reads: *Canone a Tre All'Unisono. Retrogrado e diritto. F.C.* (canon for three voices at the unison, retrograde and prime). The text reads: *Vieni Minerva. Il cielo argivo, p[e]r te l'ulivo, Spuntar miró* (Come, Minerva. The Argive sky saw the olive tree grow for you); fig. 21. As told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* Minerva (Pallas Athena) and Neptune (Poseidon) disputed the ownership of Attica, the region of which Athens was the capital. A tribunal of gods promised victory to whichever of the contestants produced the more useful gift for the inhabitants. Standing on the Acropolis, Neptune struck the ground with his trident, whereupon a horse sprang up.

Minerva caused an olive tree to sprout, the symbol of peace and plenty, and was judged the victor. The Italian adjective *argivo* refers to the city and region of Argos, in the Peloponnese in Greece, and is rendered 'argive' in English. As suggested by the inscription, it is a three-voice canon at the unison; the calligraphy and notations are consistent with an eighteenth-century musical score.¹⁶ A canon is a piece of music written in 'imitation', wherein one voice (line of melody) is accompanied by another voice, or by more than one voice, rendering the same melody. Most canons, musically speaking, are performed as one of perhaps many interpretations of the score provided. Usually only one part of a three voice canon at the unison is written. In performance it is started by the first voice, after which a second voice (starting at a specified time after the first voice and overlapping it) performs exactly the same rhythms and pitches, then a third voice does the same. In the opinion of Lowell Lindgren, this line of music is unusual because it begins with two measures of rest and ends with two measures on a held note, with a fermata over it (the sign above the *rò* in *miró*), indicating a pause. This line begins with the time signature *C* (indicating four beats to the measure). Thus, Lindgren suggests, if the score is turned upside down, it can be performed 'retrograde'. However, if inverted, the line again begins with the time signature *C*. Lindgren suggests that perhaps this single line of music was all that was written, since the notes written at the very end have no text, and probably are not part of the three-voice canon. The word *Minerva* above the last three notes seems to indicate that Minerva was the final word of the text of a final line of music. Lindgren concludes that the three-voice canon was a very brief one, set in a nineteen-syllable quatrain.¹⁷ John A. Rice, a musicologist who specializes in the eighteenth-century, contends, however, that the word *retrogrado* does not necessarily mean that the canon can be read upside down, but rather that it can be read from right to left (backwards, or reversed), as well as from left to right. The notation of the canon (complete in one line) makes this possible. Rice fully wrote out all parts of the canon by following a few clues as he interprets them: the *segno*, the sign above the word *Minerva*, indicates where the second voice should enter; the sign above *Spuntar* (perhaps another mirror image *C*) indicates where the third, retrograde, voice should enter (fig. 22). The fermata indicates where the canon

16. The musical historian Dr Kathryn Bosi, at Villa I Tatti, Florence, identified it as an eighteenth-century musical score, and suggested that the author might have been Francesco Gasperini (1616–1727), due to the initials F. C. (or G). Verbal communica-

tion, 5 May 2008.

17. Email of 26 May 2008, from Prof. Lowell Lindgren, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



21. Transcription by John A. Rice of the *Canone a Tre all'Unisono, Retrogrado, e diritto* as it appears in the silver.

Vie-ni, Mi-ner-va. Il cie-lo ar-gi-vo, per te l'u-li-vo, Spun-tar mi-ró

22. Realization of the canon by John A. Rice.

ends. Rice believes that the music is rather poor, probably the work of an amateur.¹⁸ Another eighteenth-century specialist, Pierluigi Petrobelli, concurs with Rice's opinion and his transcription, especially with regard to the initials, which indicate the way the canon should be resolved, rather than the composer. Due to what he assesses as the poor character of the music, Petrobelli

suggests that Coaci himself might have been the composer, since Roman visual artists were familiar with the musical language of their times. The seventeenth-century architect Carlo Rainaldi (1611–91), for example, also composed music.¹⁹

But can this canon really be sung? Gerald J. Stahl, a professional choral musician in Minneapolis, has exam-

18. Letter of 29 May 2008, from Prof. John A. Rice, Rochester, MN.

19. Letter of 28 June 2008 from Prof. Pierluigi Petrobelli, Università di Roma 'La Sapienza'.



23. Detail of fig. 14.

ined the canon from a performer's point of view, and has proposed an alternative six-part solution. This is a realization of only one part of one possible rendition, the part during which all voices are singing together.²⁰

One recurring theme of the imagery of these prints is the goddess Minerva, whose name appears in the musical score. On the gold platform directly above the silver drawer, a lion's head holds a curling serpent in its mouth (fig. 15). The serpent was associated with the Greek Athena at the beginning of her cult, signifying wisdom or prudence.²¹ The decorative trophy below the red marble platform consists of two banners overlaid with several military elements. Foremost is a shield bearing Medusa's head swarming with serpents, a regular feature of Minerva's shield (fig. 23).²² The ram's head on one spear indicates the sign of the zodiac Aries (21 March–19 April), associated with Minerva's festival in March, the Cinquatras, celebrated 19–23 March at her temple on the Aventine.²³ To the Romans, Minerva was above all the goddess of handicrafts, learning and the arts, and as such was particularly venerated by the guilds of artisans, artists and professional men, and later references to the goddess were often intended as emblems of classical learning and erudition. As the goddess of wisdom, she presided over intellectual en-

deavors in general, and was the inventor of musical instruments. Since the Greek goddess Athena had fused with Minerva in Rome's history, Minerva also assumed Athena's attributes as a warrior-goddess, often represented with helmet, spear, shield and coat of mail.

While the Minneapolis inkstand of 1792 was clearly meant to impress the viewer and add theatricality to the act of writing, its patron remains unknown. He was not Pope Pius VI, whose coat of arms and personal attributes do not appear on the object, but possibly a person born during the zodiacal signs of Pisces (19 February–20 March), or Aries (21 March–19 April), or specifically during the Cinquatras (19–23 March), which those signs span. Or perhaps another significant date in the patron's life occurred during this time period. The prints of the Temple of Venus and Tempio del Gigante might suggest that the patron had some connection to the Baia/Cumae area. The engraved images would have indicated the learned status of the patron: his or her knowledge of music and singing, the antique architectural heritage, and the visual arts in the form of print collecting. It is to be hoped that further archival research will establish the patron's identity, and shed further light on the silver drawer and its engraved images.

20. Letter from Gerald J. Stahl, 14 December 2011. Stahl also noted several musical inconsistencies elsewhere on the sheet: a 4/4 measure fragment, an adjacent 3/4 measure (inconsistent with the style of the period), as well as erroneous beamings and an incorrect stem placement.

21. J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, New York, 1979, pp. 209–10.

22. Hall, op. cit., p. 206.

23. D. Kravitz, *Who's Who in Greek and Roman Mythology*, New York, 1975, p. 156.

Appendix 1

G. Sforza, 'Episodi della Storia di Roma nel Secolo XVIII. Brani Inediti dei Dispacci degli Agenti Lucchesi: Parte V: Saggi de' dispacci di Lorenzo Prospero Bottini, I: Aneddoti del pontificato di Pio VI', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1887, XX, no. 60, p. 426, dispatch of 8 December 1787.

L'argentiere sig. Vincenzo Coacci, già stato giovane nell'officina del defunto Cav. Luigi Valadier e a lui succeduto nei più cospicui e difficili lavori di orifice, non meno che in una ben giusta reputazione, ha terminato per commissione del sig. Marchese Ercolani una superba scrivania, passata in regola al S. Padre, senza sapersi a di cui nome. Rappresenta la

medesima in argento il nuovo obelisco coi suoi colossi, cavalli, Fontana e annessi esistenti al Quirinale, della stessa grandezza del non piccolo modello in stucco, distribuito già dell'architetto Antinori a vari distinti personaggi della dominante. Dentro i piedistalli vi sono il calamaio, polverino e gli altri comodi ad uso di scrivania, e toccando semplicemente una testa di leone, nella base che serve d'ornamento, si possono far tornare i due cavalli all'antica situazione. L'opera in tutte le sue parti è eseguita con somma esattezza e maestria, e cresce la sua ricchezza per varie dorature e base di lapislazzolo e cornice corrispondenti, facendosi ascendere l'intero valore a circa mille scudi.

Appendix 2

Newspaper entry for 14 April 1792, *Diario Ordinario*, Rome: Chracas, no. 1804, pp. 27–28.

Vincenzo Coacci Argentiere ha ultimato l'opera rappresentante l'Obelisco di Monte Cavallo con tutto il masso, e Fontana a tenore il nuovo disegno; Quest'opera è tutta di argento, e in molti parti ricoperta di oro e varj colori, con il piano di lapislazzaro, e tutta nella più esatta proporzione coll'originale e vi è annessa la scala di palmi Romani. La medesima è fatta da vedersi in due manieri. Toccando una testa di Leone, che serve di ornamento alla base a forza di molle girano i piedistalli, e cavali, e tornano come prima erano situati; premendo la detta testa tornano come presentemente eistono. Ad effetto, che abbia più di un uso vi sono situate

nell'intorno senza capirsi tutti i pezzi per una Scrivania. Premendo in un lato una molla si vedono il calamajo, e il polverino situati nelle piedistalli dei Cavalli, e tornano a ricoprirsi senza che si veggano; i rimanenti, del lavoro sotto il Piano è di lapislazzaro; vi è un Tiratore per comodo di carta, e altro per scrivere; nel fondo di detto tiratore si vedono scolpite alcune carte, con figure di una nuova maniera, che sembrano riportate nel medesimo argento quattro sfinge sostengono tutto il masso, ed hanno in testo un vaso, con dei fiorti, tolti i quail presentano il comodo di quattro Candelieri. La tazza della Fontana è retta da tre Tritoni, e intorno ad essa nel toccare una molle si vedono girare due mosche, che pagono vere; e ad effetto che ognuno resti persuaso di quanto si è ditto, resta visibile nello Studio del sudetto Professore.

Gyre and Gimble: The Artist Books of Takei Takeo (1894–1983)

Rachel Saunders

The imagination of Takei Takeo (1894–1983) was an extraordinary place, and its fantastic inhabitants were introduced into this world in his magical prints, poems and children's books over sixty prolific years. Takei's name is relatively unfamiliar in the West where those of his avant-garde contemporaries, such as the

early abstract artist Onchi Kōshirō (1891–1955) for example, are in wider circulation.¹ Takei was whole-heartedly engaged with children's literature and illustration from the beginning of the liberal, cosmopolitan movement to enrich the Japanese experience of childhood that grew out of early twentieth-century political and

Note on the text: Japanese names are given in Japanese word order, family name followed by given name, throughout.

1. At the time of writing, outside Japan, the Museum of Fine Arts,

Boston is unusual in having acquired an almost complete set of kanpon in recent years. In Japan, a complete set is in the collection of the Irufo Dōgakan museum, Nagano Prefecture.

educational reforms in Japan, and it is perhaps this very commitment to art and literature for children that has led to a certain lack of contemporary critical engagement with his work. The omission becomes particularly clear on encounter with the opus he christened the ‘kanpon’ – a set of 139 privately published diminutive artist books produced over almost fifty years between 1935 and 1983, the year of his death.

Kanpon literally means ‘published book’. But, in coining the generic term for this long-term project, Takei injected it with a new and enlivened meaning specific to his creative, and at times eccentric, explorations of the expressive potential of the medium of the book. Among the antiquarian book dealers of Tokyo today, kanpon means Takei. The most casual glance at the incredible attention to detail and quality of craftsmanship lavished upon the kanpon suggests some kind of mania, and indeed Takei described their production as his disease and himself as a man possessed.² They represent a remarkable record of half a century of continuous work by a modern print artist in Japan and offer not only the opportunity for adults to experience the unique imaginative worlds of Takei Takeo, but also a chance to hear the artist’s own carefully embedded commentary on the art and craft of the book.

Takei Takeo was born in the city of Suwa, in present day Nagano Prefecture, in 1894 into a family of former shogunal retainers. He became interested in Western art while at middle school, and a keen admirer of the artist Takehisa Yumeji (1884–1934) and the poet Kitahara Hakushū (1885–1942) in particular. In 1913 he left Nagano for Tokyo, where he studied western art and oil painting. In 1920 he married and began work as an illustrator for the magazine *Children’s Friend* (*Kodomo no tomo*). This led to his involvement in the founding of the magazine *Children’s Country* (*Kodomo no kuni*) in 1922, which continued publication until 1944. The magazine was an important outlet for the work of print artists, poets and writers who, like Takei, were deeply interested in the creation of art and literature specifically for children. Takei’s involvement deepened with the death of its founder Okamoto Kiichi in 1931, when he took over key editorial functions. Takei’s dedication to the creation of a new children’s literature is marked by his creation of the term *dōga* to indicate pictures created specifically for children on the occasion of his first solo

show in 1925.³ By 1927, when he founded the Children’s Illustration Society (*Nihon dōga kai*) Takei’s work was in national circulation following the publication of *King Ram-ram* (*Ramu-ramu Ō*) in 1926. His best-known children’s book was *Red Ogre, Green Ogre* (*Akanoppo Aoinoppo*, 1935), the story of two ogres attempting life in human society, which initially ran as a newspaper serial.

The red and green giants may be the most familiar of his creations today, but *King Ram-ram* seems to have had far greater personal significance. It is the time-twisting tale of a boy with shape-shifting powers whose real name is so outlandishly long that it is shortened to Roi Ram-ram. He sets out on a quest for a magical obsidian fish hook which will explain the mystery of his birth and rebirths. Encountering adventure and adversity along the way, he eventually finds the fish hook, and becomes a real king, complete with Queen Guinevere. Ultimately, he disappears to be reborn into his next karmic cycle. The date and place given for his death – 25 June 1894, by a small lake in the mountains in Japan – are in fact identical to Takei’s own date and place of birth. Given that Takei begins to sign his work ‘RRR’ from 1926, Roi Ram-ram’s quest for the fish hook begins to look like a tongue-in-cheek metaphor for Takei himself, and for his own voyage into the colourful and imaginative new worlds of children’s art and literature to which he had committed his creative energies. Onchi certainly seemed to read it this way, writing affectionately of his associate ‘RRR’ in a 1935 article.

The piece begins as promisingly as any: ‘Once upon a time’ in a luxuriant garden, where ‘the king’, a magical, hermit-like figure, is presented as if in his natural habitat among a tangle of fragrant, layered foliage so deep it appears enchanted. According to Onchi, while his people are asleep, ‘the King brings to life dreams they didn’t know they had right before their very eyes. This is how he enlivens people – children, and the inner child in the hearts of adults’.⁴

Onchi goes on to describe the essential characteristics of Takei’s children’s books, highlighting their ‘brightness’, their ability to satisfy young minds which crave the extraordinary, and their out-and-out boisterous good humour. But he also remarks upon the slight melancholy which perpetually haunts the king’s own expression, a physical trace Onchi attributes to the loss of Takei’s first son in infancy in 1921. Onchi observes the dissonance

2. T. Takei, *Hon to sono shūhen* (On Books), Tokyo, 1975, p. 10.

3. Onchi Kōshirō may be the first to have credited Takei with the invention of the word *dōga* to fill a linguistic gap reflecting a wider cultural lacuna in his 1935 article ‘RRR Kanken’ (RRR: A Personal View), in *Shosō* 17, III, no. 5, 1935, pp. 492–506. However, Takei self-deprecatingly distanced himself from the claim in a

subsequent article ‘Shuppan dōga no konjaku’ (Publication of children’s illustrations past and present) (*Shosō* 10, II, no. 4, 1936, pp. 288–90) where he explains his usage as arising naturally out of two pre-existing words for children’s pictures, *kodomoga* and *dōyōga*.

4. Onchi, op. cit., p. 492.



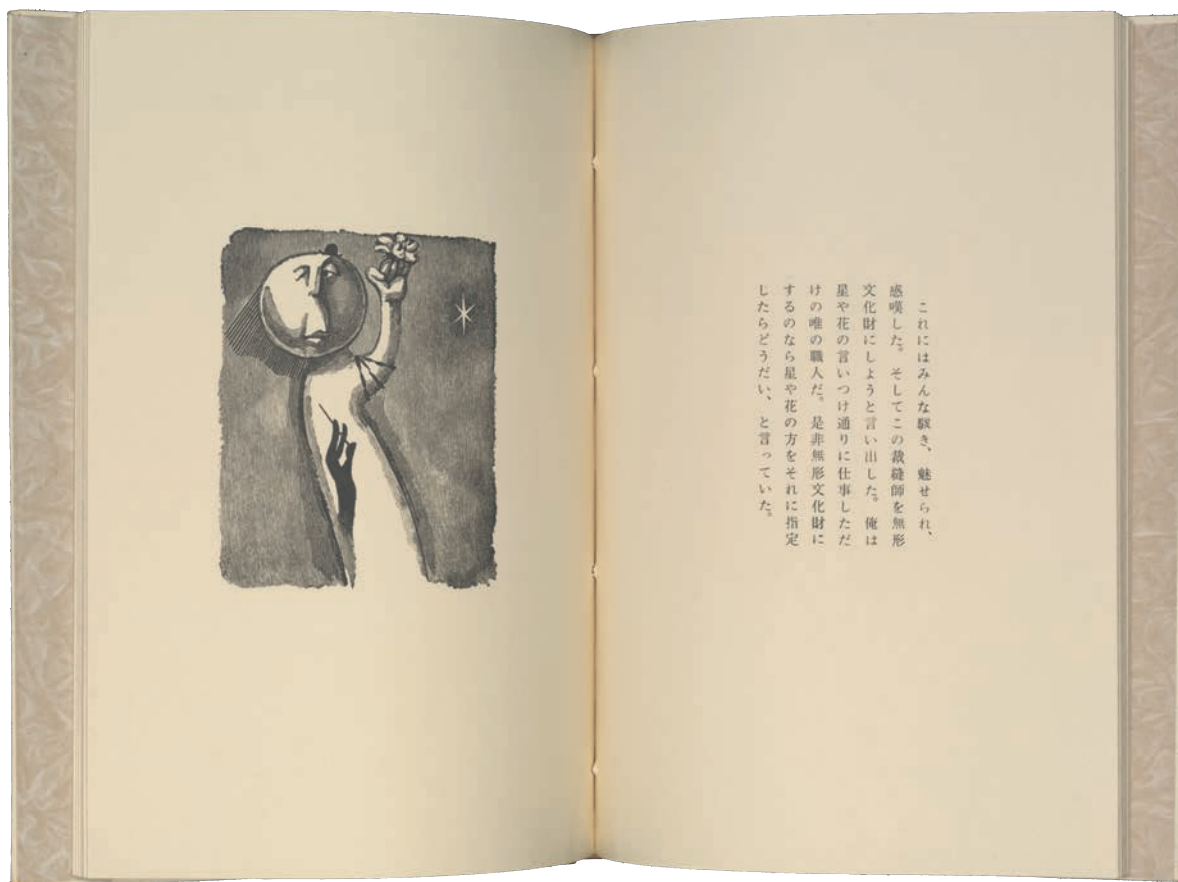
24. Spread 4 showing the man searching for the tiny snow-woman, but finding only a comb, from No. 101, *The Tiny Snow-woman* (*Chiisana yuki onna*), 1975, illustrated book, 'snow view' (flocked print), closed book 145 x 130 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

between the energetic imaginaries of Takei's book worlds and the sadness with which the man himself lived, hinting that while this sadness was itself partially generative of the magic, as that magic grew, so did the gap between worlds. Writing in 1935, Onchi could of course have no idea that in the space of ten months between 1938 and 1939, Takei would again be devastated by the loss of his second and third sons.

Takei stopped using the RRR signature in 1939, but his commitment to children's illustration and literature never wavered. Despite also subsequently losing his home and studio in the Tokyo firebombing, Takei managed to continue to produce at least one kanpon a year throughout the war. In 1955, following the lifting of wartime restrictions on magazine publications, he became editorial adviser for the magazine *Kinda bukku* (Kinder book). He continued to work as an artist right up to his death at the age of 88.

Both Takei's children's illustrations and the kanpon are stylistically eclectic, as frequently calling to mind Klee, Kandinsky, or Miro as native visual idioms, but Takei's work goes beyond the selection of headline styles in order to appropriate some particular modernist stance. The superficial similarity of elements of

Takei's work to modern art produced in Europe reflects something more significant than the long-running game of 'catch up with the West', which Japanese modern art has frequently been accused of playing. Rather, the sheer range and yet immediate recognizability of Takei's work reflects a natural and easy oscillation between the post-facto critical territories of East and West, contemporary and traditional. Modern Japanese prints have most often been approached within an oppositional paradigm of so-called Creative Print (*sōsaku hanga*) artists, usually defined as progressive artists who produced a print from start to finish with their own hands, in opposition to New Print (*shin hanga*) artists who worked in a more traditional model inherited from early modern ukiyo-e print production, where specialist craftsmen carved and printed the design produced by the artist. Takei's coining of the term 'irufu' (*furui*, or the word 'old' written backwards) as a conceptual framework for the toy designs he began to produce in the late 1920s, strongly suggests that his approach involved re-examination of, rather than rupture with, Japan's artistic past. In this, Takei aligns well with artists such as Hiratsuka Un'ichi (1895–1997) and Kawakami Sumio (1895–1972) who, rather than using the tradi-



25. Spread 3 with text relating that people found the stars and flowers the tailor embroidered in the sky so beautiful that they wanted to designate him an intangible cultural treasure, from No. 48, *The Space Tailor* (*Uchū saiōshi*), 1961, illustrated book, 'transmitted western woodblock print' (appears to be wood-engraving transmitted onto a metal plate via photography), closed book 185 x 128 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

tional approach to Japanese printmaking with its division of roles as a foil to their own work, instead explored its expressive possibilities, using traditional ukiyo-e as a point of reference, playing innovations against conventions.⁵ Takei's kanpon, like his toy designs, embody a critical challenge to the status quo of the contemporary imagination, and in so doing also clearly call into question this conventional formulation of modern Japanese print history.

Takei's meeting with the publisher known as Shimo Tarō seems to have served as a catalyst for the production of the kanpon series. Shimo was the proprietor of the Aoi Book Studio (Aoi Shobō). Shimo published a number of well-known Creative Print artists, and in time-honoured fashion, Shimo as the publisher pro-

vided support for the artists so they could explore new techniques and modes of expression in both book and single-sheet print format. Takei described his meeting with Shimo as being the real starting point for the kanpon series, and he in fact worked for the company from 1938 to 1944. Although the kanpon were privately published by Takei, in the early days at least Shimo apparently assisted him in the acquisition of materials, and with connections to specialist craftsmen.

The majority of the kanpon were produced in numbered editions of 300. Just as coterie magazines supported single-sheet prints, the kanpon were supported by a society of friends (*tomo no kai*), and members paid a subscription to receive the books. What is most extraordinary about this long-running series is the work-

5. See A. Volk, *Made in Japan: The Postwar Creative Print Movement*,

Milwaukee, 2005, p. 24

manship and range of techniques used in the books, each meticulously noted, often in Takei's own descriptive terms, in the publishing information on the last page of the book. The techniques range from traditional woodblock, to copper-plate etching, clay and chord printing, colotype, lithography, carbon printing, engraving, gravure, dry point, paste-resist dyeing (*yūzen*), polystyrene printing, flocking, straw mosaic, marquetry, stencil, lacquer varnish (*inden*), carbon paper rubbing, laser cut, lenticular print, appliqué and well beyond. The artistic modes employed are similarly eclectic, many immediately recognizable as being informed by Expressionism and Surrealism in particular.

Each book also contains its own text, often conveyed in words, but in some cases exclusively through images. These texts vary greatly across the series, but all share degrees of quirkiness, some resonating with the non-sense literature of Edward Lear or Lewis Carroll. For example, no. 101, *The Tiny Snow-woman* (*Chiisana yuki onna*), of 1975, is a variation on a traditional folk tale in which a man finds a tiny, magical snow-woman to provide for his every need and then loses her to avarice (fig. 24; inv. 2007.189). No. 37, *An Alternate Eden* (*Eden no ihen*), of 1959, is a comic commentary in which Adam overreaches himself by using all his ribs to create numerous beauties for his pleasure. In no. 84, *White Paper on Peace* (*Heiwa hakusho*), of 1970, Takei explores different notions of peace through talking animals. No. 48, *The Space Tailor* (*Uchū saihōshi*), published in 1961, is the story of a human tailor who is called up for the galactic duty of keeping the star-ways in good repair, but leaves the skies in disgust when humans explode an experimental nuclear bomb (fig. 25; inv. 2007.157). In no. 113, *Osan the Thunder Goddess* (*Kaminari Osan*), of 1977, Takei seems to be commenting on societal change through the story of the thunder god who marries a gifted and beautiful thunder goddess. Post-marriage though, she fills their home with electrical appliances, refuses to acknowledge her husband's superior position in the household, and feeds their children only instant ramen, which is clearly unacceptable for the maintenance of robust thunder-god-ness (fig. 26; inv. 2007.198). She is eventually thrown out of the heavens to land on earth, where her arrival leads to the birth of 'Women's Lib.' These ingenious, whimsical and frequently lyrical short texts positively dance across the pages, each book safely encased in its own clasped cover (*chitsu*) and clamshell box, a palm-sized world of its own. These worlds clearly captivated the members of the society of friends, who were bound by the strict rules of the society's agree-

ment; missing one subscription would result in the termination of membership, and selling any one of the kanpon was absolutely forbidden.

Takei's application of the non-specific term kanpon to a highly distinctive and carefully calibrated series of works itself seems to call attention to the question of what in fact it is that constitutes a book. Initially, though, the size and superficial similarity of the kanpon to children's books seems to have resulted in the confusion of the childlike with the childish. Takei himself was irritated by the frequent application of the term *mamehon* (bean book), meaning miniature book, to the kanpon, which he regarded as misrepresenting and trivializing them. The confusion is understandable, given their small scale and fantastic stories. On taking the books in hand and reading them though it quickly becomes clear that their stories are truly meant for adults. Nevertheless, the intensity of small size, attention to detail, and startlingly high production values is such that each kanpon, in its own way, utterly absorbs and intrigues the reader much as if he or she is being read to, before the encounter ends – often abruptly, with an unanticipated adult twist away from the expected.

If not children's books for adults, then perhaps the kanpon would be better regarded as 'artist books'. Definitions of this loosely applied term vary, from books showcasing work by painters and sculptors mediated by publishers in nineteenth century Europe, to works entirely conceived and produced by the artist themselves in the twentieth century and beyond. Pinning down exactly what constitutes an artist book, however, is perhaps ultimately not a terribly useful exercise, especially when considered against the background of the history of Japanese woodblock-printed book production, in which the role of the artist varied greatly. What these objects have in common, and what marks them out as special, is that they confound our expectations of a book.⁶ Takei's kanpon certainly surprise on a number of levels, and the emphasis on technique and the variety of formats in which he presents the books, from their size, to the variety of bindings, to the extraordinary range of printing techniques he uses, certainly qualify these books as artist books in the broadest sense of the word. Medium and narrative even physically combine in the capricious story of no. 79, *Ji-ko Embarks* (*Ji-ko no funade*), of 1969, in which the images are printed cumulatively on clear plastic polymer film pages so that as the reader turns the pages he or she gradually undresses and unshackles a woman, setting her free from the chains of domestic drudgery. By the

6. For a history of the definition of the artist book, see J. Drucker,

The Century of Artist's Books, New York, 1995, pp. 1–19.

last page she is released to go wherever she wishes in the freedom of her naked self.

We know from Takei's own writings that he was not alone in the production of the kanpon. He had the support of Aoi Shobō, and employed specialist artisans for binding and the execution of specialist techniques.⁷ In the case of no. 31, *Biography of a Tree-spirit* (*Kodama no denki*), of 1957, the efforts of a certain Ichinose Tsurunosuke in creating the miniature marquetry he required caused Takei to comment that the book was really no longer his creation, but that of Ichinose (fig. 27; inv. 2007.656).⁸ Takei, however, is the undoubted mastermind of this highly innovative programme of technical experimentation. The text and images for No. 66, *Samoyed Tale* (*Samoiya-den*, 1966) for example, were produced with lacquer varnish (*inden*), a technique usually associated with decorated leather (fig. 28; inv. 2007.128).

No. 56 *The Pearl Pool* (*Shinju no ike*, 1964) is printed on polystyrene with metallic ink, a publication which Takei simply calls Polystyrene paper edition. No. 41, *Straw King* (*Sutoro-ō*, 1960) is produced in 'straw mosaic', using tiny pieces of dyed straw, and the illustrations for no. 59, *The Mermaid and the Moon* (*Ningyo to jōga*), of 1966, are constructed out of pieces of shell. No. 71, *The Lake Person* (*Mizuumi no hito*, 1967) requires the reader to apply the enclosed 'miracle tower' to the images for full effect (fig. 29; inv. 2007.131).

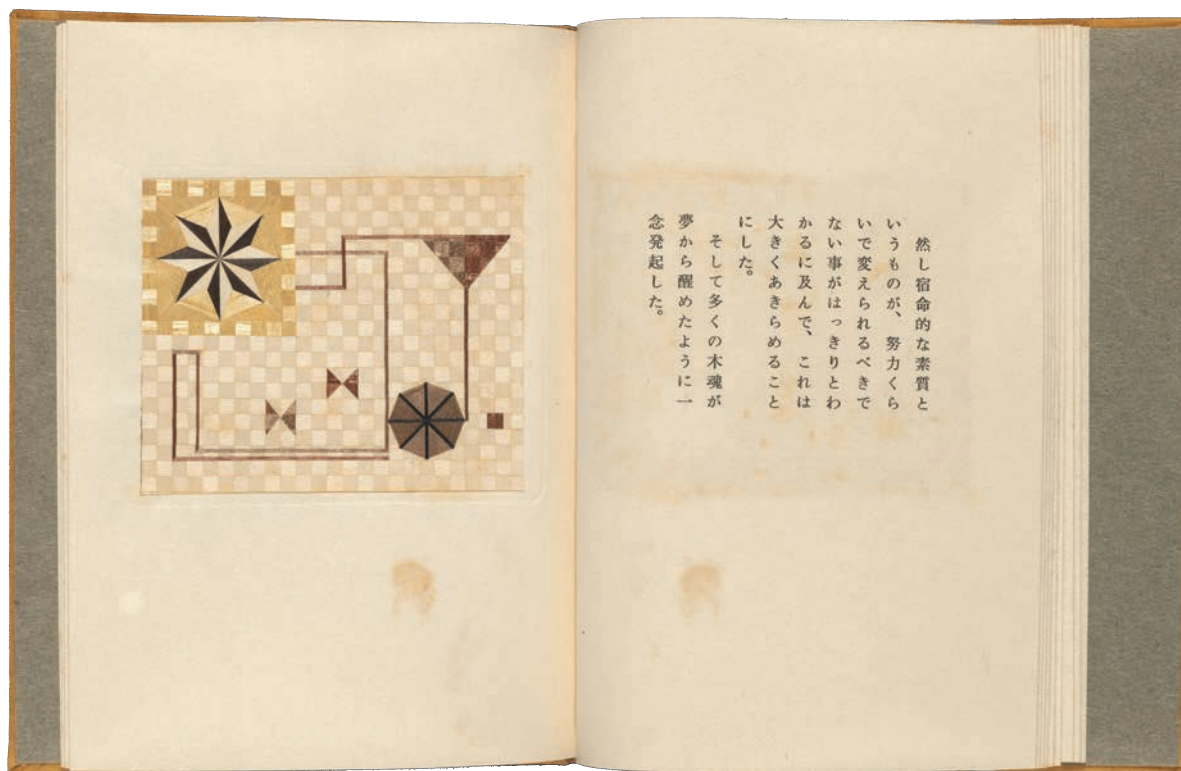
The materiality of the kanpon is in no way concealed, and its very deliberate foregrounding in fact acts as a kind of 'paratext', framing our reception of the object. In its original sense, paratext has most often referred to front matter in a book – preface, foreword, acknowledgements, frontispiece, author portrait and so on – and these additions, mostly sanctioned by the au-

7. Takei, op. cit., p. 161.

8. Takei, op. cit., p. 164.



26. Spread 3 showing Osan and her husband arguing over the number of electrical household appliances she has acquired, from No. 113, *Kaminari Osan* (*Osan the Thunder Goddess*), 1977, illustrated book, self-carved woodblock 'karen print' (woodblock print), closed book 120 x 88 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).



27. Spread 6 with text describing how the tree-spirit finally gives up his repeated attempts to produce his own voice, from No. 31, *Kodama no denki* (*Biography of a Tree-spirit*), 1957, illustrated book, marquetrie, closed book 147 x 111 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

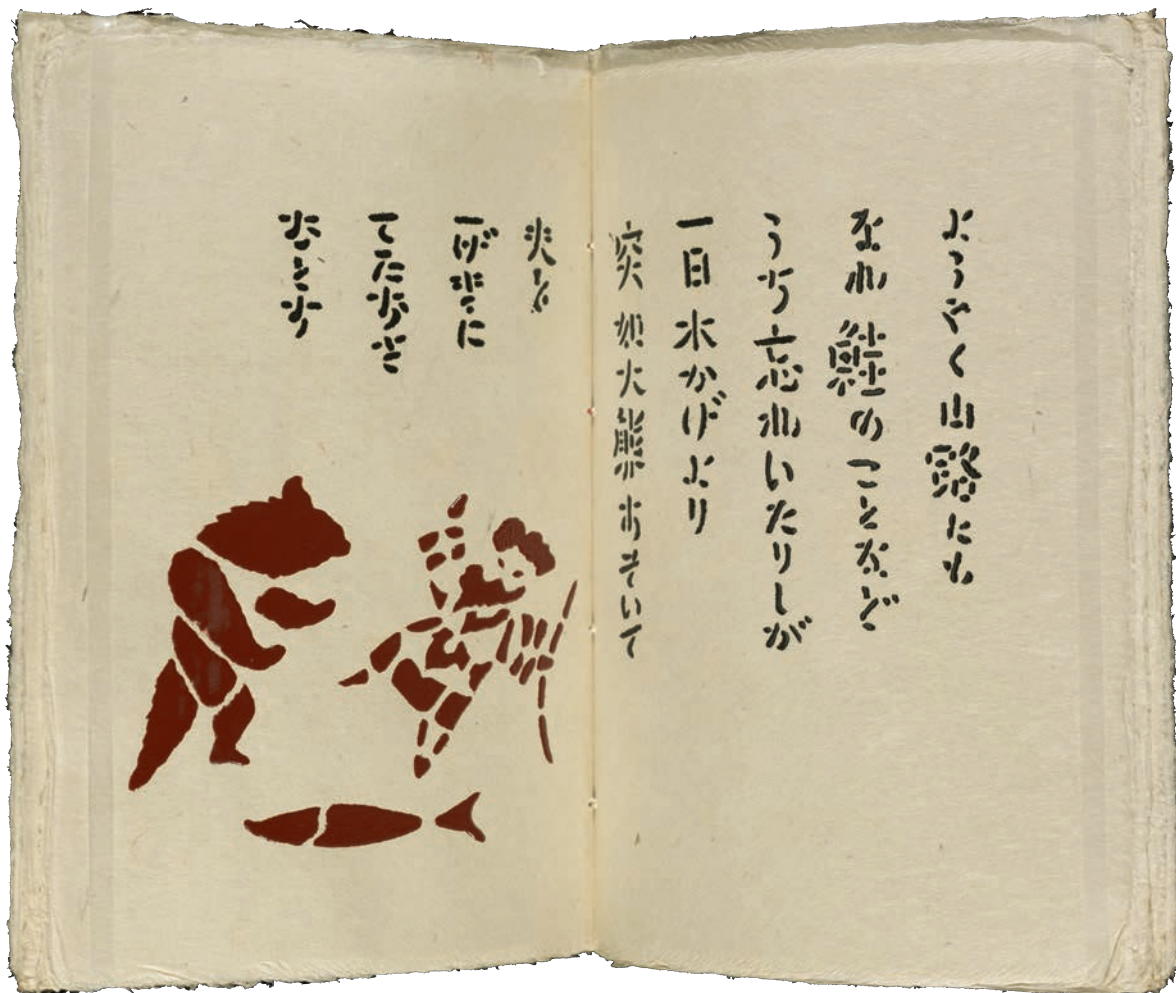
thor, are defined as a 'vestibule', a threshold which governs the interaction between author and reader, exercising a powerful controlling effect on the reading experience.⁹ In the same way, Takei's evident emphasis on the printing techniques he uses, as well as his precision in naming and numbering the books and specifying the production techniques used, all act as paratexts which govern our reading of these objects. The fact that Takei signs each book, thereby adding a handwritten trace of himself, also serves to remind us of their special status, and that they have some other-than-usual mission within their pages.

In no. 65, *Life Stamps* (*Jinsei kitte*, 1966), the paratextual conceit is that the entire book is a kind of correspondence, potentially between author and reader in the moment, but equally readable at one remove as traces of a correspondence between unknown actors, sent from places as unspecifiable as the postage stamps that seem to have conveyed them. The covers of the book

imitate a monogrammed leather correspondence case, on which the book's title is tooled in gold lettering. Inside, the pages are robust brown paper with prominent laid lines, a deluxe analogue of old fashioned parcel-wrapping paper or an envelope perhaps. The first pages are taken up with franking marks, in which are contained the date and number of publication. These are followed by eight pages of exquisitely printed imitation postage stamps, two to a page, each with a tiny motto beneath the image so diminutive that they are barely legible without the aid of a magnifying glass (fig. 30; inv. 2008.90). Each stamp also contains a single roman letter, from A to O. The mottos, when deciphered, resolve into a word beginning with the roman letter on the stamp, naming the theme of the image. It becomes clear that the stamps illustrate periods of a human life – gestation and birth, infancy, youth, the prime, and finally old age – from Alpha to Omega. The left-hand stamp in fig. 30, for example, contains the letter E, and the motto trans-

9. G. Genette (translated by Jane Lewin), *Paratexts: Thresholds of*

Interpretation, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 1–2.



28. Spread 4 showing the samoyed man surprised by a bear and transforming himself into a salmon to donate his life to the bear, from No. 66, *Samoiya-den* (*Samoyed Tale*), 1966, illustrated book, 'inden' (lacquer varnish), closed book 193 x 124 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

lates as 'Egoism of the dog'. The time of life to which it belongs is infancy.

Under magnification, the superb craftsmanship of the printed images is immediately evident, and it is possible to detect that the stamps have been printed using lithography for the planes of colour and engraving for the fine lines. The ink used has dried to a metallic, enamel-like sheen in places.¹⁰ These printing techniques are characteristic of the printing of actual

postage stamps. It appears though that the perforations have been tooled rather than mechanically cut. This begs the question of what the purpose is of this virtuosic imitation of the postage stamp, and why Takei should have chosen to painstakingly imitate an industrial technique in an artisanal, limited edition artist book. Perhaps it is artistic irony; perhaps a comment on the mechanization of society and artistic production; or perhaps the puzzle could be solved by decoding

10. I am deeply indebted to Joan Wright, Bettina Burr Conservator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for allowing me to view the book under magnification, for generously sharing her knowledge of printing techniques, and for stimulating discussion of the re-

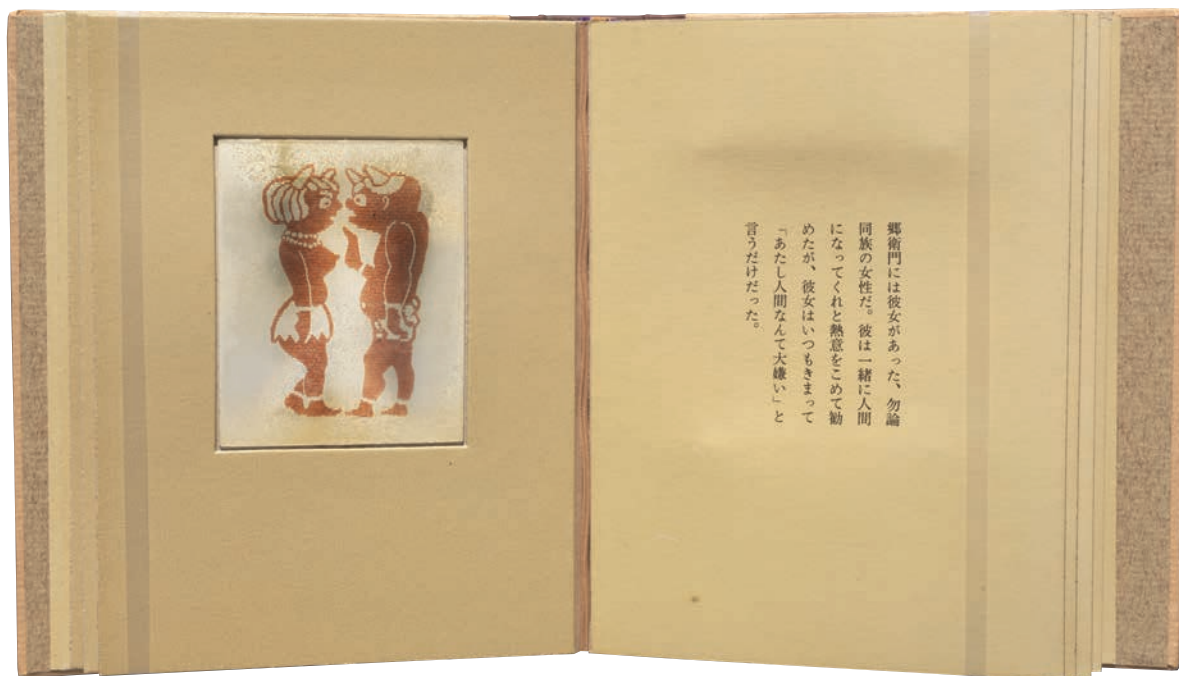
lationship between medium and materials in Takei's kanpon. More information on the printing of postage stamps can be found in F. Brunner, *A Handbook of Graphic Reproduction Processes*, New York, 1984, p. 172.



29. Anamorphosis of a seated woman, spread 2 from No. 71, *Mizuumi no hito* (*The Lake Person*), 1967, illustrated book, 'miracle tower' (lithography on coated paper, viewing device appears to be brass), closed book 88 x 120 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).



30. Spread 3 with stamps from the period of infancy representing the letters E and F, from No. 65, *Jinsei kitte* (*Life Stamps*), 1966, illustrated book, engraved intaglio print, closed book 155 x 123 mm. (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).



31. Spread 3, the first of three views showing the progress of Goemon's argument with his woman over his desire to become a human, from No. 53, *Oni no Goemon* (*The Demon Goemon*), 1963, illustrated book, 'wonder view' (lenticular print), closed book 145 x 124 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).



32. The second of three views of fig. 31.



33. The third and final view of fig. 31 showing the culmination of the argument.

the mottoes, though their tiny size and idiosyncrasy make this a tricky proposition. Certainly, form and materiality – the ‘bookness’ of this kanpon – is brought to the fore not only through superlative craftsmanship, but also through the unfamiliar mode of the construction of its text.

Takei uses many other industrial techniques in the kanpon. What Takei calls ‘snow view’ printing in *The Tiny Snow-woman* (fig. 24) is in fact flocking, where wool or other fiber is blown onto wet varnish, a technique more commonly used in wallpaper. In no. 53, *The Demon Goemon* (*Oni no Goemon* 1963), Goemon, enamoured of the human way of life, studies how to become a human and leaves his woman in the mountains to go to the human places (figs. 31, 32 and 33; inv. 2007.126). (Unfortunately for him, by the time he gets there, the humans have all turned into demons.) It has been produced, possibly as a metaphorical comment on the many possible ways of looking at life, using lenticular images. This is another industrial technique where narrow bands of each of multiple (in this case three) images are printed next to each other, to produce a flat image. A lenticular lens – essentially a piece of plexi-plastic with grooves in it – is placed over the top to produce a composite image where what you see is dependent on

the angle at which you view it. No. 28, *A Curious Tale of Kings* (*Reichō ibun*, 1956), is made up entirely of pictures of humans being subjugated by various dangerous animals in tiny machine-woven labels of the type often found, for example, on the reverse of neckties (fig. 34; inv. 2007.116). Takei later recounted in his 1960 book-length meditation *On Books* (*Hon to sono shūhen*) that in fact he could not find anyone to sew with a machine just 300 of each of his designs, the amount he needed for the limited edition kanpon. The smallest run of labels he could get was 3000; we are left to imagine what happened to the excess.¹¹

That Takei offers this kind of commentary, effectively expanding on his frequently idiosyncratic specification of the techniques used in the back of each kanpon, is noteworthy, and in fact *On Books* is not the only place in which he wrote in detail about the technicalities of kanpon production. From the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, Takei also produced a series of miniature pamphlets distributed to the kanpon subscribers entitled *Mutterings on Mamehon* (*Mamehon hitorigoto*), which furnish methodical and self-conscious commentary on each of the kanpon. In some cases he goes into pages of detail, giving a history of the technique, and details and diagrams, which if followed, would allow replication.

11. Takei, op. cit., p. 48.



34. 'Le Loup', spread 5 from No. 28, *Reichō ibun (A Curious Tale of Kings)*, 1956, illustrated book, 'woven label' (machine woven label), closed book 145 x 112 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

The most compelling example concerns no. 31, *Biography of a Tree Spirit (Kodama no denki)*, 1957), in which we hear the story of the original tree spirit: his birth during the time before voices, his youth, the arrival of the dinosaurs and the beginning of voices, the kodama's own fierce, frustrated desire to 'speak', and the coming of humans, who do not know how to either listen or love (fig. 27). Ultimately, the kodama resolves to abandon his attempts to imitate other kinds of beings which speak with an audible voice, and to return to his true and silent state as a tree spirit. The book contains images constructed using spectacularly detailed miniature marquetry, and Takei suggests on the final page of the book that if we listen carefully, we might just hear a tiny 'voiceless voice' emanating from each finely cut piece of wood. In *Mamehon hitorigoto IV*, Takei recounts how, after searching unsuccessfully for three years, he found the taciturn Odawara craftsman Ichinose Tsurunosuke (one of only fifteen specialists left in Japan) who pro-

duced the work, how he was able to pick out the trees (he lists which trees produce which colours) and decide which direction the wood grain would go before Ichinose set to work. The marquetry for the edition of 300 books took eight months to produce, finishing on time, despite a desperate bout of ill health for the workaholic Ichinose.¹² As Takei says, such a book had no precedent, nor is it likely to have a follower. And then he adds that while the technique is not really suited to books (Takei warns it would need to be kept cool to prevent warping), he had wanted to use it in this book as a method of preserving the technique itself.¹³

This comment sheds light on Takei's obsessive exploration of so many different techniques. He was not seeking novelty or popular or commercial appeal, but part of his mission in focusing attention on these techniques seems to have been as a way of storing them, embodying them in the kanpon for generations to come. The fact that he later wrote both a series of pam-

12. Takei, op. cit., pp. 49–54 and 164–5.

13. Takei, op. cit., p. 165. An extended technical commentary can be found in T. Takei. *Mamehon hitorigoto IV*, 1959, pp. 1–12.

phlets and a book, which offers further commentary and details on how to reproduce these techniques, reinforces the impression of the kanpon in some way functioning as a superior collection of technical sample books. If this were part of his conviction in producing the series, which he continued to do right up to the end, not even allowing the shortages of the war years to interrupt his work, then it would also go some way towards explaining the nature of the rules of the Society of Friends. Takei appears to have been entrusting these material packages to the care of a self-selecting group of interested people, and as such, they needed to fulfill their part of the bargain by keeping a complete series safe for posterity. The distribution of a remarkable set of book storage boxes, constructed from a variety of materials according to Takei's designs, appears to be of a piece with this intention to preserve.

Creating the kanpon as a series also mobilized the collecting impulse in the service of overcoming the relative physical ephemerality of the print medium in which Takei was working. That very quality had contributed much to the medium's status as one of the most successful sites of creative experimentation and indeed critical modernism in Japan. Incarnating the kanpon as bound books rather than as single sheet prints naturally went some way towards safeguarding them. But the choice of the book format holds more significance than just greater physical protection. In contrast to the majority of single sheet prints, the inclusion of words and their specificities also make it possible to combat psychological ephemerality by lodging a living text invisibly and intangibly in the mind of the reader.

It could of course be said of any book that it is the physical vehicle through which a text is brought to life in the mind's eye of the reader, but a special place is reserved for the intensely real early experiences of childhood reading. These are the kinds of encounters that occur in topsy-turvy wonderlands, or with talking animals, princes and mermaids, dragons and giants, magical jewels, cursed flowers, enchanted trees and secret gardens. It is the stories of century-long slumbers and whole nights which pass in mere hiccups of real time, or any one of myriad possibilities, that transpire before we learn that as adults we should read from a certain critical distance, with clear boundaries between the real and the fantastic. Reflections in adulthood on these early experiences are often accompanied by a powerful nostalgic desire to revisit this bibliophilic Neverland, the

sort of place where for readers brought up on Carroll for example, the 'slithy toves' likely still dwell, by turns gimbaling and gyreing as the Jabberwock advances towards the Tumtum tree and the deadly snicker-snack of the vorpal blade which will be his undoing.¹⁴

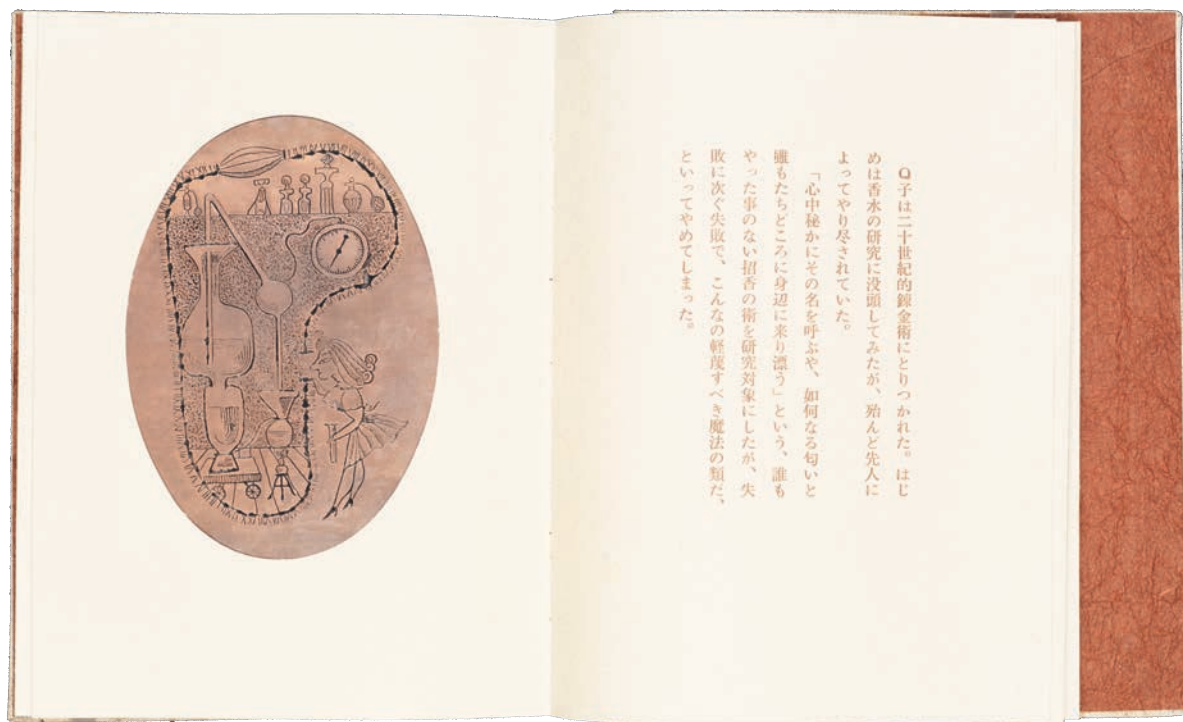
These kinds of rich reading experiences were exactly the type Takei's pioneering work in children's magazines, books, illustrations, and poems aimed to encourage. By creating with the kanpon a series of books that in many ways physically and textually resemble children's books, Takei mobilizes a nostalgia reflex in the adult reader and induces him or her, surprised at first by their size and novel materials, to suspend the usual mode of reading through critical detachment and to follow the invitation back in time. Tales such as *The Tiny Snow-woman* and *Biography of a Tree Spirit*, notably also two of the most technically outstanding books in the series, invite the disarmed reader to make a brief but intensely sensual excursion to the precious and usually sealed space of reading memory. And by directing the reading experience along these particular and colourful pathways of intensified experience, so the kanpon in its entirety – text, image, materiality – is given the best possible chance of being lodged luminously in a privileged space in the reader's mind, safely separated from the danger of simply being filed away by critical judgment in a metaphorical manila file: 'M' for *mamehon* (miniature book) maybe, or worse, 'N' for novelty.

Turning to one last kanpon, we come to no. 42, *Mlle Q's Miracle* (*Q-ko no kiseki*, 1960) (fig. 35; inv. 2008.89). M[ademoiselle]lle Q is a very smart young woman and a practicing alchemist. Despite being a first rate chemist, her attempts to realize her ambition to discover the most fragrant scent in the world, and her desire to create the perfect partner through the transmutation of matter, end in failure. She finally settles on keeping a chicken which, wonder of wonders, then produces an egg, all by itself, no alchemy necessary. This kanpon is about the same size as most of the others, but it is much heavier – each illustration is a mounted copper plate. Takei names the technique 'drypoint electrotyping', meaning that he used a plaster of Paris board to create the image he wanted with a dry-point needle, which was then transferred to a copper plate using a mould and an electrolytic bath.¹⁵ The plates have each been inked in order to make the image more readily visible. This book, then, takes the exoskeleton of image making and turns it inside out. Takei inverts the usual order of

14. L. Carroll, 'Jabberwocky', from *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*, 1872. For more on childhood reading, see M. Tatar, *Enchanted Hunters: The Power of Stories in Childhood*, London and New York, 2009, pp. 4–18 and 203–39 and F. Spufford, *The*

Child That Books Made, London, 2002.

15. Takei recounts the process in *Mamehon hitorigoto*, VI, 1961, pp. 11–17. For detailed technical explanation in English, see B. Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints*, New York, 1986, no. 72.



35. Spread 1 showing Mlle Q's fragrance-creating equipment, from No. 42, *Q-ko no kiseki* (*Mlle Q's Miracle*), 1960, illustrated book, 'drypoint electrolytotyping' (plaster of Paris board engraved with dry-point needle and transferred to copper plate using an electrolytic bath), closed book 146 x 122 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

things and mounts on the pages the plates themselves rather than their products, literally preserving the technology itself in the book-container whilst pointedly drawing our attention to the process of printing in an aesthetically striking way. Perhaps the intent is to make a comment on the miracles of technology, but after so explicitly separating technique from its results, in fact this kanpon seems to unify the two more completely by creating a new consciousness in the viewer.

The kanpon demonstrate Takei's conviction that book art is complex and significantly different from other artistic media, and that it possesses enormous potential both as a site of experimental innovation and as

a vehicle for transmission. He sought not only to preserve but also to discover new places, which might become the 'home of the word'.¹⁶ Each kanpon constitutes its own individual experience, but they are most powerful cumulatively. As stories, designs and techniques are developed into themes and variations within the set, a kaleidoscopic counterpoint is created between books within the series, amplifying the effects of single volumes. What we are left with in the kanpon is a body of work which continues to evolve and to raise new interpretative challenges as time and technology move forwards, and which will surely yield more surprises the further we explore these captivating worlds.

16. Takei, op. cit., p. 171.

Appendix

List of the *Kanpon*. 'No.' refers to number in series; 'publication date' refers to the date of publication as printed in each book. Techniques are translated directly from Takei Takeo's own, sometimes idiosyncratic, designations (here given in *italics*) in the kanpon themselves. Work is ongoing at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, to determine exact materials and techniques used. Where the meaning is uncertain, the terms have been left untranslated and italicized. The Japanese *karen*, for example, seems to be used to indicate particularly small-scale prints.

NO.	TITLE	PUBLICATION DATE	TECHNIQUE
1	<i>Jūnishi ehon</i>	5 May 1935	Monochrome relief print
2	<i>Hinamatsuri ehon</i>	3 March 1936	Relief print with hand colouring
3	<i>Shokoku ema-shū</i>	12 February 1937	Two-colour relief print
4	<i>Zen-aku yomihon</i>	24 February 1938	Two-colour relief print
5	<i>Dōgo-chō</i>	21 July 1939	Self-carved woodblock
6	<i>Hatake no mamehon</i>	15 May 1940	'Scratch' print
7	<i>Honchō mukashibanashi</i>	20 December 1941	Stencil
8	<i>Jūniji no sho</i>	11 October 1942	Lithography
9	<i>Isoho no ehon</i>	18 June 1943	Colour appliqué printing
10	<i>Kazamura sandaiki</i>	25 June 1944	Transmitted woodblock
11	<i>Tomoshibi</i>	25 December 1945	Self-carved woodblock
12	<i>Kokeshi</i>	10 October 1946	Transmitted woodblock
13	<i>Boku no karuta</i>	25 December 1946	Self-carved woodblock
14	<i>O-neko sama</i>	25 June 1947	Type and self-carved woodblock
15	<i>Botan yōki</i>	25 June 1948	Rubbed woodblock
16	<i>Noeru no sho</i>	25 June 1949	Self-printed paste-resist dye
17	<i>Kojiki no hon</i>	5 May 1950	Self-carved woodblock
18	<i>Sei Agnes no sho</i>	19 April 1951	Cross-grain wood engraving
19	<i>Moridon no hanashi</i>	25 June 1951	Self-carved woodblock
20	<i>Aisobosu fuabrua</i>	June 1952 (day not given)	<i>Varitipe</i> woodblock print
21	<i>Kikuyōki</i>	25 June 1953	Relief print, rubbed
22	<i>Byōkan no fu</i>	28 August 1953	Cord print
23	<i>Tenjiku no hana</i>	25 December 1953	Clay-block print
24	<i>Aria</i>	3 November 1954	Carbon-paper rubbing
25	<i>Sekkaku monogatari</i>	5 May 1955	Tile-block
26	<i>Kochō sansaku</i>	June 1955 (day not given)	Three-colour relief print, butterfly stencil
27	<i>Hime no shakushoku</i>	30 November 1955	Paste-resist dye
28	<i>Reichō ibun</i>	1 January 1956	Woven Label
29	<i>Dai go no sekai</i>	25 June 1956	<i>Pendulum [Helio-]Gravure</i>
30	<i>Tanjō fu</i>	30 March 1957	Etching
31	<i>Kodama no denki</i>	25 December 1957	Marquetry
32	<i>Gokuhiitei tanbō</i>	5 May 1958	<i>Cello-slide</i>
33	<i>Rokunosuke gyōjō</i>	25 June 1958	<i>Hearth-stencil</i>
34	<i>Yuki no sanshō</i>	9 October 1958	<i>Tandem print</i>
35	<i>Chikaku no sekai</i>	25 December 1958	Colour print
36	<i>Taiyō to kujaku</i>	15 January 1959	<i>Eclipse-colour metal</i>
37	<i>Eden no ihen</i>	30 May 1959	Collotype
38	<i>Sphère</i>	1 August 1959	<i>Photo-poem collection</i>
39	<i>Kanariya ABC</i>	13 September 1959	<i>Gurando-stencil</i>
40	<i>Obake taijō</i>	30 November 1959	Colour gravure
41	<i>Sutoro-ō</i>	1 April 1960	Straw mosaic
42	<i>Q-ko no kiseki</i>	25 June 1960	Drypoint electrotyping
43	<i>Nana-e to ya-e</i>	1 August 1960	Carved stencil
44	<i>Yonjūyonbankan</i>	25 December 1960	<i>Illustrated tale</i> (relief print)
45	<i>Ringo to ningen</i>	1 April 1961	Plaster of Paris print
46	<i>Kamigami no hata</i>	25 June 1961	Aluminium print
47	<i>Un no warui otoko</i>	10 September 1961	Woodblock dry rubbing
48	<i>Uchū saihōshi</i>	31 December 1961	Transmitted western woodblock
49	<i>Harem</i>	3 November 1961	Appliqué
50	<i>Koma ga kita</i>	25 June 1962	Transmitted Japanese woodblock
51	<i>Tengoku to jigoku</i>	25 June 1963	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
52	<i>Tamago kara tamago</i>	25 October 1963	Cotton stencil
53	<i>Oni no Goemon</i>	25 November 1963	<i>Wonder View</i> (lenticular print)
54	<i>Murasaki no megane</i>	25 December 1963	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
55	<i>Ramu Ramu</i>	13 September 1964	<i>Illustrated children's book</i> (relief print)
56	<i>Shinju no ike</i>	10 October 1964	<i>Polystyrene paper edition</i>
57	<i>Kappa Kawatarō</i>	3 November 1964	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print

NO.	TITLE	PUBLICATION DATE	TECHNIQUE
58	<i>Atarashii chikyu</i>	15 May 1965	<i>Top-stereo</i>
59	<i>Ningyo to jōga</i>	5 May 1966	Takaoka paper, shell
60	<i>Leo no mahō</i>	20 October 1965	Relief print
61	<i>Ōbutsushu shissō</i>	3 November 1965	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
62	<i>Shuju no kyōen</i>	8 April 1966	<i>Rōrakku-shisho</i> (relief print, acrylic and silver foil)
63	<i>Kitō no sho</i>	25 June 1966	<i>S-beran</i> (off-set photolithography)
64	<i>Nijū seiki no tora</i>	21 October 1966	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
65	<i>Jinsei kitte</i>	25 November 1966	Engraved intaglio print
66	<i>Samoiya-den</i>	25 December 1966	Lacquer varnish
67	<i>Kaze-mizu-hi-hoshi</i>	31 December 1966	<i>Technamation 300cc</i>
68	<i>Sakada Sadakurō</i>	25 June 1967	Hand-carved woodcut
69	<i>Mutsu no mado</i>	16 September 1967	<i>Qper hon</i> (relief print, coated Mylar)
70	<i>Akuma no hata</i>	8 October 1967	<i>Embossograph mosaic</i>
71	<i>Mizuumi no hito</i>	3 November 1967	<i>Miracle Tower</i> (anamorphosis)
72	<i>Kageya</i>	1 December 1967	Cross-section wood-engraving
73	<i>Hato to kijutsushi</i>	12 December 1967	Electrostatic print
74	<i>Fue o fuku shiro</i>	25 June 1967	<i>S-beran Gobelin weave</i> (relief print, printed polyester)
75	<i>Kechi na kamisama</i>	7 July 1968	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
76	<i>Aruku Jack</i>	13 August 1968	<i>Contemporary glass image</i>
77	<i>Medama ibun</i>	10 October 1969	<i>Rainbow print</i>
78	<i>Mosukawa no tsukiyo</i>	25 June 1969	Self-carved woodblock, <i>karen</i> print
79	<i>Ji-ko no funade</i>	3 November 1969	<i>Transart</i> (acrylic on polymer)
80	<i>Hayashirō no mado</i>	1 December 1969	<i>APR Sutendo gurasu</i> (APR stained glass)
81	<i>Sekai wa uzumaki</i>	1 June 1970	Relief print
82	<i>Hanazono no kiriyū</i>	5 May 1970	Plant-fiber print
83	<i>Sekai kakumei</i>	1 June 1970	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
84	<i>Heiwa hakusho</i>	15 August 1970	<i>Thermo Printex</i>
85	<i>Nyonin kinsei</i>	5 May 1971	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
86	<i>Ten to wa nanika</i>	25 June 1971	Relief <i>karen</i> print
87	<i>Rosō okiku</i>	15 January 1972	Relief print rubbing
88	<i>Hyōtan sakka</i>	10 March 1972	Coupâge
89	<i>Mendō muyōtō</i>	15 August 1972	<i>Relief photo print</i>
90	<i>Gendai no kamigami</i>	3 November 1972	Transmitted woodblock <i>karen</i> print
91	<i>Niji o tsukuru otoko</i>	3 March 1973	Self-carved woodblock, <i>karen</i> print
92	<i>Kohagishō</i>	5 May 1973	Accordion-bound
93	<i>Okashi na zō no hanashi</i>	15 July 1973	Relief print
94	<i>Takasugi fusaku</i>	10 October 1973	Colour offset
95	<i>Ōbutsushu gokikan</i>	3 November 1973	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
96	<i>Sōsei no yume</i>	25 June 1974	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
97	<i>Rom to Ram</i>	30 May 1974	Leather printing
98	<i>Konjiki no mori</i>	10 November 1974	<i>Miniature d'or</i>
99	<i>Don Kihōte</i>	25 November 1974	Coupâge
100	<i>Yūkei rukokku</i>	1 April 1975	Embossing
101	<i>Chiisana yuki onna</i>	5 May 1975	<i>Snow View</i> (flocking)
102	<i>Kukōkō</i>	25 June 1975	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
103	<i>Sennō bugyō</i>	15 July 1975	Four-colour relief printing
104	<i>Tengu Tenhachirō</i>	10 October 1975	Colour stencil
105	<i>Chinwa meishō</i>	20 January 1976	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
106	<i>Hansuke no kamisama</i>	10 September 1976	Relief printing
107	<i>Aiueiō monogatari</i>	10 October 1976	Relief offset
108	<i>Nairu no ashi</i>	10 March 1980	<i>Presse papyrus</i> (printed on papyrus-type paper)
109	<i>Sama no basha to kojiki no basha</i>	1 December 1976	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
110	<i>Kyōnosuke to chigusa</i>	10 March 1977	Woodblock; relief printing
111	<i>Chōchin no uta</i>	25 August 1977	<i>Vibeeru</i> (Letter press, gold foil, synthetic fibre)
112	<i>Nezumi kozō Gerokichi</i>	13 September 1977	Stencil
113	<i>Kaminari Osan</i>	30 October 1977	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
114	<i>Konji to otan</i>	25 December 1977	<i>Sealing print</i> (letter set)

NO.	TITLE	PUBLICATION DATE	TECHNIQUE
115	<i>Jinsei no mon</i>	1 March 1978	Relief <i>karen</i> print
116	<i>Airan no koi</i>	8 November 1978	Gold foil stencil
117	<i>Rui to Kanna</i>	8 October 1978	<i>Pufboard printing</i>
118	<i>Sode no shita</i>	20 January 1979	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
119	<i>Eriannahime to chō</i>	1 March 1979	<i>Arumina Porcelain</i> (photolithography on ceramic)
120	<i>Hanatatsu to tanuki</i>	1 April 1979	Three-colour relief printing
121	<i>Shafu Mangorō</i>	15 May 1979	Two-colour relief printing
122	<i>Chinchikurin no mikoto</i>	23 June 1979	Two-colour relief printing
123	<i>Bangasa kidan</i>	15 August 1979	<i>Pufboard printing</i>
124	<i>Kahei to neko</i>	20 September 1979	Two-colour relief printing
125	<i>Shin no mahō</i>	20 October 1979	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
126	<i>Berabō monogatari</i>	25 June 1980	Heat embossing
127	<i>Katō Kiyomasa</i>	10 October 1980	Three-colour relief printing
128	<i>Kudara no sennin</i>	1 March 1981	Monochrome relief print
129	<i>Rajo nesai</i>	12 December 1980	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
130	<i>Tsuki kara kita ko</i>	30 March 1981	Intaglio gold line printing
131	<i>Senju Kannon</i>	5 May 1981	Unspecified (letterpress)
132	<i>Tōkōritsueimon no tsuma</i>	3 November 1981	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
133	<i>Fūjin to rajin</i>	10 March 1982	Bullrush-leaf paper, relief print
134	<i>Kaguyahime gojitsudan</i>	10 October 1982	Three-colour relief printing
135	<i>Tsuribane ibun</i>	25 June 1982	<i>Colour cloud paper</i> , relief printing
136	<i>Isonageki</i>	15 August 1982	<i>All stamping</i>
137	<i>ABC Yowa</i>	3 November 1982	Self-carved woodblock <i>karen</i> print
138	<i>Toritsukai no otome</i>	11 February 1983	Laser cut
139	<i>Tenjiku no tori</i>	20 April 1983	Indian paper, two-colour relief printing

Shorter Notices

Rembrandt's *Reclining Nude* Reconsidered

Elmer Kolfin

'Un effet de sa bizarrerie ordinaire' was how Pierre Jean Mariette interpreted the darkness in Rembrandt's print commonly known as *Negress Lying Down* (Bartsch 205; fig. 36, inv. RP-P-OB 428). The title was first noted

by Adam von Bartsch in 1797.¹ Ever since, there has been doubt as to the woman's racial identity, a matter that gained some urgency with the growing interest in blacks in art since the 1970s.² Mariette and others

I would like to thank Paul Kaplan and Erik Hinterding for their useful suggestions.

1. 'une femme nue que Rheimbrandt a mis entièrement dans l'ombre par un effet de sa bizarrerie ordinaire, et pour tirer quelque avantage de cet essay clair obscur', P. de Chenevières and A. de Montaignon, *Abecedario de P.J., Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur*, Paris, 1857–58, IV, p. 352. A. von Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt et ceux de ses principaux imitateurs*, Vienna, 1797, no. 205. It is not certain if he in-

vented the title; sometimes he passed on conventional knowledge about Rembrandt.

2. An overview of the most recent opinions in E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt Etchings from the Frits Lugt Collection*, Bussum, 2008, p. 375, note 3 and E. Kolfin, 'Rembrandt's Africans', in *The Image of the Black in Western Art vol III.1. From the Age of Discovery to the Age of Abolition: Artists of the Renaissance and Baroque*, edited by D. Bindman and H. L. Gates Jr., Cambridge, MA and London, 2010, p. 302, and p. 377 note 7.

before Bartsch saw a white woman in the shade.³ The new title was given in a period with much artistic interest in blacks. The abolitionist movement had just discovered the power of the printed image.⁴ One year before Bartsch's catalogue was published, William Blake's prints of slaves appeared in John Gabriel Stedman's soon-to-be famous *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*.⁵ Blacks were also becoming popular subjects in painting.⁶ Quite possibly this interest inspired the new interpretation of the woman in Rembrandt's print as African.

In 1731, 1735 and 1755 the print was called *The Sleeping Woman*, *Sleeping Women* [sic] and *A Nude Sleeping Woman with Naked Buttocks*.⁷ In 1679 the plate, now at the British Museum, was identified as *Sleeping Nude Woman*.⁸ As a rule, descriptions in seventeenth-century probate inventories drew attention to what was regarded as the most characteristic feature of the image. When blacks were the single subject of an image, it would usually be described as 'a moor' or 'a black'. For example, in Rembrandt's own inventory of 1656, his painting of two Africans was listed as *Two Moors*

3. One year before Bartsch published his catalogue, the print was called *A Naked Woman Seen from Behind in Rembrandt's Dark Manner* in D. Daulby, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Rembrandt, and of his Scholars, Bol, Livens, and Van Vliet, Compiled from the Original Etchings, and from the Catalogues of De Burgy, Gersaint, Helle & Glomy, Marcus & Yver*, Liverpool, 1796, p. 129, no. 197. Rembrandt's first cataloguer called it *Une autre femme nue, aussi couchée sur un lit*, see E. F. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'œuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1751, p. 160, no. 197.
4. E. Kolfin, 'Becoming Human: The Iconography of Black Slavery in French, British and Dutch Book Illustration, 1600–1800', in *From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem: The Slave in European Art Publications of the Warburg Institute*, edited by E. McGrath and J. M. Massing, London, 2012, pp. 161–90.
5. G. E. Bentley Jr., *Blake Books: Annotated Catalogues of William Blake's*

Writings, Oxford, 1977, p. 623.

6. H. Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art IV.1. From the American Revolution to World War I, Slaves and Liberators*, Cambridge, MA and London, 1989, pp. 27–119 and D. Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*, London, 2002.
7. Sale catalogue De Burgy, 1755, nos. 550–55 (different states and variations); sale catalogue Van Huls, 1735, no. 1008; inventory of Valerius Rover, 1731; all quoted in Hinterding, op. cit., p. 375, notes 1 and 2.
8. F. Laurentius, *Clement de Jonge (ca. 1624–1677): Kunstverkoop in de Gouden Eeuw*, Houten, 2010, p. 148, no. 743. Laurentius identifies two other descriptions as possible references to the print: 'Naakte Cleopatra' (*Nude Cleopatra*) and 'Rembrandt's concubine' (*Rembrandt's Concubine*), pp. 148–49, nos. 764 and 782.



36. Rembrandt, *Reclining Nude*, 1658, etching, drypoint and burin, second state, 81 x 158 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet).

in a Picture by Rembrandt.⁹ Therefore it is significant that his *Reclining Woman* was not called *Black Woman Lying Down* but *Sleeping Nude Woman*. Evidently in 1679 the woman was not seen as black.

Reclining Nude is dated 1658 and it is useful to look at Rembrandt's other prints of the time. The print shows a woman lying on a mattress; the dark background suggests a confined space like the bed in *Woman with the Arrow*, of 1661, or *Antiope and Jupiter* from 1659 (Bartsch 202 and 203). If we add to this little series his *Woman at a Brook* (Bartsch 200) from 1658 it becomes clear that Rembrandt was experimenting with nude white women and shadow in narrowly confined spaces. *Woman at the Stove* and *Woman with the Hat*, both from 1658, show the same interest (Bartsch 197

and 199). In every print the artist situates the woman differently vis-à-vis the shadow and light. In *Woman at a Brook* she is placed in front of a dark background, her right side in a soft shadow. *Antiope and Jupiter* shows a more bold play of light and an extremely velvety shadow on legs, hips and belly. In *Woman with the Arrow* she is on the verge of light and shade; half shadows define her back while a strong light throws the side of her body into sharp silhouette. Chronologically, *Reclining Nude* falls between *Woman at a Brook* and *Jupiter and Antiope*, between the refined print and the more daring experiment. In this context it does not seem illogical to see the woman as a white model in a situation that seems straightforward, but that is extremely difficult to depict because the subject is fully in the

9. W. L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*,

New York, 1979, p. 365.



37. Anonymous artist, *Reclining Nude Seen from Behind*, 1658, black and white chalk on blue paper, 234 x 315 mm (formerly Amsterdam, Paul Brandt).

shadow. Had she been a black model, Rembrandt would have created a completely new situation.

Interestingly, there exists an anonymous drawing depicting a *Reclining Nude Seen from Behind* that has not been related to Rembrandt's *Reclining Nude*, but seems to be connected to it (fig. 37). It is alternatively attributed to Rembrandt's pupils Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck. Jacob Backer was also recently suggested.¹⁰ The woman in the drawing is posed slightly more diagonally, she is more curvaceous, we see her ear and hair, but not her right foot. She is in full light, which falls in from the left. *Reclining Nude Seen from Behind* is generally seen as the result of a session of life drawing on 27 July 1658 that included both Bol and Flinck, in the same year that Rembrandt dated his *Reclining Nude* print.¹¹ If he was indeed present, the white girl in fig. 37 might actually be the same model as in the print. A situation comes to mind like the one depicted in Constantijn Daniel van Renesse's drawing *Rembrandt and his Pupils Drawing from a Nude Model* of c. 1650 (fig. 38), except that the 1658 session would have involved Rembrandt and ex-pupils who by then had gone their own way and whose style differed from that of the master. Possibly the relationship between Rembrandt's *Reclining Nude* and the anonymous *Reclining Nude Seen from Behind* is comparable to that between the etching of *Male Nudes, Seated and Standing – the Walking Trainer* (Bartsch 194) and drawings by Carel Fabritius, Samuel van Hoogstraten and an unknown pupil of circa 1646.¹² A similar example dates from 1661, with Rembrandt creating his *Woman with the Arrow* (Bartsch 202) and Johannes Raven making a drawing of a seated female nude.¹³ In all cases the pupils were working on paper, while Rembrandt was drawing directly on a copperplate; he introduced new features at a later stage: the background with the walking trainer in Bartsch 194, the face of Cupid in Bartsch 202 and the strong shadow on the woman's body in Bartsch 205.

Only one impression of the first state of Rembrandt's *Reclining Nude* exists. It was poorly inked and

has the appearance of a proof, even though it was printed on Japanese paper.¹⁴ If Rembrandt indeed worked on the plate in front of a live model this print may be the result of that session. The image is not very appealing, for it lacks 'force', a seventeenth-century term that denoted a strong relief resulting from a play of light and shadow and situating the figure firmly in space. Her back is still too flat, the anatomy of the right hip is awkward and she is lying rather squarely in front of the shadow rather than being enveloped by it. This is not what Rembrandt would have been after.

Rembrandt finally achieved the desired effect of a body lying in shadow through etching and drypoint, with a dense pattern of delicate hatching and cross-hatching. Dark areas were given extra 'force' with the burin. In the final blend, the different techniques are almost impossible to distinguish. This in itself already signals workmanship of the highest quality. But the true magic comes with the inking, wiping and printing of the plate.¹⁵ Rembrandt did not wipe the plate clean overall, but left thin films of ink in places that show up in the final print as subtle tonal fields of light grey, almost as a translucent wash applied with the brush. He also used varying types of paper and different effects. As a result, each print is unique. Very dark copies exist, but also relatively light ones.

Caps of the kind the woman is wearing were bright white, as they appear in other etchings by Rembrandt from this time, such as the *Sitting Nude Beside a Chair with a Hat*, of 1658 (Bartsch 199). In *Reclining Nude* the cap is not rendered white, so the head must be in the shadow. The tonality of the cap is comparable to that of the woman's side. If the cap is white, it seems reasonable to assume the body is white and also in the shadow. The wider spaced cross-hatching makes the cap slightly lighter in places, suggesting its texture and intense whiteness.

Also revealing is the woman's face, of which we see a small part at the temple. In most copies this spot was not inked, so that it would print white. Its function is to

10. W. Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School*, New York, 1979, I, p. 262, admits the style is more reminiscent of Flinck, but attributes it to Bol because of a similar figure in Bol's painting *Cimon and Ephigenia*, formerly in Bremen, Kunsthalle (lost in World War II). The attribution to Backer in P. van den Brink, *Jacob Backer (1608/09–1651)*, Zwolle, 2008, p. 79.

11. See Sumowski, *ibid.*, p. 262, A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, Den Haag, 1915–22, IV, p. 1255 and E. J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, Amsterdam, 2006, p. 323.

12. H. Bevers et al., *Telling the Difference: Drawings by Rembrandt and his*

Pupils, Los Angeles, 2009, pp. 13–17.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 242–25.

14. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, see C. White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher: A Study of the Artist at Work*, New Haven and London, 1999, pp. 204–06; J. Lloyd Williams, *Rembrandt's Women*, Edinburgh and London, 2001, p. 229 and Hinterding, *op. cit.* pp. 374–75.

15. C.H. Middleton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Rembrandt van Rhyen*, London, 1878, p. 281: 'The beauty of an impression of this print depends more on the successful printing than on the State in which it appears'. He calls the print 'A Negress lying on a Couch'.



38. Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, *Rembrandt and his Pupils Drawing from a Nude Model*, c. 1650, black chalk, brush and brown wash heightened with white, 180 x 266 mm (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum).

separate the dark hair or the shadow in the neck from the slightly hunched shoulder and the background. This entire part would be blurred if Rembrandt had made this little spot dark too, which he would have had to do if he intended the woman to be black.

Rembrandt made seven prints with black people, all dating between 1630 and 1652.¹⁶ In most of these he did not indicate the darkness of the skin, but rather relied on the physiognomy to suggest the figures' African identity. Only the soldier in *Ecce Homo* from 1636 and the servant in the *Beheading of John the Baptist* from 1640 have a light hatching that suggests a brown tone (Bartsch 77 and 92). Rembrandt stubbornly ad-

hered to the convention of depicting telling physical features to indicate African heritage that went back to Albrecht Dürer, Lucas van Leyden and Hendrick Goltzius. His contemporaries, like Lucas Vorsterman and Wenceslaus Hollar, were at the same time looking for ways to depict dark skin convincingly in print, with careful, often dense patterns of hatching and cross-hatching.¹⁷ In this context a reclining black woman would certainly be a late, unexpected and unique response. A reclining white nude in the semi-dark, however, fits neatly with Rembrandt's experiments with the effect of shadow in the 1650s that resulted in so many extraordinary prints.

16. *Bust of a Black Woman*, c. 1630 (Bartsch 357); *Ecce Homo*, 1636 (Bartsch 77); *The Decapitation of St John the Baptist*, 1640 (Bartsch 92); *The Baptism of the Eunuch*, 1641 (Bartsch 98); *The Large Lion Hunt*,

1641 (Bartsch 114); *The Preaching of Christ*, c. 1639–49 (Bartsch 74) and *Christ among the Doctors*, 1652 (Bartsch 65).

17. Kolfin, 2010, op. cit., pp. 299–302.

Whatever is Coveted will be Forged – Forgers Set Their Sights on Contemporary Prints

Hubertus Butin

The illegal trade in forged works of art generates sums beyond our wildest dreams every year. The art market is booming and with it art fraud, since with demand rising, the works needed to satisfy it are becoming ever scarcer. ‘Forgery’ in this context means the reproduction or alteration with fraudulent intent of works by other artists. The work of art, in other words, is not – or not entirely – the work of the alleged author and hence not an original. From the legal point of view, knowingly dealing in art forgeries constitutes fraud. If the fake work of art bears a forged signature, moreover, the perpetrator can be charged not just with fraud but also with the falsification of documents and possibly infringement of copyright.¹

The years 2011 and 2012 will probably go down in history for two spectacular cases of art forgery and the scandals they triggered, which have left the art world reeling. Knoedler & Company, the venerable, near-legendary New York gallery that closed unexpectedly in November 2011, is alleged to have sold numerous forged paintings ostensibly by Willem de Kooning, Robert Motherwell, Jackson Pollock and Mark Rothko. The gallery is currently being sued by numerous collectors following FBI investigations dating back to 2009. Germany’s greatest art forgery scandal to date, the one sparked by the spurious ‘Jäger Collection’, has made even bigger waves. Over a period of thirty-five years, the German painter Wolfgang Beltracchi forged a plethora of early modernist works which he then successfully smuggled onto the art market. The damage done by just fourteen paintings purportedly by Heinrich Campendonck, Kees van Dongen, André Derain, Max Ernst and Max Pechstein is estimated at €34 million. Since Beltracchi has admitted forging the works of far more artists, however, it seems

likely that those which led to his conviction are just the tip of the iceberg.² His sophisticated distribution system rested on false declarations of provenance and a private collection of his own invention. Those who fell for the scam include a number of highly regarded art dealers, auction houses, museum directors, and collectors both in Germany and abroad.

The most prominent of those to be fooled by Beltracchi is Werner Spies, former director of the Musée national d’art moderne at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris and until just recently a leading expert in Max Ernst. Spies issued certificates of authenticity for seven Max Ernst forgeries and collected exorbitant fees for his services both from the forger and from the buyers. The art critics Niklas Maak and Julia Voss have identified this kind of cupidity as a key problem: ‘Everyone stands to gain from a positive attribution, whereas there is nothing at all to be had from deattribution or doubts’.³ His reputation in shreds, a self-pitying Spies admitted in February 2012 that he had even considered suicide.⁴ Quite apart from the damage done to himself as a highly respected art historian, he has also exposed a whole profession to ridicule.

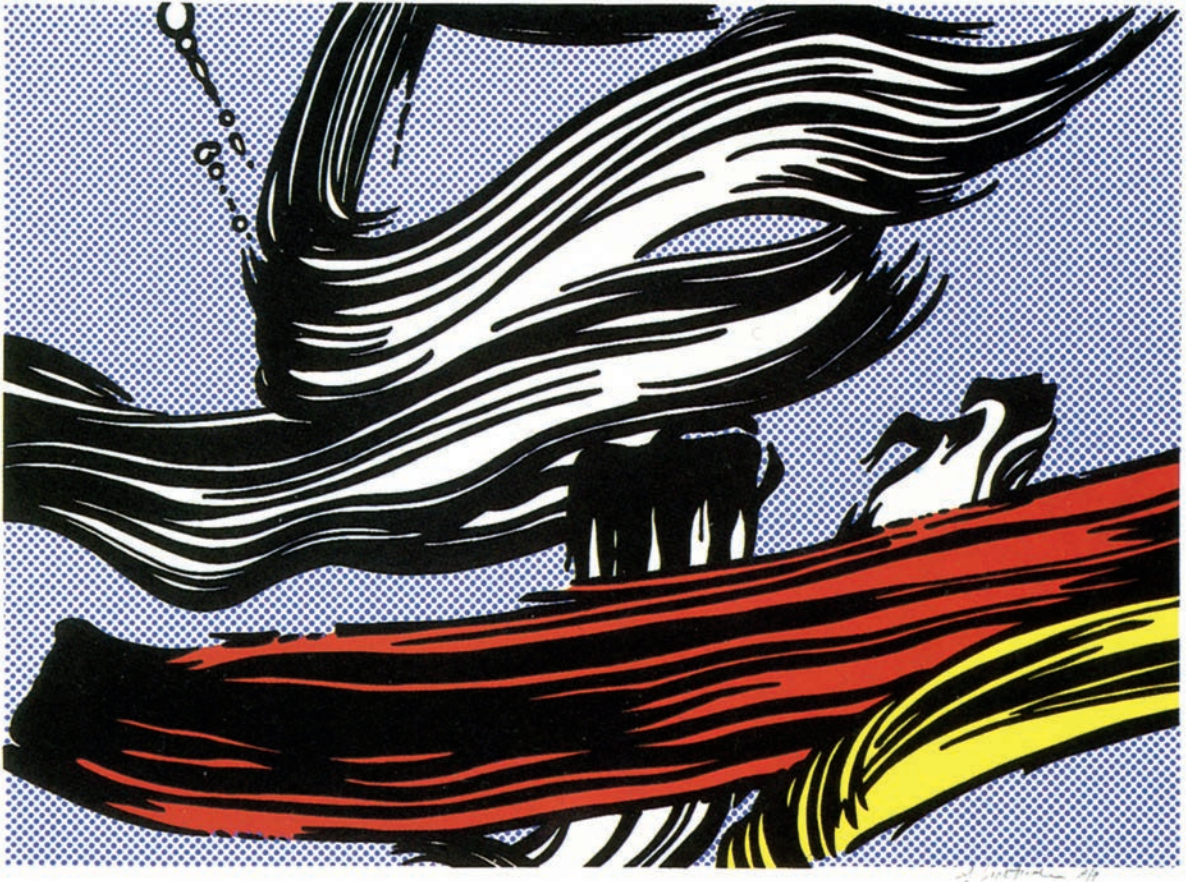
The press loves to pounce on spectacular cases like these in which there is a lot of money at stake and the financial losses are likely to be sky high. But reports of attempted fraud and the scandals they spark have given us a warped picture of the reality on the ground. For what is really polluting the market is not forged oils and bronzes but fake works on paper: drawings, collages and prints of dubious provenance. A little watercolour, a lithograph, or a simple drawing are generally much easier to imitate than an oil on canvas. And if someone goes to the trouble of reproducing a print, then not with the

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1. Stealing a work of art from a public art gallery or museum counts as an especially grave case of theft and is punished accordingly. Yet many judges continue to regard art forgery and the trade generated by it as mere peccadillos warranting no more than a metaphorical rap over the knuckles. This lax, at times almost sympathetic attitude to fraudsters charged with duping, and in some cases ruining, dealers, curators, and collectors is reflected in various films in which art forgers are depicted as charming ec-

centrics, gentlemen, or dandies, as in *F for Fake* by Orson Welles of 1975, the successful British television series, *Tom Keating on Painters* of 1982–1984, and the feature film starring Pierce Brosnan, *The Thomas Crown Affair* of 1999.

2. W. Beltracchi in conversation with L. Gorris and S. Röbel, ‘Geständnis eines ewigen Hippies,’ *Der Spiegel*, no. 10, 2012, p. 134.
3. N. Maak and J. Voss, ‘Als ich mich fand in einem dunklen Walde,’ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 140, 18 June 2011, p. 33.
4. W. Spies in conversation with N. Plonka and O. Schröm, ‘... aber einen Max Ernst,’ *Stern*, no. 8, 16 February 2012, p. 134.



39. Roy Lichtenstein, *Brushstrokes*, 1967, screenprint, 585 x 788 mm (Berlin, Private collection) © The Estate of Roy Lichtenstein/DACS 2012.

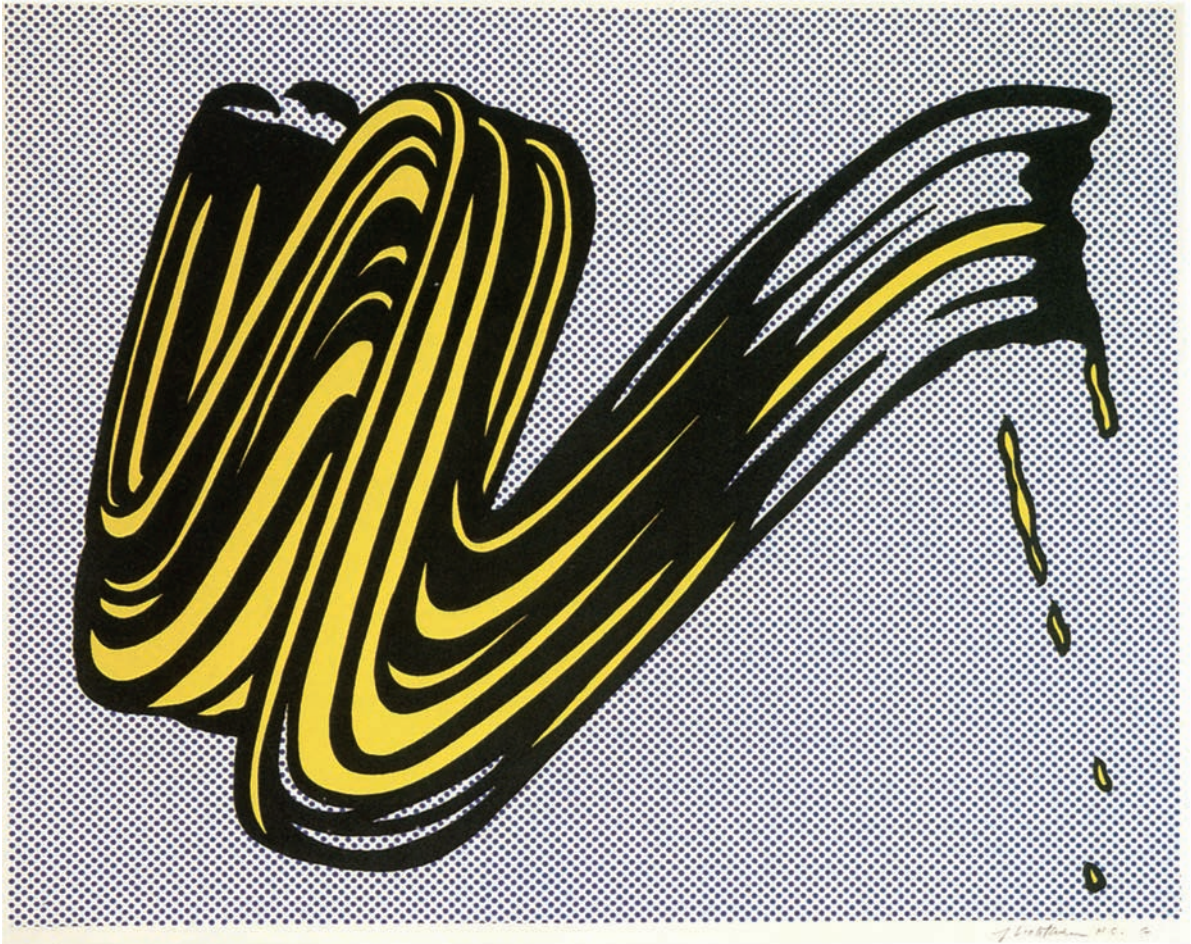
intention of selling just one sheet. What motivates the forger of multiples is the financial leverage to be had from the economies of scale. Ernst Schöller, detective chief superintendent of Baden-Württemberg Police Department and an art forgery sleuth of international standing, in 1998 claimed that ‘up to half of all the prints currently in circulation are fake’.⁵ In a culture of ubiquitous reproducibility, it is easy not to look too closely, especially when the work in question is a print and hence a medium which by its very nature is serial in character. No wonder the trade in forgeries is flourishing as never before. The innumerable reprints and forgeries of motifs by Dürer, Rembrandt, Toulouse-Lautrec, Schmidt-Rottluff, Miró, Chagall, Dalí and Picasso with which the market is now awash bear this out.

The most salutary example is without a doubt Sal-

vador Dalí, who in fact produced very few prints in his own hand with the result that there are now far more forgeries than originals in circulation. In 1992 some 53,000 fake Dalí prints were seized from a New York warehouse belonging to the Amiel family of art dealers. Seven years later it transpired that seven different art publishers in France had between them sold 100,000 forged Dalí lithographs. In the 1970s, the artist himself signed thousands of blank sheets onto which similarly savvy dealers printed reproductions of drawings and gouaches, which were then sold as original prints. To keep buyers in the dark while at the same time maximizing sales, the huge print runs used different paper and numbering systems and were spread among several publishers. As a direct consequence of this highly dubious, unprofessional handling of his works, Dalí has lost all

5. E. Schöller, cited from B. Müller, ‘Monet und Moneten’, *Bild der*

Wissenschaft, no. 3, 1998, p. 72.



40. Roy Lichtenstein, *Brushstroke*, 1965, screenprint, 584 x 736 mm (Berlin, Private collection) © The Estate of Roy Lichtenstein/DACS 2012.

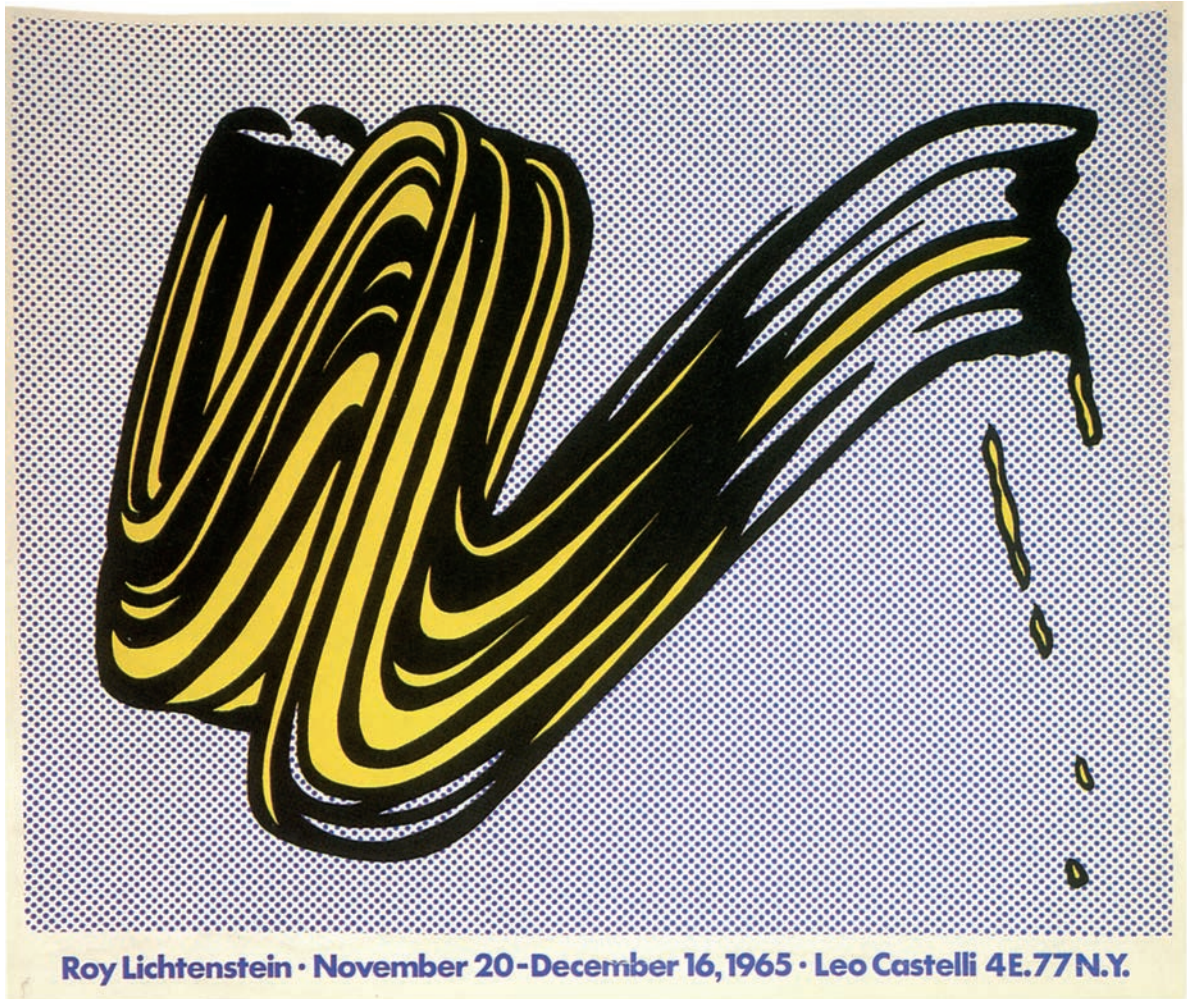
credibility on the prints market as has no other twentieth-century artist before him – so much so that some auction houses will no longer accept single prints by him at all. That the Munich-based art dealer Ralf Michler, who incidentally co-authored the catalogue of Dalí's printed oeuvre,⁶ personally sold at least 108 forged drawings and watercolours between 2001 and 2004 and was taken to court for his pains is no more than an unsavoury sequel to this sorry story. Confidence in the ability of dealers and so-called experts to tell a true Dalí print from a false one has hit rock bottom and is unlikely to recover in the foreseeable future.

Many people are unaware that the authenticity of

contemporary prints and drawings may be just as open to doubt as that of early modernist works. Nor is it just deceased artists such as Joseph Beuys, Jörg Immendorff, Sigmar Polke, Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol whom forgers have in their sights; prints that are ostensibly the work of artists who are still alive such as Georg Baselitz, Gerhard Richter, Arnulf Rainer and Damien Hirst, are certainly no rarity. In January 2012, for example, a realtor in New York was sentenced to a fine and a term in jail for having sold forged Damien Hirst prints together with fake appraisals. The principle is simple: whatever is coveted will be forged; and the forgers quite naturally take their cues from buyers' preferences. Bearing in mind

6. Salvador Dalí. *Das Druckgraphische Werk*, edited by R. Michler and L. Löpsinger, 1: *Œuvrekatalog der Radierungen und Mixed-Media-*

Graphiken, 1924–1980, Munich, 1994, II: *Œuvrekatalog der Lithographien und Holzstiche, 1956–1980*, Munich, 1995.



41. Poster of Roy Lichtenstein's *Brushstroke* motif, 1965, offset, 636 x 756 mm (Berlin, Private collection) © The Estate of Roy Lichtenstein/DACS 2012.

the way many collectors have shifted their focus of interest to contemporary art over the past twenty years, it surely cannot come as a surprise to learn that there has been a sharp increase in forgeries in this area.

For several years now it has been no secret that there are various fake or falsified Roy Lichtenstein prints in circulation. True, the artist himself did at times make life easy for potential fraudsters: His famous screenprint *Brushstrokes* produced in 1967 for the Pasadena Art Museum in California went to a run of 330 copies (fig. 39). But when he had a poster with exactly the same motif printed for the show of his works there, he made the dire

mistake of using the same printing technique and the same format. A cheap poster can therefore be turned into an expensive original print simply by slicing off the exhibition details printed along the bottom and pencilling in a false signature below the motif. The only way of telling the fake apart from the original is the paper, which in the poster is a different shade of white and much smoother.⁷

Rather more transparent is the case of a similar print dating from 1965. It was then that Lichtenstein produced his now much sought-after screenprint *Brushstroke* in an edition of 280 copies for the Leo Castelli Gallery in New

7. M. L. Corlett, *The Prints of Roy Lichtenstein: A Catalogue Raisonné*

1948–1997, New York, 2002, pp. 82 and 301.



42. Forgery of Sigmar Polke's print *Freundinnen I* (Girl Friends I), c. 1999, offset, 479 x 608 mm (Germany, Private collection)
© The Estate of Sigmar Polke, Cologne.

York (fig. 40). A poster with exactly the same motif was published that same year as an offset print (fig. 41).⁸ As the paper used for the poster was smoother and the motif somewhat larger, poster and print are relatively easy to tell apart. Yet this has not prevented fraudsters from cheating gullible collectors simply by cutting off the exhibition details and applying a false signature.

Trade in forged paintings, gouaches, and drawings by Sigmar Polke has flourished ever since his death in 2010, even if the trustees of his estate in Cologne have managed to uncover most of these fakes. As one of Polke's most important and most sought-after works on paper, the offset print *Freundinnen I* (Girl Friends I) has long had the capacity to arouse forgers' criminal energies. The

gallerist August Haseke of Hanover first published the print in 1967, when it changed hands for 40 deutschmarks; these days it fetches around €20,000 on the art market. But caution is called for here, too, as a number of false prints have surfaced over the past decade. The first of these, put up for sale by an art dealer in Cologne in 1999, caught the attention of the authors of the catalogue raisonné,⁹ who noticed that the forger had stupidly added an incorrect date – 1965 – below the motif. This giveaway has presumably long since been erased from the other forged copies of the work. Chancing on what was clearly a forged copy in a private collection in Germany one day, the artist himself had a bit of fun by demonstratively signing the work on verso and

8. Ibid., p. 285.

9. Sigmar Polke: *The Editioned Works 1963–2000. Catalogue Raisonné*, edited by J. Becker and C. von der Osten, Ostfildern-Ruit, 2000, p. 14.



43. Sigmar Polke, *Freundinnen I* (Girl Friends I), 1967, offset, 479 x 608 mm (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett) © The Estate of Sigmar Polke / DACS 2012.

thus ennobling it. Did that signature turn what had been a fake into an original? Hardly, given that a signature alone could not alter the fact of the false authorship of the print. Yet the case remains bizarre, as Polke of course was aware. When the corpus delicti is viewed alongside an undisputed original, such as the one at the Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, the differences soon become apparent: the cardboard on which the forgery was reproduced as an offset print is both lighter and softer than it should be (figs. 42 and 43). And in this case, photomechanical reproduction has led to a loss of colour and detail. The top half of the work in particular is much too light – as must surely be visible to the trained eye.

Gerhard Richter is not just Germany's most important and most successful living artist, but also by far its most expensive, which makes him a potentially lucrative

target for forgers. The fraudster who chose to fake Richter's widely circulated collotype *Mao* of 1968 (fig. 44), a signed copy of which can fetch €9,000, used a range of methods to dupe potential buyers: the *Mao* forgeries not only have a mount and a silver frame, but they are also protected behind milk glass to obscure the offset print's telltale rows of dots. The collotype method used by Richter is considerably more sophisticated and produces prints without rows of dots but with the coarse grains typical of this technique – an irregular structure that under a magnifying glass looks like thousands of miniscule worms. When the forgery is removed from under the glass, however, the round dots of the offset print are visible even to the naked eye.

When such an inauthentic *Mao* complete with a false signature turned up at the Zeller auction house on Lake



44. Gerhard Richter, *Mao*, 1968, collotype, 839 x 593 mm (Essen, Olbricht Collection, Photo Jana Ebert) © Gerhard Richter, Cologne.

Constance in September 2010, the vendor even went so far as to supply a fake certificate of authenticity issued by an art expert with the Dutch name Jan van Brummelen (fig. 45). Yet not even that was enough to make the Zeller's own expert pause for thought; instead it was left to the hapless collector to uncover the scam – and to return the print. Just such a fake with an identical fake certificate had been sold by the auction house Kaiserhöfe in Berlin in January 2010. The Berlin Police Department began investigating the case and searched both Kaiserhöfe's own premises and several private dwellings. There they found what was almost certainly the source of the forgeries: not an original collotype but just a poster for

an exhibition in Frankfurt in 1992, with the exhibition details along the bottom cut away. This explains why the two offset prints are missing a few centimetres of the motif. The forger in this case was extremely clumsy – a fact that for the critical viewer made the deceit all the easier to expose.

Some forgers cut corners by using exhibition posters directly, which they trim, sign, and then sell as original Richters. Even auction houses as revered as Sotheby's have been known to misjudge such works. One of the lots due to be sold at Sotheby's on 23 June 2005 was a 1965 screenprint ostensibly by Richter called *Hund* (Dog). Not only did the original edition of this work run to just

eight copies, which explains why the print is now such a rarity, but wielding a broad, flat brush, Richter himself smeared the still wet inks, thus blurring the motif and turning what had been a print into a print-painting hybrid (fig. 46).¹⁰ That such a work should have come on the market at all was thus nothing short of a sensation – or would have been, had it not turned out to be an offset poster for an exhibition in 1993, the details of which were hidden behind the mount. The printed signature and the fact that the work was an offset print should have set the auctioneers' alarm bells ringing. But the entry in the auction catalogue, 'from an edition of 8 signed works', implied that the work was indeed an original Richter. The reference to what was then the authoritative catalogue of Richter's editions was also intended to win buyers' confidence; in fact it did nothing of the sort, since contrary to what the auction catalogue claimed, there is no 'illustration of another example' in this work. Sotheby's realized its mistake just in time and withdrew *Hund* from the auction.

There was a similar incident on 29 October 2011 at the auction house Ketterer in Munich, where an offset print called *Onkel Rudi* (Uncle Rudi) showing the same motif as the one Richter used for his 2000 Cibachrome photograph of that name came up for sale (fig. 47). The print was not a work of art by Richter at all, but rather a poster for an exhibition at the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (IfA) in Stuttgart, which since 2000 has been using the same poster for an international exhibition that is still touring today. The poster had been trimmed by nearly a third to remove the exhibition details printed along the left-hand side (fig. 48). The print is definitely not a work of art, nor even an artist's poster; it is rather a crudely truncated and hence damaged poster, furnished with a complimentary signature that was almost certainly appended before it was doctored and hence still unequivocally a poster. What we are ultimately dealing with here is not so much a forgery as a heavily manipulated and hence falsified print. That one collector at the auction was nevertheless willing to pay €3,500 for it is as astounding as it is worrying. It seems the name Richter alone is enough to make people throw all caution to the winds.

The last two examples are especially brazen. Among the lots to be auctioned off at Nagel of Stuttgart on 8 December 2010 was an obscure print that looked rather like a diminutive version of Richter's *Kerze II* (Candle II) of 1989 – a large-format offset print raked over in black oil paint by Richter himself. Having found a reproduc-



45. Jan van Brummelen's expertise on Gerhard Richter's *Mao* (Berlin, Private collection).

tion of this work in a book or on the Internet, the vendor, it seems, had simply printed it out on an inkjet printer, and appended a forged signature. The auction catalogue, however, listed the work under the name 'Gerhard Richter', leading buyers to believe that it was indeed an original Richter. The telephone assertion of Nagel's prints expert to the effect that the work was signed and hence genuine is absurd. After all, forging signatures is child's play and a flourish alone can never guarantee the authenticity of a print. The collectors turned out to have a better eye for such things than did Nagel, as not one of them was willing to pay the asking price of €1,200. We all make mistakes, of course, but in this case the

10. Gerhard Richter: *Editions 1965–2004. Catalogue Raisonné*, edited by H. Butin, S. Gronert, and The Dallas Museum of Art, Ostfildern-

Ruit, 2004, p. 123.



46. Gerhard Richter, *Hund (Dog)*, 1965, blue-black screenprint on white, manually applied ground, 649 x 499 mm (Olbricht Collection, Essen, Photo Jana Ebert) © Gerhard Richter, Cologne.

boundary between a mistake and an embarrassment was exceeded by a wide margin.

Perhaps even more absurd is the case of the private vendor who in March 2012 tried to sell a photoedition of Richter's 1994 work *Licht* (Light) on the private sales platform eBay. Pasted onto the verso of this signed and numbered photograph was the label of Edition Staack of Heidelberg, which has indeed published various editions of the artist's work. The trouble is, there is no Richter edition called *Licht*. The photo itself (of a sunset),

the label, and the signature were all forgeries.

What all these examples of forged contemporary art show is that inadequate knowledge or even lack of due diligence on the part of dealers and auctioneers can make life easy for forgers and consequently harm collectors. Some players on the art market these days react to the word 'forgery' like vampires at the sight of a garlic bulb or a cross. No, they have nothing whatsoever to do with such practices, they say, and under no circumstances do they want to be named in that



47. Gerhard Richter, *Onkel Rudi* (Uncle Rudi), 2000, Cibachrome photograph fixed on white Dibond plate, framed, behind glass, with frame 959 x 585 mm (Berlin, Private collection) © Gerhard Richter, Cologne.



48. Distorted exhibition poster from the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart, 2000, height 840 mm (Germany, Private collection) © Gerhard Richter, Cologne.

connection, no matter how tenuous the link. It would actually be better not to talk about it at all. Other dealers have become more proactive. The van Ham auction house of Cologne, for example, recently joined forces with the Bundesverband deutscher Kunstversteigerer e. V. to set up an Internet database of 'critical works' that could be continuously updated and added to and so help those in the business to protect themselves against forgeries already in circulation. Astonishingly, this information platform is the first of its kind worldwide. It is to be hoped that in the long run, it will be accessible not just to auction houses but to galleries,

art historians, and collectors, too.

Yet the best defence against forgeries is ultimately a schooled eye, clear criteria for the verifiable details of a given object, opportunities to compare works with undisputed museum exhibits, and the support of independent experts whose verdicts should rest on solid evidence – all of which are now more important than ever before. After all, those collectors who have lost confidence in the art market as a result of the cases outlined above are unlikely to be won back by stony silence and still less by attempts to downplay the magnitude of the problem.

Notes

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY DRAWINGS AND PRINTS FROM THE LOUVRE. In 2011, for the first time in its history, the Louvre exhibited selected drawings from the Florentine Quattrocento in conjunction with early prints, including impressions from the lesser known

category of nielli and a few rare sulphur casts (Catherine Loisel and Pascal Torres, *Les premiers ateliers italiens de la Renaissance: de Finiguerra à Botticelli*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 6 July–3 October 2011, Paris, Le Passage and Louvre éditions, 2011, 157 pp., 121 col. ill., €28).



49. Copyist of Altichiero, *An Interior Courtyard of a Palace with a Peacock and a Falcon Attacking a Duck*, from the Bonfiglioli-Sagredo-Rothschild album, pen and brown ink, coloured inks and tempera on vellum, 303 x 215 mm (Paris, Louvre).

Centred around two veritable treasures, the album Bonfiglioli-Sagredo-Rothschild (fig. 49) and the Rothschild modelbook of animals (already shown in the exhibition 'Il Rinascimento italiano nella collezione Rothschild del Louvre', at the Casa Buonarroti in Florence in 2009), the exhibition focuses on two fundamental aspects of fifteenth-century Italian graphic production: the importance of drawing as an investigative tool with which to explore the physical world, and as an interdisciplinary instrument used by artists working in disparate techniques within the Renaissance workshop.

The exhibited works belong to the collection donated to the Louvre in 1935 by the heirs of Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934). It consisted of more than 60,000 pieces of exceptional importance, with engravings outnumbering drawings, that had been collected by the baron with the precise aim of documenting the French origin of engraving. Even if the theory of the French origin of engraving may have been flawed, it is impossible to deny the merit of amassing a collection of the most important group of niello prints in the world. The catalogue functions as a narrative guide: instead of detailed entries for each item, the curators have placed the works within a framework of chronologically and thematically structured essays. All the exhibited works are illustrated, some in larger format than the originals, with lengthy captions that are almost complete technical descriptions. Consequently, the catalogue traces the development of drawing applications, in particular of the rare modelbooks on vellum. These include the Bonfiglioli-Sagredo-Rothschild album as well as the modelbook with animals, both luxury items drawn on precious vellum at a time when paper had become available and would have been a cheaper support. These albums provide valuable evidence of the graphic activity inside the workshops of painters and decorators in fifteenth-century Florence. Otto prints and other Florentine engravings from the workshops of Baccio Baldini, Francesco Rosselli and Antonio Pollaiuolo are discussed alongside the drawings.

In the second section, Pascal Torres focuses on niello in a deliberately cursory manner, with few bibliographical references. Niello is a technique of ancient Byzantine and possibly even Egyptian origin that flourished again in the fifteenth century, especially in Florence and Bologna. It consists of inserting a black metallic amalgam powder (Latin *nigellum*, diminutive of *niger*, black) into grooves engraved on a small, metallic (generally silver) plate that was then used to decorate liturgical objects or secular goldsmith's art. Before being made into nielli, the plates could have been inked and printed on paper, giving origin to the rare niello prints. These would have provided workshops with an impression of the final appearance of the niello, in addition to serving as a reminder of the design for later use in the workshop, as can be seen by some of the niello prints exhibited that were heightened with white body-colour.



50. Maso Finiguerra, *Jesus on the Mount of Olives*, before 1464, sulphur cast, 61 x 45 mm (Paris, Louvre).

The existence of even rarer sulphur casts derives from the possibility of duplicating the metallic plate by making very thin casts in clay, a process described by Vasari (fig. 50). It was possible to obtain impressions from these sulphur casts, even though they were substantially more fragile than the silver plates. The Rothschild collection preserves the *Coronation of the Virgin*, one of the most famous sulphur casts, derived from the niello pax created by Maso Finiguerra (1426–64) for the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence and today at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello. A paper impression, probably taken from the Rothschild sulphur cast, was discovered by Pietro Zani at the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris and published in 1802. This gave rise to the rebirth of interest in this kind of work, in connection with Vasari's theory on the origin of intaglio printmaking that attributed the invention to Finiguerra.

The exhibition also shows a selection of works attributed to Peregrino da Cesena (active in Bologna c. 1490–1520). These should, however, be considered prints in the niello manner, in other words prints destined for diffusion on a large scale, rather than niello prints proper, where the composition and inscriptions appear in reverse to the original matrix. By the same artist, who surely is from the Bolognese area but whose identification as Peregrino da

Cesena is still hypothetical, is a modelbook in the Rothschild collection that is the only one to contain preparatory drawings for nielli as well as prints in the niello manner. Despite the studies and the catalogues of the nineteenth century (ranging from Jean Duchesne in 1826 to Eugène Dutuit in 1888) and the twentieth century (by Arthur E. Hind in 1936 and André Blum in 1950), this is a field that needs a reevaluation and a more detailed and exhaustive study. LAURA ALDOVINI

THE WRITINGS OF HANS FOLZ. Of the many professional activities of the Worms-born writer Hans Folz (c. 1437–1513), which included *Meistersinger* (master singer), playwright and publisher, that of barber-surgeon bore a distinctive imprint on his literary output. This is the argument of Caroline Huey, whose comprehensive study of Folz's different genres of writing considers the various manifestations of corporeality across his *Meisterlieder* (master songs), *Reimpaarsprüche* (stories in rhymed couplets), *Fastnachtspiele* (carnival plays), and pharmaceutical tracts (Caroline Huey, *Hanz Folz and Print Culture in Late Medieval Germany*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012, 166 pp., 42 b. & w. ill., £55). As a medical practitioner, Folz was called upon to treat ailing citizens of Nuremberg, the city in which he settled in 1459, and lived until his death. Huey argues that Folz's texts exhibit a particular emphasis on the body as a medium of both transgression and salvation.

Huey dedicates each of the core chapters to a type of body – divine, female, Jewish and ill – that Folz encourages his audience to honour, vilify, ostracize and heal. An early advocate of the Immaculate Conception, Folz portrays the Virgin as the redeemer of Eve's sin. She is the counterpoint to the wretched termagants of Folz's carnival plays, in which lascivious females corrupt their lovers. The anti-heroine of Folz's *Die Bauernheirat* (The Peasant Wedding) is a parody of the virginal ideal: grotesquely hypersexual, she has already given birth; her body is vulgar in its overuse. Whereas Mary's physical body leads to redemption, the women of Folz's carnival plays portray a toppling of the social order. Another discussion of the transgressive nature of the carnival women in the work of Folz and his contemporary, Hans Rosenplüt, may be found in Elisabeth Keller's *Die Darstellung der Frau in Fastnachtspiel und Spruchdichtung von Hans Rosenplüt und Hans Folz* (Frankfurt, 1992; absent from Huey's bibliography).

In a chapter on Folz's anti-Jewish vitriol, Huey provides contextualizing discussions of early modern anti-Semitism and the anxieties of late-medieval piety, which gave rise to characterizations of Jews as destructive to Christian society. Folz condemns the outsiders with swinish and scatological imagery. In *Ein Spiel von dem Herzogen von Burgund* (A Story of the Dukes of Burgundy), dogs chase the Jews from the city, foreshadowing the real expulsion of Jews from Nuremberg, an event in which Folz played a part. In insisting on physical separation from its enemies, argues Huey, Folz's

protects the Christian will in its path to salvation.

Whereas Ingeborg Spriewald has discussed Folz's effort to convince an audience accustomed to oral performance of the legitimacy of the written word, Huey describes the tone of Folz's texts in relationship to his readers as 'instructive discourse' (p. 8). The book argues for the ways in which Folz outlines a religious plan that includes the control and protection of the Christian body. In her chapter on popular medicine, Huey connects Folz's role as a surgeon to the practical usability of his *Pestregimen* (Plague Treatment), *Hausratbüchlein* (Household Booklet) and *Konfektbüchlein* (Confectionary Booklet).

Folz was the first author in the German language to print his own work, and first to bring the formats of stories in rhymed couplets and master songs to the press. He was also the first to print illustrated title-pages. Woodcuts were designed specifically for his publications. The appendix to Huey's study provides a useful list of the extant publications by Folz's press and reprints by other publishers. Overall, Huey is modest in her claims about Folz's contribution to the history of prints, and dutifully footnotes Ursula Rautenberg's 'Das Werk als Ware' (*Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1999). Rautenberg's article presents an analysis of the mechanisms of Folz's press: the chronological development of his printed pamphlets, the layout of text, and the format of his illustrated title-pages. Rautenberg also offers well-grounded speculations about Folz's motives in publishing his own works, and describes the training and social position of a 'barber-surgeon'. Her explanation of the profession is useful for a reading of Huey's study, which relies on analyzing Folz's texts according to his medical experience.

Huey's book itself exhibits some of the less tidy outcomes of publishing houses economizing in our time: the title-page images are reproduced in poor quality, and the bibliography suffers inaccuracies from lack of editing. The book does provide an occasion to consider the diverse career of one of the most influential writers prior to Hans Sachs, and the portrayals of corporeal beings – the purity of the Virgin, the wretchedness of the whore, the perversions of the Jew, and the medical needs of the plague victim – which enabled the fifteenth-century consumer of 'popular' prints to identify the role of the body in the path to salvation. SHIRA BRISMAN

THE AUGSBURG GESCHLECHTERBUCH. The recent exhibition and publication of a sixteenth-century volume of images designed for a '*Geschlechterbuch*', or Book of Peerage, presents fantastically armoured shield bearers posing alongside the coats of arms of Augsburg's patrician families (Hans-Martin Kaulbach and Helmut Zäh with Steffen Egle and Edith Seidl, *Das Augsburger Geschlechterbuch – Wappenpracht und Figurenkunst: Ein Kriegsverlust kehrt zurück*, exhibition catalogue, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 3 March–24 June 2012, Lucerne, Quaternio Ver-

lag, 2012, 278 pp., 275 col. and 1 b. & w. ills., €29.80). Although translated in the catalogue as the Augsburg 'Book of Nobles,' the term *Geschlecht* suggests lineage and not nobility per se. In this context it is better described as a book of peerage, registering the new members admitted to the city's governing elite. The catalogue was prompted by the return to Stuttgart, by court order in 2010, of the volume containing 44 drawings and 53 etchings made c. 1545–47 by Hans Burgkmair the Younger and Heinrich Vogtherr (probably the Younger), which was recovered from the estate of an American World War II veteran. The volume's history represents a parable of loss and homecoming: *Kriegsverlust* (war loss), but also the loss of context that went with it; and homecoming, a process of restoration of meaning and, not least, of historical memory.

The catalogue presents a facsimile of the recovered Augsburg *Book of Peerage*, now in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung. A commentary at the end, followed by an index, catalogues and compares the other extant versions in Augsburg, Nuremberg, Berlin, Oldenburg and London. Print specialists may not be daunted by the detailed accounts and charts, but non-specialists will prefer the contextual essays at the beginning of the catalogue.

In his introduction Helmut Zäh explores the political and social background of the production of the Augsburg *Geschlechterbuch*. It was occasioned by the elevation of 39 families in 1538 into Augsburg's patrician class, after the older-established governing nobility could no longer fill the requisite city council positions. Its production represents an expansion of the concept of nobility from a status determined by bloodline to one based on perceived virtue and civic achievement. The images celebrated the rise of powerful mercantile families, such as the Fuggers and Welsers, but also served as instruments of that ascent by entering them into the historical record. Although emulating a tradition of armorial imagery in lavishly illuminated manuscripts, the Augsburg compilation is printed, and as such is not the result of an aristocratic commission, but probably of the initiative of a resourceful printer responding to growing demand. No doubt it would have appealed to the newly promoted families, while on the broader market it projected an image of a city of well-connected urban sophisticates.

Edith Seidl's essay on Hans Burgkmair the Younger and Heinrich Vogtherr the Younger adds to our understanding of the artistic achievements of these middling artists, especially Burgkmair, who may have earned his living as an etcher of armour. Seidl discovered that Burgkmair lived with the Augsburg armourer Matthäus Frauenpreiss while working on the *Geschlechterbuch* and it is now thought that Burgkmair etched all the illustrations (figs. 51 and 52; p. 26). Steffen Egle's study of the precedents for such heraldic productions and shield-bearing figures and Hans-Martin Kaulbach's commentary on the recovered Stuttgart volume, portray these artists not as innovators, but rather as



51. Attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Younger, *Member of the Fugger Family*, etching, 212 x 149 mm (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart).

'work-horses' who borrowed and adapted artistic models suitable for their task. On the basis of the various extant states of the prints included in the *Book of Peerage*, Kaulbach explores the routine and efficient nature of the production itself: how to devise nearly 100 different figures, costumes and poses, and then combine that level of fancy within the strict rules of heraldry. Burgkmair, who designed most of the figures (according to Tilman Falk only the drawing for *Stetten* can be attributed to Vogtherr), borrows inventively from a wide range of sources. These included prints more than a century old, namely Italian *tarocchi* and engravings from the Master of the Playing Cards; and he also borrowed woodcuts from his father's unpublished imperial *Genealogie* (c. 1509–12), no doubt passed down through the workshop. One gains an appreciation for a design process that involved modifying and recombining existing forms, and also for the mechanics of transferring drawings to plates (there are visible pinholes on the contours of the drawings), printing proof impressions and altering states – usually by assigning family names – and the regulated hand-colouring for the heraldry. Often the coat of arms were left



52. Attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Younger after Heinrich Vogtherr the Younger, *Member of the Stetten Family*, etching, 215 x 141 mm (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek).



53. Attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Younger, *Member of the Winckler Family*, etching, 214 x 147 mm (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart).

blank in the printing process, probably with the aid of paper or metal strips, traces of which can still be seen (fig. 53; p. 77); this process was already noted for Hans Burgkmair the Elder (*Hans Burgkmair 1473–1973: Das Graphische Werk*, Augsburg, 1973, no. 162).

Despite its painstaking production the volume was never published, revealing the brutal reality of printing costs. Another printmaking team, consisting of Paul Hektor Mair and Christoph Weiditz, who worked independently to meet the same civic demands, completed a woodcut edition beforehand. Burgkmair and Vogtherr's shield bearers are more varied and artistically appealing, but these merits were not sufficient to justify the full investment. Its more modest associations notwithstanding, woodcut prevailed over etching in this market, both for its well-established division of labour and ability to sustain a higher press run.

It is worth noting that the catalogue contributors have allowed the Augsburg *Book of Peerage* to continue to appeal

to at least two different audiences. The first includes print specialists and historians for whom process, context and reception are so important. The second audience would consist of those with little or no knowledge of the German language, probably including the American soldier who took the original volume home. For them a short English summary is provided at the end and, one imagines, it serves as an enjoyable picture book, showing an astonishing array of poses, faces, costumes and heraldry, with a kind of engagement that may not be entirely ahistorical. Although Burgkmair and Vogtherr lost the race to publish, the plates were retained as well as the printed proofs, which were gathered into volumes probably valued as a treasure trove of designs. In 1618 Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann renumbered and reprinted them, adding yet another group of Augsburg patricians to the register in his *Renewed Book of Peerage* (*Erneuerte Geschlechter Buch*) and conferring on it a decidedly retrospective character. ASHLEY D. WEST

ALSATIAN BOOK ILLUSTRATION REVISITED.

The year 2009 saw the publication of the third volume of book illustrations in Alsace from the sixteenth century (Cécile Dupeux, Jacqueline Lévy, Frank Muller and Sébastien Peter, *La gravure d'illustration en Alsace au XVI^e siècle*, III: *Jean Grüninger, 1507–1512*, Strasbourg, Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2009, 381 pp., 565 b. & w. ill., €45). The first volume of the series, which appeared in 1992, covers Johann Grüninger's publications from 1501 to 1506, while the second volume, in 2000, deals with the production of the other Strasbourg publishers within the same time span (see *Print Quarterly*, IX, 1992, pp. 381–82 and XIX, 2002, pp. 50–51).

Between 1507 and 1512 Grüninger published at least 47 books, 35 of them with new woodcuts, totalling altogether around 600 new prints. Unusually, the texts include classical authors, patristic literature and humanistic works, in addition to the more traditional range of philosophical and historical devotional texts, medieval stories, medicinal treatises and geographical accounts. The newly explored world appears in the publications of the Saint-Dié geographers, including Martin Waldseemüller, who published the first map of America in 1508 with the help of Grüninger (the only known surviving exemplar is in the Library of Congress, Washington DC). Grüninger also republished his *Cosmographie introductio* in 1509, following four Saint-Dié editions. Other geographical treatises include Gautier Lud's *Speculi Orbis ... declaratio* of 1507, extracts of which were republished in the third edition of Gregorius Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica*, also republished by Grüninger in 1512 with 23 new woodcuts. The second edition, of 1508, had 24 new illustrations. In 1509 Grüninger also published *Die Welt Kugel* with three maps, one including the New World.

Medical and other scientific books were still popular, as shown by the reprinting in 1509 of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Medicinarius*, which includes illustrations from the 1500 and 1505 editions as well as three new prints. Two probably replace damaged originals; the third shows a cornflower. Brunschwig's *Liber de arte distillandi* of 1512 includes 200 illustrations, of which 55 are new. A small but important volume is the German translation of Amerigo Vespucci's *Lettera*, which covers the author's four travels to America and was republished on 18 March 1509. Three of its four new woodcuts are fanciful representations of native Americans.

Some of these books carried only a small illustration; the most elaborate visual material was found in the classical texts, such as the twelve large woodcuts used for the frontispiece and the beginnings of the eleven chapters of a translation of Julius Caesar's *Wars* (*Julius der erst Römisch Keiser von seinen Kriegen...*, published on 7 March 1507). Those in Titus Livius's German translation of his *Roman History* (*Roemische History*, published on 23 March 1507) include 176 illustrations, of which 38 are new (eleven of



54. Anonymous artist, *The Devil Sexually Arousing the Patient*, woodcut, from *Ein andechtig geistliche Badenfahrt* (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger, 1509), fol. H 2vo.

these copy images from the Livy edition published in Mainz in 1505 by Peter Schoeffer); the others had already been used in Grüninger's Virgil of 1502, and in the *Hug Schapler* and *Königstochter von Frankreich* romances of 1500. Eighteen new illustrations are found in Plaute's *Poeta comicus* published on 8 April 1508. Patristic literature includes the richly illustrated *Der heiligen Altväter Leben* (25 August 1507), with 75 new illustrations out of a total of 180 focusing on the lives of St Anthony of Egypt and other hermits, such as St Hilarion of Cyprus. Medieval literary texts too were well illustrated, the *Freidank* (*Der freydanck nütze mit den figure...*), of 1508, with 29 new illustrations, Boccaccio's *Decameron* (*Cento Novella*, 7 September 1509), with 58, while others were reused from earlier publications, including the *Leben der Altväter* of 1507. Hermann von Sachsenheim's *Die Mörin* (24 November 1512) has seventeen new illustrations and *Thyl Eulenspiegel*, of 1510, ten.

Devotional texts were also illustrated. The Strasbourg preacher Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg's *Passio der vier Evangelisten*, published in 1509, had twelve large new illustrations, his *Schiff des Heils* (23 August 1512) nine and his *Predigt der Himmelfahrt Mariae...* (7 September 1512) four. And if Thomas Murner is represented by his famous *Logica memorativa...* of 1509, with no fewer than 69 new illustrations, less known is his extraordinary *Badenfahrt*, in which Christ heals the patient – in this case the sinner –

in a bathhouse (*Ein andechtig geistliche Badenfahrt*, 1509). The allegory, on 36 pages with as many woodcuts, shows the preparation and various aspects of the bath as a spiritual cleansing, with one woodcut showing the devil sexually arousing the sinner (fig. 54). More traditional religious illustrations are found in Sebastian Brant's *Der heiligen Leben*, of 18 March 1510, with 256 illustrations, of which fourteen are new, and in the anonymous *Evangelia und Epistolen mit der Glos*, of 24 March 1510, with 51 illustrations, of which 28 are new. Especially interesting is a treatise on domestic economy, the *Hausrat* (*Hie finstu zü eine niuwe Jar. Ein Huszrat*), published in 1511 with ten woodcuts, nine appearing here for the first time.

Some conclusions can be made from this enumeration: at least 565 woodcuts were created for Johann Grüninger in the six years covered by the volume. Illustrations were used, reused and occasionally misused, sometimes outside their original context. The designers were numerous, but very difficult to identify. Some of Grüninger's books, such as Thomas Murner's *Badenfahr*, are extremely rare today. By reproducing all the new woodcuts, this catalogue makes an enormous number of images accessible to the public, while focusing interest on the numerous, often unstudied books in which the images are found. The bilingual French and German catalogue of the 35 books with new woodcuts is followed by a synoptic table of these publications, including a number of illustrations, both old and new, a bibliography and a list of identified exemplars. JEAN MICHEL MASSING

REMBRANDT IN RUSSIA. The particular and unusual appeal of the catalogue *Rembrandt Kuparilaatan mestari/Master of the Copper Plate. Grafiikkaa Valtion Eremitaasin Dmitri Rovinski –kokoelmasta/Prints from the Rovinsky Collection at the State Hermitage* is that it has a narrow focus (exhibition catalogue, Helsinki, Sinebrychoff Art Museum, 2 February–29 April 2012, Helsinki, Finnish National Gallery, Sinebrychoff Art Museum, 2012, 264 pp., 77 ills., full parallel text in Finnish and English, €53). Only impressions from 39 different plates were exhibited, some, from the 1650s, in multiple states or on different papers with variant inkings (the complement of illustrations mentioned above is made up of details). There are no formal portraits (but three self-portraits, two being early studies of expression and the third the grandiloquent Bartsch 7 (A. von Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt et ceux de ses principaux imitateurs*, Vienna, 1797), in which the young hero is rather over-encumbered by his hat and embroidered cloak; and the enigmatic but better resolved *Man at a Desk Wearing a Cross and Chain*, made ten years later); no landscapes (save those incidental to other subjects, such as *St Francis Beneath a Tree Praying*); and no nudes.

The span of Rembrandt's career is covered, though, from the modest little 'teach-yourself' essays of the late

1620s, via the technically experimental lion-hunts and by contrast the worked-up 'history' pieces, including those made collaboratively as something of a response to Rubens's industry in Antwerp, and finishing with the elegies of the late 1650s, when the quotidian grind of keeping alive and turning out new impressions of older plates was not an issue because they were no longer under the artist's control. There are two states of *The Flight into Egypt* (A Night Piece) (Bartsch 53), two states of *The Three Crosses* and the oblong *Ecce Homo*, and three impressions of *St Jerome Reading in an Italian Landscape* (Bartsch 104), in the third of which a veil seems to have fallen over the scene, as if the lines themselves had not been re-inked between pulls but more wiped over the surface. The four states of *The Entombment* (Bartsch 86) are reproduced, but there are two impressions of both the third and fourth, and four nuanced inkings of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (Bartsch 70).

These were all selected, to make or reinforce a point, from the more than 600 sheets, by or then ascribed to Rembrandt, left by Dmitry Rovinsky (1824–95) to the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. The exhibition was conceived, and the catalogue written, by Roman Grigoryev, head of the Print Room in the Hermitage and Professor in the History of Art at the European University (it is all the more odd, then, that the Sinebrychoff website makes no mention of Grigoryev's name in offering the catalogue for sale; www.sinebrychoffintaidemuseo.fi/sinebrychoff_en).

Grigoryev's rubrics, 'Poetics' and 'Techniques', are developed in his introduction and deployed in the entries, and there joined or given context by appropriate art-historical or iconographical disquisitions. These headings, denoting concept and practice, are difficult to disentangle in Rembrandt's graphic work, the possibilities for the former being so immeasurably increased by novel and enormously imaginative approaches to the tools of the trade, to which, Grigoryev insists (with only the occasional hint of kite-flying), not enough really close analysis has been applied. He devotes much patient effort to analysing the evolution and underestimated role of drypoint, and, in rather a sustained tour de force, to classifying the aesthetic implications of Rembrandt's command of his resources, actual and potential, of which only Hercules Seghers amongst his predecessors had but intimations.

Rembrandt's mastery of drypoint developed over many years, but it is useful to be reminded that his use and by implication his understanding of it evolved by degrees, and not always in what one might call a straight line (so too, in a not unrelated way, did his use of what became a convention in his prints, the counterpoint of heavily and lightly worked opposing areas of a composition). By the 1650s, when he was producing the plates which are so heavily burred that they represent a sort of

printed impasto, he must also have been able to anticipate the decline of this effect, for instance in the *Christ Preaching (La petite Tombe)*. Indeed it is wholly antithetical to any previous conception of the role of the print, where the premium is on clarity, that there are so many impressions of plates in which it is difficult or impossible to say what is actually going on (and here 'poetics' and 'techniques' are as one). This is also the point at which Rembrandt realized that the completed matrix, or the matrix as completed at any given moment, need not be immutably reflected in the pulls taken from it; he saw that even beyond his unusual, unique or innovative methods of marking the copper plate, choices made by the printer, not least when he was that man, about inking or the use of supports like oriental papers or vellum or cardoes paper, would for his own purposes render obsolescent a customary division of labour, whereby, the engraver's job done, a factotum was ordered to print a given number of sheets as nearly identical as possible. He could greatly extend the imaginative possibilities, or even the commercial potential of the matrix, by having the option of printing each impression as an independent and autonomous work. Grigoryev postulates that the absence of impressions that represent intermediate states, on the *Presentation in the Temple (in the dark manner)*, for instance, may be explained, under this dispensation, by the fact that the stress merely shifts, at a certain point, from printmaker to printer. He also shows, setting aside that element of 'repair' work that the soft matrix required (and Rembrandt certainly needed to preserve what he could of the credit side of the family balance sheet), that the many physical changes to plates, the 'state' element, especially, and not coincidentally, when combined with constantly shifting printing stratagems, presents the attentive beholder with a new and thrilling dynamic, as the narrative unfolds not in a series of different plates, but on the same plate.

The catalogue itself is attractive, and, perhaps crucially, in a handy format to carry round an exhibition; the reproductions seem good, though all the small plates are reproduced larger than actual size. If I have any criticisms these are of the editing of the book, and the inclusion of extraneous material. While in the fore-matter to the entries the provenance information gives glimpses of the formation of Rovinsky's collection, this will be treated in full by Grigoryev in a forthcoming catalogue – alas to be published only in Russian; but too much of it is a work in progress and is neither here nor there, while the same can be said of the enumeration of copies at the end of the descriptions. As to the translation into English, the author might have some reason to feel aggrieved. I was reminded of an amusing error in the 1755 catalogue of the celebrated De Burgy collection of Rembrandt's prints. In the first state of the portrait of the painter Asselijn most of the background is filled by a landscape painting on an easel, 'met den Ezel agter zig', as the

Dutch text has it, in other words 'with the easel behind him'. Whoever translated the text into French clearly did so without knowledge of the image, picked the wrong meaning of the word 'Ezel' and rendered the description 'avec l'âne derrière lui'. There is nothing quite so egregious here, and while Grigoryev's confident (and to some, no doubt, provocative) authorial voice, with its memorable allusions and turns of phrase, cannot be repressed, nor one's enjoyment of his text diminished, a paucity of art-historical knowledge or familiarity with the subject-matter, in the English translation, is often rather painful.

NICHOLAS STOGDON

HINTERGLASMALEREI (REVERSE GLASS PAINTING). The world of British prints is familiar with a type of coloured decorative print laid onto glass that was fashionable between the 1680s and the beginning of the nineteenth century. These were pasted to the back of the glass, the paper was rubbed away and the film of ink remaining on the sheet was then painted from the back in oil or tempera colours (see A. Massing's account of the literature on how to make these in *Print Quarterly*, VI, 1989, pp. 383–93). In Britain such prints were usually made by amateurs, and they preferred to use mezzotints, as the continuous tone simplified their work. On the Continent such amateur glass paintings were much less common, for another variety of the process was firmly entrenched. From the sixteenth century professionals, who emerged from the business of painting glass windows, had used the technique of *Hinterglasmalerei* (reverse glass painting) to produce decorative paintings. Initially these were made for insertion into cabinets and other such furniture, but from the mid-seventeenth century they were increasingly designed to be framed and used as room decoration. The buyers were the well-to-do *Mittelstand*, the middle class, and the works are attractive and decorative. But they show no creativity, and so have been the province of museums of folk art and enthusiastic collectors.

As a result, the surprisingly large literature on these works has been written by energetic amateurs and the most recent of these is Wolfgang Steiner (Wolfgang Steiner with Christoph Nicht, Julia Quandt and Christof Trepesch, *'Eine andere Art von Malerei: Hinterglasmalerei und ihre Vorlagen 1550–1850'*, Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012, 384 pp., 311 col. and 50 b. & w. ill., €68, SFr. 91). His particular interest is in uncovering the graphic sources that were copied by the painters, and in this his book is reminiscent of S. Ducret's classic *Keramik und Graphik des 18. Jahrhunderts* of 1973, which did the same for porcelain. Steiner published a general book on the subject in 2004 (reviewed by A. Massing, *Print Quarterly*, XXV, 2008, pp. 60–61) and has now followed it with this large monograph. It doubled as the catalogue of an exhibition held in the Schaezlerpalais in Augsburg in 2012, and after a ten-page introduction, the format displays on the recto



55. Attributed to Johann Peter Abesch, *The Adoration of the Golden Calf*, oil paint on brown paper, glass, glass 266 x 327 mm (Murnau am Staffelsee, Schlossmuseum).

of each opening a full-page colour reproduction of the glass painting (all from his own collection), and on the facing page its graphic source or sources plus the captions. The arrangement is by subject-matter rather than by date or production area. Steiner is not particularly interested in the prints themselves, and gives no sizes, locations or references to literature about them. The printing mimics the effect of the originals using a remarkable new printing technology reminiscent of Victorian gum arabic: the painted area of the glass is printed with a high gloss finish, while its frame is in matte colour.

The centre of painting of this kind seems to have been in the Catholic areas of southern Germany, Austria and the Swiss/Italian border area of the Tyrol. There was also a production in China made for the export trade to Europe, and a handful of inscribed works show that a few were made in France (cat. 111 for instance, a work of great quality) and Bohemia. Research here is still in its infancy, and most attributions and dating can only be done by style. A few signed works were made in the late

nineteenth or early twentieth century, in a revivalist manner using black pen lines against a gold background. The most startling of these, of dreadful quality, is by one Reinhold Hanisch (1884–1937; the signature is mistranscribed in this book as Rudolf Hanisch), who entered into a partnership of painting postcards with Adolf Hitler in 1910. The two men fell out and Hanisch later turned to *Hinterglasmalerei* to earn his living, before moving on in the 1930s to a more profitable line in forging Hitler's paintings. He died in 1937 while in prison for forgery.

Tracing the sources used by jobbing painters is never easy, and Steiner must have a remarkable visual memory in finding so many. Often they are precise matches, especially in the case of prints published in Augsburg – which is an argument to support a south German origin for many of these works. But sometimes the matches are less precise. Steiner refers in his introduction to an argument produced by Friedrich Knaipp in 1973 that the painters began by using templates that followed the originals, but became less exact as the templates were recopied. The



56. Elias Baeck, *The Adoration of the Golden Calf*, engraving (Photo courtesy Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg).

use of templates is well documented, but I do not believe that this is the correct explanation of variants from prints drawn from European high art. Glass painters worked by rote in a way that engravers did not. They traced prints exactly; if they were too large they omitted bits on the edges, and if too small they added the most banal of landscapes or buildings at the sides. A much more likely explanation of variants on prints of this kind is that other prints, either the originals or copies of the ones reproduced here, were actually used, even if they have not (yet) been located. The number of copies of decorative subjects was enormous throughout the eighteenth century, and many may well be lost entirely or not identified. For example, cat. 97 (fig. 55), attributed to Johann Peter Abesch (1666–1731) is related to a print by Elias Baeck (1679–1747; cat. 97.1; fig. 56). This, however, in turn used as its starting point an engraving by J. B. de Poilly (1669–1728) of a painting now in San Francisco once thought to be by Poussin (the attribution is no longer accepted). The many differences between these prints and the glass

painting suggest that there is yet another print to be identified that served as the actual source for the painting.

On the other hand, the differences between the paintings of saints and the prints associated with them (cats. 133–72), or indeed any prints that might be cited, are often so great that I think that in this area of subject-matter (possibly only in this area) Knaipp's explanation is correct. The public for saints of popular devotion knew what they looked like: they had seen them from their childhood onwards. What was essential was a pattern that preserved the traditional image. These were to hand, and were indeed copied and adapted and changed over the years. No print was needed, and where there is a related print it is itself taken from one of these traditional patterns. ANTONY GRIFFITHS

JOHANN EVANGELIST HOLZER. How does one mount an exhibition on an artist whose oeuvre is relatively small because he died young; whose most celebrated works in his lifetime – frescoes on the facades of buildings



57. Johann Evangelist Holzer, *Bozzetto for the Dome of Münsterschwarzach*, oil on canvas, 870 x 1,100 mm (Augsburg, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg).

in Augsburg and those in the domes of one of the greatest Rococo abbeys of South Germany, Münsterschwarzach – have since perished; and whose still surviving masterpieces are frescoes in the pilgrimage church of St. Anton in Partenkirchen? The task is not made any easier by the fact that the greatest number, but least distinctive, of his surviving works are altarpieces, which are expensive to move and take up a lot of space.

In the case of Johann Evangelist Holzer (1709–40) the solution was to show virtually everything portable that survives (the major exception being a couple of drawings in Sacramento, which were probably thought too costly to borrow), in four different venues: two of them simultaneously in Augsburg, in the Diözesanmuseum St. Afra and the Schaezlerpalais, and the other two in various locations in Eichstätt (some *in situ*) and in the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck at later dates in 2010 and 2011. The catalogue of these various showings, consisting of entries for 153 ex-

hibits and sixteen essays, by nineteen different authors, and with a documentary appendix, notably of all the items referring to Holzer in the manuscript collection formed by Alois Andreas, Freiherr von Dipauli (1761–1839), in the Ferdinandeum, constitutes virtually a catalogue raisonné of Holzer's oeuvre as a painter, draughtsman and etcher (*Johann Evangelist Holzer: Maler des Lichts, 1709–1740*, edited by Emanuel Braun, Wolfgang Meighörner, Melanie Thierbach, and Christof Trepesch, Diözesanmuseum St. Afra, Augsburg, and the Kunstsammlungen und Museen, Augsburg, 28 March–20 June 2010; Domschatz- und Diözesanmuseums, Eichstätt, 14 July–31 October 2010; and Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, 3 December 2010–13 March 2011, exhibition catalogue, Innsbruck, Haymon Verlag, 2010, 448 pp., 241 col. and 14 b. & w. ill., €34.90).

The advance that this represents over the pioneering researches of Alois Hämmerle (all published in the *Sam-*

melblatt des Historischen Vereins Eichstätt between 1908 and 1910 – not a journal to be found in many libraries outside Germany), and over the little monograph published in 1984 by Ernst Wolfgang Mick, is enormous. For the first time, we have a full picture, not only of what has been lost (which has long been known through Holzer's watercolour and oil sketches – the latter, especially that for the dome of Münsterschwarzach, amongst his supreme surviving achievements (fig. 57) – and from Johann Esaias Nilsson's elegantly executed and lettered engravings), but also of what survives. The revelation of the latter is less that of the altarpieces (two of which were unknown to Mick) and of the modelli for them, and of the two paintings in the Werdenfels Museum, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, one with the initials of Holzer's Augsburg master, Johann Georg Bergmüller and dated 1736, but both now attributed to a collaboration of the two, than of Holzer's extraordinarily prolific activity as the supplier of designs for engraved thesis-plates (fig. 58). The essay and entries on these are by the doyen of thesis-plate studies, Father Gregor Martin Lechner, OSB (who modestly omits any reference to his key catalogue of the exhibition at, and of the holdings of, Stift Gottweig: *Das barocke Thesenblatt*, 1985).

This – and not just for the readers of this Journal – is one of the most interesting elements of the book. Not solely because the importance in general of thesis-plates – one of the most perishable forms of engraving – is still not widely recognized, but also because their real significance within Holzer's oeuvre could not be fully appreciated until now (there are eight here that are not in Mick – though, curiously, neither the one with *The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine*, nor the grisaille sketch for it, that Mick catalogues under his no. 45, is exhibited or mentioned). It is true that these have all been included in Jürgen Rapp's 'Die Thesenblätter nach Entwürfen von Johann Evangelist Holzer' (*Der Schlem*, LXXXIII, 2009, pp. 89–127), but this is again a publication not widely accessible outside the German-speaking world.

Most of those discovered since Mick are from the former Jesuit universities in Prague (the Clementinum) and Olmütz/Olomouc, and are now preserved in the National Library in Prague and in the National Archive in Olomouc, respectively. Those in Prague have been catalogued by Anna Fechtnerová in her *Katalog grafických listů universitních tezí uložených ve Státní knihovně SR v Praze* (Prague, 1984) – this time, in a language not known to many outside the Czech Republic and Slovakia. These thesis-plates confirm what Holzer's fresco-designs for churches and his altarpieces also demonstrate: his masterly ability to integrate a whole variety of figures and motifs in well-ordered compositions. They required the services of skilled engravers to be translated into thesis-plates, and these were plentiful in Augsburg. But it is interesting to see that one of these, the otherwise little-known Gottlieb I. Heuss, made a particular specialty of them.



58. Johann Evangelist Holzer, *The Astronomer* (study for thesis print by Gottlieb HeiB after Holzer, *Ignatius of Loyola Studying the Heavenly Spheres*, 1739, mezzotint), pen and black ink, brown and grey wash, heightened with white, on brown paper, 325 x 187 mm (Augsburg, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg).

The sub-title of the book translates as 'Painter of Light'; the book itself sheds a fuller light than ever before on the artist whom Mick in his subtitle called 'A prematurely deceased genius of painting', but who, we can see from it, was much more than just a painter. ALASTAIR LAING

JAMES BARRY. In *Elysium*, the catalogue of an exhibition of James Barry's (1741–1806) prints held at the University of Kent at Canterbury in 2010 is introduced by Jon Kear in an essay entitled 'Staring into the Abyss: James Barry and British History Painting' (John [sic; Jon] Kear and Ben Thomas, *In Elysium: Prints by James Barry*,



59. James Barry, *Birth of Venus*, 1776, etching and aquatint, 405 x 586 mm (York, Collection of David Alexander).

Canterbury, Studio 3 Gallery, University of Kent, 4 October–17 December 2010, exhibition catalogue, Canterbury, University of Kent School of Arts, 2010, 63 pp., 14 col. ill.). Setting Barry in his European art-historical context, the essay considers the extraordinary series of six murals depicting *The Progress of Human Knowledge and Culture* in the Great Room of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Commerce and Manufactures at the Adelphi in London. Dense with reference, the paintings articulate ‘a series of complex and even contradictory dialogues’ in exposition of Barry’s theme. The paradox, it is argued, is that in realizing his ‘vision of a renaissance in English art that would see the emergence of a British tradition of History painting’, the moment of realization was in fact its end point.

The series of prints illustrating the murals was no less ambitious, particularly considering that as a printmaker Barry was self-taught. Produced on the largest scale his press was capable of printing, they provided an opportunity for modulating and even correcting the murals themselves, as well as encapsulating their perspectives of sublime grandeur. They were also intended as a means of supporting Barry’s great project. But his circumstances

only served as a reminder of the failure of British society to encourage and crucially to support the arts: William Blake recalled, ‘Barry told me that while he Did that Work, he Lived on Bread & Apples’.

A substantial part of the catalogue is made up of informative essays by Ben Thomas describing the prints in the show including examples of Old Masters that Barry would have known and in some cases emulated. Examples included Marcantonio Raimondi’s *Quos Ego* after Raphael, Giorgio Ghisi’s *Charon’s Boat* from *The Last Judgement* after Michaelangelo, Salvator Rosa’s *Jason and the Dragon*, Jan de Bisschop’s *Medici Venus* after Adriaen Backer, of 1668–69, and for further comparison, prints by Barry’s contemporaries, including examples by William Woollett, Valentine Green, Angelica Kauffmann, Richard Earlom and John Hamilton Mortimer. This is particularly valuable in showing not just Barry’s indebtedness to the great artist-printmakers of the past – the inventory made of his house at No. 36 Castle Street East immediately following his death lists hundreds of Old Master prints – but also how radical and revolutionary his prints were when set against those of his contemporaries that were technically expert in the fashionable graphic mediums of stipple and mezzotint. By

comparison, in scale, subject-matter and boldness of technique they are heroic; nearly every lifetime impression represents a different state, the result of Barry ceaselessly reworking his plates. As Thomas observes, for Barry 'print-making was more than just an expedient'.

Examples by Blake are absent. If they had been present only the daring of Blake's imagery produced using his revolutionary techniques of relief etching and colour printing would have set him apart from Barry. Of Blake's prints in intaglio only the separate plates and states of *Job*, of 1793 and c. 1804 or later, and *Ezekiel*, of 1794, untraced, and, c. 1804 or later in subject-matter and scale stand comparison; both very likely produced in emulation of Barry's *Job Reproved by his Friends* (1777). Impressions of Barry's *Philoctetes*; *The Birth of Venus* (fig. 59); and *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, which, thanks to David Alexander, were included in the show, and *The Temptation of Adam*; *The Phoenix or the Resurrection of Freedom*; *Job Reproved by his Friends*; *The Conversion of Polemon*; *Satan, Sin and Death*; and *Satan and his Legions Hurling Defiance toward the Vault of Heaven*, that sadly were not represented, are unique in British eighteenth-century graphic art in terms of sheer visual impact. In helping to bring recognition to Barry's extraordinary originality and achievement as an artist printmaker, the curators of the exhibition at the University of Kent are to be saluted. MICHAEL PHILLIPS

THE FIRST PANORAMAS. The world's first panorama rotunda – the Panorama – was erected in 1793 in Leicester Square, London, by Robert Barker, inventor of the panorama. During the next 70 years almost 130 360-degree panoramas would be exhibited there, usually two at a time, one in the Large Circle downstairs, and one in the Upper Circle upstairs. Briefly there was a third Lesser Circle. Most of the panoramas were of cities, but a number of them represented naval and military engagements or latterly, colonial bust-ups. Paintings they were maybe but readers of this Journal may rest assured that prints do come into the story. Impressive multi-sheet aquatinted reproductions were engraved and published of three of the panoramas – Edinburgh, London and Constantinople. Engraved keys to the paintings, single-sheet handbills that enabled visitors to orientate themselves and identify landmarks and incidents on the gargantuan images that enveloped them, were regularly issued.

Denise Oleksijczuk's book *The First Panoramas: Visions of British Imperialism* is concerned with the three multi-sheet prints and the keys to the panoramas that were exhibited at the Leicester Square Panorama up to 1820 (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2011, 222 pp., 3 col. and 55 b. & w. ills., \$29.95). Just one not insignificant point regarding the London view: traditionally artists of long views of London had used the tower of St Saviour's Church, Southwark, as their viewpoint. Robert Barker and his son Henry Aston Barker broke new ground in se-

lecting the roof of the Albion Mills. They did so because this new, tall and controversial industrial landmark, loathed by the Luddites, stood on the Blackfriars bend in the Thames. The Albion Mills roof enabled them to give equal attention to the City of London and the City of Westminster. In effect the two cities were now very much one and needed to be portrayed as such. Looking in the opposite direction it was not bad for viewing Southwark either. That the Leverian Museum happened to be sited nearby would have had little to do with it.

The keys are of particular interest to the author. Of the 40 panoramas exhibited during her period she reproduces nineteen. Two panoramas of Paris were exhibited simultaneously in 1803 during the Peace of Amiens when Britons very briefly could visit France again. One showed Paris from the Seine between the Pont Neuf and the Louvre, the other from a *pompe à feu* very close to where the Debilly footbridge over the Seine now is. The key to the first Paris panorama is very common, the key to the second is exceedingly rare. It is useful to have it here (fig. 60).

The key to the very first panorama, *The Grand Fleet at Spithead*, was predictably crude – no more than a diagram. The image for the second, of Bath, was circular. Circular topographical views had been known since the sixteenth century; the circular key now became the standard style. Gradually the keys became more sophisticated and crowded. Some looked at first glance like anamorphic prints. In 1816 the panorama exhibited at Leicester Square was of the Battle of Waterloo. It was wildly popular. The key that came with the descriptive booklet was so overlaid with detail that it hardly functioned. Meanwhile the spaces beyond the circle in the four corners were unused and wasted.

Keys in precisely the same style appeared regularly in the descriptive booklets for London's second London panorama rotunda, the Panorama Strand. In 1817 this rotunda was taken over by Henry Aston Barker and John Burford, the proprietors now of Leicester Square. In 1818 the proprietors experimented. For the panorama of Athens a new type of key was designed and printed for them by the Ackermann Lithographic Press, probably because Rudolph Ackermann's Repository was just up the road. They used this lithographic press from 1817 to 1820. The new key, which was tipped into the front of the descriptive booklet, consisted of one long strip that folded out. We can imagine the proprietors observing their visitors standing on the rotunda's viewing platform struggling with their long strips. A second rethink was called for and the long strip key replaced. Ackermann's image of Athens was cut in half and the two halves were positioned one above the other on a single sheet. Only one fold was called for and the result could be consulted with ease. This double strip format was used for keys at the Panorama Strand thenceforth. It was promptly

JOHN THOMAS SERRES 1759–1825. In 2001 Alan Russett published a monograph on the eighteenth-century marine artist Dominic Serres. He followed this with a book on the son titled *John Thomas Serres 1759–1825: The Tireless Enterprise of a Marine Artist*, which is by far the fullest account of this painter's career published so far (Lymington, Sea Torch Publishing, 2011, 255 pp., 154 col. and 24 b. & w. ill., £30). Russett also examines Serres's involvement with printmaking and printmakers, an aspect previously not much mentioned. Dominic Serres made at least one etching and one aquatint, impressions of which are in the British Museum. It would be reasonable to assume that the elder Serres introduced his son to the rudiments of intaglio printmaking, particularly as one of J. T. Serres's early etchings was made in 1783 after a drawing of a man of war with King George III aboard, which may have been intended as a book illustration. This was preceded by an aquatint after

a drawing by Poussin dated 1778 and probably by another aquatint after a drawing by Adriaen Brouwer. It is likely that both drawings were owned by his father.

The next etching, also featured in Russett's book, was very different: a soft-ground etching of the Neo-Gothic sepulchral chapel and sarcophagus of Abelard and Eloise in Père Lachaise cemetery. This print was not published until 1825, when Samuel Leigh issued a small volume on the cemetery that included nine prints bearing Serres's name. As the tomb designed by Alexandre Lenoir was only finished in the autumn of 1817, the date of 1790 assigned here to the print must be incorrect. It is also likely that another artist executed the etchings, as the title of the volume includes the words 'Drawn by John Thomas Serres' and not 'Etched', and the anonymous friend who published *Memoir of John Thomas Serres ...* (London, 1826) makes it clear that Serres derived no financial gain from the prints.



61. John Thomas Serres, *The Proserpine Frigate lost March 1799 off Newark Island in the Elbe*, 1802, hand-coloured etching and aquatint, 312 x 384 mm (London, British Museum).



62. John Thomas Serres, *Fishing Boat on a Shore*, 1803, lithograph, 226 x 324 mm (London, British Museum).

J. T. Serres already owned subscription impressions of Woollett's engravings *The Battle of La Hogue* and *The Battle of Boyne*, of 1779 and 1781 respectively, when he sent his art collection to auction at Greenwoods for 22 and 23 April 1790. This sale also included an aquatint: a private plate by John William Edy (b. 1760) after a design by Serres. On 20 July 1789 Edy had also published an aquatint of Dominic Serres's *The Ship Pitt in the East India Company on her Return from China to Dover*. Serres's father owned 26 etchings by Reinier Zeeman and nine engravings of seaports after Joseph Vernet, which were sold at Christie's on 13 March 1794. These sale catalogues are insufficiently detailed to establish what other prints were owned by the two artists.

In the latter part of the 1790s quite a number of prints were published after Serres's work. Initially in 1796 and 1797 he etched a set of four views of Liverpool, which were jointly published by Robert Preston in Liverpool and Thomas Macklin in London. A fifth Liverpool view, *The Ancient 'Wishing Gate', Liverpool*, based on a painting of 1797, was engraved by William Floyd (active 1833–77) and only published in 1833, not 1805 as stated here. The presence in the collection of the National Maritime Museum of a hand-coloured title-page dated January 1797, *A Book of*

Boats & other Vessels by J.T. Serres. Marine Painter to His Majesty & H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence Sett 1st, which was sold by Mr. Lucas, Union Place, New Road, Marylebone, suggests that Serres may have planned to publish a book of etchings. Back in London on 23 April 1799 Serres published his own etching of the crew of the frigate *Proserpine* on ice flows after their vessel was wrecked in a snowstorm on a sandbank off the island of Neuwerk in the Elbe on 1 February 1799. The date on the print, March 1799, is incorrect. Aquatint was added subsequently, and Edward Orme republished it in 1802 (fig. 61). The crew reached safety in Cuxhaven on 22 February 1799.

After 1799 Serres largely abandoned printmaking, instead entrusting his work to his sister Johanna or more often to professional engravers. A major exception was his lithograph of 1803, *Fishing Boat on the Shore*, published in London in 1806 by G. J. Vollweiler of Offenbach as one of 36 *Specimens of Polyautography* (fig. 62). A second polyautograph, signed and dated in 1807, is in an uncatalogued album of polyautographs in the British Museum, although it was known to Felix Man ('Lithography in England (1803–1810)' in *Prints*, edited by Carl Zigrosser, London, 1963, p. 125 no. 131). It bears no title, but may

well represent the Fort La Latte near Cap Fréhal, twenty miles west of St Malo in the Côtes d'Armor, which doubtless Serres will have sketched when working as a hydrographer for the British navy when it was blockading the ports of north-west France. Serres also made black ink additions to a lithograph of a rural landscape by F. J. Manskirch, a German artist then working in London, dating his work on the verso to 1807.

In 1814 Serres etched the outline of *The Launch of H. M. S. Nelson at Woolwich*, handing the plate over to a printmaker called Stack to complete it with aquatint. *The Embarkation of His Majesty George the Fourth ... of 1822*, captioned here as a coloured etching, is in fact a watercolour. Aquatints after his drawings of the Custom House and of the river near Limehouse were announced as complete in *E. Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor* on Sunday 31 March 1799. These were the first two of an intended series of prints of the Thames to be published by Ackermann. Publishers who issued prints after Serres included Edward Orme, Robert Bowyer, Joyce Gold, C. Wigley, John Fairbairn, S. Knight, Robert Hixon and Peltro William Tomkins.

In 1805 Orme published *The Liber Nauticus and Instructor in the Art of Marine Drawing*, J. T. Serres's principal publication, for the first part of which he made the drawings employing John Swaine to engrave them in line and J. C. Stadler, John Clark and Richard Harraden to engrave them in aquatint. It is generally agreed that the aquatints after Dominic Serres's watercolours in the second part of the publication by John Clark and Joseph R. Hamble, published in 1806 and 1807, did far more justice to the originals. It seems probable that Dominic Serres had originally intended to issue a manual of this kind, but that his death prevented it.

Stadler also executed an aquatint satire published by William Holland, which was designed by Serres based on his experiences aboard H.M.S. Clyde, commanded by Captain Charles Cunningham, later a celebrated admiral, with whom the artist had established a close friendship.

LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI: SERVANT OF TWO MASTERS. This note considers the shifting dynamics of the relationship between printmaker, painter and publisher in the production of prints in nineteenth-century London. The first document is a letter written by Luigi Schiavonetti (1765–1810), stipple engraver and pupil of the great master of stipple, Francesco Bartolozzi, addressed to one of the largest publishers at the time, Cadell & Davies (British Museum, inv. 1852,0705.191). The letter was written in 1809 just before Cadell & Davies, who were in partnership between 1793 and 1836, started publishing their extensive *British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits* (1809–22) and concerns one of the plates that Schiavonetti was contributing to the series. It was one of ten documents and artists' proofs re-



63. Luigi Schiavonetti, *His Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales*, 1809, stipple engraving, 378 x 307 mm (London, British Museum).

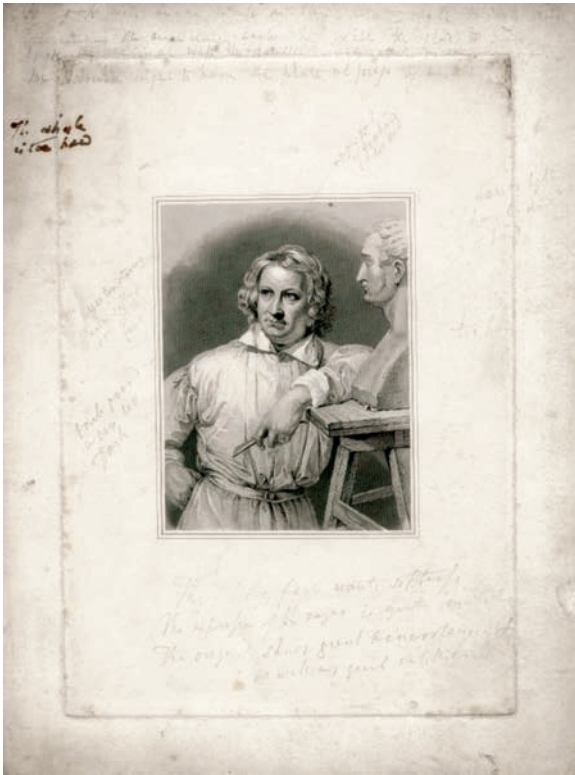
lated to Schiavonetti acquired by the British Museum from the posthumous auction of the collector Thomas Haviland Burke at Christie's, between 21 and 26 June 1852, as lot 485*. The original sale catalogue reads:

Third day's sale. On Wednesday, June 23, 1852, at one o'clock precisely. Specimens of English engravings. [...] Schiavonetti. [...] 485* His own portraits, by Cardon, with a note in his handwriting; unfinished proof of the Dead Christ, after Van Dyck; and book plates – artist's proofs.

Because of a misinterpretation of the text in the sale catalogue, the letter had been kept under the name of Antony Cardon (1772–1813), stipple engraver and one of Schiavonetti's pupils, until it was recently recatalogued.

Schiavonetti writes in black ink on a small sheet of paper:

Mr. Schiavonetti present[s] his compls. to Messrs. Cadell & Davies and would be much obliged if they would have the goodness to send him the Plate of the Prince being very desirous to do something more to the mouth on according to Mr. Phillips desire with who[m] he has been this morning. Mr. S. will return to Messrs. C. & D the plate in the course of the same day; perhaps [*sic*] they will be so obliging as to send for it the same Evening Mr. S. having no sure person to trust it with. Mr. S. is very sorry to cause Messrs. C. & D. further trouble yet he must



64. G. Cook, *Portrait of Thorvaldsen*, stipple engraving and etching, 242 x 164 mm (London, British Museum).

also request of them another proof after those little corrections shall have been done for the satisfaction of Mr. Phillips to whom he means to send it[.] Georges St. Hanover Sqr.

On the verso, the address of the publisher is inscribed in the same hand: 'Messrs. Cadell & Davies Strand'.

The plate to which Schiavonetti refers in this letter is a stipple engraving of the portrait of the Prince of Wales, George Augustus Frederick (1762–1830), later George IV (fig. 63; inv. A.2.19). The request to rework the plate came from Thomas Phillips (1770–1845), Royal Academician and fashionable portraitist, who painted the prince's likeness and exhibited it in the Royal Academy in 1809 (as no. 67). Schiavonetti seems to have visited Thomas Phillips at his home, 8 George Street, Hanover Square, London that same morning to discuss the plate in front of the painting which was still in Phillips's possession. Evidently Phillips wanted Schiavonetti to make final alterations, to which the printmaker agreed and hence wrote and sent this letter urgently to Cadell and Davies who were to publish his print after Phillips's painting. As the plate had been thought to be completed, it had already been sent to the publishers. Schiavonetti asked them to return it to him for

just a few hours so that he could make minor alternations. He was without a servant, and asked the publishers to send someone to collect the plate 'in the course of the same day', as he had 'no sure person to trust it with'. He would also need another proof to show Phillips. The finished state of the print is inscribed with the name of the British portrait painter John Wright (c. 1745–1820) as intermediate draughtsman. From what we can see in this letter, Wright was not involved in this final correction of the plate, which suggests his lesser involvement in the printmaking process, while Phillips had been elected as Royal Academician four years prior to this letter, and was celebrated for his portraits, and so it is no surprise that a printmaker agreed to a request from a painter with such high reputation.

Later in the nineteenth century, when publishers were becoming the main instigators of reproductive printmaking, printmakers sometimes failed to meet publishers' standards. An example can be seen in a proof of a stipple portrait of the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844) by the little known mid-nineteenth century printmaker G. Cook after Horace Vernet (1789–1863; fig. 64, inv. 2011.7072.2). The proof is after Vernet's painting of 1835 in the Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen, and is believed to date to about 1850, when Thorvaldsen was already dead and Vernet had returned to France, which left the print production in the hands of the printmaker and publisher. Notes on the proof concerning reworking of the plate were made by the publisher Richard Bentley (1794–1871). Bentley was not content with the quality of this proof, and he returned it to the printmaker with strict instructions: 'The whole is too hard', 'upper part of forehead too dark', 'wants lightness hair to dark & hard', 'eyes too staring greater softness on all the features' and 'The whole face wants softness The expression of the eyes is quite mistaken The original shows great benevolence & as well as great intelligence'. Cook humbly replied in a note at the top of the sheet: 'Mr Cook will be at work on this plate all today and tomorrow. On Monday early he will be glad to have back the original with Mr Bentley's instructions on this proof.' Regardless of Cook's effort, Bentley was still not satisfied with the plate. The original purpose of this print is unknown: Bentley might have intended to use it in Mrs Cashel Hoey's translation of Eugène Plon's *Thorvaldsen: His Life and Works* that he published in 1874, but in the event he reused the wood-engraving after Vernet's portrait that had appeared in Plon's original book published in Paris in 1867.

Cook failed to satisfy his publisher. Schiavonetti on the other hand, managed to please both the painter and the publisher in time for the publication in 1809 of the *British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits*. At the time that Schiavonetti wrote his letter, following the painter's instructions might not have been customary, but it paid off. Not only was the print published individually in 1809, but by the time the

prestigious series was republished in 1820, Prince George Augustus Frederick had been crowned as George IV, and the Schiavonetti portrait was bound in the first volume as the first of 76 prints by various artists. Schiavonetti's letter records how a printmaker in early nineteenth-century Britain had to cope with demands from painter and publisher, both of whom had power over his printmaking, and how he managed to satisfy his senior partners with his diplomatic skill, diligence and flexible attitude. CHIZUKO OWADA

FINE ART PUBLISHING IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND. This book is a welcome addition to a small but growing body of literature that investigates aspects of Victorian fine art prints (Katherine Haskins, *The Art-Journal' and Fine Art Publishing in Victorian England, 1850-1880*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing, 2012, 226 pages, 52 b. & w. ills., £65). Throughout most of the twentieth century the Victorian commercial print was largely ignored or treated with suspicion as a mass-produced copy which threatened the integrity of the original work. Focusing on fine art reproductions published in the *Art Journal*, Haskins seeks to place these prints in their original and varying contexts of production, reception, criticism, consumption and appreciation.

The *Art Journal*, originally called *Art Union Monthly Journal*, was founded in 1839 and ceased publication in 1912. Haskins has chosen to study the years 1850 to 1880 when the journal was published by Virtue & Co and edited by Samuel Carter Hall. In its seventy years of publication the *Art Journal* produced some 800 plates after old master and modern works of art.

The book is divided into four chapters with an introduction and conclusion and is illustrated with examples of printed pages and images taken from the *Art Journal*. In chapter one Haskins locates the *Art Journal* print and its accompanying text within contemporary and Victorian discussions covering iconography and subject-matter, the influential role of the publisher, labour and production, the merits of copper versus steel engraving and the hierarchy of reproductive media. The *Art Journal* print, while evocative of a painting, inhabited different information spaces and was surrounded by textual and visual details. The *Art Journal* employed legitimizing strategies such as obituaries, biographies and reviews to promote and secure the role of the publisher and engraver and to imbue its published images with value.

Chapter two covers the early development of the *Art Journal* and a brief biography of Samuel Carter Hall. A professional journalist rather than artist, Hall developed aggressive forms of promotion and publicity for British art. He created an art public and community defined by a shared cultural knowledge. Haskins sees the strength behind the success of the *Art Journal* as its partnership with Virtue & Co from 1849, after which its house style remained fairly consistent. This chapter suggests that the *Art*

Journal set the standard for art journalism in the nineteenth century.

Chapter three deals with the *Art Journal's* extensive campaigns to promote British artists, contemporary patronage and collecting. The author also considers the problems arising from translating an image into another medium. The *Art Journal* published works from the collections of Robert Vernon and other private individuals as well as from the Royal Collection. The underlying message was that patronage was patriotism. Over 600 images and 136 artist biographies were published in the British Artist series. Through reproduction in print the *Art Journal* rehabilitated J. M. W. Turner's later works, some of which he had not intended to be engraved. Meaning was given to these more abstract works through critical description and a pictorial element not visible in the painting was evident in the engraving. Haskins sees the translation of Turner's later works into engraving as a means of domesticizing and familiarizing them to a Victorian audience. Such relentless promotion of British artists and collectors also served as publicity for the *Art Journal's* schemes.

The fourth chapter considers the domesticization of Victorian art and establishes the *Art Journal's* influence and success within the Victorian home. Although this ultimately went beyond the domestic sphere the author locates the foundation of the *Art Journal's* domesticity in Samuel Carter Hall and his wife's work as editors and writers of gift books aimed largely at women. This chapter also covers the issues of Victorian religious imagery and the writings of Anna Jameson and John Ruskin. Adopting Raphaelesque images of the Madonna, family groups and female saints for its publishing schemes, the *Art Journal* promoted a domestic and familiar religious image suited to Victorian bourgeois taste. Another artist promoted by the journal was Sir Edwin Landseer whose popular depictions of animals expressing human emotion resonated with Victorian viewers.

This book demonstrates how the translation of the painted into the graphic allowed the Victorian image to enter the domestic sphere in unprecedented numbers. Haskins shows that these prints were one of the primary means by which the Victorian public experienced art. Furthermore, she engages with the journalistic strategies used by the *Art Journal* to promote, legitimize and give value to British art. While this book has successfully penetrated, investigated and digested areas of Victorian art consumption, it also highlights that there remains more work to be done on other forms of fine art reproduction in the Victorian era. ALEXANDRA AULT

INTERNATIONAL ARTS ONLINE. The research website of International Arts currently has fourteen catalogues raisonnés available for perusal online that will perhaps be of use to readers of this Journal (www.catrais.org, part of the larger International Arts site at [PRINT QUARTERLY, XXX, 2013, 1](http://www.interna-</p>
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tionalarts.org). Three of the catalogues concern the following twentieth-century American printmaking groups: the Associated American Artists (established 1934), the Chicago Society of Etchers (1910–56) and the Woodcut Society (1932–54). The remaining eleven are dedicated to the works of individual American twentieth-century artists. Access to the catalogues is not readily available; rather, one must request to view individual catalogues.

I was granted access to the three group catalogues listed above as well as the catalogues of Charles E. Burchfield (1893–1967), Gerald K. Geerlings (1897–1988) and Grant Wood (1891–1942). These six catalogues follow the same format as a printed catalogue might, with the images preceded by an introduction and several scholarly essays by various authors. The images are organized into a table listing the artist, title and date as well as a thumbnail image and link to each. Additional information (medium, dimensions, edition, etc.) is provided when one clicks on the link. The images themselves are not particularly large or high-resolution, but still clear. They have been procured from various museums, galleries and private collections and are therefore copyrighted and cannot be saved.

While it is undoubtedly an ambitious project that has been carefully undertaken by a small group, there are several drawbacks to the website. First, it was difficult to gain access to the site. There is an online request for access form that was ignored until direct contact with the provided email address was made. Additionally, the exact aim of and process behind the production of the website is unclear and a general ‘statement of purpose’ would be welcome. Information was requested from site’s primary administrator and author, Joseph S. Czestochowski, who explained that the site aims to ensure scholarly information is consistently up to date by publishing the catalogues raisonnés online rather than in print form. A few of the catalogues were published years ago and have subsequently been updated and added to in their online forms and not reissued in print. Currently, the subject-matter of many of the catalogues is printmaking, although the site is not intended to focus on prints.

Despite the aforementioned shortcomings, it is evident that this is a serious and innovative project with the admirable goal of making these images and their accompanying scholarly research available to the public in the most direct and modern sense. That the research and complete catalogues are available free of charge is also remarkable, and one can only wish that more felt the urge to make such materials available in the same manner. TAYLOR MCCALL

ELIZABETH COLBORNE. The work of Elizabeth Colborne (1885–1948) is much less known today than that of her pupil Helen Loggie, a fellow resident of the coastal city of Bellingham in the state of Washington. Little attention has been paid to her paintings and prints since her death in 1948. Her sister divided the studio contents be-



65. Elizabeth Colborne, *Sunset over the Bay, Bellingham*, c. 1930, colour woodcut, 229 x 171 mm image trimmed (Bellingham, WA, Whatcom Museum).

tween the libraries in Seattle and Bellingham. The latter collection was transferred to the Whatcom Museum of Art, which, 71 years after the artist’s last solo exhibition at the Seattle Art Museum, staged ‘Evergreen Museum: The Art of Elizabeth Colborne’, a show accompanied by a catalogue written by David F. Martin (Bellingham, Whatcom Museum of Art, 2011, 96 pp., 131 col. and 96 b. & w. ills., \$25). Born in the tiny town of Chamberlain, SD, Colborne moved to Bellingham at the age of twelve, and her art reflects the remoteness of the rural north-western United States from city life. Her subjects were principally the Rocky Mountains, the waterways beneath them, and above all the hardy trees of an Ralph Waldo Emersonian wilderness.

Colborne was a student of Arthur Wesley Dow at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn from 1903 to 1905 and later studied etching with Charles Mielatz at the National Academy of Design from 1910 to 1912. Her etchings have disappeared, but her evocative colour woodcuts will ensure that her art will be remembered in the north-western states. Colborne probably studied and may have owned nineteenth-century Japanese prints to supplement what she had imbibed in her training with Dow. Martin points out that a contemporary Seattle artist, Paul Morgan

Gustin, shared her predilection for trees. Colborne excelled at capturing the lurid Washington twilights (fig. 65). Her masterpiece is a view from above of the smoking *Lumber Mills on Bellingham Bay* of c. 1933, a rare venture into industrial landscape.

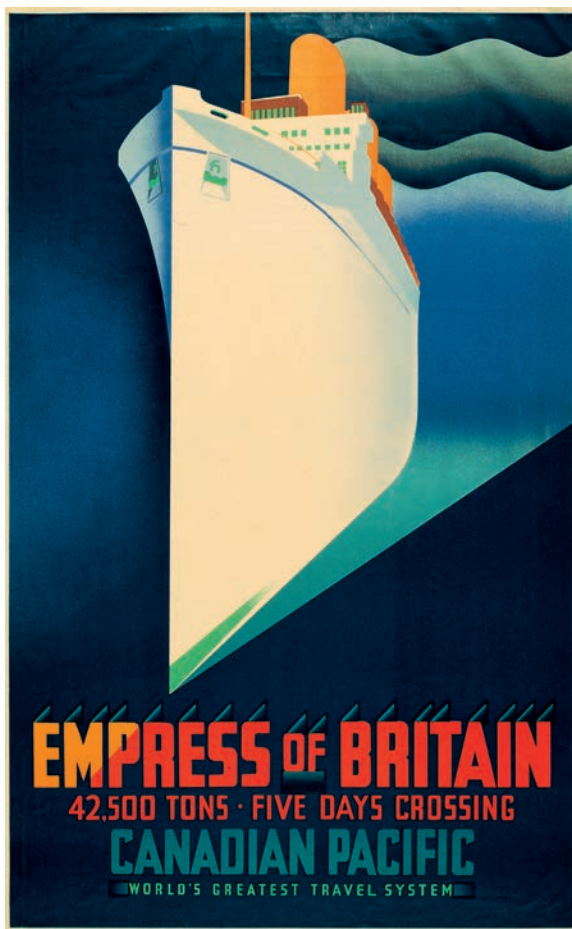
After her artistic training, Colborne seems not to have travelled outside her adopted state, although she may well have been familiar with the colour woodcuts of the British-born Canadian and Californian printmaker Walter J. Phillips. In spirit her art shares something with that of Emily Carr, a painter working just north of the Canadian border. Colborne supplemented her income by working as an illustrator, particularly of children's books, and by making bookplates. This part of her oeuvre does not match the quality of her colour woodcuts. She sometimes varied the colours of individual impressions to convey different atmospheric conditions and times of day. In the early 1920s Colborne also made *cliché-verres*, which she called 'sun prints'. These she overpainted in watercolour to create sugary Christmas cards, totally obscuring the print's appearance. MARTIN HOPKINSON.

OCEAN LINER POSTERS. Gabriele Cadringer and Anne Massey's *Ocean Liner Posters* covers advertising posters from 1873 to 1962 (Woodbridge, Antique Collectors Club, 2011, 200 pp., 204 col. ill., £25). The large, good quality images in loose chronological order are accompanied by a written history of maritime travel. The book was first published in French and then in German (*Affiches des Compagnies Maritime*, Paris, Citadelles & Mazenod, 2008; *Schiffsplakate*, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 2009). Some posters are from the Museum für Gestaltung in Zürich, though most are from the private collection of Gabriele Cadringer, an Italian collector of ocean liner memorabilia. Divided into five chapters, several pages of historical overview by Anne Massey are followed with reproductions of posters, accompanied with details of company, ship and route advertized, year, size and artist where known. Over two hundred posters are reproduced, most full page, allowing readers to observe continuity and change. Throughout, the ship itself remains at the centre of the advertisements, though there is remarkable variety in representation.

Ocean Liner Posters begins with a brief introduction to lithography and the development of posters as advertisements, tracing the medium's rise from the Belle Époque to its decline with the advent of television. There is an index to poster designers at the end of the book. In the central chapters, the text focuses on developments elsewhere, such as changes in routes, interior designs and passenger conditions, and their links to poster designs. Images display varied stylistic influences. A 1900 poster for travel to Asia with the shipping line Norddeutsche Lloyd Bremen is mediated by destination, styled after a Japanese woodblock print, with a flowering branch

against the moon, the ship small and gold against a black sea and sky. In 1927, Bauhaus influences can be seen in the typefaces and detailing used on Theodor Etbauer's poster for the Hamburg-America Line, 'To New York'.

The historical overview allows readers to trace the impact of changes elsewhere. Early passengers were often immigrants seeking new lives, crammed uncomfortably alongside mail and sometimes other cargo. After modifications to American immigration laws in 1921, ocean liners became linked with luxury travel. In subsequent advertisements, ships are rendered in increasingly stylized, abstract ways (fig. 66). A 1925 poster for Cunard represents the brand solely through funnels and waving passengers. This trend continued in the 1930s, when Edmund Maurus chose not to show the ship at all, merely its wake under the words 'United States Lines'. The his-



66. *The Ship 'Empress of Britain' of Canadian Pacific*, c. 1934, lithograph, Sanders Phillips and Co. Ltd., The Baynard Press, London, 1,010 x 630 mm (Zurich, Museum für Gestaltung).



67. Bernard Lachevre, *Visit the Far East with Messageries Maritimes*, 1928, lithograph, 1,040 x 737 mm (Gabriele Cadringer Collection. Photo courtesy Antique Collectors' Club).

tory of ocean liners is also a history of international power. While posters rarely show the themed national interiors described in the text, political positions can be read in the images. The Statue of Liberty appears frequently in French posters to celebrate Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi's emblematic masterpiece and as an allusion to friendship with the USA symbolized through the gift of the sculpture. Colonial attitudes are echoed in a number of images showing foreign ports dwarfed by European ships or industry (fig. 67). Military rivalries play out in advertisements that give ships' size and weight. Ocean liners were often requisitioned and damaged in both World Wars. Many companies could not recover after World War II, and posters in this period are frequently anachronistic. The *Normandie* remained vital to the French Line's image but had been damaged by fire during the War; as a result, the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique used an image from 1937 in a poster from 1948. Stylistically, posters after 1945 echo earlier designs, as companies drew upon their heritage to compete with air transport.

This book is primarily a celebration of enduringly seductive advertisements. The text provides interesting summaries of developments that influenced advertisements, but it is the reproductions of these visually rich posters that are the book's principal advantage, as they provide insight into attitudes toward travel alongside stylistic trends across a period of great change. ANNA BLAIR

SCHMIDT-ROTTLUFF'S WOODBLOCKS. The catalogue under review revolves around the woodcuts of a single artist, the German Expressionist Karl Schmidt-Rottluff (1884–1976; Günther Gercken, Christiane Remm and Magdalene Schlösser, *Karl Schmidt-Rottluff: Die Holzstöcke*, edited by Magdalene Moeller, exhibition catalogue, Berlin, Brücke-Museum, 3 December 2011–22 April 2012, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 2011, 500 pp., 207 col. and 217 b. & w. ills., €45). One of the co-founders of Die Brücke (the bridge) group in 1905, Schmidt-Rottluff's lifelong experiments in printmaking witness the ingenuity and force of German graphic art. His woodcut oeuvre, influenced by the study of African and Oceanic artefacts, is characterized by harsh and simplified shapes, heightening the effect by the play of black and white (figs. 68 and 69). Whereas his early work deals with the characteristic spectrum of Brücke themes such as nudes or nature or both, he turned to religious subject-matter upon his return from World War I. Schmidt-Rottluff's woodcuts are to be found in almost every German museum's print cabinet, and have featured in numerous books. What distinguishes this lavishly illustrated catalogue from previous publications on Schmidt-Rottluff's graphic oeuvre is the focus on his woodblocks.

In 1975 the artist donated 206 of his woodblocks to Berlin's Brücke Museum, an institution which he helped to found through a donation of 74 works to the city of



68. Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *Boats in the Harbour*, 1913, limewood, 277 x 327 x 7 mm (Berlin, Brücke-Museum. Photograph Brücke-Museum Archive / Roman März, Berlin ©VG Bildkunst).



69. Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *Boats in the Harbour*, 1913, woodcut, image 277 x 322 mm (Berlin, Brücke-Museum. Photograph Brücke-Museum Archive / Roman März, Berlin ©VG Bildkunst).

Berlin in 1964 and which opened its doors in 1967. Until today, his work takes a prominent position in this fine collection of Expressionist art. The Brücke Museum thus possesses not only an impressive collection of his graphic oeuvre, but also many of the matching woodblocks. Recently, all these woodblocks were restored and cleaned. It is upon the accomplishment of this undertaking that the catalogue was published. The entire project – including the hardcover publication and a small exhibition of 22 of his woodblocks – was made possible with the support of

the Schmidt-Rottluff Foundation which functions as an integral part of the museum ever since its establishment following the artist's death in 1976.

Woodblocks are often believed to have no aesthetic value in themselves, in contrast to woodcuts which are created by bringing the paper into firm and even contact with a wooden block onto which (in the case of Schmidt-Rottluff mostly black) ink has been applied. The catalogue demonstrates, however, that woodblocks can be appreciated independently. Close-up illustrations of over two hundred of such woodblocks of the period from 1905 until the mid 1920s are juxtaposed with the corresponding paper prints. The comparison highlights the complex printmaking process and documents how the images were gouged with chisel and knife into the plank side. The deliberate play with the different shapes and the accidental qualities of the wood allows a reading of the blocks as independent sculptural objects. In his introductory essay Günther Gercken treats the woodblock as printing plate and sculpture at the same time. He outlines different techniques and emphasizes the role of the artist in the complex production process. Like his Brücke colleagues, Schmidt-Rottluff was in charge not only of sketching the design onto the woodblock, but also of the carving and often printing. It also redirects the focus from the final

product towards the process of creation and to the idea of carrying this process to the final conclusion. The second introductory essay of the catalogue, entitled 'Drawing, Carving, Printing', written by Christiane Remm, stresses Schmidt-Rottluff's involvement with material processes, emphasizing his willingness to return to craftsmanship. Remm applies fellow artist Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's demand for immediate expression to Schmidt-Rottluff's graphic work. Kirchner stated in 1921: 'The mechanical process of printing unites the individual phases of the working process into a whole ... there is great excitement in week-, even month-long work, reworking again and again, to achieve the ultimate in expression and realization of form without the plate losing in freshness.' In the case of Schmidt-Rottluff, the woodblocks seem not to have lost their freshness, even in the course of the last hundred years. AYA SOIKA

GERMAN ARTISTS WITNESS TWO WORLD WARS. In 2011 the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart staged a thematic exhibition with prints and drawings by eight German artists from the gallery's own holdings. On display were the renowned artists Käthe Kollwitz, Ernst Barlach, Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, Ludwig Meidner, George Grosz and the less known Otto Herrmann and Wilhelm



70. Wilhelm Rudolph, *Das Heringshaus* (*Schokoladenhering – Pirnaischer Platz*), (The Herring House (Chocolate Herring – Pirna Place)), from the portfolio *Dresden 1945, 1945–47*, woodcut, 440 x 565 mm (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart).

Rudolph. The exhibition was accompanied by a remarkable catalogue with essays reviewing the gallery's collection from a new perspective (Corinna Höper et al., *Kollwitz – Beckmann – Dix – Grosz. Kriegszeit*, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 30 April–7 August 2011, Tübingen, Wasmuth, 2011, 212 pp., 200 col. ills., €29.80).

Of particular interest is Corinna Höper's introductory essay with an account of the Staatsgalerie's early relation to modern art and to the exhibited works by these artists, who were later called 'degenerate'. She summarizes the acquisitions and the exhibition programme of the directors serving from 1908 until 1937, when 27 drawings and 379 prints were seized in accordance with the art policy of the Nazi regime. An additional passage is dedicated to the gallery's efforts to reacquire after the end of World War II works that once belonged to the collection.

Each of the exhibited artists had been inevitably linked to Germany's social turmoil and two world wars. Kollwitz experienced the loss of a son and, apart from the elder Barlach, the male artists had served as soldiers. The hopes for a renewal of the arts through war found instead its expression in scenes of agony and death. Each artist's work is appraised chronologically in an essay accompanied by personal narrations taken mainly from diary entries and letters. This rather autobiographical approach is emphasized by the close examination of self-portraits for the psychological implications of their experiences.

The catalogue focuses on the rarely displayed print series and portfolios of the Stuttgart collection providing a thorough survey and analysis with numerous selected illustrations. Studies and drawings occasionally play a supporting role. Kollwitz's social criticism in *Ein Weberaufstand* (Weaver's Revolt, 1893/97) and *Bauernkrieg* (Peasants' War, 1907) is followed by the imposing woodcuts of *Krieg* (War, 1922). In the portfolio *Der tote Tag* (The Dead Day, 1912) Barlach illustrates his homonymous play. While Dix displays in *Der Krieg* (The War, 1924) the dehumanisation of soldiers, Max Beckmann's *Berliner Reise* (Trip to Berlin) and George Grosz's *Die Räuber* (The Robbers), both dated 1922, reveal Germany's decadence after the end of the war and the discrepancy between social classes. Finally World War II is represented by Herrmann's *Die Verdammten* (The Damned, 1947–50) and Wilhelm Rudolph's *Dresden* (1945; fig. 70). The fact that for these artists print-making became an important medium of reaction to specific political and social realities is emphasized throughout the catalogue. The significant role of Germany's art scene, in particular that of Berlin with its publicists and art dealers such as Paul Cassirer, is also made apparent. The catalogue includes a detailed index as well as a ten-page bibliography. ELLY TSOUTSIAS

PICASSO LINOCUTS. In 2000 the Kunstmuseum Pablo Picasso in Münster was swift to announce its arrival on the art scene as a major player in the field of Picasso

prints with an exhibition of the Gert and Jutta Huizinga collection of lithographs, which was accompanied by a substantial catalogue edited by Felix Reusse. These 800 or so prints have now been joined by a major collection of 101 linocuts, which had formed the heart of the 2011 exhibition 'Picasso Linolschnitte', a show which was accompanied by Markus Müller's dual language, German-English catalogue (*Picasso Linolschnitte. Linocuts*, exhibition catalogue, Münster, Kunstmuseum Pablo Picasso 19 March 2011–3 July 2011, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 2011, 190 pp., 23 b. & w. and 208 col. ills., €26.50). These linocuts were acquired from Picasso's printer, Hidalgo Arnéra, by the dealer Frederick Mulder. Two German private collectors also lent prints to the exhibition. The collection at Münster includes a number of proofs and variant states and until recently the only comparable collection of Picasso linocuts outside France was the rather larger one of 147 prints now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,



71. Picasso, *Small Nude*, 1956, linocut, 300 x 195 mm (Münster, Picassomuseum. Photo courtesy Frederick Mulder Ltd © Succession Picasso).



72. Picasso, *Women in the Mirror*, 1956, linocut, 800 x 595 mm (Münster, Picassomuseum. Photo courtesy Frederick Mulder Ltd © Succession Picasso).

New York (W. Lieberman, *Picasso Linoleum Cuts, The Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kramer Collection*, New York, 1985). Both these collections, however, are far surpassed by the 405 separate impressions, which have been acquired from Mulder by Ellen Remai. This magnificent group, which includes 193 of the 197 linocuts made by Picasso and 212 proofs, will be housed in the Remai Art Gallery of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, Canada, which is planned to open in 2015. This new museum will also house the contents of the well-known Mendel Art Gallery. So the province of Saskatchewan will have the good fortune to have the finest collection of Picasso linocuts in existence.

The Pablo Picasso Kunstmuseum in Münster has staged other Picasso exhibitions, including of the Vollard suite, the erotic Suite 156, Picasso as illustrator, and on Picasso, the Communists and the theatre, as well as many shows devoted to other artists involved in printmaking from Honoré Daumier to the recent past, all accompanied by catalogues. The *Picasso Linolschnitte. Linocuts* catalogue consists of a series of short essays devoted to prevalent themes in the artist's linocuts: Jacqueline Roque and Piero Crommelynck, who were particularly associated with Picasso at the time; bullfighting; arcadia and the Mediterranean; the reinterpretations of the work of Lucas Cranach, El Greco and Ingres; portraits of women; the late work; and posters. Also included is a piece on the history of the linocut, which, given its abbreviated length, inevitably has shortcomings, as it ignores, for instance, linocuts produced in Anglo-Saxon countries and politically directed prints from the inter-war years in France and Belgium. One thinks of the left wing artists' group in Belleville, Paris, Les Indélicats, and Frans Masereel (1889–1972) in particular. This essay, however, highlights the need for an in-depth history of linocut. In his footnotes Müller cites a PhD thesis by Andrea Tietze, *Der Linolschnitt: Technik, Geschichte, künstlerische Möglichkeiten*, which has been published, but which at the time of writing does not seem to have entered a significant British library (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1994).

Müller naturally notes Matisse's white line linocuts as being significant forerunners for Picasso. Picasso's earliest linocut, *Pour la Tchécoslovaquie: Hommage à un pays martyr* (For Czechoslovakia: Homage to a martyred country) of 1939 was in this manner, as was one of his last linocuts, the very quickly executed *Portrait of Piero Crommelynck* of 21 September 1966. One could go further, however, and suggest that several of the artist's first colour linocuts, the posters made for the town of Vallauris, begun in 1954, could be seen as making oblique reference to the very bold and highly colourful *découpages* (cut-outs) by Matisse, who had died that year. Another relationship that perhaps needs exploring is between Picasso and Alberto Magnelli, who in his turn worked with the master printer Hidalgo Arnéra in Vallauris from 1965. Magnelli spent World War II in Provence collaborating on lithographs with Sonia Delau-

nay and the Arps. The Italian's post-war paintings, lithographs and screenprints with their bold, hard-edged areas of matt colour might well have appealed to Picasso.

The themes in the Spaniard's linocuts, as Müller remarks, were on the whole far from new for him. However, Picasso was for ever aware of other artists. Matisse's *Luxe, calme et volupté* must have been often in his mind. Picasso's linocuts of resting and awakening nudes also belong in the tradition of the subjects of his friend. One should also remember that drawings and photographs of female dancers regularly appeared in the same journals which published illustrations of the Spaniard's work. A study of the works that hung on Picasso's own staircase might prove revealing, as it is probable that he also found inspiration in contemporary photographs.

The importance of the colours and figures of early Greek vase paintings to Picasso has long been recognized, and the stylized black forms in Picasso's prints indeed echo those on pottery of the Archaic period, which he must have studied in the Louvre. Furthermore, Donald Karshan pointed out the parallels between the Greek potters' incised lines and linearity of the linocuts. Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* can be discerned as the starting point for *The Broken Lance*, perhaps seen through the mediation of Rubens. Picasso looked back to early Fauve woodcuts in *Small Nude* of 6 February 1956, and to his own bathers of c. 1930 in *Women in the Mirror* of 7 February 1956 (figs. 71 and 72).

On the technical side attention should be drawn to Angela Rosengart's first-hand account of watching Picasso at work, published by Siegfried and Angela Rosengart in *Besuche bei Picasso* (Luzern, 1973). This was noted in an important article by Pat Gilmour, who also referred to the precedent of Gauguin for Picasso's 'cut and come again' technique (*Print Collectors' Newsletter*, XVIII, 1987, p. 88). The Spaniard's deliberate imitation of effects in other techniques such as mezzotint and lithography should also be recorded. MARTIN HOPKINSON

JIM DINE. The relatively modest size of *Jim Dine Printmaker: Leaving My Tracks* belies the extraordinarily generous promised gift by one of the greatest living printmakers to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is one of several such magnanimous gestures to major institutions by which Jim Dine (b. 1935), now in his late seventies, is ensuring the future appreciation of his achievements in distinct areas of his prolific production (Clifford S. Ackley and Patrick Murphy, *Jim Dine Printmaker: Leaving My Tracks*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2012, 176pp, 173 col. ills., \$55). To the New York Public Library he has given copies of most of his illustrated books, to the Morgan Library & Museum his series of forty Glyptotek [*sic*] drawings, to the Maison Européenne de la Photographie in Paris all his photographic work and to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France about 100 etchings made with the master printer Aldo

Crommelynck. The gift to Boston, however, of more than 900 prints, including unique variations, working proofs and impressions of unpublished plates, is of a breathtaking scale and importance, accounting as it does for about 90 per cent of his entire production over half a century.

Dine felt shackled in his youth to a term, Pop Art, with which he felt little affinity, notwithstanding the fact that he was one of the leading figures within the movement in his native USA, and from early in his career sought through printmaking to distance himself from the detach-



73. Jim Dine, *Nancy in July VI: Flowers of the Holy Land*, 1979, soft-ground etching, drypoint, with electric tools and hand additions in enamel, 584 x 496 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) © the artist.

ment and mechanical procedures cherished by colleagues such as Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein. In his spirited lithographs and etchings of the 1960s and early 1970s, and later in enormous bold woodcuts carved with hobbyist's electric tools, and in carborundum etchings and intaglio prints cut from large sheets of heavy cardboard, he insisted repeatedly on the preeminence of the hand-made mark as the conduit for his temperament, personality and vision: 'leaving my tracks' became for him a badge of honour, a means of communicating on an intensely physical level with each viewer.

The straightforward, unpretentious texts throughout, being mainly descriptions of Dine's instinctive and pragmatic processes, convey well the artist's joy and creative fulfillment in making prints. The subdivision of the book into separate themes, the authors' attentiveness to the properties of individual prints and the space given to Dine's own voice allow generous access to the often unconventional procedures and ways of thinking that have guaranteed for this artist a place as a great innovator. This is down not just to his preference for large scale, which he shares with others of his generation, but also his resourcefulness in rethinking the possibilities of each medium. Dine for example uses power tools to create a muscular variation on drypoint (fig. 73; Promised gift of the artist), to carve woodcut blocks, or to burnish copper plates – and often combines in a single print not only intaglio and relief methods but also hand-colouring and painting. 'Sandwiching' such brushed surface additions, often in enamel, in between first and second printings, Dine has created some of the most sumptuous, richly layered prints of our time, suffused with the intimacy and personality of his palette and hand-applied marks. By deliberately dispensing with the market's general fetish for uniform editions, Dine insists on the physicality and personal touch of each impression. His graphic works almost always carry the intense imprint of his hand: in a period increasingly dominated by 'hands off' procedures, there is a particular thrill to one's encounters with these sheets handled by the artist himself.

Despite his immense production of paintings and sculptures, Dine seems destined to be remembered above all as a printmaker. He himself remarks here on how natural he has always found it to think in terms of the reversal of image, speculating on a possible link with his dyslexia (he likes reading books back to front) or his left-handedness. Always alive to the collaborative nature of printmaking, he has worked with numerous print workshops but has been happy, too, to have untrained relatives edition certain prints, knowing that even a primitive technique will bring its own qualities. He is wonderfully frank on how he harnesses even his impatience, for example in using electric tools such as sanding discs instead of scraping and burnishing the plate in the traditional manner in order to 'produce a new kind of tone'. More than perhaps any other painter-printmaker alive, Dine is brilliantly re-

sponsive to the possibilities of taking a plate through successive stages, and in doing so to reinvent it comprehensively, much as Rembrandt did four centuries earlier. Altering a plate out of recognition and sometimes using it as a ghostly residue over which new marks are laid, he constantly renews his practice, demonstrating a feverish devotion to printmaking as a continuous, obsessive process. MARCO LIVINGSTONE

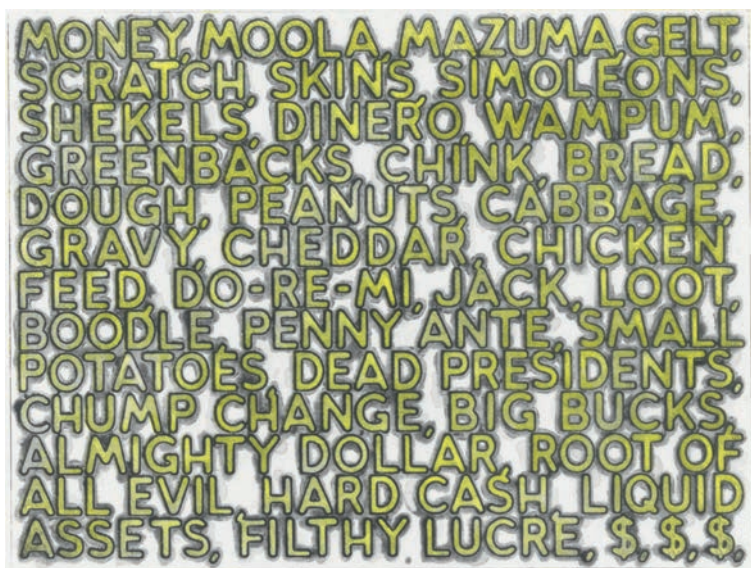
CONVERSATIONS FROM ZAMMIELLO'S PRINT STUDIO. In essence, *Conversations from the Print Studio: A Master Printer in Collaboration with Ten Artists* (Craig Zammiello and Elisabeth Hodermarsky, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2012, 256 pp., 169 col. ill., \$45, £35) documents the working relationships that developed between ten selected artists and the master printer Craig Zammiello, who has worked both at Universal Limited Art Editions and Two Palms Press. The book adopts a conversational style, appropriate to its fundamental premise of articulating the idea of collaboration through printmaking. It presents each artist in turn in conversation with Zammiello and Elisabeth Hodermarsky, curator at Yale University Art Gallery. The book is divided into ten chapters, each dedicated to one artist, and documents the making of a particular piece or group of work. This gives it depth, since the reader is led into the often intricate details of how a project evolves and the nature and complexity of the collaborative process.

The artists selected are Mel Bochner, Carroll Dunham, Ellen Gallagher, Jane Hammond, Suzanne McClelland, Chris Ofili, Elizabeth Peyton, Matthew Ritchie, Kiki Smith and Terry Winters. The work discussed covers more than two decades, beginning with Smith's *My Blue Lake*, of 1995, and concluding with Mel Bochner's *Strong Language* of 2007 (figs. 74 and 75). The interviews transcribed in the book were recorded between 2007 and 2010 and in each case are reflective of work made earlier.

What is apparent from the outset is the relaxed relationship between artists and interviewers and indeed their mutual respect. Hodermarsky adds an extra, curatorial perspective and also stands in for the reader, who was absent in the studio when the work was originally made. This conceit allows Zammiello to open up the technical issues associated with each project, so that on another level the book serves to unlock some of the secrets of the master printer and to convey a sense of the particular atmosphere around each project and relationship. The range of approaches is spellbinding. There is a spirit of 'can do'. Zammiello recalls that at the beginning of working on a project with Gallagher, 'Ellen came in and she discussed what she wanted to do with *Bouffant Pride*. And when Ellen left, David (Lasry) looked at me and said, "Can we do this?" And I said, No problem, we've got the technology. We can do this ... there are just a few things we need to work out'. This became the testing ground both for their



74. Kiki Smith, *My Blue Lake*, 1995, photogravure and lithograph, 1,110 x 1,390 mm (© the artist / Universal Limited Art Editions. Photo courtesy ULAE).



75. Mel Bochner, *Money*, 2007, etching, aquatint, hard ground, open bit, spit bite and burnishing, 197 x 249 mm from *Strong Language*, suite of six prints (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery © the artist / Two Palms).

collaboration and a starter for the installation of 60 printed objects that formed *Deluxe* (2004–05) and involved not only materials such as plasticine, gold leaf and toy eyeballs, but also a staggering array of techniques and processes.

One of the features of the book is the diversity of the artists selected, from the gestural abstraction of Winters to the society portraits of Peyton, from the text-based work of Bochner to the photographic prints of the sculptor Smith. The chapter on Smith is particularly rich in anecdote and adventure, as artist and interlocutor travel together to the British Museum to photograph Smith using a periphery camera used for documenting archaeological sites. This results in the eerie *My Blue Lake*, a large-format print using etching with photogravure, *à la poupée* inking and lithography, in which Smith's face is spread across the paper like a map.

The strengths of the book are also its weakness. There is an obvious camaraderie between all concerned and much mutual praise for the artists, the printer and the workings of the studio. While this gives a flavour of the collaborations, it lacks an objective edge and too often endorses the importance of the work and the unique qualities of everyone involved. There is no doubt, however, about the extraordinary quality of the resulting prints and the attention to every nuance of production alongside the genuine delight of problem solving. But all this inevitably comes at a financial cost, and the actual business arrangements under which these prints were made are kept secret. The suggestion is of an open-ended contract driven only by the desire to create the perfect print, which I am certain conceals a more pragmatic arrangement. As an artist, one is left imagining being the recipient of such tender loving care and wondering about the market forces that underwrite these enterprises. The book itself is beautifully presented and very clearly laid out. The illustrations provide background and documentation of the projects and at the end of each chapter comprehensive notes further enrich the reader's understanding of how these works evolved.

PAUL COLDWELL

PRINT STUDIO EVENTS. From February to May of 2012, the Department of Prints and Illustrated Books at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, hosted a pair of refreshing contemporary print exhibitions, 'Print/Out' and 'Printin'" (for which see pp. 109–12). Both installations addressed and challenged the conventional understanding and application of printmaking, making it clear that the print medium is no longer defined by the traditional processes of engraving and etching, or even the more modernist techniques of screenprinting and lithography. Print has evolved in its process and use, and has been wholly embraced by contemporary artists whose practices center around a variety of forms, including painting, drawing, sculpture, photog-

raphy and performance.

To highlight the means by which print has been creatively employed, the Museum simultaneously hosted Print Studio, an interactive space which offered a series of free workshops, lectures, art-related events and happenings, emphasizing the accessibility of printmaking of all forms and its flexibility as a process and relevance to the production and dissemination of ideas – intellectual and artistic. From January to March 2012, the Mezzanine level of The Lewis B. and Dorothy Cullman Education and Research Building was transformed into Print Studio, a large open workspace outfitted with long worktables and stools. This was the arena for a wide range of hands-on workshops, including Digital Finger Drawing, which was led by the Portuguese-born illustrator, designer and photographer, Jorge Colombo. Colombo's drawings have been published in the *The New Yorker* since 1994, but his first digital cover for the magazine was for the June 2009 issue. For the past three years, Colombo has been finger-painting New York landscapes on his iPhone, using it as much as a real-time portable sketchpad as a telecommunications device. As participants, we were invited to bring our iPhones, iPads and other igadgets (or be given a loan on which to work) and learn how to create, reproduce and disseminate 'pocket art' via the deceptively simple and elegant but comprehensive art app, Brushes.

Although Colombo utilized a hi-tech, electronic platform with which to create art, other workshops were led by artists and practitioners whose artistic innovations with traditional materials and techniques were equally impressive. The Altered Book workshop with Katerina Lanfranco manipulated used books with found materials, collage and transfer techniques to redesign the original book's format, purpose and meaning. Handmade papermaking with Paul Wong, artistic director at Dieu Donné Papermill, invited attendees to make paper and use the techniques of pulp painting and stenciling to enhance the design. All workshops made use of the Reanimation Library, a collection of recycled, out of circulation and reclaimed books which have been given new life by being a part of this small, independent library which serves as a creative resource for artists, writers and many others. Though based in Brooklyn, the Library was temporarily located at Print Studio so that visitors and workshop participants could use scanners, computers and photocopiers to work with and manipulate material found within the books.

The variety of hands-on workshops offered at Print Studio was this curator's dream. The opportunity to engage in a dynamic dialogue about contemporary printmaking with practicing artists uniquely complemented the visual experience of 'Print/Out' and 'Printin'" in the main galleries of the Museum.

For those more interested in an exchange of ideas via lecture and discussion, Print Studio offered that as well. A number of conversations with and presentations by artists,

including Marina Abramović and Ellen Gallagher, the poet Robert Fitterman of Collective Task, editors from Triple Canopy, the online art magazine, and the members of the Slovenian art collective IRWIN, were regularly scheduled. In the two evening conversations with artists, Abramović and Gallagher discussed their work with master printers and publishers, considering the theoretical aspects of Print Studio as ‘a space to explore the sustainability of ideas and materials, printmaking and multiples, and the creative possibilities that result from bringing together a new community of participants’.

MoMA also designed a comprehensive website for its print shows and educational activities which, although informative, was complicated and at times frustrating to navigate. One of the most interesting aspects of the web experience, however, was the Ten-Minute Talk which was posted weekly throughout the time Print Studio was open. In all, six talks were given by a variety of MoMA staff – from conservators to librarians and archivists who offered a behind-the-scenes peek into MoMA’s engagement with the medium of print, as well as guest artists and educators, all of whom shared their expertise and offered insights about selected Print Studio projects. The Ten-Minute Talks continue to be accessible via the MoMA website (www.moma.org/explore/inside_out/category/print-studio) as are the live-streamed conversations with Abramović and Gallagher (www.livestream.com/museummodernart).

Overall, Print Studio served to underscore the relevance of the medium of print in contemporary art as a tool reclaimed, manipulated and reinvigorated in the hands of many practicing artists. The boundaries that once defined and constrained printmaking have been expanded and in many ways dissolved, redefining a histori-

cally limited medium. As consistently revealed throughout Print Studio, printmaking has become more accessible, flexible and by implication, for some a noticeably more creative and exciting medium. ELIZABETH REEDE

THE MECHANICAL HAND. As a catalogue of contemporary printmaking, *The Mechanical Hand: Artists’ Projects at Paupers Press* demonstrates the breadth and vitality of the medium amongst Britain’s most renowned artists (London, Kings Place Gallery, 27 April–22 June 2012, London, Black Dog Publishing Limited, 2012, 192 pp., 260 col. ills., £29.95). Published to accompany an exhibition of the same name the book represents the work of 26 artists in 26 chapters (fig. 76). From Paula Rego’s dark, upended fairytale etchings, to the enchanting and unsettling photogravure work of Matt Collishaw, the diversity and calibre of Paupers’ projects is visually evident. Jake and Dinos Chapman, Tracey Emin, Jock MacFadyen and Eileen Cooper are just a few more to add to the list of numerous outstanding artists featured.

Though the images speak for themselves, this reader found the text to be somewhat disorienting. The catalogue lacks a uniform layout and authors are not always evident. There is an interesting and expressive introductory discussion by Martin Herbert on printmaking within a studio environment and in other chapters he illuminates various methods and practices, but I missed a history of Paupers Press and was confused by random quotations (from Sartre to *The Tempest*) dotting the text in bold font. There are contributions by artists, including Grayson Perry and Christopher Le Brun as well as an interview with Glenn Brown. But, the virtuosity here is represented best by the works themselves. CAROLINE MANGANARO



76. Installation View of the Exhibition ‘Mechanical Hand’ with Glen Brown’s *After Freud Group*, 2008, photogravure etchings; Chris Ofili’s, *Paradise by Night*, 2010, lithographs and etchings and lithograph prints by Paula Rego, 2009 (Photo courtesy Kings Place Gallery 2012).

CORRECTION. A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK OF TRADES. The images in *Print Quarterly*, XXIX, December 2012, pp. 422–23 were taken without the reviewer's knowledge from H. Schopper, *Panoplia*

Omnium illiberalium mechanicarum aut sedentariarum artium ... (Frankfurt, Sigmund Feierabend, 1568), with Latin verses, and accidentally labelled as 'Greek edition'. Apologies.

Catalogue and Book Reviews

Antonio Lafreri's Religious Prints

Eckhard Leuschner

Clemente Marigliani and Giancarlo Biguzzi, *La Collezione Sacra della Bottega di Antonio Lafréry*, Anzio, Edizioni Tipografia Marina, 2010, 151 pp., 123 b. & w. ills., €60.

This publication is a commented edition of a previously unknown volume belonging to a private institution, the Biblioteca Clementina in Anzio, containing 115 prints with religious subject-matter from the second half of the sixteenth century plus an engraved frontispiece dated 1576. The prints are published according to their sequence in the volume. The frontispiece bears the name of the Rome-based publisher Antonio Lafreri (or Antoine Lafréry, 1512–77) and an inscription naming him as the 'auctor' of the images of Christ, Mary and the numerous saints that follow (*CHRISTI DEI OPT. MAX. VIRGINISQ. MATRIS DEI ET COMPLVRIVM SANCTORV[M] IMAGINES*; fig. 77). In terms of graphic quality, this frontispiece is somewhat disappointing, a fact that may have prompted Marigliani and Biguzzi to suggest that Lafreri himself engraved it (p. 40), but this attribution cannot be considered certain. Despite its artistic defects, the image points to a significant aspect of the activities of a publisher best known for his prints of the ancient monuments of Rome (also known as the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*) and his topographical works; for both series Lafreri issued frontispieces sometime after 1573.

So far, only one other volume of Lafreri's religious prints with the identical 1576 frontispiece is known and has received some scholarly attention – it was part of the collection of King Philipp II of Spain and now is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (see M. Bury, *The Print in Italy*

1550–1620, London, 2001, p. 49). With the present state of research, it is unclear whether the small number of known impressions of the 1576 frontispiece is related to the fact that the publisher died soon after its production, or to the extreme rarity of religious Lafreri volumes in an original or early binding. Or is the lacuna quite simply due to the reluctance of art history to deal with devotional prints from the second half of the Cinquecento?

As the authors point out, the volume today is in a binding bearing the arms of Pope Innocent XIII (1721–24). The provenance cannot be traced back further than to the Chierici regolari, a Church order concentrating on educational activities that was founded in 1597 but not officially acknowledged until 1621. While Lafreri, in addition to his own stock of religious images, may have sold engravings produced in Venice or Antwerp on commission (which would account for the inclusion of engravings by Nicolo Nelli, Cornelis Cort and others), several prints bear post-1577 dates, thus demonstrating that the volume cannot represent a 'pure' corpus of religious images published by Lafreri himself. Perhaps the other prints were produced and/or sold by Lafreri's nephew and successor, Claudio Duchet (Duchetti), whose *excutit* can be seen on some of them, or were indeed assembled from additional sources by the founders of the Chierici regolari.

With these complications in mind, a closer look at the prints is nevertheless rewarding because all were made during the same time span – 1550s to early 1580s – and systematically arranged in the volume. The first section contains engravings reproducing frescoes and drawings by Michelangelo (nos. 2–15), followed by inventions by



77. Attributed to Antonio Lafreri, Frontispiece, 1576, engraving, 457 x 340 mm (Anzio, Biblioteca Clementina).



78. Anonymous artist, *Martyrdom of St Catherine of Alexandria*, engraving, 550 x 425 mm (Anzio, Biblioteca Clementina).

Raphael and Giulio Romano (nos. 16–27) and prints after Taddeo and Federico Zuccari (nos. 28–37). The remaining prints are organized iconographically (fig. 78, no. 91). Several are based on compositions by contemporary artists such as Girolamo Muziano and Federico Barocci, a few on older masters such as Baccio Bandinelli or Daniele da Volterra, but many carry no inventor's name at all. After a few subjects from the Old Testament, the focus is on the Life and Passion of Christ (nos. 44–66) and related allegorical images such as the *Triumph of the Cross* (nos. 67–73); next we find the Life of the Virgin and the *Mysteries of the Rosary* (74–87). The last part of the volume contains images of saints, first of women (88–96), then men (97–109), and allegories of the theological Virtues and Penance (including the penitent Magdalene). The genitals of several nude figures, for instance in the representation of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, have been covered with ink at an unknown date.

Apart from catalogue entries providing elementary information on subject-matter and – as far as possible – on engravers, inventors and publishers, the editors have furnished the book with a short general introduction to printmaking in Rome in the age of Lafreri (including an unnecessarily long quotation from the well-known decree of the Council of Trent on the use of images). Three chapters then discuss the reasons for the presence of certain artists or subjects in the volume, titled 'Reproductions of the Great Renaissance Masters', 'Images from the Old and New Testament' and 'Devotional Images'. They avoid, however, addressing the question of whether Lafreri's religious subjects were, or could ever have been, as influential as his ancient monuments of Rome. It is enough to mention that a copy of his *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* graces most of the old libraries of Europe, even in Protestant territory, whereas the 'religious Lafreri' is conspicuously absent (see the long list of early bound and unbound copies of the *Speculum*, which does not even claim to be exhaus-

tive, in an essay by Peter Parshall, *Print Quarterly*, XXIII, 2006, pp. 24–28; and fig. 1 for the *Speculum* frontispiece).

One of the book's merits is to call attention to the fact that large parts of the religious print production in Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century remain to be explored. This not only applies to the works of known engravers such as Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri, but, even more importantly, to the many anonymous prints that carry only an inventor's name (such as Bernardino Passeri, Paris Nogari, Niccolò Martinelli) and the products of publishers working in the shadow of Lafreri and Duchet (Pietro Paolo Palumbo and Paolo Graziani among others). Some of these publishers must have made a living from filling gaps: for example, the 1573 Lafreri stocklist contains a surprisingly small number of images of saints. The 1576 frontispiece and a growing production of such prints must have been intended to garner a larger share of this market.

For the study of printmaking in sixteenth-century Rome, the publication of further archival documentation is most welcome, and a lot of progress has been made on that front in recent years. It is just as useful, however, to find, identify and attribute more of the prints listed in such documents, preferably prints kept in old collections and volumes such as the one under review, because only a larger basis of such materials can help to assess the function(s) of early modern prints, religious or not. For example, was the volume in question really assembled, as the authors claim, for educational purposes in a religious institution (p. 12)? What is known of its provenance and the covering of genitals in certain prints is hardly conclusive evidence, whereas the good preservation of the prints, as well as the presence of an art-historical 'masters' section arranged by artist, are enough to cast doubt on the idea. The discussion of this question is closely connected with defining the manifold uses of images around 1600. We still need to know more about these issues.

The Business of Prints in Amsterdam's Golden Age

Jaco Rutgers

Gedrukt tot Amsterdam: Amsterdamse prentmakers en -uitgevers in de Gouden Eeuw (Printed in Amsterdam, Amsterdam Printmakers and Print Publishers of the Golden Century), edited by Elmer Kolfin and Jaap van der Veen, exhibition catalogue, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis Museum, 24 June–18 September 2011, Zwolle and Amsterdam, 2011, 215 pp., 174 coll. ill., €34.50.

During the first half of the seventeenth century Amsterdam took over from Antwerp as the leading centre for the production of prints in Europe. Although this role was lost to Paris soon afterwards, around 1650 (rather than at the end of the century as stated in the introductory essay), it is surprising that a thorough overview of the Amsterdam print market in the Dutch Golden Age is still an important



79. Rembrandt, *The Triumph of Mordechai*, c. 1641, etching and drypoint, 174 x 215 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet).

desideratum. The present exhibition catalogue with four extensive essays partially fills this gap in the literature. The exhibition itself was staged to celebrate the retirement of Eric Jan Sluijter as Professor of Art History at the University of Amsterdam. One of his fields of research has always been the art market and its many facets, but the business of prints, although acknowledged as being of the utmost importance, was never his focus of study.

In the first contribution, Elmer Kolfin presents the most important players in this area, the many different aspects of the business and the immensely diverse output of the numerous printmakers working in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Many examples are given of business organization, the stocks of second-hand and new copperplates, requests for privileges, advertisements and the distribution of prints, as well as of the competition and alliances between publishers. The myriad details and ac-

counts range from the early to late seventeenth century (and even the early eighteenth century), and make it difficult to follow the development described in the author's conclusion. According to him, engravers who also worked as publishers dominated the business initially and it was only gradually that print publishing became the domain of professionals who worked incidentally as printmakers themselves. One of the pioneers, Claes Jansz. Visscher, had already professionalized the print business to such an extent in the first decades of the century that there was hardly room for later improvement. It seems that the larger firms like Visscher's and the smaller businesses like those run by etchers and engravers themselves, coincided perfectly during both the first and the second half of the Golden Age.

The Amsterdam dynasty of printmakers and publishers of the Danckerts family is the subject of Jaap van der Veen's



80. Rembrandt, *The Presentation in the Temple*, c. 1640, etching and drypoint, 213 x 290 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet).

essay. Cornelis, Dancker and Justus Danckerts were exemplary entrepreneurs who started off as engravers and gradually shifted their focus to the organization of their business: the publication and distribution of prints and books. By strategically buying old copperplates and commissioning new ones, Cornelis, the dynasty's founder, was already recognized in the late 1630s and early 1640s as a successful businessman who was well-connected abroad, for instance with his Parisian colleagues Melchior Tavernier and Pierre Mariette. His sons Dancker and Justus continued and enlarged the stock of copperplates, which contained mostly 'constprenten' (fine art prints), maps, portraits and illustrated books. Van der Veen provides much new information on the members of the Danckerts family from numerous archival sources and advertisements in old newspapers, thus expanding considerably our knowledge of this important printmaking dynasty. For instance, an appendix to the essay gives a full list of the copperplates mentioned in the inventory of Dancker Danckerts's estate after his death in 1667. Advertisements help to date three well-known reproductive

engravings after paintings from the cabinet of Lucas van Uffelen, Titian's *Flora* and so-called *Portrait of Ariosto* and Raphael's *Portrait of Castiglione*, which were 'brought to light by Sandrart and sold by C. Danck[erts]' (16 March 1641). And a famous series of portraits of Amsterdam scientists and authors engraved by Theodoor Matham and Reinier van Persijn after designs by Joachim von Sandrart was advertised on 28 February 1643.

In contrast to the Danckerts' business, Salomon Savery ran a modest shop, as Jasper Hillegers and Lotte Jaeger explain. Although he was also trained as a printmaker and eventually published prints, Savery's core business remained etching and engraving. He issued prints himself, such as sheets after and in the style of Jacques Callot, but he also kept working for other publishers. He added details in etching to numerous maps published by both Joan and Cornelis Blaeu and their main competitor, Jacob Aertsz. Colom, and was frequently commissioned to do book illustrations as well. He provided images for books by some of the most famous Dutch authors of the time, for in-

stance Jacob Cats and Jan Harmensz. Krul. Hillegers and Jaeger make it clear that Savery profited much from his enormous network. Both his upbringing in the milieu of Flemish immigrant artists working in Amsterdam and his Anabaptist religion seem to have provided him with the necessary connections. The authors, however, fail to make clear why the Anabaptist Savery chose to support the Remonstrant case as well. They seem to imply that the two religious movements were one and the same. Together with his qualities as a printmaker this network assured Savery's independence. In fact, he seems to have continually moved like a butterfly from one publisher to another.

Understandably, the last essay is dedicated to Rembrandt, who was, of course, incomparable from an artistic point of view, but who also seems to have defied all laws and conventions as an entrepreneur in the business – in so far as there were any. Who else made so many self-portraits? Who else etched so many small-scale biblical scenes, genre scenes and landscapes that were not part of a print series? And which other professional printmaker made prints entirely in drypoint, a technique that permitted only a very limited number of impressions? Erik Hinterding's essay stands out in more than one respect. It is an excellent overview of the artist's development as an etcher, with many new insights and interesting observations. However, the printmaker Rembrandt as a businessman gets scant attention, which is rather surprising in the context of this exhibition. The incomplete and somewhat tendentious overview of the international reception of Rembrandt's etchings seems a bit out of place as well. Be that as it may,

Hinterding redefines important turning points in Rembrandt's career as an etcher and convincingly explains them from a technical point of view. For instance, the artist's ever increasing use of drypoint in combination with etching, culminating in *The Triumph of Mordechai* of c. 1641, among other works, is explained as a logical result of his growing disappointment with etching's capabilities, which were limited to accomplishing a nuanced scheme of shades of black (fig. 79; A. von Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt et ceux de ses principaux imitateurs*, Vienna, 1797, no. 40). In *The Presentation in the Temple: Oblong Print* of about a year earlier, for instance, the shaded figures in the background are difficult to distinguish from the dark interior (fig. 80; Bartsch 49).

Gedrukt tot Amsterdam is a more than welcome introduction to the business of prints in Golden Age Amsterdam. Of course, the four essays do not cover all aspects of printmaking in the city during this period. Many important players still deserve attention, not least the Visscher dynasty, and it is to be hoped that art historians will take up the challenge and use the present catalogue as a point of departure. It is a pity that it is only available in Dutch. Unfortunately, like the late Jan van der Waals's exemplary *De Prentschat van Michiel Hinloopen* (Amsterdam, 1988) and *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw, van Kunst tot Kastpapier* (Rotterdam, 2006), as well as the more recent catalogue of the Romeyn de Hooghe exhibition (Amsterdam 2008–09), this is yet another important publication on Dutch prints and printmaking that for want of translation will go largely unnoticed by international print scholars.

Pierre Lepautre (1652–1716)

Peter Fuhring

Maxime Préaud, *Pierre Lepautre. Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVII^e siècle, vol. 13*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2008, 382 pp., 1,519 b. & w. ill., €115.

The volumes of the *Inventaire du fonds français* have a special place in the history of prints and printmaking. This series of catalogues is organized by century and describes prints, under the name of the engraver, that are kept in the collection of the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale – now called Département des Estampes et de la Photographie of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. When the first volume of this series, dedicated to prints from the eighteenth century, was issued in 1931 the then head of the department, Paul-André

Lemoisne (1875–1964), wrote a preface that is still worth reading today. Lemoisne was convinced that this catalogue would render a great service to all scholars because it presented the key to the print room's riches. The exceptional quality of the collection can be explained by a large number of donations and bequests, purchases, and the so-called *dépôt légal* (successor to the privilege system, this is the requirement that a copy of all printed matter publicly sold or distributed in France should be deposited at the Bibliothèque Nationale).

It was (and is) not easy, however, to grasp the works of a single engraver because of the collection's classification system. Prints are classified principally under the name of the engraver and other impressions under the name of the

inventor, or the subject (history, portrait, costume), or, in the case of prints depicting buildings and monuments, under topographical location. This means that to be able to lay one's hands on all prints by a single engraver in the collection, many more series need to be consulted than the volume(s) dedicated to the engraver's work. Thus the systematic identification of prints by a single printmaker in all series of the print room is difficult to accomplish, although an enormous amount of work has been done to indicate the presence of a particular engraver's works under various 'cotes' (pressmarks). Another difficulty that should be mentioned is that since its creation, the print room has been part of the library and its classification system is derived from the one adopted by librarians. This means that unlike other print rooms, the Bibliothèque Nationale's prints do not have inventory numbers. Already in 1931 Lemoisne was aware of the daunting task faced by the librarians, given a day-to-day workload that included the registering of prints entering the department each year, which totalled 33,000 for 1927 alone. Furthermore, he wrote that the librarian needed to possess a perfect knowledge of the collection and to undertake extensive research, for which time was often lacking. This is still true today and it is therefore all the more admirable that a curator like Préaud succeeded in past years in writing, with remarkable clarity, several volumes of the inventory dedicated to seventeenth-century prints. These volumes offer not only much needed access to the collection, but present a sound basis for future research.

In spite of the collection's numerical richness, it is an illusion to think that all prints made by major French engravers are present. In his informative introduction to the Pierre Lepautre volume, Préaud explains that sometimes the printmaker did not deposit the required impressions, or later curators did not acquire the missing prints, or the deposited impressions were not kept for the collection, but instead were exchanged for other works via print dealers. From its inception in 1931 the *Inventaire du fonds français* summarily listed missing prints in the biographical notice preceding the catalogue entries, or described them in the catalogue within square brackets. Préaud follows this precedent, but it is regrettable that the missing prints are not illustrated (fig. 81; inv. NO 21665; no. 456 in the book). Also – and this is often the case – only a relatively small number of prints are missing and in our view the concept of the oeuvre catalogue as adopted in the Hollstein series deserves to be followed.

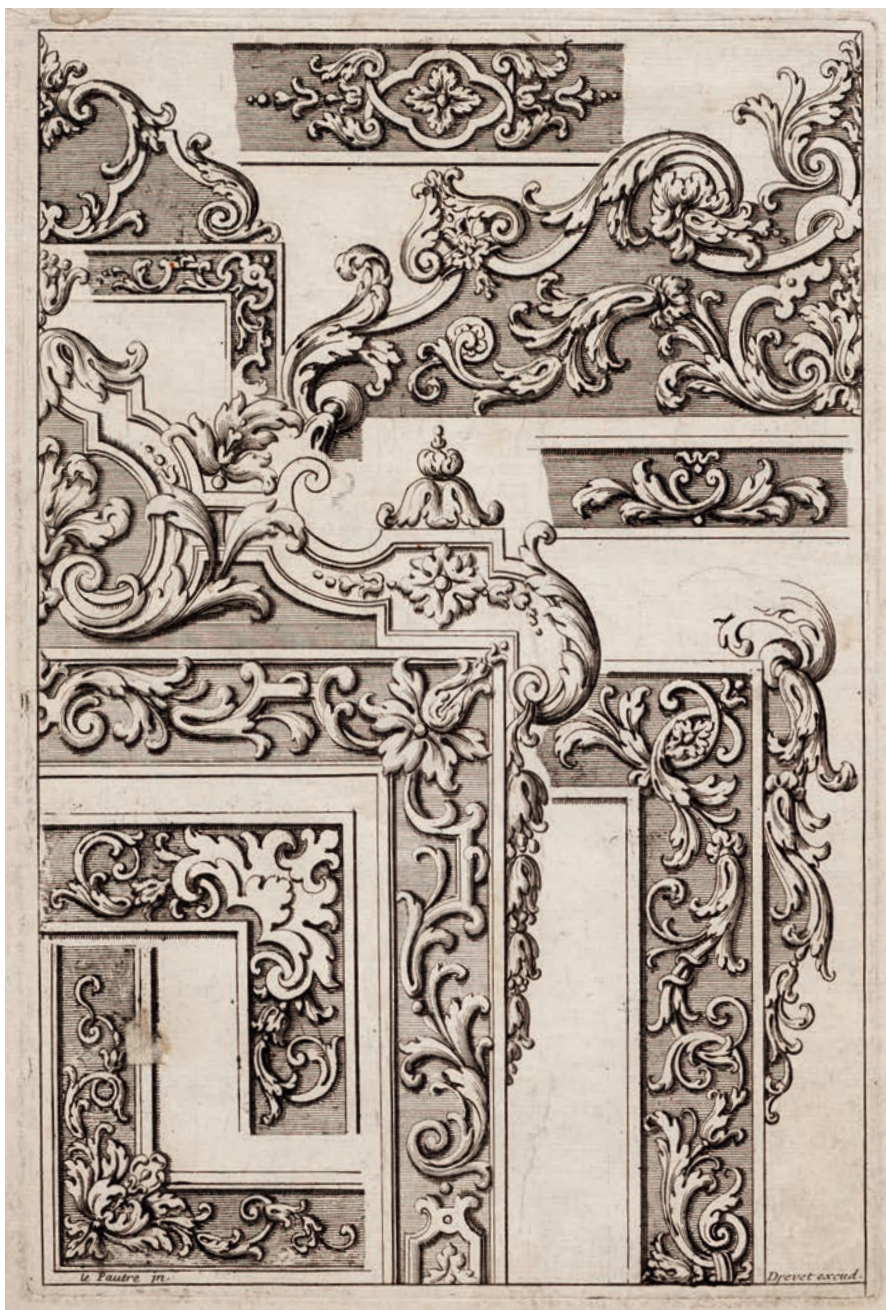
Anyone working with prints understands how tremendously useful illustrations can be, often clarifying aspects of the description and providing a major aid in research. The first volume with illustrations that was issued was volume 8, dedicated to Sébastien Leclerc and published in 1980. It is fortunate that the Bibliothèque Nationale continued this policy ever since. However, it is difficult to understand why the number of illustrations was limited to 1,519 for the

Pierre Lepautre volume. The arbitrariness of this decision stands out when in-house photography and the issue of reproduction rights do not play a role, and the efforts of the author to map out the works of an otherwise little-known printmaker deserve to be presented fully illustrated.

The Lepautre family of engravers, consisting of Antoine, Jean and Pierre, holds a special place in the history of prints and printmaking. All were prolific designers and Pierre Lepautre especially was an important architectural draughtsman, although his assumed importance as a designer in the agency of Jules Hardouin Mansart needs further investigation. The sheer number of Lepautre prints discouraged many scholars to embark on a catalogue of their works. One can only praise Préaud's courage to do so, thus enriching the eighteenth-century manuscript catalogue by Pierre-Jean Mariette, the only earlier one of Pierre Lepautre's prints. Préaud includes a very useful chronology of Pierre's activities (pp. 16–24). In accordance with the in-house tradition of classifying prints by broad subject-matter other options were not explored (chronology, for instance, or more narrowly focused subject-matter). The largest group is formed by Illustrations for Books (909 entries), followed by Architecture and Ornament (356 entries), Topography (156 entries) and History (147 entries). Sometimes the subject classification needs some mental juggling on the reader's part. For example, the Architecture section would be larger if one included sections on Topography (nos. 232–387) and the illustrated Books dedicated to Architecture: 142 plates for Augustin-Charles Davillers, *Cours d'architecture* (nos. 613–754), nineteen plates for Desgodetz, *Les Edifices antiques de Rome* (nos. 878–96), four plates for Perrault, *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes* (nos. 1,136–39), nine plates for Perrault's translation of *Les Dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve* (nos. 1,140–48).

One can only wish to see the continuation of this magnificent series of inventories of the Paris print collection. For the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the preparation of new volumes has come to a virtual halt; the last one was *Jardins anglo-chinois*, for the eighteenth century with some of the prints by Georges Louis Le Rouge (vol. xv, Paris, 2004, by Véronique Royet and an introduction by the late Bernard Korzus), although for the sixteenth century revised or new volumes are planned. Here I would like to plead for an expansion of the current format to include, for instance, information about the prints' provenance.

Some additional information: for the copies of the series depicting the Invalides, including the extraordinarily large sections of the cupola, mentioned under nos. 276–79, kept at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, see D. Wiebenson, *The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection*, 1: *French Books. Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries*, Washington, 1993, no. 112, and for the one from the Canadian Center of Architecture, see E. Blau and E. Kaufman, *L'Architecture et son image: Quatre siècles de représentation archi-*



81. Pierre Lepautre, *Fragments of Mirror Frames*, published by Pierre Drevet, Paris, etching, 243 x 163 mm (Leeuwarden, Ottema-Kingma Stichting).

tecturale. Œuvres tirées des collections du Centre Canadien d'Architecture, Montréal, 1989, nos. 5.1–8. The series of doors and wainscoting after the drawings of Jules Hardouin Mansart (nos. 430–35) was reissued by Charles-Antoine Jombert in his publication of plates by Jean Lepautre in three vol-

umes, Paris, 1751. Instead of an index of artists interpreted by Lepautre and an index of print publishers, a single index of all names would have been preferable, offering quicker access to the prints for those who search for a person's name without being sure of their role.

The Efflorescence of French and English Caricature

James Cuno

The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759–1838, edited by Todd Porterfield, Farnham, Ashgate, 224 pp., 40 b. & w. ills., £65.

The essays in this volume derive from papers first delivered in a conference of the same title organized in partnership with the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in 2006. They were later refined in a sister conference at the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris.

The first essay is perhaps a special nod to the location of the conference. It explores the caricatures by the British aristocrat and politician George Townshend, who served in England's campaign to win Quebec from France and in 1759 drew caricatures of his commander-in-chief, Gen-

eral James Wolfe. Its author, Dominic Hardy, describes them as 'acerbic' graphic reenactments of the 'raucous acrimony of London's print culture amidst the rigid environment of military hierarchy and order'. To my eye they are anything but acerbic and raucous. They are weakly drawn and generic in their humour, poking fun at social types (the effete Englishman and swarthy Canadian prisoner) and class pretensions. That they were drawn by one of Wolfe's officers and circulated among his peers (we presume; it's not clear just how these drawings – not prints – could have been circulated very widely) is interesting, but only just. As Hardy acknowledges at the end of his essay, 'the Wolfe caricatures were satires imagined in a virtual no-man's land, in a culture of encampment, outside of



82. James Gillray, *French Liberty/British Slavery*, 1792, hand-coloured etching, 247 x 350 mm (London, British Museum).

national borders, in the realm of territorial extension beyond which they could not take root'.¹

Pierre Wachenheim looks at the adaptation by French Revolutionary caricaturists of Early Modern Dutch emblems and considers four examples: the Arcimbollesque grotesque face, the buffoon preacher, the tree rendering the traditional symbol of Christian sacrifice into a pathetic hiding place for desperate bird-like clerics and aristocrats, and the celestial sieve that separates the good from the bad, including aristocrats and Jesuits. The examples are well chosen and illustrative of the literary dimension of French caricature on the eve of the Revolution. Much profitable work can still be undertaken on this important topic.²

Reva Wolf's essay on John Bull and British liberty is less convincing. The standard text on the subject was written by M. D. George more than fifty years ago.³ The fat, slovenly, roast-beef eating John Bull came to stand for everything the French thought wrong with the English (he would later morph into Monsieur Rosbif, the uncouth English tourist). In Gillray's caricatures of the 1790s, he stood for aristocratic selfishness and crudeness. In *French Liberty / British Slavery*, of 1792, his slovenliness is contrasted to a stick-thin and ravenous, French *sans-culotte* (fig. 82; inv. 1851,0901.630). Wolf acknowledges that neither figure is 'shown in a favorable light' but sees Gillray as favouring John Bull: it is better to have too much than too little, to be British rather than French. Nothing in the image suggests that to me. Both figures are lampooned as crippled by excess. Of greater interest is Wolf's consideration of John Bull in German and Spanish caricature. Pursuing this further would make a real contribution.

Douglas Fordham considers Gillray's caricature of Lord Macartney's trade and diplomatic mission to the Chinese court in Peking. The joke is obvious: the well-heeded English are offering a pathetic accumulation of children's gifts to an unimpressed, overweight, pyjama-wearing, and opium-smoking emperor; the English kowtowing before the ungrateful Chinese. Gillray's caricature is contrasted to a watercolour drawing by William Alexander who accompanied Macartney. The latter depicted the court with greater respect for the dignity of the Chinese emperor. Interestingly, neither Gillray nor Alexander actually witnessed the moment depicted in their works. One was



83. Anonymous, *La Minerve sur le pot*, etching (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France).

imagined and caricatured. The other was imagined and made into propaganda. The caricature turned out to be the more truthful, for the trade mission was an utter failure. Fordham's essay is rich with possibilities for further work.

Helen Weston examines the role of caricature and political lampoons on magic lanterns and hand-painted slides. She argues that in eighteenth-century France, the lanternist was regarded 'as the voice of wisdom and com-

1. We might note that Hardy reproduces two very different caricatures also attributed to Townshend (his figs. 2.4 and 2.5). These are coarsely and quickly drawn and dated to 1759, the same date as the other more simply and generically drawn caricatures accompanying the essay. All of the reproduced caricatures attributed to Townshend are in the collection of the McCord Museum of Canadian History. The two coarsely drawn caricatures were the gift of Sir Frederick Williams Taylor, while the more simply drawn ones are listed as the gift of David Ross McCord (see www.mccord-museum.qc.ca). The differences between these two groups of caricatures raises questions of authorship, especially

when compared to the eleven etched caricatures by Townshend in the collection of the Walpole Library (see <http://images.library.yale.edu>), which in their coarsely drawn and scratchy, etched lines look more like the two caricatures gifted the McCord Museum by Taylor. I have not been able to examine the caricatures in person.

2. Cynthia Burlingham and I explored this briefly in our exhibition catalogue, *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789–1799*, Los Angeles, 1988, pp. 17–21 and 137–44.

3. M.D. George, *English Political Caricature: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda*, Oxford, 1959.



84. Honoré Daumier, *Rue Transnonian*, 1834, lithograph, 285 x 440 mm (London, British Museum).

mon sense, a “truth-unveiler”, literally and figuratively with regard to moral and political beliefs. This is a fascinating proposal and Weston is subtle and convincing in her argument. She closes with a caricature of *La Minerve sur le pot*, a grotesque figure of the goddess of wisdom, seemingly blind in dark glasses, sitting on her chamber pot writing her last will and testament, an illustration of the range of graphic responses to a cardinal belief of the era, that light cast in the darkness will reveal truth and enlightenment (fig. 83).

Richard Taws explores the meaning of anonymous counter-Revolutionary caricature from 1791 showing M. Camus, director of the Archives Nationales dressed in paper currency of different denominations (Camus had been ridiculed in the counter-revolutionary press for issuing the first paper money). Taws then takes us through controversies surrounding the *assignat* itself (counter-Revolutionaries working to undermine its value and Revolutionaries propping it up), the real consequences of counterfeiting, images of Camus as being ‘made of money’ for having made it in the first place and working to inflate its value, and of a woman representing the Constitution expiring from consumption on a bed of *assignats* figuring the ‘two economic-corporeal allusions, reproduc-

tion and consumption’.

Mike Goode looks at caricatures and how they might be read as shaping an opinionated public. This depended on repetition and dialogue across prints (‘readers’ of caricatures carried their knowledge of one image to the interpretation of another) and allusions to well-known ‘socially respected artistic genres like history painting’. Goode emphasizes the significance of caricatures seen in ‘collections, folios, and print shop windows’ and argues that if caricatures sought to change people’s minds it was not through persuasion but through ‘blatant and often coarse comic effects designed to appeal to a taste for the carnivalesque and the ridiculous’. This may seem obvious, but it is useful to consider the way the public for caricatures came to read them through the accumulation of caricature motifs, graphic puns, subjects and political and social references.

Robert Patten’s and Christina Oberstebrink’s essays are the weakest in the volume. Patten explores but adds little to our understanding of the pear as emblem in European caricature as an erotic, even pornographic commentary on political power. He acknowledges Sandy Petry’s work on ‘la poire’ as a joke on the French king Louis-Philippe but ignores the many valuable contribu-

tions of Elise Kenney and John Merriman.⁴ Patten is inclined to find pear-shaped bodies in lots of English and French caricatures and to give them aggressive, sexual meaning. He even sees a pear/phallus in the wrinkled fold of the dead man's bedsheet in Daumier's *Rue Transnonain*, a wrenching lithographic image of police violence that is certainly not a caricature (fig. 84).

Oberstebrink works hard to make Gillray Baudelaire's 'painter of modern life' *avant la lettre*. But she's not convincing. It is not enough to say that because Gillray took his subjects from contemporary life and imposed his personal view on their realities he was the kind of artist Baudelaire had in mind when describing the emblematic painter of modern life, Constantin Guys. Guys was a *flâneur* at home in a crowd on the streets and among the *petits métiers* of Second Empire Paris. His quickly drawn, dark images of modern types turned the boulevard into an interior, as Benjamin famously put it, filled with figures negotiating their public personas.⁵ Gillray, on the other hand, was a darkly, biting satirist, more a witty, urbane

coffeehouse critic in the manner of Swift than a *flâneur*.

The final essay by Ségolène Le Men considers the 1838 publication by Ernest Jaime, the *Musée de la caricature*, a panorama of six centuries of French caricature. It confirmed the arrival of caricature as a commercial enterprise during the July Monarchy with the success of Charles Philippon's print shop, La Maison Aubert, and early publications, *La Silhouette*, *La Caricature*, and *Le Charivari* (Jaime worked for the latter as a caption writer). With the arrival of the lithographic press and its potential for large print runs, caricature became a bourgeois medium. To this end Le Men argues that the *Musée* was an anti-elitist commercial product and Janus-faced, with two heads, as one of its contributors put it, 'one comical and the other one tragic'.

As a collection of essays by multiple authors, *The Efflorescence of Caricature* necessarily has its limitations. But that is to quibble. The best essays will provoke new studies that will explore further the international and interdisciplinary context in which caricature worked and must be studied.

4. E. F. Kenney and J. M. Merriman, *The Pear: French Graphic Art in the Golden Age of Caricature*, South Hadley, MA, 1991.

5. W. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, translated by H. Zohn, London, 1983, p. 37.

The Strobridge Company's Circus Posters

Nancy Finlay

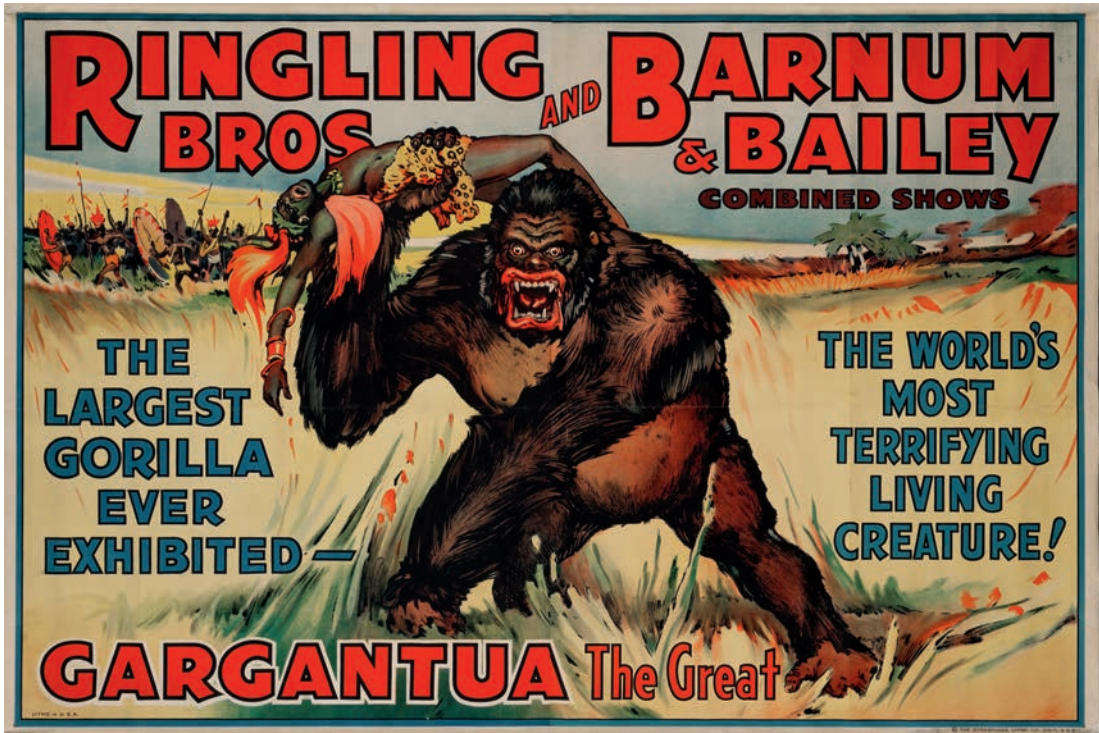
The Amazing American Circus Poster: The Strobridge Lithographing Company, edited by Kristin L. Spangenberg and Deborah W. Walk, exhibition catalogue, Cincinnati Art Museum, 26 February–10 June 2011, Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 17 September 2011–29 January 2012, Cincinnati Art Museum Press, 2011, 264 pp., \$19.95.

The Amazing American Circus Poster is an amazing, interesting, informative and useful book, but is not, as the title suggests, a comprehensive history of the circus poster in America. Neither is it, as the subtitle indicates, a comprehensive history of the Strobridge Lithographing Company of Cincinnati. Instead, it focuses closely on one particular aspect of that firm's production, the magnificent broadsides that the Strobridge Company produced for American circuses, primarily the great Ringling Brothers Barnum & Bailey Circus, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The book is the joint production of two very different institutions, the Cincinnati Art Museum in Cincinnati,

Ohio, and the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida. The exhibition that the book accompanies – and for which it also serves as a comprehensive catalogue – was shown at these two venues in 2011. Every poster in the show is reproduced at a large scale and in full colour. The collaboration between these two museums clearly influenced the form and content of the book, which positions Strobridge's posters firmly within the context of circus history. This provides a great service to the general reader as well as to the more specialized print scholar, who may not be familiar with the historical background of this important American institution.

One could wish that at least one essay in the book examined the posters in their art historical context. Though originally produced and intended as advertising like all posters, including iconic images by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Alphonse Mucha, Will Bradley and other artists, the best of the circus posters by the Strobridge firm transcend their original purpose and deserve to be seriously considered as works of art. Many are the work of talented artists and are replete with art historical references that



85. Howard Sharp, *Ringling Bros and Barnum & Bailey Combined Shows Gargantua the Great*, 1938, lithograph poster printed on four sheets by The Strobbridge Lithographing Company, 1,399 x 2,027 mm (Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Howard Tibbals Collection. Photo by Giovanni Lunardi Photography, courtesy The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art).

clearly suggest their connection to the art historical mainstream. Spangenberg's essays and the artists' biographies at the end of the book provide useful information about these artists, but little analysis of the posters' form and content, except as they relate to the narrow, specialized world of the circus. I was constantly struck by the portrayals of animals, a frequent and prominent subject of the posters, which are part of a rich iconographic tradition going back beyond the medieval bestiary to portrayals of lions and tigers and other exotic beasts in ancient art. In some cases there are especially strong parallels with the animal imagery of nineteenth-century Romantic artists, especially some of the lesser-known French sculptors. Howard Sharp's (1878–1952) poster of 1938 showing the gorilla Gargantua the Great brandishing the body of an African woman (fig. 85) appears indebted to Emmanuel Frémiet's 1887 bronze *Gorilla Carrying off a Woman* as well as to the 1933 motion picture *King Kong*. The iconography of other posters, particularly those showing aerial acts and daredevil stunt artists, reveals marked similarities with the works of Surrealist artists produced around the same time (fig. 86). This relationship is particularly provocative since it seems possible that the influences between the circus

posters and the Surrealist artists may have extended both ways, with the posters serving in some cases as source material for the Surrealists, as well as being in other cases inspired by them. The importance of circus posters as works of public art on a very large scale is demonstrated by many of the illustrations in the book, especially by the large fold-out plates reproducing an albumen print panorama showing an 1887 billstand for the P.T. Barnum and Adam Forepaugh Circuses which was 21 feet high and over 300 feet long (see fig. 87 for a similar billstand of 1914). Installed on barns and buildings as well as on specially constructed billboards, these posters altered the rural and urban landscape to a significant extent and must have had a tremendous impact on contemporary viewers. Such mammoth intrusions on landscape and cityscape suggest parallels with twentieth-century installations by environmental artists such as Christo and Pop artists such as Claes Oldenberg, as well as with modern street art, which continues to enjoy great popularity today. A second book could be written exploring these intriguing and important art historical relationships. In this area, *The Amazing American Circus Poster* lays the groundwork and provides the raw material for future research.

Where the book excels and where it should prove of particular value to print scholars is in its contribution to the history of American lithography. A comprehensive history of American lithography remains to be written. Existing studies tend to focus separately on lithography's early years through the mid-nineteenth century, on lithography as an artistic medium, or, in a few cases, on lithographic ephemera and advertising art. Studies of individual lithographic printers and publishers are limited almost exclusively to the work of Currier & Ives, with the exception of my own recent book on the Kellogg brothers of Hartford, Connecticut (Print Quarterly, XXVII, 2010,

pp. 411–14). Some good regional studies have been published, notably *Boston Lithography* by Sally Pierce and Catharina Slautterback (1991), and *Philadelphia on Stone* by Erika Piola and others (2012). But no one since Harry Peters's monumental *America on Stone* (1931) has attempted to provide a broad overview – and Peters's study, like my own study of the Kelloggs' work and many other accounts, essentially cuts off about 1880, when the popular print market, which had been a driving force in the development of lithography since the 1830s, began to dry up. *The Amazing American Circus Poster* not only provides a valuable history of the Strobridge firm, but even more significantly, it



86. *Ringling Bros World's Greatest Shows, Astounding Feat of Ernest Clark*, 1910, lithograph poster printed on twelve sheets by The Strobridge Lithographing Company, 2,756 x 2,927 mm (Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Howard Tibbals Collection. Photo by Giovanni Lunardi Photography, courtesy The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art).



87. Stand of bills for the Barnum & Bailey engagement at Carbondale, PA, on 4 July 1914, consisting of 240 sheets, each c. 762 x 1,016 mm (Pfening Archives. Photo by John E. Gilmore III, courtesy Cincinnati Art Museum).

picks up the story of American lithography in the 1870s, just where most other accounts leave off. Like most nineteenth-century lithographic firms, the Strobridge Lithographing Company had begun as a producer of popular prints, not unlike Currier & Ives or Hartford's Kellogg brothers. The company excelled at colour printing and began creating brilliant chromolithographic posters earlier than most American firms. In the late 1870s, with the popular print business in decline, the board of directors of Strobridge & Co. made a conscious decision to abandon popular prints and to concentrate on large-scale theatrical and circus printing. While many nineteenth-century lithographers either went out of business during this period or turned to strictly commercial job printing, this decision enabled Strobridge to go on producing a large body of significant artistic work well into the twentieth century.

The last quarter of the nineteenth-century was the golden age of the American circus, which, thanks to the railroad, was able to reach cities and towns all across the vast nation. These traveling shows relied heavily on advance advertising to generate interest and to draw crowds. Unlike earlier entertainment posters, which consisted largely of words with only at most a few small woodcut illustrations, these late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century posters primarily depended on pictures, often on a very large scale, to capture the public imagination. The

Strobridge firm became so successful in providing imagery to meet this need that by the turn of the nineteenth century, it was describing itself in its own advertising as 'the largest show lithograph house in the world', just as the Ringling Brothers Barnum & Bailey Circus described itself as 'the greatest show on earth'. Both the lithographers and the showmen had a definite point. During this period Strobridge posters would have been seen by thousands of Americans all across the country; during the European tours of the Barnum & Bailey Circus, they were seen by thousands of Europeans as well.

Strobridge printed its last circus poster in 1954, featuring a leopard head by Harry Shepherd, which was used by the Ringling Brothers Barnum & Bailey Circus through 1956. The firm finally went out of business in 1960, after producing 'some of the most beautiful commercial lithographs ever printed' during the course of a career that spanned more than a century.

The Amazing American Circus Poster makes a strong case for the importance of this long overlooked and neglected art. It is to be hoped that other scholars will pick up where the authors leave off and more fully integrate the Strobridge firm and its work into their accounts of American art history and popular culture. As this book makes very clear, there are many gaps in the standard versions of this history, and the full story remains to be told.

Peter Blake: One Man Show

Ben Thomas

Marco Livingstone, *Peter Blake: One Man Show*, Farnham, Lund Humphries, originally published in 2009 as a collector's edition with a limited edition new print by the artist, £500, 2011, 240 pp., 200 col. and 25 b. & w. ills., £25.

'The commonest print always becomes the scarcest', wrote A. Hyatt Mayor in his *Prints & People*, 'anybody can buy a Whistler etching, but try to find a Victorian matchbox'.¹ Judging by recent exhibitions of items from his collection at the Museum of Everything and the Holburne Museum in Bath one person who has tried and probably succeeded is Sir Peter Blake (b. 1932). His three-dimensional piece *Captain Webb Matchbox* (1961–62) is certainly a recreation of a Victorian brand commemorating Captain Matthew Webb's feat of swimming the English Channel in 1875.

More recently, Blake's series of large 'fag packet' silkscreens of 2004–05 prove his continuing commitment to the importance of commercial design. The presentation of 'found objects' as readymade art is a device learnt from Marcel Duchamp, but the enlargement and relocation of the ephemeral in its translation into art in these taxonomic transcriptions of cigarette packaging – flattened on the scanner like pinned butterflies – also reveals them as time-worn and distressed. Sadly, in order for an object to be found it has to be lost in the first place, and Blake's art is haunted by an awareness of the inevitable disappearance of the popular: in a 1963 interview with *Studio International*, Blake stated that 'for me, pop art is often rooted in nostalgia: the nostalgia of old, popular things'.²

Ambiguously positioned between art and commerce, between craft and mechanical processes, high and low taste, original and reproduction, and combining image and text, Pop Art arguably represents the moment when an avant-garde movement caught up with the print – or, depending on your point of view, collapsed into the compromised and hybrid state that characterizes printed pictures. Blake's oeuvre is pervaded by such printed pictures, whether incorporated collage-like into his paintings or as authorized limited-edition reproductions of those paintings. This subtle and insightful monograph by Marco Livingstone, beautifully designed and extensively illustrated in colour throughout, is a fitting tribute to this eclectic and

sophisticated body of work with the print at its core.

There is much to interest the readers of this Journal here: from Blake's early lithographs made in the late 1940s at Gravesend Art School to the experiments with etching conducted with Aldo Crommelynck in Paris that resulted in the portfolio *James Joyce in Paris*, of 1983–84.³ Another significant collaboration began in 1964 when Blake's *Beach Boys* for the ICA print portfolio was the first trichromatic halftone to be printed by Chris Prater at his Kelpa Studio. Prater's collaboration with Blake in translating his watercolours illustrating *Alice Through the Looking Glass* from 1972 is also analysed sympathetically in terms of the appropriate use of a photomechanical process to reproduce hand-crafted images of great subtlety.⁴ Above all, Living-



88. Peter Blake, *Bearded Lady*, from *Side Show Series*, 1974–78, wood engraving printed on Japanese Tonosawa paper, 152 x 127 mm (Courtesy Waddington Graphics ©the artist).

1. A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints & People: A Social History of Printed Pictures*, New York, 1971, unpaginated but between illustrations 8 and 9.
2. Cited in Livingstone, op. cit., p. 157. For an overview of the interaction of modern art and popular culture, see K. Varnedoe and

A. Gopnik, *High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture*, New York, 1991.

3. Livingstone, op. cit., pp. 23–24 and p. 158.

4. Ibid., pp. 79–81 and pp. 168–73.



89. Peter Blake, *The Meeting or Have a Nice Day, Mr Hockney*, 1981–83, oil on canvas, 992 x 1,244 mm (London, Tate © the artist).

stone keeps returning to the marvellous *Side Show Series* of 1974–78, where a painstaking wood engraving technique is used to portray fairground ‘freaks’ (fig. 88). Here Blake’s personal artistry at a technical level is employed in the transcription of found popular imagery, taken from the *Illustrated London News*, and is literally a labour of love indicative of his accepting identification with the outsider.⁵

Livingstone does not, however, treat Blake’s prints as a sub category of his art but as integral to his practice, and indeed integrated into the artworks. *The Knife Thrower’s Board* of 1957, for example, combines a pin-up of Brigitte Bardot given away with *Reveille* magazine with engraved cutlery cut out of the catalogue of the 1851 Great Exhibition. ‘These fairly minimal but decisive alterations transform a simple pin-up poster into a subject picture in keeping with the artist’s themes’ – in other words transposing a modern film icon to a Victorian circus.⁶ This key work appeared twice in *Private View*, Lord Snowdon’s photographic record of the 1960s London art scene, once with Blake in his garden nestling cosily amongst various ‘tro-

phies’ of popular culture, and another time in the Duke Street Gallery with the dealer Robert Fraser (of Richard Hamilton’s *Swinging London* fame) and looking decidedly more radical there alongside a Francis Bacon painting.⁷

Livingstone argues that ‘Blake’s early and sustained exploration of his own brand of Pop Art has often failed to be given due credit’ and the book stakes out several claims for precedence without, however, overly labouring the argument. For example, the painting *Children Reading Comics* of 1954 preceded the adoption of comic book motifs by Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol in 1960, and the *Captain Webb Matchbox* of 1961–62 was made before Warhol’s *Brillo Boxes* first exhibited in 1964.⁸

Having had three major retrospectives during his lifetime – at Bristol City Art Gallery in 1969, the Tate Gallery in 1983 and Tate Liverpool in 2007 – Blake has received due recognition in the UK. However, he remains largely ignored as a significant innovator of Pop Art in American historical accounts, unlike Richard Hamilton whose collage *Just What is it that Makes Today’s Homes so Different, so*

5. Ibid., pp. 36–37, 87, 166, and 212. See also P. Gilmour, *Understanding Prints: A Contemporary Guide*, London, 1979, pp. 16–17.

6. Livingstone, op. cit., p. 36.

7. B. Robertson, J. Russell and Lord Snowdon, *Private View*, London, 1965, pp. 176 and 227.

8. Livingstone, op. cit., pp. 12–13. The ‘Pop!’ section of the book reprises arguments in Livingstone’s earlier work: M. Livingstone, *Pop Art: A Continuing History*, London, 1990. Of course similar claims could be made for Robert Rauschenberg, Larry Rivers or earlier still Kurt Schwitters, among others.

Appealing, of 1956, has the first use of the word 'pop' in an artwork.⁹ Far closer to Duchamp in his studied explorations of mechanical sexuality in such works as *Hommage à Chrysler Corp.*, of 1957, and therefore more 'high art' in tone, Hamilton's work has proved more appealing to academics. Livingstone, however, conveys very well the distinction between the anthropological investigation of popular culture of the Independent Group at the ICA, of which Hamilton was a member, and Blake's democratic immersion in it (Blake apparently dubbed the 1956 exhibition *This is Tomorrow* at the Whitechapel, which now looms large in the critical history of Pop, 'That Was Yesterday!').¹⁰ This account goes a long way to explaining the visual punch of Blake's early pop works like *The Fine Art Bit*, of 1959, where postcards of Old Masters collected on a study trip through Europe are contrasted with hard-edged horizontal bands of colour, or *Drum Majorette*, also 1959, where a dress-maker's dummy has been adapted through the addition of medals and presented as a piece of sculpture.

This is not to say that Blake's take on Pop is naïve – that 'staying ahead of the avant-garde' has been a consistent concern can be inferred from his knowing referencing of the work of other artists. Sometimes this is bold and successful, as with *The First Real Target?*, of 1961, where an actual target and shop-bought letters signal both a tribute to Jasper Johns, and a critique of the painterly artfulness of his targets exhibited in 1958. At other times it can appear contrived, as with *The Meeting or 'Have a Nice Day, Mr Hockney'*, of 1981–83, in which Blake restages Courbet's *La Rencontre ou Bonjour Monsieur Courbet* of 1854 with his friends David Hockney and Howard Hodgkin in California surrounded by roller-skaters (fig. 89). Similarly, there is something deliberately incongruous in celebrating the prophet of the death of 'optical art' in a series of narrative paintings executed in a realistic and polished painterly style worthy of Millais (*Marcel Duchamp's World Tour*, 2000–05). When Blake pays homage to another artist – a frequent and generous impulse in his art – there is also often an edge of teasing rivalry in that gesture.

Livingstone writes honestly about how aspects of Blake's art come close to kitsch – notably the sentimental fairy world of the 1970s Brotherhood of Ruralists period – and how an art made out of affection rather than irony or protest can appear old-fashioned, even irrelevant. The interpretative strategy that he suggests in response to this problem is to engage with Blake's fantasy world – the artist is described working in his studio in a 'state of heightened and prolonged fantasy'.¹¹ Here biographical information derived from interviews with the artist yields interpretative insights: a fascination with toys indicates 'an element of



90. Peter Blake, *Self-Portrait with Badges*, 1961, oil on board, 1,743 x 1,219 mm (London, Tate © the artist).

arrested development' caused by a childhood truncated by the experience of war-time evacuation; a cycling accident left scars that resulted in the growth of a beard and also an obsession with masks and alternative personas, notably in a delightful roster of invented wrestling stars like Doktor K. Tortur, the Da Vinci Brothers and Babe Rainbow (issued as a silkscreen printed on tin in 1967); or how awkwardness with girls made the young Blake a perfect candidate for a 'lonely hearts club', and invested with yearning his fixation with pin-ups and film stars.¹² In this sense fantasy is redemptive, and the aesthetic Blake proposes in his art is less that of the disinterested connoisseur and more that of a fan. This is how he portrayed himself, festooned with badges and clutching an Elvis fanzine, directly addressing the beholder and yet also playing a part (fig. 90). Livingstone's analysis of Blake's *Self-Portrait with Badges* of 1961 could stand, therefore, for his whole oeuvre: 'it is at once touching and comical, humble and proud, unapologetically old-fashioned and coolly modern'.¹³

9. For example, Blake is not mentioned in H. Foster's recent *The First Pop Age*, Princeton and Oxford, 2012, but Hamilton is one of five key artists analysed at length.

10. Livingstone, op. cit., p. 39.

11. Ibid., p. 107.

12. Ibid., p. 21 for the quote about 'arrested development'.

13. Ibid., p. 46.

Markus Raetz

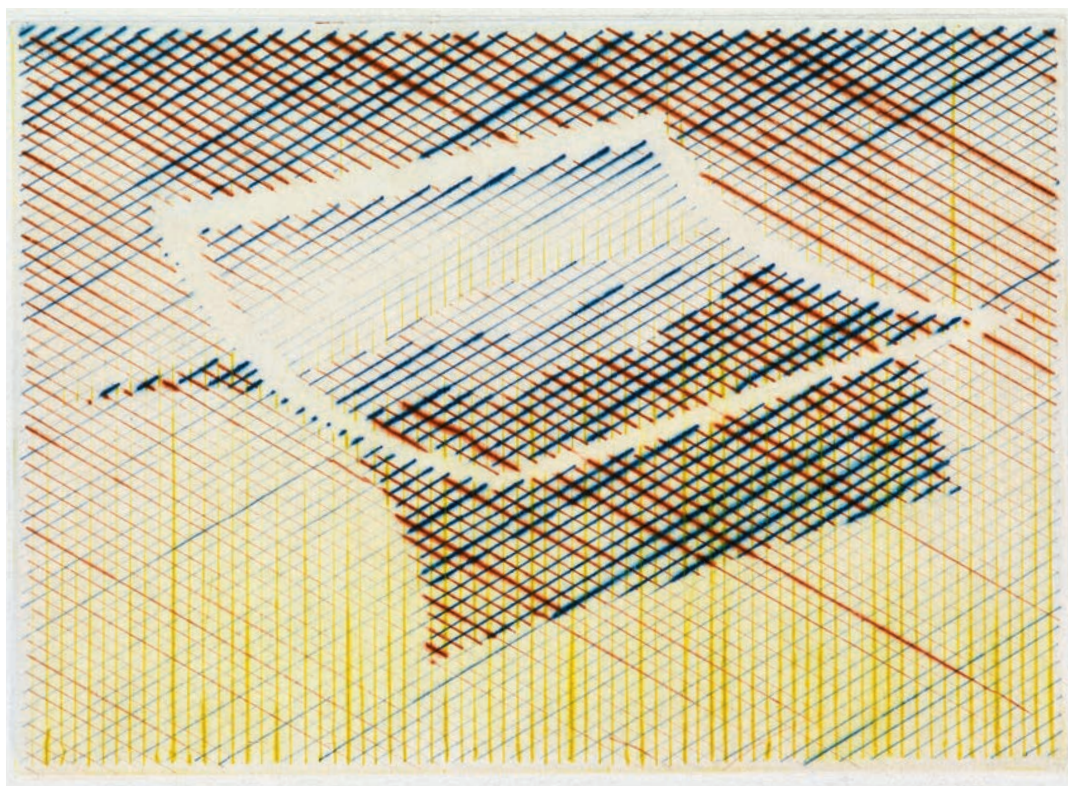
Lauren Laz

Markus Raetz: estampes, sculptures, edited by Marie-Cécile Miessner and Farideh Cadot, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 8 November 2011–12 February 2012; Tourcoing, MUba Eugène Leroy, 23 March–11 June 2012, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2011, 174 pp., 140 col. ill., €39.

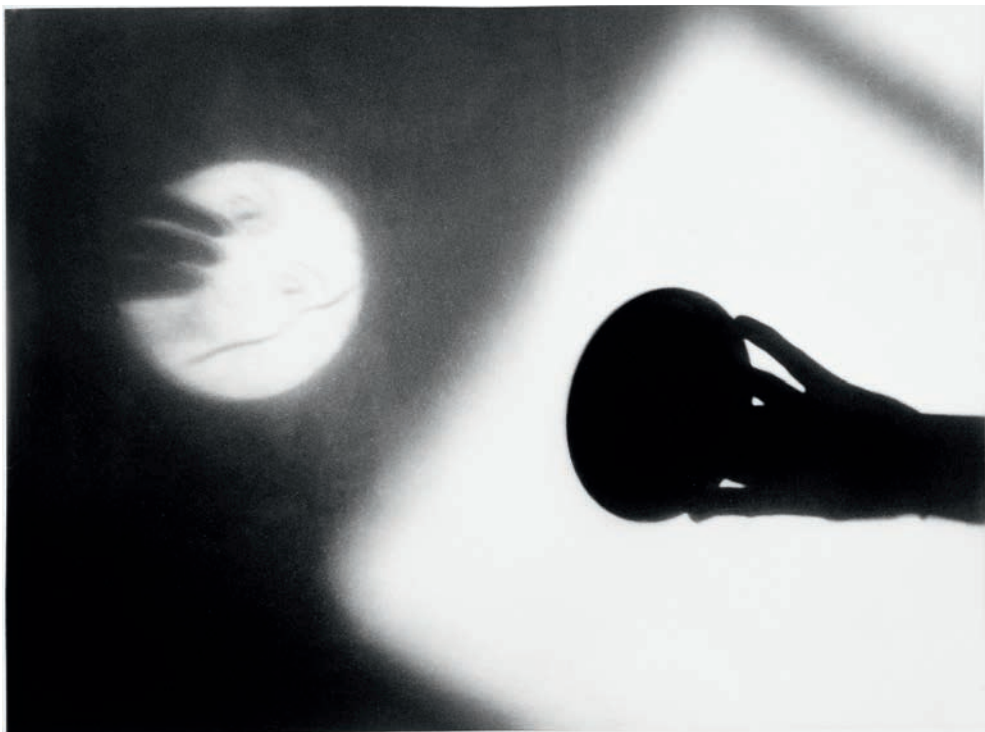
The Bibliothèque Nationale's department of prints devoted its 2011–12 winter exhibition in its Mansart gallery to prints by the Swiss artist Markus Raetz (b. 1941, Bern). The decision to exhibit a foreign artist in this iconic French institution might surprise, since its contemporary collection usually grows thanks to the *dépôt légal*, the requirement that at least one copy of all matter printed and published on national territory should be deposited there. But such a choice should be explained by the international importance of Raetz, who is arguably Switzerland's most

renowned contemporary artist, having enjoyed early success already in 1968 as a participant in the Documenta in Kassel. It should also be explained by the quality of Raetz's printed work, as well as past acquisitions made by the Bibliothèque Nationale, which have been augmented by the artist's recent gift of some of his prints. The 2011–12 exhibition was also seen at MUba Eugène Leroy in Tourcoing, which holds a number of important works by Raetz.

Jointly curated by Marie-Cécile Miessner, keeper of contemporary prints and artists' books at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Farideh Cadot, Raetz's gallerist since 1981, the exhibition was a tribute to the artist's printed oeuvre. It presented some 170 works, mostly prints, but also a few sculptures, and was organized according to eight themes: printmaking techniques; the early years; colour; figure; vision/perception; landscape; quotations and love; word plays /mirror plays. This was convenient, because it is



91. Markus Raetz, *Photograph*, 1977, drypoint from three plates, 104 x 144 mm (Paris, FNAC / Bibliothèque Nationale de France © ADAGP 2011).



92. Markus Raetz, *Reflection II*, 1991, photogravure, 484 x 656 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France © ADAGP 2011).

quite impossible to present Raetz's oeuvre in strict chronological order. The artist maps his thoughts through words, but most often through drawings in notebooks, which serve as reservoirs for his ideas, sometimes exploited years later and through all different kinds of media.

The catalogue follows the show's thematic organization. The corpus of works, reproduced in an uneven quality, is preceded by bilingual essays in French and English printed on the same page. The two-colour graphic layout remains efficient and pleasant. It is unfortunate, however, that Rainer Michael Mason and Juliane Willi-Cosandier's catalogue raisonné of Raetz's prints for the years 1958 to 1991 is referred to only in the list of works exhibited (a second volume covering the period 1992 to 2013 by Mason, whom we would like to thank for his generous advice, is in preparation). Certain discrepancies in the technical descriptions between the introductory texts and the captions to the illustrations would thus have been avoided.

The essay 'Fields of Vision' by Bernhard Mendes Bürgi, director of the Kunstmuseum Basel, was initially published in the catalogue of the 1988 Venice Biennale, where Raetz exhibited in the Swiss pavilion. It provides a general introduction to the artist's work, with Bürgi citing his extreme sensitivity to the beauty of nature alongside a desire to transmit to the viewer this blissful sensation as central to his oeuvre. Bürgi sheds light on the sensorial di-

mension of the works, which continually probe the notion of visual perception, as well as the secondary effect on the spectator of the moment of full intellectual prehension.

The essay 'You wouldn't think it...' by Olivier Kaepelin, director of the Maeght Foundation, analyses the experience into which Raetz's works draws us. He bases his text on a paradox that he discerns in the artist's oeuvre: a continual tension between technical mastery derived from highly skilled artistic predecessors and an artistic and conceptual stance that is constantly renewed, independent of preconceptions, and seemingly in a permanent state of exploration. Kaepelin insists on the decisive role of the viewer, and that by endorsing Duchamp's revelation that the observer makes the artwork, Raetz stimulates our intelligence and senses and places us at the core of the creative process. Kaepelin also reveals the essential link that Raetz maintains between images and words, along with the idea of doubt, of the difference between what we see and what we think we see; between sensory perception of a message and the actual understanding of it. The artist makes the viewer into an active experimenter who will readily reconstruct a deconstructed image. As Kaepelin concludes: 'It is an immense pleasure to see the days and hours of thought passing in front of us, concrete or fluid, and to observe the meandering paths of the mind.'

Relevant and extremely refreshing, the 'portrait of the



93. Markus Raetz, *Gaze*, 2001, spit-bite aquatint, 330 x 560 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France © ADAGP 2011).

artist as a digressive reader' by François Grundbacher adds much to our understanding of Raetz. The critic looks at Raetz's biography in the light of his decisive encounters, thereby elucidating the varied spiritual roots of his intellectual and artistic stance. Beginning from the day the young Raetz first opened a comic book, to the influence of radio programmes, the time spent in his grandfather's carpentry workshop, the experience of multiple dialects that imbued him with a precocious consciousness of otherness, to his induction into the circle around Harald Szeemann in Bern, Grundbach sketches a vivid portrait of the artist, whom one imagines as secretive. Encounters with stimulating personalities or music, film, images and texts forged and nourished the inner world of a self-taught artist fuelled by curiosity. Occasionally some direct references are discussed, such as to Lawrence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Gottfried Keller's *Green Henry*, James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*; but also Leonardo da Vinci's theories and the concrete, or shape, poetry to which Raetz was introduced by his friend Rolf Geissbühler. Raetz is revealed as systematic in his choices, reading everything by authors he admires – Fernando Pessoa, W.G. Sebald, Emily Dickinson, among others. One also learns how Raetz, who never feels inhibited, even by difficult techniques such as engraving, takes stock each year: 'Where have I got to? What work should I be attending to at this point?'

The next contribution takes the form of a discussion

between the exhibition's two curators, drawing on the 'Cahiers noirs' (black notebooks) built up by Françoise Woimant, Miessner's predecessor as keeper of contemporary prints at the Bibliothèque Nationale. These archives, which are available for consultation on request, may well contain invaluable treasures, documents, photographs and artists' personal statements, but in Raetz's case they do not live up to expectations. There is little more than an enumeration of the French state's acquisitions (purchases and gifts by the artist or by the gallery that represents him), with no real analysis of the works nor of the reasons for the library's choices in acquiring them.

The final text is an imaginary ramble by Miessner with Raetz through his printed work, in which the curator revisits the list in the Cahiers noirs and combines this with insights presumably gleaned from the artist, in the course of preparing the exhibition. The use of the second form of address 'vous' and Miessner's open-ended, unanswered questions are somewhat disconcerting. At least illustrations of comparative works might have allowed the reader to evaluate the hypotheses put forward. It is regrettable that this ambitious catalogue does not include a genuine interview. The printed work of such a great artist could have benefited from more subtle attention by this exhibition catalogue, in particular in the questioning of why he chooses, at a certain point in his artistic path, to use print-making in order to express his ideas and in what sense the medium responds to Raetz's artistic necessity.

Print/Out: 20 Years in Print

Roni Feinstein

Christophe Cherix, Kim Conaty and Sarah Suzuki, *Print/Out: 20 Years in Print*, edited by Libby Hruska, exhibition catalogue, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 19 February–14 May 2012, The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, 236 pp., 261 col. and 87 b. & w. ill., \$50.

The title of MoMA's recent exhibition 'Print/Out', which features work drawn almost exclusively from the museum's permanent collection, embraces two different frames of reference. On the one hand, it suggests a print outpouring or 'print fest', as is appropriate to a show devoted to examining contemporary printmaking on a global scale. Organized by Christophe Cherix, Chief Curator of the Department of Prints and Illustrated Books since 2010, it follows in the wake of two previous print surveys organized by Cherix's predecessors, Riva Castleman's 'Printed Art: A View of Two Decades', 1980, and Deborah Wye's 'Thinking Print: Books to Billboards, 1980–1995', 1996. Whereas each of these previous shows was monumental, featuring works by 175 and 149 artists respectively, Cherix's presentation includes only 40 artists whose work is used to exemplify particular developments and trends. Primary among these, as the exhibition's title also serves to indicate, is the major transformational development in printmaking witnessed during the past two decades: the advent of the printout – the computer-generated image and hard copy output – that is radically altering systems of print production, print publishing and print distribution. As Cherix noted in the catalogue, computers, imaging programs and printers have in recent years become so advanced and user-friendly that artists, even those of limited space and funds, have been able to turn their studios into state-of-the-art printmaking facilities. A result is that few new print workshops have emerged. Further, as the technical expertise of master printers and their traditional apparatus are no longer necessary, artists can more seamlessly incorporate the medium into their work.

While the exhibition also features work of a more traditional nature, it privileges experimental pieces that extend the boundaries of printmaking, most often through the use of digital processes or commercially-derived techniques, such as screenprinting and photolithography (offset). This bias is reflected in the design both of the exhibition installation and catalogue. Occurring at intervals through the exhibition, are walls papered with a black-on-white dot matrix pattern that suggests mechanical reproduction (Ben Day dots, halftones, offset printing's raster dots and the like). These walls are hung salon style with selections from portfolios or print series by eleven different artists and artists'

collectives: Trisha Donnelly, Liam Gillick, Damien Hirst, Daniel Joseph Martinez, Julie Mehretu, Jorge Pardo, Slavs and Tatars, Kara Walker, Franz West (a double-sided poster series), Pae White and Xu Bing. The dotted walls provide the show with a jazzy, extroverted rhythm and are effective backdrops for works that are flat and boldly graphic, such as the text-based works by Gillick, Hirst, Martinez and Slavs and Tatars (the latter the subject of a monographic exhibition at MoMA in late 2012), the photo-based pieces by Donnelly and West and White's abstractions. However, images featuring tonal gradations, intricate imagery and/or a finesse of execution, like those by Pardo, Mehretu, Walker and Bing, are overpowered. The curatorial decision to break up portfolios further hampers the apprehension of the work of these artists, as the sense of progression or narrative encompassed by their portfolios is lost.

In the exhibition catalogue, white pages of text with accompanying illustrations alternate with pages covered with a tight, black-on-white dot matrix bearing reproductions of work featured in the show. Here again, the more



94. Marina Abramović, *Spirit Cooking*, 1996, etching with chine collé, 315 x 278 mm (New York, The Museum of Modern Art © 2012 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn).



95. Martin Kippenberger, *Content on Tour (Inhalt auf Reisen)*, 1992, screenprint mounted on plywood, altered by the artist, 1,800 x 1,500 mm (© Estate Martin Kippenberger, Galerie Gisela Capitain, Cologne. Photo Lothar Schnepf).

'delicate' pieces are overwhelmed by the design concept, a situation exacerbated by the fact that many are shown in diminutive scale. As a whole, however, the catalogue, which was designed by the Amsterdam-based team Mevis and Van Deursen, is a remarkable achievement. Its multifarious sections, dotted and otherwise, are clearly organized and the text, printed in the Futura bold typeface laid out on pages with unusually tight top and bottom margins, makes the act of reading an exhibition catalogue a fresh and noteworthy experience.

The catalogue opens with an introductory essay by Cherix, followed by ten sections consisting of texts and interviews by Cherix, Sarah Suzuki or Kim Conaty that highlight projects by individual artists or collectives. An exception is the section devoted to a printer/publisher – the Santa Monica-based Jacob Samuel – who in the mid-

1990s developed a portable aquatint box which enabled artists, beginning with Marina Abramović in Amsterdam, to create intaglio prints in their studios (fig. 94). For 'Print/Out', Samuels closely documented his use of the box to collaborate with the Cologne-based Romanian twin brothers Gert and Uwe Tobias, renowned for their expressionistic woodcuts, on their first series of etchings.

A detail of one of Martin Kippenberger's *Content on Tour* screenprints, of 1992, reproduced with an overlay of screened dots, appears on the *Print/Out* catalogue's front and back covers (fig. 95). This print series began with the artist commissioning an assistant to paint replicas of a few of his early paintings. Kippenberger photographed the copies and then destroyed them, assembling the smashed-up paintings in wooden containers (both the photographs of the commissioned paintings, which were enlarged to



96. Ellen Gallagher, *DeLuxe*, 2004–05, portfolio of sixty photogravure, etching, aquatint, and drypoints with lithography, screenprint, embossing, tattoo machine engraving, laser cutting, and chine collé; and additions of plasticine, paper collage, enamel, varnish, gouache, pencil, oil, polymer, watercolor, pomade, velvet, glitter, crystals, foil paper, gold leaf, toy eyeballs, and imitation ice cubes, overall 2,134 x 4,242 mm; each 330 x 267 mm (New York, The Museum of Modern Art © 2012 Ellen Gallagher and Two Palms Press).

the scale of the original paintings, and the dumpsters filled with the destroyed copies were presented in exhibitions). He then photographed the assemblage of smashed paintings and used this photograph as the basis of the *Content on Tour* screenprints, which were mounted on plywood supports. Kippenberger marked the surfaces of the prints with random lines through the use of a circular saw, making each a unique object and multiplying the ways these works violate the lines of demarcation between media, while addressing issues of originality and reproducibility (the fact that the words input/output can be read in the prints is hardly accidental).

Also merging categories of media and raising issues not only of original and copy, but also of copyright, is the *Copy Light/Factory*, of 2008, a room-scale installation by SUPER-FLEX, the Copenhagen-based artists' group established in 1993. The piece functions as a lamp production workshop in which the sides of cubic, wood-frame light fixtures are affixed with computer printouts of iconic Modernist lamp designs. Printmaking, design and performance overlap in this installation, which grows increasingly crowded (and illuminated) as more lamps are produced; at the conclusion of the show, the lamps were auctioned off.

Printouts, not of Modernist icons but of photographs culled from a commercial online image bank, served as the basis of Aleksandra Mir's *Venezia (All Places Contain All Others)*, commissioned for the 2009 Venice Biennale. Mir

juxtaposed both generic and well-known images of waterscapes from around the world with the place name Venezia to create 100 postcards printed in an edition of 10,000 each, for a total of one million. While a full set was displayed as a group at MoMA, the postcards were distributed as free souvenirs on the biennale grounds, where two Italian postal service mailboxes were installed to aid in the mass dissemination of this participatory work.

The pursuit of broad channels of distribution and the desire to go beyond both institutional and national frameworks were also motivating factors for Museum in Progress, an art association founded in Vienna in 1990. It has thus far commissioned projects from over 400 international artists that have appeared as printed 'interventions' in newspapers, magazines, billboards and other mass media outlets, largely in Central Europe. Among those whose projects are featured in 'Print/Out' are Felix Gonzalez-Torres, IRWIN, Rirkrit Tiravanija and Hans-Peter Feldmann.

A pioneering publishing venture that had seminal impact in China were the three volumes issued by artist and political activist Ai Weiwei shortly after his return to Beijing, after twelve years of living in New York. Produced in collaboration with Feng Boyi, Xu Bing and others, *The Black Cover Book*, *The White Cover Book* and *The Gray Cover Book*, published in 1994, 1995 and 1997, respectively, introduced Chinese artists, who had for decades been cut off from contemporary Western art, to significant images and

texts. The three paperbacks, which were printed in editions of 3,000 and circulated among artists through underground channels, stretch the parameters of the artist's book. Similarly, should Robert Motherwell's *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology*, published in 1958 be included among the artist's graphic work?

In keeping with the traditional conception of a print as an original yet reproducible, limited edition artwork produced at a professional workshop in collaboration with skilled printers is Ellen Gallagher's *DeLuxe*, 2004–05, a portfolio of 60 prints in an edition of twenty that was printed, published and distributed by Two Palms Press, New York (fig. 96). It is a tour de force project by an artist with little previous experience in printmaking that broke new ground through its wildly inventive engagement with a complex combination of techniques, processes and materials. Each of the prints is based on an image the artist found in vintage African-American lifestyle magazines and variously altered. Among the processes used were photogravure, etching, aquatint, drypoints with lithography, screenprint, embossing, tattoo-machine engraving and laser-cutting. Selective additions of materials, such as Plasticine, paper collage, pomade, velvet, glitter, crystals, foil paper, gold leaf, toy eyeballs, imitation ice cubes and more, transformed each print into a tactile, sculptural relief. At MoMA, this labour-intensive piece has been given its own separate exhibition (it is also featured in a section of the exhibition catalogue). Entitled 'Printin', as a verbal play on 'Print/Out' and as a riff on African American dialect, this exhibition consists of prints, photographs, paintings, sculptures and films by over 50 artists that Gallagher selected from the museum's permanent collection to indicate work that inspired her or that she recognizes as having formal or conceptual links with the *DeLuxe* portfolio.

Featuring Gallagher's hybrid project as the centrepiece of an exhibition made up of work from various disciplines

would seem to support Cherix's contention that fine arts media will eventually coalesce on a single field. He concludes the introductory essay by declaring,

While printmaking might very well lose its distinctiveness as a traditional artistic medium, many of its key characteristics – its reproducibility, capacity for distribution, and even its collaborative nature – remain essential to art-making. Looking at the vast range of extraordinary projects produced in the past two decades, it is perhaps not the disappearance of the print medium that we are witnessing, but rather the advent of a time in which prints will simply be called 'art'.

One may argue on the basis of the work included both in 'Print/Out' and 'Printin', however, that rather than losing its singular identity during the course of the past twenty years, the print medium has remained stubbornly unique. Although there has been a blurring of distinction between prints and paintings, prints and sculptures, prints and photographs (as well as prints and installation art, performance, and so on), with few exceptions, prints take the form of works on paper. All, in some way, involve the reproduction of an image, which may be distributed either in limited or mass quantities. Due largely to the proliferation of photographic and new digital technologies, printmaking has become a widespread artistic practice that allows for independence from traditional print apparatus, workshops and publishers as well as from prevailing definitions of what a print can be. In the early days of the printing press, Albrecht Dürer was among the first to realize the freedom this technologically advanced apparatus offered the artist with regard to designing, publishing and selling his own engravings. He exploited the new printing technologies to disseminate cheap, mass produced prints. Rather than sounding the death knell of the print medium, much of the experimental work in Cherix's show extends printmaking into other fields while returning it to its very roots.

Paula Rego

Sue Hubbard

T. G. Rosenthal, *Paula Rego: The Complete Graphic Work*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2012, 392 pp., 637 col. and 283 b. & w. ill., £75

Paula Rego is one of Britain's best loved artists, admired by critics and the general public alike. Born in Portugal in 1935, despite her years of study at the Slade from 1952 to 1956 and her subsequent life in London, she has

never severed her Portuguese roots. These tap deep into a culture of storytelling, eschewing fashionable 'isms' and art movements, so that over the years her work has remained powerfully and gleefully her own. With consummate skill Rego has drawn back the veil on family relationships and bourgeois drawing rooms, on political and sexual repression, to reveal what is erotic, dark and subversive. Like a tongue poking at a sore tooth, she has

probed that which is politely hidden within social behaviour and the human psyche. Having spent many years in psychoanalysis she has enormous self-knowledge and, like all good revolutionaries and iconoclasts, understands the power of narrative to question, frame and destabilize. Born into a family that abhorred the economist cum priest Antonio Salazar, Portugal's post-World War II dictator, and his blood-brother in neighbouring Spain, General Francisco Franco, she developed a visceral response to hypocrisy and social piety. It is not difficult to see why she chose, early in life, to live in England, where with relative freedom she could comment on perceived injustice. She is an instinctive feminist and the anguish of women's suffering is revisited many times in her prints, paintings and drawings; in her abortion series, in the pride of the *Dog Woman* and in the indignities suffered by Jane Eyre.

Her capacity for story-telling, with its gimlet-eyed sensibility for sinister eroticism, is not without irony and a life-enhancing sense of vitality. She may support 'causes' but what saves her from didacticism and righteous indignation is her mix of vulnerability and searing humour. Her prints and graphic work provide the perfect arena for her passionately held views, as well as giving a home to her phenomenal drawing skills. She has a fine feeling for animals – monkeys, rabbits and dogs abound – as well as a great empathy for children. Yet what she reveals is not some saccharine, sentimental version of childhood innocence but the maelstrom of conflicting emotions, jealousies and potential cruelties that are so seldom given a voice.

Rego's influences are eclectic, from William Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*, to the paintings of Salvator Rosa and Philippe de Champaigne, to the traditional Portuguese folk tales told to her in the nursery by her grandmother, aunt and maid. Sent to an English school at the age of ten, she became familiar with English nursery rhymes. These she revisited in her early work, drawing heavily on Iona and Peter Opie's *Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, which became an essential companion in her studio. Fairy tales provided a stage and cast of characters that enabled her to explore the gap between the social niceties demanded by a strict bourgeois upbringing and the feelings of wickedness that might actually be raging within a small child. The resulting series of etchings were executed spontaneously and directly onto the plate, following instinctive feelings without elaborate prior planning. And Rego's take is always surprising. Small children may imagine a cuddly animal when they sing 'Baa, baa, black sheep', but in her etching and aquatint of 1989 a potent ram sits on a stool, his played legs on either side of a pubescent girl whom he pulls towards him with obvious erotic intent, a lascivious grin playing on his lips (fig. 97). It is a highly disturbing image of implied paedophilia.

If ever there was an apt subject for her imagination, with its Freudian themes of arrested development, fathers who are also hook-handed pirates and boys who fall in love



97. Paula Rego, *Baa, Baa, Black Sheep*, 1989, etching and aquatint, 322 x 216 mm © the artist.

with their mothers, it has to be J. M. Barry's *Peter Pan*. Paula was first given the story by her sixteen-year-old English nanny when she was five, but it was not until 1992, between January and May, that she created no fewer than 25 major etchings on the theme, while at the same time continuing to paint and draw other subjects. Fifteen of these were published by Marlborough Graphics in a portfolio and later used in the Folio Society's 1992 edition of the play.

Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* is one of the great heroines of English literature, inspiring films, operas and Jean Rhys's modern masterpiece *Wide Sargasso Sea* of 1966. This Gothic tale of love and redemption, filled with repressed sexuality and secret madness all contained within a rigid class structure, provided a mirror onto Paula Rego's own experience of growing up in Portugal in a milieu that was at once socially stifling, but where the first cracks of female resistance were beginning to show. The models she uses are very important to her work and one of her most regular is Lila, who posed both as Jane and as Rochester's mad wife, Bertha (fig. 98). This may have been a prag-



98. Paula Rego, *Come to Me*, print 9 from the *Jane Eyre – The Guardians* series, 2001–02, lithograph, 995 x 670 mm © the artist.

matic decision in that she was familiar and easily available, but it also shows Rego's awareness of the psychological theory of the doppelgänger and shadowy doubles. The overall aesthetic of the *Jane Eyre* graphics is Victorian and claustrophobic. Her powerful image of a dumpy plain Jane mostly shown in subdued greys and blacks clutching at the skirts of her dress, distraught with grief, brings to mind the long mourning of Queen Victoria for Albert. It is this ability to take a familiar subject and reinterpret in a totally original way that makes Rego's work unique.

In 1998 she painted a series of pictures devoted to the subject of abortion for exhibition in Portugal. These were triggered by a referendum to legalize abortion, which was strictly forbidden in a country dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. A subject not previously tackled in art, her work stemmed directly from the anger she felt towards

the suffering of women at the hands of back-street abortionists. As a highly successful artist Rego is not inclined to replicate her paintings in graphic form, despite assured sales, preferring always to break new ground. So her decision to recast the abortion paintings as etchings can be considered a committed political act. By creating prints, her images would be more widely disseminated and have a greater effect on the outcome of the vote. They are certainly extraordinary works; executed not only with great draughtsmanship, but with compassion and insight. She exactly captures the despair, indignity and clandestine nature of these squalid, illegal operations with their paraphernalia of plastic buckets and folding chairs that serve as the gynaecologist's stirrups. Yet despite the abject circumstances in which these young women find themselves, their pain and indignity, Rego portrays them as



99. Paula Rego, *Stitched and Bound*, 2009, etching and aquatint, 920 x 840 mm © the artist.

feisty and defiant; not victims but heroines who believe, even when the price is so high, in their right to choose what to do with their lives.

Even more disturbing are the prints shown at Marlborough Fine Art in 2009 that deal with female genital mutation. The practice remains widespread in Africa and some parts of the Middle East and Asia. In recent years UNICEF and WHO have tried to counter the practice and they have found a committed champion in Rego. Works such as *Stitched and Bound*, of 2009, in which a floppy, rag-doll of a child is shown with her damaged labia stitched together, as an old crone with shrivelled dugs holds fast her legs, has all the savagery of Goya's prints from *The Disasters of War* (fig. 99).

Artists since Dürer and Rembrandt have used the print medium to explore ideas and Rego sits happily

within this tradition. As a storyteller and a narrative artist, etching and lithography have provided her with the perfect media for her exuberant and fertile imagination. In his new updated and expanded edition of *Paula Rego: The Complete Graphic Work*, the critic T. G. Rosenthal has produced a handsome book that illustrates all the prints, including unpublished work, with the addition of chapters on five new series produced since 2003: *Moon Eggs*, *Prince Pig*, *Wine*, *Curved Planks* and the powerful *Female Genital Mutilation* series. Quoting extensively from his and other conversations with the artist Rosenthal not only discusses the background to each series and comments on each print, but captures something of the iconoclastic humour and subversive outlook that makes Rego's work, with its strongly feminist stance, idiosyncratically and marvelously her own.

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Muhlbrechts 1558 – Haarlem 1617

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(Ill. Bartsch 140 i/iii, Hollstein 132 i/iii, Strauss 285)



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engraving, ca. 1520–25

Bartsch, vol. 14, p. 192, no. 240.

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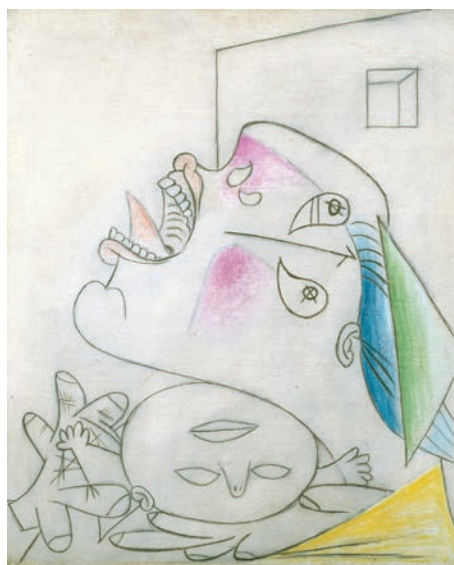
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Scene of a murder, by Titian. c.1548–52. Pen and brown ink, 10 by 13 cm. (Private collection).



Madre con niño muerto, by Pablo Picasso. 1937. Oil and graphite on canvas, 55 by 46 cm. (Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid).

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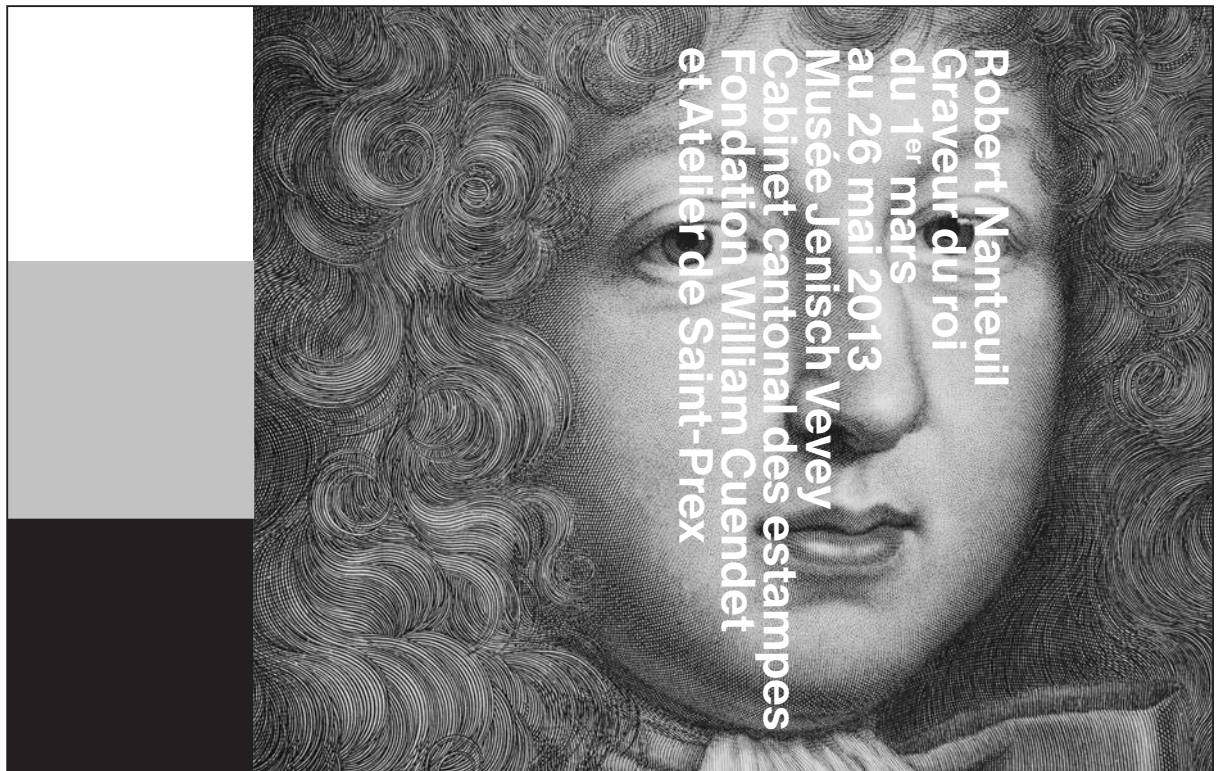
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