PRINT QUARTERLY

MARCH 2015

VOLUME XXXII NUMBER 1

DAVID TUNICK, INC.

PRINTS & DRAWINGS

Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), *Landscape with Trees, Farm Buildings and a Tower, c.* 1650, etching and drypoint, New Hollstein 256, fourth state of four, 123 x 319 mm. 4 7/8 x 12 1/2 in.

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

Jan Ziarnko's Anamorphic Print *A Pair of Lovers Embracing*

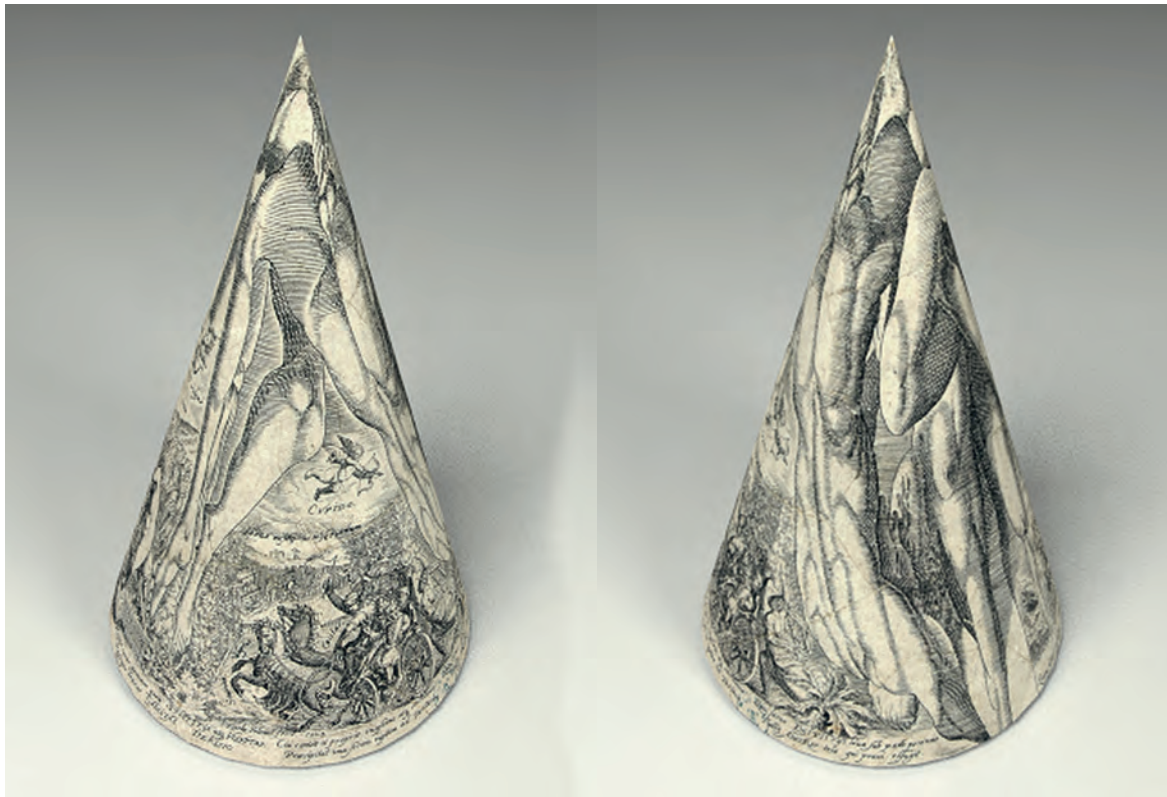
Ada Palka

Jan Ziarnko's (c. 1575–c. 1630) rare print *A Pair of Lovers Embracing*, which is in the shape of a segment of a circle, seems to exist in only a single, unique impression in the Czartoryski collection in Cracow (fig. 1). Its unusual shape derives from the fact that it is an anamorphosis – a deliberately distorted image, which when viewed from a particular angle returns to its natural proportions, thus revealing a previously unrecognized image. There are three kinds of anamorphoses. For the first, the perspective anamorphosis, one need only take a suitable point of observation for the image to appear. This is the case of the anamorphic works by Erhard Schön (1490–1542) or of Hans Holbein's painting *The Ambassadors*, of 1533 (London, National Gallery), where, when seen from the side, a skull appears. The second type is called a reflective anamorphosis, which is an image that needs to be reflected in a special mirror, often a cylindrical or conical reflective surface, in order to realign correctly. In his 1638 treatise *La Perspective Curieuse*, Jean-François Niceron (1613–46) describes how to create a cylindrical mirror anamorphosis with an engraved image of *St Francis of Paola*.[1] The last group, of which Ziarnko's print seems to be the earliest example, is the folding anamorphosis. Often wrongly classified as a perspective anamorphosis, the folding anamorphosis requires that the surface of the

Research for this article was supported by the Polish National Science Centre grant no DEC-2012/07/N/HS2/00679. The author would like to thank Małgorzata Biłozór-Salwa for kindly providing her with a translation of Ziarnko's treatise.

1. J.-F. Niceron, *La Perspective Curieuse*, Paris, 1638; see J. Baltrusaitis, *Anamorphic Art*, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 148–49.

1. Jan Ziarnko, *A Pair of Lovers Embracing*, 1608, etching in the shape of a segment of a circle, radius 161 mm (Cracow, Czartoryski Collection).



2. Two views of Fig. 1 rolled into a cone and viewed from the side.

work be wrapped or folded into a three-dimensional object in order for the viewed image to regain its correct proportions.

Born in about 1575 in Lviv, Poland, to a family of German extraction, Jan Ziarnko – also known as Jean, Le Grain, Kern or Grano – is considered one of the most talented Polish draughtsmen. In 1595 he was still recorded in Lviv, his first known engraving is from 1596, and by 1598 he was in Italy. He resided in Paris at least from 1605 to 1629, which is also where he created almost all the prints and book illustrations attributed to him, including the *Pair of Lovers Embracing* here discussed. About 35 individual prints and three extensive print series by Ziarnko are known today, although there are about a hundred if one includes the prints made after his drawings.[2] He illustrated historical and current events, was skilled in perspective and topography and achieved coherent compositions even when working from the works of his contemporaries.

Signed *I. Ziarko Polonus fecit* and dated *1608* at lower left beneath the hooves of the horse pulling the chariot, the anamorphosis conceals a pair of naked lovers amid more legible allegorical amorous scenes. Only after rolling the print into a cone and viewing it from above, does the image of the *Lovers* reveal itself, here illustrated for the first time (figs. 2 and 3). Ziarnko's print was first mentioned by Antoni Potocki in 1911; in an article of 1938 Stanisława Sawicka describes the composition and the inscriptions, and most recently Małgorzata Biłozór-Salwa noted that the image of the lovers derives from one of the *Modi,* known today as *Ovid and Corinna*.[3] The *Modi* (Italian for 'ways') were a series of engravings by

2. J. Telibska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce, Funkcje, ośrodki, artyści, dzieła*, Warsaw, 2011, p. 45.
3. A. Potocki, *Katalog dzieł Jana Ziarnki, Malarza i Rytownika Polskiego, z XVI i XVII w. z Życiorysem Artysty*, Cracow, 1911, no. 3; S. Sawicka, 'Jan Ziarnko. A Polish Painter-Etcher of the First Quarter of the 17th Century', *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXIII, 1936, no. 4, pp. 294–95 'finally, a rather singular engraving in the form of a cut-out circle intended for putting into a cone. A cardinal scene is a "sujet libre"'; S. Sawicka, 'Jan Ziarnko, Peintre-Graveur Polonais et son activite a Paris', in *La France et la Pologne dans leurs relations artistiques*, I, 1938, no. 2–3, p. 153, no. 2; M. Biłozór-Salwa, 'Jana Ziarnki emigracja artystyczna', in A. Pieńkos and A. Rosales-Rodriguez, *Francusko-polskie relacje artystyczne w epoce nowożytnej*, Warsaw, 2010, p. 27.

3. Fig. 1 rolled into a cone and viewed from above.

Marcantonio Raimondi published in 1524 depicting various explicit sexual positions. Although one full set of impressions must have survived long enough to be copied, all impressions, including those from later printings, were at some point destroyed or drastically cut down because of their lewd subject matter. Today these images are best known from the set of engravings published in Paris in 1798 by Jacques Joseph Coigny as *L'Arétin d'Augustin Carrache*. Current scholarship doubts the attribution to Agostino Carracci of the images used by Coigny (fig. 4). The quality of Ziarnko's engraving suggests that he was working from an engraving by Raimondi rather than the cruder 1550 woodcut series. Ziarnko's print is a kind of collage. It has hitherto gone unnoticed that several of the vignettes and the lengthy Latin inscription at the centre and extending along its outer circumference are taken

4. Jacques Joseph Coigny after a drawing purported to be by Agostino Carracci, *Ovid and Corinna*, from *L'Arétin d'Augustin Carrache* (Paris, 1798), engraving, 313 x 235 mm.

from the engraving *The Power of Venus* executed in 1587 by Matthäus Greuter (1564–1638) after a drawing by Wendel Dietterlin (fig. 5).[4]

A Pair of Lovers Embracing is the only known anamorphosis by Ziarnko, who also published a book about perspective, nine years later, in 1619, the *Perspectivae Stereo Graphicae Pars Specialis* (Three-dimensional Pictorial Perspective, Special Part).[5] One of the earliest treatises on perspective and anamorphosis, the booklet includes a brief description of how to construct a conical folding anamorphic deformation and it seems probable that the technique, or a close variant of it, was the one used to make *A Pair of Lovers Embracing*.[6] The artist may well have been working on the print and the manuscript of the treatise concurrently. Ziarnko also mentions anamorphoses that can be projected onto a variety of other shapes, for example, the surface of a pyramid or a hemisphere, without elaborating on how to construct these.[7]

It might be presumed that during his journey from Lviv to Paris through Germany and Italy, Ziarnko came into contact with artists involved in painting anamorphoses. He could have been inspired by the work of, inter alia, Erhard Schön, or by anamorphic images such as the panel painting in a private collection in Rome attributed to Niccolò dell'Abate that shows a

4. *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts*, XII, edited by T. Falk, Amsterdam, 1983, pp. 158–59. The inscription reads *Per coelum volat, ecce, CUPIDO: Vulgus in omne Proterua coecâ tela molitur manu. Quem ferit infatuat VENUS ecce aedente cuculla: Curruque VANITATIS improba lorans; Raptat equus geminus quem STULTITIA atq VOLUPTAS; Regitque demens, CAECITAS; DERISIO. Cui comes it propris inceßens, atque cachinnis: Praecipitat ima fecum raptum ad Tartara, Qua locus EXITII est, leuâ sub parte, perennis. Foelix AMORIS fela qui praui effugit.* Since submission of the manuscript for this article, we found out that Małgorzata Biłozór-Salwa recently also observed the connection with the Greuter print; see M. Biłozór-Salwa, 'Teoria tworzenia anamorfoz stożkowych według Jana Ziarnki', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, XXXIX, 2014, pp. 43–53.

5. J. Ziarnko (or Jean, Ioannis, and Grano, Le Grain, Kern, Granus), *Perspectivae Stereo Graphicae Pars specialis. Authore Ioan. A Grano alias Ziarnko Leopoliensi Polono. Seneca Nihil peccant oculi, si oculis animus imperet.*, Paris, Apud Carolum Sevestre, 1619. Copies of this treatise are in the collection of the Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, in Gdansk; Bibliotheque Nationale de France, in Paris; Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. The Harvard copy consists of a dedication on pp. 3–5, a two-page preface on pp. 6–7, the text of the treatise proper on pp. 8–13, and an epilogue on p. 14. There are unnumbered, printed diagrams on: the title-page, showing an eye above a cone; two pages, one with a circular grid similar to fig. **6** and one with a grid similar to fig. **7**, inserted between pp. 8 and 9; a page inserted opposite p. 11 showing the image from the title-page paired with a second image of the cone with eye placed below it. In addition, the Harvard copy contains four loose sheets with hand-drawn diagrams showing the making of anamorphoses that are bound with the treatise and inserted inside the front cover and just before the back cover. These show the creation of anamorphoses from 1) a coat of arms with two crowned snakes; 2) bust-length human figure with cap seen in three-quarter profile and then in anamorphic form combined with a landscape with a seated figure fishing in a stream; 3) a head of a bearded man wearing a hat; and 4) an anamorphic projection created from 3).

6. On the Harvard Houghton Library copy, this is on pp. 8–9, and entitled *Propositio Prima: De modo accomodandi figuram datam: atq: Coni basi paranda.*

7. Małgorzata Biłozór-Salwa is primarily responsible for the translation (with Anna Maria Laskowska) and interpretation of the Ziarnko treatise which she generously lent the author. For her work on the treatise and Zianrnko's artistic oeuvre see M. Biłozór-Salwa, 2014, 'Teoria … ', op. cit.; eadem, 'Jan Ziarnko, Perspektywa stereograficzna. Część szczegółowa', translated by A. M. Laskowska, *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, XXXIX, 2014, pp. 54–60; eadem, 'Jana Ziarnki emigracja artystyczna', in A. Pieńkos and A. Rosales Rodriguez, op. cit., pp. 23–32; eadem, 'Après la pance vient la dance – uwagi o tym jak bawiły się czarownice podczas sabatów, na podstawie Sabatu Jana Ziarnki', in P. Gancarczyk, *Z badań nad ikonografią muzyczną do 1800: źródła - problemy - interpretacje*, Warsaw, 2012, pp. 215–30; eadem, 'Paryski Karuzel 1612 roku, czyli skały tryskające winem, grające góry i tańczące konie na usługach propagandy władzy', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, XLIV, 2013; eadem 'Anamorphosis as a tool in presenting erotic subjects – some remarks on Jan Ziarnko's *Lovers*', in *The Most Noble of the Senses: Anamorphosis, Trompe-L'Oeil, and Other Optical Illusions in Early Modern Art*, edited by L. Zirpolo, Ramsey, NJ, forthcoming.

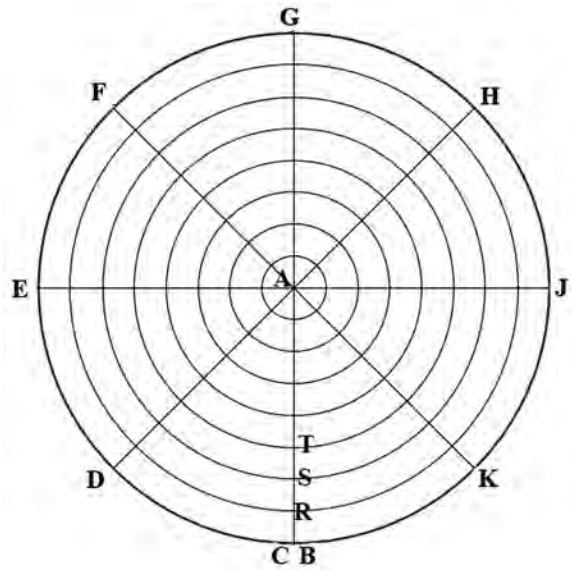
Landscape with Pastoral Scenes and St Jerome, the *Baptism of Christ* and *Head of the Baptist on a Platter,* or *The Witches of Endor* combined with *The Death of Saul* on an anonymous Flemish painting from the second half of the sixteenth century, now in a private collection in Germany.[8] Yet these works contain perspectival elements and none are pure folding anamorphoses intended to be put onto a cone. Therefore the artist could not have created *A Pair of Lovers Embracing* only on the basis of the examination of such precedents.

The first treatise presenting how to create anamorphic works was Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* (The two rules of practical perspective), written c. 1530–40, but first published in 1583.[9] Based on a technique developed by Albrecht Dürer for organizing space, Vignola's method necessitated overlaying with a square grid the image that was to be transformed. Then, by anamorphic projection, the square grid was to be distorted in order to obtain the deformation grid. Finally, the relevant part of the image was converted by assigning the squares of the grid to a corresponding fragment of a mesh deformation.

In his own treatise Ziarnko describes with two diagrams much like figs. 6 and 7 how to use a circular grid to create a deformation mesh for a foldable cone anamorphosis.[10] This is relatively simple and does not require advanced anamorphic projection. According to the treatise, the artist would need to construct a regular circular grid composed of concentric circles with a constant radial increment, divided by a series of rays that pass through the centre of the circle at a constant

8. For *Landscape with Pastoral Scenes and St Jerome,* see F. Leeman, *Hidden Images. Games of Perception, Anamorphic Art, Illusion, from the Renaissance to the Present,* New York, 1976, pp. 52, 57, no. 45 and Baltrusaitis, op. cit., pp. 28–29. For *The Witches of Endor,* see Leeman, op. cit., pp. 52, 57, no. 44.
9. Baltrusaitis, op. cit., p. 34.
10. Ziarnko, op. cit., pp. 8–9.

5. Matthias Greuter after Wendel Dietterlin, *The Power of Venus,* 1587, engraving, 213 x 305 mm (London, British Museum).

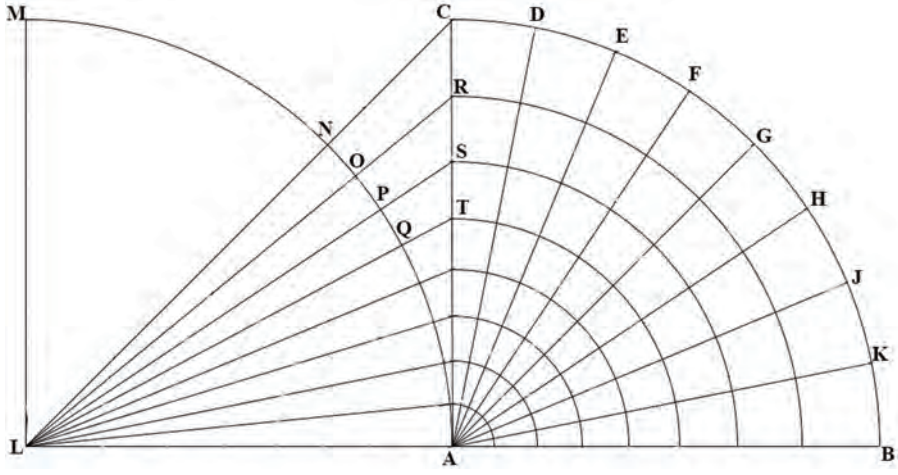


6. Circular Grid Similar to the One in Jan Ziarnko, *Perspectivae Stereo Graphicae Pars specialis* (Paris, 1619).

angle (fig. 6). Furthermore, Ziarnko writes that in order to create an anamorphic deformation mesh, one needs to draw a quarter of a circle, here marked ABC on fig. 7. The distance AB on fig. 6 must be two times longer than the distance AB in fig. 7. (Also, once the cone has been created, the completed anamorphic image should be viewed from a point above the apex of the cone at a viewing distance of twice the height of the cone.)

According to the treatise, one then divides the arc BC in fig. 7 into equal segments by a series of rays connected to the vertex A, here: D, E, F, G, H, J, K, with the number of rays being equal to the number of rays of the circular grid; in this particular case the number of rays is seven. Next, an identical adjacent quarter circle is drawn, here marked LMA on fig. 7. The newly created arc AM has to be divided into two equal halves, AN and NM, and the bottom half, AN, should be divided into the same number of equal-sized smaller arcs as there are concentric circles on the circular grid, in this case seven. Then, lines are drawn from point L through the points of intersection O, P, Q … on the arc AN to the line AC, and the points of intersection on AC are here designated R, S, T … . The points R, S, T … are used as the measurements for a series of concentric arcs within ABC, with the distances CR, RS, ST … all differing from each other. These allow for the transformation of the circular grid's regular, concentric circles with constant radii, shown in fig. 6 to the grid in fig. 7 with non-constant radii. The rays and concentric arcs in fig. 7, constructed according to Ziarnko's treatise, constitute a deformation mesh as must have been similarly used to create the cone anamorphosis *The Lovers Embracing* of 1608.

We turn again to characteristics of fig. 1 and how it was created. When lying flat, the radius of Ziarnko's engraving is 161 mm, the length of the outside arc 209 mm, and the angle at top 110°. Hence we can calculate the radius of the base of a cone formed if this segment were rolled up: it comes to 49 mm; the height of the cone would be 153 mm, and its opening angle at top, 36°. When the cone is viewed from above, the image on Ziarnko's print appears circular (fig. 3). In order to compare the Ziarnko image to the lost Raimondi print, we

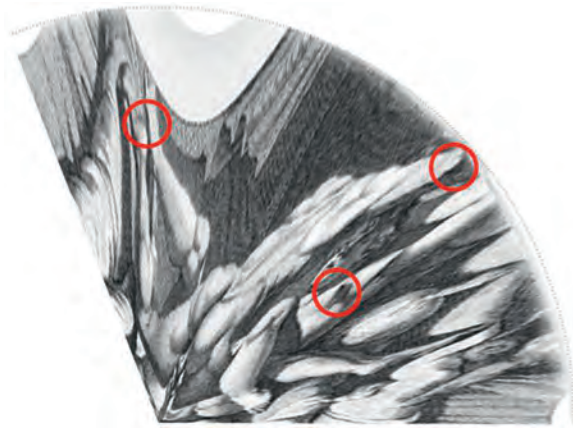


7. Diagram Similar to the One in Jan Ziarnko, *Perspectivae Stereo Graphicae Pars specialis* (Paris, 1619).

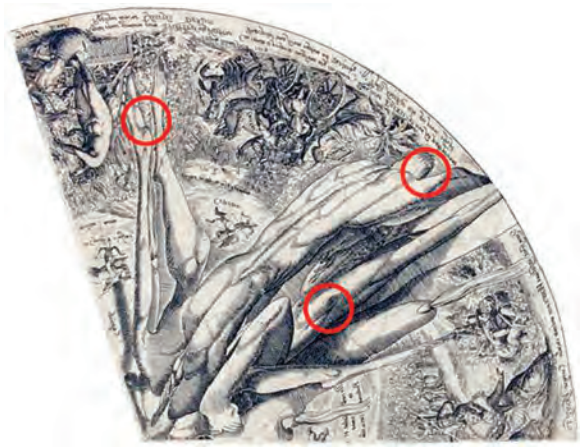
8. Fig. 4 cut in the shape of a circle.

shall use the later Coigny version of the image (fig. 4) and deform it in the AnamorphMe program that allows for the creation of a cone anamorphosis.[11] To achieve the best approximation of Ziarnko's print, we cut a reproduction of Coigny's engraving into the shape of a circle with its centre located where the genitals (almost) meet and with the radius extending as far as the elbows of the two figures (fig. 8). Then we digitally deform the cropped circular image and compare it with the original Ziarnko engraving (figs. 9 and 10). Despite the striking resemblance, the comparison elucidates where Ziarnko was not quite accurate. The biggest discrepancy occurs in the woman's face, breast (encircled), shoulder and head of the man (encircled) and the extended feet of the couple (encircled). We clearly see the crooked grimace on the woman's face and her and her lover's shapeless feet in the resulting image (fig. 3). Moreover, it becomes noticeable that the man's face below his arm and the shock of hair above his shoulder do not fully fit together. This lack of precision especially in the elements closer to the edges of the image, such as the man's head, his raised arm and the extended feet, is due to the incompatibility of the extension of these elements with the foreshortening effect. Because these elements are further away from the eye of the beholder once the image has been wound onto the cone, they should be more stretched than those passages closer to the top of cone. The central, or top part, of the conical anamorphosis benefits from more densely placed grid lines whereas greater distortions occur around the border of the image.[12]

To achieve his engraving, Ziarnko must have overlaid the original image he used with a circular grid as described in his treatise. When trying to recreate this process with the Coigny, one first has to decide where the top of the cone will be placed (fig. 11). Here will be located the centre of the series of concentric circles and the point of intersection of lines radiating out. Ziarnko purposefully chose the couple's genitals. Then, for the

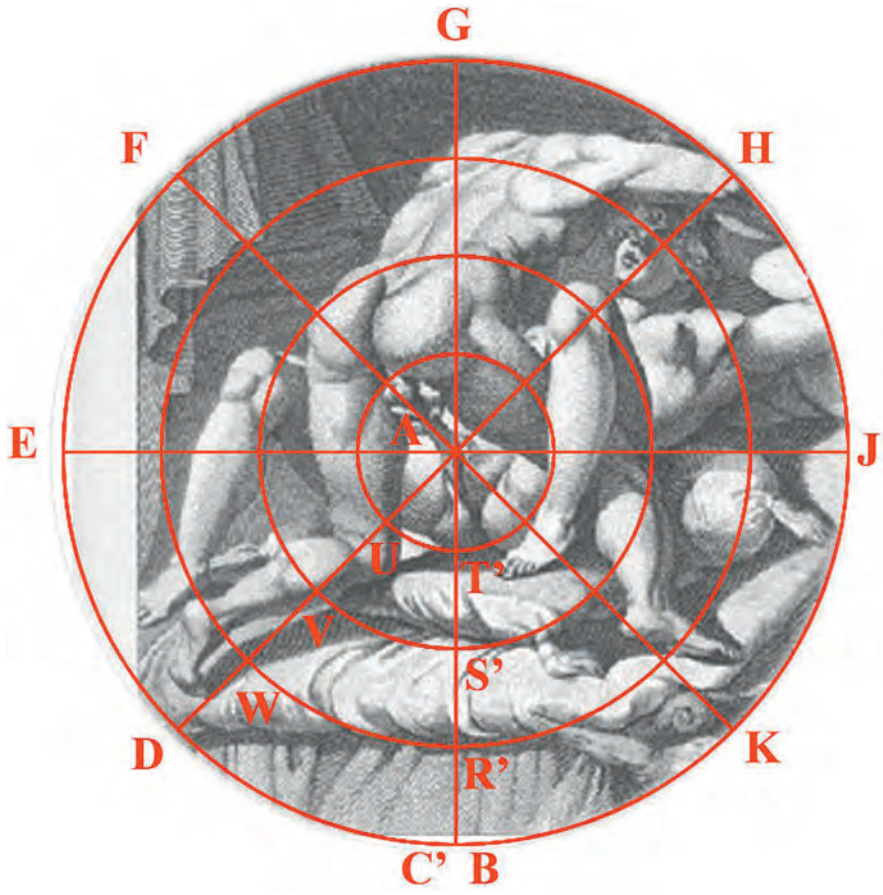


9. Fig. 8 deformed in AnamorphMe, with places of deformation marked by red circles.

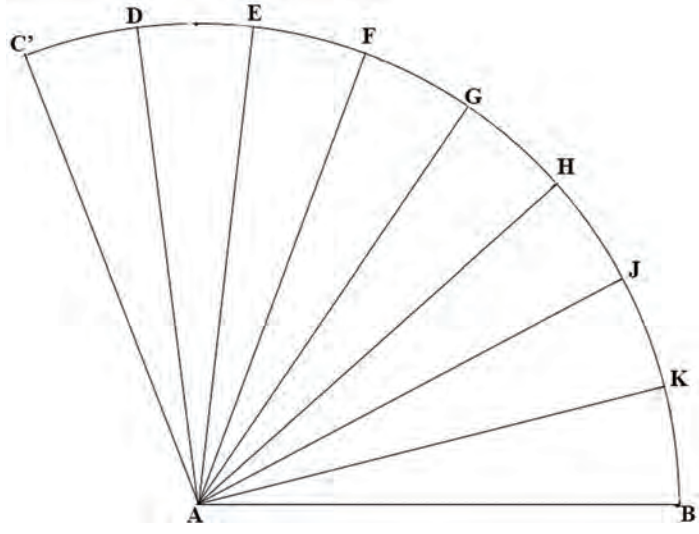


10. Fig. 1 reversed, with places of deformation marked by red circles.

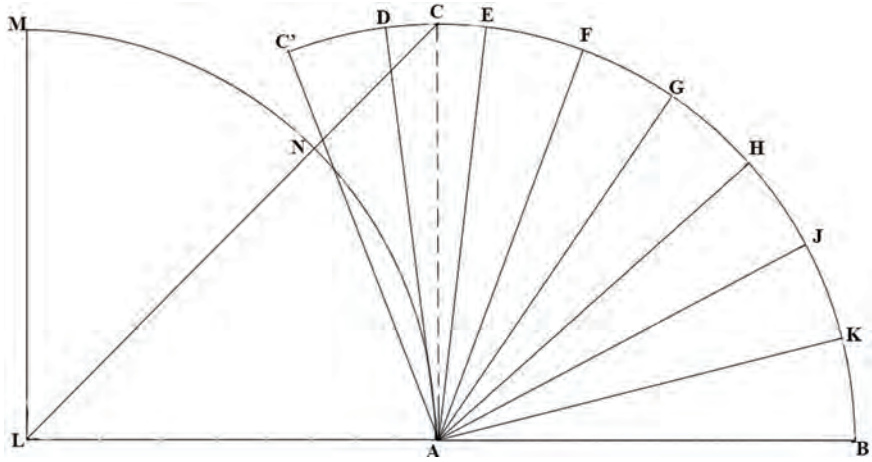
11. www.anamorphosis.com, accessed on 12 August 2013.
12. A. Zdziarski, 'Deformation Nets for Cylindrical and Conical Anamorphs', *The Journal of Polish Society for Geometry and Engineering Graphics*, XVIII, 2008, p. 29.



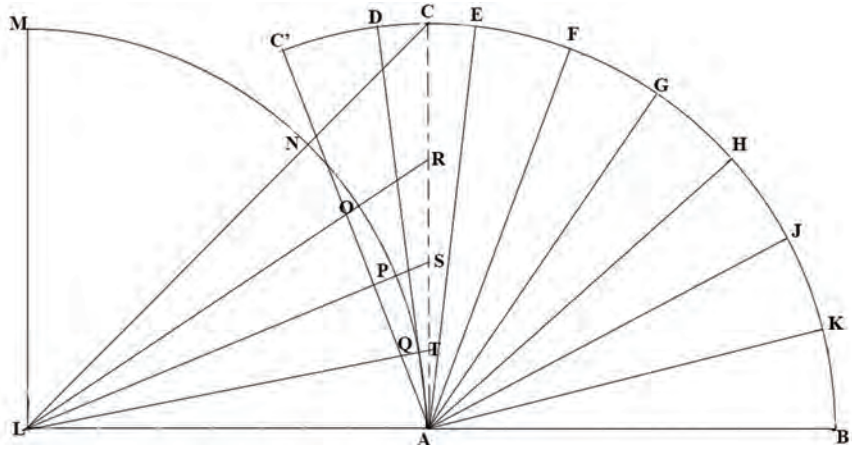
11. Fig. 8 overlaid with a regular circular grid.



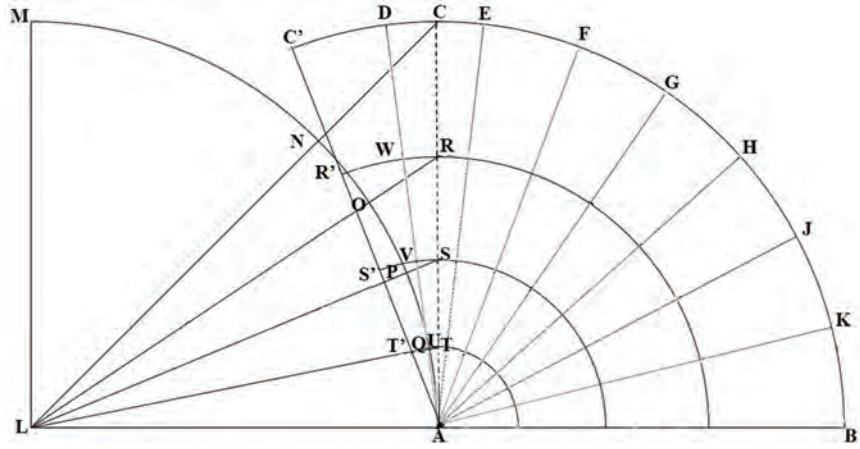
12. Diagram Illustrating the Creation of the Deformation Mesh.



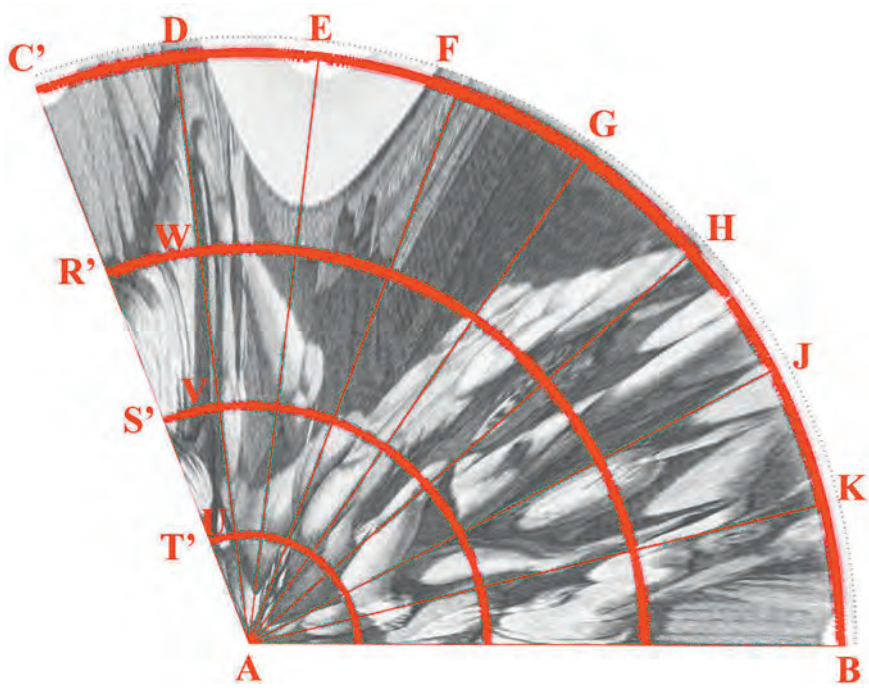
13. Diagram Illustrating the Creation of the Deformation Mesh.



14. Diagram Illustrating the Creation of the Deformation Mesh.



15. Diagram of Completed Deformation Mesh.

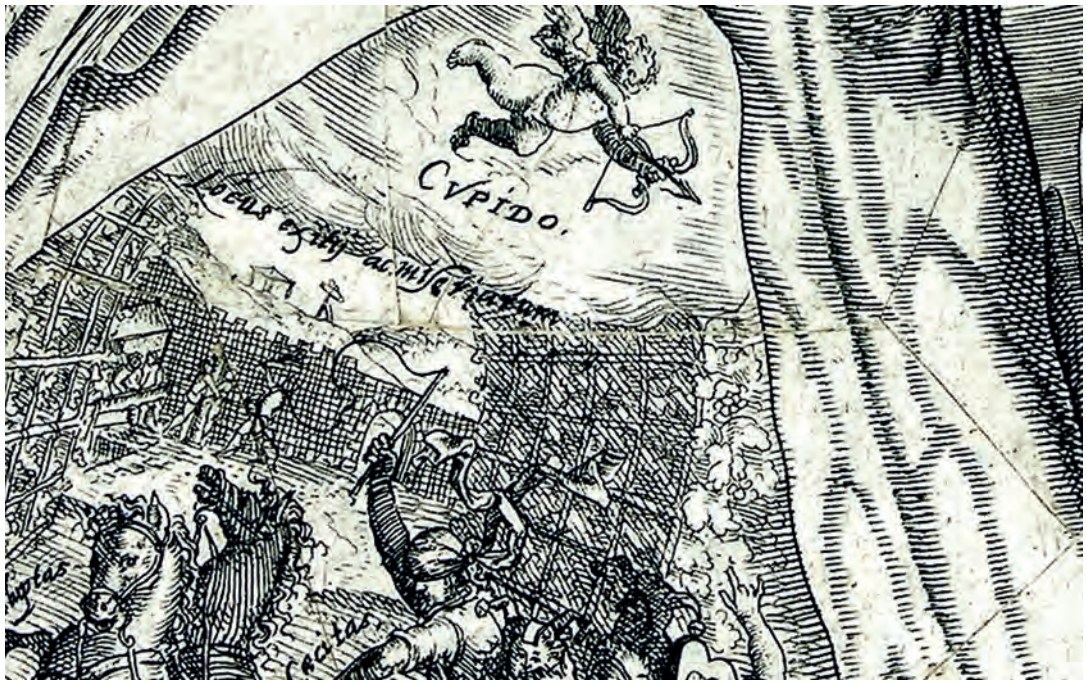


16. The Deformation Mesh Superimposed on the Transformed Image.

deformation mesh Ziarnko must have used a slightly larger angle than the one he describes in his treatise. It is about 110° rather than the 90° and is here drawn in fig. 12 and marked ABC'. C' (C prime) is used to show the similarity to the method written up in the treatise, with ABC' corresponding to the ABC of the treatise's methodology shown in fig. 7. Ziarnko may have enlarged the angle because he needed space for the detailed vignettes from the Greuter engraving. Furthermore, written texts often simplify actual processes. Ziarnko probably continued by dividing the circumference arc BC' into equal segments by a series of rays connected to the vertex A, here D, E, F, G,H, J, K, with the number of rays being equal to the number of rays of the circular grid superimposed on the prototype (fig. 11); in this particular case the number of rays is seven. It is important to emphasize that although the engraving of *A Pair of Lovers* is bigger than a quarter of a circle, to achieve the anamorphic representation of the concentric circles, a quarter circle should be drawn as noted in Ziarnko's treatise. It is here marked LMA on fig. 13.

Now we again follow the methodology of the treatise. The new arc, MA, has to be divided into two equal halves, MN and NA. The bottom half, NA, should be divided by the same number of rays into equal-sized smaller arcs as there are concentric circles on the circular grid, in this case three (fig. 14). Then, lines are drawn from point L through the points of intersection on the arc NA to the line AC and the points of intersection on AC are here designated R, S and T. (We need to have the quarter circle ABC because AC is needed to find points R, S, T.) Points R, S and T are used as the measurements for a series of three concentric arcs within ABC' (fig.15). It is worth noting that the deformation mesh is quite similar to the original circular grid – we can still observe arcs and radially spreading radii.

Ziarnko's treatise does not describe how to transform certain points anamorphically, but it allows for the step-by-step anamorphic deformation of parts covered by a circular grid via a deformation mesh (figs. 11 and 15). We deform the image within the segment of the circle AT'U in fig. 11 so that it fits into the corresponding slice AT'U in fig. 16, then we deform the area S'T'UV in fig. 11 to fit the area S'T'UV in fig. 16 and so on until the whole image is transformed – section by section. The denser the circular grid that is superimposed on the original image (in terms of adding more radially spreading circles and lines), the more precise the deformation mesh will be, and hence the more accurate the anamorphic image achieved, in other words, the closer the anamorphosis will be to the image from which it is dervived when correctly viewed. The success



17. Detail of fig. 1 showing the cuts in the print.

of transforming a given section of the image, such as S'T'UV (be it a face, or part of a figure's body or, as in this case, the cushions on the bed), is dependent on the artist's skills and talent.

Ziarnko's work predates the slate of treatises on perspective that were published in the seventeenth century, beginning with Jean-Louis de Vaulezard's *Perspective cylindrique et comique*, published in Paris in 1630. It seems that Ziarnko was the first to use, and describe the use of a circular grid, although some years later, in his treatise of 1638, Niceron was to feature a whole catalogue of networks and their methods of construction, including ones with circular grids. He gives mathematical instructions for the design of anamorphoses on surfaces which are pyramidal or conical, such as a conical anamorphosis of a bust-length image of King Louis XIII.[13] Niceron was acquainted with an enormous number of treatises on perspective and his figures XL through XLV on plates 26 and 27 of *Perspective curieuse* are almost identical to the method described in text and diagram in Ziarnko's *Perspectivae Stereo Graphicae Pars Specialis*.[14]

At a later point in time, the print now in the Czartoryski collection must have been cut up. Looking closely we see that it consists of small fragments pasted together (fig. 17). Why someone would want to cut this work we do not know, although it might be presumed that it was an attempt to destroy it because it showed an improper scene. Or someone was trying to sort it out like a puzzle to see what had been hidden by the artist. Carefully glued, along with other prints by Ziarnko, it entered the collection of the Czartoryski family in the nineteenth century.[15] It may seem surprising that an artist who knew the secrets of anamorphic projection appears to have made only one such print. It would be interesting to look at other works by Ziarnko, as maybe there too, in a clever manner, he hid some small, anamorphically deformed elements. Or it might be useful to look at unattributed anamorphic prints to see if a link with Ziarnko might be established.

13. Niceron, op. cit., plate 27, reproduced in Baltrusaitis, 1977, p. 45, fig. 34. M. Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat*, New Haven and London, 1990, p. 210, fig. 420, design for a conical anamorphosis of a bearded male head, from Niceron, *Thaumaturgus Opticus*, Paris, 1646, op. cit., plate 28.

14. See Niceron, *Perspective curieuse*, Paris, 1663 edition, copy at University Library, Ghent, available on Google books.

15. According to the information from the Czartoryski Museum it is not known when exactly the print entered the collection and who owned it before.

'Enlightening the Ignorant' The Early Years of the International Society

Martin Hopkinson

The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers was launched in 1898 by the London-based American artist, writer and collector Francis Howard (1874–1954) on behalf of James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), who was to become its first president. It has been the subject of two articles.[1] No publication as yet has concentrated on the 'Gravers' who, in Whistler's view, were as significant a part of the society as their painter and sculptor colleagues. At the International's early exhibitions a connoisseur could see some of the best European and American printmaking, which hitherto had often been difficult to find in the British capital and in many cases impossible. I will concentrate here on the early years of these shows, as after that period far fewer foreign prints were included and the general standard of work dropped accordingly. Only during World War I, in 1916, when a group of exceptional prints by Belgian artists was exhibited, and again in 1925 and 1926, when some fine etchings by leading Hungarian artists were shown, did the quality of the international contributions rise again.[2] With these exceptions, prints by major foreign artists were displayed only very occasionally, as for instance in 1909, when Charles Ricketts, Charles Haslewood Shannon and Joseph Pennell lent Japanese prints to the 'Exhibition of Fair Women', and in 1914, just before the outbreak of war, when three works by Käthe Kollwitz were exhibited.

In an interview with the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 26 April 1898, Whistler stressed the need to educate the British public about the outstanding contemporary prints with which it was unfamiliar:

> Mere annual output we have nothing to do with. What we want to show artists and the public too (if the public likes), is the present point to which art has reached, and no opportunity has yet occurred in England. The English, for instance, are very proud of their black and white artists. Well, we would like to show them that all they have done in black and white, in coloured lithography, and so forth is the merest child's play as compared with what has been done on the continent. The British public is kept completely in the dark as to the real nature of the Art movement throughout the world. It will be the task of the International Art Exhibition to enlighten that ignorance. Fortunately the position that I occupy here gives me the necessary authority to persuade the great continental painters to treat this scheme seriously. I have been able to point out the advantages of this exhibition to men of the highest stature such as Puvis de Chavannes, Rodin, Forain, and others, all of whom have agreed to contribute, and are much interested in the success of the show. And, believe me, the lesson will be great, the revelation enormous…
>
> Of course, we shall meet with a certain amount of opposition. We shall be looked on with a very wooden eye by the working men of the trade. That doesn't matter. We shall have brought together the most representative collection of international art that has ever been exhibited in London, and thus supplied a want that has long been felt. We have serious men with us, and they take us seriously. Naturally the larger proportion are foreigners. It just happened that the best men are abroad. We have had to seek them and find them where we could. That London should have been chosen as the centre where this artistic congress is to meet is a fact of which London may be proud.[3]

Whistler was not exaggerating. Most of Britain had stood aloof from mounting major international exhibitions, such as had been staged for more than twenty

1. P. Athill, 'The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers', *The Burlington Magazine,* CXXV, 1985, pp. 21–29 and J. Newton and M. F. MacDonald, 'Whistler, Rodin and "the International"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1984, pp. 115–23. See also M. F. MacDonald in R. Dorment and M. F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler,* London, 1994, pp. 53–55.
2. For the notable group of Belgian prints exhibited in 1916, see M. Hopkinson, *Print Quarterly,* forthcoming.
3. 'In conversation: "The International Exhibition. Interview with Mr Whistler"', *Pall Mall Gazette,* 26 April 1898 reprinted in *Whistler on Art. James McNeill Whistler: Selected Letters and Writings,* edited by N. Thorp, Manchester, 1994, pp. 159–60.

18. Charles Keene, *A Lock on the Canal between Watford and King's Langley*, 1874, etching, 98 x 152 mm (London, British Museum).

years on the continent, particularly in Paris, and in the USA. The exception was the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, which had a 'black and white section' that included important etchings by Charles Meryon, Alphonse Legros, Seymour Haden and Whistler himself. The international component of the drawings and prints was very largely restricted to exhibits by French and Dutch artists. However, it also included prints by Bracquemond, Desboutin, Rajon, Gaillard, Buhot, J. F. Millet, Lunois, Jacquemart, Richeton, Lhermitte, Fortuny and Mathhijs Maris. Almost all of these artists had been represented in the period from 1872 to 1881 in the Dudley Gallery's 'black and white' exhibitions.[4] This section in the Glasgow exhibition was one of the last shows of black-and-white work in the tradition established by the Dudley. It included hardly any of the European printmakers presented to the public by the International Society.

It was seventeen years since the last of the series of black-and-white exhibitions in the Dudley Gallery, which had managed to attract submissions of quality from abroad, especially from France. Etchings by Whistler had been shown in three of these exhibitions. The Society of Painter-Etchers, founded in 1880 under the leadership of Whistler's brother-in-law, Seymour Haden, had failed to attract many foreign exhibitors after its initial shows.[5] During his brief presidency of the Society of British Artists from 1886 to 1888, Whistler had invited artists from abroad to exhibit, and in the winter of 1887 for the first time introduced a small number of prints of considerable quality into an exhibition, but this venture was clearly not well received and was not repeated after he was forced to resign.[6]

By 1898, when Whistler was well over 60, he had attracted a sizeable group of younger English, Scottish, Irish and expatriate American artists who looked to

4. M. Hopkinson, 'The Dudley Gallery's "Black and White" Exhibitions, 1872–81', *Print Quarterly*, XXIX, 2012, pp. 379–96.
5. M. Hopkinson, *No Day Without a Line: The History of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers, 1880–1999*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 15–18, 52–57.
6. M. Hopkinson, 'Prints at the Society of British Artists', *Print Quarterly*, forthcoming.

19. Félix Vallotton, *The Absolution of the Dead*, 1894, woodcut, 178 x 223 (London, British Museum).

him for leadership and were very willing to do the legwork to ensure the new venture's success. Howard was the International Society's secretary, but Whistler's principal assistants were the Irishman and Glasgow Boy John Lavery, the American Joseph Pennell and Albert Ludovici Junior, an Englishman of French ancestry. Ludovici had been on the Society of British Artists' executive committee during Whistler's presidency, but had resigned in 1888 and Wyke Bayliss was elected in his place. Whistler had sufficient confidence in his four lieutenants to use them like a puppet master from his Paris base. However, he kept tight control over which artists were invited to exhibit.

Ludovici was in contact with the Parisian dealer and print publisher Ambroise Vollard, who promised 54 colour lithographs to the International's opening show in 1898.[7] He also worked with George W. Bradley, of Bradley & Co. of 81 Charlotte Street, a firm that had a warehouse close by in Tottenham Mews and was well known as forwarding agents for exhibiting societies and European exhibition venues. We know from Ludovici's correspondence with Whistler that Bradley was entrusted with the framing of Forain's drawings and lithographs intended for this first show.[8] Ludovici was also selected with Pennell, who considered him a master of shipping and insurance, to hang the exhibition.[9]

7. A. Ludovici, *An Artist's Life in London and Paris 1870–1925*, London, 1926, pp. 116–39. Letters from Ludovici to Whistler, Glasgow University Library, 10 April 1898, Whistler I 33 and 19 April 1898, Whistler I 42; *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903*, edited by M. F. MacDonald, P. de Montfort and N. Thorp; including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855–1880*, edited by G. Toutziari, online edition, www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 02293 and 02302. An important precedent for this was André Marty's loan of all 31 prints in *L'Estampe originale* to the Grafton Galleries' 'First Exhibition of French Artists in Decorative Art' in November 1893, no. 445.

8. Letter from Ludovici to Whistler, 23 May 1898, Glasgow University Library, Whistler I 53 www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 02313.

9. See Whistler's letter to Pennell of 29 April 1898, Library of Congress, Pennell Whistler Collection 2/72/14/7, and Whistler's instructions to Ludovici about hanging his own work and that of his wife, Beatrice, in an undated letter of April/May 1898 to Ludovici, Library of Congress, Pennell Whistler Collection 2/18/4. www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 07660 and 07650. Letter Pennell to Whistler, February 1898, Glasgow University Library, Whistler P222 www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 04582.

Vollard had recently visited Whistler's studio in Paris to ask him for a lithograph for his second album of prints in 1897. Whistler invited the young man to lunch and supplied him with a transfer drawing for *Afternoon Tea.* Vollard had given this to his printer Auguste Clot by 7 November, as recorded in a note sent that day by the poet Mallarmé to Whistler. The whole album was exhibited in Vollard's gallery in December. A second transfer drawing for *Mother and Daughter (La mère malade)* was almost certainly taken at the same time by Vollard, who was planning a third album that was never published. Whistler's design was also printed by Clot.[10]

Others involved in the first meeting of the council of the International Society on 23 December 1897 were the London-based German painter George Sauter and the Glasgow Boy E. A. Walton, who was now a close neighbour of Whistler in Chelsea. A decision was made to invite a group of distinguished foreign artists to become honorary members. Of those on the list, the following were known to practise printmaking: Puvis de Chavannes, Rodin, Besnard, Boldini, Menzel, Stuck, Helleu, Degas, Zorn, Klinger, von Uhde, Liebermann, Meunier, Aman Jean, Carrière, Thaulow and Fantin-Latour.

C. H. Shannon, Maurice Greiffenhagen and William Rothenstein, three artists who made lithographs, attended the council's second meeting on 7 February 1898. Ricketts joined the fourth meeting on 16 February, at which it was decided to invite various British and foreign artists to exhibit. Of these, the following made prints: Strang, Raven Hill, Steer, Legros, Clausen, Macbeth, Swan, G. F. Watts, Brangwyn, D. Y. Cameron, William Nicholson, Pryde, Conder, Crane, Poynter, Sargent, Lionel Smythe, Havard Thomas, Matthijs Maris and Oliver Hall, all resident in Britain, and Harpignies, Jean Baptiste Cazin, Ludwig von Hoffmann and Khnopff from abroad. Frederick Sandys had joined the council by the time invitations were issued.

On 22 February Howard made a preliminary list of acceptances. The council considered staging the exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery, but in the end opted for the new venue of the Princes' Skating Rink in

10. H. K. Stratis and M. Tedeschi, *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler. 1: A Catalogue Raisonné,* Art Institute of Chicago, 1998, pp. 485–87, nos. 173 and 174, citing Ambroise Vollard, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer,* Boston, 1936, pp. 193–95.

20. Max Klinger, *Summer Afternoon*, from his *Four Landscapes, Opus VII,* 1881–82, etching and aquatint, 362 x 533 mm (London, British Museum).

21. Hans Thoma, *Spring at a Mountain Lake*, 1898, lithograph, 557 x 449 (London, British Museum).

Knightsbridge, which was offered rent-free by its owner, Rear Admiral Frederick Maxse. The exhibition opened in May 1898. Maxse had seen Menpes's coloured etchings and was keen to include his work, but was unable to persuade Whistler. He may not have been fully aware of the depth of Whistler's enmity to his former pupil.[11] Wilfrid Meynell records that Whistler wrote to the admiral, in a letter now lost, 'Ad-

11. Letters of Albert Ludovici to Whistler of 10 April 1898, Glasgow University Library, Whistler I 33 and of Whistler to Ludovici of April 1898, Library of Congress, Pennell Whistler Collection 2/18/8; www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 02293 and 08071.

22. Henri Fantin-Latour, *The Apotheosis of Hector Berlioz*, 1897, lithograph, 451 x 386 mm (London, British Museum).

miral, beware those who hoist the black flag; you would not let them board your boat'.[12] Doubtless, Whistler would have preferred to exhibit the colour etchings of Théodore Roussel.

More than 300 prints, blocks and drawings for prints were displayed, including three previously unexhibited small etchings of fish by Whistler's late wife, Beatrice, which were specially housed in white frames and hung according to the president's instructions among his own contributions.[13] According to Thomas Dartmouth, 'these subtle works reveal the delicacy of her thought and of her touch, and how capable she was to enter into the projects her many-sided partner always had in hand'.[14] Generally though, prints were not mentioned in any detail in the many reviews of this and subsequent exhibitions, as can be seen by the collection of

12. W. Meynell, 'James Abbot McNeill Whistler', *Pall Mall Magazine,* XXXI, September–December 1903, p. 417.
13. Undated letter of April/May 1898 to Ludovici, Library of Congress, Pennell Whistler Collection 2/18/4 and Ludovici's letter to Whistler of 14 May 1898, Glasgow University Library, Whistler I 51, www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 02311.
14. T. Dartmouth, 'International Art at Knightsbridge', *Art Journal,* 1898, pp. 250, 252.

23. Édouard Vuillard, *The Tuileries Gardens*, from the portfolio *Album des Peintres-Graveurs*, 1896, lithograph, 290 x 430 mm (London, British Museum).

the Society's press cuttings preserved in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum. Whistler himself sent a single lithograph, *The Conversation,* a Parisian work of 1893, better known as *Conversation under the Statue, Luxembourg Gardens*.[15] The exigencies on space meant that not all the colour lithographs were hung together. The largest groups of works by individual artists were the seventeen or more etchings by the late Charles Keene (fig. 18), eleven wood-engravings by Félix Vallotton (fig. 19), ten etchings and wood-engravings by Auguste Lepère, nine etchings by Max Klinger – eight taken from his two-part series *On Death (Vom Tode)* and one from his *Four Landscapes, Opus VII* print cycle (fig. 20) – and seven lithographs by Hans Thoma (fig. 21).[16] Whistler greatly admired Keene and had persuaded him to join the Society of British Artists after he became its president in 1886. British critics had yet to come to terms with German Symbolism, with Elizabeth Robins Pennell calling Thoma 'an extraordinary mystical enigma … as primitive in his paintings as in his lithographs'.[17] Charles Minoprio, one of Thoma's major patrons, lived on Merseyside and the Liverpool Art Club had exhibited his work in May 1884.[18]

The most notable British and British-based artists – who were far outnumbered by exhibitors from abroad – were Joseph Pennell, C. H. Shannon, the unjustly forgotten Edgar Wilson, Lucien Pissarro, William Nicholson, Frank Morley Fletcher and James Dickson Batten, two of whose joint woodblocks were on display.[19] Pennell was Whistler's biographer, the art critic of *The Star* and a prolific illustrator. Shannon, a friend of Whistler from the late 1880s, had exhibited drawings and lithographs at the Fine Art Society in 1897, and with his partner Charles Ricketts had taken over the lease of Whistler's house, 'The Pink Palace', at 2 The Vale, King's Road, Chelsea, in the summer of 1888. Wilson's colour etchings were favourably compared by *The Star* with those of Mortimer Menpes and he deserves further study. Pissarro had settled in London in 1890 and became a close friend of Ricketts and Shannon in 1892. Whistler had recommended Nicholson to the publisher William Heinemann in 1896, and the American's Company of the Butterfly exhibition of Nicholson's colour woodcuts in 1898 was the only time its Hinde Street

15. Stratis and Tedeschi, op. cit, I, pp. 230–33, no. 69.
16. Klinger was also shown in the Grafton Gallery's March 1898 'Exhibition of Etchings and a Few Drawings by Max Klinger', for which Joseph Pennell wrote the preface to the brochure.
17. [J. Pennell],'Art and Artists', *The Star,* 17 May 1898. See also the negative comments of D. S. MacColl in 'The International Exhibition of Art at Knightsbridge', *Saturday Review,* 21 May 1898, p. 681.
18. *Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Works by Hans Thoma*, Liverpool Art Club, May 1884.
19. For Morley Fletcher's views on Whistler's art, see E. R. & J. Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler,* II, Philadelphia, 1909, p. 273.

shop showed work other than by Whistler.[20] Whistler's association with Batten went back at least to 1891, when he had arranged the hanging of Batten's *Demeter and Persephone* at the Walker Gallery in Liverpool.

The most striking absentee was Whistler's follower and a pioneer in Britain of colour etching, Théodore Roussel. However, Roussel preferred to present his colour etchings all together to the public for the first time in an exhibition planned at Dowdeswells for 1899.[21] The French contribution was dominant, as one might expect, and featured many of their leading avant-garde printmakers as well as older artists such as Fantin-Latour (fig. 22), whose London dealer was Mrs Edwin Edwards, and Puvis de Chavannes. Fantin had been a friend of Whistler since 1858 and had included his portrait in his *Homage à Delacroix* of 1864.[22] Puvis was on the Salon jury in 1889, the year in which Whistler was awarded a first-class medal of painting, and was vice president of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts when Whistler exhibited there in 1892.

A few colour etchings and colour woodcuts by the French artists were included, although the show was dominated by colour lithographs. Gustave Leheutre and Charles Maurin represented French colour etchers. Renoir, who like Whistler had been a student of Charles Gleyre and who had shared an exhibition with Whistler at Gallery Durand-Ruel in 1888, showed a tinted etching. Edvard Munch contributed a colour lithograph.[23] The roll call of notable French colour lithographers, arranged here by catalogue order, included Armand Guillaumin, Edouard Vuillard (fig. 23), Pierre Bonnard, Ker Xavier Roussel and Jean-Louis Forain, whose work Whistler appears to have owned.[24] Also listed was Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (fig. 24), whose works were mostly lent by Goupil, Alfred Sisley, Alexandre Lunois, Paul Cézanne (fig. 25), Henri Edmond Cross, Georges Auriol, Eugène Grasset, Henri Martin, Edmond Aman-Jean, Odilon Redon (fig. 26) and Maurice Denis. Although Cézanne was included, Whistler was not an admirer of his painting.[25] Paul Du-

20. M. Hopkinson, 'Whistler's Company of the Butterfly', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXVI, 1994, pp. 700–04.
21. M. Dunwoody Hausberg, *The Prints of Théodore Roussel: A Catalogue Raisonné*, Bronxville, 1991.
22. For La société des trois, of which they were members with Alphonse Legros, see J. Munro and P. Stirton, *The Society of Three: Alphonse Legros, Henri Fantin-Latour, James McNeill Whistler*, Cambridge, UK, 1998.
23. For Munch prints and Whistler, see M. Hopkinson, 'Munch', *Print Quarterly*, XVII, 2000, p. 90.
24. See Whistler's letter to Ethel Whibley, 20 June 1897, Glasgow University Library, Whistler W309; www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 06315.
25. Ludovici, op. cit., p. 129.

24. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Country Outing*, 1897, lithograph, 395 x 520 mm (London, British Museum).

rand-Ruel had drawn Whistler's attention to Sisley's work in 1888.[26] Other French artists were Paul Renouard, who exhibited five etchings and drypoints, Henri Boutet de Monvel, the young Suzanne Valadon, Alfred Besnard, Eugène Carrière and Auguste Rodin. Renouard, who had come up to Whistler in the National Gallery in 1896 to offer his sympathy over Beatrice's death, exhibited 38 intaglio prints at the Grafton Galleries' first exhibition of French artists in decorative art in November 1893.[27] As for Carrière, a lithograph by him had been included in *L'Estampe Originale, IV,* an album published by André Marty in 1893, which also included Whistler's *The Draped Figure, Seated*. There was a one-man show of his paintings at the Continental Gallery in 1898. Both Whistler and Besnard had executed portraits of General Sir Garnet Wolseley. Besnard had a one-man show of etchings in London at the Goupil Gallery in 1898. In 1905 Rodin, who was in contact with Whistler from 1885, was commissioned to design a monument to the American, but it was never completed. The Carfax Gallery in London gave Rodin an exhibition of works on paper in 1900. The most notable absentee French printmakers were Edgar Degas and Paul Gauguin.

An important precedent for the inclusion of works by French illustrators and decorative artists was the 'L'Art Décoratif Français' exhibition of November 1893 at the Grafton Gallery with its groups of prints by Eugene Delâtre, Grasset, Lepère, Lunois, Lucien Pissarro and Renouard. Also included were three pieces by Comte Robert de Montesquiou. Whistler was almost certainly aware of this show.

Among other continentals in the 1898 show, Jan Toorop, whom Whistler had met in England in 1886, was the sole Dutch exhibitor, with a lithograph. Theo van Rysselberghe, who had organized the return of Whistler's *Portrait of Sarasate* on behalf of Les XX in 1886, was the only Belgian, represented by an etching.[28] Both József Rippl-Rónai and George Pitcairn Knowles showed lithographs. Most of Vollard's loans were of

26. Letter to Whistler, 8 May 1888, Glasgow University Library, Whistler D184; www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 00978.
27. Pennell, op. cit., II, p. 172. Renouard's prints were sent in a case by the Parisian packer and shipper, Guseuse; letter of Ludovici to Whistler of 11 May 1898, Glasgow University Library, Whistler I 49; www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 02309.
28. For Toorop, see letter of 11 February 1886 from Octave Maus to Whistler. For Theo van Rysselberghe, see undated letter of Maus to Whistler, Glasgow University Library, Whistler S132. www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 05486 and 05487.

25. Paul Cézanne, *The Bathers*, c. 1898, lithograph, 458 x 530 mm (London, British Museum).

prints published in his first two *Albums des peintres-graveurs*, of 1897 and 1898. The international quality of the works on paper was acclaimed by Elisabeth Robins Pennell in the American journal *The Nation*. She wrote, 'it is refreshing, then, to find at Knightsbridge a series of drawings and etchings and lithographs and wood-engravings as fine and complete and representative as any even displayed at the Champs de Mars'.[29] George Sauter, the German painter who succeeded Howard as the International Society's secretary, spoke of Whistler's ambition to achieve a representative section, 'but only the work itself counted, and no efforts were too great for him to get works of men who had something to say for themselves, no matter in what corner of the world they lived'.[30] Robins Pennell had noted in 1895 that 'the only international black and white exhibition was held in Vienna a few years ago'.[31]

The second exhibition was held from May to July 1899 in the same Knightsbridge venue. Frits Thaulow was the only executive member of the council, but honorary members included Besnard, Boldini, George Breitner, William Merritt Chase (a monotypist), Paul Helleu, Klinger, Liebermann, von Stuck, Thoma, von Uhde and Zorn. Boldini painted a striking portrait of Whistler in 1897, as well as etching a drypoint of him asleep. Chase met Whistler in 1885, when he painted his portrait, which Whistler abhorred. Whistler began to correspond in 1889 with Helleu, with whom he shared de Montesquiou's patronage, and who, in 1897, executed a drypoint of him. Zorn accompanied Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1892, when she came to sit for her portrait in Whistler's Paris studio.[32]

This time there were far fewer prints and it was British printmakers who were showcased, apart from four wood-engravings by the American Timothy Cole and sixteen etchings by Klinger, including his complete *Brahms Fantasy*. Cole, a friend of Whistler since 1896, was to be the subject of a series of drawings on woodblocks by Whistler for Cole to engrave.[33] This project never came to fruition. Whistler himself exhibited one colour lithograph, *The Yellow House, Lannion* (fig. 27), and 23 etchings, eight of which were from his Dutch work of 1889, and four of his Parisian prints of c. 1892–93.[34]

26. Odilon Redon, *Béatrice*, from the portfolio *Album des Peintre-Graveurs*, 1897, lithograph, 335 x 296 mm (London, British Museum).

Macaulay Stevenson praised the American's 'lovely water-fronts showing, through a rain of fine lines, among palaces or crumbling stonehouses pierced with sombre caves that open on a mystery of gloom. Of these *The Balcony*, *The Pierrot* and *Nocturne, Amsterdam* are good examples.'[35] Also on show were 'two beautiful little impressions of the Jubilee Naval Review', which according to Robins Pennell, were 'now seen here for the first time'. She also noted that Whistler's etchings were set apart in a white room.[36] Pennell exhibited five etchings and two aquatints, and D. Y. Cameron three etchings loaned by the print dealer Otto Gutekunst, who gave the Scottish artist several one-man shows. Further removed from Whistler's circle were two former pupils of Legros: William Strang, another artist represented by Gutekunst at this date, with eleven etchings, and Charles Holroyd with six. Colour etchings were represented by the little known illustrator Edith Harwood – perhaps an amateur – and the young Detmold twins,

29. N. N.[Elizabeth Robins Pennell], 'The International Exhibition in London', *The Nation*, 2 June 1898, p. 421. A comparison was also made in *The Times*, 16 May 1898, p.12 and the *Daily Telegraph*, 19 May 1898. The latter also compared the exhibition with that of the Munich Secession.
30. E. Robins Pennell, *The Life and Letters of Joseph Pennell*, I, Boston, 1929, p. 335.
31. *Modern Illustration*, London, 1895, p. 72.
32. Undated letter from Whistler to Isabella Stewart Gardner (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston). www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence 9105.
33. Pennell, op. cit., pp. 176–77.
34. For the *Yellow House*, Stratis and Tedeschi, op. cit., I, pp. 224–29 no. 69.
35. R.A.M.S[tevenson], 'The Art Season II. Mr. Whistler and others', *The Academy*, 20 May 1899, pp. 561–62.
36. N. N. [Elizabeth Robins Pennell], 'An interesting exhibition', *The Nation*, 29 June 1899, p. 493.

27. James McNeill Whistler, *The Yellow House, Lannion*, 1893, lithograph, 290 x 180 mm (Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery).

Maurice and Edward, who were to share an exhibition of watercolours and etchings at the Fine Art Society in 1900. Sydney Lee, William Nicholson and Frank Morley Fletcher showed colour woodcuts, and the German Ernst Oppler colour lithographs from 53 Glebe Place, Chelsea. For interpretative wood-engraving there was Strang's associate, Robert Bryden.

The third exhibition, held from 7 October to 10 December 1901, was the last under Whistler's presidency. The only continental printmakers of note were the Belgian Albert Baertsoen, who exhibited four etchings, and Auguste Lepère, whose six prints included *Sunday at the Fortifications, Paris*. Both artists were praised by Robins Pennell, who commented that Baertsoen, 'cares little for mystery, but much more [than Marius Bauer] for substantial facts, when they are as picturesque as the lines and curves of that run through the little old Belgian town, and the ancient houses that throw such deep reflections into the waters'.[37] B. Kendell, who thought that 'the black and white section shows exceptionally strong work', went on to describe Lepère's colour etchings as 'very broad and Hogarthian in spirit; at times they are a little unpleasant in their realism.'[38] America was represented by seven etchings by Clifford Addams, an apprentice to Whistler at his Académie Carmen in Paris, and D. S. Maclaughlan, whose style suggests a connection with Pennell. His works were lent by Obach, the dealer. The most prominent British etchers were Holroyd, Maurice Detmold, Robert Spence and William Monk, and Sydney Lee and Morley Fletcher contributed colour prints.

For the January to March exhibition in 1904, when Pennell, Thaulow and E. J. Sullivan all served on the council, there were many more foreign prints. Rodin had succeeded Whistler as president on his death the previous year. Félicien Rops had a notable display of nineteen colour etchings and lithographs (fig. 28). Klinger showed four etchings, Menzel a lithograph and Thoma a colour lithograph. The Dutchman Storm van's Gravesande exhibited three etchings. Colour lithographs by Lunois were hung on the staircase and Louis Legrand showed twelve prints, drypoints and aquatints, including some of his types of Paris. Other French printmakers included Louis Anquetin, Félix Buhot, whose etchings Gutekunst had staged in a memorial exhibition in 1899, and Toulouse-Lautrec, whose works were lent by the print publisher and dealer Gustave Pellet. Théodore Roussel showed for the first time, a mixture of colour and black-and-white prints. Edgar Wilson exhibited a colour etching of *Old London* and a woodcut design for a poster. There were eight wood-engravings by Timothy Cole and five etchings of Toledo by Pennell. Perhaps the most surprising works were four etchings of Venice by Frank Duveneck, given the back history of Whistler's row with his brother-in-law, Haden, who had mistakenly implied that Whistler was exhibiting etchings of Venice under a false name at the first exhibition of the Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers in 1881. Whistler published the story of this in *The Piker Papers: The Painter-Etchers Society and Mr. Whistler* (London, 1881).

Only a few weeks later, in April, the Society had an exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago, but its catalogue does not differentiate the prints. Pennell certainly exhibited etchings of Toledo, and it is probable that the works by Baertsoen, Bauer, Morley Fletcher, Strang and the Dutchman Willem Witsen were also prints.

37. A. U.[Elizabeth Robins Pennell], *The Star*, 22 October 1901.
38. B. Kendell, 'The Third Exhibition of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers', *The Artist*, XXXII, 1901, p. 138.

28. Félicien Rops, *The Lace Appraiser*, 1876, etching with drypoint and aquatint, 399 x 269 mm (London, British Museum).

The following year, 1905, saw what was arguably an outstanding display of prints by foreign artists, several of whom were making their debut in the society's London exhibition. Mary Cassatt contributed eight works, including seven of her series of ten colour aquatints (fig. 29), and Edgar Chahine a frame of etchings, drypoints and aquatints of Paris and Parisians. Another Armenian, Arsène Chabanian, exhibited an etching. The wife of the dealer E. J. van Wisselingh lent six of Matthijs Maris's etchings. There were five etchings by Witsen, including four of Dordrecht. Among other Dutch artists on show were Bauer with six etchings, Pieter Dupont with four etchings and Theo van Hoytema with two lithographs. Lithographs by Van Hoytema were also on view that same year at the Dutch Gallery. The German dealer Hans Velten lent four etchings by Klinger and there were six colour etchings by Thaulow. Raffaëlli, who had earlier shown six prints in the Grafton Galleries' Modern French Art exhibition of 1899, exhibited for the first time at the International Society, with four colour etchings.[39] Other French artists displayed were Henri Caro-Delville, Lepère, Legrand (nine aquatints) and Gaston La Touche.

The outstanding group of British prints was the 25 wood-engravings by the recently deceased Frederick Sandys. The thriving British colour woodcut move-

39. In 1904 he was excluded from the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers, which had decided to accept only works in black and white. Hopkinson, 1999, op. cit., p. 30.

ment was represented by six works by Allen Seaby. Groups of prints were shown by Arthur Heseltine, the France-based brother of the better known collector and amateur etcher, John Postle Heseltine, and by Pennell, the wood-engravers Henry Wolf and Cole, and McClaughlan. Pennell either lent his impressions of Cole's prints or acted as his agent.

A reduced form of the exhibition travelled to the Manchester Art Gallery in May 1905, where five etchings by James Ensor were added. The following year the Society again took to the provinces, when its annual exhibition was shown in the City of Nottingham Museum and Art Gallery housed in the castle. Only 171 numbers were in the catalogue, of which twelve were pieces of jewellery. Pennell lent eight wood-engravings by Cole and the dealers Obach six etchings by D. S. Maclaughlan. Pennell himself exhibited two sets of six etchings, of New York skyscrapers and Spanish scenes, and there were nine lithographs by Shannon. Bauer, who had been given a one-man show by the Dutch Gallery in 1902, sent four etchings from Aerdenhout, near Haarlem. The only other prints included were four colour woodcuts by Seaby. This was the last notable display of prints at the International before World War I. The Society had lived up to its name and contributed very significantly to exhibiting international printmakers in England in the final decades before the implosion of Europe turned artists' attention to more sombre subject matter.

29. Mary Cassatt, *The Coiffure*, 1891, etching and drypoint, 365 x 263 mm (London, British Museum).

Shorter Notices

An Engraving by Giulio Bonasone after a Drawing by Giulio Romano

Paul Joannides

The appearance of an unpublished *Virgin and Child with St John* by Giulio Romano has interest beyond the addition of another drawing to his abundant graphic oeuvre (fig. 30). It was acquired by the present owner on the London art market in the late 1940s as 'attributed to Raphael' – a rather perverse appellation considering that Giulio is named in the eighteenth-century inscription on the mount and the style is self-evidently his.[1] Although the vivacious application of wash found in so much of his graphic work is absent, the drawing's elegant precision of line shows to great advantage and demonstrates that Giulio's ability to construct form from minimally stressed and intermittently broken lines fell not far short of his master's. With light underdrawing in red chalk, this study may have been the resolution of a sequence of sketches: the determination of the contours is decisive, simple, and hard in focus. Comparable pen-work can be found in a number of drawings illustrated in Fredrick Hartt's monograph on Giulio Romano, all dating from the 1520s.[2]

Yet the attribution to Raphael was not entirely unmotivated. The motifs of the Child reaching for His mother's breast and St John, proffering a fluttering goldfinch, gathered into the group by the Virgin's left hand, are inventions of considerable charm and their treatment is delicate. The figures' interaction recalls the freshness and tenderness of Raphael's Florentine Madonnas – of some of which Giulio was aware – rather than the solemnity of the Holy Families that Raphael designed and painted in Rome in the later 1510s. But formally, in the compactness and rectangularity of its arrangement, it is to the latter that the drawing looks, in particular to the *Small Holy Family* (Paris, Louvre), commissioned by or given to Cardinal Bernardo Bibbiena around 1518 which, while its design presumably had its inception in sketches by Raphael, was worked up and painted by Giulio. At his death, Bibbiena bequeathed it to Baldassare Castiglione who transferred it to Mantua; perhaps it was for that reason that Caraglio's engraving (fig. 31) was made not from the painting but from Giulio's preparatory drawing, now at Windsor, in which there is no landscape and the group is set against a wall, rather than a hillock. Once in Mantua, Giulio would have been reminded of the painting whenever he visited his friend Castiglione; but he no doubt retained some affection for his preparatory drawing which he probably conserved. In the present drawing, however, the emphatic three-dimensionality and canted view of the earlier composition are re-organised into a frieze-like arrangement, one of Giulio's preferred modes.

Initially, it might seem tempting to place the new drawing in the period between Raphael's death in April 1520 and Giulio's departure for Mantua in October 1524, for references to his master's work did not long outlast Giulio's settlement at the Gonzaga court. But the figures' forms are more elongated and their treatment more relief-like than in the Virgin and Child groups of Giulio's final Roman moment, and it should be placed a little later, perhaps just into the second half of the 1520s. Such a date is supported by the technique – Giulio abandoned red chalk in Mantua and its employment in the underdrawing implies a residual lingering of Roman habits – and the form: in Giulio's drawing, at Haarlem, *Garlands Offered to Venus and Amor*, a composition frescoed by Girolamo da Pontremoli in 1527–28 in the *Sala dei Venti* of Palazzo Te, the pose of

1. The drawing was acquired by the present owner at Sotheby's London, 16 November 1949, as part lot of 38 which contained four drawings grouped under the name of Raphael. It is from the collections of Thomas Hudson and Sir Joshua Reynolds.
2. F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, plates 265, 266, 269, 271, 293.

30. Giulio Romano, *The Virgin and Child with St John*, c. 1527, pen and brown ink over traces of red chalk; the contours indented, 190 x 160 mm, (Private collection).

31. Jacopo Caraglio after Giulio Romano, *The Virgin and Child with St Elizabeth? and St John*, c. 1523, engraving, 277 x 216 mm (London, British Museum).

32. Giulio Romano, *Garlands Offered to Venus and Amor*, 1527, 278 x 408 mm, pen and ink over traces of black chalk, squared in black chalk (Haarlem, The Teyler Museum).

Venus is very like that of the Virgin in the present drawing (fig. 32). The distinctive motif of her crossed calves was also reprised in a little-known *Marriage of St Catherine* by Giulio, published by Marco Riccomini only in 2009, probably painted on the cusp of Giulio's Roman and Mantuan periods but certainly before c. 1530, when its composition was plagiarised by Titian in a now-lost fresco surmounting the tomb of Luigi Trevisan (d. 1528), in Ss Giovanni e Paolo and in the woodcut after that fresco by Nicolò Boldrini, rather naughtily inscribed *TITIANUS VECELLLIUS INVENTOR*.[3]

However, there is a more significant link between the present drawing and printmaking for it was clearly the model for an engraving by Giulio Bonasone, in which St Joseph has been added to the group (fig. 33).[4] The print, which bears Bonasone's signature –although not his *invenit* – was believed by Carlo Malvasia to be of Bonasone's own design. He wrote of it:

> The Madonna, seated in profile in the Classical taste, holds on her knee the nude Christ Child, who, turning in profile towards her, takes her breast in both hands and squeezes it. The young St John, who stands at the side, offers a swallow to the Lord with one hand, while from the other hang two bunches of grapes. Behind the group is St Joseph, before a derelict building with two half columns, on the base of which [is written] *I. Bonasoni.. In. F.* his invention. Oncie 6 in height and 4½ in width.[5]

Whether Malvasia knew a version of the print where *In[venit et] F[ecit]* had been inserted, or whether

3. See M. Riccomini, 'A Few Old Master Drawings in Tartu, Estonia' and P Joannides, 'Giulio and Titian', in respectively *Master Drawings*, XLVII, 2009, 1 and 2, Spring, pp. 79–84, and Summer, p. 237. Boldrini's woodcut in turn, was later reproduced in an engraving now rejected from the oeuvre of Cornelius Cort but no doubt by an engraver close to him: see M. Sellink, *The New Hollstein, Cornilis Cort*, Rotterdam and Amsterdam, 2000, III, pp. 228–29, R28; it bears the legend *TYCIANUS INVENTOR*.

33. Giulio Bonasone after Giulio Romano, *The Virgin and Child with St John*, c. 1545, engraving, 189 x 139 mm (Vienna, Albertina).

4. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXVIII, p. 250, no. 46[121].
5. 'La Madonna a sedere in profile, sul gusto antico, che tiene a seder sul ginocchio il Signorino, che nudo volto in profile contro di essa, con ambe le mani le prende e stringe la cinna; S. Giovannino dall'altra parte in piedi, con un mano porge una rondinella al Signore, coll'altra tiene pendenti duo' grapoli d'uva; dietro S Gioseffo presso un edificio rotto, con due mezze colonne, fra le basi delle quale *I. Bonasoni. In.F.* sua invenzione: onc.6. onc. 4 e mez. per dirit.'

he simply misremembered the inscription or transferred it from another print, his allocation of the design to Bonasone himself was wrong, and his mistake misled succeeding scholars. Consequently, the engraving was not included in Stefania Massari's repertoire of prints after Giulio Romano, although the design's strongly Giuliesque qualities, and its relation to *Garlands Offered to Venus and Amor*, were noted both by her in her catalogue of Bonasone's prints, and by Madeline Cirillo Archer in her commentary volume to Bartsch.[6] But with the re-appearance of the drawing, it is evident that the engraving derives from it: indeed, their dimensions are very similar (190 x 160 mm for the drawing and 189 x 139 mm for the engraving) and the figures also seem to be identical in size. Whether the inclusion of St Joseph in the engraving was Bonasone's responsibility or whether he was added by Giulio in a subsequent drawing, which Bonasone employed, is conjectural, but the stylus indentation on the present drawing would suggest that the design was transferred from it to the copper plate. The wall behind the figures may have been inspired by that in Caraglio's engraving. Since the print must be of about 1545 the drawing was evidently not made with engraving in mind and it demonstrates Giulio's continuation of Raphael's practice of consigning some of his *modelli* and unused designs to printmakers.

Although most of the surviving drawings made by Giulio during his Mantuan period are connected with the great decorative schemes in the Palazzo Te, the Palazzo Ducale, and other Gonzaga residences, he continued to provide designs for religious narratives and altarpieces – some of which he executed at least in part.[7] But once in Mantua, it seems that Giulio produced very few, if any, *Madonna*s or *Holy Families*, staples of Raphael's studio production in Rome and of Giulio's own early independent work; in any case, none survive and none are securely recorded in sixteenth-century prints. Thus the drawing is a considerable rarity which shows that Giulio did continue to make designs for such works, at least for a while, and Bonasone's print shows that they were appreciated.

6. S. Massari, *Giulio Romano pinxit et delineavit*, Rome, 1993. S. Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, Rome, 1983, I, pp. 61–62, under no. 66, illustrated pl. 66c; M. Cirillo Archer, *The Illustrated Bartsch, 28 Commentary, The Italian Masters of the 16th Century*, Norwalk, 1995, p. 255.
7. S. L'Occcaso, 'New Findings about Some Mantuan Drawings by Giulio Romano and His Circle', *Master Drawings*, XLIX, 2011, no. 1, pp. 3–12.

Prince Albert's Reprint of Agostino Veneziano's *The Witch's Procession*

Christiane Wiebel

The Print Room of the Veste Coburg Art Collections preserves the copperplate of one of the most enigmatic engravings of the Italian Renaissance: *The Witch's Procession*, also known by its Italian name *Lo Stregozzo* (fig. 34). Later impressions of the print bear Agostino Veneziano's (c. 1490–last mentioned 1536) *AV* monogram on a tablet in the foreground and on the trumpet of the boy riding the he-goat on the left (fig. 35).[1] Yet neither the extraordinary subject, nor the inventor of the composition or the engraver(s) have been established with certainty, nor have the number and sequence of the different states been unequivocally clar-

For help with the translation I would like to thank Silvia Böcking.
1. In addition to the plate (inv. XIII,450,Kp5; fig. 34), the Veste Coburg Art Collections preserve three impressions of the print: inv. XII,4,31 (figs. 36 and 38), inv. XII,4,32 and inv. XII,4,33 (fig. 35, 37 and 39).

ified.[2] The following article provides information at least about the date and circumstances surrounding the creation of the last state of the plate.

In his book on Raphael of 1839, Johann David Passavant mentions the engraving and the plate, which was already part of the collection of the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.[3] Here Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha – or perhaps his librarians Ernst Becker and Charles Ruland – found a reference to the depository of the plate, whose subject Passavant declared was an invention by Raphael.

Insofar as the collections of his family in Coburg were concerned, Prince Albert's main interests were the foundation of a library with material by or on Martin Luther, in connection with the Luther Memorial at the Veste Coburg, and a collection of autographs initiated by himself and his elder brother, Duke Ernest II. He continued assiduously to enlarge this collection from England after his marriage to Queen Victoria in 1840 until his death in 1861.[4]

There is no evidence that Albert took a special interest in the important holdings of the Print Room established by his grandfather, Duke Franz Friedrich Anton of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, which were already famous in the Duke's lifetime. Nevertheless Albert took it upon himself to examine, arrange and make accessible the Royal Collection of master drawings and prints, which was transferred from London to Windsor Castle some years after Queen Victoria's accession to the throne.[5] The Print Room that he established at Windsor is a testimony to his 'intellectual energy and organisational ability' and is preserved in its original form and function to this day.[6]

For an appropriate approach to classifying the collection of prints and drawings it was decided to represent the history of art not in its breadth, but by showing examples of the works of the most important artists as well as their reception. The Old Masters selected were Raphael, Michelangelo and Leonardo. Raphael was dealt with first because he was considered the most important, and Passavant's book provided a good basis for the work.[7] After Prince Albert's early death in 1861 the projects to be dedicated to Michelangelo and Leonardo were no longer pursued. But by order of Queen Victoria, the 'Raphael Collection' was completed and documented in great detail by Charles Ruland, who described its creation and compiled an extensive catalogue.[8] To document the works of Raphael and their effect on art history, all the artist's 'compositions preserved in drawings or old engravings after such' were taken into account. This meant that all accessible drawings by Raphael as well as all the prints considered at that time to have been produced after his inventions were brought together.[9] The new medium of photography was used to complete the documentation of the artist's original works scattered over many collections. Thus Prince Albert's comprehensive Raphael Collection was created. It consisted of about 5,400 prints and photographs that were arranged by subject matter after Adam von Bartsch's classification system and pasted onto loose cardboard.[10] Like a database, Prince Albert's Raphael Collection was intended to open up the collection for users and be a resource for research. The librarians Becker and Ruland called it 'the Prince Consort's own Memorial'.[11]

For the study of the Roman school the prints of

2. A. von Bartsch, *Le Peintre graveur*, Vienna, 1803–21, XIV, pp. 321–23, no. 426 (Agostino Veneziano); N. Gramaccini and H. J. Meier, *Die Kunst der Interpretation. Italienische Reproduktionsgraphik 1485–1600*, Berlin and Munich, 2009, pp. 162–63 with bibliography. A good survey on the state of research is given in D. Cordellier and B. Py, *Raphael: son atelier, ses copistes*, Paris, 1992 (*Inventaire Général des dessins italiens*, V), pp. 635–36.
3. J. D. Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi*, Leipzig, 1839, II, pp. 659–60. For the origin of the plate see C. Wiebel, '"allerlei Italienisch guete, Uund andere geschnitenen Kupfer … " – Zur Provenienz einiger Druckplatten vornehmlich italienischer Stecher des 16. Jahrhunderts im Kupferstichkabinett der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg', *Jahrbuch der Coburger Landesstiftung*, LVIII, 2014, pp. 165–86.
4. K. Weschenfelder, 'Repräsentation und Wissenschaft. Die Coburger Sammlungen und ihre Entwicklung unter dem Einfluss von Ernst und Albert', *Windsor – Coburg. Geteilter Nachlass – Gemeinsames Erbe*, edited by F. Bosbach and J. R. Davis, Munich, 2007, pp. 31–37. For the collection of autographs that is preserved in the Print Room of the Veste Coburg Art Collections see S. Böcking, '"Das Blatt, wo seine Hand geruht", die Autographensammlung von Prinz Albert und Herzog Ernst II. von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha', *Jahrbuch der Coburger Landesstiftung*, LVII, 2013, pp. 1–374.
5. B. Wright and S. Owens, '"Such wonderful method": Prince Albert and the Royal Library', in Bosbach and Davis, op. cit., pp. 49–59 with further literature.
6. 'Still in constant use today, its original form and arrangement little altered, the Print Room remains a monument to the Prince Consort's intellectual energy and organisational ability.' Ibid., p. 54.
7. C. Ruland, *The Works of Raphael Santi da Urbino as Represented in the Raphael Collection in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, formed by H. R. H. the Prince Consort, 1853–1861 and Completed by her Majesty Queen Victoria*, Weimar, 1876, p. X. More recently see J. Montagu, 'The Ruland and Raphael Collection', *Visual Resources*, III, 1987, pp. 167–83.
8. Ruland, op. cit.
9. Ruland, op. cit, p. 145.
10. Ruland, op. cit. p. XXIV.
11. E. Becker and C. Ruland, 'The Raphael Collection of H. R. H. The Prince Consort', *The Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, I, May 1863, p. 39.

34. Agostino Veneziano, *The Witch's Procession*, reworked in 1857, copperplate, 305 x 648 mm (Coburg, Veste Coburg Art

Marcantonio Raimondi and Agostino Veneziano were considered of special importance, even if the best impressions were not available.[12] This is why they were dealt with first.[13] Passavant's critical catalogue, 'precisely the guide-book which was required for such an enterprise', was used as a manual for extensive re-

12. The 'Peintre-Graveurs of the Italian School, although not represented by the choicest impressions from Marc Antonio's or Agostino Veneziano's plates, were of the greatest importance for the study of the Roman School in general', Ruland, op. cit., p. VIII.

13. 'The first important step was taken by the completion as far as possible of the collection of engravings after the works of Raphael, which already existed in Windsor … The famous old prints of the 16th century naturally first claimed admittance, for

Collections, Print Room).

search.[14] His mention of the presence of the plate of the extraordinary invention *The Witch's Procession* in the collection of Prince Albert's family in Coburg offered the relatively simple possibility of adding an impression of this engraving to the Raphael Collection.[15] As recorded in the correspondence preserved in the Royal

they record all that Marc Antonio, Agostino, or Caraglio had seen; moreover the greater part of them had been engraved during Raphael's life time and many of them probably under his own direction.' Ruland, op. cit., p. XI.

14. Becker and Ruland, op. cit., p. 28. 'Passavant's work was the guide from the very beginning', Ruland, op. cit., p. XIV.
15. Ruland's catalogue of the Raphael Collection mentions among Allegories two impressions of *The Witch's Procession,* op. cit., p. 145.

35. Agostino Veneziano, *The Witch's Procession*, from plate reworked in 1857, engraving, 305 x 648 mm (Coburg, Veste Coburg Art Colle

Archives at Windsor and in the State Archives in Coburg, Prince Albert's request was carried out immediately. In his letter of 2 June 1857 to Hofrat (privy councillor) Fischer in Coburg, Becker wrote:

According to Passavant's book on Raphael Vol. II, p. 659, the copperplate of Agostino Veneziano's engraving representing *The Witch's Procession* is to be found in Coburg. His Royal Highness the Prince

16. 'Nach Passavants Werk über Raphael II. Bd, S. 659 findet sich die Kupferplatte des Stichs von Agostino Veneziano, die Hexenfahrt darstellend, in Coburg. Se. Königliche Hoheit der Prinz wünschen sehr, einen guten Abdruck dieser Platte zu besitzen, und

ections, Print Room, inv. XII,4,33).

wishes very much to possess a good impression of this plate and this is why I want to call upon you to print some impressions and send them here.[16]

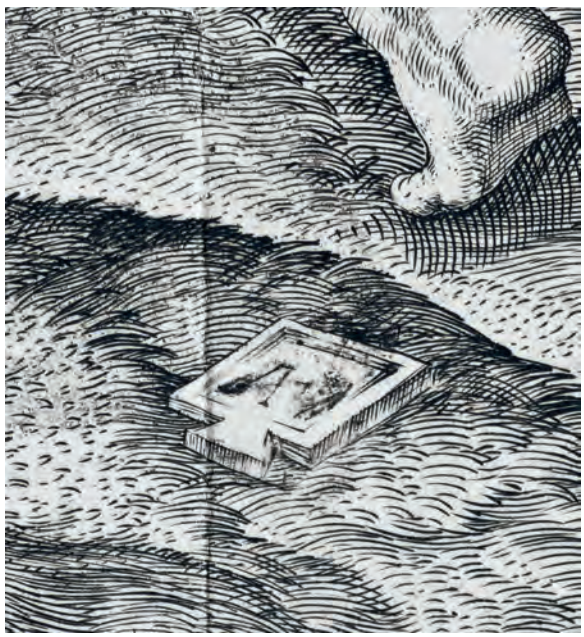
As early as 5 June 1857, a letter from Fischer announces:

> I have set court painter Rothbart to arrange immediately for six impressions of the copperplate of Agostino Veneziano's engraving on Chinese paper

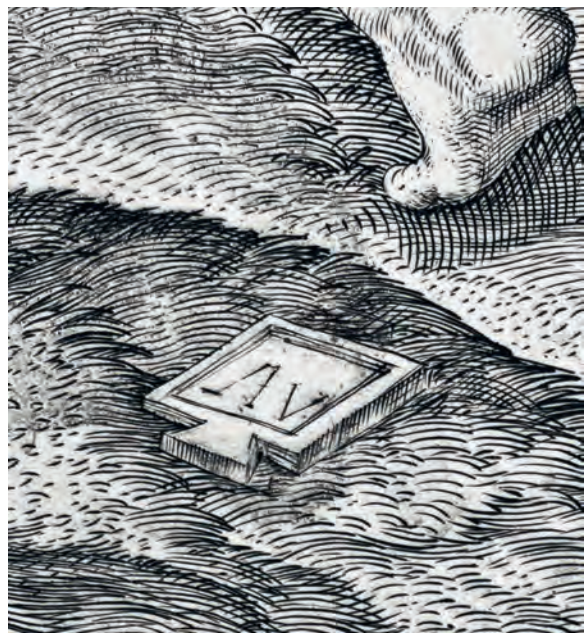
wollte ich Sie daher ersuchen, mir ein Paar Abdrucke ziehen zu lassen und hierher zu schicken.' State Archive Coburg, LA A 8401. For the results of her research in the State Archive Coburg I would like to thank Silvia Böcking.

36. Detail of Agostino Veneziano, *The Witch's Procession*, before reworking of 1857, engraving, 305 x 648 mm (Coburg, Veste Coburg Art Collections, Print Room, inv. XII,4,31).

37. Detail of fig. 35.



38. Detail of Agostino Veneziano, *The Witch's Procession*, before reworking of 1857, engraving, 305 x 648 mm (Coburg, Veste Coburg Art Collections, Print Room, inv. XII,4,31).



39. Detail of fig. 35.

and six impressions on white paper because the costs are nearly the same and because it would be possible that Your Royal Highness wanted one or the other impression for a different purpose.[17]

In the same month, on 20 June 1857, he wrote that:

today I have sent the twelve items made from the plate *The Witch's Procession* by Agostino Veneziano that court painter Rothbart delivered, well packed to the Highest address by the English legation in Frankfurt a/M, as well as paid the sum of 5 guilders 24 kreutzer for printing and paper and 1 guilder 54 kreutzer for the expenses of P. Rothbart altogether 7 guilders 18 kreutzer to the persons in question.[18]

In all probability Rothbart had entrusted the Nuremberg printer Carl Joseph Berg with the task of printing. It is he who is indicated by the information *Carl Berg/ Kupferdrucker/ Nürnberg/ 1857* engraved on the verso of the plate, which is how the printer seems to have 'signed' his work on the plate.[19] Before printing, Berg obviously touched up the plate, leading to changes in some details. In order to print the 'good impressions' that Prince Albert had requested, the white spot visible in the upper left corner of earlier impressions was eliminated (figs. 36 and 37). The tablet with the monogram was probably touched up as well; in comparison to the two earlier impressions in Coburg, the tablet is now clearer and the monogram more legible (figs. 38 and 39). The initials might well have been damaged by a previous cleaning of this corroded area.[20]

In the Print Room of the British Museum there is an impression of *The Witch's Procession* bearing the pencilled note *Presented by His Royal Highness Prince Consort July 10th 1857*.[21] This impression corresponds to the present state of the plate.[22] It is obviously one of the impressions ordered by Hofrat Fischer and which, as expected, was used by the Prince.

17. 'Herrn Hofmaler Rothbart habe ich veranlasst, von der Kupferplatte des Stichs von Agostino Veneziano *Die Hexenfahrt* sogleich 6 Abdrücke auf chinesisches Papier und 6 (Abdrücke) auf weißes Papier abziehen zu lassen, da die Kosten fast dieselben sind, und es möglich wäre, dass Ew. Königliche Hoheit einen oder den anderen Abdruck weiter verwenden wollten.' Royal Archives Windsor Castle, RA VIC/ADDA10/83/4/250. For their research in the Royal Archives I would like to thank Oliver Walton and Allison Derrett.
18. 'dass ich die von dem Hofmaler Rothbart an mich abgelieferten 12 Abdrücke von der Platte *Die Hexenfahrt* von Agostino Veneziano heute wohlverpackt unter der Höchsten Adresse durch die Englische Gesandtschaft in Frankfurt a/M abgesendet, sowie den Kostenbetrag von 5 f (Gulden) 24 xr (Kreutzer) für Druck und Papier und 1 f (Gulden) 54 xr (Kreutzer) Auslagen des p. Rothbart 7 f (Gulden) 18 xr rheine Summe an die betreffenden Personen berichtigt habe.' Royal Archives Windsor Castle, RA VIC/ADDA10/83/4/256.
19. C. J. Berg is the only printer of copperplates (Kupferdrucker) who is documented at the time in question in Nuremberg. In 1836 a printer of copperplates named C. J. Berg is documented for the first time as the owner of a house in the city. From 1860 he is mentioned as an owner of a printing office for copperplates; State Archive Nuremberg, A 4/III Nr. 1978 and 1899. According to the documents, he died 14 March 1880 at the age of 70 years and seven months; State Archive Nuremberg, C 27/II Nr. 75. I would like to thank Ruth Bach-Damaskinos for information about the documents dealing with C. J. Berg in the State Archive Nuremberg.
20. For a discussion of the changes of the condition of the plate which suggest that inv. XII,4, 32, followed by XII,4,31 and XII,4,33, was the succession of the impressions, see Wiebel, op. cit.
21. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, inv. 1857,0711.75.
22. I would like to thank Mark McDonald for his kind information.

Notes

RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURAL PRINTS. The exhibition catalogue *Variety, Archaeology and Ornament: Renaissance Architectural Prints from Column to Cornice* by Bruce Boucher, Cammy Brothers and Michael J. Waters offers a fresh look at the formation of the classical canon of architecture, arguing that single-leaf architectural prints demonstrate a far greater emphasis on a non-canonical understanding of classical architecture within the sixteenth century than is traditionally thought (Charlottesville, VA, University of Virginia Art Museum, 26 August–18 December 2011, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Art Museum, 2011, pp. 142, 82 col. and 28 b. & w. ills.; digital version at www.virginia.edu/artmuseum/downloads/exhibition_catalogue-VAO-full.pdf). The exhibition centred on a set of 23 architectural prints by 'Master G.A. with the Caltrop', a figure who produced more than twenty engravings of capitals, bases and cornices in the first half of the sixteenth century (fig. 40). He has sometimes been identified with one Giovanni Agucchi (c. 1535?–1560?; not to be confused with the art theorist Giovanni Battista Agucchi). The prints were displayed alongside loans from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC; and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, among others, which included sketches, drawings, prints and published books. With an introduction by Brothers and a chapter on single-leaf prints and sixteenth-century architectural culture by Waters, the remainder of the catalogue is given over to illustrations of the prints displayed in the exhibition. It is split into five sections – 'Origins', 'Antiquities', 'Variety, 'Order' and 'Afterlife' – neatly echoing the five classical Orders of architecture which Brothers discusses in her introduction. The wealth of high-quality illustrations throughout the catalogue certainly aids the editors in their argument that the often highly-detailed single leaf prints represented an easily accessible 'promotion of ornamental variety' (Waters) and a convincing case is made for the consideration of single-leaf prints as playing a vital role within sixteenth-century architectural thought. CHARIS WILLIAMS

40. Master G.A. with the Caltrop, *A Composite Capital*, c. 1537, engraving, 219 x 146 mm (Charlottesville, VA, University of Virginia Art Museum).

THE VON HOLTORP COLLECTION. A small booklet titled *Imprinting the Imagination: Northern Renaissance Prints from the von Holtorp Collection* contains the catalogue of a student exhibition of eleven prints, under the direction of Edward Wouk (exhibition booklet, Manchester, The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester, 8 May–26 October 2014, Manchester, John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 2014, 36 pp., 19 col. ills., free; and *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Spring 2015; fig. 41). It introduces to the literature of printmaking a collection of which almost nobody had heard. According to a short notice by Stella Halkyard, it contains around 2,500 'specimen leaves of sample texts and illustrations from early printed books as well as prints … by a range of fifteenth and sixteenth century artists' who seem on the evidence given here to be mostly German. Hiero Erasme Auguste von Holtorp (1819–84) was evidently German, born in what is now Poland, but emigrated to England where he apparently worked as a draughtsman in a stained glass window manufactory. He cannot have been a wealthy man, and after his death his collection was sold at Sotheby's in 1906 in twenty lots, all of which were purchased for presentation to the John Rylands Library.

It is a pity that more information is not given about this collection and how it was arranged, for it seems to have been of a curious kind that is unfamiliar to print historians. Von Holtorp's method consisted of mounting one or

41. Étienne Delaune, *Combat of Centaurs and Lapiths*, c. 1550–72, engraving, 66 x 220 mm (Manchester, University of Manchester, John Rylands Library).

more prints or cuttings from printed books on stiff cards, annotated with notes of what they were. In 1881 the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum acquired a lesser collection of a similar type, formed by someone called Michael Caspari (perhaps also German in origin), which was devoted entirely to decorated initial letters. More than 1,600 initials were carefully cut out of early printed books and mounted up with notes of the book from which they had come. The sheets were then arranged in order by country and date, and after acquisition were bound up into four large volumes. It seems that many books (let us hope defective copies) were cut up in the later nineteenth century to provide specimen pages. A contemporary note about von Holtorp, quoted here, records that he scrupulously ensured that 'no perfect book would be mutilated to attain the contemplated end'.

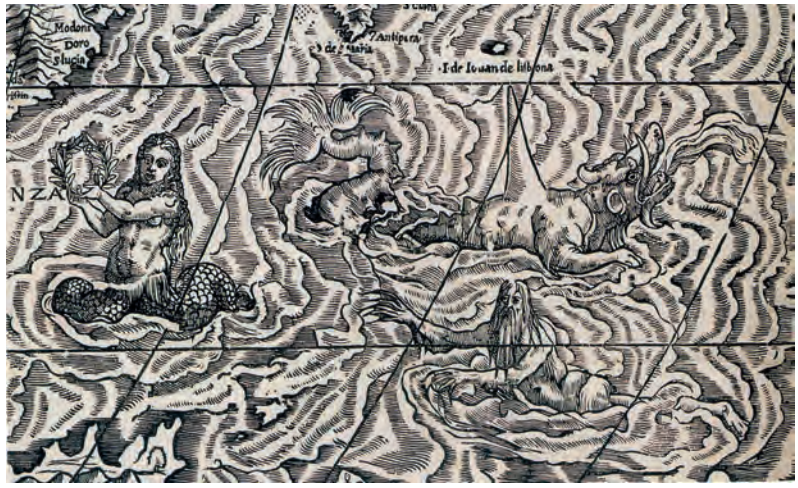
This form of collecting prints as documents of the history of printing is a witness of the close connection that was then rightly seen between letterpress and image printing, and which has often dropped out of sight in more recent times with the modern separation of print and book collections. The Rylands Library, formed around 1900, can give better evidence of this connection than most. There are many other prints on its shelves, including the Buxheim *St Christopher*, thought for many years to be the earliest datable printed sheet, and the magnificent albums from the Spencer collection that were rediscovered by Marjorie Cohn (*A Noble Collection: The Spencer Albums of Old Master Prints*, Cambridge, MA, 1992, esp. pp. 30–34).
ANTONY GRIFFITHS

SEA MONSTERS. Chet Van Duzer's handsome study, *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps* covers more than 650 years, from the earliest example – the fish, boats and other creatures in the Gerona Beatus *mappamundi* of 975 – to the whaling scenes and arctic imagery on Thomas Edge's map of Spitsbergen, in volume III of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* of 1625 (London, British Library Publishing, 2013, 144 pp., 148 col. ills., £20). The book defines a sea monster as 'an aquatic creature that was thought astonishing and exotic (regardless of whether in fact it was real or mythical) in classical, medieval, or Renaissance times'; some of these are meant to represent whales or walruses, while others are metaphorical constructions and hybrid animals such as sea lions, sea horses or mermaids. They are found on world maps and on nautical charts (portolans), giving life to the seas, reflecting both the dangers and the variety of God's creation. On a map, they fill the void of the oceans that cover a very large part of the globe, recalling the words of Jonathan Swift concerning the mapping of Africa:

So Geographers in Afric-Maps
With Savage-Pictures fill their Gaps;
And o'er unhabitable Downs
Place Elephants for want of Towns.

Already in the early eighth century two mermen are found on a relief showing the transportation of timber from King Sargon's palace in Khorsabad, and sea monsters of course have classical precedents. The world maps and sea charts more or less accurately depict fish, but a scene of a giant octopus attacking a ship on a 1367 portolan by the Pizzigani brothers (Bibliotheca Palatina, Parma) recalls the text of Thomas de Catimpré's *De natura rerum* (*On the Nature of Things*). Other maps, such as the Catalan *Estense mappamundi* of c. 1460 (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria), show the three kinds of sirens (half-woman half-fish, half-woman half-bird and half-woman half-horse) as found in the so-called *Tuscan Bestiary*.

The transition between manuscript and printed image is best exemplified by a woodcut in a 1510 edition of *Aesop's Fables*, which illustrates a passage from Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae* and recalls a much earlier manuscript detail from the 1457 Genoese world map (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale), thus suggesting the existence of a lost manuscript illustration of the *Facetiae*. Sea monsters were also included in the map of the printed editions of



42. *A Mermaid, an Orcha and a Sea-God, near the Southern Tip of Africa*, detail from Giacomo Gastaldi, *Cosmographia Universalis*, c. 1561, woodcut, on nine sheets, each 450 x 400 mm (London, British Library).

Ptolemy's *Geography*. More interesting are those of the Behaim globe of 1492, the first to reflect Christopher Columbus's discovery of America, as some of the outlandish figures are based on the respective woodcuts in Jacob Meydenbach's *Hortus sanitatis* published in Mainz the year before. Johann Schöner's printed terrestrial globe of 1515 and his hand-painted globe of 1520 similarly reflect the discovery of America, a parallelism discussed at length in the book. On Martin Waldseemüller's *Carta marina* of 1516, King Manuel I of Portugal is shown riding a sea

43. *St Brendan's Ship on the Back of a Whale*, in H. Philoponus [G. Plautius], *Nova typis transacta navigatio* (Linz, 1621), engraving, 172 x 285 mm (London, British Library).

creature and ruling over the eastern trade, offering a new twist on the iconography with political implications.

Special focus is given to details shown on double pages, illustrating respectively *The Dangers of Sea Monsters*, *Whimsical Sea Monsters*, *The Cartographic Career of the Walrus and More* [and later] *Whimsical Sea Monsters*. One would have liked to find a mention of Albrecht Dürer's extraordinary rendering of the walrus stuffed and kept in salt sent to Pope Leo X by Erik Walkendorf, Bishop of Oslo in 1520, which Dürer sketched in Antwerp in 1521. Although it was never used in a map, it does surface as St Margaret's dragon in a sketch for a *Sacra conversazione*. A classical inspiration is first shown here in Hans Holbein's maps in Simon Grynaeus and Johann Huttich's *Novus orbis regionum et insularum incognitarum* of 1532, with sea monsters drawn from a variety of sources. Olaus Magnus's *Carta marina et descriptio septemtrionalium terrarum ac mirabilium* of 1539 influenced Gerard Mercator's globe of 1542, on which seven of its eleven sea monsters are based; while another two, an iguana and a manatee, are based on woodcuts from Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general de las Indias* (1535). All of these relationships are well illustrated in Van Dozer's study. The 1542 globe by Euphrosynus Ulpius, too, has a few sea monsters based on Olaus Magnus's imagery, while the flying turtle is traced to Cornelis Anthonisz's *Caerte van Oostlant*. Most eclectic is Giacomo Gastaldi who, in his *Cosmographia universalis et exactissima* of c. 1561, used the most recent scientific works by Pierre Belon, Guillaume Rondelet and Conrad Gesner for his illustrations (fig. 42), as well as Olaus Magnus's *Carta marina*. By then these were standard sources. Pierre Belon's *De aquatibus libri duo* of 1553 was used widely, but reversed, by Mercator in his *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio* of 1569. Other sea monsters are shown cavorting among the Mediterranean isles or around Ireland, the latter in Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of 1590.

Whales, including beached whales, always attracted much interest and led to surprising images, such as the one of St Brendan and his ship on the back of a whale, in Honorius Philoponus's (pseudonym of Gaspar Plautius) *Nova typis transacta navigatio* (Linz, 1621; fig. 43). Whaling in the Arctic, off Spitsbergen, took on a new prominence, and this led to the first extensive representations of whaling, as in the eleven vignettes on Thomas Edges's map. The fascination with sea monsters is now replaced by humanity's attempt to control and use the resources not only of the sea, but of the wider world. JEAN MICHEL MASSING

CITY VIEWS. *Mirror of the City. The Printed View in Italy and Beyond: 1450–1940* consists of prints and photographs recently exhibited at Cornell University and introductory essays by Andrew C. Weislogel and Stuart M. Blumin (exhibition catalogue, Ithaca, NY, Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, 11 August–23 December 2012, 120 pp., 81 col. and 7 b. & w. ills., $20). Images of Venice, Rome and Paris

44. Johannes van Doetecum and Lucas van Doetecum, *An Amphitheatre in Rome*, 1562, etching and engraving, 203 x 155 mm (London, British Museum).

preponderate, yet New York and London appear, as do some invented and pastiche cityscapes from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German engravings and Italian woodcut book illustrations. Lithographs by Honoré Daumier, a poster by Pierre Bonnard, photographs by Eugène Atget and Berenice Abbott, and haunting drypoints by Martin Lewis visualize modern city life, marked in turn by discomfort and fear, the lure of entertainment venues and shop windows, structures seen from intriguingly cropped angles, and the socially stratified uses of buildings and cities.

Blumin conceives the city as an independent, increasingly secular subject in art. He traces the origins of the *veduta* (view) to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Netherlandish and French artists who travelled to Rome and elsewhere and strove to record what they saw. He identifies editorial efforts at uniform presentation in suites of topographical prints dating to Alexander VII's pontificate, briefly considers view painting as a genre, introduces eighteenth-century printmakers (Canaletto, Giuseppe Zocchi, Giuseppe Vasi and Piranesi among them) and considers the Grand Tour and its generative link to topographical printmaking. He touches, finally, on nineteenth-century lithography and bird's-eye views and the aesthetic choices

45. Giacomo Lauro, Title-page of *Antiquae urbis vestigia quae nunc extant,* 1628, etching, 184 x 245 mm (London, Warburg Institute).

made possible by another new medium, photography.

Nevertheless, labelling works by Jacques Callot as 'unmediated by narrative' or others by Isräel Silvestre as 'narrative-free' seems unhelpful (pp. 66 and 70). Nearly all exhibited objects depict staffage figures interacting with one another or engaged in activities both typical of urban life and specific to renowned cities. From that time-consuming and deliberate inclusion one might infer that the human presence made views saleable and, what is more, prompted viewers to recall lived experience, to create stories and connections. Blumin himself identifies pilgrims, bandits and other shadowy figures in an etched view of an amphitheatre in Rome (pp. 20 and 64; fig. 44). Clearly, topographical images do not divorce representation, accurate or otherwise, from association, even reverie, and part of the authors' preface makes clear that searching for accuracy is a thorny default position. With or without a camera obscura, all artists knowingly decide what to include.

Erhard Reuwich's *View of Venice* of 1502, cited as 'the first plausible view of a city' is indeed an early example, but the so-called *Carta della Catena* of some decades earlier provides a demonstrably accurate panorama of Florence. A reordered edition of Giacomo Lauro's *Antiquae urbis splendor* (The splendour of ancient Rome) came out in 1628 and included a title-page for a new fourth book, the *Antiquae urbis vestigia quae nunc extant* (The ruins of ancient Rome that now exist), dedicated to Cardinal Maurice of Savoy (fig. 45). The view of the Pantheon therein does not necessarily omit 'two small bell towers' (p. 65): designed by Carlo Maderno, not Bernini, and completed in late 1626, those lambasted structures may not have existed when the undated print was produced (fig. 46). With respect to suites brought out in Rome by members of the De Rossi family – *Il nuovo teatro* (The new theatre), published in four volumes between 1666 and 1699, and the *Prospectus locorum urbis Romae insignium* (Prospect of Rome's distinguished places) of 1666 – Blumin writes of 'the elegance of each volume's binding', but neither print publishers nor print-sellers likely possessed the tools, materials and expertise to offer expensive bound volumes to buyers, who may well have preferred either to obtain individual impressions or to bind prints and books on their own, to maintain consistency within already established collections. In his essay, Weislogel takes up the subject of bindings with this division of labour and outlay in mind.

Like the *veduta,* etching developed north of the Alps,

46. Giacomo Lauro, *View of the Pantheon and the Hadrianeum*, 1628, etching, 184 x 245 mm (London, Warburg Institute).

with Callot and Silvestre serving as models for Giovanni Battista Falda. Piranesi sometimes enhanced his etchings with drypoint and engraving, but the materials and length of time used for biting copperplates likewise differentiated him from Vasi. Weislogel focuses on practical details such as marketing, patronage, dedications, gift giving and artistic collaboration. Two caveats are in order here. First, in 1765 Vasi dedicated his large panorama of Rome and the second edition of its related guidebook to Spain's Charles III. When a controversy arose in that same year, the king reimbursed Vasi for purchasing remaining impressions of the guidebook, not the panorama. Second, Vasi's single-sheet etchings for the festival of the Chinea were distributed as such near and far, not in 'books on festivals'.

Weislogel productively envisages certain topographical print series as legible texts that subtly yet decisively structure viewers' understanding of cities. At the end of his essay he considers Paris. Its turbulent political circumstances and the thoroughgoing urban transformations effected under Baron Haussmann and Napoleon III occasioned both stark dislocations and new conceptions of space that encouraged middle-class men and women to discover and unravel the metropolis on foot. JOHN E. MOORE

FENCING MANUALS. The exhibition catalogue *The Noble Art of the Sword: Fashion and Fencing in Renaissance Europe* by Tobias Capwell, produced to accompany the successful exhibition of the same name, is a treasure trove of information on the sword and its related works of art (London, the Wallace Collection, 17 May–16 September 2012, London, produced for the Wallace Collection by Paul Holberton, 2012, 256 pp., 218 col. and 7 b. & w. ills., £40). The section of most interest to readers of this Journal is undoubtedly the chapter 'Sword and Pen: Fencing Masters and Artists' by Sydney Anglo, which discusses the history of combat manual illustration and the issues inherent in attempting to represent visually a discipline synonymous with movement. The chapter is accompanied by numerous illustrations of prints from the collection of fencing manuals in the Howard de Walden Library, formed by the avid collector of armour the eighth Lord Howard de Walden and on long-term loan to the Wallace Collection (fig. 47). These are used to examine the often complex and sometimes symbiotic relationship between fencing masters and the illustrators of their treatises. Anglo is particularly interested by the way in which later reproductions of books dealt with the orig-

47. Raffaello Schiaminossi, from R. Capo Ferro, *Gran simulcro dell'arte e dell uso della scherma* (Siena, 1610), engraving, 230 x 134 mm (London, Wallace Collection).

inal illustrations, and draws some effective side-by-side comparisons of the quality of engravings in reissues or translations with those in the original publications. The chapter is supplemented by a few illustrations from sources outside the Howard de Walden Library, including two from the Royal Armories's copy of the well-known *L'Académie de l'espée* by Girard Thibault (Leiden, 1630), which allows for an effective scrutiny of the variation in Renaissance fencing literature across Europe.

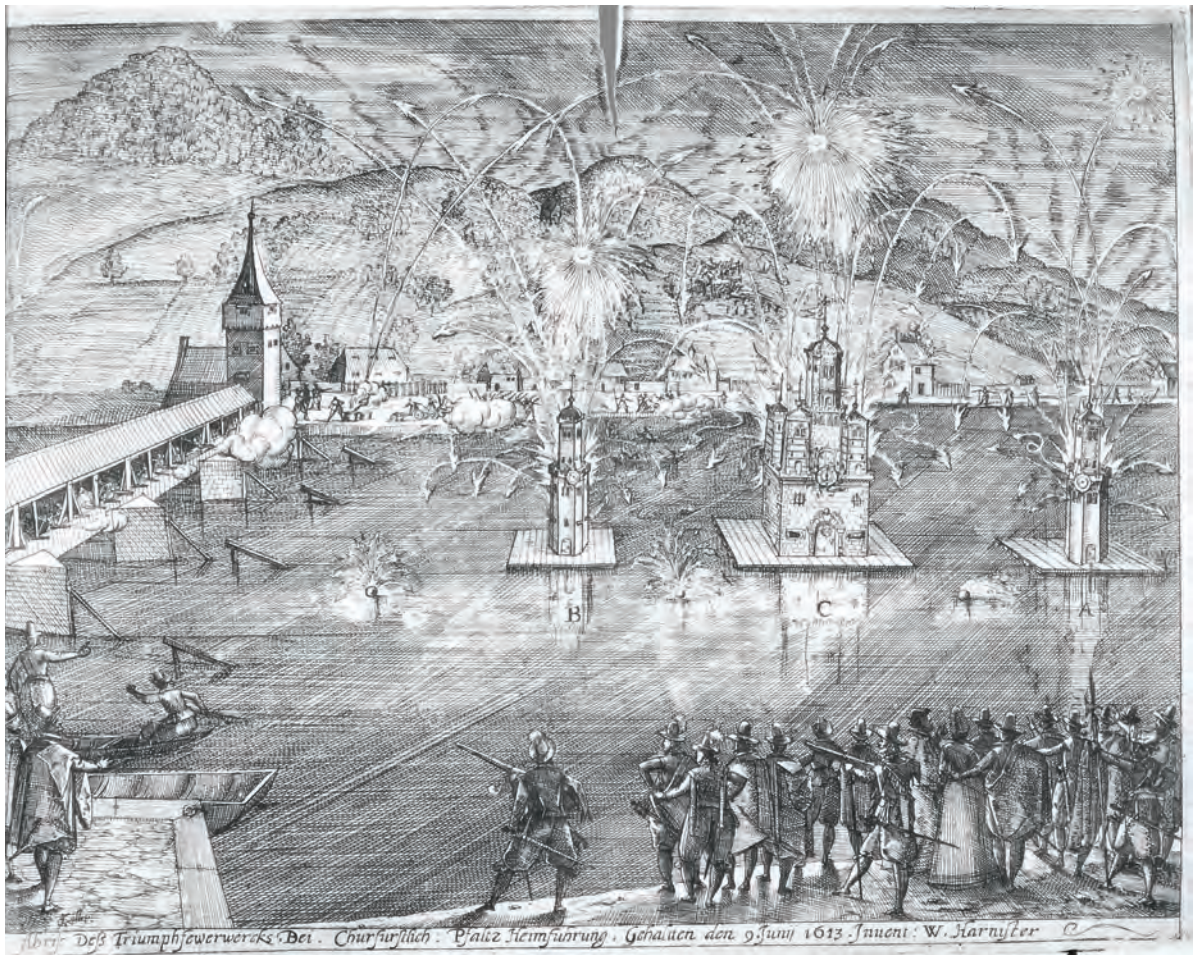
The rest of the catalogue is less focused on print illustrations of fencing and rather documents the swords and paintings in the Wallace Collection. A chapter by Noel Fallows, 'Masters of Fear or Masters of Arms? Jerònimo de Carranza, Luis Pacheco de Narváez and the Martial Arts Treatises of Renaissance Spain', however, also examines the role of illustrated fencing manuals and includes an excellent appendix of selected illustrations and passages in translation and the original Spanish from Luis Pacheco de Narváez's fencing manual *Book on the Grandeur of the Sword, in which Shall Be Shared Many of the Secrets Composed by Knight Commander Jerónimo de Carranza. Which One can Read and Learn on his Own, without the Need of a Master* ('Libro de las grandezas de la espada, en que se declaran muchos secretos del que compuso el Comendador Gerónimo de Carranza. En el qual se podrá licionar y deprender a solas, sin tener necessidad de Maestro que le enseñe', Madrid, 1600). CHARIS WILLIAMS

THE PALATINE WEDDING OF 1613. The event of the Palatine Wedding between Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662), the daughter of King James VI and I, and the Elector Palatine Friedrich V (1596–1632) came at a time of deepening confessional tensions in Europe. With the hopes of both England and Scotland and Europe resting on them, hopes that did not always pull in the same direction, the festivities for the wedding were correspondingly magnificent and culturally rich events, reflecting the transnational and transcultural significance of the union. Yet, as Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade, the editors of *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival,* have correctly ascertained, there are clear lacunae in the scholarship that has to date concerned itself with the Palatine marriage, with scholars of German Studies and English Studies previously having been largely confined to their own genre-specific or nationally-determined interests (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 662 pp., 22 col. and 119 b. & w. ills., €108).

This extensive volume thus makes an impressive effort to address the wedding and its diplomatic, religious and cultural contexts by drawing together the international, comparative and interdisciplinary perspectives that have been so sorely lacking until now. Twenty-three essays take the reader on a festival progress: beginning with the political-confessional responses to the match in Jacobean propaganda (Jaroslav Miller), diplomatic correspondence in the

context of an international Calvinist community (Matthew L. O'Brien) and occasional verse (Christof Ginzel) in the first section; the representation and self-representation of the royal bride and electoral groom are the subject of the second part, with contributions on Scottish attitudes to Princess Elizabeth and the Scottish reaction to her marriage (Maureen M. Meikle), the stylisation of Elizabeth (Nadine Akkerman) and of Friedrich (Sara Smart), the question of precedence within the marriage as fought out in the iconography of Friedrich and Elizabeth's triumphal entry into Heidelberg (Hanns Hubach) and a challenge to the notion that the contemporary literature on the wedding was successful, in particular through negotiation of the prickly question of precedence, in orchestrating a coherent body of meaning in the depiction of the match (Rebecca Calcagno).

The third and fourth parts investigate the festivities that accompanied the wedding in London and the subsequent progress to Heidelberg (fig. 48). Here, the analyses are as diverse as their subject matter, ranging from the symbolism of the naumachia on the Thames (Iain McClure), the importance of dance, theatre and the temporal structures of the masque in 1613 to allegorise the court and political concerns (Anne Daye; Jerzy Limon and Agnieszka Żukowska; Ann Kronbergs), to the festival entries of the newly married couple as they progressed through Europe and the diplomatic and confessional significance of the different receptions they received in the Netherlands and in Hessen-Kassel (Marika Keblusek; Margret Lemberg), until the reader reaches Heidelberg, where they are presented with an historical survey of the growth and exploitation of the cultural wealth and diversity of the ambitious *Residenzstadt* that Friedrich and Elizabeth entered at the end of their wedding progress (Marco Neumaier). A presentation of in-



48. Georg Keller after W. Harnister, *Fireworks Celebrating the Palatine Wedding at Heidelberg*, from Tobias Hübner, *Beschreibung der Rei[ss]* (Heidelberg, 1613), engraving, 225 x 277 mm (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek).

novative digital resources used to map and reveal the lesser-known ports of call during the couple's journey (Molly Taylor-Polesky) and a presentation of a previously unknown ambassadorial account of the wedding (Martin Sorrell) are also part of these two sections.

The fifth and final part of the volume explores the cultural transfers between the English, German and Danish courts in the period after the wedding, with a particular focus on the status and development of music and musicians at the Heidelberg court through dynastic ties (Mara Wade) and on music and dance in the wake of Elizabeth's arrival at the electoral court (Klaus Winkler; Arne Spohr). Nor is the material impact of the cultural exchange between England and Heidelberg on the fabric of the Heidelberg palace neglected, in particular, the representational nature of its gardens (Wolfgang Metzger). On the English side, the material cultural exchange that lies in a fascinating bedstead at Montacute House in Somerset, a piece of furniture purportedly made to commemorate the marriage, is shown to be less a politico-cultural exchange and acknowledgement of good will between courts in 1613 than a cultural exchange between historical eras several hundred years apart and fostering historical myth (Doris Gerstl).

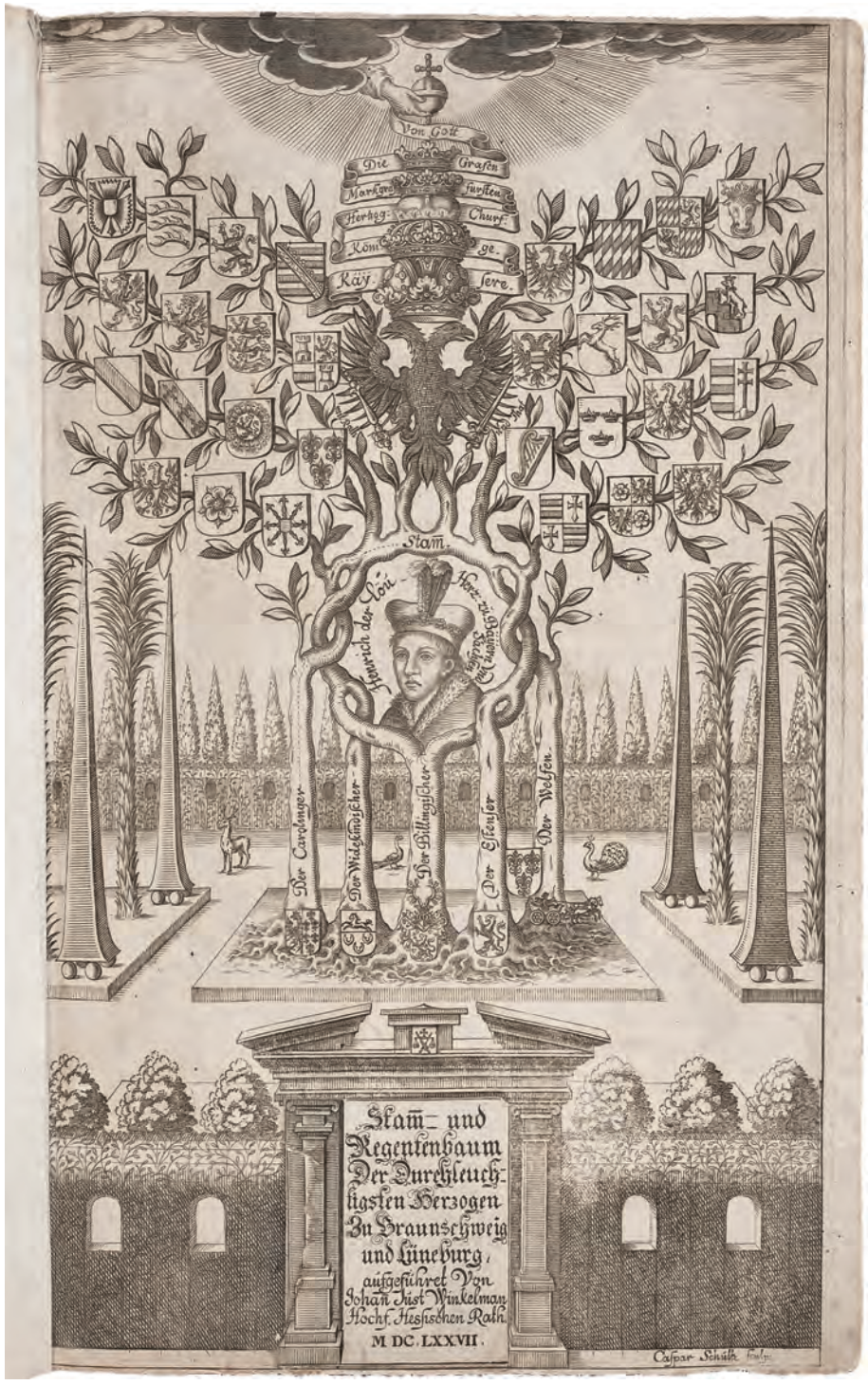
The collection of essays offers a useful and comprehensive study of the Palatine Wedding of 1613 that shines a light on the variety of its cultural references. Not only are the event and the festivities contextualised in their historical, dynastic, political and confessional aspects, thereby broadening the scope of interdisciplinary study of early modern court festivities, in their investigative methodologies and use of new digital resources, several of the authors make genuinely innovative contributions to the wider (and deeper) understanding of the positioning of the Palatine union, before, during and after the event. This volume represents a significant contribution of research that scholars of early modern festivals, musicologists, theatre historians and cultural historians across the disciplines of German, English and, indeed, French Studies will find an invaluable impetus to their own researches.
MADELEINE BROOK

GENEALOGICAL BOOKS. Volker Bauer's *Wurzel, Stamm, Krone: Fürstliche Genealogie in Frühneuzeitlichen Druckwerken* is the catalogue of an exhibition dedicated to genealogical books produced in Germany, primarily from the mid-sixteenth to the eighteenth century (exhibition catalogue, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1 September 2013–23 February 2014, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 2013, 286 pp., 108 col. ills., €39.80). It consists of three substantial essays, which take up a third of the book, and a catalogue section. The first essay studies the relevance of family relationship for politics in early modern Germany, especially connections via the paternal and maternal lines, socially equal and unequal marriages, and the inheritance of territories.

The second essay discusses graphical strategies for presenting genealogical information. First, tree diagrams by Porphyry and Raimundus Lullus, the *Arbor consanguinitatis*, trees in the *Liber Floridus* and images of the Ancestors of Christ are considered. Then a system of nomenclature is proposed, which distinguishes mere lists of fathers and sons, *Stammbäume* (diagrams of the descendants of one person, arranged as a tree), *Stammtafeln* (like *Stammbäume*, but without arboreal allusions), and *Ahnentafeln* (diagrams of the ancestors of one person). There follows an examination of the types of trees used to model family relationships. A fictive Indian tree (inspired by the Banyan fig tree) that has several stems grown together was deemed suitable for depicting complex relationships (fig. 49); literary connotations of palm and cedar trees underline the dignity of princely families; and allusions to the great tree mentioned in the Book of Daniel, chapter 4 (not a genealogical model) emphasize the authority of rulers. The focus of genealogical publications became narrower during the seventeenth century – at first, mythical ancestors that had played an important role in the late Middle Ages are suppressed, and later publications concentrate on living persons and their close relatives.

The final essay discusses the two principal types of genealogical books (pp. 95–123). The first, called 'special genealogies', were lavishly produced and normally richly illustrated works of dynastic propaganda, often put together by scholars linked to a court for princely weddings or funerals, akin to, and sometimes combined with, other courtly publications like descriptions of feasts. They contrast with the 'universal genealogies' that were supposed to discuss all influential dynasties. Since they were not subsidised by courts the universal genealogies were not normally illustrated with engravings. In the early seventeenth century these were often vast, scholarly Latin tomes compiled by academics after much archival research. They were eventually replaced by vernacular booklets, produced by anonymous compilers for commercial publishers, which only contained the most recent generations and were updated frequently. They provided genealogical background information to the readers of the newly-established newspapers, and some of them appeared as periodicals or parts of calendars.

The catalogue describes 58 objects. The first and largest group consists of genealogical tables of very different layouts; in addition to the material discussed in the second essay it also contains examples of biblical genealogy and frontispieces of genealogical works (nos. 2–28). Confusingly, the next section deals with medieval material: genealogical and tree-shaped diagrams from manuscripts of the Herzog August Bibliothek (nos. 29–38). The third presents, in parallel to the third essay, different types of genealogical publications (nos. 39–58). A bibliography contains a plethora of early modern genealogical works



49. Caspar Schultz, *Title-Page Showing the Genealogy of the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg*, from J. J. Winkelmann, *Stamm- und Regentenbaum der durchleuchtigsten Herzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (1677), engraving, 327 x 195 mm (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek).

as well as numerous studies on early modern court culture published since about 1980, reflective of the great scholarly interest this subject has recently attracted in Germany.

This catalogue is helpful in bringing genealogy – like heraldry of central interest in early modern culture but today often neglected as mere antiquarianism – back into focus. Although its text shows little interest in art history besides iconography, this catalogue is a helpful resource because it reproduces and discusses a large group of hitherto insufficiently studied and often iconographically complex Baroque prints. Unfortunately, the opportunity was missed to expand the topic, linking these diagrams to other forms of presenting genealogical information, such as ancestral galleries in castles, or portrait series of successive rulers (hence normally relatives) in historical studies. Also, the section on medieval *Arbores* and the Genealogy of Christ might have deserved more attention. The catalogue would probably have been more user-friendly, especially for scholars who are not fluent in German, had the author used a plainer language. BERTHOLD KRESS

JORDAENS. Four centuries after his birth, the Flemish Baroque painter Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678) can again enjoy the interest of art historians and art lovers. In 2012 the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium and the Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel organized a major exhibition about Jordaens and the antique, no longer laying the focus on his grand-scale genre paintings, but treating his entire oeuvre from the standpoint of classical tradition. The clichéd image of Jordaens as merely a bourgeois painter of scenes of daily life was also recently revised in *Jordaens: Genius of Grand Scale,* a scholarly publication edited by Birgit Ulrike Münch and Zita Agota Patakin, with sixteen authors contributing essays on his artistic production and legacy (Stuttgart, Ibidem, 2012, 548 pp., 104 b. & w. ills., €59.90). Many of these are in German, however, with no English synopsis, which limits their accessibility.

The first part of the volume is about Jordaens's artistic production and treats iconographic and iconological questions as well as technical aspects. Münch's essay emphasizes that Jordaens's proverbs have an intellectual basis and a contextual and formal inventiveness. She illustrates this by the eight precious tapestries designed by the master in 1644 on behalf of three Brussels weavers and subsequently sold to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, and attempts to fit Jordaens's visual interpretation and rendering of proverbs into a long tradition of the use of adages.

The subject of proverbs and the impact of Jacob Cats on Jordaens is taken up by Elsa Osswald. In particular, she notes the artist's ability to combine different themes, such as proverbs and biblical parables, in his compositions with the aim of strengthening their meaning, but she does not adequately explore the possible interpretations. Sarah Riedel-Sophie's contribution gives a chronological overview of the different painted and drawn versions of *The King Drinks*. We find technical and bibliographic data, but no indication of the share of Jordaens and of his studio members in the individual works. Eva de la Fuente Pedersen examines an unknown oil sketch for Jordaens's painting *The Tribute Money* and shows how Jordaens was guided by Rubens's copies after the antique.

With findings mainly based on the correspondence between Jordaens and Constantijn Huygens and Amalia of Solms, Lidwien Speleers and Margriet Eikema Hommes tell the fascinating story of Jordaens's contract for the *Oranjezaal* in Huis ten Bosch. Additionally, the authors pay close attention to the painting techniques of the master.

Pataki examines the concept and composition of two of Jordaens's paintings, *The Death of Cleopatra* and *The Banquet of Cleopatra* of 1653, which hung in the house of the Milanese merchant banker Giacomo Antonio Carenna in Antwerp. Literary texts of classical antiquity, the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century are involved. The author tries to read a 'rhetorical meaning' in the paintings' compositional structure. Her arguments are not always convincing, such as comparing the theatrical staging in Jordaens's *Death of Cleopatra* with Shakespeare's play *Antony and Cleopatra*. More plausible links are those between the dying Cleopatra and the portrayal of Catholic female martyrs and Venuses in painting. It is a missed opportunity that the author did not consider the relationship between the paintings and the person of Carenna.

Daniela Roberts highlights a thematically exceptional piece, *The Allegory of the Peace of Westphalia*. This political-religious image remains ambiguous. Is it intended to represent the hidden aspirations of the Princes of Orange to the English throne, or is it rather a general tribute to an ideal dominion legitimized by God, which guarantees peace and prosperity?

It is well known that Jordaens became a Calvinist, and Dominiek Fugger discusses whether his choice of subject matter was influenced by his religious affiliation. The meaning of *Soo D'oude Songen* is examined using texts by authors such as Dirck Volkerstz. Coornhert, Jacob Cats and the Jesuit Adriaen Poirters, and Calvinist and Catholic positions on free will, predestination and morality are considered. Fugger also discusses the relationship between *The King Drinks* and *Soo D'oude Songen*. His analysis of the text of the song of Calloo that appears in the painting *Soo D'oude Songen* offers a welcome additional interpretation to Osswald's essay.

The final text of part one of this publication convincingly demonstrates how the analysis of the pigments and ingredients used in ground layers of paintings by Jordaens may be helpful for dating the paintings and their enlargements. The authors also dwell on the role of ground layers in the creative process of the artist.

The second part of the volume focuses on the perception of Jordaens and his work through art history. Jaco Rutgers tries to map Jordaens's graphic oeuvre, primarily

through a list of drawings and prints and of the engravers and print publishers with whom Jordaens was involved. Unfortunately, he omits a greater contextualization within the network of relationships and print practice in seventeenth-century Antwerp.

In a clear and structured way, Irene Schaudies examines whether the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century image of Jordaens as a realistic genre painter par excellence is consistent with the perception of him by his contemporaries and by eighteenth-century historiographers. It appears that Jordaens was initially considered a painter of prestigious large-scale paintings for an elite audience, a master at ease in depicting nature and characterized by loose brushwork. The fact that Jordaens never travelled to Italy was perceived as a minor false note. The image of him relaxing with a glass of wine after a hard day's work evolved over time into a more frivolous image linked to his so called 'nimble' genre subjects.

Justus Lange studies the significance of paintings by Jordaens in the collection of Landgraf Wilhelm VIII von Hessen-Kassel, founder of what became later known as the Gemäldegalerie in Kassel. He compares the Jordaens paintings in Wilhelm's collection with Jordaens's canvases in the collections of the King August III of Saxony, Elector Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz and King Frederick the Great of Prussia. One of the main questions is the relationship in these collections between the paintings by Jordaens and those by masters of other schools (Dutch, Flemish, Italian and French). How does the work of the Antwerp painter relate to the personal taste of the collector on the one hand and the zeitgeist on the other? Nina Simone Schepkowski compares the Jordaens's canvases sold by the Berlin art dealer Johann Ernest Gotzkowsky to Empress Catherine II and the Prussian monarch Frederick II. She focuses on the qualitative difference between the Jordaens paintings in the collection of both rulers and examines the reasons for this distinction.

Martina Dlugaiczyck outlines the perception of Jordaens at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Flemish movement in Belgium tried to subsume Jordaens in its political ideology, presenting him as the antithesis to the conservative Catholic Rubens. Dlugaiczyck also tries to determine how popular Jordaens's paintings were among artists and amateur copyists. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, his paintings achieved high peaks at auctions, but for the next two centuries there was very little demand for his work. Peter Carpeau attempts to link this trend in auction prices to the appreciation of the artist's work, providing a link also to the contemporary art market.

This bulky volume opens new avenues for further research. It is not always easy to read, however, and would have benefited from more illustrations. Its greatest merit is undoubtedly its kaleidoscopic view of Jordaens's art.

ANN DIELS

CORNELIS VISSCHER AND CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS'S *KOREN-BLOEMEN*. In his autobiography of around 1630, the secretary to the stadholder, poet and patron of the arts Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) noted 'I am always eager to be on friendly terms with famous men', a comment that has rightly been interpreted in relation to Huygens's contemporary interests in establishing friendships with artists (C. L. Heesakkers, *Constantijn Huygens: Mijn jeugd*, Amsterdam, 1987, p. 74). Huygens was well placed among Dutch and Flemish artists in the period: his house in The Hague sat next door to that of Jacques de Gheyn II; he famously visited the studios of the young Leiden painters Rembrandt van Rijn and Jan Lievens only shortly before discussing them at length in his autobiography; and he maintained ongoing relationships with leading Flemish artists like Sir Peter Paul Rubens and Jacob Jordaens.

While Huygens's artistic contacts of the 1630s and 1640s have been extensively documented, his later correspondence with artists like the prolific printmaker and draughtsman Cornelis Visscher (1628/9–58) has thus far largely evaded recognition, despite references to the artist in published letters (C. Huygens, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens, 1608–1697*, edited by J.A. Worp, The

50. Cornelis Visscher after Christiaan Huygens, *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens*, 1657, engraving and etching, 195 x 160 mm (London, British Museum).

51. Cornelis Visscher after Jan de Bray, *Portrait of Jacob Westerbaen*, 1657, engraving and etching, 125 x 90 mm (London, British Museum).

Hague, 1911–17, V, pp. 291, 295). In 1657 Huygens commissioned an engraved portrait from Visscher after a lost drawing by Huygens's son Christiaan (1629–95; fig. 50) to be included as the frontispiece to the *Koren-bloemen* (Corn Flowers), a book of Huygens's Dutch poems and arguably the most important book of poetry published in the Dutch seventeenth century, which first appeared in 1658. In the text's expanded second edition published in 1672, the portrait was replaced by an engraving by Abraham Blooteling after a painting by Caspar Netscher, now in the Rijksmuseum. Unfortunately no direct correspondence between Huygens and Visscher appears to survive today, though a rough chronology of the commission can nonetheless be developed through information gleaned from letters written by Constantijn and Christian to individuals directly or indirectly associated with the project.

Visscher was evidently well underway with Huygens's engraved portrait by late July 1657. A letter from Huygens to his friend and fellow poet Jacob Westerbaen dated 30 July notes that 'Visscher wanted this portrait of me, the final touches of which have not yet been put in place, to be shown to you; for what reason I do not know, unless perhaps he wanted you to figure out from this what you might be able to apply to your own portrait. (Effigiem hanc meam, cui suprema manus nondum imposita est, voluit Visscherus tibi ostendi; quam ob causam nescio, nisi forte ut ex hoc conijceres, quid tibi de tua promittere posses.)' Westerbaen likewise commissioned an engraved portrait from Visscher after a lost drawing by Westerbaen's nephew Jan de Bray to be used as the frontispiece to his own book of poems, the *Gedichten* (Poems) published in 1657 (fig. 51).

A second letter from Huygens to his brother-in-law David le Leu de Wilhelm dated 17 November 1657 indicates that progress on the engraving had come to a standstill late in the year and that the unfinished engraving was delaying the book's publication. Huygens laments that the print, 'which was drawn by my Archimedes [Christiaan], which the engraver of Amsterdam [Visscher] would have completed were it not for the torments which the poor man is suffering. (quam effigies, si Dijs placet, mea, quam, ab Archimede meo delineatam, sculptor Amstelodamensis jam nunc absolvisset, absque cruciatus fuissent, quos vir miserandus patitur).' So eager was Huygens to see his work published that he confided to de Wilhelm that the poems 'beat their prisons, so that nothing hereafter may delay their publication'.

Constantijn and Christiaan contemporaneously sent several more letters to individuals involved in the publication of the *Koren-bloemen* that shed additional light into the publication process of the text. A letter dating to October 1657 from Constantijn to his son included the completed Latin poem on Christiaan's drawing, which was to be appended below Visscher's portrait in the first edition of the *Koren-bloemen* (C. Huygens, *Oeuvres Complètes de Christiaan Huygens*, The Hague, 1888–1950, II, p. 77, no. 420). Christiaan, in turn, was in communication with Hendrik Bruno, vice-principal of the Latin school in Hoorn and Christiaan's former tutor, regarding Bruno's poem for inclusion in the book. Bruno responded on 12 November 1657 with a letter requesting Christiaan's pardon for not having yet provided the poem, which he evidently sent shortly thereafter. Though undated, a fragment of a letter from Christiaan to an unfortunately unknown contact involved in the production of the *Koren-bloemen* is also known. Based on its contents, the letter probably dates to October or November 1657 and provides additional evidence that Visscher was then suffering from an unknown malady that delayed both his completion of the print and the book's publication:

> At the end of these [matters] my father let me know this too in order to take further action. [Asking] that you please say to the engraver who is making the title page that he send an impression so that we may write in it the letters of the title. Further that he wishes to recommend to Mr. Visscher the completion of the portrait, as soon as his disposition permits. The printer

Vlack [Adriaan Vlacq] said today that he, Visscher, still had about three weeks' work to do, which can't be believed (Ibid., XXII, p. 63).

Visscher's engraving must have been completed shortly thereafter, as the print bears a Roman numeral date of 1657 in its final state, and the artist died and was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on 16 January of the following year.

These documents shed valuable light on the final months of Visscher's life. Since the early nineteenth century, a number of authors claimed that Visscher was ill in the months preceding his death, but none marshaled evidence in support of their assertions. The surviving letters from Constantijn and Christiaan Huygens described above present the only known documentation that corroborates these otherwise unsubstantiated claims. JOHN HAWLEY

CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS. The Huygens family continually emerges in the margins of the history of Dutch art, and constantly causes problems as the members are so easy to confuse. There were four of them, all important figures, and they shared two first names. The earliest was Christiaan (1551–1624), the secretary to William the Silent, who married the sister of the famous draughtsman and miniaturist Joris Hoefnagel. His position in the Orange court was inherited by the next two generations of the family: his son Constantijn the elder (1596–1687) was secretary to the Stadholder Frederik Hendrik, and his grandson Constantijn the younger (1628–97) later served as secretary to William of Orange and accompanied him on the invasion of England in 1688. Both Constantijns inherited an interest in art; the elder was one of the first to recognize Rembrandt, the younger was a connoisseur and collector. Constantijn II's younger brother Christiaan (1629–93) was a brilliant scientist, closely connected with the invention of the pendulum clock and the spiral spring watch. All four men wrote copiously: Christiaan II's writings fill 22 volumes, his father's letters two volumes plus other volumes of his poetry, while Constantijn II was an indefatigable diarist.

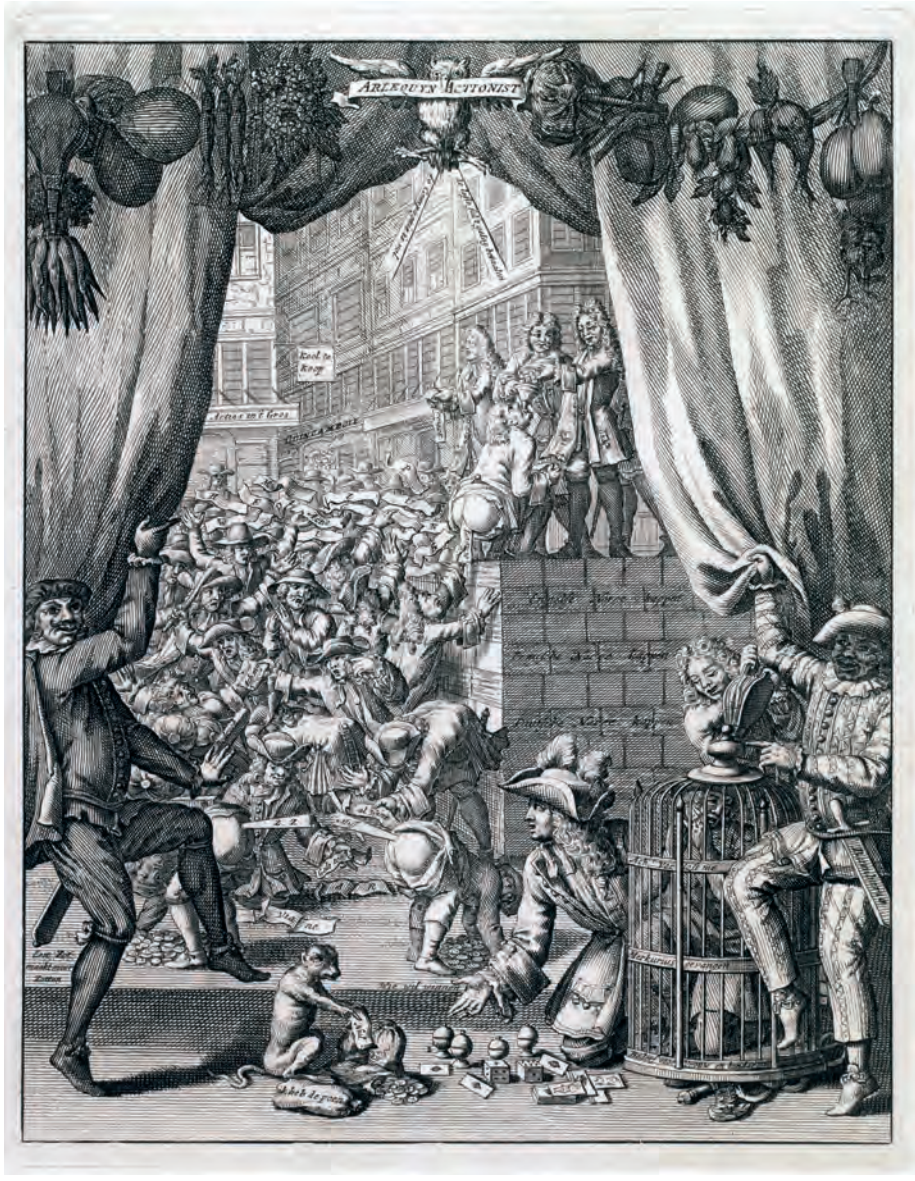
It is these diaries that stand at the centre of the new book by Rudolf Dekker, *Family, Culture and Society in the Diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr, Secretary to Stadholder-King William of Orange* (Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2013, 205 pp., 37 b. & w. ills., €98). Constantijn's surviving journals with over 2,000 pages were published in separate groups in the late nineteenth century. They are in Dutch, which means that few have read them despite the fact that they are a parallel to Pepys's famous diaries (though they are much less personal and readable). They cover all aspects of his life, and are full of gossip and incidental detail. Dekker (as befits his position as Director of the Center of Egodocuments and History in Amsterdam) brings out their interest to many facets of the study of the past and as a human document. He has structured his monograph around some subjects on which the diaries throw light. Each chapter offers extracts that illustrate a different theme, whether it is his eye-witness account of the 1688 invasion, or the views on quacks and witches that emerge from his entries. The diaries are an historical source of prime importance, and their account of William's difficult personality and the very tense relationships of the Dutch and English after 1688 explains a lot about why the Anglo-Dutch political connection evaporated so quickly after William's death in 1702.

Most readers of these pages will turn to the chapter on Constantijn as connoisseur and minor collector of art. There is much on the paintings that he saw in Holland and England, and much on the dealers and sales that he attended in London in the years between 1688 and 1696. The names of Sonnius, Tempest, Tompson, Browne and Cooper recur, and occasional gossip explains what was going on behind the bare facts. Dekker has done a good job in extracting passages of interest, and they can be supplemented by others that are found in the published correspondence between him and his brother Christiaan, who spent many years in Paris. Constantijn's diary is now available online at www.dbnl.org, the 'Digital Library of Dutch Literature', and 350 extracts from it relating to the London art world have been translated by Sanne van der Schee in the invaluable website edited by Richard Stephens devoted to 'The Art World in Britain 1660–1735'. ANTONY GRIFFITHS

THE FINANCIAL CRASH OF 1720. The first major international stock market crash occurred in 1720, and the dramatic events and perceived foolishness associated with this incident were depicted in a compilation of printed works, *Het Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid* (The Great Mirror of Folly). Early versions of the compilation appeared in the Netherlands in 1720 within months of stock market crashes in France, England and the Dutch Provinces. The *Tafereel* presented satirical prints, poems and plays to record the evolution and collapse of the new financial technology of trading paper and to warn future generations of the dangers of such trade.

In the early eighteenth century, joint stock companies were established to purchase most of the national debt of France and England, to exploit the resources of the Louisiana Territory in the New World (John Law's Mississippi Scheme in France), and to trade with the colonies of South America (the South Sea Company in Britain). These companies and others issued paper share certificates that could be traded between investors, and excitement about the investments was widespread. While the speculative bubbles that resulted were massive financial events, the crashes that followed did not cause widespread economic crises, but in the popular imagination and print media the bubbles were seen as exceedingly disruptive and senseless.

The *Tafereel* and the events of 1720 are examined in *The Great Mirror of Folly: Finance, Culture and the Crash of 1720* (edited by William N. Goetzmann et al., New Haven and London,



52. Anonymous artist, *Harlequin Share Trader*, 1720, engraving, 241 mm x 191 mm (Farmington, CT, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University).

Yale University Press, 2013, 346 pp., 249 col. ills., $68). This book presents a cross-disciplinary study of the publishing history of the *Tafareel*, and cultural and literary responses to the financial crises of 1720. It also provides economic and financial analyses of the events of 1720, and 69 of the 74 satirical prints found in four editions of the *Tafereel*.

In the foreword, Robert Shiller notes that speculative bubbles did not seem to occur before printed news materials were widely available. He describes a speculative bubble as a social contagion in a marketplace largely spread by stories, amplified by news media, of riches gained through speculative trading. *The Great Mirror* provides a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between print media and bubble phenomena.

In the Tulipmania of the 1630s, the speculative trade in contracts for the sale of tulip bulbs was called *windhandel* ('trade in wind'), implying that foolish investors traded nothing more substantial than air. Engravings from this

and later speculative episodes depicting paper shares carried away by the wind or chewed by mice were adapted for the *Tafereel*. Comedic illustrations of the paper trade showed stockjobbers and merchants excreting or vomiting share certificates to waiting investors; see fig. 52, where the curtain is drawn back by a stock broker and a harlequin as several figures drop their trousers to emit blasts of 'wind' to waiting share traders; a figure, possibly John Law,

53. Anonymous artist, *The World Is a Stage, Each Plays His Role and Gets His Share*, 1720, engraving, 444 mm x 388 mm (New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

plays dice with an ape in the foreground.

Part I of *The Great Mirror* includes three chapters related to the publishing history of the *Tafereel*. The first chapter considers how the *Tafereel* was read at the time of its publication, how it may be read today, and how the practice of emblematization in the dense visual structure of the prints invited careful examination of the illustrations. The second chapter describes the evolution of the *Tafereel* through several editions and elaborates on the order of the prints as a kind of theatrical drama organized into prologue, various acts and epilogue. Consider fig. 53, for example, which represents the stage of the Amsterdam Theatre on which a group of bubble traders, led by John Law riding an investor in chains, are met by the Devil and mocked by Bombario, dressed as Harlequin; on each side of the stage are five scenes of trade in the New World, the root cause of the speculation. Research into documents related to the emergence of financial markets and the events of 1720 is discussed in the third chapter.

Economic analysis is provided in the five chapters of Part II of *The Great Mirror*. These chapters include a description of the Dutch perspective of financial markets in London and Paris and relate recent economic theory regarding bubble behaviour to the activities of speculators in 1720. Law's Mississippi Scheme is evaluated from a contemporary perspective, as is his place in the collective memory of the French and his relationship to Lord Londonderry, an active participant in the bubbles of France, Britain, the Netherlands and the Caribbean. An analysis of Dutch stock markets asserts that the economic consequences of the crashes were least severe for the Dutch largely because their markets were better developed and Dutch investors were relatively sophisticated.

Part III contains eight chapters that analyse literary and cultural elements of the *Tafereel* and the role of writers, artists and publishers in shaping our understanding of financial crises. A discussion of the origins of many of the prints is followed by a discourse on the roles of the classical art of memory and the emblematic tradition in the images of the *Tafereel*. A comparison is made between Dutch and English texts and prints, and depictions of financial speculation in Dutch theatre are explored. The French cultural context of some of the engravings is examined and related to John Law's financial system and the Rococo style in the fine arts, and a game metaphor for the risks of the bubble trade is illustrated with two decks of satirical playing cards. The final chapter highlights the depiction in many of the prints of the risks and benefits of globalization.

Financial innovations of this period became the foundation for modern financial markets, but were not well understood by most investors at the time. A new financial technology based on paper that could be swept up by the wind did not make sense, but stories of great riches combined with carefully tailored payment schemes were very seductive. Shiller asserts that despite the superficial differences between bubbles 300 years ago and similar recent events, human nature and behaviour related to bubbles has not changed much. The comprehensive cross-disciplinary study in *The Great Mirror* makes an important contribution to our understanding of the relationship between print media and bubble episodes. BRUCE WAMBHEIM

REPRODUCING DRAWINGS: CAYLUS AND THE *RECUEIL* OF PRINTS. Anne-Claude-Philippe de Thubières, Comte de Caylus (1692–1765), connoisseur, antiquarian and prolific etcher, is a familiar name to print scholars. Alexandra Blanc chose to approach this famous figure from an intriguing and relatively unexplored angle by focusing her thesis on one particular compendium (*recueil*) of etchings made and assembled by Caylus himself and presented to the miniaturist and amateur Jacques-Antoine Arlaud in 1728 (*Collections et pratiques d'un amateur au XVIIIe siècle: les recueils de dessins gravés du Comte de Caylus*, Neuchâtel, 2013, 268 pp., 85 col. ills., €24). As suggested by Blanc's title, all the prints in the album, which is in the collection of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva, were made after drawings.

Other similar *recueils* of prints by Caylus are known, and their content is not homogeneous; the selection of prints and their arrangement within volumes differ from one to the other. Marcel Roux described the composition of Caylus's *recueils* as seemingly random (*Inventaire du Fonds français, Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1940, IV, pp. 53–54). Blanc aims to show that it was not the case, and that although differences can be observed between various albums, their composition was dictated by similar purposes.

While her object is not to discuss Caylus's oeuvre in general, Blanc precedes her analysis of the Arlaud album by placing it in the wider context of the intellectual debates occurring in artistic circles of early eighteenth-century Paris. A shift in perception saw drawing gain a new appreciation as the most direct expression of an artist's genius and *maniera*. Consequent demand for reproductions of these unique works of art led to the publication of albums of reproductive prints. Caylus played a crucial role in the matter; in his opinion, copying the works of the masters was essential in educating the eye of the amateur, and he set himself to the task, producing over 3,000 reproductive prints, which he viewed as substitutes for the drawings themselves. But this was not solely for his own benefit; by offering volumes of these reproductive prints to fellow amateurs, he intended to both further their knowledge and influence their taste. In the absence of comprehensive sources such as correspondence, it is difficult to determine how exactly Caylus came to present one of these albums to Arlaud, but Blanc provides enough historical context to make an educated guess: both men had common acquaintances and one can imagine they met as fellow amateurs at the Hôtel Crozat.

54. Anne-Claude-Philippe de Thubières, Comte de Caylus, *Album Page with Two Etchings after Drawings by Parmigianino*, from *Recueil de dessins gravés du Comte de Caylus*, c. 1720–28, etching, upper etching 165 x 246 mm, lower etching 222 x 182 mm (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire).

55. Anne-Claude-Philippe de Thubières, Comte de Caylus, *Album Page with an Etching after a Drawing by Francesco Brizio of Three Nude Children and one by Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli of The Holy Family with the Infant St John the Baptist*, from *Recueil de dessins gravés du Comte de Caylus*, c. 1720–28, etching, upper etching 186 x 254 mm, lower etching 199 x 272 mm (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire).

When analysing the composition of the Arlaud album, Blanc notes that the etchings are arranged first by school and, within each school, by artist. The order of the prints appears to obey a logic of comparison, either to highlight their difference or their similarities – whether regarding style, composition or iconography (fig. 54, where unrelated prints of carrying figures are combined). Opportune comparisons help isolate an artist's style, and this perfectly serves Caylus's agenda of educating the eye (fig. 55). But pedagogical matters were not the sole issue to consider: whilst smaller prints could be presented on the same sheet, practicalities dictated that larger plates had to occupy one page each. And Blanc rightly mentions the playful aspect of the enterprise, reminding us that Caylus was an amateur working within the walls of a private sphere, and that finding the right comparison must have been a source of amusement for him.

Blanc strengthens her point by comparing the Arlaud album to five similar *recueils*; while none of them are perfectly identical, they share enough traits – a predominance of Italian artists, formal and iconographical comparisons dictating the arrangement of the prints – to show that the 'seemingly random' arrangement was in fact carefully thought out.

The book is well illustrated, with some side-by-side comparisons of prints and their corresponding drawings, examples of pages from other print compendia assembled by Caylus, and photographic reproductions of all the prints contained in the Arlaud album. While the images are relatively small, they are preceded by a series of comprehensive tables, one for each etching, recording the attribution, title, plate number, inscriptions, dimensions, bibliographical reference and, when known, the present location of the related drawing.

With so much ground to cover, the text can sometimes appear a bit dense, and some particular points would merit further exploration, but the author herself acknowledges that there is still much to discover and that her thesis could provide a basis for future studies. CHARLOTTE LEPETOUKHA

FASHION IN PRINT. Catherine Flood and Sarah Grant's catalogue *Style and Satire: Fashion in Print 1777–1927* is an introduction to European fashion prints and their satirical graphic counterparts from the end of the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century (London, V&A Publishing, 2014, 80 pp., 44 col. ills., £12.99). The cultural establishment, the dramatic rise in popularity and production, and the 'inevitable' decline of traditional fashion prints determines this timeframe. The catalogue, however, concentrates on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with an emphasis on Paris after the 1789 French Revolution when the printing press was less strictly controlled. This leaves little room to detail the highly stylized twentieth-century Art Deco fashion plates.

Style and Satire re-examines the relationships between fashion plates and fashion satires and argues against what is commonly perceived as their opposing viewpoints. The authors claim that these prints not only shared the same subject matter, but were often made by the same printers, issued by the same publishers and consumed by a shared audience. They also borrowed compositions and settings from one another to such an extent that it could be unclear as to which genre a print belonged (see fig. 56, which incorporates the ambiguity between fashion plate and satire).

56. Georges-Jacques Gatine after Horace Vernet, *Merveilleuse: Italian Straw Hat, Overdress in the Chinese Style,* from the series *Incroyables et Merveilleuses,* c. 1813, hand-coloured etching, 370 x 250 mm (London, Victoria and Albert Museum).

Additionally, the catalogue emphasizes the way that graphic satires highlighted and extrapolated underlying issues seen in the fashion plates. For instance, the social obligations of wearing particular garments are shown to have governed class behaviour and encouraged cultures of spectatorship and consumerism. The many satirical images depicting fashionably dressed, affluent characters peering at shop-window displays of fashion prints playfully capture this. These caricatures often look as though they are caught consulting a set of rules and eagerly reflecting what they see. Here the messages are that fashion can provide a (superficial) affirmation of oneself within a particular socio-economic group or national boundary, but only if it is strictly obeyed and is not a platform for individual expression or enjoyment, as it might initially seem. Thus, fashion satires not only exposed the absurdities of fashion – indeed, many eighteenth-century fashions appear to challenge common sense – but also revealed anxious moral undercurrents.

Because *Style and Satire* does not assume in-depth knowledge of prints from its readers, it describes the defining characteristics of different types of prints in relation to how they were made and used as fashion plates. For example, etchings lent themselves to elegant illustrations, yet were usurped by wood-engravings, developed in the 1820s, because these enabled images to be printed alongside moveable metal type. Lithography, developed concurrently in France, is also detailed, and described as being capable of reproducing freehand drawing (suitable for graphic fashion satires) because no lines are etched or cut around, and instead an image is retained on a printing surface as greasy marks. Such concentration on the medium's materiality enhances the subject matter, adding to the variety of reasons for the popularity of prints in illustrating fashion, as well as consolidating their role as decorative objects in their own right. Prints were a suitable medium for presenting fashion due to their rapid and wide dissemination as well as their ephemeral nature. Thus prints not only reflected, but also helped to create, fashion and people's appetite for it.

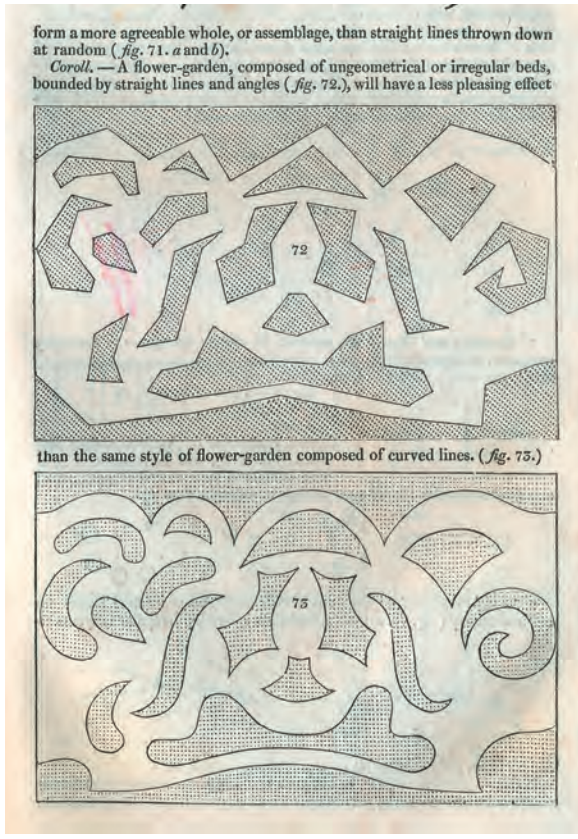
This exploration of prints is typically intertwined with histories of technologies, such as the mid-nineteenth-century expansion of the periodical press, which enabled fashion prints to be accessed by wider, middle-class audiences and to be used as commercial outlets by female artists. However, the focus on technology, including photography and photochemical printing techniques, explains the decline of fashion plates and graphic fashion satires in a rather technologically deterministic way.

Overall, *Style and Satire* provides a beautifully illustrated journey through the history of fashion plates and their relationship with graphic fashion satires. The power of the print and the politics of representation shine through. There is certainly scope to expand this topic, especially as this is the first attempt to explore the two types of prints side-by-side and to focus on their interwoven histories.
HELEN COBBY

THE LOUDONS AND THE GARDENING PRESS. Few Victorian authors were as productive and influential in the world of British horticulture, arboriculture, floriculture and landscape gardening as John (1783–1843) and Jane Loudon (1807–58). The lavishly illustrated books and serials of this energetic husband-and-wife team, from *The Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822) to *The Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* (1849–50), were calculated to foster good gardening practice and amateur gardening among the poor and the middle classes. They were also intended to educate gardeners in an effort to raise their status from rude mechanicals to vernacular saints – in other words, to propel the modern practical gardener up the social hierarchy to become a sober, decent, and autonomous agent. Gardeners should, John Loudon suggested, perhaps even resist the distractions of an active sex life.

Whilst we know much about the Loudons and their accomplishments, Sarah Dewis, in her recent book *The Loudons and the Gardening Press: A Victorian Cultural Industry*, is the first scholar to examine systematically their remarkable contribution to gardening and democratic discourse during a period of profound social and political change and industrial and agricultural improvement, and to explore the relevance and impact of their publications for the period 1820 to 1850 (Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2014, 278 pp., 35 b. & w. ills., £65).

The Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement (1826–44) is, not surprisingly, central to Dewis's admirable study. This popular miscellany – the 'grave objects' of which were, in Loudon's words, 'to disseminate new and important information on all topics connected with horticulture, and to raise the intellect and character of those engaged in this art' – remains the author's single greatest and most lasting achievement: not only was it the first British periodical to combine the science and design of gardens; it professionalised the body of gardening knowledge, and it was pioneering in its extensive use of wood engravings (fig. 57, which purports to demonstrate the more pleasing effect of a flower garden composed of curved lines, seen in the lower image, in comparison to one composed of ungeometrical or irregular beds, bounded by straight lines and angles, as seen in the upper image). The gentlemanly pursuit of sketching was also encouraged, and referring to fig. 58, Loudon remarked that the 'grouping and expression [of this sketch] may serve as hints to young gardeners learning to draw'.

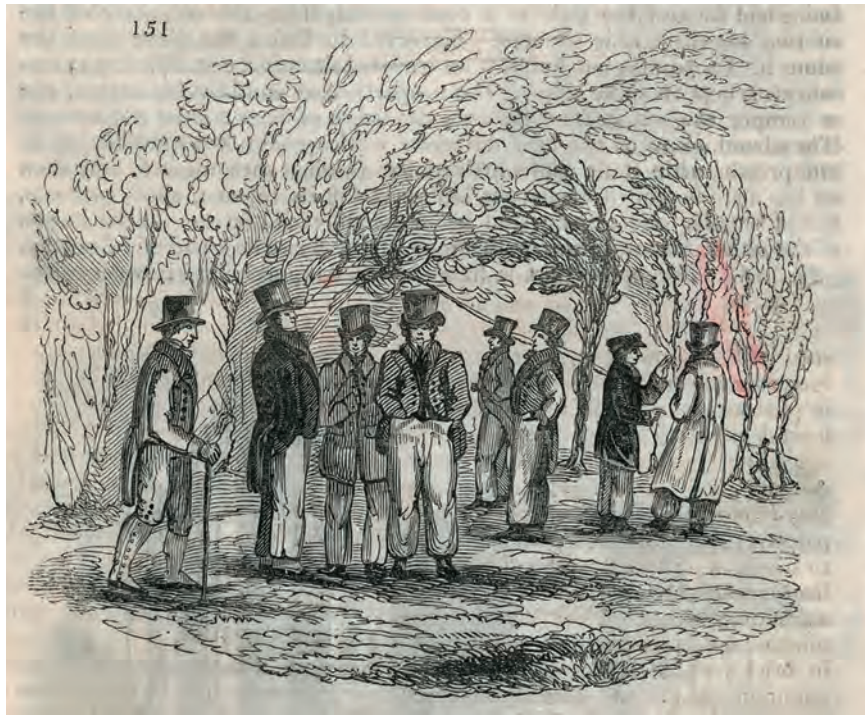


57. Anonymous artist after Ramsay Richard Reinagle, *A Flower-Garden, Composed of Irregular Beds, Compared to One Composed of Curved Lines*, wood-engraving, 91 x 123 mm, from *The Gardener's Magazine*, III, 1828, p. 249.

The *Magazine* was, moreover, inclusive and democratic, anticipating reformist periodicals of the 1840s: in a move much criticised by some members of the landed classes, it gave a voice to its many artisan readers. Loudon, as the journal's 'conductor', or editor, invited 'all those who take an interest in gardening to assist us by their advice, and by the communication of information on every subject connected with the work'. Those 'unaccustomed to write' were exhorted to contribute.

Among the most vehement critics of this strategy was James Rennie, the first professor of natural history and zoology at King's College, London, who in June 1834 commented on Loudon's writings:

> We have often wondered that nobody has hitherto taken the trouble to unmask the shameless wholesale plagiarisms, the vulgar filthy language, and the utter ignorance and presumption which issue from the book manufactory of Bayswater [Loudon's townhouse], and pollute the taste and unhinge the principles, religious, moral and political of gardeners and others, who un-



58. Anonymous artist, *A 'Stormy but Perfectly Good-Natured Discussion' amongst Gardeners near Gainsborough, Lincolnshire*, wood-engraving, 75 x 86 mm, from *The Gardener's Magazine*, V, 1829, p. 676.

thinkingly drink their poison.

The book also explores Loudon's efforts to develop a national discourse on the social benefits of landscape improvements, and in particular to reconfigure gardens in the public sphere as landscapes of enlightenment and as a means of social cohesion – aims that he pursues in the *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (1838) and *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on Improvements of Churchyards* (1843). This is complemented by an analysis of his interest in the promotion of amateur middle-class gardening in the private sphere and its contribution to what he describes as 'our ideas of happiness'. Here Dewis mines the author's *Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion* (1838) to suggest how he encouraged women to participate as both consumers and producers of public scientific and aesthetic discourse. Loudon's interest in the domestic sphere was doubtless sharpened by his marriage in 1830, at the age of 47, to the 23-year-old Jane Webb. Webb, who had already achieved a degree of commercial success in the publishing world with her anonymous first novel *The Mummy! A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century* (1827), and *Stories of a Bride* (1829), became Loudon's amanuensis and editorial assistant – a role especially valuable to him since his right arm had been amputated in 1825. She later became a garden force of her own in her role as editor of the short-lived *Ladies' Companion*, which encouraged women to participate actively in visual, literary and scientific discourse.

There can be little doubt that the indefatigable Loudons were an unusual phenomenon, and that their rational and pragmatic writings considerably improved the lot of Britain's amateur and professional gardeners. They, more than any of their contemporaries, informed and guided the emerging middle classes, and indeed every level of society, in the art of gardening; and the aims set out in the preface of the first volume of the *Gardener's Magazine* remain as laudable today as they did when they were first published in 1826. His own statement is so robust that it is worth quoting in full:

> As the object of the *Gardener's Magazine* is the dissemination of useful knowledge; its subjects inexhaustible as the vegetable kingdom, and among the most interesting that concern domestic life; its plan calculated to procure information from every possible course at home or abroad; its contributors belonging to every department of gardening and botany; and its conductor devoted to the subject, from inclination no less than interest, its readers may reasonably expect it to improve as it advances. At all events, they may rely that no exertion will be wanting on the part of the conductor to render it of real service to gardening and gardeners, and worthy a continuation of that encouragement which it has received.

TODD LONGSTAFFE-GOWAN

JAPANESE WOODBLOCK PRINTED BOOKS have long enjoyed a high level of attention among scholars, collectors, museums and libraries outside of their country of origin, but even specialists with the requisite language skills face vexing problems in identifying and cataloguing them. Suzuki Jun and Ellis Tinios's *Understanding Japanese Woodblock-Printed Illustrated Books* is a slender, handsomely produced, but over-priced volume which provides clear and accessible guidance to these and many other questions (*Understanding Japanese Woodblock-Printed Illustrated Books: A Short Introduction to Their History, Bibliography and Format*, Leiden, Brill, 2013, 136 pp., 89 col. ills., €84). In so doing it complements, and fills gaps in, the considerable English-language literature on books produced from 1600 to 1900. While publications such as Jack Hillier's *The Art of the Japanese Book* (London, 1987), Peter Kornicki's *The Book in Japan* (Leiden, 1998), or Roger Keyes's *Ehon: the Artist and the Book in Japan* (Seattle, WA, 2006), to name only three examples, are richly informative sources about the artistic and cultural history of the book, they do not address the kind of practical information so concisely and systematically presented within the pages of this publication.

The generic term 'illustrated book' encompasses disparate Japanese categories ranging from picture and model books, and poetry compilations, to illustrated fiction and reference works, each identified in Japanese by a specific word or phrase. It is a term that also neglects the variable physical formats, packaging and printing techniques characteristic of Japanese publications. Failure to acknowledge these and other basic differences often results in incorrect, incomplete or misleading information in library catalogues. In this guide, the two authors lay out for the reader strategies for addressing these and other complex yet critical bibliographic issues: how to catalogue a book in the absence of uniform practices in titling, authorship, place and date of production, editions, copyright and pagination; how to interpret colophons added to the closing pages of a book relative to date of publication; or how to identify the printing techniques and ways that colour was applied (in figs. 59 and 60 the same blocks were used to print a book in 1832 and again in the 1870s, with the red used in the latter being to Meiji taste). In addressing these and other critical questions, Suzuki and Tinios seek to establish a rigorous and reliable foundation for the international study of the Japanese book. Their goal is all the more pressing for the fact that many collections, both in Japan and abroad, are being digitized without following consistent protocols.

Given the sheer volume of information provided, the book is well paced and clearly organized. It consists of three chapters, each one divided into many informatively titled subsections, making it relatively easy to navigate in search of specific kinds of information. The first chapter sets the Japanese book in its historical context with particular emphasis on the printing industry and its technologies. An extensive subsection within this on the organization and

59. *Women Dancing in the Streets at a Festival*, from Ôishi Mator, *Soga hyakubutsu*, (Nagoya, 1832), woodblock print, 160 x 225 mm.

60. *Women Dancing in the Streets at a Festival*, from Ôishi Mator, *Harikae andon*, (Nagoya, 1832, reprinted 1870s), woodblock print, 160 x 230 mm (Ebi collection).

control of commercial book production in the Edo period treats the two broad categories of publishers (*shomotsuya* and *jihonya*) and the differences between them. The second and most substantial chapter is devoted to bibliographic matters such as those outlined above, and the third to case studies that provide clues as to what to look for in order to distinguish between early and later impressions of a particular publication. In addition to relatively obvious details such as the quality of printing and the like, the authors discuss the way the life of a book was extended by devices such as repairing part of a worn or damaged woodblock with a new wooden plug, a technique known as *umeki*. This was used when, for instance, publishers wanted to replace a date, correct a typo, or update illustrations by replacing a figure with an outdated hairstyle with a newer more fashionable one. Modifications owing to new covers, abridgement, censorship, change in the ownership of woodblocks (roughly equivalent to copyright), as well as paper quality are other relevant issues touched on in this section.

This is a book primarily to be consulted rather than read. Even as Tinios and Suzuki, authors of many specialist publications on Japanese books and with extensive hands-on experience, bring an impressive level of knowledge and scholarly engagement to their subject, they also recognize the need to present it in a manner that does not put off the general enthusiast. The text is written in clear language and complemented by well-captioned illustrations. The book's instructional value is further enhanced by the inclusion of Japanese technical terms and the corresponding Chinese characters. It is in this particular combination of word and image where the book really comes into its own as a handy guide to the field for specialists and non-specialists alike. CHRISTINE GUTH

MARIE-CÉCILE GOLDSMID. The long and complicated title of Raimund Rütten's book, *Republik im Exil. Frankreich 1848 bis 1851: Marie-Cécile Goldsmid – Citoyenne und Künstlerin – im Kampf um eine République universelle démocratique et sociale*, offers more than just information on the content of the book. It already indicates the programmatic interest of the author: He deals with nothing less than democracy as the *telos*, or final cause, of a republic, as its categorical imperative (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 2012, pp. 272, 10 col. and 59 b. & w. ills., €68). Rütten claims that historic research on the French Second Republic generally neglects this 'social fight for a republic which is about to be established as a *République démocratique et sociale*', with the author's italics quoting the title of a contemporary journal (p. 12).

In his preface Rolf Reichardt lists the accomplishments of the book: First, the 'discovery' of the artist Marie-Cécile Goldsmid who programmatically added 'Citoyenne' to her name. Second, the extensive research on a political organization and publishing house called Association pour la Propagande démocratique et sociale, which distributed Goldsmid's prints, and third, the detailed interpretation of

a series of four ambitious allegories by Goldsmid in which the artist envisions a utopian social and democratic society.

Goldsmid is seen against the backdrop of the political development of the Second Republic and the fight socialist and democratic groups were losing against reactionary republicans and royalists. Quoting contemporary journals, Rütten points out the historical importance of a revolution that brings about social and democratic rights. From extensive research in collections and archives, in legal and police files, Rütten gathers detailed information on Goldsmid's activities. She must have been an interesting person. In 1849 her portrait was published, showing her standing against a balustrade, wearing a medaillon portrait of Robert Blum, the German revolutionary who had just been executed, and holding her hand on a pamphlet entitled 'Le règne des rois fini / celui des peuples commence' (the reign of the kings has ended / that of the people begins). This portrait appeared as part of a *Galérie de la Montagne*, a portrait gallery of members of the New Mountain party, which took its name from the radical Jacobin party of 1790. Since women were excluded from so-called universal suffrage, Goldsmid's portrait is a feminist statement in itself.

On 16 April 1848, at the Fête du travail (Day of Work), Goldsmid walked through the small city of Romantin, south of Paris, wearing men's clothes. She was denounced as an English woman because at the time she was living with the Englishman Goldsmith. She defended herself by denouncing the rich of Romantin and calling herself 'mère des ouvriers' (mother of the workers). This incident led to her conviction more than a year later, in August 1849. She was condemned to two years of imprisonment and a fine of 4,000 francs.

The central part of the book examines a series of four allegorical prints, published as coloured lithographs in 1848–49. Since they were signed by the lithographer Frédéric Sorrieu they used to be attributed to him, although contemporary discussions of the series clearly named 'citoyenne Goldsmid' as the author. The detailed compositions evoke the République universelle démocratique et sociale, although Goldsmid quoted traditional compositional forms. For example, she includes a triumphal procession of European peoples marching towards a monument symbolizing the Universal Republic (fig. 61), or she employs the motif of the *Fall of the Rebel*

61. Marie-Cécile Goldsmid, *A Triumphal Procession of European Peoples Marching towards a Monument Symbolizing the Universal Republic*, 6 December 1848, lithograph, c. 330 x 465 mm (Paris, Musée Carnavalet).

62. Marie-Cécile Goldsmid, *The Heavenly Condemnation of Monarchies*, 15 February 1849, lithograph, 330 x 465 mm (Paris, Musée Carnavalet).

Angels to depict the heavenly condemnation of monarchies (fig. 62). The combination of religious and revolutionary symbols and motifs was not considered a problem – quite the contrary: They were deliberately brought together to emphasize the inevitable destiny of the French people. In Goldsmid's view that would surely be the Universal Democratic and Social Republic.

The four prints, a political manifesto of sorts, point towards an interesting organization, the Association for Democratic and Social Propanda (Association pour la propagande démocratique et sociale). Early in 1849 it was founded in Paris by Gabriel de Mortillet and Jules Ballard and organized like a commercial company with offices and salesmen all over the country. Its purpose was the distribution of all kinds of democratic and social materials: books, journals, pamphlets as well as political prints and songs, the idea being that the education and enlightenment of workers, peasants and citizens quite naturally would lead towards a 'democratic and social republic'. Rütten unearthed in the National Archives a long police report on this interesting organization (p. 61). The publications it distributed were all stamped with the logo of the organization, a triangle within a circle bearing the name 'Propagande démocratique et sociale'.

In 1850 Goldsmid designed a second group of allegories and political illustrations. On 5 February 1850 the journal of her distributor, the Association for Democratic and Social Propanda, announced 'a new series of democratic lithographs' (p. 115). The twelve prints circle around the same political hopes for democracy and liberty that in real society were on the retreat against the rise of the Second Empire.

The book has much to commend it: information on the Citoyenne Goldsmid and the Association for Democratic and Social Propaganda is as fascinating as it is new, adding important details to the already considerable body of knowledge on the 1848 revolutions. A more straightforward writing style and a vocabulary less influenced by Michel Foucault would, however, have made for easier reading. Future research and publications, also to include a checklist of Goldsmid's known works, a biographical timeline and a discussion of the artist's various names, might round out the picture further and serve to establish Goldsmid even more convincingly as a political artist, a suffragette and early feminist. JÜRGEN DÖRING

CHARLOTTE REIHLEN AND THE BROAD AND NARROW WAY. More than twenty years ago I published in *Print Quarterly* (V, 1988, pp. 258–67) a study of 'The Broad and Narrow Way. From German Pietists to English Open-Air Preachers', an article which showed the fortune of an allegory of the two ways elaborated by Charlotte Reihlen (1805–68), a Pietist from Stuttgart. The German allegory had been included by Martin Scharfe in his *Evangelische Andachtsbilder* (Stuttgart, 1968) and was later more extensively studied in his article on the *Zwei-Wege-Bilder* (*Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, XC, 1990, pp. 123–44) and more recently by Friedrich Gustav Lang in the same periodical (CX, 2010, pp. 305–67). The present book *Charlotte Reihlen 1805–1868. Lebensweg und Zwei-Wege-Bild* by Lang (Kleine Schriften des Vereins für württembergische Kirchengeschichte, no. 15, Stuttgart: Verein für württembergische Kirchengeschichte, 2014, 182 pp., 81 ills.) republished the latter as its Part B ('Geschichte und

63. Anonymous artist, *The Broad and Narrow Way*, 1883, lithograph, 470 x 372 mm (London, British Museum).

Konzeption von Charlotte Reihlens Zwei-Wege-Bild') while the first part studies the biography and the achievements of its author ('Charlotte Reihlens Lebensweg'). The life of Reihlen is studied with great care, as is her involvement in the Pietist movement and her role in the creation of the Diakonissenanstalt (1853) and the Mägdeanstalt (1860) in Stuttgart. This account is completed by a rich iconography, including a pastel portrait, a miniature (both anonymous) and a photograph from 1865 of Reihlen.

The second part is more interesting for the readers of this Journal, as it follows the allegory of the two ways and its fate from Germany to Holland and from there to Great Britain. The original black-and-white lithographic version was published by Conrad Schacher in Stuttgart in 1867 (*Der breite and der schmale Weg*). The second version, a colour lithography was also produced by Schacher, circa 1873–84. A third version, also in colour, was produced by Paul Beckman and printed by Wilhelm Menges in 1890/91. The modified, so-called Lahr-Dinglinger version by J. F. Steinkopf and printed by the St Johannis-Druckerei in 1921, had several later versions. A key Dutch version (*De breede en de smalle weg*) published by H. de Hoogh in 1867 was known to Gavin Kirkham who translated and published it in England as *The Broad and Narrow Way*, together with an *Explanation*, extremely rare today, which was diffused in 100,000 copies (fig. 63). Kirkham also discussed it during his street preaching no less than 1,118 times. Later English versions were also produced to further world-wide missionary efforts.

The model for Reihlen was the allegory of the two ways published as a colour lithography by Jakob Renz circa 1840, and in black and white more or less at the same time by Johann Heinrich Fisher in Aarau and by Johann Evangelist Ling in Ulm, followed by another version, also different, published by F. W. Bergemann in Neuruppin some twenty years later. Lang also studied the iconography of Reihlen's allegory in regard to her religious convictions. What is missing, however, is a discussion of the subsequent and extremely large world-wide diffusion of the allegory, in numerous, slightly different printings. An early variation, quite different in its form, is a drawn and hand-painted version, *The Broad Way, The Narrow Way* by Christian K. Witmyer, published in Ephrata, Lancaster County, PA, circa 1870–90. Today, there are still numerous editions, translations and variations, updated and adjusted to contemporary missionary attempts to convert people worldwide. Versions are still sold, among others, by the Johannis Verlag, for €4.90, and by the Order of Christian Service, for two Rands each. JEAN MICHEL MASSING

DAUMIER, MASEREEL AND MILLET IN THE PAGINE D'ARTE SERIES. Pagine d'Arte is a Swiss publishing house founded in 1995 and run by the art historians Matteo Bianchi and Carolina Leite. Its publication list is divided into several distinct series of books predominantly written in, or translated into, French and Italian. Some of them examine a particular issue related to an artist's work or writing, others deal with more general themes such as art and nature. Despite the variations, they all share an underlying editorial focus on the relationship between text and image as well as poetical and critical essays on art.

The three books reviewed here, on Daumier, Millet and Masereel, from the Aprica series, are slim octavo volumes published in limited editions (Michel Melot, *Éloge de Daumier*, Tesserete, Pagine d'Arte, 2012, 74 pp., 11 col., and 29 b. & w. ills.; Michel Melot, *Millet ou l'image des simples*, Tesserete, Pagine d'Arte, 2013, 96 pp., 33 b. & w. ills.; Frans Masereel, *Histoire sans paroles: Un roman graphique*, contributions by Max Brod and Hermann Hesse, Tesserete, Pagine d'Arte, 2012, 144 pp., 62 b. & w. ills.; each €24). Their elegant design includes illustrated paper covers, high quality printing of both the text and the numerous illustrations. Those on Daumier and Millet are similarly structured, with an essay by the leading art historian Michel Melot, a selection of mainly nineteenth-century comments on the artists, and a brief bibliography. The essays are in the spirit of philosophical discourses, rather than art historical texts incorporating new research material. As well as standard full-page illustrations of the artist's work, they include smaller images which are mainly details from the former and have a purely decorative function.

In *Éloge de Daumier*, Melot examines why Daumier came to be regarded as a leading French artist despite two potential drawbacks. His output consisted chiefly of lithographs published in the press for immediate consumption rather than destined for posterity, and he was known for his staunch Republican views and empathy with the underprivileged classes. Nevertheless his work attained respectability and recognition by the establishment, featuring in major public and private collections. The main reason, according to Melot, is that Daumier was a prodigious draughtsman who did not downplay his skills in the 'lowly' context of journal illustration. Whichever medium he used, his work reflects his great ability to model the human form and its movement, to portray emotion and to produce powerful contrasts of light and shade. All the more remarkable as he never drew from nature, relying instead on his visual memory. Melot emphasizes that Daumier's strength lay in his adherence to artistic conventions even as he challenged political and social ones. As the latter evolved over the course of history, his work, once derided by opponents of his democratic and egalitarian affiliations, was recognised across the political spectrum. Melot's essay is complemented by extracts from letters and texts on Daumier by authors and artists such as Charles Baudelaire, the Goncourts, Paul Valéry and Henry James. They are perfect accompaniments to the illustrations which are mainly of Daumier's lithographs in *Le Charivari*, but include works in other media.

Melot's *Millet ou l'image des simples*, with a preface by

Matteo Bianchi, reproduces in facsimile the title-pages and plates from *Twenty Etchings and Woodcuts by Millet*, published by the Fine Art Society in 1881. Melot uses this facsimile of a facsimile as a basis from which to develop his main theme, which is the consideration of prints as original works of art rather than as reproductions. He also provides a useful overview of the photomechanical reproductive processes of the second half of the nineteenth century as background information. If one includes his early trial plates, Millet produced seventeen etchings and three drypoints. Five etchings were published as a set by Cadart, others were commissions for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, the Société des Aquafortistes, the Société des Dix, and Burty's 1869 publication *Sonnets et Eaux-Fortes*. Although Millet had destroyed two of his own plates which he considered overbitten, he was outraged by Burty's decision to destroy others, after limited printing, in order to increase the value of the impressions. This interpretation of an original print in terms of limited editions is one of several issues which Melot considers. Another is the degree of participation by artists in the creation of a work. The eight etchings reproduced in the facsimile are unequivocally regarded as original in the strictest interpretation of the term, in other words 'created entirely by the artist'. The status of the twelve woodcuts, however, is more ambiguous since they reflect different degrees of involvement by the artist in the production process. Three of them, cut by Millet's brothers following his designs, feature in standard catalogues of his oeuvre albeit with varying degrees of attribution, but the nine woodcuts by the reproductive engraver Adrien Lavieille after Millet's drawings are excluded. Here Melot introduces the issue of fidelity, not only in the sense of the resemblance of the reproduction to the original but also in what he terms the 'conjugal' sense regarding the artist's consent to the reproductive process. In addition to printing and photography, Melot briefly refers to the relatively recent phenomenon of digitisation, adding further complexities to the continuing debate on original versus reproduction. The essay is counterbalanced by the other texts which deal with the content of the works reproduced rather than their production, conveying the relentless nature of agricultural work and Millet's mastery at portraying it. They include Bianchi's introduction, two letters by Millet, and several excerpts from the writings of artists and authors such as Jules Breton and Emile Guillaumin.

In contrast to the preceding books, *Histoire sans paroles: un roman graphique* (Story without words: a graphic novel) does not include any modern commentary nor a bibliography. It reproduces in facsimile 60 woodcuts by Frans Masereel (1889–1972) from his volume *Histoire sans paroles*, with a preface by Max Brod and a postface by Herman Hesse, both translated into French from the original German. This is one of several graphic novels by Masereel which deal with various aspects of the human condition. *Histoire sans paroles* is the poignant story of a young man who falls passionately in love with a beautiful young woman and is driven to distraction and even despair by her capricious and insensitive behaviour. The situation is reversed when she finally yields to him and he then rejects her, leaving both characters in isolation and misery. Masereel's eloquent pictorial narrative is interpreted in some detail by Brod who describes the woman in pejorative terms in contrast with the man who is perceived as intellectual and imaginative. Hesse takes a similar view but also provides a brief summary of Masereel and his work. What is not immediately apparent is that the Pagine d'Arte publication includes elements from at least two editions of *Histoire sans Paroles*. The preface and postface are clearly identified by captions to the illustrated covers of the relevant publications. These are respectively the 1927 Munich edition published by the Kurt Wolff (not 'Wolf' as stated in the caption) Verlag, and the 1933 edition published by the Insel Verlag, Leipzig. However, the identification of the edition from which the woodcuts were reproduced is not provided, requiring further reading. A good source is Roger Avermaete, *Frans Masereel*, London, 1977, which lists seven editions of *Histoire sans Paroles*, the first in French in 1920 published in Geneva by Editions du Sablier, followed by six German editions and one in Chinese. According to Avermaete's catalogue, it would appear that the woodcuts were reproduced from the 1920, 1924 or 1927 editions, since from the 1933 edition onwards, the final woodcut was altered, with the word 'FINI' replaced with 'ENDE' and '1919' with '1920'. TANYA SZRAJBER

FEININGER. Lyonel Feininger (1871–1956) began making woodcuts in 1918, following the precedent of Die Brücke artists Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. The exhibition catalogue *Auf dem Weg zum Bauhaus-Künstler: Lyonel Feininger, Holzschnitte*, edited by Björn Egging, presents the opportunity for new study on the entire range of this influential and industrious artist's work in this medium (German and English editions, *Becoming a Bauhaus Artist: Lyonel Feininger, Woodcuts*, Quedlinburg, Lyonel-Feininger-Galerie, 6 September 2013–6 January 2014; Emden, Kunsthalle Emden, 25 January–11 May 2014, Bielefeld/Berlin, Kerber Verlag, 2013, 272 pp., 253 col. ills., €54). On 10 May 1918 Feininger wrote to the Munich doctor and collector Wilhelm Mayer: 'I have recently taken up the woodcut; however, I will have to spend a good deal more time with it … before I have anything to show'. That summer Feininger made a trip to the Harz mountains, where he planned to work 'intensely, making mostly woodcuts' (fig. 64). On 29 September, a month after he returned from his summer vacation, he wrote 'I am like a madman, working in a frenzy. I am on my eightieth woodcut'. Only two months later he had completed more than 100 woodblocks. Feininger would make 237 woodblocks within the next two years, and even-

tually a total of 320, becoming one of the most important and prolific woodcut masters of the twentieth century.

The process of carving wood appealed to Feininger from an early age. As a child growing up in New York in the 1880s, he crafted toy locomotives and sailing ships, and throughout his life he would make small wooden figures, animals, and houses, which he would present as gifts to his friends and family. Woodcuts allowed Feininger a stark means of solving problems of form and space, as they had for the Brücke artists. New approaches gave rise to simplified, often whimsical compositions that anticipated his prismatic paintings and watercolours of the 1920s.

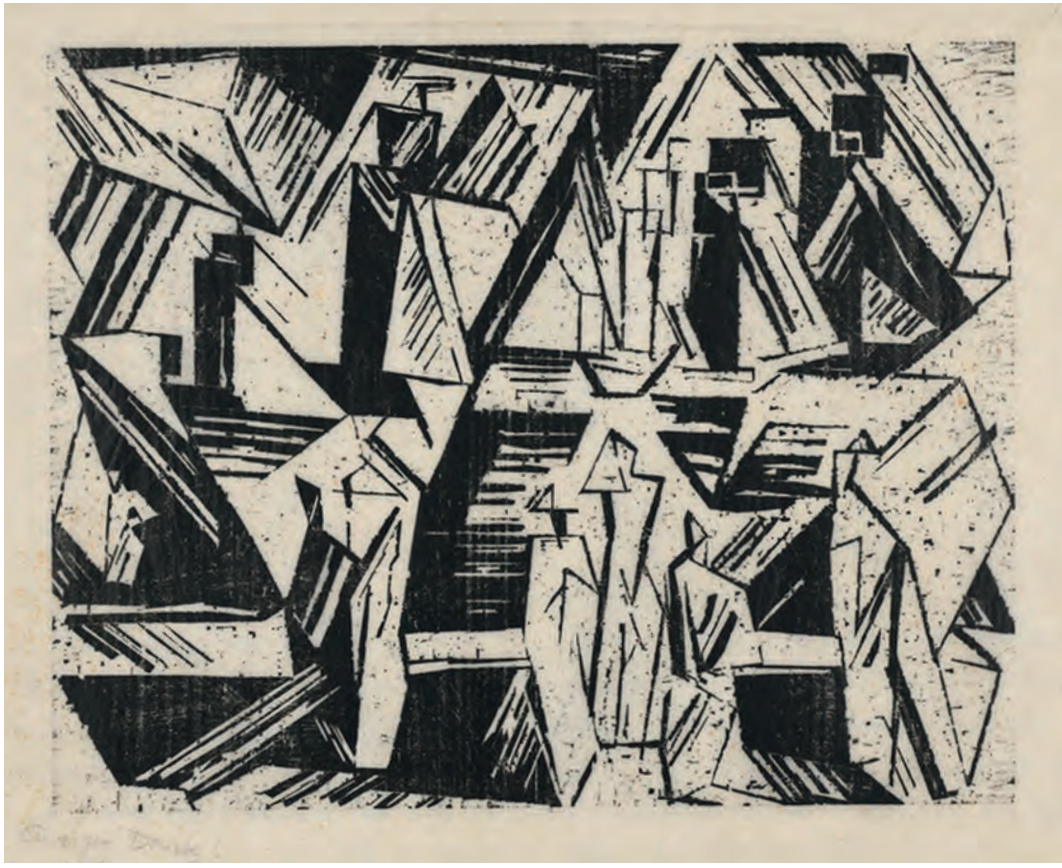
In 1919 Walter Gropius appointed Feininger first Master at the Bauhaus in Weimar. That year Feininger created the woodcut *Cathedral*, an image of a church crowned with three stars. Commissioned by Gropius, it would serve as the cover for the manifesto of the Bauhaus school. In 1921 Feininger was made head of the Bauhaus graphic workshop.

In 1933 the Bauhaus closed its doors under pressure from the Nazis, and Feininger's paintings, watercolours and prints were transferred for storage to the Moritzburg Museum in Halle. Others were stored at the home of Hermann Klumpp, a friend of the Feininger family, in Quedlinburg. In 1935 and 1937, Klumpp also removed for safekeeping works from the personal collections of Feininger and his wife at the Moritzburg Museum and at Feininger's home. Parts of this personal collection form the core of what is now the Dr. Hermann Klumpp collection at the Lyonel-Feininger-Galerie in Quedlinburg.

The exhibition catalogue *Becoming a Bauhaus Artist: Lyonel Feininger, Woodcuts* is the first fully-illustrated selection and detailed listing of 169 woodcuts in the Quedlinburg collection. Among these works are very rare proofs and prints, many of which bear inscriptions such as 'Einziger Druck, Platte zerstört', meaning that the artist only made one proof before the woodblock was destroyed, and remained unknown to the author of the catalogue raisonné of Feininger's graphic works, Leone E. Prasse (*Lyonel Feininger: A Definitive Catalogue of his Graphic Work: Etchings, Lithographs, Woodcuts*, Berlin, 1972; fig. 65).

This beautiful publication illustrates the virtuosity, skill

64. Lyonel Feininger, *Thuringian Village 2 (Thüringisches Dorf 2)*, 1918, woodcut, 332 x 438 mm (Quedlinburg, Lyonel-Feininger-Galerie © VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn, 2015).



65. Lyonel Feininger, *Untitled (Ships and People / Schiffe und Menschen)*, 1918, woodcut, unique impression, 276 x 349 mm (Quedlinburg, Lyonel-Feininger-Galerie © VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn, 2015).

and richness of Feininger's woodcuts, which have remained largely unexplored by scholars, with the exception of two exhibition catalogues of the Loebermann collection (*Lyonel Feininger: 200 Holzschnitte aus Privatbesitz*, edited by I. Mössinger, Ludwigsburg, 1995; *Lyonel Feininger. Zeichnung, Aquarell, Druckgrafik: Sammlung Loebermann*, edited by I. Mössinger and K. Drechsel, Munich, 2006). The essay by Egging, the former director of the Lyonel-Feininger-Galerie, draws mostly on the author's previous writings about the artist's life. It traces Feininger's working method as a serial artist from his beginnings as an illustrator of 'funny papers' to his early lithographs and etchings, followed by the development of his woodcuts and their particular motifs, especially Feininger's well-known church of Gelmeroda. This chronological approach leads Egging to speculate about the development and fluidity between Feininger's graphic and painted oeuvre. As such, it serves as a sound introductory study and opens the way for detailed scholarship in a largely uncharted field. ACHIM MOELLER

JESSIE TRAILL. Roger Butler's catalogue *Stars in the River: The Prints of Jessie Traill*, whose poetic title is taken from one of the artist's prints, was published in association with a fine exhibition held at the National Gallery of Australia and travelling to regional galleries across Australia until 2016 (exhibition catalogue, Canberra, The National Gallery of Australia, 16 February–14 June 2013, and elsewhere, Canberra, National Gallery of Australia, 2013, 176 pp., 109 col. and 7 b. & w. ills., $29.95). The volume is both an exhibition and a collection catalogue (supplemented by a handful of loans) that documents the NGA's unrivalled holdings of prints and drawings of Jessie Traill (1881–1967), an impressive collection that Butler, Senior Curator of Australian Prints, Drawings and Illustrated Books at the NGA, has spent three decades building up. It follows on the pioneering scholarship of Mary Alice Lee's master's thesis, 'The Etched Work of Jessie C.A. Traill, 1881–1967' (University of Melbourne, 1983) and Clare Williamson's exhibition 'Industry and Nature: The Etchings of Jessie Traill' at the Queensland Art Gallery in 1989.

In the second volume of his historical survey, *Printed Images by Australian Artists 1885–1955* (Canberra, 2007), Butler argues for Traill's exceptional position as the most important Australian etcher of the first half of the twentieth century, and on the evidence of the exhibition this view seems justified. Traill's strongest and most memorable images, such as the aquatint *Good Night in the Gully Where the White Gums Grow*, 1922, stand out from the work of her contemporaries in their originality of viewpoint, subject matter, sense of design and technical mastery (fig. 66). An-

66. Jesse Traill, *Good Night in the Gully Where the White Gums Grow*, 1922, etching and aquatint, 497 x 465 mm (Canberra, National Gallery of Australia © estate of Jessie Traill).

67. Jessie Traill, *Building the Harbour Bridge VI: Nearly Complete, June 1931,* 1931, etching, 376 x 148 mm (Canberra, National Gallery of Australia © estate of Jessie Traill).

other of her great achievements is the series of six prints, made between 1927 and 1932, depicting the building of Sydney Harbour Bridge; these are both accurate in their depiction of the structure and imaginative in composition and design (fig. 67).

Traill was born in Melbourne to a prosperous and devout Anglican family. Privately educated in Switzerland, she was financially independent and therefore able to pursue her career unimpeded by economic constraints or by what was currently fashionable in art. She travelled extensively and lived abroad for several years at a time. Traill began her formal studies at the National Gallery of Victoria Art School in 1901 and was taught to etch in Melbourne by the Scottish-born artist John Mather (1849–1916) before continuing to London and Paris. In London, in 1907 and 1908, she studied etching under Frank Brangwyn, whose influence upon her was fundamental and lasting. Her early small, carefully wiped etchings of trees and landscapes were replaced by comparatively large and boldly etched urban views, of bridges and buildings under construction, and by the liberal use of plate tone. Her landscapes freed themselves from the confines of the predictable views of the etching revival.

The catalogue contains four essays: Sarina Noordhuis-Fairfax on Traill's biography; Rebecca Edwards on the formation of her artistic vision and in particular her relationship to Brangwyn; Tim Bonyhady on the source and meaning of her etched triptych *Man and Nature*, of 1914, which makes clear Traill's deep commitment to environmental conservation, and Macushla Robinson on the *Harbour Bridge* series. Regrettably, the introductory biographical essay is misjudged in its personal tone and its over-emphasis on the writer's research progress. Also unfortunate is the inexplicable decision not to number the catalogue entries or provide figure numbers for the illustrations; this makes the catalogue difficult to use and, in future, will make it cumbersome to cite. The section of thumbnail illustrations, with concise catalogue information on all the prints, suffers because of this and from the fact that the illustrations are simply too small to distinguish easily. Fortunately, a good selection of the key works is illustrated in large size in the book's central section, where the prints are grouped according to their arrangement in the exhibition. Also included are a detailed chronology of Traill's life, a selected list of her exhibitions and a bibliography that mentions the forthcoming publication of two biographies. IRENA ZDANOWICZ

ALBERTO MAGNELLI. In 1980 the Bibliothèque Nationale published Anne Maisonnier's slim catalogue of the prints of Alberto Magnelli (1888–1971). Knowledge of the Italian's printmaking has been greatly expanded by the publication of Daniel Abadie's *Magnelli: Les Estampes*, a catalogue raisonné, which strangely makes no reference to its predecessor (Daniel Abadie, *Magnelli: Les Estampes. Catalogue raisonné*, Neuchâtel, Ides et Calendes, 2011, pp. 240, 157 col. and 8 b. & w. ills., €96.59). Indeed, there is no bibliography at all, even though it would not have been difficult to compile, given the relative paucity of publications that have discussed the Italian's work in this field. It is not that Maisonnier's publication was negligible, nor was it riddled with errors. Indeed the volume under review would have benefited through the inclusion of a concordance with the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue.

Enough of carping, for this new volume has many merits, not least the high quality colour reproductions and

Abadie's useful introductory essay. The 1980 catalogue recorded 85 prints. Although there are only 72 numbers in this new catalogue, of which 60 relate to original works realised in the artist's lifetime, do not be misled, for Abadie adds a group of seven untitled linocuts of 1965, all existent in single proofs, which were not known to Maisonnier. Portfolios of prints are assigned a single number coupled with another number for the individual prints indicating which plate in a sequence it was in an album. In 1950, *10 Origin*, an album of ten colour lithographs was published in Paris by Aux Nourritures Terrestres. Each print involved collaboration between some of the four artists who together were in Grasse in 1942: Jean Arp, Sonia Delaunay, Magnelli and Sophie Taeuber-Arp. Sensibly all the lithographs appear in this catalogue, although Magnelli was involved with the creation of only seven of them. These lithographs are dated to 1950, the year of their eventual publication, although the matrices were made before Taeuber-Arp's death on the night of 13 January 1943, and proofs were undoubtedly taken before the artists' chosen lithographer, André Kalin, was arrested in Grasse by the Gestapo, on 14 October 1943.

Abadie's dating often differs by a year or two from that accepted by Maisonnier, usually as a result of reference to documents of which she was not aware. Sometimes, however, it is hard to discern Abadie's reasoning for departing from the earlier dating. A great gain is the detailed cataloguing of variant colouring on impressions taken from the same matrix. In the case of no. 9, a 1942 wood-engraving, which was eventually published in the 1947 catalogue of Magnelli's retrospective at the Galerie Drouin, six different variants are recorded. The print which Magnelli executed in 1938 for Gualtieri di San Lazzaro's journal, *XXe siècle*, is described by Abadie as having been made from an *isorel* (hardboard) matrix, while Maisonnier had described it as masonite. The yellow wove support for this image in the impression in the Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow, reveals it to be not an original, as catalogued here, but a lithographic reproduction issued in *XXe siècle* on 13 December 1959. Occasionally Abadie's titles differ from Maisonnier's. A screenprint of 1962 is here *Untitled*, whereas Maisonnier calls it *Pierres*, which is indeed the title of the gouache of 1931 on which the image in this print is based. Abadie frequently adds information on the models for the compositions of Magnelli's prints. In the case of *Composizione con rosso* (Composition with red), Abadie gives a spread dating 1965–67 because although the first proofs of this lithograph were pulled by Mourlot in April 1965, he did not finish the edition until the first half of 1967. Abadie also adds that Ketterer did not publish the album *Europäische Graphik VIII* until 1972. This information improves considerably on that given in my entry for this print in *Italian Prints 1875–1975*, London, 2007.

Abadie catalogues a number of reproductive prints (screenprints, pochoirs, lithographs and two 'Process Jacomet') made during Magnelli's lifetime. In addition twelve prints are catalogued which were made by the Atelier Dutrou in Paris and published in Michel Butor's *Acrostiche* by La Porte in Luxembourg in 2007. These were based on Magnelli's *maquettes* left in his studio at his death in 1971. MARTIN HOPKINSON

SERGE BRIGNONI is not well known outside Switzerland, although he is one of the most important Swiss Surrealists and was in contact with the main protagonists of the European avant-garde of the twentieth century. He shared a studio with Alberto Giacometti and his canvases with Pablo Picasso; exhibited with Joan Mirò during the 1920s and frequented the circles of André Breton, Georges Braque and the Dada. Brignoni constantly moved between Paris and Berlin, collecting ideas and suggestions that he elaborated in a very personal manner. The comprehensive exhibition and catalogue, *Serge Brignoni 1903–2002: Artist and Collector, The Silent Journey*, celebrate the 110th anniversary of the artist's birth (edited by Francesco Paolo Campione and Nicoletta Ossanna Cavadini, Italian and English, Chiasso, Centro Culturale Museo M.A.X., Lugano, Museo delle Culture, 28 September 2013–19 January 2014, Milan, Silvana Editoriale, 2013, 216 pp., 105 col. and 85 b. & w. ills., €32). The show was part of a series on twentieth-century masters at M.A.X., Chiasso, and grew out of a collaboration between M.A.X. and the Museo delle Culture in Lugano.

The catalogue presents some 100 works from museums, public institutions, galleries and private collectors from across Switzerland, showcasing not only Brignoni's passion for collecting art from different cultures, but also his own achievements as a multifaceted painter, sculptor and printmaker. Brignoni was born in San Simone di Vacallo, Chiasso, Switzerland, in 1903, but moved to Bern in 1907. He first studied art with Victor Surbek, then continued in Berlin at the Academy of Arts. In 1923 he travelled to Paris to study at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière, where he met Giacometti, Picasso and other avant-garde artists of that decade (fig. 68). He also came into contact with African art and began collecting it in 1926. Like Gauguin before him, Brignoni was fascinated by primitive art, and the Far East and Oceania are well-represented in his collection. Subsequently, he included Melanesian and Indonesian art, even becoming a dealer for some of these works. His artistic practice was close to that of the Primitivists and Surrealists, with whom he exhibited in Copenhagen in 1935 and 1936. Brignoni joined Gruppe 33, an anti-Fascist group of artists based in Basel, but in 1940 he was forced to return to Switzerland, leaving both his work and his collection behind. Many of his works were stolen, lost or destroyed, but the collection was held up by French customs and was preserved intact. At the end of the war he was able to recover it and resumed collecting, eventually donating what he had amassed to the city of Lugano in several phases from 1985;

68. Serge Brignoni, *Untitled*, 1923, woodcut and aquatint, 180 x 245 mm (Bern, Fondazione Serge Brignoni e Graciela Brignoni-Aranis).

it formed the foundation of the collection of the Museo delle Culture. Brignoni continued to work in a variety of media, including sculpture, lithography, collage and painting; he also taught at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Zürich. He painted several murals, including one at the government headquarters in Bellinzona (1958) and another in the television headquarters in Comano (1975). His style throughout his career remained consistently original (if slightly eccentric) and his very innovatory collages and Surrealist sculptures of the 1930s are characterized by a highly personal experimentation with materials.

The catalogue offers three essays on Brignoni's art in the context of the twentieth-century European avant-garde, and a fourth, by Campione, analysing his collection and his fascination with the 'exotic universe'. This text describes with clarity the creation of the collection, allowing us to understand the process of Brignoni's discoveries. These essays are followed by a number of Brignoni's writings. The second part of the book is dedicated to the catalogue, followed by a sizeable appendix including a list of works, a biography and a bibliography, as well as extended entries for the works of his collection, illustrated on a black background to differentiate them from the artist's own oeuvre reproduced earlier in the catalogue.

Ossanna Cavadini, the director of M.A.X., concludes her essay by stating that Brignoni's art offered a 'profound significance in a very personal vision, through a development that left nothing untried with coherence of seeking to achieve an amazing creativity of forms and colours in which the system of expression is fully independent of the system of contents. A kind of creative freedom that sought to touch the emotional soul in an entity of "secret affinities"'.

This publication provides an insight into the work of an artist worth discovering. ROBERTA CREMONCINI

THE BOYERS' ANODIZED ALUMINIUM PLATES. In 1987 approximately 400 prints by Louise Miller Boyer (1890–1976) and her daughter Helen King Boyer (b. 1919) were donated to Georgetown University, Washington, DC. A selection, presented in 2012, can be found on the university

69. Louise Miller Boyer, *Monastery Hill (Pittsburgh no. 3)*, 1935, drypoint, 328 x 379 mm (Washington DC, Georgetown University Art Collection).

website, together with an introduction by Martin J. Aguilar; www.library.georgetown.edu/exhibition/boyer-family-mother-daughter-innovative-printmakers.

Finding inspiration in industrial Pittsburgh, where she and her family lived, Louise Boyer began printmaking in the 1930s. *Monastery Hill* is illustrative of her view of the city as encompassing industry, suburbia and culture (fig. 69). Suburban Pittsburgh is pictured in the foreground while bridges connect it to the industrial city marked by factories and smoking chimney stacks. Unlike her mother's more illustrative work, Helen Boyer's prints are profoundly shaped by personal experience. Although their prints have the appearance of traditional drypoint engravings made on either zinc or copper, the Boyer women used anodized aluminium plates as the matrix. They were strong advocates of this innovative choice of materials, which they had developed with the help of engineer and architect Pierre R. L. Hogner, because they found that the anodized aluminium matrix allowed for particularly intricate work and could run through the printing press up to 100 times without wearing down. In around 1970 the Boyers were inspired by Rorschach inkblot tests to experiment with making encaustic monoprints from aluminium plates.

CAITLIN COLLINSON

STAMPERIA D'ARTE ALBICOCCO. The majestic, late seventeenth-century Villa Manin at Passariano di Codroipo near Udine recently paid tribute to 40 years of high quality printmaking and print publishing at the Stamperia d'arte Albicocco, which is by far the most important promoter of contemporary printmaking in the north east of Italy (*I sogni che volano: l'inchiostro nel segno: stamperia d'arte Albicocco 1974–2013*, exhibition catalogue, Passariano di Codroipo, Azienda speciale Villa Manin, 15 March–26 May 2013, 302 pp., 992 col. and 52 b. & w. ills., free). The Venetian playwright Carlo Goldoni described the building and its park as 'a dwelling fit for a king'.

The prints assembled in this exhibition, together with its handsome catalogue, are suitably impressive. Short essays by Paolo Crepet, Roberto Budassi and an interview with Corrado Albicocco by Francesca Agostinelli precede information on the artists and their works. Tributes to Albicocco from Giuseppe Zigaina, Guido Giuffrè, Tonino Cragnolini, Franco Dugo, Giancarlo Pauletto and Franco Pillon, written in 1999, provide a coda to the volume.

70. Luca Pignatelli, *Untitled* , 2009, sugar-lift aquatint, 420 x 453 mm (Image courtesy Stamperia d'arte Albicocco, Udine © the artist).

There are many photographs of artists at work in the Udine studio with the master printers Corrado and his son Pierluigi. Also provided is a concise biography for each artist who was included in the Villa Manin exhibition, together with large photographs of the prints on display. Small photographs of all the other prints and *livres d'artiste* which have been executed in the studio are appended. Among the most recent to have been issued are sugar-lift aquatints by Bruno Ceccobelli of the Nuova Scuola Romana and the Milanese artist Giovanni Frangi; aquatints by the sculptor Alex Corno from Monza, by the Udine painter Carlo Ciussi, and by the American Peter Halley; and etchings by Klaus Karl Mehrkens of Bremen and Ercole Pignatelli of Lecce (fig. 70). A group of sugar-lift aquatints by Luca Pignatelli and a large aquatint by David Tremlett were amongst the most striking recent prints. In the last few years *livres d' artiste* by the etchers Enrico Ricci and Livio Ceschin, and by the aquatint artist Alessandro d'Este have been published. A detailed account of the studio's history can be found in *Aspetti dell'incisione contemporanea Europea: la Stamperia d'Arte Albicocco* (Gradisca d'Isonzo, 2006), which was also reviewed in these pages (XXIV, 2007, pp. 57–58). MARTIN HOPKINSON

THE LONDON ORIGINAL PRINT FAIR AT THIRTY. In 1985 I wrote a short Introduction to the booklet accompanying the first London Original Print Fair and expressed the wish that it would attract new people to prints, and that these neophytes would become regular visitors to a Fair that would come back year after year. In all my optimism I could not have fathomed the great success that the Fair would enjoy in the ensuing 30 years: it was visited by about 1,000 people in 1985, and by over 12,000 in 2014, while the exhibitors grew from sixteen to 50. Together with the IFPDA Print Fair in New York, it is firmly part of the international art scene, an appointment that no curator, scholar or collector would wish to miss. It is always enjoyable, surprising and rich in its offerings, and has become a meeting point for all those who have come to understand that prints can be, and often are, as exciting as works of art as paintings, drawings or sculpture. They increasingly appear side-by-side with paintings and drawings in great exhibitions, like the recent and magnificent Rembrandt show at the National Gallery, London, or the Spranger one at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. They have even been given top billing in exhibitions, like the unforgettable show of chiaroscuro woodcuts at the Royal Academy itself last year. And is it a coincidence that, as I write these words, for the first time in its history the President, Treasurer and Keeper of the Academy are all printmakers?

Was the success of the London Original Print Fair down to the excellent chairmanship of Gordon Cooke through the years, the equally inspired directorship of Helen Rosslyn, or the magnificent rooms of the Royal Academy? Probably a combination of these and many other factors, including the fact that people like, need and want art, and some art is no longer affordable by the many, unless in the form of prints. Six of the original exhibitors will participate in the 2015 edition, and three stands will be manned by the children of original exhibitors. *Print Quarterly* wishes the London Original Print Fair a long and healthy life, and I look forward to writing another tribute to it in 30 years' time! DAVID LANDAU

RICHARD LONG. The cover of *Richard Long Prints 1970–2013* immediately announces what might be different about this particular catalogue raisonné for it shows the almost primeval effect of slapping a muddy hand on paper, thereby creating a 'mud hand print' (also exhibition catalogue, Kleve, Museum Kurhaus, 21 April–30 June 2013; Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, 15 July–20 October 2013; Walsall, The New Art Gallery, 16 April–22 June 2014, Cologne, Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2013, 196 pp., 150 col. ills., £36/ €38/ $55). The result is a dramatic image that links its present with our human past. The image also announces that Richard Long (b. 1945) is sometimes engaged with a material uncommon in printmaking: mud.

The catalogue records 55 'prints' made between 1970 and 2013, but as with many artists who have been working at the end of the twentieth century, there is great diversity of means and testing of definitions. Over twenty screenprints are listed, and over twenty varieties of offset printing, but only four etchings plus two mud prints. The edition sizes range from less than 50 to under 500 impressions, but with one 'print' published in an edition of 60,000 (and given away to users of the London Underground).

When Long works in two dimensions it would seem that he has three main types of images. First, there are what may be termed photo-works. These now familiar images of simple forms, frequently lines and circles, assembled or created in usually remote landscapes, employ photographic vistas. They make up about a third of Long's prints and are well represented here. The second category is word-works. Once again these are familiar elements of Long's oeuvre and occur frequently as texts executed directly on to gallery walls. It should be noted, however, that photo-works nearly always include incursions of words, as do the third category of two-dimensional works: surface-works. By 'surface-works' I mean to embrace drawings, rubbings, stainings and mark-making; one might think of this category, which describes half of the total prints, as closer to more traditional ideas of printmaking activity.

The photo-works of Long encourage the eye to look into the print; the word-works require the eye to read the print in order to put letters and words together in the mind; while lastly, the surface-works suggest that the eye look over the print. These are the three main ways of ac-

71. Richard Long, *No Footprints*, 2012, offset lithograph, 456 x 630 mm (Image courtesy New Art Gallery, Walsall).

cessing the printed work of the artist. If we go further and consider Long's work in the round, one might suggest that he displays the skills of the sculptor, the photographer, the writer and the painter (with mud), thereby tending to confound the popular image of this artist simply as a man walking and working with rocks in remote locations. And, indeed, among his many achievements, his photographic images of the results of his work in the landscape are quite extraordinary, and lend themselves particularly to replication as prints of different kinds. See, for example, fig. 71, which references a walk performed in December 2012 through the Heritage Range part of the Ellsworth Mountains of Antarctica.

Long, who was awarded the Whitechapel Gallery Art Icon prize in January 2015, had a substantial retrospective exhibition in 2009, 'Richard Long: Heaven and Earth', at Tate Britain, London. Nine of the ten rooms displayed 78 works, from stone circles to mud murals, though excluding prints, but in one dedicated room there were over twice as many other pieces as this on show (184 items); these were a vast display of printed ephemera, including posters and exhibition announcements, as well as artist books and other material confirming Long's much wider commitment to printing. If one was to expand the diversity of the works that have been designated 'prints' in this catalogue raisonné, it would be possible to project a second volume that could document perhaps four times as many items representing Long's complete range of printed works – from postcards to booklets. Perhaps it is time for a lively catalogue raisonné of the full range of a living artist's considered printed ephemera and other printings? CLIVE PHILLPOT

Catalogue and Book Reviews

Images of Islam

Susan Dackerman

Charlotte Colding Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453–1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2014, 276 pp., 79 b. & w. ills., £60.

In recent years, a burgeoning art-historical literature has emerged on the study of the Mediterranean as a site of early modern cultural exchange among Italy, the Holy Roman empire and the Ottoman empire.[1] Studies have focused chiefly on the maritime connections and conflicts between Venice and Constantinople and the production of related works by Italian and Islamic artists. Only recently subjected to similar scholarly scrutiny is the spate of northern European works of art precipitated by overland encounters between the empires. Smith's *Images of Islam, 1453–1600* makes a substantial contribution to this literature, focusing specifically on printed images of Ottoman subjects produced in German-speaking lands between the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1576–1612).

The author, whose book originated as a PhD thesis in cultural studies at the University of Melbourne, looks primarily at book illustrations, but also addresses single-sheet woodcuts and intaglio prints, as well as offering translations of inscriptions and related texts. She provides an ample bibliography of primary and secondary sources, although it would have benefited from a more robust selection of recent art-historical sources on print culture. The chapters are iconographically themed and present topics such as early images, military images, biblical images, encyclopaedic images of the Turk, travellers' tales, images of the Ottoman Empire and the Court of Constantinople, and Ottoman dress.

As Smith notes, the development of printmaking in Europe coincided with the siege of Constantinople by the Ottoman army in 1453. Over the following half-century, the concurrent events inspired a flurry of printed texts and images focused on Islamic and Ottoman subjects. Unlike the prints that were to appear in the sixteenth century, however, these early books and prints are not demonstrations of a systematic gathering of knowledge and its verification through informed sources. Printed illustrations in books such as Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* and engravings by such artists as Albrecht Dürer reveal at-

72. Albrecht Dürer, *An Oriental Family*, c. 1496, engraving, 111 x 79 mm (London, British Museum).

1. See, for instance, C. Campbell and A. Chong, *Bellini and the East*, London, 2005; S. Carboni, *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*, New York, 2007, and *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye: Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, edited by J. G. Harper, Farnham, 2011.

73. Hans Weigel after Jost Amman, *Ottoman Emperor*, from *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (Nuremberg, 1577), woodcut, 318 x 192 mm (Munich, Staatsbibliothek).

tempts to formulate the appearance, dress and customs of Ottoman – or more broadly, Islamic – figures, often based, as Smith details, on flawed historical sources (she illustrates Dürer's *St John in Boiling Oil* and *The Whore of Babylon*, but see also fig. 72). Typically, non-European headgear and weapons, such as curved swords, were included to distinguish Ottoman figures from their Germanic counterparts.[2] Although Dürer's depictions of Islamic figures began to appear after a visit to Venice, where scholars assume he encountered Gentile Bellini's representations of Ottoman subjects produced during his posting in Constantinople, even these have been criticized for not communicating true likenesses of individuals or local customs. Early printed depictions, comprised of aggregated attributes from sundry sources, reflect the period's fluid definition of the 'Turk' and Islamic culture.

Smith's justification for concentrating on printed images of Islamic subjects rather than paintings or drawings is straightforward. Print was a new mode of communication with the potential for wide circulation to various constituencies (pp. 5, 30). Yet, the author does not make claims for the specific characteristics of printmaking that are suited to the production of 'images of Islam'. Recent art-historical work demonstrates that printed images and their inscriptions were engineered to convey greater 'truth value' than representations in other media. For instance, in her book *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture,* Stephanie Leitch describes the development of a novel type of print in early sixteenth-century Augsburg that she calls the 'working print'. Such prints, which incorporate images and text, present visual descriptions of the world through strategies that insist on the truthfulness of print media, usually through the presence of a witness within the images themselves. According to Leitch, 'printed illustration became especially suited to ratify the claims of empirical observation' by 'declaring themselves eyewitnesses to these sightings' and 'announcing their function as unmediated purveyors of representations of nature'.[3] She compellingly argues that print culture was the forum for the period's most assertive claims that the world could be accurately represented.

According to Smith, changes in the look and iconography of prints of Islamic subjects over the course of the sixteenth century are a consequence of greater cultural contact and information brought back from the Ottoman empire (p. 8). Her chapters on military images and travellers' tales document exchanges between empires and provide copious examples of books and prints that illustrate Islamic history and contemporary customs, including those that are both well and little known. The great strength of the book is its consolidation of a genre of imagery popular in the early modern period, but unfamiliar today. While engravings and woodcuts by Melchior Lorch are renowned, Smith also examines those by Jost Amman, Niklas Stoer, Hans Weigel and other under-recognized printmakers (fig. 73).

However, because Smith overlooks the flourishing literature on observation and 'eyewitness' accounts, she discusses the images as instances of reportage rather than as interpretations of events that have a place in the history of image making and knowledge production. Calling her book a 'cultural history of images', Smith describes prints as key historical sources that provide historical evidence (p. 2). She assumes a documentary function for the images rather than examining the motives of their creators, or shall we say, their epistemic agenda. As printed books and images circulated through northern Europe, they fashioned, codified and dispersed information about the expanding Ottoman empire. Smith's readings of the prints suggest that they are static rather than generative objects, reflecting history instead of facilitating its construction, and presenting events and ideas rather than creating and/or legitimating them. Her book does, however, play a valuable role in identifying the profusion of printed images that generated this epistemological explosion in German-speaking Europe.

2. Bronwen Wilson argues that because physiognomy could not be used to discern subjects of the different empires, Italian artists used costume to differentiate Turks from their contemporaries: 'Reflecting on the Turk in Late Sixteenth-Century Venetian Portrait Books', in *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, XIX, nos. 1–2, p. 52.
3. S. Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture,* New York, 2010, p. 3. See also review in *Print Quarterly*, XXX, June 2013, pp. 182–83.

Federico Barocci

Rhoda Eitel-Porter

Federico Barocci: Renaissance Master of Color and Line, edited by Judith Mann and Babette Bohn, exhibition catalogue, St. Louis, St. Louis Art Museum, 21 October 2012–20 January 2013; London, National Gallery, 27 February–19 May 2013, London, Yale University Press, 2013, 376 pp., 214 col. and 46 b. & w. ills., £45.

Curators Judith Mann, Babette Bohn and Carol Plazzotta selected around 30 paintings and some 80 related preparatory studies and prints for the exhibition 'Federico Barocci: Renaissance Master of Color and Line', held in St. Louis and London, and displayed them together to great advantage. The drawings included notable examples in Barocci's (c. 1535–1612) pioneering techniques of coloured chalks and oil sketches, as well as pen and ink studies. The show and its accompanying catalogue also provided an excellent opportunity to re-examine the artist's innovative and masterful prints. Few Renaissance artists had more prints made after their paintings, yet Barocci produced himself only four, of which two are quite small and possibly experimental etchings. In comparison, nearly 1,500 drawings from his hand survive. Like Titian, for whom Cornelis Cort had been making prints after his paintings since 1565, Barocci may have engaged Cort to reproduce, in 1575 and 1577, his painted compositions *The Rest on the Return from Egypt* and *The Madonna of the Cat*, the latter now in the National Gallery, London. A drawing in red and black chalk at the British Museum, in reverse to the print of the *Madonna of the Cat*, has been established as Barocci's autograph study made expressly for the engraving, and there may well once have been a similar study for *The Rest on the Return from Egypt*. The two artists may have met at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli or in Rome, where Cort engraved a series of penitent saints in landscapes after drawings by Girolamo Muziano in 1573–75, possibly whetting Barocci's appetite for a similarly wide distribution of his compositions.

Plazzotta gives a thoughtful summary of who might have instigated the Cort prints: Barocci himself, Count Antonio Brancaleoni, who had commissioned versions of both paintings, or the Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria della Rovere. She also convincingly proposes that the animal in the *Madonna of the Cat* was a heraldic pun on the Brancaleoni coat of arms – a lion rampant below a cross. This is reinforced by Plazzotta's discovery of documents supporting Giovanni Pietro Bellori's statement that the painting was commissioned by Brancaleoni.

Barocci may have had access to printmaking equipment in the workshop of his brother Simone, who was a maker of clocks and mathematical instruments in Urbino, as suggested by Michael Bury (*The Print in Italy*, London, 2001). Despite the small number of autograph prints by Barocci, which probably fall within the period 1581 to 1588, they occupy a critical place in his oeuvre. The easy reversal of figures between drawings certainly suggests his familiarity with modes of printmaking. His only dated print is the magnificent *Il Perdono* of 1581, based on the painting in the church of San Francesco in Urbino (fig. 74). It depicts St Francis's request for and receipt of a plenary indulgence (pardon, or *perdono*) and is a surprising flourish of technical mastery. The multitude of surviving impressions suggest that it was a best-seller of its time. Made some ten years after beginning the painting, it also testifies to Barocci's entrepreneurial acumen. He was granted by Pope Gregory XIII a ten-year privilege, remarkable in that it prohibited competing representations of the painted image and not just copies of the print. Furthermore, the document for the privilege, discovered by Bury, featured in articles by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (*Artibus et historiae*, 2008 and 2014), who interprets the phrasing 'pro parte Federici nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum quatenus indemnitate sua in praemissis consumere' as meaning that donations of those receiving indulgences could be kept by Barocci. This would have been an unusual, probably unique situation, and a great coup for the artist. An alternative, more probable reading, advanced by Bury in an email of November 2014, was that the Pope was being asked to allow all the money received [by the Franciscans from the sale of the prints] to be used to indemnify Barocci.

When Francisco Villamena reproduced Barocci's composition in 1588, he either did so with Barocci's permission and financial gain, or, as noted by Bohn, following Alessandra Giannotti and Claudio Pizzorusso, the privilege was flouted (p. 128). Comparison of light values suggests that Barocci may have used the study in muted shades of black, red and brown in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, as a preparatory study for the print, with which it corresponds almost exactly in size. Even though it is in the same direction as the print, thus necessitating an intermediate stage, one wonders if it might not have been made solely in preparation for the print. Considering that Bellori's classification of Barocci's drawings and oil sketches and description of

74. Federico Barocci, *Christ Flanked by the Virgin and St Augustine Appearing to St Francis as he Kneels at Prayer in the Chapel of the Portiuncula*, 1581, etching, 536 x 322 mm (London, British Museum).

his working process (progressing from study to *cartoncino per il chiaroscuro, cartoncino per i colori* and final painting) is nowadays considered highly doubtful, a re-examination of the preparatory oeuvre in relation to the prints might prove fruitful.

The two small etchings, *Virgin and Child in the Clouds* and the *Stigmatization of St Francis*, may have been made by Barocci in order to perfect his technique. The former is largely developed from a painting by the artist, the *Virgin and Child with Sts John the Baptist and Francis*, from the 1560s, now in the Brera, Milan, causing some scholars to date the print as early as the painting. A copy of the print by Agostino Carracci dated 1582 has led others to suggest a date of 1581. The *Stigmatization of St Francis* is also considered by some to be an early effort of 1581, although Mann here flirts with a later dating (no. 13.2). The related painting in the Pinacoteca Comunale in Fossombrone may have served as a study for the etching.

The *Annunciation*, the other large-format engraving, is after a painting completed between 1582 and 1584 for Barocci's major patron, the Duke of Urbino. It was the artist's most successful and presumably last venture into printmaking and must have been finished by 1588, when Philippe Thomassin made an engraved copy. A drawing in Budapest is thought to have been used to prepare the print (no. 9.7). The artist kept the copperplate throughout his lifetime and must have been in charge of printing and distributing the *Annunciation* himself. One luxury impression is on green taffeta.

From a document dated 9 July 1590 published by Bonita Cleri, we learn that in around 1587 Barocci was again involved in curating his legacy (*Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, 1993–2000). The document records an agreement of three years earlier between the artist and a Flemish merchant. Barocci had provided the merchant with his *cartone preparatorio* for his Senigallia *Entombment*, so that the merchant could have Giovanni Stradanus make an engraving (*intaglio in rame*) after it. Considering that Stradanus was not himself a printmaker, he was probably to act as middleman and negotiator, as pointed out by Bury (email, November 2014). Barocci was to receive 40 or 50 prints and his *cartone*, yet as the document notes, he had not received either. Probably the prints were never made, or less likely, none of them survived. The prints by Philippe Thomassin and Aegidius Sadeler after the *Entombment* seem unrelated in this context.

The catalogue is a masterful interweaving of the media of painting, drawing and print, and integrates much recent information and new research. Because Barocci's work is mostly religious and located in churches, its sheer quality and his talent have often been overlooked by the museum-going public. The exhibition and its publication go some way in addressing this oversight.

Illustrated Sacred Books in Italy, 1550–1700

Ilaria Andreoli

Visibile Teologia: Il Libro Sacro Figurato in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento, edited by Erminia Ardissino and Elisabetta Selmi, Rome, Storia e Letteratura, 2012, 463 pp., 58 b. & w. ills., €68.

The Counter Reformation saw a surge in the production of religious books associating texts and images. The present collection of 24 essays, first presented in research seminars organized in 2010 and 2011 by the Italian departments of the universities of Padua and Yale, does not claim to compensate for the absence of a systematic, overall study of this phenomenon in the Italian world. Instead it offers a varied panorama of critical approaches, mostly literary, to an immense production, little known by most scholars, of 'illustrated sacred books' published in Italy between 1550 and 1700 in Italian. The two editors warn that categories considered as already well covered, such as emblem books, were deliberately neglected, but one can only lament the absence of categories in which the text/image relationship is central, such as illustrated catechisms, prayer books and liturgical texts. In the regrets category let me also add that first, the title 'libro sacro figurato' is somewhat misleading as the study of mental representations or interior images prevails on the examination of editions and illustrations proper. Second, technical terms regarding typography and engraving are often employed without rigour; and, third, the few illustrations provided in a book of almost 500 pages are, mostly, of poor quality. In spite of their interest, this review will ignore the strictly philological essays to focus on those that deal with specific

illustrated editions or iconographic analysis.

In the section on biblical and ecclesiastical texts Danilo Zardin (Università del Sacro Cuore, Milan) gives a useful account of the complex editorial history of the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Illustrations of the Gospel stories) by the Jesuit Jerome Nadal, and the 153 plates commissioned from the Wierix brothers by the Jesuit order. The plates alone were printed in Antwerp in 1593, the text the following year, then in 1596 an edition of the text and the plates was printed (fig. 75). This was followed by many edi-

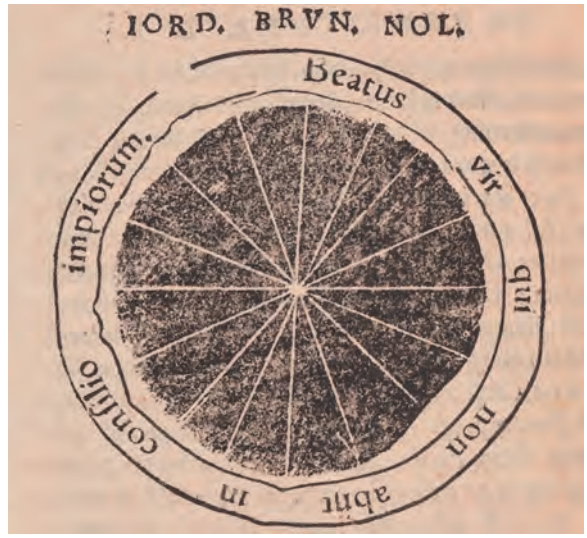
75. Jan, Hieronymus and Anton Wierix, *Annunciation* from J. Nadal, *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp, 1593), engraving (Washington, DC, Library of Congress).

tions where text and plates were sold separately, leading to the existence of disparate copies assembled by owners, and of the text and illustrations being used for the *compositio loci* – a spiritual exercise developed by St Ignatius of Loyola to facilitate placing oneself visually in the presence of the divine events of salvation. Zardin also presents translations in the vernacular languages, in particular the Italian one of 1599 by Agostino Vivaldi, an abstract of Nadal's text, and traces the influence of Nadal's work on devotional books.

Eleonora Buonocore of Yale University focuses on *De Lampade Combinatoria Lulliana* (On the combinatory lamp of Ramon Lull), a minor tract by Giordano Bruno against humanistic education, usually considered superficial. Published in 1587 during the philosopher's sojourn in Wittenberg, it is illustrated with curious woodcuts like the '*figura del Salmo*' (figure of the psalm), a device designed to produce sermons on the psalms in the shape of a wheel with sixteen rays, and an initial 'S' for '*subiectum*' at the centre (figs.76 and 77). The famous woodcuts of the Apocalypse in Antonio Brucioli's evangelical Bible (Venice, 1532), are examined by Matteo Giro of the Fondazione Cini, Venice. Derived from Holbein's series, they are by Matteo da Treviso, who can be identified as Matteo Pagan, an engraver who also acted as bookseller and printer.

The veteran book historian Ugo Rozzo, of the University of Udine, follows variations of the *Typus ecclesiae* image showing the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church, in illustrated books and prints of Protestant and Catholic origin. Its most spectacular Catholic representation is a print by Luca Bertelli (Venice, 1574), probably ideated by the Polish Jesuit Stanislaus Rescius and republished by Giovan Battista De'Cavalieri in Rescius's *De atheismis et phalarismis euangelicorum libri duo* (Two books on the atheism and cruelty of Evangelists; Naples, 1596). Unfortunately only a small detail of the Venetian version is reproduced.

An excellent overall survey of illustrated lives of the saints by Guido Arbizzoni of Urbino University opens the section on hagiography. Some are ample collections made for popular devotion, in which a single coarse woodcut opens the life of a saint, as in the *Nuovo leggendario della vita e fatti di n. Giesù Cristo e di tutti i santi* (The new story of the life and deeds of our Jesus Christ and all the saints) by the Spaniard Alonso de Villegas Selvago (Venice, 1588), reprinted many times well into the eighteenth century. Girolamo Ecolani's *Le eroine della solitudine sacra* (The heroines of sacred solitude; Bologna, 1655) and *La reggia delle vedove sacre* (The realm of the sacred widows; Padua, 1663) are examples of smaller and more elegant collections of saints lives, targeting an upper-class audience, with full page portraits of female saints. In publications on individual saints, images multiply and enter into a more complex relationship with the text. This is the case for the *Speculum* about St Benedict by Angelo Faggi called il Sangrino (Florence, 1586), where 50 full-page prints after Bernardino Passeri illustrate poems in a way that is reminiscent of emblem books and picture bibles. To celebrate the beatification of St Teresa of Avila, Giovan Vincenzo Imperiale even published a cycle of emblems linked to poetic texts,



76. Anonymous artist, *Figure of the Psalm*, from G. Bruno *De lampade combinatoria lulliana* (Wittenberg, 1587), woodcut (New Haven, Medical Historical Libarary, Yale University).

77. Anonymous artist, *Figure S* from G. Bruno *De lampade combinatoria lulliana* (Wittenberg, 1587), woodcut (New Haven, Medical Historical Libarary, Yale University).

La beata Teresa (Genoa, 1615), as would on a much larger scale Paolo Aresi in his *Imprese sacre,* of 1613–35.

Extending the domain of the emblem to religion was one of the main reasons for the European diffusion of this genre that had hitherto been essentially confined to Italy. A first life of a saint in emblems was in fact, not surprisingly, dedicated to St Ignatius: Carlo Bovio, *Ignatius insignium epigrammatum et elogiorum centuriis expressus* (Ignatius revealed by centuries of remarkable epigrams and eulogies) (Rome, 1655). Alison Fleming, of Winston-Salem State University, NC, examines the role of illustration for the massive *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loiolae* (Life of St Ignatius of Loyola) produced in Rome in 1609 (fig. 78). It commemorated the beatification of Ignatius and promoted his cause for canonisation with 79 engravings by Jean-Baptiste Barbé, assisted by the young Peter Paul Rubens who produced drawings for at least ten engravings. Valérien Regnard's twenty plates for *S. Ignatii Loyolae Soc. Jesu Fundatoris quaedam Miracula* (Rome, c. 1630–50), created at a time when Ignatius was already canonized, focus instead on the saint's visions and miraculous experiences. These two series of images are diverse not only in composition and visual elements but also in scope, focus, accompanying inscriptions and intended audience.

Lara Maria Rosa Barbieri's essay considers another booklet intended to promote the canonization of a saint, Cesare Bonino's *Nonnulla Praeclara gesta S. Caroli Borromei*, published in Milan in 1610 and consisting of 53 engravings by Alberto Ronco in two series, with Latin and Italian commentary. A comparison of extant copies shows that the two series were treated differently. The first one reproduces the cycle of frescoes with episodes of the saint's life in the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia, commissioned by Cardinal Federico Borromeo from Cesare Nebbia and Federico Zuccari. It is almost always presented in the intended order, while the second series of devotional prints, a selection of miraculous images made by the publisher, are distributed haphazardly throughout copies of the book.

'Prayer around his body: Vittorio Amedeo Barralis's *Anotomia sacra per la novena della Santa Sindone* (1685)' by Armando Maggi of the University of Chicago opens the section on devotion. In his treatise on the Shroud of Turin, Barralis 'anatomizes' not the body sketched on the cloth, but rather the image of the suffering Christ that the viewer is invited to internalize. A *novena*, an institutional act of devotion, often consisting of prayers repeated for nine successive days, literally adresses nine parts of the Saviour's tortured body and ends with a *sacra corona* (holy crown) that invites the viewer to meditate on the last moment of Christ's life. The first is a static contemplation, the second has the dynamic structure of a narrative. Francesco Lucioli of Cambridge University studies text and image in Lorenzo Gambara's *Rerum Sacrarum Liber*, a collection of hexametric poems with 54 prints by Bernardino Passeri (Antwerp, 1577) that combines emblems for cardinals, images of war, portraits of saints with true narrative cycles, making it a hybrid between a prayer book illustrated with meditative images and an emblem book based on *inscriptio*, *pictura* and *subscriptio*.

The illustration of the Rosary is at the heart of a case study by Pamela Arancibia of Toronto University. In Andrea Gianetti da Salò's *Rosario della sacratissima Vergine Maria madre di Dio nostra signora* (Rosary of the most sacred Virgin Mary mother of God our Lady; Rome, 1573) the original prints by Adamo Scultori, slightly altered by an unknown hand in successive editions, operate at varied levels ranging from substitutions for missing narratives to the transmission of religious concepts to the faithful. Joanna Pietrzak-Thébault (University of Krakow) reviews 34 illustrated devotional texts by Francesco Turchi published in 1568 and 1587 by the most famous of sixteenth-century Venetian booksellers Gabriele Giolito, in the elegant manner proper to his firm. It is particular fascinating to observe how the pace of prayer is set by small woodcuts and '*iniziali parlanti*' (woodcut initials associated with portraits of heroes whose name starts with the same initial). In the chapters dedicated to homiletics Luca Piantoni of Padua University shows that in the dialogue about death by Fabio Glissenti, *Athanatophilia* (Venice, 1596), 31 of the 117 woodcuts derive from Holbein's *Dance of Death*. However, they are copies, not originals as the author seems to think, and were already used by Vincenzo Valgrisi for *Simolachri, istorie e figure della morte,* in 1545 and 1551. Valgrisi himself copied them from Lyonese editions printed by the Trechsel brothers after 1538. Some woodcuts from the Valgrisi series – the pope surrounded by devils for example – were altered to avoid censorship, while the new ones adapted the *memento mori* theme to contemporary Venetian scenes complete with gondolas.

In the last section entitled 'Scenics', Franca Varallo of Turin University focuses on two festival books produced for the funerals of Savoy princes. First, the Jesuit Luigi Giuglaris's *Funerale fatto nel Duomo di Torino alla gloriosa memoria dell'invittissimo e potentissimo Vittorio Amedeo Duca di Savoia* (Funeral held in the cathedral of Turin in glorious memory of the unvanquished and all powerful duke of Savoy, Vittorio Amedeo), published in Turin in 1637, with prints by Giovenale Boetto that present in detail the ephemeral architecture conceived by the architect Carlo di Castellamonte. Second is Giulio Vasco's *Del Funerale celebrato nel Duomo di Torino all'Altezza Reale di Carlo Emanuele II Duca di Savoia* (Funeral held in the cathedral of Turin of His Royal Highness Carlo Emanuele II of Savoy) published in Turin in 1676, with seven large prints ranging up to 875 x 500 mm that required the use of more than one plate, by Georges Tasnière and Antonio De Pienne after Carlo Giuseppe Cortella, Giovanni Antonio Recchi and Tommaso Borgognio. In the book on Duke Carlo Emanuele II's funeral, prints have an autonomous role – they were also separately circulated – whereas in the one

78. Jean-Baptiste Barbé, possibly assisted by Peter Paul Rubens, *Vision of St Ignatius at La Storta* from *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loiolae* (Rome, 1609), engraving.

on Duke Vittorio Amedeo's funeral the baroque rhetoric of the text was intertwined with that of the images.

Roberta Carpani (Università del Sacro Cuore, Milan), considers theatre proper as she analyses the two editions of Giovan Battista Andreini's *Adamo* (Milan, 1613 and 1617), a *sacra rappresentazione* written by an author mostly known for his comic vein. In sharp contrast with most contemporary theatrical productions these two luxurious quarto editions display engraved title-pages, author portraits, decorated initials and frames, and almost 40 prints by Cesare Bassani after Carlo Antonio Procaccini, featured at the beginning of each scene. A sacred theatre on paper, the *Adamo* was meant for meditation and prayer, and also conversion. One can only regret that the author provides no image of this fascinating artifact and only quotes the url (uniform resource locator) of a digital facsimile.

At the end of the day one can only praise the editors for their audacity in opening new critical paths in the dense jungle of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious illustrated books, and for mixing texts by senior scholars with first endeavours by graduate students. Too often though the dominant impression is that of an accumulation of case studies that will leave both historians of art and religion still longing for a much desired analytical synthesis.

The New Hollstein Rembrandt

Martin Royalton-Kisch

Erik Hinterding and Jaco Rutgers, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. Rembrandt*, 7 vols, Sound and Vision, Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel, 2013. I (Text I, 1625–35, nos. 1–155), 320 pp., 360 b. & w. ills; II (Text II, 1636–65, nos. 156–314), 333 pp., 286 b. & w. ills; III (Plates I, 1625–34, nos. 1–138), 261 pp., 568 b. & w. ills; IV (Plates II, 1635–48, nos. 139–246): 276 pp., 336 b. & w. ills; V (Plates III, 1650–65, nos. 247–314): 240 pp.; 271 b. & w. ills; VI (Copies I, 1625–37, nos. 1–166): 393 pp., 645 b. & w. ills; VII (Copies II, 1638–65, nos. 167–314), 385 pp., 457 b. and w. ills., €1,860.

The publication in 2013 of the much-anticipated New Hollstein catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings is a significant landmark in the history of print studies. Although much of the newer information it contains has been published before, either in exhibition catalogues or in Erik Hinterding's thesis on the watermarks in Rembrandt's prints, the New Hollstein volumes assemble all the relevant information in a catalogue raisonné that is so replete with detail that one can say that Rembrandt print scholarship now operates on a new plane.[1]

A few general points. The compilers have chosen to catalogue the works chronologically, rather than continuing with the 215-year-old iconographic numeration created by Adam Bartsch in 1797.[2] The Bartsch numbering has remained in use despite many changes of attribution, re-identifications of iconography and some rediscovered prints, and owes much to the tradition of arranging print collections iconographically. Other chronological listings have been compiled in the past, but the majority of bibliographical references as well as most arrangements of Rembrandt print collections have continued to follow Bartsch's order. His numeration underpinned the description of Rembrandt's etchings in the old Hollstein volumes by Christopher White and Karel Boon, which for the 45 years since its publication in 1969 has been the much-admired standard work.

Yet Bartsch's numeration was flawed from the outset with numerous mistaken identifications. For example, his section on 'Beggars' included the *St Paul* (no. 11) and self-portraits feature not only in their own grouping at the beginning but also among the 'Beggars' and the 'Studies of Men'. Given the extraordinary amount of knowledge now at our disposal for dating each work, the adoption of a chronological order is to be welcomed, enabling as it does a richer understanding of Rembrandt's development. But for questions of iconography, older compilations and online databases will remain useful, as also for anonymous prints of Rembrandt's school, and it is to be regretted that there is no iconographic index in the *New Hollstein* volumes. Today's curators will now have to decide whether to reshuffle their holdings in the New Hollstein order – a major undertaking for large collections – or to retain their current systems.[3]

On the attributional front there have been surprisingly few changes since 1969. According to White and Boon, there were (by my count) exactly 300 etchings by Rembrandt himself. A further six were included as attributed to him and sixteen were known only in later states that had been reworked by a pupil. In the New Hollstein volumes, 314 prints are described as by Rembrandt himself including seventeen as known only in reworked states. Of the six that White and Boon remained uncertain about, only one, the *Wood and Paling, Two Heads and a Horse*, is now rejected (fig. 79, Bartsch 364). Although the present reviewer would not disagree, it is a pity that the format of the Hollstein volumes does not allow for a discussion of individual cases. Anonymous prints of the Rembrandt school are also left out of the discussion.

The modest change of numbers runs against the tide of Rembrandt scholarship in recent decades, which has

1. See in particular *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, edited by E. Hinterding, G. Luijten and M. Royalton-Kisch, London, 2000, which accompanied an exhibition held in Amsterdam and London; E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt Etchings from the Lugt Collection*, Bussum, 2008, reviewed in this Journal by the present writer in XXIX, 2012, pp. 463–70. Hinterding's thesis was published as E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt as an Etcher: the Practice of Production and Distribution*, Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel, 2006. Other significant publications are mentioned below.
2. A. Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt*, Vienna, 1797 (henceforth Bartsch). The numbering still employed in the standard work of 1969 by C. White and K. Boon, *Rembrandt's Etchings: An Illustrated Critical Catalogue*, New Haven and London, 1969; this was also published as F. H. W. Hollstein et al., *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, c. 1450–1700*, XVIII–XIX, Amsterdam, 1969.
3. The British Museum has for a century followed the chronological sequence published by A. M. Hind, *A Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etchings*, London, 1912 (2nd edn, 1924; New York, 1967), but the etchings are now being arranged according to the New Hollstein volumes.

79. School of Rembrandt, *Wood and Paling: Two Heads and a Horse*, c. 1650–52, drypoint with surface tone, 109 x 136 mm (London, British Museum).

reduced the size of the corpuses of Rembrandt's paintings and drawings significantly. One reason for this that might have been mentioned is that even the earliest cataloguers, not least Bartsch himself, would have had almost the whole potential corpus of the original material at their fingertips for the purpose of comparison – something that was impossible for the paintings and drawings, which were already widely dispersed during and soon after Rembrandt's lifetime. As a result, by around 1900 the attributional consensus on the corpus of the etchings had largely settled down, which was not to be the case for works in the other two media.

Nevertheless, the five per cent expansion is insufficient to explain why White and Boon's 'old' Hollstein of 1969 could be published in two volumes (text and plates), while the New Hollstein fills no less than seven tomes, helping to elevate the price to an eye-watering €1,860. On the plus side, to a considerable degree this is a result of the decision to illustrate every state (and the illustrations are of generally good quality) as well as all the known copies, to which two of the volumes are devoted. The authors admit that the copies were not researched exhaustively, but the list of them is now far longer than before and includes such amusements as the *Portrait of Sir Edward Astley* by Thomas Worlidge, based on Rembrandt's *Jan Six*, and the reworking by Richard Cosway of the composition of *David in Prayer* to show *Devotion* in the form of a young woman harpist praying at her bedside (fig. 80 nos. 238 and 268). Every impression of Rembrandt's own prints that the compilers encountered in each repository is included with a note of its individual inventory number. As they visited no fewer than 52 print rooms, the breadth of their survey not only expands the text but also highlights the extraordinary rarity of some etchings. *Arnout Tholincx, Inspector; The Bull* and *The Shell* are all incredibly rare (nos. 294, 259 and 247), while some of the landscapes have become more common, as also the first state of the portrait of *Jan Lutma*, of which 52 impressions are known (no. 293). And as well as listing each one, the watermark and other technical information has also been updated and expanded from pre-

80. Richard Cosway based on Rembrandt, *Devotion,* 1785, stipple engraving and soft-ground etching, 240 x 138 mm (London, British Museum).

vious publications. One noteworthy new aperçu is that the use of the mezzotint rocker, previously noticed in only a very few plates, has now been spotted in no fewer than 28 images, usually strengthening the shadows (see p. LVI).

A design decision further dictates that the texts for every catalogue entry and the related illustrations start on new pages, which means that perhaps as much as twenty per cent of the space available is left unused, somewhat *de trop*.[4] The downside of the seven-volume arrangement is that to study just one etching can necessitate opening three volumes at a time: one for the catalogue text, another for the relevant illustrations and a third for the illustrations of any copies. But the bonus of having so much detail available is more than adequate compensation. The raw material now exists for an exceptionally accurate understanding of Rembrandt's working methods, as well as such information as

4. For example, the descriptions of nos.19–21 would all have fitted on one page, but now occupy four, and a whole page is devoted to the illustration of the small *Self-Portrait in a Fur Cap in an Oval Border, Bust* (no. 24).

81. Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait in a Soft Hat and a Patterned Cloak*, 1631, etching, state VI/XV, 146 x 130 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-10).

that ten editions exist of the *Diana at the Bath*, five of them published between c. 1631 and 1640 (no. 89). The spread of Rembrandt's revolutionary imagery could be swift.

The increase in the number of new states derives partly from the inclusion of all 'deliberate' interventions, including the smoothing of the bevels, which were not counted as states by White and Boon (though often cited by them). Only accidental changes, usually slipped strokes or scratches, are left out. The latter are often mentioned and even illustrated, which is broadly to be welcomed, but as a perusal of the plates for the *Woman Bathing her Feet at a Brook* reveals, scratches can be hard to describe, let alone to see (no. 309). This reviewer found the descriptions and illustrations of this work particularly impenetrable, one problem being that the captions to the illustrations rarely specify which impression is illustrated; in the text volume an asterisk is placed beside the name of the relevant repository from which the illustration came, but where several impressions exist in the same collection, the reader is completely lost. Are any of the illustrated impressions of *Woman Bathing her Feet at a Brook* printed on Japanese paper? Which Amsterdam or Brussels impressions are reproduced (is it the first one listed in brackets)? The problem arises from the pattern adopted from earlier Hollstein volumes, a template that no longer serves its purpose adequately in some instances. An asterisk next to the correct inventory number would have helped, as well as expanded captions to the plates to include locations and inventory numbers.[5]

Many other new states have been discovered in the traditional way of eagle-eyed perspicacity and they are all described with greater thoroughness than before. In the Introduction the authors declare that because many of

5. A few illustrations seem to be incorrectly or inconsistently sized, as for example those of states V to VII of the *Woman Sitting Half-Dressed beside a Stove*, which differ in scale more than they probably should (no. 307).

them were found in early works, they 'reveal a young and inexperienced artist' (p. LIII), but it could be that this is a symptom of the 'industry and application' (read: obsessive perfectionism?) of the young Rembrandt as described by Constantijn Huygens ('I am forced to witness that I have not seen equal industry and application in any sort of man, whatever his pursuit or age').[6] Again, it tells us something about Rembrandt's tireless search for the right effect that he was prepared to risk re-biting his plates in the acid bath many times. Usefully, the catalogue places a 'w' for 'workshop' alongside prints that are only known in states that have been reworked by another hand and it clearly differentiates between changes to the plates that were or were not made by Rembrandt himself, including posthumous states.

It might also have been useful, in the bibliography attached to each print, to have added brief summaries of their content, such as the dates there mentioned or whether a post-White and Boon state had already been identified. The second state of the *Circumcision in the Stable*, no. 280 is a case in point, as it was first published in *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, the exhibition catalogue of the Amsterdam and London shows of 2000–01.[7] But the many major discoveries more than compensate for any minor shortcomings. Some of the most startling concern the reuse of some copperplates. On p. LIV we discover that the plate for the early *St Jerome Kneeling: Large Plate* (no. 3) was cut and used for two other etchings, the *Ragged Peasant with his Hands Behind Him, Leaning on a Stick* and the *Peasant with His Hands Behind His Back* (nos. 47 and 23). On the verso of an impression of the latter, the authors also made out the ghostly remains of a counterproof of a second state impression of the *Seated Beggar with his Dog* of c. 1629 (no. 17), reworked by a pupil, greatly bolstering the argument that the plates were retouched in Rembrandt's immediate circle. Other, tantalizing traces of earlier compositions exist (for example in the first states of *Beggar with his left Hand Extended* and the *Blindness of Tobit*, both of c. 1629, nos. 30–31), which point to the existence of plates that were never completed or are no longer known. Another discovery, made by Krzysztof Kruzel, is the posthumous states created by an owner or publisher who added two dots to a number of plates, probably in around 1700 (see p. LVIII).

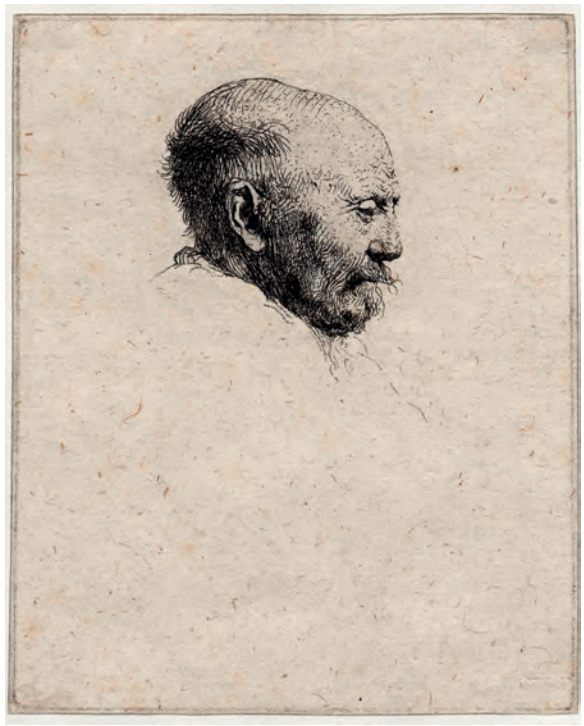
As mentioned by Ger Luijten in his imaginative Preface, there have been nineteen catalogues of Rembrandt's etchings, starting with Edme Gersaint's publication of 1751.[8] It may be assumed that Gersaint's catalogue was based on an earlier list that he would have compiled as a print dealer, as had others before him, including Clement de Jonghe and the Mariette family. These in-house 'shopping lists' would have enabled dealers to satisfy even customers who wanted to buy the complete oeuvres of Rembrandt and other major printmakers, and to this day it remains the case that the Hollstein catalogues are as essential to the trade as to the academic community that now generally compiles them. Gersaint's volume was superseded by Daulby (1796), Bartsch (1797) and a bevy of nineteenth-century cataloguers, and those by twentieth-century authors bore up well until the advent of the watermark research that Erik Hinterding has led in the last two decades.[9] Some of its early revelations were first published in the catalogue of the 1996 Rembrandthuis exhibition on Johannes van Vliet, but it was not until the joint Rijksmuseum-British Museum exhibition, 'Rembrandt the Printmaker' of 2000–01, that an understanding of the repercussions of the new technology of soft X-radiography for recording watermarks became more widespread.[10] Hinterding's volumes of 2006 revealed that alongside the establishment of more accurate dates for many of the etchings, far-reaching progress had also been made in dating individual states as well as identifying new ones.[11] It is in this sphere that the New Hollstein volumes make their most significant contribution, after the surprising discovery of so many new states. We now know of nine rather than three states of the *Blind Fiddler* (no. 77), two of them posthumous, thirteen rather than six of the *Polander Leaning on a Stick* (no. 76) and even the much studied *Self-Portrait in a Soft Hat and Patterned Cloak* now exists in fifteen rather than eleven states (fig. 81; no. 90), to mention only three of the most notable examples. Many of the new states of the last-named etching are extremely rare (and the last is posthumous). In the New Hollstein all the related watermarks are listed, sometimes with updated information, though they are not reproduced again.

To review such a giant effort can only scratch the surface of what will come to be regarded as one of the most substantial contributions to print scholarship of the twenty-first century. Fresh information abounds on nearly every page and the catalogue will surely remain the standard reference work for decades to come. Some brief points follow:

I occasionally happened on some frustrating misnumberings, for example in the Introduction, where on

6. See W. L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York 1979, pp. 69 and 72: *Testari cogor, non vidisse me parem diligentiam aut assiduitatem ullo in hominum genere, studio vel aetate.* See also *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, op. cit., p. 81.
7. *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, op. cit., no. 74. It is there mentioned as a new first state, but now becomes the second because of the inclusion of the adjustment to the bevelling of the corners of the plate as a new first state.
8. E. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1751.
9. D. Daulby, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Rembrandt*, Liverpool, 1796; Bartsch, op. cit. The authors refer to the main catalogues on pp. xlvii–xlviii of the Introduction.
10. C. Schuckman, M. Royalton-Kisch and E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt and Van Vliet: A Collaboration on Copper*, Amsterdam, 1996.
11. Hinterding, 2006, op. cit.

82. Rembrandt, *Bald Headed Man in Profile to the Right: The Artist's Father (?)*, 1630, etching and drypoint, touched, probably by the artist, in brush and black ink, state II/V (here described as I/IV), 118 x 97 mm (London, British Museum, F,6.78)



83. Rembrandt, *Bald Headed Man in Profile to the Right: The Artist's Father (?)*, 1630, etching and drypoint, state I/V (here described as III/IV or IV/IV), 118 x 97 mm (London, British Museum, 1848,0911.154).

p. LIV (top left) the *Peasant with his Hands Behind his Back* is said to be no. 53, but it is no. 23; and the caption to fig. 9 on p. LV states that the *Ragged Peasant with his Hands Behind Him, Holding a Stick* is no. 17, but it is no. 47.

No. 47, *Ragged Peasant with his Hands Behind Him, Holding a Stick*, according to p. LIII of the Introduction, the eighth state (of nine) was the state actually editioned, as it is the 'first to survive in more than one, two or three impressions'. This is not right: twelve impressions are listed of the first state, five of the second, six of the third and ten of the sixth. Perhaps the discoveries came in so thick and fast that even the authors sometimes could not keep up.

No. 62, *Bald Headed Man in Profile Right: The Artist's Father (?)*: The new first state is not convincing. I am now persuaded that what is here called the second state is in fact the first: fig. 82, the ghostly impression, unique in the British Museum, which Rembrandt retouched with the brush to include the bust rather than merely the head of the figure and which is also extensively touched in the head (arguably but not necessarily also by Rembrandt; inv. F,6.78). Fig. 83, the impression that the authors describe as the unique first state, also in the British Museum, is a clever attempt to make a third or fourth state impression appear to be earlier: the head has been close-cropped and then inserted into another sheet of paper with exceptional skill and some retouching (inv. 1848,0911.154). The heavier shading in the jowl and the cheek seems only to appear later than the impression that I regard as the first state (inv. F,6.78). Thus the New Hollstein first state falls by the wayside, the second state becomes the first, and the description of impressions of the third (now second) state is joined by the excerpted head in the British Museum (which might in fact be a fragment from a fourth state).

No. 185, *Triumph of Mordechai*: on p. LIV this etching is curiously grouped with a number of 'cursory' etchings, which clearly it is not. Two new states of it have been discovered.

Nos. 201–02, *Cottages and Farm Buildings with a Man Sketching* (no. 201) and *Cottage Beside a Canal with a View of Oudekerk* (no. 202): both are now dated c. 1641 rather than 1645, on the evidence of the watermarks (see p. LXII).

No. 299, *St Francis Beneath a Tree Praying*: the authors point out that the second state was printed after 1700 (see p. LXII).

London Maps and Maps Magnificent

Ralph Hyde

Peter Barber, *London: A History in Maps*, London, The London Topographical Society in association with The British Library, 2012, 380 pp., 339 col. and 22 b. & w. ills.; £30.

Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art*, London, British Library Publishing, 2010, 176 pp., 178 col. and 5 b. & w. ills., £29.95.

Where do you draw the line between topographical prints and maps? Answer: you don't. That would be the opinion of many city and county archivists and local history librarians today and it was the opinion of R. H. Major, Keeper of Maps at the British Museum in the 1860s and 1870s. Major hoovered up gigantic numbers of topographical prints for the collection, not just for the UK, but for every foreign country, and was slapped down for his pains. In 1880 he was actually dismissed for misappropriating funds. His successors, Edward Lynham and R. A. Skelton, were far better behaved. They were firmly of the opinion that topographical prints were decoration. In the late 1940s and early 1950s Edward Croft-Murray, Keeper in the Print Room and Skelton, Superintendent of the Map Room, resolved that the Print Room was the right place for those topographical prints that were 'beautiful' and the Map Room was the right place for those that were 'useful'. Items were transferred between the two departments and the integrity of both collections was violated in the process. In 1973 when the British Library was created the two departments found themselves in separate institutions. Worse was to come. In 1997 the British Library moved into new premises at St Pancras. Now they are separated geographically. There are endless anomalies. Ex-Map Room prints by Giovanni Antonio Canaletto, for instance, stayed in Bloomsbury because they had been judged 'beautiful'. Prints by Bernardo Bellotto went off to St Pancras because they had been judged 'useful'. Bellotto today is considered Canaletto's equal. Hey ho!

But now rejoice! In the last ten years the British Library Map Library's treasure trove of topographical prints has at long last been discovered. The Curator of Maps is called the Head of Maps and Topographical Views. A specialist in topographical prints, *Prints Quarterly* contributor Felicity Myrone, has joined the staff. King George III's Topographical Collection, mounted in 250 giant volumes, is being recatalogued, conserved and digitized. And the department has been responsible for two enormous

84. *A Baker with an Oven Peel*, detail of Frederick de Wit's *Platte Grondt der Stadt London met nieuw model en hoe afgebrandt is* (Plan of the City of London with a new model and how it burned down), 1667, engraving, 380 x 525 mm (London, British Library).

exhibitions – 'London: A History in Maps' and 'Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art'. 'Magnificent Maps' included one or two long prospects and bird's-eye views, 'London Maps' a wonderful abundance of topographical prints.

Both exhibitions were runaway successes. 'London Maps' attracted 120,000 visitors and 'Magnificent Maps' 225,000. A special viewing for 'London Maps' was held one evening for London taxi drivers. Imagine how intensely they would have enjoyed it and what they told their fares the next day. During the planning stage the British Library management had still not woken up to the significance of what they had and were unprepared for the public's enthusiastic reactions. There was no printed catalogue, only a tenuously related book – *London: A Life in Maps,* by Peter Whitfield, published to coincide. An exhibition catalogue is basic. When the exhibition is dismantled and dispersed it is lost forever. The catalogue gives it permanence.

There was dismay. The London Topographical Society, which has been publishing books and facsimiles for London historians since 1880, stepped in. Peter Barber, the Head of Maps and Topographical Views, offered to provide images of the exhibits, the panel texts, and the captions he had written for the exhibition. The British Library cooperated fully and became joint-publishers. And thus, five years after the exhibition closed, the catalogue of it appeared in the summer of 2012 in all its glory. The London Topographical Society members received it as their publication for the year. (For £20 they receive one – sometimes two – annual publications, two *London Topographical Society Newsletters* edited by Bridget Cherry and a rollicking annual general meeting with piles of sandwiches and several good talks thrown in for good measure). The *London Maps* catalogue is also on sale throughout the book trade, and doing especially well in the British Library's bookshop. A second impression has been printed.

Barber's approach is not cartobibliographical or iconographical and therefore not dry. It is fresh and popular in the best sense. He invites us all to look penetratingly at the prints and maps, directing our attention to detail we would surely overlook. The story is advanced with seals, medals, household bills and suchlike. The weeping waterman with an oar on De Wit's *Platte Grondt der Stadt London met nieuw model en hoe afgebrandt is* (Plan of the city of London with a new model and how it burned down) has always bothered me (fig. 84). Why should a waterman be weeping? London's watermen benefited tremendously from the Great Fire of 1666. Barber identifies him as a baker. That is not an oar the man is holding: it is a baker's oven peel. Might he even be the Great Fire's remorseful culprit – the Pudding Lane baker who started the whole thing? Notes on the artists and engravers, added to the text by Lawrence Worms, tell us much that is new. Jean Baptiste Chatelain, it seems, only worked when he wanted to. John Boydell reported that he 'would often come for half an hour, receive six pence, [and] go spend it amongst bad women in Chick Lane and Black-boy Alley'.

Barber's approach reflects a new mood in cartographic studies. Until the 1980s the emphasis had been very much on practical use, evaluations of the geographical information supplied, the mathematical precision of the survey and the map's publishing history. The untangling of states and editions had become a fine art. All this was thoroughly necessary but aesthetics were neglected. Nowadays historic maps are receiving attention from art historians and from social historians too. This is especially so with, let's call them, 'swagger maps' – multi-sheet wall maps that were intended to impress, or better still, to overawe. Such items are the subject of *Magnificent Maps*. Take William Morgan's *London Actually Survey'd* of 1682 for example (fig. 85). This map was designed to be looked at rather than consulted in order to get from A to B, and to be viewed vertically on the wall rather than horizontally on a desk. It consists of twelve sheets and measures more than one metre by two metres overall. Its 'ornaments' include large views of landmark buildings, the names of the Privy Council members curiously inscribed on pears, the names of the bishops inscribed on vines, lists of noblemen, judges, Oxford and Cambridge colleges, a long profile view of the capital as seen from the Thames and a view of a kneeling John Ogilby presenting his subscription book to Charles II. The authors detect a political agenda. The Whigs had recently been humiliated and the map, they hint, shows the City put in its place. I am not convinced. The views on the map are evenly balanced. Morgan is performing a diplomatic balancing act between the City and the Crown. On the other hand, Morgan's map is unquestionably celebratory. It exudes pomp. It is the purest propaganda. This is praise, not criticism. It is what such maps are all about.

Magnificent Maps subjects a range of other wall maps to similar examination. Jacopo de' Barbari's bird's-eye view of Venice, 1500, for instance, glorifies the power of the Venetian Republic. Inevitably in no time it was being displayed in galleries throughout Europe. Henry VIII had one. So did Ferdinand Columbus. Johann Hasselberg and Christoph Zells's six-sheet wall map of the Siege of Vienna by the Ottoman army, published in 1590, was intended to be read as a celebration of victory, not just for the Hapsburg monarchy but for the whole of Christendom. The purpose of John Speed's multi-sheet map of England and Wales, 1603–04, was to demonstrate the validity of James I's claim to the English throne. A spectacular map of the hunting forest of Goerde, near Hanover, 1717, presents King George I as he wished the world to see him. Hunting had long been regarded as the sport of kings: sport and bird's-eye view are here combined to demonstrate this monarch's virility and leadership.

Edward Lynham would have appreciated both of these catalogues.

85. William Morgan, *London Actually Survey'd*, 1682, engraving, 1,120 x 2,360 mm (London, British Library).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The Dissemination of Popular Prints

Antony Griffiths

Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820, edited by Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman, Leiden, Brill, 2013, 358 pp., 8 col. and 62 b. & w. ills., €119.

In recent decades there has been a great flourishing of studies on the lower levels of printing and on its methods of distribution. Much of this has been driven by Elizabeth Eisenstein's *Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, which was first published in 1979. If Gutenberg changed everything, how did he do so and who was affected? The code words of this new branch of printing history are 'print culture', 'popular print' or 'cheap print'. It is now voluminous enough to fill a small library, and has graduated to the stage that the first volume of an *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture* was published in 2011 devoted to *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*. Its editor was Joad Raymond, Professor of Renaissance Studies at Queen Mary College, University of London, who is one of the three editors of the collection of essays reviewed here. They emerge from a Dutch collaborative project on 'The pedlar and the dissemination of the printed word 1600–1850', and some of the papers were given at a conference held at the University of Utrecht in 2010. Others were commissioned to round out missing aspects, and the result is a more coherent group of studies than is usual in such collections. The essays are of a high quality and informative and have been divided into three parts. The first is on distribution networks, the second on the iconography of itinerant selling and the third on a few specific categories of printing such as news, politics and religion. Among these is a fascinating essay by J. G. L. Thijssen on the earliest 'school' print series in the Netherlands, issued by educational reformers at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

When reading works of this kind, some print historians will rapidly feel at sea and perhaps slightly seasick. 'Cheap print' means 'cheap printing' and not 'cheap prints'; 'popular print' does not mean 'popular prints' but printing for the masses. Images and text are subsumed into a single mass product and (it is implied) share a common history. On a high level of generalization this must be a truism. But on a lower specific level, this way of thinking begs a large question. Did the cheap printed image share the same history as the cheap printed word? Within the area of letterpress we can see good reason why this might be so. Woodblock and type were printed together in the same press, and text and image were frequently combined. But what of the intaglio copperplate press? This was a separate technology and in most ways a separate trade. How did this fit into the world of relief printing and its distribution? Questions of this kind that should seem basic for a print historian often seem to be overlooked by scholars who emerge from the field of book history and print culture.

Not Dead Things is concerned with the dissemination of print, not its production, and the prime form of distributor examined is the urban or country pedlar. The more that is published, the larger and more complicated and varied this world turns out to have been. It seems to be established that the trade in the nineteenth century worked differently from that before the Napoleonic upheavals, and before then, even within a single country and time, there seem to have been many forms of distribution which often overlapped but were sometimes separate. The variety of pedlar must have paralleled a variety of stock. There was an urban and a country trade, with urban hawkers selling from baskets and rural pedlars from boxes (see Karen Bowen, p.170). There were those who were independent and those who worked in teams. There were full-time professionals who earned a hard but adequate living; there were also semi-beggars on the edge of destitution, attempting to earn a few pence. There were those in cities who sold from fixed positions, pinning prints to the walls, displaying them on the pavement or inside open umbrellas, or (in Paris) from a stall on the quais. There were those who had regular circuits knocking on doors in the countryside, and who would take orders (even for substantial volumes) for their next return. Others worked primarily around markets and fairs, or as agents for local shopkeepers. There were generalists who also sold other goods, such as haberdashery or patent medicines, as well as those who only sold printed paper. Among these there were further specialists in specific genres of printing: news-sheet hawkers, where novelty was essential, worked differently from sellers of chapbooks. Those who sold song sheets actually sang the songs that they were selling, and merged with other classes of street entertainer who sold articles to buyers who had been attracted by their performance. Pedlars changed their stock according to the season and demand (almanacs, for instance, would have been sold before the start of a new year), and they doubtless had varied methods of financing and obtaining it, with a range of potential suppliers.

Three of the essays in this volume are devoted to prints showing urban ambulant street traders. These were usu-

86. Jacob Perkois, *The Print Seller*, 1784, red and black chalk, 278 x 194 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet).

ally published in sets, often with the word 'Cries' in the title, and were aimed as much at the visitor as the local market. The authors Sean Shesgreen, Karen Bowen and Melissa Calaresu are very aware that this genre of print-making quickly established its own conventions and that different sets were aimed at different levels of the market and priced accordingly. Although these prints were never photographs of people in the street, they add important information to our knowledge of print peddling, as it would be impossible to make or sell prints of a type of vendor whom no one had ever seen in the flesh. They show us small series of prints being offered from baskets hung round the neck, and larger prints that were unfurled from a roll and held together at the top between two pieces

87. Anonymous artist, *The Prodigal Sifted: Parents Sieving their Son Surrounded by Scenes of Gambling, Duelling, Drinking, Smoking, Brothel, Sickness and Jail*, 1740s, etching, 197 x 306 mm (London, British Museum).

of wood (fig. 86). The prints they offer seem to be intaglio and not woodcut, which implies that some vendors sold primarily engravings. It is also visually evident that their stock included a wide range of subjects and sizes and that there must have been quite a large range in price.

An essay by Alberto Milano gives a survey of the present state of knowledge of the Remondini firm in Bassano and the network of pedlars that it employed. We now know a lot about this firm, which seems to have operated in a way that was distinct from any other business. No other firm had an integrated operation that controlled all aspects of the production, from papermaking to engraving, through printing and colouring, to distributing by its own network of agents who seem to have sold only their products (not just images but printed texts too). The firm worked internationally and created prints specifically aimed at each of the countries it served. This made the Remondini millionaires and quite exceptional.

What is less unusual is the range of material that they produced. The title-page of the catalogue of a London publisher such as Henry Overton in 1764 addressed itself to 'gentlemen, merchants, city and country shopkeepers and chapmen'. He did not hive off the bottom end of his stock into a separate catalogue; the pedlar was expected to be interested in the more expensive as well as the cheapest prints listed. A similar range of quality and price is also found in the later Remondini catalogues, but it was all available through the pedlar network – and doubtless in other ways as well.

One or two authors here (for example Shesgreen on pp. 123–25) follow a long tradition in making a sharp distinction within this material on the basis of an assumption that the price of intaglio prints was beyond the working man. But I now believe that this is wrong. In the area of seventeenth-century British prints, most have started from the figures found by Alexander Globe in his study of Peter Stent of 1985. These have been taken to produce a 'typical' price range for an intaglio print of 6 pence upwards, which we can all agree was too high for the average workman earning around 1 shilling 6 pence a day (in fact Globe was more cautious and allowed for cheaper prints). The evidence mostly comes from advertisements for new prints, and these are misleading. By their nature they were the prominent publications of the day from which the publisher hoped to get the largest profit and hence was willing to spend money to advertise. The prices put on them are

most unlikely to apply to everyday prints that were never advertised, and certainly not to plates that were being printed in runs of many thousand over many years. Documents from France in the early seventeenth century prove that intaglio prints were already being mass produced for the pedlar trade, and the extraordinary wholesale price list appended to the 1764 catalogue of Cluer Dicey reveals that royal-size engravings cost wholesale one penny each and royal woodcuts a halfpenny (see, for instance, fig. 87, published by William Dicey, who traded in partnership with his son Cluer). This allowed a retail price of a penny or two, the same as a broadside or a chapbook. At once we are in the range of the working man.

Hence I believe that the range of affordable prints available on the market was much wider than is currently allowed, and that the types of prints marketed through the pedlars were not very different from those found in stationers and minor print-sellers. The market was seamless, not segmented. At the same time the pedlars' customers also covered a wide range: not all of them were the poor and not everything sold was at the bottom of the market. This has implications for printed images: some middle-market prints as well as those at the bottom of the market must have gone through these channels, which overlapped with the lower levels of the shop or stationer trade. Now that we know so much more about cheap prints, attention must shift to the middle market, the French 'demi-fine' engraving, about which we know much less.

Romanticism and Graphic Satire

Amanda Lahikainen

Ian Haywood, *Romanticism and Caricature*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013, 221 pp., 50 b. & w. ills., £60.

Kate Heard, *High Spirits: The Comic Art of Thomas Rowlandson*, exhibition catalogue, Edinburgh, The Queen's Gallery, Palace of Holyroodhouse, 22 November 2013–2 March 2014, London, Royal Collection Trust, 2013, 271 pp., 191 col. ills., £16.95.

Two recent publications on British graphic satire of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries demonstrate the increasing interest in analysis of graphic satire for historians of all types, as well as the vast amount of information this body of material culture preserves for scholars analyzing this period. In his book *Romanticism and Caricature*, Ian Haywood, Professor of English at the University of Roehampton, argues that graphic satire transformed Romantic-era politics and that the complexity of these images remains unacknowledged and marginalized in academia. Haywood highlights two major problems in the scholarship. First, popular prints have been surveyed and organized but not analyzed in the detail they deserve. Second, satirical prints are sometimes treated as illustrations of historical events and texts (here he highlights a major complaint made by art historians) thus causing scholars to ignore their status as individual fantasies of the artist as well as their productive capacity to change culture as much as visualize it. He is right on both counts. Many of these images are well known, but not always fully interrogated. Focusing on eight caricatures published between 1792 and 1831, each the focus of a chapter (including the introduction), Haywood examines several debates, ranging from the role of caricature and paper money in society to Napoleonic propaganda and the revolution in Spain. His first chapter, for instance, unpacks the dual contexts of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and James Gillray's print *Sin, Death and the Devil* (1792), re-reading the latter as an iconoclastic fantasy that could also be a 'meta-allegory' for caricature in Georgian Britain: both Milton and Gillray used imagery to simultaneously compel and repel viewers (fig. 88).

Despite *Romanticism and Caricature*'s admirable approach to individual satires, the claim that its methodology is novel – as much as the conclusions drawn from close readings of select prints – is problematic. This claim only applies to monographs on Romantic era political satires. Several scholars have adopted a detailed approach to individual graphic satires from earlier in the eighteenth century, such as Douglas Fordahm, Mark Hallett, Joseph Monteyne and Amelia Rauser, and other articles and book chapters do analyze individual graphic satires from this period in depth, such as those by Dian Kriz, Daniel O'Quinn, and Christina Smylitopoulos. Art historians have long since pointed out several overarching claims in this study, such as the importance of the imagination of the artist, the aesthetic and ideological complexity of visual satire, its self-referentiality and basis in the history of art, and the

88. James Gillray, *Sin, Death and the Devil*, 1792, hand-coloured etching, 318 x 403mm (London, British Museum).

potential satire has for illuminating new perspectives on historical events. The question of methodological novelty aside, this book is lucid and insightful, and provides thoughtful analysis of key prints from this era as well as several overlooked prints from the 1820s and 1830s. Crucially, given our global debt crisis, this book is the first to give much needed attention to the important roles played by satire and paper money during the Bank Restriction period (1797–1821). Although more visual analysis may have been warranted, Haywood has helped to raise the status of these prints in Romantic studies with this book.

In contrast to the thematic and single print approach used by Haywood, the exhibition catalogue *High Sprits* by Kate Heard, Senior Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Royal Collection Trust, focuses on one artist and one collection. It boasts two essays, a generous bibliography and 93 catalogue entries each accompanied by an enlarged and highly detailed color image (these bring the distinctiveness of Thomas Rowlandson's line to life). The first essay, rich in quotes from primary source texts, focuses on Rowlandson's comic art and the second, more broadly, on the family of King George III and satirical prints. While the former essay highlights the many firsts of Rowlandson's career, including his first known sketch and first political print, the latter essays move beyond this factual orientation focusing on the Royal family's history of collecting graphic satire. Along with exposing the public to unknown prints by Rowlandson, this latter essay is, as one might expect, the real contribution of Heard's scholarship.

A large part of the Royal Collection was sold to the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, in 1921. Despite this separation, the Royal Collection contains many rare prints, in fact hundreds that do not overlap with the British Museum collection or previously published books on Rowlandson. Several of these are identified in the appendix by Nicholas J. S. Knowles and can be viewed online (www.royalcollection.org.uk). Organized by publisher, this appendix enables readers to discover lesser known publishers of Rowlandson's works, such as Elizabeth Jackson. The main catalogue also includes examples of his work

89. *Four-Leaf Screen, Pasted with Satirical Prints*, c. 1806–07, 1,830 x 1,725 x 30 mm (United Kingdom, Royal Collection Trust).

from books, including *An Excursion to Brighthelmstone made in the year 1789*, published with Henry Wigstead, and Rudolph Akermann's *Microcosm of London*, illustrated by Rowlandson and Augustus Pugin. One of the more unusual entries in the catalogue, a four-leaf screen pasted with satirical prints from 1806–07, is a rare treasure in the collection and demonstrates how much of the material culture surrounding graphic satire has been lost (fig. 89).

Heard describes and categorizes Rowlandson's work in this collection using the theme of comedy (distinct from Patricia Phagan's 2011 catalogue *Thomas Rowlandson: Pleasures and Pursuits in Georgian England*). She laments the absence of George IV's 'free' prints, now missing from the Royal Collection, after giving ample evidence for their pornographic content. The Royal Collection's emphasis, then, on gentle, wry Rowlandson prints can be explained by the collecting practices that lasted beyond the eighteenth century into the reign of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert who continued to grow the royal caricature collection long after biting satire in the eighteenth-century idiom had supposedly fallen out of fashion. Surprisingly, Heard informs her readers that in 1921 only one quarter to one third of the collection was purchased during the Georgian period – most were purchased by the Victorians. Although she seems to search for an easy way to categorize the relationship between the Royal family and caricature from George III to George V, she fortunately resists a reductive answer.

Taken together, both *Romanticism and Caricature* and *High Spirits* give thoughtful contextualization and analysis of graphic satires from the Romanic era. They also, directly and indirectly, indicate the need for a reassessment of the role that graphic satire played in Victorian Britain.

Richard Hamilton

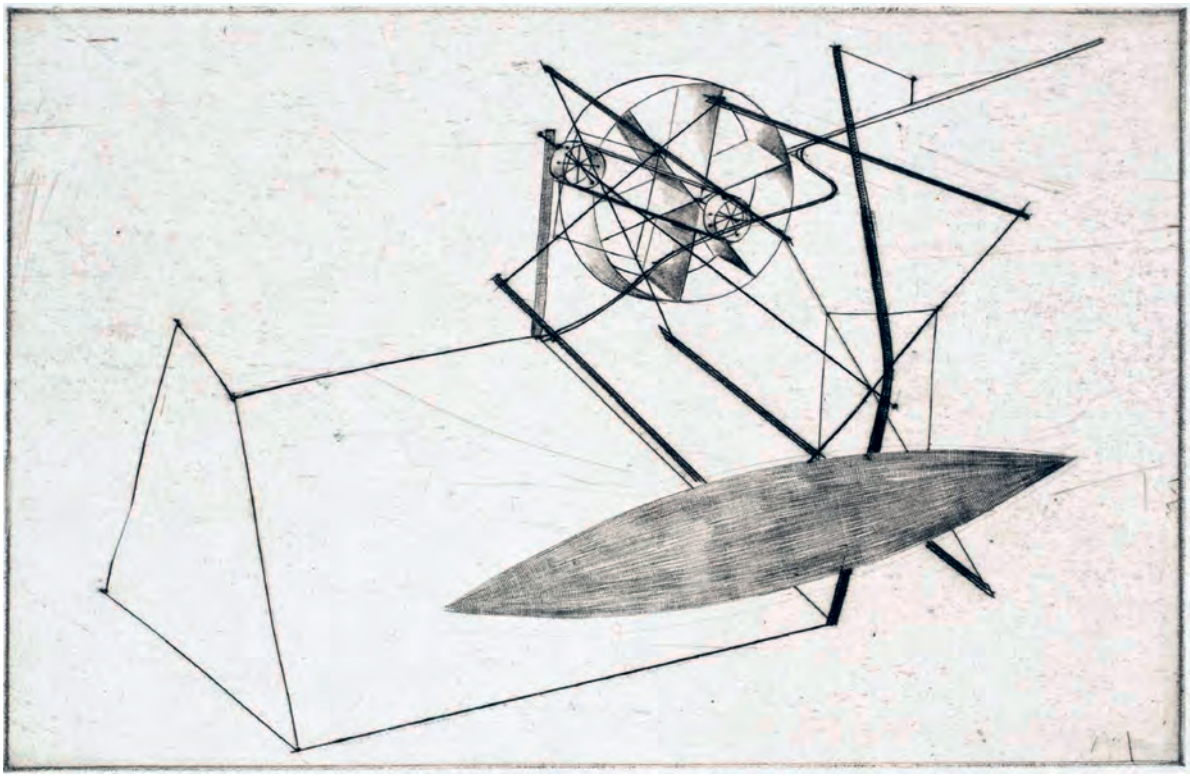
Paul Coldwell

Richard Hamilton, edited by Mark Godfrey, Paul Schimmel and Vicente Todolí, contributions by Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, Hal Foster, Mark Godfrey, Richard Hamilton, Alice Rawsthorn, Paul Schimmel, Fanny Singer and Victoria Walsh, exhibition catalogue, London, Tate Modern, 13 February–26 May 2014; Madrid, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 24 June–13 October 2014, London, Tate Publishing, 2014, 350 pp., 490 col. and 105 b. & w. ills., £29.99.

Richard Hamilton Word and Image: Prints 1963–2007, Alan Cristea, with contributions from Jonathan Jones and Richard Hamilton, exhibition catalogue, Alan Cristea Gallery, London, 14 February– 22 March 2014, 156 pp., 72 col. ills., £25.

The Tate Gallery staged its first major exhibition of the work of Richard Hamilton (1922–2011) in 1970, accompanied by what now seems a modest catalogue of 100

90. Richard Hamilton, *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?*, 1956/1992, collage, 260 x 250 mm (Private collection).



91. Richard Hamilton, *Reaper (d)*, 1949, etching and aquatint on paper, 170 x 270 mm (London, Tate © The Estate of Richard Hamilton).

pages, printed small format with a mere eight colour reproductions and the remainder in black and white. Now, over 40 years on, the Tate in collaboration with the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, has staged a retrospective of his work. To mark the event, a substantial 350-page catalogue has been released with 490 images illustrated in colour. This is certainly not a tome to carry around the show, but a very complete evaluation of this artist's work, with the added endorsement that Hamilton himself was closely involved in its planning until his death. To complement the museum show, Alan Cristea Gallery have produced *Richard Hamilton, Word and Image: Prints 1963–2007* to coincide with an exhibition of prints at their gallery, marking more than 40 years of their association with Hamilton and ensuring that the importance of printmaking within his oeuvre is fully recognized. Together, these provide the most substantial overview to date of this artist, who has been at the forefront of developments within contemporary art since his now famous collage, *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?*, made in 1956, which helped to define Pop Art (fig. 90). Indeed, this collage also defined Hamilton as the father of Pop, a label that this retrospective and the catalogue essays now challenge as being too narrow and restrictive.

The Tate exhibition proceeds chronologically, and what becomes immediately clear is Hamilton's method of working in series or bodies of work held together by shared concerns. In a talk that he gave at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, in 1971 (transcribed in the Tate catalogue), Hamilton writes that all his work has been concerned with 'one of four means of representation', which he then proceeds to identify as figuration, a geometric approach, the medium of paint itself and approaches to language. The retrospective confirms this and makes clear that it is a disciplined engagement with a conceptual approach to image-making that really frames his practice. And while so much that has been categorized as conceptual art has been made by artists seeking an alternative to painting (and here I would include printmaking), Hamilton has predominantly conducted his endeavours within an expanded idea of what painting can be and the relationship between image and material and representation. Furthermore, his work fits within an European sense of scale and what can be accommodated in easel painting. This is also very apparent in his approach to printmaking, since both in terms of scale and working within the frame, his output is relatively conservative. Hamilton is very much a picture maker, which in no way diminishes his ac-

92. Richard Hamilton, *Picasso's Meninas*, etching, 1973, 570 x 490 mm (London, Tate © The Estate of Richard Hamilton).

complishments.

The Tate exhibition emphasizes throughout the importance of printmaking to Hamilton, beginning with the series of *Reapers*, drypoints and etchings made while still a student at the Slade School of Art in 1949 (fig. 91). In these works, the influence of Marcel Duchamp through the mechanical subject matter and the combination of graphic languages, from the perceived through to the diagrammatic, can be felt very strongly. These early works are assured and elegantly realized, showing from the outset that Hamilton's involvement in printmaking was for its intrinsic qualities over and above its commercial imperative. A complete series of progressive proofs reveal the development of *Kent State*, a screenprint made in response to the shootings at Kent State University in USA, and show his meticulous attention to building the image layer upon

layer. Likewise in trial proofs for *Flower Piece*, where a roll of toilet paper becomes part of a flower composition reminiscent of seventeenth-century Dutch still lifes, or in the various versions of *I'm Dreaming of a White Christmas* and *Swingeing London*, all show Hamilton's tenacity to explore various permutations within a fixed composition.

As the exhibition progresses, first the camera and then the computer becomes increasingly evident, demonstrating the readiness with which Hamilton seized on the new opportunities offered by digital technology. The cut-and-paste techniques that were such a feature of his early collages gradually give way to sophisticated digital manipulation; the artist was at the vanguard of those realizing that the qualities of inkjet and digital technology could be as rich and subtle as more traditional techniques.

The Tate catalogue contains a selection of essays, each focusing on a particular aspect of Hamilton's work. These include an evaluation of his exhibition designs by Victoria Walsh, Buchloh's contextualisation of Hamilton in relationship to American art and culture and Hal Foster's elegant essay on Hamilton's approach to photography, while Mark Godfrey's essay considers Hamilton in relationship to the media and politics. This range of attitudes serves to highlight the range and scope of Hamilton's work and the impossibility of a single reading.

Throughout Hamilton's career, however, it is the figure of Duchamp that is all-pervading. Few artists have devoted so much time, effort and resources into understanding and promoting another artist's ideas as Hamilton did for Duchamp. Paul Schimmel encapsulates this in the introduction, 'I suspect that Hamilton found his voice through Duchamp, and that this discovery liberated him from being held captive by the style of his considerable achievements as a proto-pop artist.' And later: 'he did not seek to understand Duchamp solely through thinking or writing about him but more directly by (re)making his work.' This can not only be seen in his typographical version of Duchamp's *Green Box* and his reconstruction of *The Large Glass*, but also in such prints as *Five Tyres Remoulded*, of 1971, which read like Hamilton's own essay on transparency, here replacing Duchamp's glass with mylar drafting film. Each work in turn is researched and executed with intense precision.

Perhaps the key to understanding Hamilton's work is this combination of ideas, feelings and a deep commitment to the intelligence of craft skills. One particular print, not shown at the Tate but displayed at Alan Cristea Gallery, *Picasso's Meninas*, made in 1973, seems to exemplify this approach (fig. 92). Given the opportunity to make a print to celebrate Picasso's 90th birthday, Hamilton agreed, conditional upon working with Picasso's printer, Aldo Crommelynck. The resulting homage takes Velazquez's *Las Meninas* as a stage to revisit Picasso's ever-changing styles and in so doing perfectly articulates the manner in which ideas and skills are passed on, both in terms of vision and techniques, from one generation to the next.

Certainly, this retrospective confirms Hamilton's position as one of the great figures of contemporary art and one who has also excelled as a printmaker leaving a legacy of iconic images in a multitude of media.

Ellsworth Kelly

Roni Feinstein

Richard H. Axsom, *The Prints of Ellsworth Kelly: A Catalogue Raisonné*, Portland, OR, Jordan Schnitzer Family Foundation, distributed by Marquand Books, Seattle, WA, 2012, 2 vols, 867 pp., 335 col. and 1 b. & w. ills., $150.

Richard H. Axsom, *Letters to Ellsworth*, Portland, OR, Jordan Schnitzer Family Foundation, distributed by Marquand Books, Seattle, WA, 2011, 152 pp., 150 col. ills., $45.

Ellsworth Kelly (b. 1923) emerged onto the New York scene in the late 1950s with reductive abstract paintings and sculptures featuring vigorous colour and emphatic shapes derived from observations of the world around him. In the mid-1960s, Kelly extended his production into printmaking. To the present day, his art has continued to be characterized by an intelligence of conception, clarity of design, precision in execution and elegance in style. So too is the recent two-volume set, *The Prints of Ellsworth Kelly: A Catalogue Raisonné,* prepared by Richard Axsom. Appearing just as this figurehead in American art was approaching his 90th birthday, it is among the most gorgeous monographs ever produced, one that establishes a new

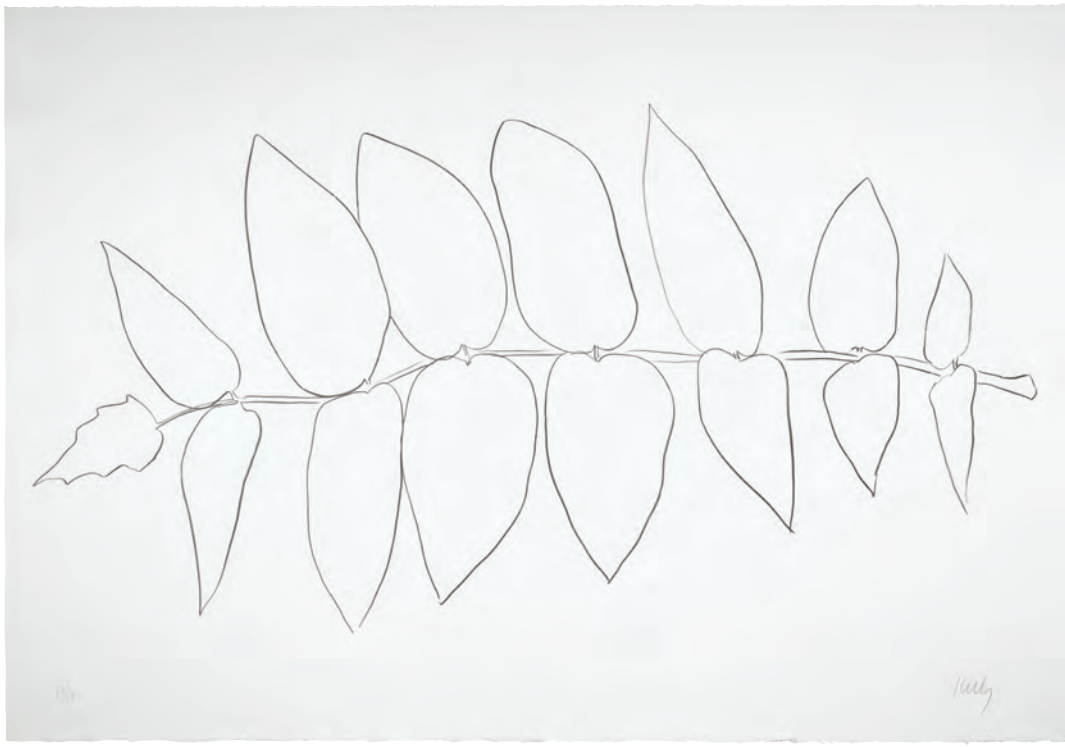
standard for the printed catalogue raisonné.[1]

This new edition, which will henceforth be the definitive reference for this prolific printmaker, renders obsolete Axsom's initial publication on the artist's prints, *The Prints of Ellsworth Kelly: A Catalogue Raisonné, 1949–1985*, which appeared in 1987.[2] The 2012 volume revises Axsom's 1987 essay on Kelly's prints, while updating, correcting and presenting in more streamlined fashion the print documentation, chronology and bibliography.[3] A new essay by Axsom, 'Looking Backward: Looking Forward', reflects on the achievements of the 117 print editions that Kelly produced between 1987 and 2008, the date of the final edition presented in the catalogue (no. 330). Since then, Kelly has continued to be supremely active as a printmaker (with eighteen new editions between 2008 and September 2014), making a future addendum necessary.[4] What will also be needed is an updated version of the appendix devoted to related printmaking activity, consisting of Kelly's designs for exhibition invitations and catalogue covers, posters, wine labels and the like, which appeared in the 1987 catalogue but was eliminated from the new tomes.[5]

Even more than its content, the physical form and production values of the new catalogue raisonné, designed by Zach Hooker of Marquand Books, make it remarkable. Bound in grey linen and enclosed in a grey linen slipcase, each catalogue volume has near-square, generously sized pages of a thick, matt paper stock in a rich white tone. The text is printed in a clean, sans serif typeface (Akagi) and is generally confined to the lower portion of a page, leaving an expanse of white space above. Whereas the images and catalogue entries appeared two to a page in Axsom's earlier catalogue raisonné, here the text for each entry is centred in the middle of the left-hand page, while the image of the print is generously sized and offered in isolation (with no page or catalogue numbers, titles or dates, such as are found in virtually all similar catalogues) on the right-hand page. Further, while the reproductions in Axsom's earlier book tend to be muddy and poor, with dull colours against a grey paper stock, the images here are crisp and the colours of his abstract prints vibrant. The whites of the fine arts papers that Kelly typically used for his prints contrast favourably with the books' more starkly white pages.[6]

Although Kelly is widely known as a finely tuned colourist, over half of his prints are black and white and it is these that fared worst in his previous publication, where they resembled bad photocopies. In the new catalogue, the blacks are inky, rich and vibrant. Moreover, the scale and clarity of the images is such that in Kelly's plant lithographs, for example, in which contour lines describe graceful natural forms, the textured trails left on transfer paper by the greasy lithographic crayons are easily seen (fig. 93). In seemingly impossible to reproduce abstract prints like those of the *Romanesque Series*, 1973–76, in which Kelly used pale grey inks and embossing and debossing to distinguish shapes and edges, the platemarks are visible and the images sing (nos. 116–39). Axsom writes, 'For Kelly, the making of a good print involves a series of intuitive decisions about shape, colour, the relation of colour to shape, and the relationship of coloured shape to the field of paper it rests on. The process requires continuous creative adjustment and calibration.'[7] While viewing the images in the book by no means replaces seeing the prints in person (particularly because scale, which in recent years has approached the monumental, is so important to Kelly's work), the reproductions in the new publication are of sufficiently high quality as to capture the nuances of his multi-faceted calibrations.[8]

1. The online catalogue raisonné of Ellsworth Kelly prints from 1970 to 2006 *Gemini G.E.L. Online Catalogue Raisonné* is found at www.nga.gov/gemini. The majority of Kelly's prints were made in the workshops of Gemini G.E.L. in Los Angeles, which in 1981 donated 256 prints by 22 American artists to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, laying the foundation for the Gemini G.E.L. Archive. One example of each of Gemini's subsequent editions has also been donated to the National Gallery. The online catalogue was launched in 1996, with a second edition appearing in 2009. It presents a small-scale image of each print together with information drawn from the documentation sheets for each published edition.
2. R. H. Axsom, with the assistance of P. Floyd, *The Prints of Ellsworth Kelly: A Catalogue Raisonné, 1949–1985*, New York:, 1987. The publication coincided with a travelling exhibition organized by the American Federation of the Arts, which opened at the Detroit Institute of Arts.
3. The documentation for each published edition in Axsom's 2012 catalogue raisonné includes information from the publisher's documentation sheets as well as notes on related paintings, sculptures and literature. Additionally, the evolution and significance of each series is described. Each of the prints Kelly made at Gemini G.E.L. is given two catalogue numbers – the one assigned by Axsom and its Gemini G.E.L. registration number. It may be noted that the *Gemini G.E.L. Online Catalogue Raisonné,* op. cit., does not provide the Axsom number for each print; instead, it offers the Gemini G.E.L. registration number, referred to as the Gemini Publication Sequence Number, as well as its own catalogue number.
4. These eighteen new editions were with Gemini G.E.L. I wish to extend my thanks to Sidney B. Felsen, Co-founder and Co-director of Gemini G.E.L., and Marisa Muller, Assistant to the Director, Gemini G.E.L. for their assistance with this and other information.
5. One would imagine that this publication would be on the order of R. H. Axsom and D. Platker, *Printed Stuff: Prints, Posters and Ephemera by Claes Oldenburg, A Catalogue Raisonné 1958–1996*, New York, 1997.
6. Through the years, Kelly has used several different types of white paper for his prints, which vary in tone. These include Rives BFK white, Arches Cover paper and Arches 88.
7. Axsom, 2012, op. cit., p. 27.
8. Axsom notes that 'panoramic prints' make up nearly one fifth of Kelly's work from 1988–2008; ibid., p. 44. At almost six metres in length, Kelly's *Purple Red Grey Orange*, 1988, is among the largest prints ever attempted at Gemini G.E.L. and among the longest single-sheet fine art lithographs ever made (no. 245).

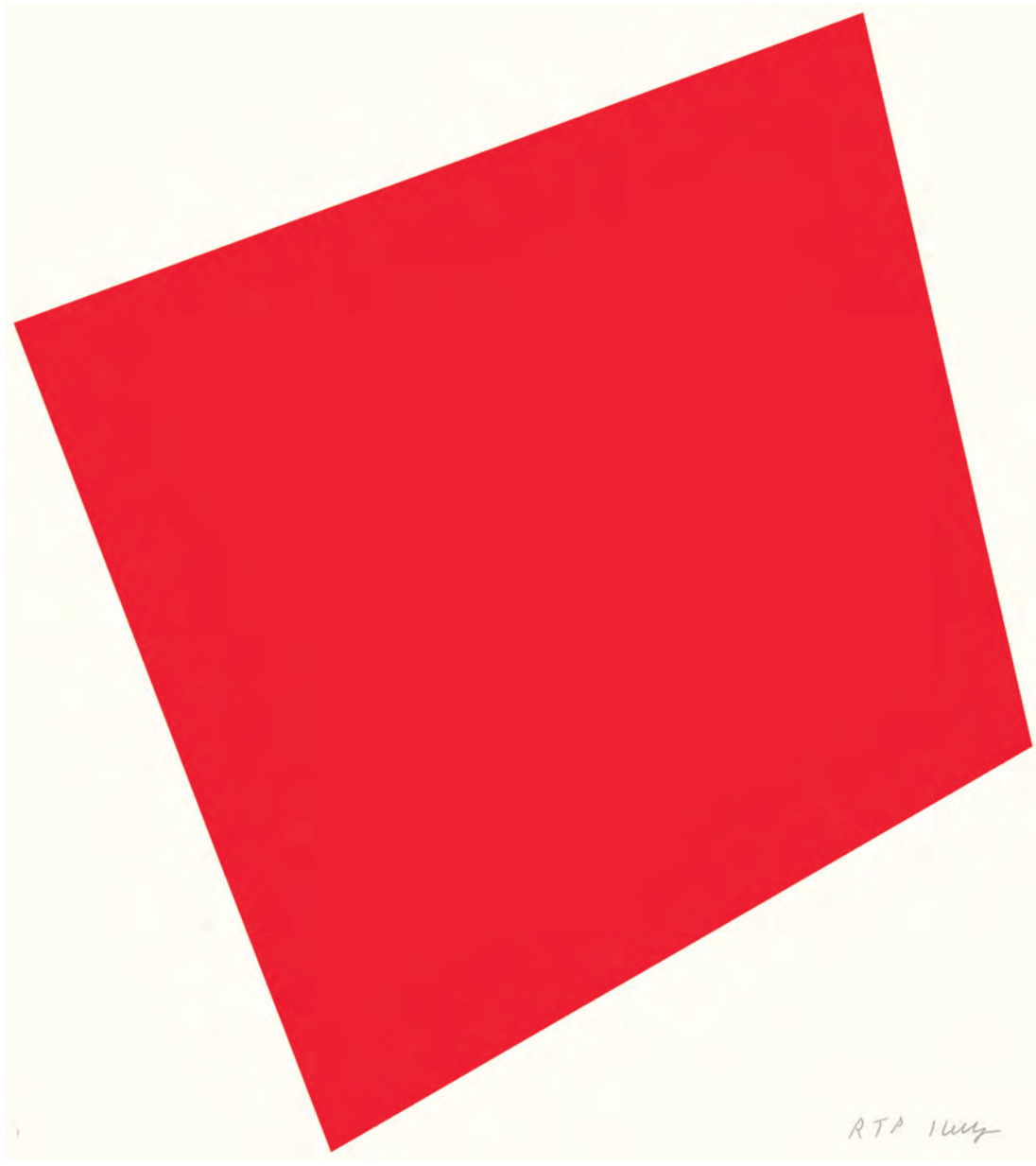


93. Ellsworth Kelly, *Ailanthus Leaves (Vernis du Japon I)*, 1966, lithograph, 726 x 1,052 mm (© the artist and Editeur Maeght, Paris).

The publication of the updated catalogue raisonné coincided with an exhibition, 'Ellsworth Kelly's Prints', which travelled to three cities, each with special significance for Kelly's printmaking. Organized by Stephanie Barron and Britt Salvesen, the exhibition opened in January 2012 at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.[9] Although Kelly made his first prints in late 1964 with Maeght Editeur in Paris, beginning with 27 colour lithographs of abstract shapes and 28 lithographic drawings of botanical subjects, since 1970 his primary print workshop has been the Los Angeles-based Gemini G.E.L., which has published 271 of his 348 editions over the past 40-plus years. At Gemini, Kelly has collaborated with master printers (initially Ken Tyler, then primarily James Reid) who have worked to satisfy his demand for immaculate surfaces, precisely articulated forms and even densities of colour. Reid has said to new printers coming into the shop, 'When you have successfully completed your first Ellsworth Kelly colour edition, then you can say you are a lithographic printer.'[10]

The exhibition's second stop was the Portland Art Museum, Portland being the home of Jordan D. Schnitzer and his family foundation, the publisher of Kelly's print catalogue raisonné.[11] Schnitzer began collecting prints by Kelly in 1993 and the exhibition consisted of more than 100 prints, most of them drawn from his and his family's collection. Richard Axsom is Curator of the Madison Museum of Contemporary Art, the exhibition's final venue. Between the 1987 and 2012 catalogues raisonnés, Axsom wrote an update of his 1987 catalogue essay for the 1998 exhibition, 'Ellsworth Kelly: Recent Prints', held at the Boston University Art Gallery.[12] In 2005 he curated 'Drawn from Nature: The Plant Lithographs of Ellsworth Kelly' for the Grand Rapids Art Museum and authored

9. At LACMA, the exhibition included five painted works and was entitled 'Ellsworth Kelly: Prints and Paintings'. The exhibition brochure can be accessed online at www.lacma.org/sites/default/files/KellyBrochureFinal.pdf
10. Axsom, 2012, op. cit., p. 40.
11. For the Jordan Schnitzer Family Foundation see http://jordanschnitzer.org.
12. Axsom's essay, 'In-Between Perceptions: Ellsworth Kelly's Recent Prints', which was further updated for the 2012 catalogue raisonné, appeared in M. Drach McInnes, *Ellsworth Kelly: Recent Prints*, Boston, 1998.



94. Ellsworth Kelly, *Red*, 2005, lithograph, 845 x 762 mm (© the artist and Gemini G.E.L., Los Angeles).

the accompanying catalogue.[13]

Given his decades-long involvement with Kelly's graphic output, Axsom is the consummate authority and his catalogue essays demonstrate his profound understanding of the artist and his work. Axsom elucidates in detail the evolution of the prints (which generally proceed from drawn or collaged preliminary studies to paintings to prints), the use of various printing techniques (such as photo plates to avoid image reversal), Kelly's collaborations with master printers and the extended sequences of serialized prints. Among the greatest strengths of Axsom's writing is his ability to describe Kelly's complex

13. R. H. Axsom, *Drawn from Nature: The Plant Lithographs of Ellsworth Kelly*, New Haven, 2005.

forms, to clearly articulate subtle but crucial differences among seemingly similar prints and to convey the life force contained within. *Red*, 2005, for example, is 'a sharp-angled trapezium – a quadrilateral with no parallel sides' (fig. 94).[14]

Describing the later prints, Axsom points out that a 'premium is placed on energetic movement' in Kelly's abstract prints produced since 1982, with the artist often presenting shapes set on-end and in states of seeming imbalance.[15] Axsom continues: 'The near classical poise of Kelly's earlier abstraction gives way to baroque energies in this later phase.'[16] He adds, however, that in Kelly's art, 'There is no discernible late style – often signaled in Western art by increased painterly qualities, warmer palettes, and heightened subjectivity.'[17]

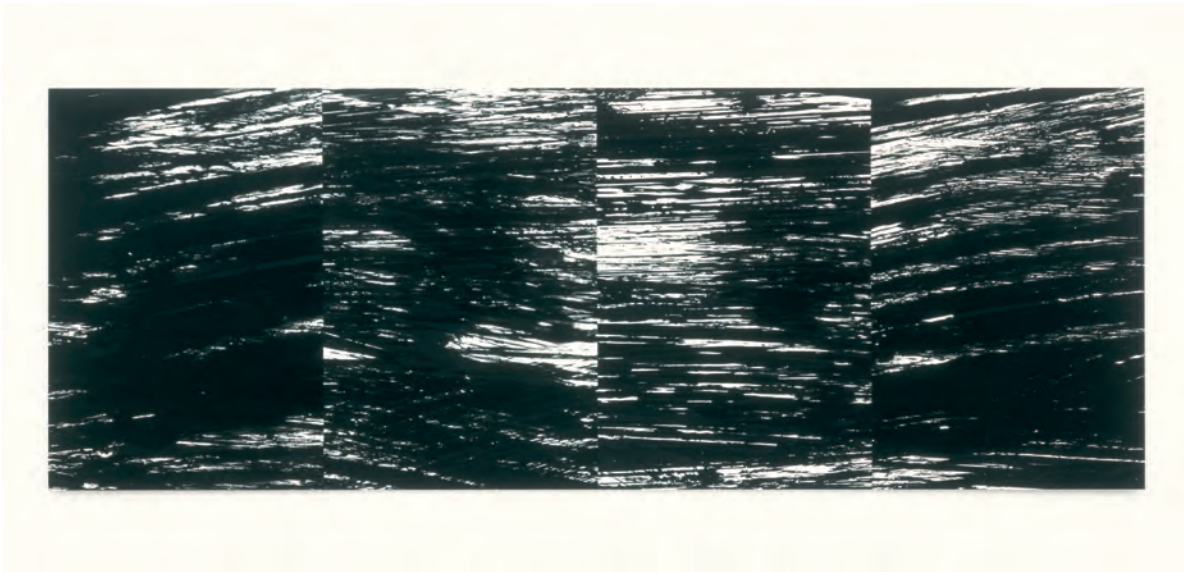
Although it is true that Kelly has remained faithful to his origins in continuing to produce clean, precise prints, whether abstract or botanical in subject and form, his printmaking took any number of unexpected turns, with visible chinks in the armour of his objectivity as he entered his late sixties and the later phases of his career. There is a recurrence in these works not only of increased painterly qualities, gestures and textures, but also of different effects of imagery concerning water (and watery surfaces) that appear to carry a psychological charge. Further, in a number of the late works, the emotional evocations of colour and form seem to be exploited in a manner not previously seen in his art.

Textures or increased painterly qualities, which emulate the surfaces of Kelly's weathering-steel and wood sculptures, were first seen in his prints in the *St Martin Series*, 1983–84 (nos. 202–06). The print entitled *Orient Beach* from this series features not only a mottled surface, but also the artist's shoeprint, by all accounts an autographical gesture and a rare intrusion of the artist's self. Prints with 'gestural' surfaces recur in the *Fans* and *Purple Red Grey Orange Series*, both of 1987–88, and culminate in the majestic black-and-white prints of the *Rivers Series*, 2002–05 (fig. 95, nos. 214–28, 229–45 and 316–26). Named after rivers from five of the seven continents, each of the works in this series features random patterns of horizontal and diagonal striations that suggest light reflecting off the surface of rushing waters and their murky depths. In two of the works, the watery imagery is not only printed to the very edges of the sheet, but the sheets are mounted on aluminium panels and clear-coated so as to circumvent the need for a frame (nos. 316 and 326). The figure–ground relationship that generally characterizes a Kelly print is thereby eliminated and the distinction between the prints and the artist's work in other media (painting and sculpture) is blurred.[18] The horizontal extension of these works – each measures almost three metres in width – and their use of gestural marks to evoke watery surfaces and effects of light recall Claude Monet's late paintings of water lilies. Unlike Monet's placid surfaces, however, which encourage a meditative gaze, Kelly's intensely black, energized surfaces, depicting fast moving water, provoke thoughts of powerful forces beyond one's control.

Enhanced expressivity, or heightened subjectivity, seems to have been in evidence a decade earlier in Kelly's decision in 1992 to illustrate Stephane Mallarmé's 1897 poem, *Un Coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard* (A Throw of the Dice will never Abolish Chance; no. 266), which has been Kelly's singular livre d'artiste. One of the French Symbolist poet's final works, *A Throw of the Dice* is permeated by a *fin-de-siècle* malaise, offering a meditation on life and death and the inability to alter one's fate. In Kelly's design, black abstract shapes sit heavily on the right-hand pages, alternating with spreads of Mallarmé's printed text, the whole exuding a sense of melancholy; the rhythm of Kelly's ponderous forms seems to intone the inevitability of death. The related lithographic quartet of the *Mallarmé Suite*, 1992, was produced concurrently and its forms echo those of four of the eleven lithographic plates in the book. The lithographs were printed in black as well as in dark red, dark green and dark blue, a moody and 'warmer palette' with few precedents in Kelly's art (nos. 266.1–4).

Certainly among the most intimate and personal prints Kelly ever produced are the *Portraits*, 1986–90, a lithographic series that features a self-portrait as well as three different images of the photographer Jack Shear, Kelly's companion and lover of the past 30 years, who serves as Director of the Ellsworth Kelly Foundation (fig. 96; nos. 246–57). The portraits derive from small Polaroid snapshots that Kelly variously manipulated and distorted on an office photocopier. They are presented in the prints either as large-scale individual images printed in black on white or on single colour grounds, or, in the case of three of the prints, as spectral colour images. The *EK* image offers a bust-length, smiling self-portrait of the artist whose figure is described by wavering vertical striations that run down the surface in a manner that, as Axsom wrote, suggests 'water spilling down a glass pane.'[19] The visage in all three *Jack* images looms large in extreme close-up, the facial features flattened and seeming to extend beyond the prints' borders. In each, Shear's face is rendered in atomized globules that recall oil droplets suspended in water, although the features in *Jack I* are so diffuse as to be un-

14. Axsom, 2012, op. cit., p. 48.
15. Ibid., p. 43.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. For the *Rivers Series* see D. Hickey, 'The Rivers, the Notepads, and the Accidental Fifties', in *Letters to Ellsworth*, op. cit., pp. 62–65, a reprint of his essay in the exhibition catalogue, *Ellsworth Kelly: The Rivers*, New York, 2007.
19. Axsom, 2012, op. cit., p. 47.



95. Ellsworth Kelly, *The River*, 2004, lithograph on paper mounted on aluminium, 1,016 x 2,770 mm (© the artist and Gemini G.E.L., Los Angeles).

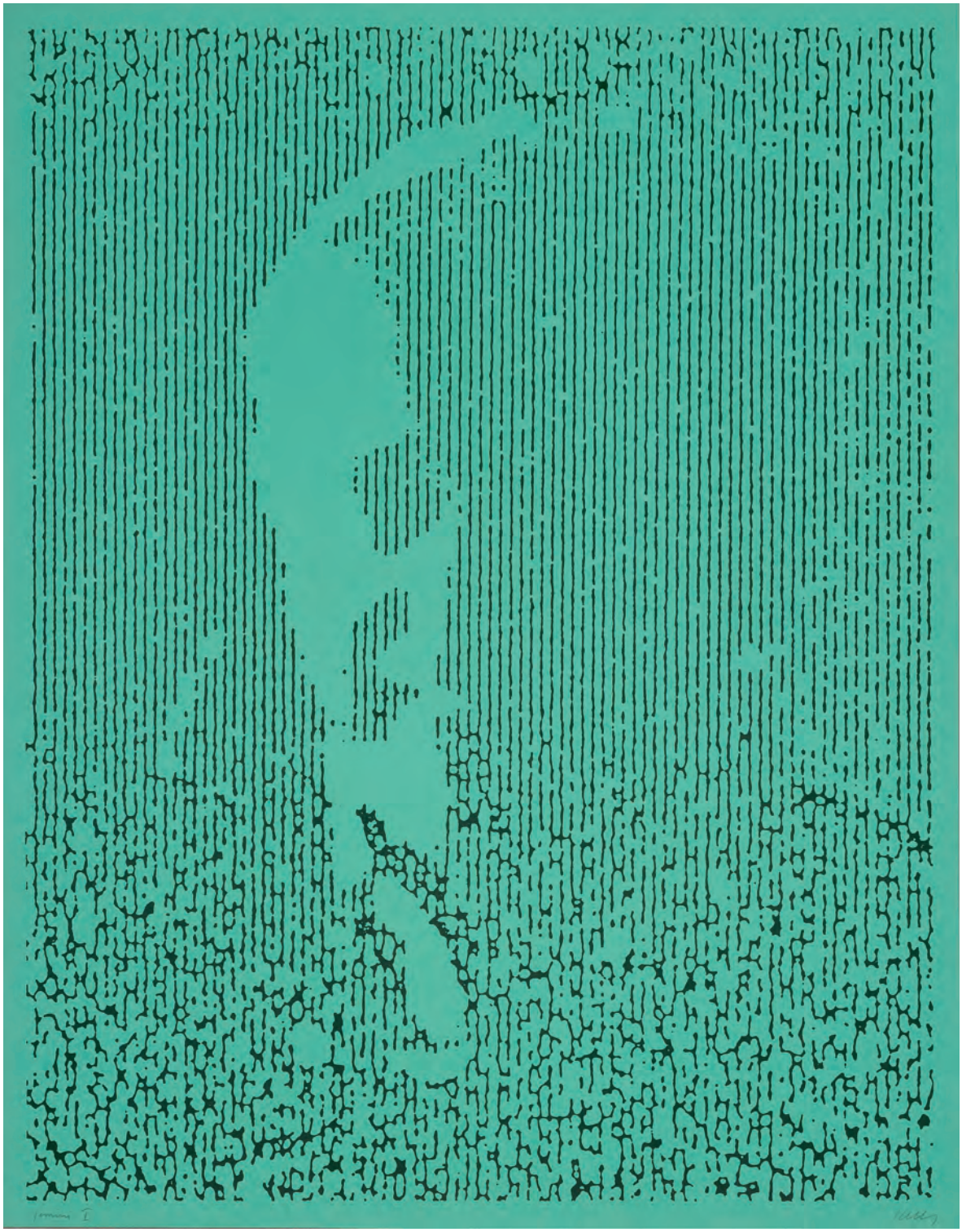
readable. In *Jack II*, however, it is clear that Shear is warmly smiling; in *Jack III*, he is broadly grinning.

The mood of the series, then, is hardly melancholy. Most of the images radiate a sense of joy through the appearance of happy faces (which are rarely seen in works of fine art). Yet the watery allusions suggested in the images, both of the artist and Shear, once again introduce movement as well as an elusive, evanescent quality. This contemplative note is reinforced in the spectral images in which the artist's and Shear's smiling faces are each repeated six times along a horizontal axis in primary and secondary hues used so sparingly as to appear as extremely delicate, pale pastel tones. There is a sensation in these works of fading away, which suggests an older artist reflecting on love, happiness and loss, on the human condition and the unstoppable passage of time.

While the two-volume catalogue raisonné stands as a testament to the creative genius of Ellsworth Kelly, a companion tome edited by Axsom, *Letters to Ellsworth*, takes the tribute further. Rather than a book of scholarly essays, it is an anthology of personal reflections by 21 of the men and women who have been closest to the artist and his work (particularly his prints) through the years, including curators, art historians, publishers, printers, dealers, collectors and friends. The essays make obvious the fact that Kelly is held in the highest esteem and is much loved. Most of the contributors speak of how his vision of the world and of art transformed their own, as is indicated by the title of Agnes Gund's essay, 'The Beauty of Seeing through Ellsworth's Eyes.' Bruce Guenther eloquently wrote, 'The perceptual purity of Kelly's art is a gift that enables us to see freshly and neutrally and with the same physical immediacy experienced by an infant, for whom everything seen is virtually new.'[20]

Letters to Ellsworth, which was designed by Zach Hooker in tandem with Jeff Wincapaw, features a wrap-around paper book jacket printed with a reproduction of Kelly's screenprint *Spectrum*, 1973, over grey linen covers like those of the catalogue raisonné. The book is also of the same generous proportions and fine paper stock, although it is considerably thinner. It is copiously illustrated and includes multiple images of Kelly working and with friends (most of the photographs were taken by Sidney Felsen of Gemini G.E.L. and Jordan Schnitzer). Here, however, rather than the full-page colour plates appearing in the order in which the prints were produced, as was necessary in the catalogue raisonné, the images now appear on facing pages, juxtaposed for their visual impact. For example, two abstract prints, *White Curve*, 1998, and *Two Curves*, 2011, face-off on pages 60 and 61, while *String Bean Leaves III*, 1965–66, and the abstract *Colour Trial Proof of Yellow (Jaune)*, 1964–65, appear together on pages 18 and 19 (respectively, no. 277; uncatalogued; no. 50; and uncatalogued). Each set of juxtaposed images enters into a dialogue, one that is physically present, perceptually rich and reveals the beauty of seeing through Ellsworth Kelly's eyes.

20. B. Guenther, 'An Open Door', in *Letters to Ellsworth*, op. cit., p. 55.



96. Ellsworth Kelly, *EK Green*, 1988, lithograph, 1,194 x 934 mm (© the artist and Gemini G.E.L., Los Angeles).

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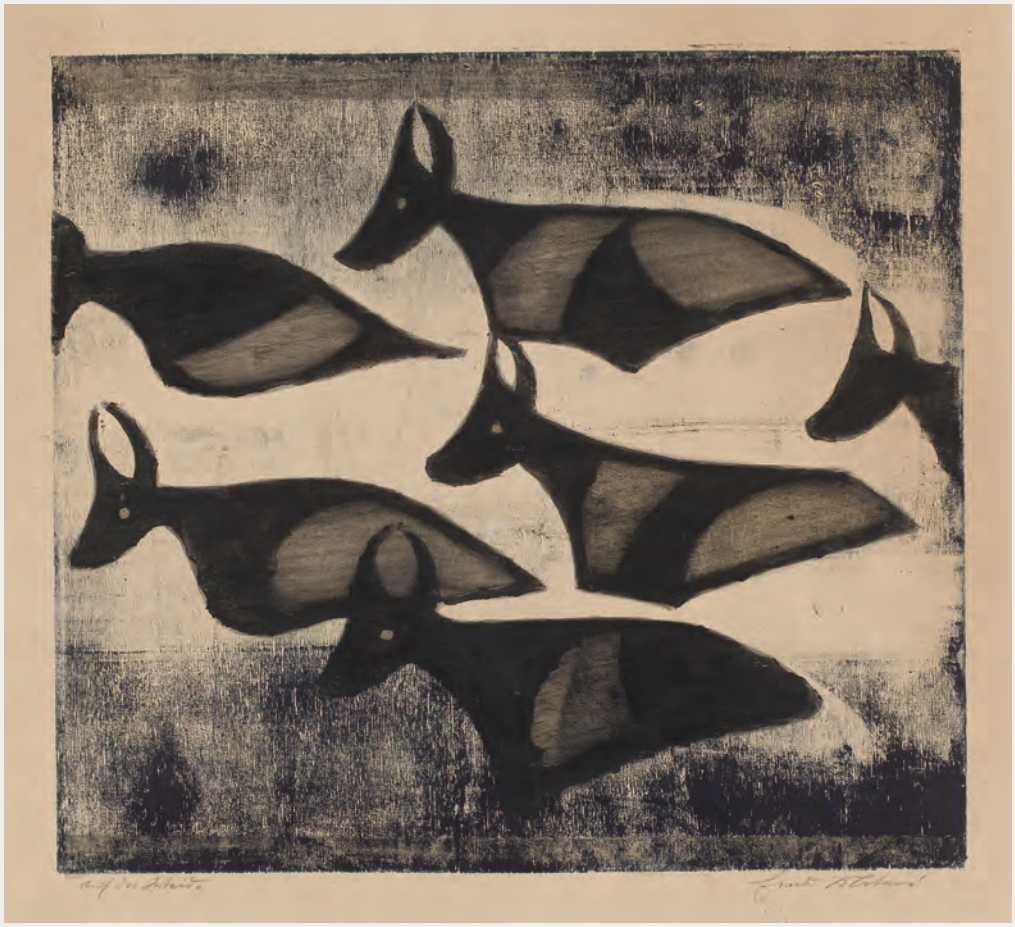

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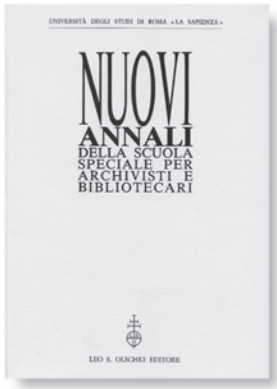

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