PRINT QUARTERLY

MARCH 2017

VOLUME XXXIV NUMBER 1

DAVID TUNICK, INC.

PRINTS & DRAWINGS

Henri Matisse, *Jazz*, 1947, complete portfolio of twenty pochoirs printed in colors on Arches paper, Duthuit 22, signed "H. Matisse" on the justification page in pencil and numbered 198, from the edition of 250 copies published by Tériade, Paris.

Exhibiting in:
TEFAF Maastricht, Stand 371
March 10-19, 2017

TEFAF New York Spring
May 4-8, 2017

13 East 69th Street New York, NY 10021
Tel 212-570-0090 Fax 212-744-8931 info@tunickart.com www.tunickart.com

PRINT QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXIV NUMBER 1 MARCH 2017

Contents

A Proposed Intaglio Addition to Leonhard Beck's Printed Oeuvre 3
BARBARA BUTTS AND MARJORIE B. COHN

Lelio Orsi, Antonio Pérez and *The Minotaur Before a Broken Labyrinth* 11
RHODA EITEL-PORTER

Cornelis Galle I Between Genoa and Antwerp 20
JAMIE GABBARELLI

Franz Christoph von Scheyb on the Art of Engraving 32
THOMAS FRANGENBERG

The Drypoints of B. J. O. Nordfeldt 42
JULIE MELLBY

Notes 53

Catalogue and Book Reviews

Max Klinger 97
JEANNETTE STOSCHEK

M. C. Escher 101
TIM O'RILEY

Giorgio Morandi 104
AMY WORTHEN

Marcel Duchamp's *Boîte-en-valise* 111
STEPHEN J. BURY

R. B. Kitaj 113
ALEXANDER ADAMS

Between November 1984 and November 1987 *Print Quarterly* was published in association with the J. Paul Getty Trust.

Donors to the Print Quarterly Appeal

Anonymous Donors
The Artemis Group
Frank Auerbach
David and Frances Bindman
J. Bolten
Fondation Custodia
Furio de Denaro
Pat Gilmour
Hill-Stone
James and Clare Kirkman
Leon Kossoff
IFPDA
Alberto Milano
Montreal Print Collectors' Society
Felix Pollak
The Arcana Foundation
Ruth and Jacob Kainen
Reba and Dave Williams

 ISSN 0265–8305. Printed by Henry Ling Limited, The Dorset Press, Dorchester, Dorset.
Editorial Office: 10 Chester Row, London SW1W 9JH. Tel. +44 (0)20 7259 0952, Fax. +44 (0)20 7259 0959, email: admin@printquarterly.co.uk
For subscriptions and advertising rates please contact the Editorial Office at the above address
Cover: Detail from *The Printmaker's Workshop* attributed to Hans Collaert after Jan van der Straet, called Stradanus

A Proposed Intaglio Addition to Leonhard Beck's Printed Oeuvre

Barbara Butts and Marjorie B. Cohn

Six impressions are known of three technically distinct versions of an early sixteenth-century printed composition that represents a fifer, a drummer and a standard bearer dressed as contemporary Swiss or German mercenary soldiers. They are, in chronological order of their first report in the print literature, a niello-style engraving in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (fig. 1), a line engraving also at the Bibliothèque Nationale as well as the British Museum and on the recent art market (fig. 2), and a drypoint in a unique impression at the British Museum (fig. 3).[1]

Only the drypoint has received substantial scholarly attention. While Hind declined to assign the print to a known artist, in 1983 it was attributed to Martino da Udine (1467–1547) by David Landau and more recently to Amico Aspertini (1475–1552) by several authors.[2] It is lettered with what has been interpreted as Aspertini's monogram on a stone in the centre. In his entry on the drypoint in a commentary volume to *The Illustrated Bartsch*, Mark Zucker summarizes these attributions but then concludes:

> Finding merit in both of them though completely convinced by neither, the present writer prefers to leave the engraving (sic) in the limbo of anonymity... In any case, it is likely to have been adapted from a foreign source exemplified by various etchings of soldiers by Daniel Hopfer, with the addition of a 'Venetian' landscape.[3]

If indeed there was one, 'the foreign source' would have been a work by a German artist, perhaps from Augsburg, a city in which a culture of art patronage and close economic ties with northern Italy created a lively cross-current of artistic influence in the early sixteenth century. Usually fig. 2, *Fifer, Drummer and Standard Bearer*, is described as a reversed copy of fig. 3 and has hitherto only been published as anonymous.

1. Anonymous Italian artist, *Fifer, Drummer and Standard Bearer*, c. 1505–15, niello engraving, border line 53 x 57 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

The anonymous engraver had skill as a draughtsman – required for a print process where the burin is a delineating tool – but little or no experience cutting a plate, which in this case has slip strokes indicating a lack of control of the burin. These appear, for instance, as two short but deep strokes that extend past the lower edge of the standard bearer's sword, or as two more strokes above the drummer's proper left shoulder. Modelling in areas that call for a delicate touch, such as flesh

The authors would like to thank Guido Messling for his responsive interest in our research. We are also grateful to Larry Silver for his continuing commentary and to Richard S. Field, Robert M. Light, Peter Parshall, Freyda Spira and Christopher S. Wood, who have contributed their opinions.

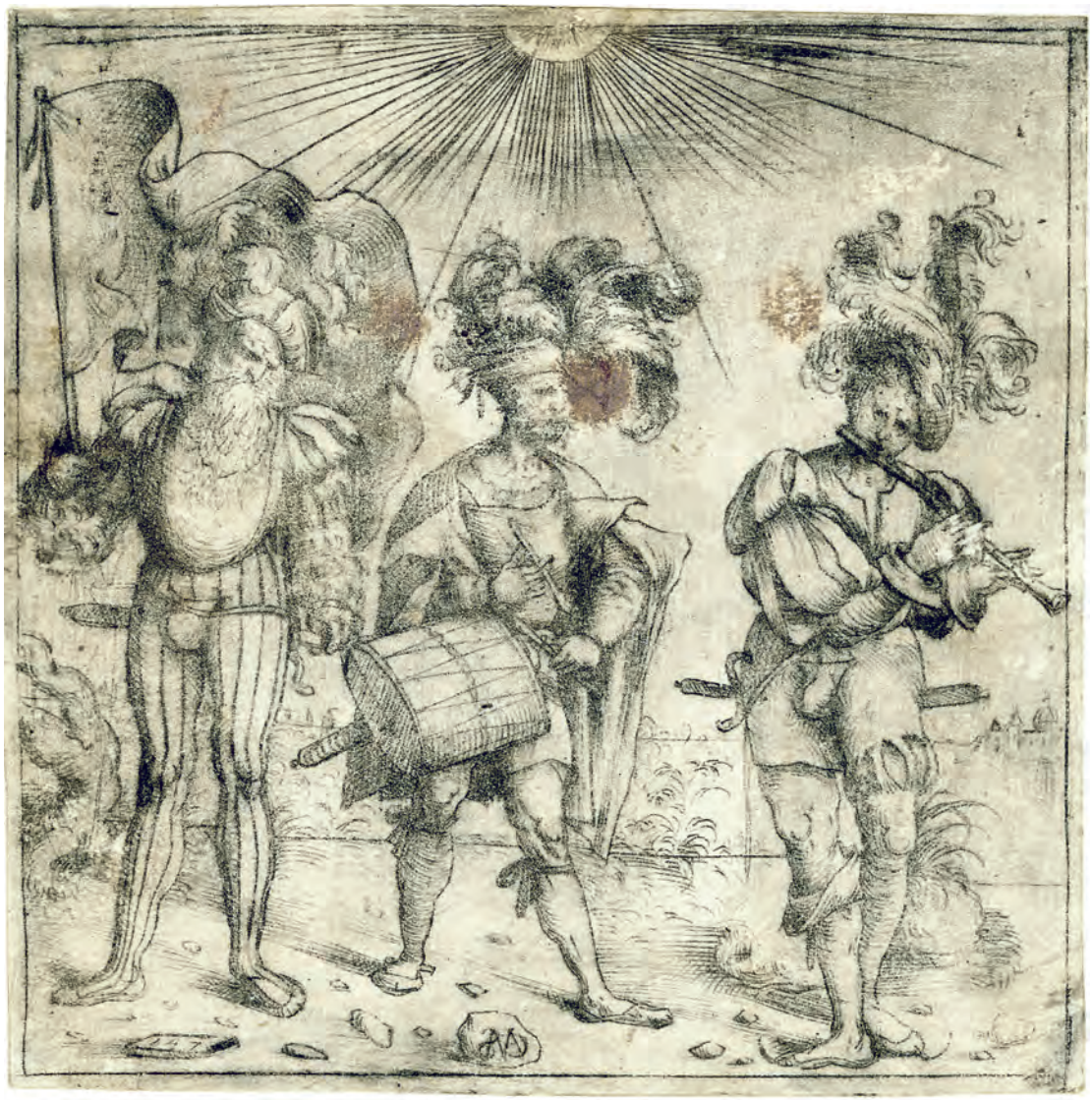
1. Niello: J. Duchesne ainé, *Essai sur les nielles*, Paris, 1826, p. 244, no. 277, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, inv. Ea 27 rés. and Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 258-24. Engraving: J. D. Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur*, Leipzig, 1863, IV, p. 287, no. 222 (within the section on unattributed German and Dutch sixteenth-century engravings), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, inv. Ea 18 c rés.; London, British Museum, inv. 1912,0513.69; USA, private collection, formerly with C. & J. Goodfriend, New York. Drypoint: S. Urbini, 'Cocci e gioielli: Aspertini e l'incisione', in M. Faietti and D. Scaglietti Kelescian, *Amico Aspertini*, Modena, 1995, pp. 325–26, British Museum, inv. 1870,0625.1062.
2. Urbini, op. cit. See M. J. Zucker, *The Illustrated Bartsch. Early Italian Masters, XXIV. Commentary, Pt. 3*, New York, 2000, p. 274, for earlier references.
3. Zucker, op. cit., pp. 274–76.

2. Here attributed to Leonhard Beck, *Fifer, Drummer and Standard Bearer*, c. 1505–10, engraving, 147 x 159 mm (London, British Museum).

and the illuminated sides of the grape leaves, is scratchy and heavy-handed. Linear curves are confident only where the tool could be pressed firmly. The artist felt secure only in parallel, straight-line hatchings and avoided every opportunity for systematic cross-hatching.

A further observation about the physical state of the engraving plate is that the impression in a private collection is excellent (and those at the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale appear likewise in reproduction); apparently very few had been taken. It is printed on ordinary antique laid paper and has no watermark; no particular date prior to the seventeenth century can be assigned to it. The upper engraved borderline of all impressions is interrupted at its centre point, just to the left of the centre of the radiant heavenly body, by a small, greyish circle. This appears to be the printed trace of a hole in the plate. One can imagine the plate early in its history tacked up for display, perhaps on the artist's workshop wall.

The handling in this engraving reveals some insecurity. Without suggesting any artistic association, it is like that in Lucas Cranach the Elder's 1509 *Penance of St John*



3. Anonymous artist, possibly Amico Aspertini, *Fifer, Drummer and Standard Bearer*, c. 1505–20, drypoint, 142 x 143 mm (London, British Museum).

Chrysostom, acclaimed as showing a 'highly expressive use of the burin.'[4] In fact, where Cranach (c. 1472–1553) sought to produce delicate shadings, such as in the bare flesh of the princess, he could only model with a tangle of scratches. Cranach, as well as the engraver of *Fifer, Drummer and Standard Bearer*, must have been thoroughly intimidated by Albrecht Dürer's engraved *Eve* of 1504, and yet Dürer (1471–1528) himself, in his first engravings from the 1490s, such as *Young Woman Seized by Death (The Ravisher)* and *Holy Family with the Butterfly*, showed a comparable insecurity in the hatching of flesh areas. Readers may be amused to know that areas of flesh, particularly the face, are so difficult to represent, conceptually and materially, by a network of engraved lines

4. C. Andersson and C. Talbot, *From a Mighty Fortress: Prints, Drawings, and Books in the Age of Luther, 1483–1546*, Detroit, 1983, p. 226. The print is catalogued in *The Illustrated Bartsch: Sixteenth-Century German Artists, Hans Burgkmair, the Elder, Hans Schäufelein, Lucas Cranach, the Elder*, edited by T. Falk, New York, 1980, XI, no. 1, p. 313.

that they have been used as a test of skill and eventually as a deterrent to forgery. By the mid-twentieth century the New York Stock Exchange mandated the inclusion of 'a human face, facing forward, to enhance the security of the [stock] certificate.'[5]

Any trained German artist might have been tempted by the explosion of the print industry at the turn of the sixteenth century to try his hand at engraving at least once, but perhaps, encountering the problem of creating lines by pushing a tool through a resistant medium rather than drawing it over a responsive surface, he did not then continue with the technique. In fact, there were several major artists of that time who engaged with printmaking but who executed a limited number of works in intaglio. Cranach himself is known to have engraved no more than nine plates but is credited with the design of many woodcuts.

Fig. 2 has strong affinities with the prints of Augsburg artists. The figures, standing against a low horizon and dominating the picture plane in a sparsely articulated landscape, readily call to mind the landsknechts by Augsburg etcher Daniel Hopfer (c. 1470–1536). The grapevine and tufts of grass, setting the soldiers apart from one another, play a similar role to plants in Hopfer's etchings. A connection with Augsburg is strengthened by the facial types which, while similar to those of the Italian drypoint, take particular characteristics from tilted and oddly foreshortened heads in prints by Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), such as that of the Virgin Mary in his woodcut *Virgin and Child with a Round Arch* and that of a man holding a bow and arrow in *People of Calicut* depicted on the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian*.[6]

Within the numerous graphic projects of Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519), in which Burgkmair played a dominant role, the engraving has the closest resemblance to the woodcuts of the Augsburg painter and printmaker Leonhard Beck (c. 1480–1542), who worked on several imperial publications. The stocky figural proportions of the three soldiers and the preference for arranging figures and forms, such as the vine, parallel to the picture plane, are conspicuous characteristics of his many woodcut illustrations. Good examples are illustration 12 from *Der Theuerdank* (The Knight of Adventurous Thoughts), in which the evil councillor Fürwittig stands at a city gate confronting the knight Theuerdank and his travelling companion Ehrenhold (fig. 4) and illustration 56, a tempestuous landscape in which Ehrenhold stands to the right (fig. 5).[7]

A further parallel between fig. 4 and *Fifer, Drummer, and Standard Bearer* (in all three versions) is the drummer's awkward splayed-legged stance, suggesting firmly planted feet, also seen in the figure of Fürwittig. While this convention is used occasionally in *Theuerdank* by Burgkmair (illustration 114, for example) and Hans Schäufelein (1482–1539/40; illustration 70, for example), it becomes a signature of Beck's figural style. Comparison of his woodcut and the engraving also reveals little interest in rendering landscape in detail, with the figures' setting articulated only by low mounds, scattered rocks and small tufts of vegetation. In response to this proposed attribution of the engraved *Fifer, Drummer and Standard Bearer* to Beck, Guido Messling, author of the monograph and also the recent New Hollstein volume on the artist, writes in support of the attribution that, based on comparison with Beck's woodcuts, 'I find it highly likely that it [the engraving] is indeed by him – and that the differences can largely be explained by the different technique (i.e., the rather graphic feathers)' of the soldiers. He also points to the mannered articulation of hands, typical for Beck and cites the similarity with gestures in Beck's woodcuts for *Weisskunig* (The White/Wise King), Emperor Maximilian's 'biography' as a fictionalized hero.[8]

To sum up, referring generally to the illustrations designed by Beck for projects for Maximilian, *Weisskunig*, *Theuerdank*, the *Triumphal Procession* and *Saints Connected with the House of Habsburg (Sipp-, Mag- und Schwägerschaft)* – 335 woodcuts which collectively contain 95 per cent of his print output – his style may be seen in the following characteristics of the artist of the engraving: lack of interest in landscape (compared, for example, to Burgkmair); lack of interest in decorative elements (compared, for example, to Hopfer); preference for a simple, planar compositional structure; a stocky, four-square figure type; a flat facial type, with high cheek bones, an arched or crushed nose and a phlegmatic, passive expression; the 'clumsy articulation' of hands.[9]

The soldiers of the composition are themselves new actors on the military scene. In the late fifteenth century Habsburg and Valois armies, following the lead of the Swiss, began to refine the use of massed pikemen

5. M. D. Tomasko, *The Feel of Steel*, Newtown, PA, 2009, p. 84. See also J. L. Roberts, *Transporting Visions*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2014, pp. 119–22. The Dürer prints are catalogued in R. Schoch, M. Mende and A. Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürer, Das druckgraphische Werk*, Munich, London and New York, 2001, nos. 39, 1 and 2.
6. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, op. cit., nos. 7 and 89.129.
7. G. Messling, *Leonhard Beck. The New Hollstein: German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, 1400–1700*, edited by H.-M. Kaulbach, VII, Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel, 2007, noa. 293 and 313.
8. Guido Messling to M. B. Cohn, email, 29 May 2015.
9. The quoted description of hands: Messling to Cohn, 29 May 2015.

4. Leonhard Beck, *Their Passage Opposed by Fürwittig at the First Barrier*, illustration 12 from *Der Theuerdank* (Frankfurt, 1517), woodcut, 159 x 140 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

on foot, acting in concert to repel mounted men-at-arms. In order to coordinate infantry movements, a central focus with signalling capacity over the din of battle was essential – hence the drum and the transverse flute with a narrow tube that produced a particularly shrill note.[10] Together and individually, fifers, drummers and standard bearers were represented in paintings, drawings and prints by countless artists, especially the Germans and Swiss – Albrecht Dürer, Monogrammist PW (active 1499–1515), Lucas Cranach,

10. See P. Bate, *The Flute: A Study of Its History, Development and Construction*, London, 1969, esp. pp. 2, 7 and 74. See also L. and F. Funcken, *Le costume, l'armure et les arms au temps de la chevalierie. Le siècle de la Renaissance,* [Tournai], 1978, II, pp. 28–29, and H. G. Farmer, *The Rise and Development of Military Music*, London, 1912, p. 31.

5. Leonhard Beck, *Theuerdank on a Chamois Hunt Endangered by a Gust of Wind*, illustration 56 from *Der Theuerdank* (Frankfurt, 1517), woodcut, 159 x 141 mm (London, British Museum).

Albrecht Altdorfer (1482–1538), Hans Schäufelein, Niklaus Manuel (1484–1530), Urs Graf (1485–1529) and Barthel Beham (1502–40). Because the images span almost 50 years, from c. 1494 to c. 1540, the evidence of their clothing, which evolved as quickly as their function, is useful in dating the composition.

First, the shoes. The fifer's are pointed, the other two wear shoes with rounded tips, not yet swollen into

11. A. Shestack, *Fifteenth Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*, Washington, DC, 1967, no. 151. See also C. Andersson, 'Niklaus Manuel and Urs Graf: Cuckolds, Impotence and Sex Workers in Swiss Renaissance Art (c. 1510–1517)' in *Cuckoldry, Impotence and Adultery in Europe (15th–17th Centuries)*, edited by S. F. Matthews-Grieco, Farnham, 2014, pp. 203–06 and K. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives*, Chicago and London, 1989, chapter 4.

6. Albrecht Dürer, *Five Foot Soldiers and a Mounted Turk*, c. 1495, engraving, 133 x 147 mm (London, British Museum).

the 'cow's muzzle' (*Kuhmäuler*) shape of shoes of the 1520s.[11] Collectively, the three soldiers' shoes mark the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. Only rarely are both styles represented simultaneously; another example is a pair of engravings from a set of scenes of daily life by Israhel van Meckenem (c. 1445–1503), *The Lute Player and the Harpist* and *The Lute Player and the Singer*.[12] The two lute players are the same sort of generic swain, clad alike except for their shoes. Scholars date the engravings to c. 1495–1503.

Then there are the flamboyant hats. Plume clusters are typical even in the late fifteenth century, as seen in Dürer's engraving *Five Foot Soldiers and a Mounted Turk*, c. 1495 (fig. 6), in which the soldiers are wearing clothing like that in *Fifer, Drummer, and Standard Bearer*; note in particular the heavy cloak with a broad, pointed collar and the thigh-length trunks.[13] But Dürer's hats are relatively small. Wide brims, usually turned up and with slashing or other decoration, did not come into fashion until the beginning of the next century. Also typical of a date around 1505 to 1510 is the relative lack of slashing at the hips, knees and even the shoe tops,

12. F. Koreny, *Israhel van Meckenem. Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400–1700,* XXIV, edited by T. Falk, Blaricum, 1986, no. 505, *The Lute Player and the Harpist* (pointed shoes), and no. 506, *The Lute Player and the Singer* (rounded shoes).
13. Schoch, op. cit., no. 39.

where it proliferated in the 1520s. Speaking generally, soldiers' garb became more and more fantastical as the years passed. Here it is relatively restrained, although already, from tip to toe, the three mercenaries epitomize the raffish glamour for which they were notorious.[14]

The standard bearer identifies the soldiers' allegiance. Although the flag is blank in all three versions of the composition, in fig. 2 (but not in 1 and 3) he bears on his chest – on an armoured corselet or embroidered shirt – the Swiss cross, worn by the mercenary backbone of the Valois armies.[15] More often this cross appears on clothing as four slashings oriented to the axis of the body part it covers, in contrast to four slashings set on the diagonal – a representation of St Andrew's cross, the ensign adopted by Maximilian. Such markings were essential to tell friend from foe in the melees fought by massed corps when uniforms had yet to be adopted.[16] ('Uniform' would not mean that for another two centuries.) The Swiss standard thus becomes a symbol of Maximilian's enemies, just as the Burgundian St Andrew's cross identifies his troops in his heroic biographies, *Theuerdank* and *Weisskunig*.[17]

A symbolic interpretation may also relate the engraving to Maximilian, apart from its attribution to Beck, the prolific imperial illustrator. Returning to the fifer, an image of a beardless youth, by contrast the mustachioed drummer is a mature man and the long-bearded standard bearer an old man. (Their whiskers take on significance because the Swiss were ordinarily described as clean-shaven, in contrast to bearded Germans.) Together the soldiers may be seen as representing the ages of man, a popular subject depicted in paintings and prints throughout Europe in the fifteenth through the sixteenth century. It also is cited in the postscript to *Theuerdank* by the editor, Melchior Pfinzing (1481–1535), where he presents a trio of personifications of Maximilian's enemies: 'unbridled youthful passion and excitation. ... accident or misfortune, the bane of over-committed middle age ... Finally, the envy and hatred old age feels for the luck and gifts of youth.'[18] Beck may well have been associated with Maximilian's 'biographies' even from their inception in the emperor's imagination (and notebooks, where *Theuerdank* appears as early as 1506, still conjoined with the narrative that would become *Weisskunig*).[19] The Beck woodcut designs for *Theuerdank* date from 1511 through 1515.[20]

Turning to the segment of a circle at the top center of figs. 2 and 3, in fig. 2 the crescent shape may have been an attempt by an inept engraver to rework a first pass at a radiant sun in which not enough space was left between its lower contour and the grape arbour. Given the difficulty of burnishing away lines in close proximity, Beck made a correction disguised as ornament.[21] It is also worth noting that the radiant sun occurs frequently in images glorifying Maximilian – it was his personal device.

Such an untoward combination of elements – three Swiss mercenary soldiers, a monumental grape vine and a peculiar sun, depicted at a time when a print usually connoted meaning beyond its basic subject – invites but here defies exegesis. An attribution of the engraving to Leonhard Beck and its dating c. 1505–10 must suffice. Presumably, after his one attempt at intaglio, Beck settled for woodcut design and made his name there in the service of Maximilian.

14. For the evolution of their dress, see F. M. Kelly, *Historic Costume: A Chronicle of Fashion in Western Europe, 1490–1790*, New York, [1925], esp. pp. 11–12, 29, 35, 39, 40 and 43.
15. See F. Bächtiger, 'Andreaskreuz und Schweitzerkreuz. Zur Feindschaft zwischen Landsknechten und Eidgenossen', *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern*, LI–LII, 1971–72, pp. 206–69.
16. See C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century*, London and Mechanicsburg, PA, 1937/1999, pp. 69–70.
17. Matthias Pfaffenbichler, no. 53a, in *Emperor Maximilian and the Age of Dürer*, edited by E. Michel and M. L. Sternath, Munich and New York, 2012, p. 239.
18. See E. C. Tennant '"Understanding with the Eyes": The Visual Gloss to Maximilian's *Theuerdank*', in *Entzauberung der Welt*, edited by J. F. Poag and T. C. Fox, Tübingen, 1989, pp. 249–55. The quoted translation is combined from Tennant, op. cit., pp. 250–51, and L. Silver, '"Die guten alten istory": Emperor Maximilian I, "Teuerdank", and the Heldenbuch Tradition', *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte*, II, 1986, p. 93.
19. L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, Princeton and Oxford, 2008, p. 5.
20. Silver, 1986, op. cit., p. 103, no. 64, and Tennant, op. cit., p. 47.
21. Our thanks to Christine Smith for this suggestion.

Lelio Orsi, Antonio Pérez and *The Minotaur Before a Broken Labyrinth*

Rhoda Eitel-Porter

A little-studied drawing of a muscular, half-human creature is found among the rich holdings of the Morgan Library & Museum, New York (fig. 7).[1] A noble, powerful figure, he stands quivering with repressed energy before a structure of four low concentric walls out of which he seems to have emerged. Although he resembles a centaur – a mythical animal with the body of a horse and the torso, arms and head of a human – and the Minotaur is more commonly shown with a bull's head and a human body, the cloven hoofs and the presence of a maze suggest this is the Minotaur of Crete emerging from the labyrinth.[2] He holds a club in his left hand, wears a fluttering cloak knotted at his shoulder (but illogically held in position), while his tail snakes in a vigorous curl behind him. He points to a Latin inscription in a banderole above, *USQUE ADHUC*, which may be translated as 'hitherto', 'up to this time' or 'thus far'. Several old inscriptions attribute the sheet to Lelio Orsi (1508/11–87).[3] The following article attempts to shed light on the iconographical tradition of the image, the patron for whom it was made, its use as the design for a print as well as its attribution and date.

The presence of a motto and the clear legibility of the image – due in part to the simplification of the maze-like structure and the way it is tilted upward in a wilfully non-perspectival construction – suggest that the drawing is a design for an impresa. Imprese, or personal devices, were one of the principal genres of sixteenth-century figurative language and Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo delle imprese militari et amorose,* published in Venice in 1555, was a first attempt to systematize them. They generally combined a personalized symbolic image with a motto in order to express a concept. Refined and elitist, they were meant to demonstrate the courtly wit, or *ingegno*, of its inventor and were thus often suitably obscure. Imprese and emblems are closely related to each other, but imprese were intended to hint at their meaning rather than express it outright, as outlined by Stefano Guazzo in 1586: 'And those ingenious persons having realized that emblems are either too open or too simple, set about adumbrating their secret thoughts under the finest veil of imprese'.[4] The hidden message could often be deciphered only within its original courtly context or within that of a cultured academy of literati.

The motif of a labyrinth, alone or in combination with the Minotaur, made occasional appearances in emblems and imprese. Closely associated, for instance, with the legendary foundation of the city of Mantua, the labyrinth was a traditional device of the ruling Gonzaga family. It is first associated with Isabella d'Este (1474–1539), Duchess of Mantua, and was mentioned in the subtitle of a poem by Serafino Aquilano, published in 1503 'Sopra un laberinto che portava la Marchesana de Mantova per impresa' (On the subject of a labyrinth worn as a personal device by the Duchess of Mantua).[5] Its earliest known representation is in the Sala del Labirinto in the Corte Vecchia of the Ducal Palace in Mantua, thought to date from Isabella's time.[6] Generally the Gonzaga labyrinth is accompanied by the motto 'forse che sí forse che no' (perhaps

The article is published with the generous support of the Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica (CEEH), Madrid. The author also extends her thanks to Philip Attwood, Michael Bury, Tono Eitel, Donato Mansueto and Jane Turner for their helpful comments.

1. Inv. 1982.12. Provenance: sale, London, Sotheby's, 17 April 1980, lot 144, repr., as attributed to Lelio Orsi.
2. The drawing has been mentioned in publications only twice, once in the 1980 sale catalogue and once in the museum's acquisitions list, *Nineteenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978–1980*, edited by C. Ryskamp, New York, 1981, p. 207, as Lelio Orsi, and as possibly showing the Minotaur emerging from the labyrinth.
3. At lower right, in pen and brown ink, *Lelio da Novellara*; on verso, at center, in violet pencil, *Lelio Orsi detto da Novellara*; at lower center, in pencil, *Orsi*; below, in pencil, *Lelio da* [*Novellara*] (partially effaced); at lower right, in pencil, *13*.
4. S. Guazzo, *Dialoghi piacevoli, dalla cui famigliare lettione potranno senza stanchezza e satieta, non solo gli uomini, ma ancora le donne raccogliere diversi frutti morali e spirituali*, Venice, 1586, p. 55 (or Piacenza, 1587, p. 151): 'Et per tanto essendosi avveduti con successo di tempo i pellegrini ingegni che questi emblemi sono ò troppo aperti ò troppo umili, si sono rivolti ad adombrare i suoi secreti pensieri col finissimo velo delle imprese'.
5. H. Kern, *Labyrinthe: Erscheinungsformen und Deutungen*, Munich, 1982, p. 279 and *La prima donna del mondo: Isabella d'Este, Fürstin und Mäzenatin der Renaissance*, edited by S. Ferino-Pagden, Vienna 1994, pp. 81–82.
6. R. Berzaghi, 'Appunti. Francesco II e Vincenzo Gonzaga. Il Palazzo di San Sebastiano e il Palazzo Ducale', *Paragone*, XLI, 1990, pp. 62–73; Ferino-Pagden, op. cit., p. 82.

7. Attributed to Lelio Orsi, *Minotaur Before a Labyrinth*, here dated c. 1579–87, pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of black chalk, 165 x 182 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).

yes, perhaps no). Although Orsi is known to have worked for the Gonzaga of Novellara, a cadet branch of the Mantuan family, and a letter of 24 March 1583 mentions an impresa that he designed for Duke Alfonso and his wife Vittoria, the Morgan drawing is unlikely to have been a Gonzaga commission, as will be seen.[7] Nonetheless, Orsi is likely to have been aware of these prominent uses of the labyrinth motif.

Labyrinth imagery is traditionally paired with the Minotaur of Crete, the monster that, according to legend, was held captive at Knossos in the maze constructed by Daedalus for King Minos. At times, the Minotaur can be a kind of substitute for the labyrinth itself. One Renaissance emblem shows the Minotaur on a Roman standard.[8] It first occurs in Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, 1531); later editions

7. *Lelio Orsi*, edited by E. Monducci and M. Pirondini, Milan, 1987, p. 293.
8. D. Mansueto, '*Ars Gemina*. On Emblems, Flags and Political Communication', in *The Art of Persuasion Emblems and Propaganda,* edited by C. Mccall Probes and S. Mödersheim (Glasgow Emblem Studies – vol. 17), Paris, 2014, pp. 11–14. See also the University of Glasgow's emblem database and website, in particular the *Alciato at Glasgow* section.

show the creature with a club, and in the Frankfurt 1567 edition the Minotaur points upward with his index finger (fig. 8) like he does in fig. 7. Alciato accompanied the emblem with the motto 'One's plans should not be revealed' (*non vulganda consilia*), which he elucidated on the following page:

> The monster that Daedalus imprisoned in its Cretan lair, with hidden entrance and obscuring darkness, the Roman phalanx carries painted into battle; the proud standards flash with the half-man bull. These remind us that the secret plans of leaders must stay hid. A ruse once known brings harm to its author.[9]

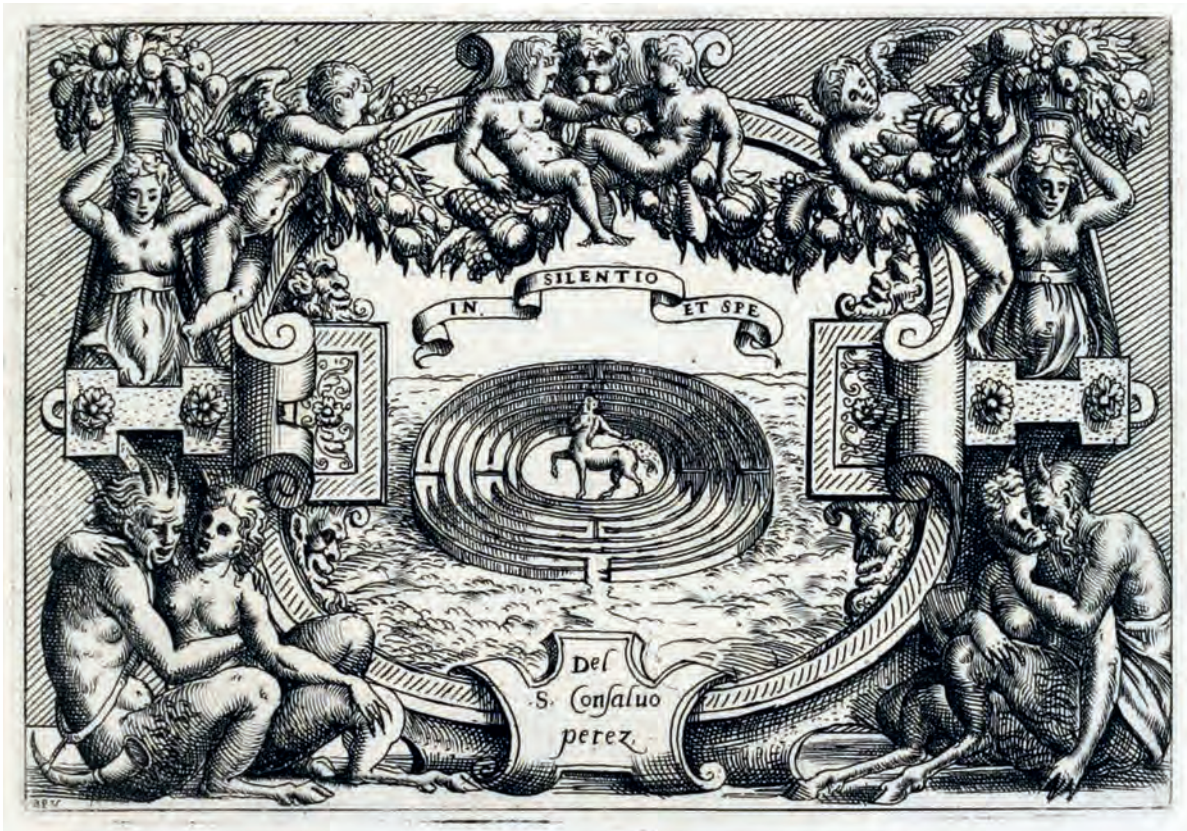
The Minotaur on the military banner is thus an imperative for leaders to keep their intentions secret. Published in dozens of editions Alciato's book attained enormous popularity and is occasionally credited with creating the new genre of the emblem book.

Not much later the Spanish statesman and courtier Gonzalo (or Consalvo) Pérez (1500–66) adopted an impresa of the Minotaur at the centre of a labyrinth accompanied by the motto *IN SILENTIO ET SPE* (in silence and hope) taken from the Book of Isaiah, 30:15 'in silentio et in spe erit fortitudo vestra' (Your strength shall be in silence and hope). It first featured in 1555–59 on the obverse of a portrait medal of Pérez by Jacques Jonghelinck (1530–1606) that shows the creature drawing an arrow across a bow, and again at the colophon of Pérez's own translation into Spanish of Homer's *Ulysses*, published in Venice in 1562, where the Minotaur demonstratively places his hand on his chest; he also sows what are presumably seeds of hope with the other hand.[10] In Girolamo Ruscelli's *Le Imprese illustri* and Battista Pittoni's *Imprese di diuersi prencipi, duchi, signori, e d'altri personaggi et huomini letterati et illustri* (both Venice, 1566), the Minotaur instead raises his finger to his lips in a call for discretion (fig. 9).[11] Secretary of State in Spain from 1556 until his death in 1566, first to

8. *Non vulganda consilia (Plans should not be revealed): Roman Banner with a Minotaur*, from A. Alciato, *Liber Emblematum* (Frankfurt, 1566–67), woodcut, 53 x 66 mm (Glasgow University Library).

Charles V (reg. 1519–56) and then to his successor, Philip II (reg. 1556–98), Pérez was well acquainted with Italian humanist and artistic trends. In his younger years he had frequented the circles of Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) and Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) in Italy and there once existed a portrait of Pérez by Titian (c. 1488–1576), no longer traceable but mentioned in a letter of 20 December 1536 from Aretino to Pérez.[12] He may have personally known Lodovico Dolce, who composed the poems accompanying Pittoni's *Imprese*.[13] Pérez's impresa continued to be featured in later editions of Pittoni and Ruscelli.

9. English translation of Alciato, 1531 edition, taken from *Alciato at Glasgow* website.
10. The medal exists in two sizes, 41 mm – dateable 1555–56, damaged and without inscription – and 64 mm diameter, with inscription; L. Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996, pp. 210–13, nos. 3–4, plate lvii, figs. 1–4; A. Armand, *Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles*, Paris, 1883–87, III, p. 283, describing the smaller medal then in the collection of T. W. Greene. Smolderen adumbrates an alternative attribution to Jacopo da Trezzo (active in Brussels 1555–59) and names the creature as Chiron rather than the Minotaur. The colophon reproduced in A. González-Palencia, *Gonzalo Pérez, Secretario de Felipe Segundo*, Madrid, 1946, I, opposite p. 352; F. Rodríguez de la Flor, *Pasiones frías: secreto y disimulación en el Barroco hispano*, Madrid, 2005, p. 63, and Mansueto, op. cit., p. 16, note 19. The 1562 translation was a revised edition of a book first published in Salamanca 1550, and republished in 1553 and 1556 (*La Vlyxea de Homero repartida en XIII libros, Traduzida de griego en romance castellano por el Señor Gonçalo Pérez*, Venice, 1553. Antwerp, 1556), in all three instances without the minotaur and/or labyrinth impresa.
11. See also Mansueto, op. cit., p. 16, and fig. 10 showing the impresa from Venice 1584 edition of Ruscelli.
12. González-Palencia, op. cit., I, p. 10.
13. The poem accompanying Pérez's impresa reads: *Ne la confusa, et intricata stanza/Del Labirinto, ove perdeo la vita/Piu d'un, che per sciocchezza, et ignoranza/No seppe far, come devea, partita, In silentio sovente, et in speranza/Di magnanimo cor posta è l'uscita./Che'l tacere e sperar è di tal sorte,/Che puo tar l'huom da ingiuriosa morte* (In the confused and intricate room /of the labyrinth, where more than one person has lost his life,/who because of stupidity and ignorance/did not know how he should leave, as he must, for frequently in silence and in hope/of a magnanimous heart the exit is placed. /For keeping silent and hoping is such/that it can save man from an injurious death).



9. Battista Pittoni, *Consalvo Pérez's impresa*, from *Imprese di diuersi prencipi, duchi, signori, e d'altri personaggi et huomini letterati et illustri* (Venice, 1566), engraving, 114 x 170 mm (London, British Library).

Although Orsi's drawing of the *Minotaur Before the Labyrinth* may have been commissioned by Pérez, it more closely resembles an impresa first used by his son Antonio (1540–1611) in his *Relaciones de Antonio Pérez, secretario de Estado, que fue, del Rey de España Don Phelippe II, deste nombre* (The Narrations of Antonio Pérez, who was state secretary of King Philip II of Spain), as noted by Donato Mansueto.[14] Antonio Pérez was a colourful character. Born in Madrid, he attended the universities of Alcalá, Salamanca, Leuven, Venice and Padua, before succeeding his father as Secretary to King Philip II of Spain in 1566 and as State Secretary for the affairs of southern Europe in 1568. He was soon at the heart of political intrigues and was instrumental in the murder in 1578 of Juan de Escobedo, secretary to the king's half-brother, Don Juan of Austria (1547–78), who Pérez had insinuated was plotting against the king. At that point his fortunes turned. Philip became suspicious of his motives, regretted having consented to Escobedo's murder, and in 1579 had Pérez placed under house arrest. In 1585 Pérez was imprisoned, after a legal process in which he was found guilty of corruption (and later murder), but he escaped in 1590, while incarcerated in Madrid. He fled to Zaragoza, where he had many local supporters, and then in 1591 to France, initially as the guest of Catherine de Bourbon (1559–1604), regent of the principality of Béarn. Much the rest of his life was spent trying to make a living off the sale of state secrets, including several years from April 1593 to July 1595 in England, where, however, he failed to garner a position at the court of Queen Elizabeth I or with her chief minister William Cecil. His notoriety was such that he is thought to have served as a model for the character of the affected Spanish braggart Don Adriano de Armado

14. I am grateful to Donato Mansueto for letting me know in an email of 27 April 2015 of the connection of the image to Antonio rather than Gonsalvo Pérez and for referring to Mansueto, op. cit., p. 17, note 16 which mentions the two adjacent emblems in the *Relaciones*, one with the motto IN SPE, the other with USQUE ADHUC.

in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour Lost,* which the playwright was working on in 1594 or 1595.[15] Pérez died in Paris.

The Morgan design closely corresponds to a roundel in Pérez's *Relaciones,* a polemical tract against the Spanish king published in 1598 (fig. 10). On the right side of the engraved illustration, we see, as in the drawing, the Minotaur with a broken labyrinth accompanied by the motto *USQUE ADHUC*. It is paired at left by Gonzalo Pérez's impresa, with the motto shortened to *IN SPE*. Unlike Pittoni's simpler image, in each case the Minotaur's upper body stands proud of the confines of the labyrinth, and a hilly landscape with one or two castles was added. As in the drawing, the path leading out of the labyrinth is a surprisingly straight and simple one, possibly implying that the decision to exit lies well within the Minotaur's powers. Previous versions of the text – initially published in Pau in 1591, then under the pseudonym Raphael Peregrino with an augmented text printed by Richard Field in London in 1594 – were not illustrated. The 1598 editions were the author's definitive and final version.[16] In its introduction 'Antonio Pérez à Todos', addressed to all readers, the author tells of how he was reading in solitude chapter eight of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans and quotes verse 19, *Nam expectatio creaturae revelationem filiorum Dei expectat* (For the creature waits in earnest expectation for the manifestation of the sons of God).[17] This is taken from a biblical passage, verses 18 to 22, that are a message of Christian salvation, predicated on present suffering and future glory: 'The whole creation has been groaning as in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time' yet there is the hope of 'being delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God'. As early as his time in captivity Pérez may have

15. See G. Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's exile*, London, 1974–76 and ibid., *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature*, Bern, 1956, pp. 81–154.
16. *Un Pedaço de historia de lo suçedido en Çaragoça de Aragón, a 24 de Setiembre del Año 1521* (Fragment of a history of what happened in Zaragoza of Aragon on 24 September of the year 1521), [Béarn], [1591], only three copies of this edition are said to exist, one in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, department of manuscripts, code Espagnol 90, pp. 270–311. *Pedaços de historia, o Relaçiones, assý llamadas por sus auctores los peregrinos ... La primera relaçion contiene el discurso de las prisones y aventuras de Antonio Perez, ... desde su primera prision hasta su salida de los reynos de España. Otra relación de lo succedido en Caregoça de Aragon à 24 de septiembre del año de 1591 por la libertad de Antonio Perez. Contienen de mas estas relaçiones, la razon y verdad de hecho ... De mas de esto el memorial que Antonio Perez hizo del hecho de su causa, para presentar en el juyzio del tribunal del justiçia que llaman de Aragon*, [1594], where the imprint is given as Leon, but it was in fact published by Richard Field in London. The publisher of the Paris, 1598 edition remains unknown.
17. A. Pérez, *Relaciones de Antonio Pérez, secretario de Estado, que fue, del Rey de España Don Phelippe II, deste nombre,* Paris, 1598, p. 14 of the introduction (the book is not consistently numbered).

10. Thomas de Leu, *Two Roundels, Each with the Minotaur and Labyrinth*, from *Relaciones de Antonio Pérez* (Paris, 1598), engraving, 62 x 124 mm (London, British Library).

11. Thomas de Leu, *Prison with Chains, Shackles and Rope*, frontispiece of *Relaciones de Antonio Pérez* (Paris, 1598), engraving, 92 x 123 mm (London, British Library).

commissioned from Orsi a new impresa as an expression of the hope of redemption.[18] By the time the drawing was used to illustrate the *Relaciones*, the image took on a new, more overtly political meaning made explicit in the introductory text. In the 1598 *Relaciones* the author expounds on his mistreatment by a cruel and ungrateful king and denounces him as a tyrant. He shares his story, as he states, so that those who are curious should listen before entering the labyrinth that is presented to them. He claims that while reading St Paul, two images of the labyrinth came to his afflicted mind. One was of an enclosed labyrinth, with the Minotaur raising his finger to his lips and the motto 'IN SPE', an indication that he had had much to be quiet about, but had indeed been silent. The second image was of the same labyrinth, this time broken, with the Minotaur's finger pointing to heaven and the motto 'USQUE ADHUC'. This second image was a warning to his Prince

18. I am grateful to Michael Bury and Tono Eitel for this suggestion.

19. Pérez, 1598, op. cit., pp. 14–15, in particular: *'y fortuna aquellas dos devisas de aquellos Labyrinthos. La una del labyrintho cerrado con un Mynotauro con el dedo en la boca, con aquella letra IN SPE, tomada del mismo lugar. No fuera de proposito, pues tenia tanto que callar, como se va vienda, que callava. La segunda devisa del mismo Labyrintho, pero roto, con el dedo apartado de la boca, endereçado al çielo, con la letra USQUE ADHUC, sacada del mismo lugar. La primera para mostrar a my Prinçipe que sobre tal golpe de agravio, sobre tal quiebra de meritos, y esperanças, en medio de aquellas prisiones, metido en aquel Labyrintho de confusion de animo tendria constante my silençio, y firme my confiança IN SPE, en esperança del, y de la fee de cavallero, que meavia diversas vezes empeñado. La segunda para advertirle, que al fin, llegando la hora, faltando, digo, lo que digo, se rompería el Labyrintho, y silencio, y que éste duraria solo USQUE ADHUC, hasta el punto del desengaño de mi esperança …Y que assy era çierto, que todas las criaturas padesçían gimiendo dolores de parto USQUE ADHUC, hasta la hora del desagravio, y juycio de Dios'* (and fortune those two devices of those labyrinths. The one of the closed labyrinth with the Minotaur with the finger to

12. Thomas de Leu, *Tityus in Chains Devoured by the Vulture*, from *Relaciones de Antonio Pérez* (Paris, 1598), engraving, 100 x 124 mm (London, British Library).

that when the time came, the labyrinth would break, as would Pérez's silence – which had lasted *usque adhuc*, up to his time, but would collapse upon further betrayal and loss of hope.[19]

The paired images of Minotaur and labyrinth are presented as emblematic of the courtier Pérez as he understood his fate. Long a faithful and discreet subject of the Prince within the labyrinth of courtly life, as shown in the roundel at left, he was prepared to break down the walls of court (as in the roundel at right and in the Morgan drawing), due to the unfair betrayal by his Prince and master. The omission of '*in silentio*', the new motto *usque adhuc* and the diatribe in the *Relaciones* contain a thinly disguised threat to reveal state secrets. The related notion of the Minotaur as the *monstrum fortunae* can be traced back to Pérez's first letter addressed to Catherine de Bourbon and to the 1591 version of his text, but it was a device to which Pérez remained faithful until his death and is even

the mouth, with the letters IN SPE, coming from the same place [i.e the mouth]. And so he had much to be quiet about, as can be observed, so he was silent. The second device of the same labyrinth, but broken, with the finger not on the mouth but raised to heaven, with the words USQUE ADHUC coming out of his mouth. The first to show my Prince that about such bursts of anger, such breaking of honour and hope, in the middle of these prisons, put in such a labyrinth my silence would have been constant, and firm my confidence IN SPE and hope in the knight, who in several instances burdened me. The second [device] is to warn him that at last the time would come when the labyrinth would break, and my silence and that it would only last USQUE ADHUC [to this moment], to the point of disillusionment of my hope … and that it was true, that all suffering creatures were howling in pain of childbirth up to this time, until the hour of atonement, and the judgement of God).

13. Thomas de Leu, *Vestal Virgin*, from *Relaciones de Antonio Pérez* (Paris, 1598), engraving, 67 x 51 mm (London, British Library).

referenced in his epitaph of his own composition.[20]

Pérez is likely to have commissioned the new impresa of the Minotaur before a broken labyrinth for himself after his downfall in 1579, which then was combined with his father's to create the double emblem and its admonitory story. Before his disgrace, he made liberal use of his father's impresa. Although no visual records survive, we know from an inventory of the furnishing of his country villa La Casilla on the outskirts of Madrid, completed in 1573 but confiscated only six years later, that many of his belongings bore the emblem of the Minotaur and labyrinth. The bed hangings and the table, chair and cushion covers were all ornamented with embroidery depicting this device, which was also imprinted on the leather bindings of his books, armour and a gilded carriage.[21]

Equally cultivated as his father – in 1577 the Venetian envoy to Madrid referred to him as a man of learning – Pérez surely developed the conceit of this narrative double emblem himself as well as selecting or devising the three other illustrations that grace the *Relaciones* (figs. 11–13).[22] The engraved frontispiece, inscribed *ILLUSTRAT, DUM VEXAT* (he clarifies even while annoying), taken from Seneca, is a relatively simple design, showing an empty prison cell with a broken rope, heavy padlocked chains and shackles, one of which is open, indicative of an escaped prisoner or at least imprisonment. The second engraving shows Tityus, son of Zeus, chained to a rock with a vulture feeding on his liver, the giant's punishment for having attempted to rape Leto.[23] The inscriptions POENÂ NON CAUSSÂ (the punishments but not the crimes) and *In Emblema Titij nostri Poenâ, non caussâ Titij* (Our punishments [are as] in the emblem of Tityus, but [our] blame/responsibility is not like that of Tityus) express Pérez's belief that he had been punished as cruelly as Tityus but without the cause, in other words undeservedly. The fact that Pérez owned a seal with the motif of Tityus as indicated by various archival documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, also strongly suggests his identification with the fate of this character.[24] The fourth engraving, inscribed DUM CASTE LUCEAN (While light shines honestly), is of a vestal virgin carrying a burning lamp on her head.

The *Tityus* engraving bears the name of Thomas de Leu (1560–1612) at lower left, suggesting that he was responsible for all the illustrations in the *Relaciones*. Of Flemish origin, Leu was born in Audenarde, arriving in Paris sometime after 1576 but before 1580 and marrying the daughter of the painter Antoine Caron in 1583. He mostly worked after the designs of others, usually crediting them as *inventor* and himself with the phrase *sculpsit*, as in his engraving *Phaeton* after Antoine Caron; *Justice*, his first dated engraving, of 1579, is after Federico Zuccaro. He was also a publisher and print dealer. In all likelihood he received the commission to illustrate the *Relaciones* in Paris in around 1598 from Pérez, who presumably supplied him with the Morgan drawing, or a derivation thereof. Leu is unlikely to have needed detailed drawings for the other images: Figs. 11 and 13 are relatively simple compositions, and for *Tityus* he closely followed a print that exists in multiple versions after a design by Michelangelo (fig. 14).[25]

20. A. Pérez, *Las Obras y relaciones*, Geneva, 1631, p. 757. For Pérez's epitaph titulating himself 'monstrum fortunae', see Ungerer, 1974–76, op. cit., II, p. 246. no. 495 and p. 332.
21. A. Delaforce, 'The Collection of Antonio Pérez', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXIV, December 1982, p. 747.
22. The envoy is cited in Delaforce, op. cit., pp. 742–45.
23. *D'après Michelangelo: La fortuna dei disegni per gli amici nelle arti del Cinquecento*, edited by A. Alberti, A. Rovetta and C. Salsi, Venice, 2015, II, p. 131, no. 230.
24. G. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez (el hombre, el drama, la época)*, Madrid, 1958, I, p. 192. A cast of this seal is among the collection of James Tassie (1735–99) in the V&A, London, inv. 748-1870.
25. Inscribed *TITIVS GIGAS A WLTURE DIVERSISQ PENIS LACERATVS* (The giant Tityus torn by the vulture and other punishments) and dated 1543 on rock at right, A. von Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, Vienna, 1803–21, XV, p. 259, no. 39; Alberti, Rovetta and Salsi, op. cit., pp. 128–29, no. 227; Fig. 14 is inv. Dyce 1191. Michelangelo drawing at Windsor is inv. 12771. The bronze plaquette of Tityus after Michelangelo by Giovanni Bernardi (1494–1553) could also have served as visual source.

14. Anonymous artist after Michelangelo, *Tityus in Chains Devoured by the Vulture*, 1543, engraving, 294 x 426 mm (London, Victoria and Albert Museum).

One might be tempted to argue that the drawing of an escaped Minotaur before the broken labyrinth should be interpreted as a more literal reference to Pérez's flight from Spain, which occurred in 1591. In this case one would need to look beyond Orsi, who died four years earlier. No drawings from Leu's hand are known and drawings by artists from his orbit, such as Marten de Vos (died 1603), Antoine Caron (died 1599) or Michael Coxcie (died 1592), look different. On the other hand, the vigorous physique of the figure, the clear silhouetting, the delicate washes, as well as the drawing's obvious debt to Giulio Romano (1499–1546) are characteristics of known works by Orsi, with whom Pérez could have come into contact during his years in Italy.[26] It is worth recalling that Pérez's taste was notably of an Italian bent. He had repeatedly travelled to Italy from the age of twelve, studied Latin in Venice, learned Italian and had amassed a renowned art collection, including Parmigianino's *Cupid*, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and three pictures by Correggio: the *Danae*, *Leda and the Swan* and *Ganymede*. Pérez had good relations with Mantua, receiving, for example, the gift of a painting from Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga in 1574. The aforementioned letter of 1583 which speaks of Orsi as having designed an impresa for Alfonso and Vittoria Gonzaga, underscores his eminence as a master of this genre. If indeed by Orsi, the window for the creation of the Morgan *Minotaur Before a Labyrinth* is likely to have been between 1579, the beginning of Pérez's woes, and the artist's death in 1587. One can almost picture Pérez, imprisoned and with ample time on his hands after his loss of court office, commissioning from an established Italian artist a suitable impresa reflective of his new situation as a hopeful yet defiant outsider.

26. Philip Pouncey's opinion, who was working for Sotheby's auction house at the time of the sale and purchase by the Morgan Library of the drawing, is recorded in a letter in the departmental file for the drawing. It is from Richard Day from 1980 and states 'I gather that Philip's opinion was that, although he wasn't absolutely positive, he felt an attribution to Lelio Orsi was as near as he could get'. Compare drawings by Orsi in Monducci and Pirondini, op. cit., nos. 151 and 174.

Cornelis Galle I Between Genoa and Antwerp

Jamie Gabbarelli

It is well known that in the final years of the sixteenth century the Flemish engraver Cornelis Galle I (1576–1650), the younger son of the Antwerp publisher Philips Galle, travelled to Italy, where he made a number of prints after designs by contemporary Italian artists.[1] Early sources generally suggest that, like his brother Theodoor, who was active in the papal city between 1594 and 1598, Cornelis mainly worked in Rome. In fact, only one of the prints engraved by Cornelis in Italy, the *Tomb of St Cecilia*, was certainly published in Rome.[2] Although a later state of his *St Peter Baptizing St Prisca* after Ludovico Cigoli was published in Rome, it is not clear where the plate was originally engraved and published.[3] Suzanne Boorsch recently established that Cornelis Galle also worked in Siena, where six plates of his were published by Matteo Florimi (active 1580–1603) – three after Francesco Vanni, one after Cigoli, a *St Jerome* after Ventura Salimbeni already attributed to Galle by Pierre-Jean Mariette, and the *Portrait of Maria de Medici*.[4] Galle's stay in Italy was also shorter than previously thought. While the *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* claims that Galle may have travelled to Italy with his brother as early as 1592, recently published documents prove that he was still in Antwerp in 1597.[5] Furthermore, in 1603 Galle signed two engravings from the series of the *Life of St Catherine of Siena* published by his father Philips, suggesting that by then he had already returned to Flanders.[6]

It has hitherto gone unremarked that Galle probably also spent some time in Genoa between 1601 and 1603. Indeed, a group of four prints after the Genoese painters Giovanni Battista Paggi (1554–1627) and Bernardo Castello (1557–1629) provides strong evidence to support Galle's presence in the northern Italian city. There he would have obtained commissions, procured preparatory drawings and likely engraved some of the plates that were later published in Antwerp by his father. It is here argued that Galle was in Italy between 1597 and 1602/03, where he divided his time between Siena, from c. 1597 to 1599; Rome, from c. 1599 to 1601; and – unusually for Flemish printmakers at that time – Genoa, where he probably spent the years c. 1601 to 1602/03 before returning to Antwerp.

Galle may have decided to travel to Genoa because of previous contact with Paggi, a talented painter of noble birth who, after killing a man in 1581, spent almost two decades in exile in Florence, returning to Genoa only in early 1600.[7] The *Return from Egypt* after Paggi was probably the first print Galle engraved in Genoa (fig. 15).[8] Depicting the Holy Family accompanied by angels and putti on their way back to Nazareth, the sizeable print is related to a large altarpiece executed by Paggi for the church of the Camaldolite monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence, probably around 1586, and now held in the deposits of the Uffizi.[9] Paggi had received the commission from Don Silvano Razzi, the monastery's learned abbot and one of Paggi's most generous patrons. Razzi played a key role in Paggi's early career. In August 1586 for instance, Paggi became a member of the Accademia del Disegno, probably in recognition of the work he carried out for the abbot. Although little known today, Razzi was an important figure in the literary and artistic life of Florence. He was a close friend of Giorgio Vasari, Agnolo Bronzino, Raffaello Borghini and Benedetto Varchi, part of whose library

1. G. K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, V, Linz, 1905, pp. 252–54; U. Thieme, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XIII, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 105–06; M. Sellink and M. Leesberg, *The New Hollstein (Philips Galle)*, I, Rotterdam, 2001, pp. lxv–lxvi (hereafter Hollstein); M. Bury, 'Infringing Privileges and Copying in Rome, c. 1600', *Print Quarterly*, XXII, 2005, pp. 133–36; S. Boorsch, 'Cornelis Galle I and Francesco Vanni', in E. Leuschner, *Ein privilegiertes Medium und die Bildkulturen Europas*, Munich, 2012, pp. 163–76; J. Marciari and S. Boorsch, *Francesco Vanni: Art in Late Renaissance Siena*, New Haven, CT, 2013, pp. 33–37.
2. Boorsch, op. cit., 2012, p. 168.
3. Impression in the Albertina, inv. HB 76, fol. 61, no. 143.
4. Marciari and Boorsch, op. cit., p. 37.
5. *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, XLVIII, Munich, 2006, pp. 8–9; Bury, op. cit., pp. 133 and 136; Sellink and Leesberg, op. cit., p. lxv.
6. Marciari and Boorsch, op. cit., p. 146.
7. M. Newcome Schleier, 'An Early Tuscan Painting by Paggi', *Gedenkschrift für Richard Harprath*, edited by W. Liebenwein and A. Tempestini, Munich, 1998, p. 302. Soprani-Ratti, 1768, pp. 118–20; Lukehart, op. cit. pp. 49–51.
8. Hollstein, VII, p. 51, no. 43.
9. Inv. no. 3178; for the date see P. Lukehart, *Contending Ideals: The Nobility of G. B. Paggi and the Nobility of Painting*, Ann Arbor, MI, 1989, p. 54.

15. Cornelis Galle, after Giovanni Battista Paggi, *The Return from Egypt*, c. 1601, engraving, 486 x 320 mm (London, British Museum).

he inherited.[10] He was one of Varchi's heirs and an executor of his will, as related in a letter of 1566 by Razzi to Cosimo de Medici.[11]

Razzi is mentioned in the inscription that Paggi composed for Galle's print, in which the painter dedicates the engraving *The Return from Egypt* to Domenico Ginnasi (1550–1639), named on the plate as Archbishop of Siponto (modern-day Manfredonia) and Apostolic nuncio to Philip III of Spain. Addressing Ginnasi directly, Paggi declares he is presenting 'this small gift to you, however unequal to your name and dignity' because

> remembering that you favourably looked upon [the work] I once completed with my brush for Abbot Silvano Razzi, located in the church of the Angels in Florence, I thought you would not turn your gaze away from its imitation. A trifle, but a record, however small, of the greatness of your benevolence toward me.[12]

The meeting between Paggi and Ginnasi referred to must have taken place in late 1598. In August of that year Ginnasi arrived in Florence as Apostolic nuncio, a tenure that lasted only a few months before he was sent as papal ambassador to Spain. During this short time Paggi evidently gained the favour of the influential prelate, who on 18 August 1599 successfully appealed to the Genoese Senate to grant a pardon, allowing Paggi's return to the city.[13] Paggi left Florence after 20 November 1599 and re-established his residence in Genoa in January 1600.[14] As Paggi's first biographer Raffaello Soprani relates, some of the first works Paggi created after his return were gifts for Ginnasi. In a letter dated 10 March 1600 Ginnasi thanks Paggi 'for the paintings that you say you have made for me'. According to another letter, Ginnasi received two *Heads of Christ and the Virgin* and a *Christ at Emmaus*, all of which Ginnasi 'greatly appreciated' in Madrid in August of that year.[15] The archbishop showed Paggi's works at the Spanish court and in October 1601 he gladly informed Paggi that the queen – Margaret of Austria – wanted two of the paintings for herself, 'because they seemed to her the most beautiful in Spain'.[16] In addition to the gift of paintings, the dedication of a print whose subject was the return from exile in Egypt may have also seemed particularly appropriate, given Ginnasi's crucial role in securing Paggi's return home from his own Florentine banishment.

Ginnasi's generous support and patronage of Paggi provide the background for the commission and dedication of Galle's print, which was probably completed in 1601. Galle is likely to have been in Rome in 1600 and his *Tomb of St Cecilia* was published there in 1601. With the Jubilee Year of 1600 having come to an end, however, he appears to have left the city in 1601. While the precise reasons for Galle's decision to visit Genoa cannot be established, the Italian port city had very close cultural and commercial ties with Flanders, particularly with Antwerp.[17] Paggi also had significant contacts with Flemish artists in Italy. In Florence, he counted among his closest friends the Flemish sculptor Giambologna (Jean Boulogne), for whom he painted an altarpiece for his private chapel in Santissima Annunziata in 1598.[18] In 1589 Paggi also executed a portrait of Giambologna's collaborator Pietro Francavilla (Pierre Franqueville), who had spent four years in Genoa between 1581 and 1585.[19] Both Giambologna and Francavilla maintained connections with other northern printmakers travelling in Italy. Indeed, both artists sat for Hendrick Goltzius, who, in 1591 drew a careful portrait of each, while Gijsbert van Veen engraved a portrait of Giambologna during his stay in Italy in 1589.[20] It is not unreasonable to assume that while working in nearby Siena, Galle would also have met Giambologna in Florence and perhaps even Paggi, forging a connection that encouraged him to seek work, and new models for his prints, in Genoa.

It is possible that Galle engraved the *Return from Egypt*, published in Antwerp by Philips Galle, only after his return, having obtained detailed drawings and instructions from Paggi in Genoa. It was quite usual for Philips to issue prints designed elsewhere, for since the 1570s he had been publishing hundreds of engravings

10. G. Milanesi, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari*, Florence, 1838–85, VII, pp. 603–04.
11. Museo di Casa Vasari, Carte Vasari, MS. 31, fols 51r–56v, online, manus.iccu.sbn.it, accessed May 2016.
12. *Munusculum tibi, Amplissime Pater, impar quidem et nomini et dignitati, verum quod olim Abb. Silvano Razzio penicillo absolvi in aede Angelorum Florentiae locatum, te hilari vultu aspexisse memor, non ab eius exemplo oculos aversurum existimavi. Res minima, sed magnitudinis tuorum erga me meritorum qualecumque monumentum.*
13. R. Soprani and C. G. Ratti, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti genovesi*, Genoa, 1768, I, p. 127; Lukehart, op. cit., pp. 102–04.
14. Lukehart, op. cit., p. 101.
15. Soprani and Ratti, op. cit, p. 129.
16. Ibid., '*Le due pitture, dico la Madonna, ed il Salvatore, la Regina le ha volute, essendole parse le più belle di Spagna*'.
17. *L'età di Rubens*, edited by P. Boccardo, Milan, 2004, p. 6.
18. Lukehart, op. cit., p. 78.
19. Lukehart, op. cit., p. 61.
20. Giambologna's portrait in the Teylers Museum, inv. no. N 072; Francavilla's in Rijksmuseum inv. no. RP-T-1961-71; Leeflang and Luijten, op. cit., nos. 49 and 50, pp. 155–58.

16. Raffaello Guidi, after Cornelis Galle, after Giovanni Battista Paggi, *The Return from Egypt*, 1604, engraving, 466 x 319 mm (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art).

17. Cornelis Galle, after Giovanni Battista Paggi, *Adam and Eve*, c. 1601, engraving, 359 x 253 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

18. Cornelis Galle, after Giovanni Battista Paggi, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1601, engraving, 260 x 191 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

after Jan van der Straet, who regularly sent his print designs from Florence to Antwerp.[21] It is more likely, however, that Galle engraved plates in Genoa and sent them, or took them back, to Antwerp to be printed. What is certain is that Galle did not base his print directly on Paggi's altarpiece, but rather on a lost preparatory drawing, possibly one that the painter made especially for the print. A finished drawing in the National Gallery of Scotland – squared and incised for transfer, and of similar dimensions to the print – was clearly not Galle's exact model, but may well have been a prototype for it.[22]

21. *Stradanus 1523–1605: Court Artist of the Medici*, edited by A. Baroni and M. Sellink, Turnhout, 2012, pp. 135–65.

22. Inv. D3079; 443 x 298 mm; K. Andrews, *National Gallery of Scotland: Catalogue of Italian Drawings*, Cambridge, UK, 1968, pp. 82–83.

19. Cornelis Galle, after Bernardo Castello, *The Virgin Immaculate,* c. 1601–02, engraving, 366 x 276 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

20. Bernardo Castello, *Virgin Immaculate*, 1600, oil on canvas, 2,750 x 1,600 mm (Genoa, Convent of San Francesco d'Albaro).

Although they were published in Antwerp, Galle's engravings enjoyed wide circulation in Italy, as witnessed by Soprani, who in 1674 wrote that 'some talented engravers did honour to our Paggi by engraving various works of his, and especially Cornelis Galle'.[23] Further proof of the immediate success of the *Return from Egypt* is provided by the fact that Raffaello Guidi (active 1585–1618) made a very accurate copy of it in Rome in 1604 (fig. 16). It is possible that in this instance Paggi may have chosen to have the *Return from Egypt* published by Philips Galle in light of Antwerp's close political and commercial ties with Spain, where Ginnasi was ambassador and where Paggi's works, according to Ginnasi, were held in high esteem. Indeed, Galle's translation of Paggi's design was so well known in Italy that a seventeenth-century guidebook to Florence by Ferdinando Leopoldo del Migliore mistakenly attributes the altarpiece of the *Return from Egypt* to a '*Paggi Fiammingo*', mentioning in the same sentence that its design was 'in everyone's hands' thanks to the '*stampa in rame*'.[24] The writer, it seems, assumed that Paggi himself was Flemish, given that his designs were engraved by Galle and published in Antwerp. He adds that the painting was placed above an altar containing the remains of the blessed Silvestro, Jacopo and Paola, whose relics had been moved there by Razzi in 1598.

Galle's second engraving, *Adam and Eve*, also published by Philips Galle, bears a dedication by Paggi to the Genoese nobleman Giancarlo Doria (1576–1625; fig. 17).[25] Doria, the wealthy son of Agostino – who was Doge of Genoa between 1601 and 1603 – was known as an avid collector and patron of the arts.[26] After he was awarded the knighthood of the Order of Santiago de Compostela by Philip III of Spain in 1606, Doria famously commissioned an equestrian portrait of himself from Peter Paul Rubens.[27] As witnessed by contemporary inventories, Doria's art collection was extensive, numbering close to 700 works, the most highly prized being the monumental *Massacre of the Innocents* by Paggi, the drawings for which are in a sketchbook now in Antwerp.[28] The *Massacre*, which today survives only in a fragmentary state, was much admired by contemporaries: even Rubens made sketches of it, copying a number of details from the painting, probably when he was working on Doria's portrait. In 1617 the canvas was appraised for the remarkable sum of 1,000 *scudi*.[29]

The inventories also list a painting of '*Adam and Eve* by Paggi', valued at 300 *scudi*.[30] Paggi, it seems, commissioned Galle to make an engraving based on the painting he had executed for Doria. The formal Latin inscription that Galle engraved below the image leaves little doubt that this was the case: 'To Giancarlo Doria, to whose benevolence the model of the painting [was] dedicated, [its] visual imitation is justly due'.[31] In the inscription Paggi took care to present himself as a member of Doria's social class, a '*patritius Genuensis*', describing himself as a '*picturae studiosus*' rather than a simple *pictor*, emphasizing the fact that he had learnt the art of painting as a gentleman practitioner. Paggi's noble birth and autodidactic training are also emphasized by Soprani.[32] In a poem published in 1604, the Venetian poet Giovanni Soranzo mentions both the *Massacre of the Innocents* and *Adam and Eve*, providing a *terminus ante quem* for both paintings.[33] The timing of Agostino Doria's tenure as Doge also neatly coincides with Galle's presence in Genoa. Most probably, therefore, Paggi commissioned Galle to engrave the *Adam and Eve* in 1601–02 in order to court the favour of the Doge's artistically inclined son at a time when he had gained special social prominence. Paggi also painted portraits of both Giancarlo and of Doge Agostino Doria, which were owned by Giancarlo and his brother Marcantonio, respectively.[34]

The circumstances surrounding the making of *Venus and Cupid*, the third print Galle engraved after Paggi, again published in Antwerp by Philips Galle, are less clear (fig. 18).[35] The engraving is related to a composition by Paggi that exists in a number of painted versions. Although the print was again

23. Soprani and Ratti, op. cit., p. 130: '*Similmente fecero onore al nostro Paggi alcuni bravi Intagliatori; poiché varie cose di suo incisero: e specialmente Cornelio Galle'.*
24. F. L. del Migliore, *Firenze Città Nobilissima*, Florence, 1684, p. 327: '*una Tavola del Paggi Fiammingo, la quale tornando rara al giudizio degl'uomini che intendano, và fuori per le mani di tutti per mezzo di stampa in rame*'.
25. Hollstein, VII, p. 49, no. 2.
26. V. Farina, 'Gio. Carlo Doria (1576–1625)', in Boccardo, op. cit., p. 189.
27. F. Huemer, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Portraits Painted in Foreign Countries*, 1977, no. 10, pp. 116–18; Boccardo, op. cit., no. 30, pp. 210–11.
28. Boccardo, op. cit., cat. 37, pp. 224–27.
29. Boccardo, op. cit., p. 195.
30. The painting is untraced; Boccardo, op. cit., p. 195.
31. '*Iohanni Carolo Auriae, cuius benignitati picturae dicatum exemplar, iconicum merito debetur exemplum*'.
32. Soprani and Ratti, op. cit., pp. 112–18.
33. Boccardo, op. cit., p. 190.
34. Boccardo, op. cit., pp. 194 and 265.
35. Hollstein, VII, p. 59, no. 275.

21. Raffaello Schiaminossi, *Virgin Immaculate*, 1603, etching, 340 x 192 mm (Private collection, USA).

probably based on a drawing rather than a painting, its details are closest to a somewhat damaged canvas in a Roman private collection. Other versions include a painting of oval format in Palazzo Bianco, Genoa; a rectangular canvas in opposite orientation in the collection of the Cassa di Risparmio di Genova e Imperia; another version in Dulwich Picture Gallery, and a copy, in the same orientation as the print, in the Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna.[36] The prime Roman version is in the same orientation as the print and includes the prominent cushion in the lower right. With its warm palette and overt sensuality, Paggi's composition betrays the influence of Luca Cambiaso – who made a similar painting of *Venus and Amor* now in the Art Institute of Chicago in the 1560s – while also strongly recalling the elaborately bejewelled female nudes of Bartholomeus Spranger.[37]

Scholars agree in dating Paggi's *Venus and Cupid* on stylistic grounds to around 1600, a date that permits us to assign Galle's engraving to the years 1601–02. While the same titles of '*patritius Genuensis*' and '*picturae studiosus*' appear in the inscription after Paggi's name, this time the print is not addressed to a specific dedicatee. However, a painting of '*Venus and Cupid* by Paggi', valued at only 30 *scudi*, was also listed as being in the collection of Giancarlo Doria, suggesting that Galle's engraving may again be connected to Paggi's relationship with the prominent Genoese patron.[38]

The final piece of evidence relating to Galle's acquaintance with Genoese art is his print after Bernardo Castello (fig. 19).[39] The *Virgin Immaculate* reproduces in the same orientation the composition of an altarpiece Castello executed in 1600 for the church of San Francesco d'Albaro in Genoa (fig. 20).[40] There are, however, a number of differences between print and painting. The latter is tall and narrow, while Galle's print expands the composition horizontally, introducing more space between the Virgin and the angels framing her figure. The Virgin lacks a crown, while the plants and flowers held by the putti, as well as the position of the putto raising a mirror above his head, are noticeably different in the print. The painting has suffered extensive damage and shoddy repainting, making a careful comparison of each detail impossible, but it seems clear that Galle once again did not base his print on the finished canvas.

He may have based his engraving on a second print related to Castello's altarpiece by Raffaello Schiaminossi, which is dated 1603 in the lettering and has been discussed as its first translation into print (fig. 21).[41] Closer to the narrow format and somewhat cramped composition of the altarpiece, Schiaminossi's etching reverses its orientation. It is also in reverse to Galle's engraving, with which it shares a number of details that do not appear in the painting, such as the plants and flowers in the putti's hands and the position of the putto holding the mirror. In both prints the Virgin lacks a crown, but this detail may have been a later addition to the painting. On the other hand, Galle's print does have in common with the painting a detail not present in Schiaminossi's etching: the lily stalk held by the lower left angel is topped by two blooming flowers and one bud, as opposed to Schiaminossi's single bloom. This might suggest that Galle may not have been copying Schiaminossi. While Schiaminossi made a number of copies of prints by Flemish and Italian artists, and may also be responsible for an unsigned print that replicates much of Cornelis Galle's *Vision of St Francis* after Francesco Vanni, it is possible in this case that Galle and Schiaminossi's prints derive from the same original drawn model, which they emulated with varying degrees of accuracy.[42] A drawing by Castello at the Louvre that was cut into pieces – some of them removed, some pasted back together – and subsequently clumsily retouched, is in opposite orientation to the painting, as if preparatory for engraving. It was not, however, the model for either Schiaminossi or Galle, but might represent a variant in the revision of the composition for publication in print.[43] Whether or not it came first, Galle's version became the most popular, having been copied by

36. Dulwich Picture Gallery, inv. 248. A. Marabottini, 'La "Venere che bacia Amore" di Giovan Battista Paggi', in *Scritti in onore di Salvatore Pugliatti*, Milan, 1978, pp. 569–82; and F. R. Pesenti, *La pittura in Liguria: artisti del primo Seicento*, Genoa, 1986, pp. 26–27 and 44.
37. On Paggi's affinity with Flemish mannerists see Marabottini, op. cit., pp. 575–77. For the Chicago painting, *Luca Cambiaso 1527–1585*, edited by J. Bober, Cinisello Balsamo, 2006, no. 63, pp. 338–39.
38. Boccardo, op. cit., p. 194.
39. Hollstein, VII, p. 54, no. 111.
40. R. Erbentraut, *Der Genueser Maler Bernardo Castello*, Freren, 1989, p. 286, no. 97.
41. Erbentraut, op. cit., pp. 104 and 286.
42. For Schiaminossi's copies of other prints see Bartsch, XVII, nos. 2, 29, 35 and 53. Impressions of the *St Francis* attributed to Schiaminossi are in the British Museum, London, inv. V,3.45, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 17.50.17–22.
43. Inv. 9438 was once given to Castellino Castello by Newcombe-Schleier, but is now attributed to Bernardo Castello; M. Newcombe-Schleier, *Le dessin à Gênes du XVI^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1985, no. 41, pp. 50–51.

Philippe Thomassin, Theodoor Galle, David Custos and Nicolaas Lauwers.[44]

It should be stressed that unlike the prints after Paggi, there is little evidence that Galle's *Virgin Immaculate* after Castello was commissioned by its designer. In fact the engraving, which was published by Theodoor Galle, was dedicated to a Flemish cleric, Jan David, the abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery of Sts Cornelius and Cyprian, today known as Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Hemelvaartkerk, in the Flemish town of Ninove about 60 kilometres south of Antwerp.[45] Theodoor Galle began publishing prints under his own name around 1600. The publication of this engraving may have been Galle's independent project, based on a drawing he saw, obtained, or copied in Castello's studio.

Castello was not new to printmaking and may have wanted his design to be published in print. By 1601–02 he had already collaborated with printmakers on an illustrated edition of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, published in Genoa in 1590 by Girolamo Bartoli, with plates designed by him and engraved by Giacomo Franco and Agostino Carracci.[46] A letter by the poet Gabriello Chiabrera to his friend Castello, furthermore, may be alluding to the production of Galle's *Virgin Immaculate*. In September 1602 Chiabrera states in passing that 'it seems to me that Your Lordship has been well served by the engraver, and [Giovanni Battista] Forzano, who came to visit me, was similarly satisfied'.[47] Given that the date coincides with Galle's stay in the city, Chiabrera may be here referring to Galle's skilful engraving, rather than to the unknown engraver who made twenty rather unremarkable prints for a second, smaller edition of the *Gerusalemme* published by Giuseppe Pavoni in 1604.[48] The language of the letter, however, is too vague to draw any firm conclusions.

While archival research may reveal further details of Galle's activity in the city, the evidence provided by the prints alone strongly suggests that he was in Genoa between 1601 and 1603. Paggi may have been the driving force behind Galle's visit. The relative scarcity of good engravers in both Genoa and Florence may have compelled Paggi to seek out someone with the skills to proficiently translate his refined compositions into print. Ever since Cornelis Cort's collaboration with Titian in the 1560s Flemish engravers were renowned in Italy for excelling at such a task. On the other hand, Galle may have decided to stop in Genoa of his own initiative, attracted by the fame of its substantial wealth and increasingly ambitious artistic patronage. Describing Genoa in 1601, the churchman and art connoisseur Giovanni Battista Agucchi vividly conveys a sense of the city's splendour. 'In few other places in Italy ', Agucchi writes,

> could one show equal magnificence, because in very few you can find gold, silver, jewels, tapestries and the precious objects that you see here, in addition to the palaces and regal dwellings, unparalleled elsewhere, but mostly the abundance of ready money.[49]

Regardless of the exact circumstances behind their creation, as a group, Galle's Genoese engravings raise interesting questions about the dynamics of remote print production and distribution between Italy and Flanders. They also shed light on a hitherto unnoticed episode of the artistic relationship between Genoa and Antwerp that took place just a few years before the celebrated arrival of Peter Paul Rubens in 1605, and of Anthony van Dyck in 1621, in the wealthy Italian port city.

44. Newcombe-Schleier, op. cit., p. 51; an anonymous copy published by Lauwers is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
45. See Sellink, op. cit., p. lxv. For the Abbey of Sts Cornelius and Cyprian, suppressed in 1796, see J. Guter, *I monasteri cristiani*, Rome, 2008, p. 229.
46. T. Tasso, *La Gierusalemme Liberata di Torquato Tasso con le figure di Bernardo Castello...*, Genoa, 1590.
47. *Lettere di Gabriel Chiabrera a Bernardo Castello*, Genoa, 1838, p. 164: '*a me pare che V. S. sia stata ben servita dall'intagliatore, e Forzano, che di passaggio fu qui meco, ne rimase similmente soddisfatto*'.
48. T. Tasso, *La Gierusalemme di Torquato Tasso con gli argomenti del sig. Gio. Vincenzo Imperiale figurata da Bernardo Castello*, Genoa, Giuseppe Pavoni, 1604.
49. G. B. Agucchi, *Passaggio del cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini nel Genovesato l'anno 1601*, quoted in Boccardo, op. cit., pp. 6 and 11: '*In pochi altri luoghi d'Italia si potrebbe mostrare eguale magnificenza poiché in pochissimi si trovano gli ori, gli argenti, le gioie e drappi e le ricche suppellettile che si vedono qui, oltre li palazzi et habitationi regie, che non hanno paro altrove, ma soprattutto l'abbondanza del denaro contante*'.

Franz Christoph von Scheyb on the Art of Engraving

Thomas Frangenberg

Art history as a field of research was well developed by the eighteenth century. One aspect of this flowering was that the tools of art-historical enquiry were subjected to detailed scrutiny. Franz Christoph von Scheyb's (1704–77) unusual discussion of a print by Antoine Masson (1636–1700) after Titian demonstrates the sophistication with which aspects of reproductive prints could be articulated during this period, revealing prints' merits and shortcomings, both as sources of art history and works of art in their own right.

Art history at this time relied on two principal resources: written books, such as collections of artists' lives or topographical works that only rarely contained illustrations of the works described, and collections of prints.[1] Prints that were meant to be sold as books were often accompanied by introductory texts, and, in a small number of luxury publications, by substantial scholarly analyses. The vast majority of reproductive prints, however, were sold as individual sheets and assembled into folders or even bound volumes by their owners. These are usually accompanied by only minimal amounts of text such as indications of authorship, subject, ownership of the reproduced work or other basic information, or poems.

Printmaking first became a subject of specialized scholarly literature in the seventeenth century. Given the importance of reproductive prints as repositories and communicators of art-historical knowledge from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, it is not surprising that the medium and its history attracted so much scholarly interest.[2] A great deal of the vast eighteenth-century literature on art is concerned with prints, not least for German-speaking regions, where some of the most prestigious collections of prints were being assembled.[3] Knowledge of international artistic developments was spread rapidly among collectors and connoisseurs through books, periodical publications and prints.[4]

Among the most illuminating discussions of reproductive prints is von Scheyb's chapter on engraving in *Köremons Natur und Kunst in Gemälden* ('Köremon's nature and art in paintings', with Köremon being an invented name that von Scheyb uses as a thinly disguised alter ego), published in Vienna in 1770.[5] Von Scheyb was active during the Vienna enlightenment and his works have attracted a certain amount of attention; he appears, for example, in *The London Encyclopaedia* of 1829 among the noteworthy authors on printmaking.[6] His art theory has been adduced in a number of studies of the

This paper was written in honour of Constance Blackwell on the occasion of her eightieth birthday.

1. F. Borroni Salvadori, 'Riprodurre in incisione per far conoscere dipinti e disegni: il Settecento a Firenze', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, 1982, pp. 7–69; F. Haskell, *The Painful Birth of the Art Book*, London, 1987; S. Massari and F. Negri Cyriaco, *Arte e scienza dell'incisione. Da Maso Finiguerra a Picasso*, Rome, 1987; C. Karpinski, 'The Print in Thrall to Its Original: A Historiographic Perspective', in *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, Washington, 1989, pp. 101–09; E. Borea, 'Le stampe dai primitivi e l'avvento della storiografia artistica illustrata', *Prospettiva*, LXIX–LXX, 1993, pp. 28–40 and 50–74; C. Rümelin, 'Stichtheorie und Graphikverständnis im 18. Jahrhundert', *Artibus et historiae*, XLIV (XXII), 2001, pp. 187–200; *The Rise of the Image. Essays on the History of the Illustrated Art Book*, edited by R. Palmer and T. Frangenberg, Aldershot, 2003; I. R. Vermeulen, 'Vasari illustrato. Il progetto incompiuto di Giovanni Bottari (1759–60) e la collezione di stampe Orsini', *Prospettiva*, CXXV, 2007, pp. 2–22; W. M. Johnson, *Versified Prints: A Literary and Cultural Phenomenon in Eighteenth-Century France*, Toronto, Buffalo and London, 2012.
2. *The London Encyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Science, Art, Literature, and Practical Mechanics*, VIII, London, 1829, pp. 410–11.
3. J. Schlosser Magnino, *La letteratura artistica. Manuale delle fonti della storia dell'arte moderna*, Florence, 1977, pp. 490–98 and 676–80. F. K. G. Hirsching, *Nachrichten von sehenswürdigen Gemälde- und Kupferstichsammlungen, Münz- Gemmen- Kunst-und Naturalienkabineten, Sammlungen von Modellen, Maschinen, physikalischen und mathematischen Instrumenten, anatomischen Präparaten und botanischen Gärten in Teutschland nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Städte*, Erlangen, 1786–92, VI, Index, pp. 240–41, 'Kupferstich-Sammlungen', covers many, but by no means all such collections, not including, for instance the one in Dresden.
4. T. Clayton, 'Reviews of English Prints in German Journals, 1750–1800', *Print Quarterly*, X, 1993, pp. 123–137; A.-M. Link, 'Carl Ludwig Junker and the Collecting of Reproductive Prints', *Print Quarterly*, XII, 1995, pp. 361–74; N. Gramaccini, *Theorie der französischen Druckgraphik im 18. Jahrhundert. Eine Quellenanthologie*, Bern, Berlin and Frankfurt, 1997; M. Vogt, *Von Kunstworten und -werten: Die Entstehung der deutschen Kunstkritik in Periodika der Aufklärung*, Berlin and New York, 2010, pp. 122–56.
5. [F. C. von Scheyb], *Köremons Natur und Kunst in Gemälden, Bildhauereyen, Gebäuden und Kupferstichen, zum Unterricht der Schüler, und Vergnügen der Kenner* (Köremon's nature and art in paintings, sculptures, buildings and engravings for the instruction of students and delectation of connoisseurs), Leipzig and Vienna, 1770, II, pp. 243–99. I. Tuma, *Franz Christoph von Scheyb (1704–1774* [sic, for *1777*]*). Leben und Werk. Ein Beitrag zur süddeutsch-österreichischen Aufklärung*, Vienna, 1975.
6. Tuma, op. cit.; N. C. Wolf, 'Polemische Konstellationen: Berliner Aufklärung, Leipziger Aufklärung und der Beginn der Aufklärung in Wien (1760–1770)', of 2005, goethezeit-portal.de/db/ wiss /epoche/wolf_konstellationen.pdf, accessed 29 May 2014. *The London Encyclopaedia*, op. cit., p. 410.

sculpture of Franz Xaver Messerschmidt (1736–83), to whom we owe a bust of von Scheyb.[7] Possessing a deep interest in art, von Scheyb was widely travelled and extremely well-read. He cites treatises on art in Italian, French, English and German. The claim has been made that he displays a strong anti-French bias.[8] This is correct to the extent that his books vigorously attacked those French authors who argued for the superiority of French art over that of the ancients and the Italians.

Having been called to Rome in 1731, von Scheyb stayed there for six years and enjoyed the friendship of artists such as the sculptor Agostino Cornacchini (1686–1754) and the painter Pietro Bianchi (1694–1740). He received instruction in drawing and attended life drawing sessions at the Academy of St Luke. Of particular importance, however, was his friendship with the Swiss engraver Johann Jakob Frey the Elder (1681–1752). According to his biographer Friedrich Justus Riedel (1742–85), von Scheyb visited Frey daily, heard him talk about art and watched him at work.[9] Von Scheyb's acquaintance with the print medium is thus an outcome not only of his prolonged engagement with engravings, but also with an engraver. For instance, von Scheyb witnessed Frey copying the face of Guido Reni's *St Michael* in the church of Santa Maria della Concezione in Rome, a face whose psychological complexity cost Frey a great deal of effort:

> How much labour did this face cause for Frey, to put in everything about which he was amazed during each motion of the burin. … The continuous engagement with an object makes one see more than infinite eyes can detect in passing (*Was hat dieses Gesicht den Frey für Mühe gekostet, alles anzubringen, worüber er bey jedem Zug des Griffels erstaunte. … Der beständige Umgang mit einen* (sic) *Gegenstande macht mehr sehen, als unzählige Augen im Vorbeygehen entdecken können*).[10]

For von Scheyb, the act of handling the burin amounts to a way of comprehending the artwork.

Eighteenth-century descriptions of engravings commonly focus on the painting being copied, rather than on the independent characteristics of the reproductive print.[11] In line with such conventions, von Scheyb analyses in equal measure his own portrait by Martin van Meytens, now in Schönbrunn Castle in Vienna, and the engraving after it by Johann Ernst Mansfeld (1739–96), which forms the frontispiece of his second major art-theoretical and art-historical work, the *Orestrio von den drey Künsten der Zeichnung* ('Orestrio [another invented alter ego used by von Scheyb] on the three arts of design'), published in 1774 (fig. 22).[12] Ostensibly written for young engravers, the *Orestrio*, like the earlier chapter on engraving, was equally for the benefit of connoisseurs. Von Scheyb's comments show originality, however, by applying to portraiture a notion normally reserved for history painting – Francesco Albani's tenet that the image may show what individual figures are doing, have done and are about to do:

> The [person in the] portrait turns the eyes to the right, seems to reflect, rests the left elbow on books, comfortably supports the head with the same hand and holds the quill on the paper with the right, prepared to write instantly. Thus [in] the expression [it] is evident that he has read, now thinks, and will write, that is, that it expresses three [periods of] time, the past, the present and the future (*Das Portrait wendet die Augen auf die rechte Seite, scheinet nachzusinnen, lehnt sich mit dem linken Ellenbogen auf Bücher, unterstützt sehr gemächlich mit derselbigen Hand den Kopf, und hält mit der rechten die Feder auf Papier, augenblicklich zum schreiben bereit. Der Ausdruck ist also deutlich, dass er gelesen habe, itzt nachsinne, und schreiben werde: also drey Zeiten ausdrücke, die verflossene, gegenwärtige und zukünftige*).[13]

Nowhere does von Scheyb indicate whether he is concerned with the painting or with the engraving reproducing it.

In contrast, and probably due to his experience in Frey's workshop, von Scheyb's chapter 'On Engraving' in *Köremons Natur und Kunst in Gemälden* places the emphasis on the making of the reproductive print, setting it apart from most eighteenth-century discussions of engravings. He begins with comments on the 'indescribable quantity' (*unbeschreibliche Menge*) of prints in circulation; one hardly finds a dwelling that is not decorated with large numbers of them. Most are of negligi-

7. A. C. Gampp, 'Kunst als Läuterungsprozess. Die Charakterköpfe des Franz Xaver Messerschmidt im Kontext des ästhetischen und arkanen Wissens seiner Zeit', in *Die phantastischen Köpfe des Franz Xaver Messerschmidt. The Fantastic Heads of Franz Xaver Messerschmidt*, edited by M. Bückling, Frankfurt a. M., 2006, pp. 289–92; U. Pfarr, *Franz Xaver Messerschmidt 1736–1783: Menschenbild und Selbstwahrnehmung*, Berlin, 2006. For von Scheyb's bust see M. Malíková, 'Die Porträtplastik von Franz Xaver Messerschmidt', *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie*, IX:LIII, 1965, pp. 17–18.
8. Pfarr, op. cit., pp. 336–37.
9. F. J. Riedel, 'Vorrede', in F. C. von Scheyb, *Orestrio von den drey Künsten der Zeichnung. Mit einem Anhang von der Art und Weise, Abdrücke in Schwefel, Gyps, und Glas zu verfertigen, auch in Edelsteine zu graben*, Vienna, 1774, I, sigs XX^{v}–XX3^{v}.
10. Von Scheyb, *Orestrio*, op. cit., I, p. 31.
11. Karpinski, op. cit., p. 104; Link, op. cit., pp. 368–71; for a typical, but uncommonly detailed description see W. M. Johnson, 'Documents', *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, XLV, 1979, pp. 26–27.
12. Tuma, op. cit., n. p.
13. C. R. Puglisi, *Francesco Albani*, New Haven and London, 1999, pp. 48 and 50. Von Scheyb, *Orestrio*, op. cit., I, pp. 191–92.

ble quality, fulfilling only the needs of the common man, but at its best, engraving can equal the achievements of the most accomplished brushes.[14] The invention of engraving, almost contemporary with the invention of letterpress printing but much more demanding, is contested between Italians and Germans, and von Scheyb gives examples of some of the foremost practitioners. He lauds the importance of the medium; it is the science of representing 'a single painting in the same way in many places of the world at the same time' (*Wissenschaft, ein einziges Gemälde auf gleiche Weise an vielen Orten der Welt zugleich vorzustellen*). The next section introduces the techniques of woodcut, engraving and etching.

Von Scheyb's principal interest is in engraving, and especially in the handling of the burin. Each engraver of note develops his own manner from the repertoire of marks that the burin can produce. Von Scheyb displays considerable versatility in characterizing these: 'straight, crooked, thick, thin, fine, course, serpentine, flame-like, arched, snail-like, short, long, disjointed or dabbed strokes, lines, furrows and dots' (*[mit] geraden, krummen, dicken, dünnen, feinen, groben, geschlängelten, flammenmässigen, geschwungenen, schneckenartigen, kurzen, langen, gehackten oder getüpften Strichen, Linien, Furchen und Punkten*). He also proposes that the marks can represent colour: 'All colours of a painting, all shadows and lights, all main and broken tones are to be distinguished in this monochrome work and to be perceived without confusion' (*Alle Farben des Gemäldes, alle Schatten und Lichter, alle Haupt- und gebrochenen Tinten sollen in dieser einfärbigen* (sic) *Arbeit unterschieden und ohne Verwirrung können wahrgenommen werden*). Ideally, he believes, the style of the original work of art should be perceptible in the engraving. As an example of an engraver of particular merit von Scheyb introduces Frey, a man with 'adept, learned and rational eyes and hands' (*geschickten, gelehrten, vernünftigen Augen und Händen*).

The chapter culminates in an astonishingly detailed description and evaluation of Antoine Masson's engraving after Titian's *Supper at Emmaus,* of c. 1535, now in the Louvre, but in von Scheyb's day at Versailles where he most probably saw it during his extensive travels (figs. 23 and 24).[15] Von Scheyb considers it to be the most excellent among the many thousand engravings that had been produced, a view also held by Denis Diderot (1713–84).[16] Von Scheyb's assessment was rejected by Johann Caspar Füesslin in 1771, but von Scheyb defended his point of view in the *Orestrio*.[17] His aim was to explain the engraving line by line (*zergliedern, auflösen, auseinander setzen, und linienweis erklären*), so as to make clear that in a single sheet one might have to engrave 'in 60 different ways' (*auf sechzigerley Manieren*) as required by the objects being depicted.[18] Taking up his earlier assertion that unsophisticated viewers are content with low-quality engravings, von Scheyb maintains that it is not his fault that many do not perceive more in Masson's work. 'The power of the eyes of beholders is as diverse as their faces' (*Die Macht der Augen der Beobachter ist so unterschieden, als die Angesichter*). He clearly undertakes his description with the goal of instilling in young artists and collectors the ability to look at engravings purposefully, critically and in detail to arrive at a valid assessment of their merit, both as artefacts and as reproductions of other artefacts.

Von Scheyb begins at the bottom of the sheet, noting that the floor is made up of parallel horizontal lines without cross-hatching (fig. 25). The width of these lines varies to indicate floor tiles and shadows. The table legs are likewise made up of straight thick lines that become thinner and more widely spaced on the left to produce an effect of greater brightness. Behind the table leg and the folds of a carpet spread over the table, a cat is rendered in an entirely lifelike a manner. 'Each short pointed stroke forms a hair, and very tightly drawn hairs that are not crossing each other make up the black stripes of the fur, but more widely spaced hatching the white ones' (*Jeder kurzer spitziger Strich macht ein Haar, und sehr enge gezogene und nicht gekreuzte Haare machen die schwarzen Streifen des Balges, weiter schrafierte aber die weissen*). This treatment is said greatly to contrast with the portrayal of a dog nearby (fig. 26):

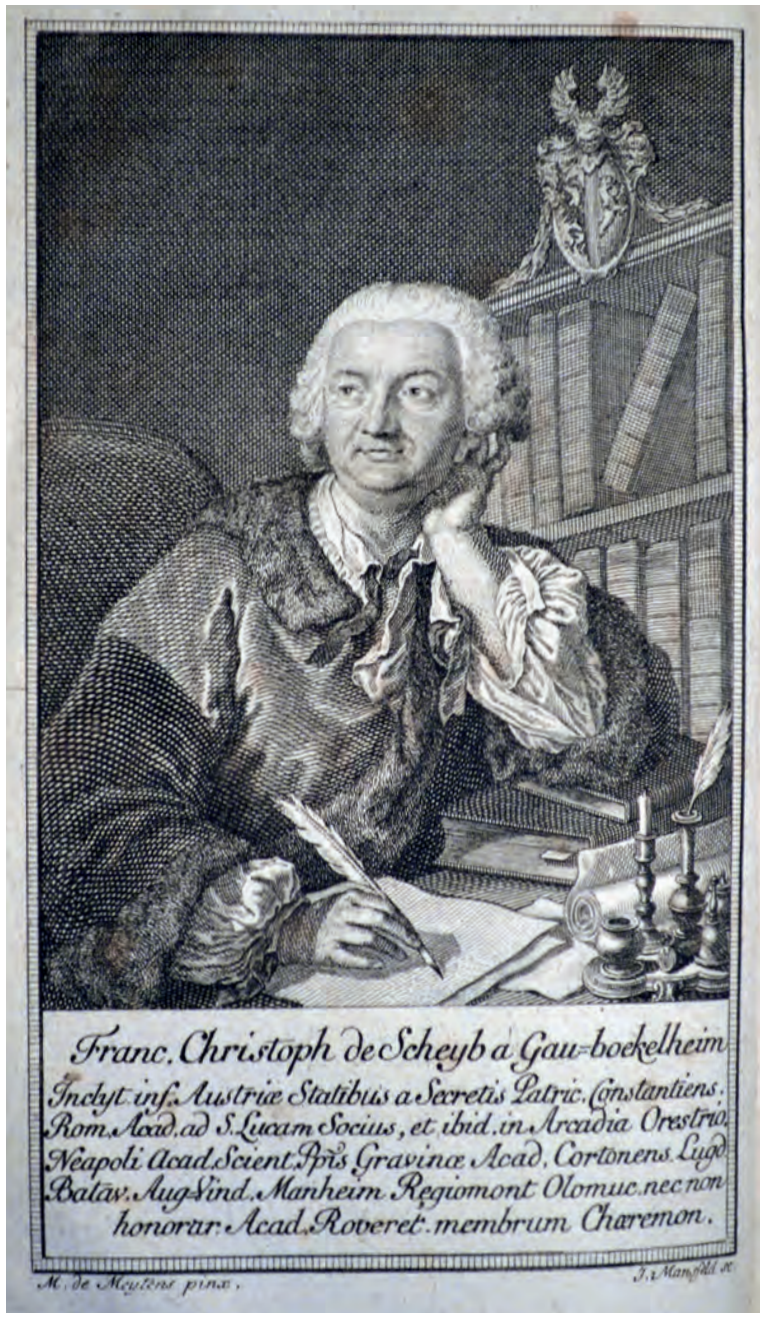
> The entire body is very fine, frizzy, hairy and ruffled. No hair runs equidistant with any other, all are bent, long and short, each turning another direction, all contrast with each other, and each has its own light and shade (*Der ganze Leib ist sehr fein, kraus, haarig und straubig. Kein einziges Haar lauft mit einem andern gleich weit, alle sind gekrümmt, lang und kurz, jedes anders gewendet, alle contrastiren untereinander, und ein jedes hat sein eigenes Licht und Schatten*).

The deep space under the table and details such as the feet are meticulously portrayed: 'Each incision of

14. [Von Scheyb], *Köremon*, op. cit., II, pp. 243–91 for all following quotations, unless otherwise indicated.
15. H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, I, *The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, pp. 161–62.
16. *Diderot on Art*, edited by J. Goodman, introduction by T. Crow, New Haven and London, 1995, I, p. 177.
17. J. C. Füesslin (sic), *Raisonirendes Verzeichniss der vornehmsten Kupferstecher und ihrer Werke. Zum Gebrauche der Sammler und Liebhaber,* Zurich, 1771, pp. 288–89; von Scheyb, *Orestrio*, op. cit., II, pp. 141–45.
18. [Von Scheyb], *Köremon*, op. cit., II, p. 262.

the burin is individually visible, and makes a complete connection, union and harmony with the others' (*Jeder Einschnitt des Stichels erscheinet insonderheit, und macht mit den übrigen eine vollkommene Verbindung, Einigkeit und Harmonie*).

Von Scheyb notes that most attention is paid to the representation of fabrics. The surface of the Persian rug is rendered in its checkered and speckled appearance, without discernible individual strokes; only for the shadows of its sinuous edge does Masson use 'very delicate, subtle flame-like strokes over all the round,



22. Johann Ernst Mansfeld, after Martin van Meytens, *Franz Christoph von Scheyb*, frontispiece in F. C. von Scheyb, *Orestrio von den drey Künsten der Zeichnung* (I, Vienna, 1774), engraving, 157 x 100 mm.

23. Titian, *Supper at Emmaus*, c. 1535, oil on canvas, 1,690 x 2,440 mm (Paris, Louvre).

pointed, square, bright and dark patterns' (*sehr zarte, feine geflammte Züge über alle runde, spitzige, viereckichte, helle und dunkle Figuren*). The white tablecloth displays utter subtlety, and here the work of the burin is almost invisible (fig. 27). From a certain distance one sees nothing but white paper and creases, but from up close one can count 'almost every point, thread, stroke and contour of innumerable things and of the fabric' (*fast jeden Punkt, Faden, Strich und Umrisse unzähliger Sachen und des Gewebes*). The shadows are said to be made up of straight and curved lines that achieve their effect jointly but are difficult to see individually. At the table's edge, the sheer whiteness of the paper suggests the greatest degree of illumination. Similar care is lavished on the items on the table, where different marks characterize the respective materials and their shapes.

The surprising claim that colour can be represented by the burin is taken up in the discussion of the protagonists' clothes. Von Scheyb writes that the tunic of the disciple on the viewer's right is so rendered as to look like coarse brown cloth. Fine and strong parallel lines follow the directions of the folds, as do another set of parallel lines that cross them. The burin also follows the direction of the folds on the disciple's cloak:

> One sees only moderately strong, serpentine and flame-like, free, distinct lines, not far from each other and mostly parallel, which through their distance from each other indicate light and the red colour, and through being more closely together constitute the shadows and indentations of the beautiful large folds (*sieht man auch nur mittelmässig starke, und nicht weit von einander, meistens aber parallellaufende, geschlängelte und flammenartige, freye, deutliche Linien, welche durch ihre Entfernung von einander das Licht, und die rothe Farbe, durch ihre Zusammenrückung aber die Schatten und Vertiefungen der schönen grossen Falten ausmachen*).

Here there is no recourse to cross-hatching. Thick and tightly spaced lines follow the shape of the hat, and in conjunction with lines that cross them are said to represent its black colour.

Christ is described as wearing a white shirt, a red (in fact, a light pink that tends towards grey in the highlights) tunic and a blue cloak. According to von Scheyb one does not see any cross-hatching; all lines are fine

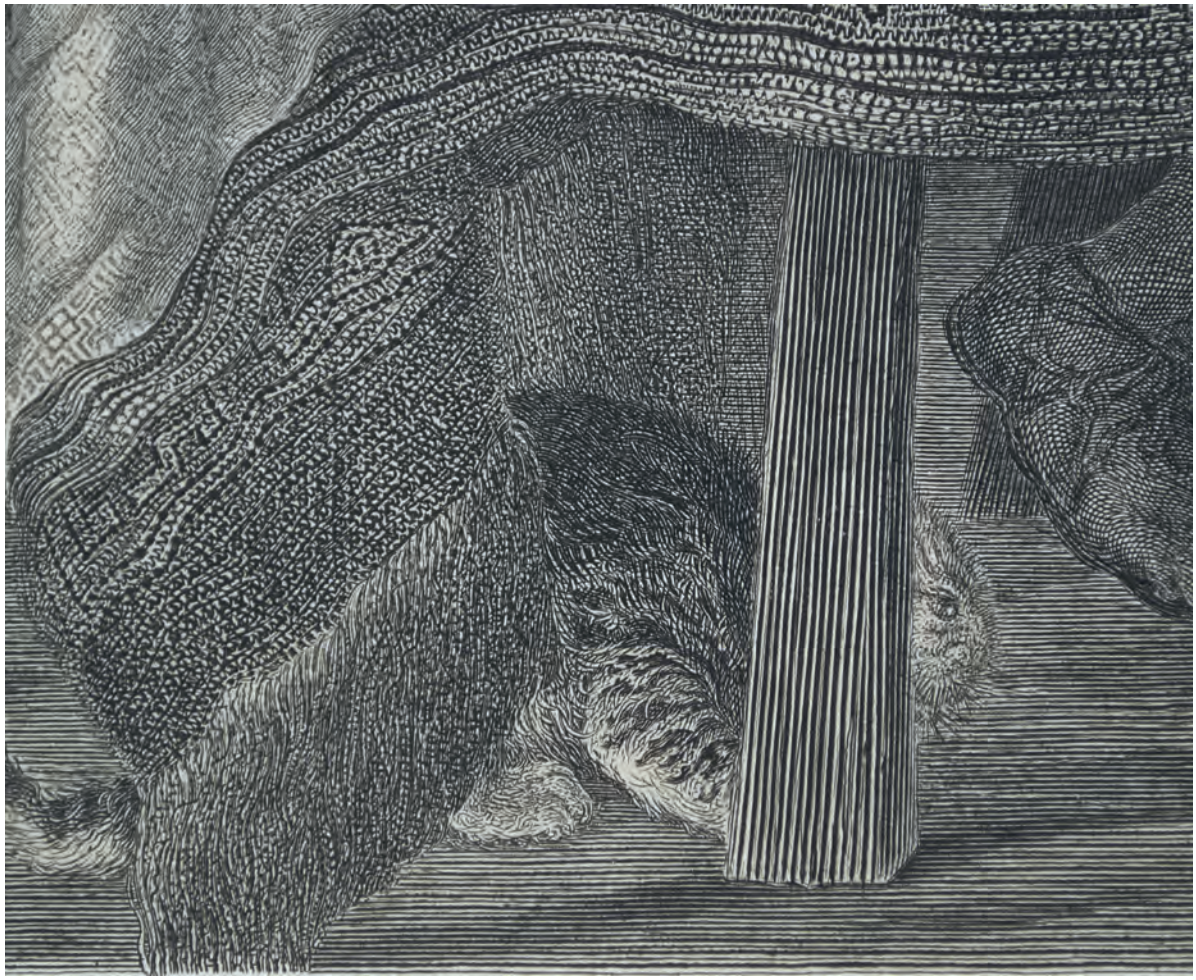
24. Antoine Masson, after Titian, *Supper at Emmaus*, second half of the seventeenth century, engraving, 452 x 586 mm (London, British Museum).

and indicate the red colour. The blue cloth is treated differently. Here one sees 'flame-like, but strong lines, tightly or widely spaced and fine, without lines that cross them' (*geflammten, jedoch starken, bald engen bald weiten, auch feinen ungekreuzten Linien*), and the 'tight and forceful' (*engen und groben*) motions of the burin. The disciple on the left is said to be wearing a green tunic, represented by slightly curving lines and cross-hatching, whilst his chequered scarf requires a technique seen nowhere else on this sheet, involving long stripes and very short strokes (fig. 28). The yellow tunic of the young servant on the left is rendered 'through all manner of flame-like, crooked, bent, and subtle lines that are nowhere crossed' (*durch allerhand geflammte, krumme, gebogene, feine, und nirgends gekreuzte Linien*).

The question arises as to what extent von Scheyb would have been able to discuss the colours without the detailed knowledge of Titian's original that he most probably possessed, and to what extent he expected his readers to perceive the same colours when studying the sheet. On at least one occasion von Scheyb introduces a note of caution. The description of the lines on Christ's tunic indicating its red colour is qualified by 'as it were' (*gleichsam*).[19] Four years later in the *Orestrio* he states:

> Engravings are never faithful reproductions of a painting. One sees in them the actions and gestures, the outlines of the figures, mostly the physiognomies, the arrangement and the entire context of the paint-

19. A group of students whom I asked to identify the colours of the clothes came up with yellow, green, brown and black for the correct garments, but not blue and red.



25. Detail of fig. 24.

> ing. Yet, the tenderness of the flesh, the freshness and fluidity of the tones appear nowhere; everything disappears there which in painting amazes most, that is, the magical agency of the colours (*Kupferstiche … sind niemals getreue Abbildungen eines Gemäldes. Man sieht darinn die Acten und Gebärden, die Umrisse der Figuren, die Gesichtsbildungen meistens, die Anordnung und den ganzen Zusammenhang des Gemäldes. Allein, von der Zärtlichkeit des Fleisches, das Frische und Saftige der Tinten erscheint nirgends; alles verschwindet darinn, was in der Malerey meistens in Erstaunen setzt, nämlich das Zauberwesen des Colorits*).[20]

Thus von Scheyb aligns himself with arguments such as those advanced by Claude-Henri Watelet (1718–86), Diderot and numerous later authors, including those writing in German.[21]

Von Scheyb claims that in the depiction of flesh, the burin follows the texture and creases of the skin, deploying, among others, 'subtle, bent and on occasion straight cross strokes' (*feine, krumme und hin und wieder gerade Kreuzstriche*). His sole criticism concerns the face of Christ. Here, he suspects, the loftiness of the subject prevented Masson from displaying his abilities, his 'magical power' (*Zaubermacht*), to the fullest in portraying the forehead and cheeks. On the other hand, the wall on the left is described as magisterially subtle in its rich texture. Almost imperceptibly, Masson

20. Von Scheyb, *Orestrio*, op. cit., II, pp. 224–25; a similar statement, ibid., I, p. 292.
21. C.-H. Watelet, 'Estampe', in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, edited by D. Diderot, V, Paris, 1755, p. 1000; Diderot, op. cit., p. 178; Karpinski, op. cit., p. 106; Rümelin, op. cit., pp. 188–89.

26. Detail of fig. 24.

incorporated his signature *ANT. MASSON. SCULP.* incised in the wall. Its surface is rendered by vertical lines, almost without crossed lines, tonal variations being generated by additional work between the principal lines (*Zwischenarbeit*), as if Masson had aimed to depict 'all the millions' of René Descartes's (1596–1650) corpuscles (*alle Millionen der carthesischen Stäubchen*) – a revealing demonstration that the print medium could also be considered in terms of natural philosophy.

Von Scheyb's remarkable description suggests that the art of engraving is a peculiar and demanding act of translation.[22] The picture's coloured surfaces do not determine how the engraver will render them in lines, and if Masson's sheet is 'effortless, free, clear, daring, beautiful and free of artifice' (*leicht, frey, deutlich, dreuste, schön und ungekünstelt*), this is Masson's, not Titian's, merit.[23] Engraving is an art, and Masson is a superlative artist. Apart from sheer technical virtuosity, Masson's hand displays 'a strong imagination, a penetrating and purified intellect, an insightful eye with an unconquerable self-possession, [and] the purest draughtsmanship' (*eine starke Einbildungskraft, eine durchdringende und geläuterte Vernunft, ein einsichtsvolles Auge mit einer unüberwindlichen Gelassenheit, die reineste Zeichnung*).[24] No line is the result of chance; there is always a reason why the burin must 'attack sharply or

22. On engraving as translation see Rümelin, op. cit., pp. 188–89.
23. 'Dreuste' in today's German reads 'dreist'.
24. [Von Scheyb], *Köremon*, op. cit., II, p. 296.

27. Detail of fig. 24.

lightly, crooked and not straight, flame-like and not going round' (*scharf oder leicht angreifen, krumm, und nicht gerad, geflammt, und nicht rund herum gehen*). 'Each start of the burin should be able to communicate why it starts here and why it goes there, or why it operates somewhere sharply or gently' (*Jeder Ansatz des Grabstichels sollte wissen zu sagen, warum er dort anfange, und warum er dorthin fahre, oder warum er da scharf oder gelind eingreife*).[25]

In von Scheyb's analysis, Masson's sheet oscillates between being utterly transparent, allowing a view of Titian's work and even its colours and style, and being opaque, arresting the viewer's glance on the surface of the paper to study the ingenuity and diversity of marks devised to translate the painting into another visual medium. This process is rooted both in the artistic individuality of the engraver and in the givens of the pictorial work. Thus, von Scheyb suggests by implication that the history of art history is greatly enriched by how engravings speak as much about themselves as they do about the works of art they convey.

25. Ibid., p. 297.

28. Detail of fig. 24.

The Drypoints of B. J. O. Nordfeldt

Julie Mellby

The work of the Swedish-American artist Bror Julius Olsson Nordfeldt (1878–1955) holds a minor but cherished position within the canon of early American modernism (fig. 29). Born in Sweden under the name Bror Julius Olsson, the artist officially adopted his mother's name, Nordfeldt, in the spring of 1918. His considerable early success with colour woodblock printing and innovative experiments with white-line woodcuts have been thoroughly studied and overshadow the rest of his 50-year career, in particular the nearly 150 drypoints and etchings that Nordfeldt created between 1907 and 1927.[1] 'I suppose we should be glad that Nordfeldt is included at all', commented *The New Yorker* critic Robert M. Coates in an exhibition review written shortly after the artist's death, 'for although he was highly esteemed by a few, he never achieved in his lifetime the recognition that was his due.'[2] It is the goal of this article to bring attention to Nordfeldt's intaglio printmaking and clarify its place within the career of this multi-talented artist.

29. Unidentified photographer, Bror Julius Olsson Nordfeldt, c. 1900, gelatin silver print, 200 x 280 mm (Washington DC, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Nordfeldt papers).

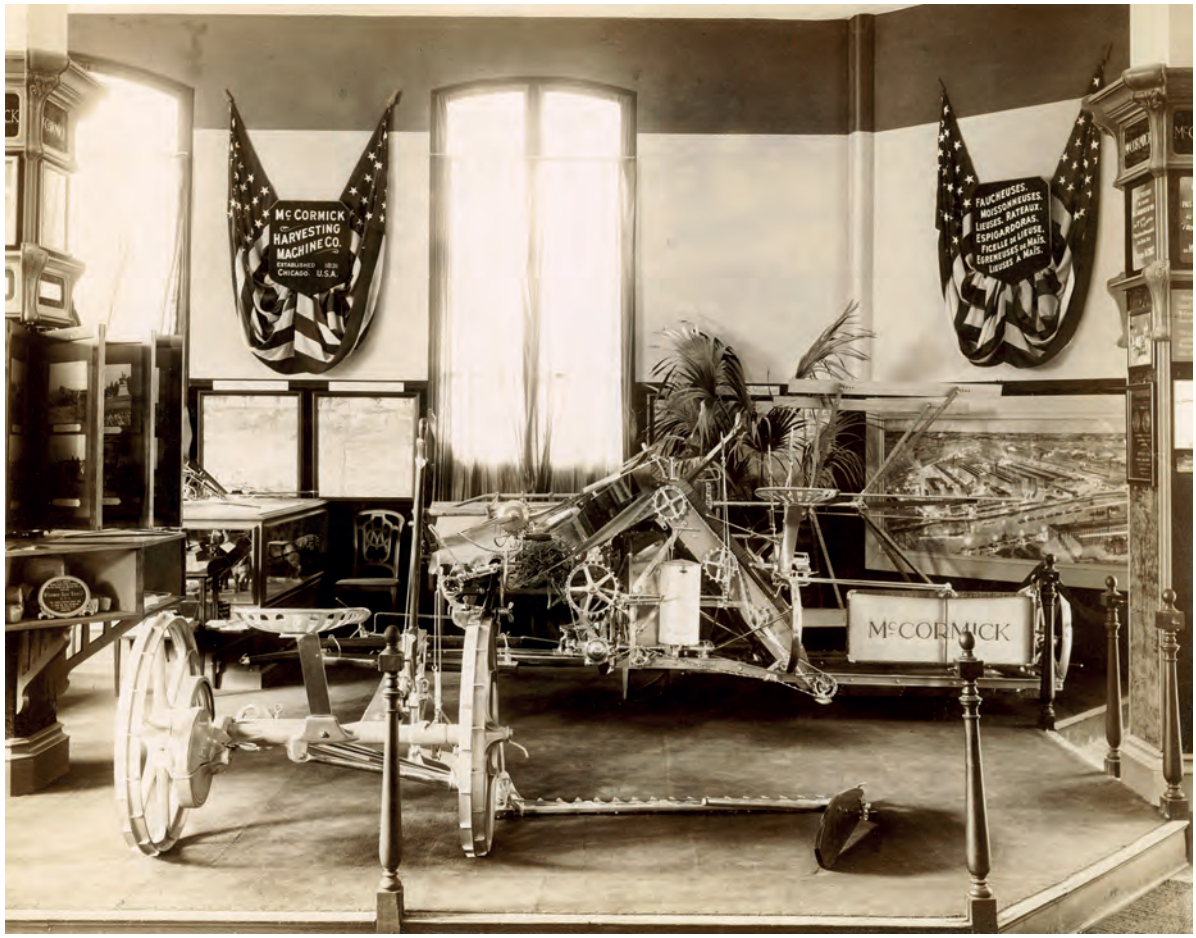
Nordfeldt was a teenager when his mother moved the family to Chicago in 1891. He spoke no English but found work at the Swedish newspaper *Hemlandet,* where he cleaned and assisted in various print room chores. When a co-worker introduced him to the school of the Art Institute of Chicago, Nordfeldt quickly enrolled, fitting classes into an already full-time work schedule. The young artist excelled in all media, winning three honourable mentions and the high regard of teachers.

In 1899 Nordfeldt was selected to assist his watercolour instructor Albert Herter (1871–1950) in the painting of murals for the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company's display at the 'Exposition Universelle' in Paris (fig. 30). They spent the summer and fall on Long Island making preparations but when it came time to sail for Paris, Herter stayed behind for the opening of his one-man show at the Art Institute. Nordfeldt travelled to France to supervise the murals' installation and celebrated his 22nd birthday at the exposition's opening.

Showing unusual self-confidence, the young artist remained in Paris, finding a studio and advertising as a painting instructor. The income supported him for nearly a year before he moved to Oxford to study Japanese woodblock printing with Herter's friend Frank Morley Fletcher (1866–1949). Fletcher had studied at the Atelier Cormon in Paris, where he met Herter. Later, when Herter left the Art Institute of Chicago to teach at the Santa Barbara School of the Arts, he convinced Fletcher to immigrate to the United States and Fletcher served as director of the School from 1924 to 1932. Fletcher championed the asymmetric compositions and soft, subtle colours of early

1. F. Donovan, with S. Brown, *The Woodblock Prints of B. J. O. Nordfeldt: a Catalogue Raisonné,* Minneapolis, 1991.

2. R. Coates, 'The Art Galleries, Five and One', *New Yorker,* 10 March 1956, p. 119.



30. Unidentified photographer, McCormick Machines at Paris Exposition with Albert Herter's murals, 1900, gelatin silver print, 228 x 279 mm (Madison, WI, Wisconsin Historical Society).

Japanese prints but not the practice of dividing the printing process among multiple artists. Instead, Fletcher taught his students to assume personal responsibility for each step of printmaking, including design, cutting, inking and printing. Like a chameleon, Nordfeldt assimilated Fletcher's technique as his own and mastered the process.

Returning to Chicago in the fall of 1902, Nordfeldt spent several years producing and exhibiting colour woodblock prints. The work not only brought him early critical attention, but continues to be a major focus of his artistic legacy (fig. 31). This period culminated with Nordfeldt winning top honours at the 1906 'International Print Exhibition' in Milan and the following year, exhibiting his entire output of colour woodblock prints at the invitation of the International Society of Painters, Sculptors, and Gravers in London.

During this time Nordfeldt lived in Jackson Park, a Chicago neighbourhood filled with artists and writers who settled in the small buildings left over from the 'Columbian Exposition' of 1893 (fig. 32). It was there that he befriended Robert Bruère (1876–1964), an English professor and aspiring journalist, who in turn introduced Nordfeldt to the Chicago settlement house known as Hull House, where he began to teach and lecture. Hull House served the growing population of European immigrants, not unlike Nordfeldt's family, providing housing and legal support as well as performances, classes, and exhibitions. It was also the home of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, where Nordfeldt offered classes in woodblock printing. When murals for the Hull House auditorium were proposed, Nordfeldt received the commission for at least one panel, based on his mural experience in

31. B. J. O. Nordfeldt, *The Branch*, 1906, colour woodblock print, 280 x 200 mm (Minneapolis, MN, Weisman Art Museum).

Paris. The murals have since been demolished and only two of the series have been documented.[3]

Nordfeldt's reputation grew rapidly but his bank account did not, so the artist supplemented his income by illustrating books and magazine articles. The Chicago-based Rand McNally Company offered him several commissions, including illustrations for *Sir Guy of Warwick* by Gordon Hall Gerould (Chicago, 1905) and *The Child Vivien* by Charlotte Cipriani (Chicago, 1906). Nordfeldt stopped producing colour woodblock prints and began to experiment with linear images in black and white that translated easily to the needs of commercial book production.

In 1907 Bruère followed his girlfriend to New York City and Nordfeldt went along. They moved in with eighteen others as part of a socialist collective in the lower Fifth Avenue home of Mary Heaton Vorse (1874–1966) that became known as the 'A Club'. It was there that Nordfeldt became determined to make his living solely through his art and to that end, taught himself to make drypoints.

Nordfeldt may have experimented with a variety of approaches but clearly settled on the popular, atmospheric style of James A. M. Whistler (1834–1903). He had often seen Whistler's prints exhibited at Albert Roullier's Art Rooms on Michigan Avenue, where they garnered critical attention and commercial sales. Ever the chameleon, Nordfeldt studied in particular Whistler's Venice sets, first copying but eventually producing drypoints that were uniquely his own.

Rather than find an established print shop to join, Nordfeldt worked alone. It was a transitional time for American printmaking. The momentum of the nineteenth-century etching revival that led to the founding of the New York Society of Etchers in 1877 and the Philadelphia Society of Etchers in 1880 was lost. Nordfeldt was among a new generation of printmakers described by Bertha Jaques (1863–1941) as 'individuals who had been working in more or less solitary fashion for many years.'[4] Even when the Chicago Society of Etchers was incorporated under Jaques's leadership in 1910, Nordfeldt was not among the charter members. While Nordfeldt did eventually join and exhibit with the Chicago Society of Etchers, he was never a member of the board or particularly active within the organization.

Throughout the years he lived with the A Club, Nordfeldt spent his days walking the streets of lower Manhattan with his pockets filled with polished copper plates, searching for compelling views. Then, without preliminary sketches, he would scratch the scene directly onto the plate. Back in his studio, Nordfeldt experimented with retroussage and plate tone, carefully wiping and manipulating the ink before pulling each print. It would be several years before he was introduced to etching with acid and even then, the majority of his intaglio prints were done in pure drypoint. Art historian Sheldon Cheney remembered first discovering Nordfeldt's drypoints; he wrote:

> Here is a man, a master, dedicated to the truth, the truth not of the outward look (heaven forbid!) but of his own vision and integrity. Here was a craftsman, accomplished, masculine, blunt.[5]

By the end of 1907 Nordfeldt had completed at least two dozen drypoints, mostly urban views of the buildings and bridges around his downtown neighbourhood (fig. 33). A few depicted Provincetown, Massachusetts, where Mary Vorse and her husband had recently purchased a vacation home and where Nordfeldt was a frequent guest. There is no evidence that he tried to exhibit this work in New York City but instead, took his prints to the Chicago gallery of Albert Roullier, who immediately contacted the Art Institute of Chicago.[6]

The timing was fortuitous. Works on paper within the Art Institute had been collected and housed by the library but in 1907 'a room . . . was dedicated to the study and consultation of prints and drawings'.[7] According to the 1907–08 annual report, the first series of exhibits opened in Room 50 with 'the beautiful loan collection of Whistler's etchings . . . succeeded by exhibitions of etchings by Gagnon and Olsson-Nordfeldt' and several other collections of engravings.[8]

The catalogue for Nordfeldt's January 1908 exhibition lists twenty drypoints, including *The Bridge Tender; Barges, Evening; The Bridge Tender's Daughter; Coenties Slip; Fourteenth Street Slip; Williamsburg Bridge; Corlaer's Hook; Little Rum Shop; Washington Market; Crystal Hall; Trinity Church; Upper Fifth Avenue; Nursemaids, Washington Square; Equestrians; The Little Room off the Hall; Portrait of*

3. M. Stankiewicz, 'Art at Hull House, 1889–1901: Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr', *Woman's Art Journal,* X, Spring-Summer, 1989, pp. 35–39.
4. J. Patterson, *Bertha E. Jaques and the Chicago Society of Etchers*, Madison, 2002, p. 25.
5. S. Cheney, 'Preface in V. D. Coke', *Nordfeldt, the Painter,* Albuquerque, 1972.
6. 'Albert Edward Roullier Obituary', *American Art News,* XVIII, 27 March 1920, p. 4.
7. F. Lugt, 'No. 32b, The Art Institute of Chicago, Département des Estampes et Dessins, Chicago', *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes*, La Haye, 1956, pp. 6–7.
8. *Art Institute of Chicago Annual Report*, XXVIII–XXXI, 1907–08, p. 23.

32. B. J. O. Nordfeldt, *Woodlawn, 63rd St. Jackson Park,* 1911, drypoint, 197 x 302 mm (Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, The Charles Deering Collection).

Alexander Irvine; The Novel; Second Piano Picture; Provincetown, Evening; Provincetown Harbor; and *Fish Cleaners, Provincetown*.[9] When the exhibition was over, the prints that did not sell were returned to Roullier, who continued to exhibit and promote Nordfeldt's work in the Fine Arts Building across Michigan Avenue.

Vorse received commissions to write for *Harper's* and *Outlook* magazine and in 1909 her family set sail for Europe. Nordfeldt was hired as her illustrator and spent several months travelling through France, Spain, Italy and Tangiers (fig. 34), where he and another A Club member, Margaret Doolittle (1872–1968), were married.[10]

At every stop Nordfeldt walked the city streets, sketching onto copper plates with a meandering line and a nostalgic sense of romanticism. He completed an Italian series, a Spanish series and an African series along with many individual views. In keeping with his New York series, the views were primarily urban architecture with lingering elements directly lifted from Whistler. Unfortunately the European sojourn came to an abrupt end with the unexpected death of Vorse's husband. Albert Vorse, who had returned alone to the United States, was found dead in a Staten Island hotel.[11] Mary Vorse retreated to Provincetown and the Nordfeldts returned to Chicago, where his new work was exhibited at Roullier's gallery in the winter of 1911. The following summer, a set of the European drypoints were included by invitation at the 'International Exposition' in Rome.

9. B. Nordfeldt, *Etchings and Dry Points and Color Prints from Wood Blocks*, Chicago, 1908, available online idaillinois.org/utils/getfile/collection/artic/id/82/filename/83.pdf.
10. Mary Vorse's articles illustrated by Nordfeldt include: 'Articolo: Barga', *Harper's Monthly*, October 1909; 'The Infidel City', *Harper's Monthly,* 1910; 'The Ghost of Andalusia', *The Outlook,* 1910; 'Some Italian Marinas', *The Outlook*, 1911; and 'Unusual Venice', *Harper's Magazine,* 1913.
11. For more on Vorse, see D. Lawless, *Provincetown: A History of Artists and Renegades in a Fishing Village,* Charleston, 2011.

The time spent in Europe had a clear impact on Nordfeldt's work. When he began a new series of Chicago drypoints, predictable views of landmarks buildings were interspersed with scenes of working class life. It was as though the black coal dust covering the streets of Chicago had also fallen onto Nordfeldt's plates, leaving the images darker and richer. Factory workers reporting for the night shift, the looming elevators of North Deering, and immigrant markets were given equal attention along with the upscale Blackstone Hotel, Field Museum and Montgomery Ward Tower. The artist was moving away from picturesque nostalgia and into the congested reality of modern urban life. In addition, there was a new confidence in the spontaneity of the needle's direct line, such as his minimalist view of a Jackson Park beach (fig. 35).

Nordfeldt finished two Chicago series of approximately twenty prints each in time for a 1912 exhibit. 'Such work as this makes one gasp', wrote critic Harriet Monroe, continuing:

> Come now and shake hands with a man who finds [art] sitting on your doorstep, breathing the smoke you despise, reveling in steel mills, railroads, toiling workmen, all the rude paraphernalia of modern industry (fig. 36).[12]

This exhibition travelled to multiple venues around the Midwest and Nordfeldt himself made a sketching tour of Detroit, Toledo, Portland, San Francisco and Vancouver, adding to his growing collection of city views (fig. 37). Margaret Doolittle Nordfeldt toured and lectured during this period, so it is possible that his wife's career provided the opportunity for Nordfeldt to visit so many American cities. In February of 1913 an exhibition of 100 recent etchings and drypoints was mounted at Roullier's gallery, receiving long and laudatory reviews.[13]

12. H. Monroe 'Rothenstein Counsels Perfectio', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 14 January 1912.

13. H. E. Webster, 'Nordfeldt to Exhibit One Hundred of His Etchings', *Chicago Examiner*, 1 February 1913.

33. B. J. O. Nordfeldt, *Nursemaids, Washington Square*, 1907, drypoint, 82 x 120 mm (Washington DC, Smithsonian American Art Museum).

34. B. J. O. Nordfeldt, *Oued el Harden (Tangiers)*, 1910, drypoint and etching, 302 x 190 mm (Washington DC, Smithsonian American Art Museum).

35. B. J. O. Nordfeldt, *Chicago – The Two Kites, Jackson Park Beach*, 1911, drypoint, 150 x 227 mm (Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, The Charles Deering Collection).

It is important to note that throughout these years Nordfeldt was also painting brightly coloured landscapes and nearly life-size portraits, which received equal critical acclaim. Despite this success, the artist was increasingly restless. He was keenly aware that his work lacked the radicalism of other contemporary artists, a fear that was confirmed when he attended the 'International Exposition of Modern Art' (or Armory Show) hosted at the Art Institute of Chicago.

The Nordfeldts packed their bags and sailed to Europe, stopping in London, Paris and Brittany. The artist worked hard, etching, printing and submitting the results to various group shows along the way but once again, the trip had to be cut short when World War I forced Americans to return to the United States. Rather than return to Chicago, Nordfeldt settled in New York, near Washington Place in Greenwich Village, where modernism had exploded in the wake of the Armory Show. His post-impressionist paintings found an immediate home with the newly opened Daniel Gallery, one of the few venues where young American artists were exhibited and promoted. Nordfeldt's paintings hung alongside that of Marsden Hartley, Man Ray, Charles Demuth and, in particular, Marguerite Zorach and her husband William, who became close friends and collaborators.[14]

Nordfeldt reserved his intaglio prints for the fine-art publisher and dealer Arthur H. Hahlo (1876–1958), who ran a gallery one block south of Daniel's in the Windsor Arcade at Fifth Avenue and 46th Street.[15] Hahlo's shop specialized in old master prints, making news in 1911 when he purchased Rembrandt's *Hundred*

14. J. Mellby, 'A Record of Charles Daniel and the Daniel Gallery', Master's thesis, Hunter College of the City University of New York, 1993.

15. In 1920 Hahlo changed his name to Arthur H. Harlow, 'Alumni Notes', *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 23, 1920, p. 61.

Guilders Print (Christ Preaching), c. 1649, for the record price of $4,500.[16] The dealer not only bought a complete set of Nordfeldt's intaglio prints but also commissioned a second New York City series. When Nordfeldt finished the set in 1915, Hahlo mounted a retrospective exhibition of his etchings and drypoints from the last eight years complete with a catalogue written by his old friend Robert Bruère, now a respected New York journalist.

With his considerable success at the Daniel and Hahlo Galleries, Nordfeldt opened an atelier for American artists called The Modern Art School, together with the Zorachs, the sculptor Myra Musselman-Carr, and the actor/painter Frederic Burt. Located at 72 Washington Square South (now the location of New York University's Bobst Library), the school promoted a radical new pedagogy, advertising 'a place for students to work along European and advanced American lines of modern thought in art. It allows its members the fullest individual expression in any chosen medium without requiring them to adopt the style or methods of any so-called teacher.'[17]

Nordfeldt discontinued the tradition of holding group critiques that might embarrass or inhibit a student's free expression but insisted on private meetings between each pupil and teacher. Like the classes taught in Chicago's Hull House, instruction in decorative arts and crafts was included along with traditional painting and sculpture. Marguerite taught embroidery and batik while other instructors taught interior design, ceramics and stained glass. Although printmaking was offered, Nordfeldt taught only painting.

During the summers of 1915, 1916 and 1917, Nordfeldt took his students to Provincetown, renting the second floor of a fishing shack from his old friend Mary Vorse. But rather than a quiet summer of painting, Nordfeldt found himself engulfed in a wave of New York artists and writers who travelled to Provincetown, and his little shack became the birthplace of what became known as the 'Provincetown Players'. The well-documented history of this important moment in American theatre includes Nordfeldt's role as actor, designer and, at least once, playwright.[18]

Several other art schools or collectives summered in Provincetown, among them a printing workshop founded by Blanche Lazzell, Ada Gilmore Chaffee and several other women. Although Nordfeldt went to Provincetown to teach painting, his association with these artists briefly revived his interest in printing colour. According to Gilmore, one day he:

> surprised the others by exhibiting one block, with his complete design on that, instead of parts of it being cut on five or six blocks. He had cut a groove in the wood to separate each colour, and in printing this left a white line which emphasized the design.[19]

Nordfeldt's innovation to print a multi-colour image from a single block, instead of carving one block for each colour, captivated the other printmakers, who then further developed the technique now called 'Provincetown prints' or white-line woodcuts.

During the summer of 1915 and perhaps into the fall, Nordfeldt printed approximately seventeen colour woodblock prints using his new technique.[20] Several were included when the women exhibited in Chicago the following winter and at the Berlin Photographic Company in New York the following spring. At the same time, 41 of Nordfeldt's drypoints were accepted to the 1915 'Panama-Pacific International Exposition' in San Francisco, winning the artist a silver medal.

Attendance at the Modern Art School snowballed and during its second year, summer sessions ran simultaneously in New York and in Provincetown. The quiet Provincetown pier was overflowing with Greenwich Village bohemians anxious to paint or act or write. *The Boston Globe* took notice, warning its readers,

> one particular school here that considers itself just a little bit "ultra" . . . is known as the 'Modern School' . . . . They are essentially "futurists"– at least that is what the public at large would call them.[21]

Between the management of his school and his participation with the Provincetown Players, Nordfeldt's own work – whether painting or printmaking – suffered. By the third season, squabbling gave way to outright feuds and egos collided, forcing both Nordfeldt and his wife to resign from the Players. Several of Nordfeldt's copper plates dating from that time depict Boston streets, indicating that he was spending time

16. 'Rembrandt Etching $4,500', *New York Times*, 22 February 1911.
17. 'The Modern Art School', *The International Studio*, 56, July–October 1915.
18. A few of the many sources on The Provincetown Players include B. Murphy, *The Provincetown Players and the Culture of Modernity*, New York, 2005; L. R. Egan, *Provincetown as a* Stage, Orleans, MA, 1994; and R. K. Sarlós, *Jig Cook and the Provincetown Players*, Amherst, 1982.
19. A. G. Chaffee, 'One Block Method Color Prints Had Their Origin in Provincetown', *Provincetown Advocate*, 27 August 1953.
20. F. Donovan, *The Woodblock Prints of B.J.O. Nordfeldt*, Minneapolis, 1991, p. 49.
21. 'Biggest Art Colony in the World at Provincetown', *Boston Daily Globe*, 27 August 1916.

36. B. J. O. Nordfeldt, *Chicago – The Illinois Steel Co., 92nd Street*, 1911, drypoint, 222 x 298 mm (Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, The Charles Deering Collection).

away from Provincetown.[22] The tumultuous year ended with the United States declaring war on Germany and Nordfeldt enlisting in the Navy.

It was time for a change. The Zorachs had already departed for New Hampshire and the Nordfeldts moved to San Francisco, where the artist was appointed Assistant District Camoufleur for the U. S. Shipping Board and was assigned to supervise the large-scale painting of ships. The next few years passed quickly and when the war ended, the Nordfeldts prepared to return to New York, intending to stop briefly in New Mexico to visit friends. Instead, they stayed in Santa Fe for the next twenty years.

During the 1920s Nordfeldt completed approximately fifteen Santa Fe drypoints, as well as a small number of lithographs, but grew increasingly tired of printmaking. National interest in his work remained strong and in 1926 Nordfeldt loaned 70 of his etchings, drypoints and colour woodblock prints to the United States National Museum (known today as the Smithsonian Institution) for a retrospective exhibition.

In addition, Nordfeldt received the Logan Medal in 1926 from the Art Institute of Chicago for *Two Story House;* first prize the following year from the Brooklyn Society of Etchers for *Los Cerrillos*, a view of the town in New Mexico where Nordfeldt lived for many years; and in 1928 first prize from the Chicago Society of Etchers for *Ranchos de Taos* (Farmers of Taos). Much of this acclaim may have been thanks to the urging of Arthur Hahlo, who continued both to market and promote Nordfeldt's prints. The dealer shrewdly supplied the *New York Times* with copies of the artist's most pop-

22. These plates were given to the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University by Nordfeldt's second wife Emily Nordfeldt. She also gave a significant archive to the University Gallery (now the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum) in Minneapolis.

37. B. J. O. Nordfeldt, *Telegraph Hill*, 1912, drypoint and etching, 298 x 220 mm (Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, The Charles Deering Collection).

ular New York views which the newspaper regularly used as illustrations, keeping them in the public eye.[23]

For the last 25 years of his life Nordfeldt worked almost exclusively on oil paintings and while his 1955 obituary in the *New York Times* recognized that the artist had been a printmaker, only his paintings were described.[24] Today, the years Nordfeldt spent creating drypoints and etchings have generally been overshadowed by his brightly coloured woodcuts and paintings. 'I take the plate out and draw direct from nature in the copper with the needle', Nordfeldt wrote on the back of a print. 'The gain is spontaneity of execution and essential form.'[25] It is hoped that a new generation will delight in the spontaneity of Nordfeldt's intaglio prints and find enchantment in their rhythmical lines, evocative inking and animated scenes of modern urban life.[26] Perhaps then, Nordfeldt's intaglio prints will finally receive the recognition they deserve.

23. Articles using Nordfeldt's drypoints include 'Haldane Looks into the Future, review by Eugene S. Bagger', *New York Times*, 6 April 1924, illustrated with *Broad Street*; 'Hard-Headed Idealism as America's Foreign Policy, review by John Corbin', *New York Times*, 29 June 1924, illustrated with *Madison Square Garden*; 'Julius H. Barnes Speaks for Big Business in America', *New York Times*, 8 June 1924, illustrated with *Brooklyn Bridge*; 'Mrs. Wharton Brings *The House of Mirth* Up to Date by Percy A. Hutchison', *New York Times*, 26 April 1925, illustrated with *Washington Arch* and *Lower Fifth Avenue*, among others.
24. 'B. J. O. Nordfeldt Noted Artist, Dies', *New York Times*, 22 April 1955.
25. Transcribed in the registrar's file at the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
26. L. McCauley, 'City Scenes at Roullier's', *Chicago Evening Post*, 6 May 1912.

Notes

BRUEGEL'S WITCHES. An exhibition with this title was jointly organized by the Museum Catharijneconvent Utrecht and Sint-Jans hospital in Bruges. The accompanying catalogue by Renilde Vervoort deals with witchcraft in the Netherlands in general, but also with the prints by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525–69) on this topic and their influence on other artists (*Bruegel's Witches: Witchcraft Images in the Low Countries between 1450 and 1700*, exhibition catalogue, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, 19 September 2015–31 January 2016; Bruges, Musea Brugge, Sint-Janshospitaal, 25 February–26 June 2016, Bruges, Van de Wiele, 2015, 135 pp., 127 ills., €19.95).

The second half of Dries Vanysacker's chapter 'Prosecutions for Sorcery and Witchcraft in Europe' focuses specifically on the Netherlands where witch trials were much more frequent than in the Catholic south and confessions extracted under torture were calculated to fit with the result sought. Vanysacker underlines the fact, well known to historians, that:

> in southern Europe – Spain, Italy and Portugal and their overseas possessions – very few accused were burned as demonological witches. The moderating influence of ecclesiastical tribunals and the strictly codified procedures of the Spanish, the Portuguese and especially the Roman Inquisition ... were the determining factors here.

Books fundamental for the codification of witchcraft and included in the show were the originally unillustrated *Malleus maleficarum* (Witches' hammer) published by the Dominican inquisitor Heinrich Kramer in 1486, Ulrich Molitor's illustrated *De lamiis et phitonicis mulieribus* (On

38. Pieter van der Heyden, after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *St James Brought before the Magician Hermogenes by Diabolic Deception*, 1565, engraving, 217 x 290 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

39. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Study for the Print of the Demons Tearing to Pieces the Magician Hermogenes Before St James*, 1564, pen and brown ink, 233 x 296 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

witches and soothsaying women) published both in Latin and German in 1489 (and more than twenty times up to 1510) and Martin Delrio's *Disquisitiones magicae* (Investigations of magic) published no less than 24 times between 1599/1600 and 1755. By the late fifteenth century witchcraft was thoroughly defined to include harmful magic, pacts with the devil, ritualized practices such as flight on broomsticks to a witches' sabbath, and the worship of, and sexual intercourse with, the devil. According to the only surviving newsletter concerning witchcraft, the *Warachtighende verschrickelijke beschrijvinge van vele toovenaers en toovenerssen oft vandoysen hoe en waeromen die herwaerts en ghenstswaerts verbrandt heeft in dit tegenwoordlich jaer 1589* (Truthful and terrible description of many magicians and witches [and] of these how and why they burnt here and there in this present year 1589), published in Antwerp, there was no devil left in hell that year as all were involved in witchcraft on earth, causing illnesses, death and various natural catastrophes, storms and fires, as well as destroying houses and harvests. Vervoort likens the persecution to the hardship and economic problems created by the so-called Little Ice Age of 1560 to 1630, the global cooling accompanied by extraordinarily long and cold winters, followed by wet summers, that lead to crop failure, high prices and economic downturn. For a thunderstorm with hail which devastated large parts of Germany in 1562, 63 witches were burned at the stake in Wiesensteig, a Lutheran town near Helfenstein in Swabia. The dramatic storm that raged over Ghent on 18 August 1586 is the subject of a hand-coloured German broadsheet with devils playing a prominent role, the *Newe Zeytung auss Ghendt in Flandern wie es da selbst ein gantz greülichs und Erschröcklichs ungewitter entstanden des gleichen vormals... nie erhört wordn ist, geschehen Anno 1586* (New newspaper from Ghent in Flanders where a gruesome and terrible storm occurred in the year 1586 such as has never before taken place), published in Augsburg by Hanns Schultess that year. Snowy winters also impacted on a number of Bruegel's paintings, the dates of which, we are told here, 'coincide exactly with the coldest winters'.

In the second chapter, Vervoort considers the cultural background to the earliest witchcraft images in the Netherlands. Here some (but not perhaps enough) atten-

tion is paid to the first artistic flourishing of witchcraft images in drawings and prints by Albrecht Dürer and Hans Baldung Grien, amongst others, from the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries. To write that Dürer's so-called *Four Witches* print of 1497 has nothing whatsoever to do with witchcraft overlooks the true subject matter, a pact made by witches while holding their hands over a skull, with the devil lurking in the background.

Engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and published in Antwerp in 1565 by Hieronymus Cock, Bruegel's two scenes of *St James and the Magician Hermogenes* are the first representations of witchcraft practices produced in the Netherlands (figs. 38 and 39). One print shows the saint brought before the magician by diabolic deception, the other, the magician torn to pieces by demons before the saint. The story was well known through publications such as Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, in which the sorcerer is ultimately defeated and converted to Christianity – in Bruegel's print however, the necromancer is killed by the devils that he has conjured. Bruegel's engravings were instrumental in developing the imagery of witchcraft in the Netherlands, by establishing, for example, the motif of witches leaving for their sabbath by ascending through a fireplace. Witches on their way to the sabbath and venerating the devil, however, are already found in a manuscript illustrated between 1470 and 1482 by the Master of the Champion des Dames, while the ceremonial of the kissing of the devil's arse (*osculum infame*), although not part of Bruegel's scenes, is found in surviving manuscripts of Jean Tinctor's *Invectives contre la secte de vauderie* (Invectives against the Waldensian sect), where the devil appears in the form of a billy-goat.

The influence of Bruegel's two compositions on later representations of sorcery and necromancy is discussed in the chapter titled 'The Hearth as a Symbol of Witchcraft' and illustrated by numerous interesting works including paintings. The motif of the fireplace with the so-called hand of glory (*main de gloire*), the candles, the cauldron and the witch disappearing up the chimney reappear in works by Frans Francken II (1581–1642), such as his *Witches* in the

40. Frans Francken II, *Witches' Kitchen*, c. 1610, oil on panel, 520 x 661 mm (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).

41. Jan van de Velde II, *The Sorceress,* 1626, engraving, 213 x 286 mm (Haarlem, Teylers Museum).

Kunsthistorishes Museum in Vienna (fig. 40). Francken and his studio produced no less than eight versions of this composition. It includes at left among the necromancer's paraphernalia a scene of devil worship, while making much of the disrobing of the witches: one of them unbuttons her dress, another shows her thighs while removing her stockings, while a third allows an old hag to rub ointment on her bare back. The naked witch on a broom disappearing up the chimney at left (in Breugel's print the witch is fully dressed) provides an erotic, but also a comical note at odds with the socio-political reading proposed in the catalogue. With Francken, witchcraft became a genre, with no fewer than 26 paintings and three drawings showing the outlandish practices.

David Teniers II (1610–90) painted no less than 30 pictures, and copies of his works were still being painted in the eighteenth century. They too include the ubiquitous motifs of the fireplace with the hand of glory, the cauldron and the disappearing witch and even the devils find parallels in Bruegel's prints, while the iconography includes naked witches and the same sort of titillating atmosphere as Francken's compositions. Teniers appropriated the figure of a sorceress stirring a cauldron for a few of his works – including his only dated witchcraft painting of 1633, now in the Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai – from Jan van de Velde II's print *The Sorceress* of 1626 (fig. 41). The link is obvious, but also underscored by the sorceress's hair blown upwards by the vapours of the boiling cauldron which in Francken's version rise through the chimney to lead the witches to their meeting place. A painting of *Tymon the Sorcerer* in the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen attributed to Cornelius Saftleven combines details from Bruegel's two prints, such as that of the balancing acrobats. Other works attributed to Saftleven show similar borrowings; he may have known compositions by Francken and Teniers, but probably also Breugel's prints which were published in various editions, the latest by Philips Galle in the seventeenth century. Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629) was also familiar with the prints, as can be seen in a drawing of the *Witches' Kitchen* of 1608 in the Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, in which the ubiquitous witch is propelled up the chimney by her farts. Various details are also found in a composition by the Nuremberg painter Michael Herr (1591–1661)

engraved by Matthaeus Merian in 1629.

The final, shorter chapter 'Maleficia' deals with various aspects of witchcraft, such as the flight on sticks and brooms, the cat as a symbol of impotence, the children of Saturn and the imagery of the old hag and her ruses. The book is illustrated by an iconographically rich range of images including rare works from public and private collections. Among the prints are the woodcut illustrations by Hans Schäufelein to Ulrich Tengler's *Der neu Layenspiegel* of 1511, one of which includes a woman copulating with the devil. Of interest are also various magical objects from the Museum aan de Stroom in Antwerp. With only 33 notes for such a lengthy text, the paucity of critical apparatus is a little disappointing. As for the bibliography, here very select, the reader is referred to Vervoort's dissertation *Vrouwen op den besem en derghelijck ghespoock: Pieter Bruegel en de traditie van hekserijvoorstellingen in de Nederlanden tussen 1450 en 1700* (Women on the broomstick and similar hauntings: Pieter Bruegel and the tradition of witch imagery in the Netherlands from 1450 to 1700; Nijmegen, 2011). JEAN MICHEL MASSING

VISUAL CULTURES OF DEATH IN CENTRAL EUROPE. Aleksandra Koutny-Jones's book *Visual Cultures of Death in Central Europe: Contemplation and Commemoration in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania* (Leiden, Brill, 2015, 276 pp., 72 b. & w. ills., €110, also ebook and paperback) betokens the rise of a small tide of Anglophone studies of early-modern Central European art and cultural history, as exemplified by a related project at the University of Oxford sponsored by the European Research Council on the Jagiellonians: Dynasty, Memory and Identity in Central Europe. Depictions of the Dance of Death, catafalques, triumphal burial coffin portraits, and centrally planned funeral chapels are among the elements Koutny-Jones describes as representative of 'conspicuous contemplation and extravagant commemoration' in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania. Many of these phenomena are comparatively well known, at least to specialists, and some (namely chapels and tomb sculpture) have even been treated in recent works available in English, one such example being Stanisław Mossakowski's *King Sigismund Chapel at Cracow Cathedral (1515–1533)* (Cracow, 2012); another Jeannie Łabno, *Commemorating the Polish Renaissance Child* (Farnham, 2011), for which see the harsh and not entirely accurate review by M. Kurzej in *Folia Historiae Artium*, XIII, 2015. Koutny-Jones provides some significant new details, and also discusses other little known material such as representations of Jerusalem and the Wheel of Death in Poland. More important, her book is the first comprehensive overview of many of the varied aspects of what she calls 'visual cultures of death'.

Readers of the present publication may be most interested in the attention given to prints. They are mainly treated, as might be expected, as conduits for iconography (see also this author's review of *Ars Moriendi: The Loreto Crypts. From the History of Burying in the Capuchin Convents* in *Print Quarterly*, xxx, no. 4, 2013). But Koutny-Jones emphasizes how graphic sources were reworked to provide local colour and to create 'indigenous variations' on familiar themes. Furthermore, she points to the existence of several printing centres throughout Poland-Lithuania, including Cracow (from 1473), Gdańsk, Vilnius, Lviv, Poznań and Warsaw, with presses scattered elsewhere, as responsible for the origin and dissemination of texts and images. These represent what she designates as 'the Central European printing revolution', which supplies one of the significant social and cultural frameworks for her subject.

Koutny-Jones thus points to more than unique or unfamiliar iconographical features of monuments or images that previously have been unduly ignored or neglected. The Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth was the largest polity in early modern Europe. Continuing a post-Iron Curtain trend that seeks to integrate Central Europe into a larger European context, she demonstrates that print culture is one of several features encountered in the study of Poland-Lithuania that present challenges to conventional interpretations of European cultural and art history. Her well informed study takes up the argument for considering alternatives to earlier models of cultural innovation and diffusion. This argument grows in strength as it also represents one possible response with which to counter the ebbing currents of general scholarly interest in traditional concerns with early modern Europe. THOMAS DACOSTA KAUFMANN

NICOLAS VAN AELST'S *SETTENARIO DELLA BEATA VERGINE*. In 1979 Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx signalled the existence of the *Settenario della Beata Vergine* (Septenary of the Blessed Virgin), a volume by the Milanese scholar Settimio Settecolli printed by Nicolas van Aelst (c. 1550–1613) in Rome in 1604, containing copies of seven engravings from the *Salve Regina* series of 1598 by Anton Wierix II (*Les estampes des Wierix, conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, Brussels, 1979, III.2, p. 586). She saw this rare book in an antique shop in Brussels, but all later traces were lost. A second example of it, recently discovered in the Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica in Cremona, permits a closer look at its engravings (call number FA.Ingr.F.6.1/9). Van Aelst was apparently exploiting the growing interest in such devotional volumes, which enjoyed great success in religious and noble circles in Counter-Reformation Rome.

The volume is made up of fourteen sheets. Its frontispiece carries the coat-of-arms of the Marchioness Margherita Somaglia Peretti of Lombardy, who died in 1613, eighteen years before her husband Michele Peretti (fig. 42). The second folio bears a long dedication to the Marchioness by Van Aelst, dated 2 July 1604, which explains that some years earlier seven unsigned images of

the *Salve Regina* had appeared in Rome, implying that the Wierix prints were circulating in unsigned copies. Van Aelst asserts that these were commented on thanks to the magnanimity of the Marchioness, suggesting that she commissioned Settecolli. The reprinted engravings were offered as a token of appreciation to the Marchioness, who was known to be deeply devoted to the Virgin, partly in gratitude for the birth of her son Francesco Peretti (1600–55). The text reads:

> To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Signora Donna Margherita Somaglia Marchioness Peretta. In recent years seven unknown images of the Salve Regina surfaced, when Your Excellency brought them to light in a short exhibition drawn up by the person identified as their original creator. In reprinting these illustrations, I could not dedicate them to any other than Your Excellency from whom they derive their light, the received light beneath your most illustrious name I cannot do more than dedicate myself again, praying that Your Excellency and S. Don Francesco, your most gracious son, receive as much grace and happiness from the Blessed Virgin in this Septenary. From Rome, 2 July in the Visitation of the B.V.M. 1604. From Your Excellency's most devoted servant, Nicolo Van Aelst. ('Alla Ill.ma et Eccell.ma Signora Donna Margherita Somaglia Marchesa Peretta. Uscirono in luce li anni passati sette immagini sopra la Salve Regina, ad ogni modo sotto tenebre senza dichiarattione alcuna; quando per ordine di V.E. fù data loro perfetta luce con la breve espositione fattavi da chi felicemente fu indovino del primo inventore delle imagini. Onde volendo io così illustrate ristampare, non dovevo dedicarle ad altri, che à V.E. dalla quale derivando a loro il ricevuto lume sotto l'Illustrissimo suo nome non può non farsi maggiore

42. Frontispiece of *Settenario della B. Vergine sopra la Antifona Salve Regina*, published by N. van Aelst (Rome, 1604), etching, 285 x 220 mm (Cremona, Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica).

43. Anton Wierix II, *Virgin Triumphant*, etching, 136 x 78 mm (London, British Museum).

44. *Virgin Triumphant*, in *Settenario della B. Vergine sopra la Antifona Salve Regina*, published by N. van Aelst (Rome, 1604), etching, 285 x 220 mm (Cremona, Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica).

con che per fine le dedico me stesso ancora, pregando à V.E. et al S. Don Francesco suo gentilissimo figlio quante gratie dalla B. Vergine si desiderano nel Settenario presente e vivano felici. Di Roma alli 2 di luglio nella Visitazione della B.V. 1604. Di V.E. Devotissimo servitore Nicolo Van Aelst').

45. Karel van Mallery, *Salve Regina*, etching, 110 x 74 mm (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica).

Van Aelst had been closely connected to the Peretti family ever since Pope Sixtus V (1520–91), born Felice Peretti, conceded to him in 1588 the exclusive rights to publish images of Trajan's Column, the Column of Antoninus Pius, the Fountain of Moses (Acqua Felice), the Seven Churches of Rome and papal portraits.

The engravings used by Van Aelst for the *Settenario* follow the sequence of the Wierix originals. They likewise set the Virgin within an oval frame composed of rosary beads with interspersed medallions, representing episodes of Marian litany, and showing vignettes at the bottom with Old Testament scenes of biblical heroines such as Abigail symbolically prefiguring Marian virtues. A comparison of the *Virgin Triumphant* in the *Settenario* with the Wierix print reveals occasional simplifications to the motifs of the medallions (figs. 43–44). The mountain with the House of the Lord in the central tondo at the bottom has been enlarged and the house atop it made smaller, and the crescent moon in the middle left medallion has been changed to a full moon.

A print of the *Virgin Triumphant* engraved by Karel van Mallery (1571–c. 1645) lacks the medallions but also copies the central image of Wierix's original, with the addition of the *Salve Regina* prayer and *C. de Mallery fe et ex* at the bottom (fig. 45). Mallery transformed Wierix's print into a devotional image that could be sold individually rather than as part of a series, especially attractive to pilgrims who were flooding the city in connection with the Holy Year of 1600. Given that Mallery was in Rome around 1596 and that his brother-in-law Cornelis Galle lived there until at least 1610, it is likely that Mallery saw Wierix's engravings in Rome. Luigi Zannetti's *Meditationi sopra li Evangelii che tutto l'anno si leggono nella messa, & principali misterij della vita, & passione di nostro Signore* (Reflections on the Gospels that are read in Mass throughout the year, and the chief mysteries of the life and passion of our Lord), illustrated with engravings by the Wierix brothers and published in Rome in 1599, also strongly suggests that their prints were circulating in Rome at that time.

Best considered in the context of the international print market, Van Aelst's publication of the *Settenario* is a testament to his skill as an entrepreneur, relying on a network of noble patrons who financed his undertakings.
LOREDANA LORIZZO

EMBLEMS OF DEATH IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD. A recent collection of essays, edited by Monica Calabritto and Peter Daly, is devoted to the production of emblems of death across Europe (Geneva, Droz, 2014, 444 pp., 113 b. & w. ills., SFr. 60), reappraising Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani's pioneering study, *Emblèmes de la mort. Le dialogue de l'image et du texte* (Paris, 1988).

The introduction offers a comprehensive survey of the phenomenon, underscoring its ubiquity. The depiction of death includes such iconic images as the skull and crossbones and ranges from representations on tombs and pyramid-shaped mausoleums to manifestations within European print culture in emblem books, festive accounts and illustrated funeral books. The book tends to use a flexible and descriptive definition of an emblem: 'as in allegory' the 'emblems have been described as illustrated forms of miniature allegory'.

Topics covered are the *castrum doloris* – literally the 'castle of grief', the structure and decorations sheltering or accompanying the catafalque at a funeral or memorial service – the *danse macabre* or dance of Death, the *memento mori* and the well known *artes moriendi* (although an editorial oversight describes 'the many *ars moriendi*'; p.14). Popular perceptions are reflected on, with the gender of the word 'death' and colours typically associated with death being briefly discussed (p. 22), but also whether a martyr, a saint, or a mere abstraction best embody the notion of death.

Daly contributed three essays, 'Emblems of Death in Neo-Latin', 'Emblems of Death in the Material Culture' and one that divides German examples into two main cat-

46. Emblem from Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna Or A Garden Of Heroical Devises, furnished, and adorned with Emblemes and Impresa's of sundry natures*, woodcut (London, 1612) (Durham, NC, Duke University Library).

egories: Christian emblems that insist that death is the result of sin or the route to the eternal life of the soul, versus humanistic emblems which posit enduring fame as a victory over physical death. The conclusion of the first essay affirms the theories of the medievalist and historian Philippe Ariès, who contrasts the acceptance of an omnipresent Death in the ancient and early medieval eras with twentieth-century attitudes to a 'forbidden' Death.

Tamara Goeglein's essay, a careful and stimulating reflection on the 'eye / I' of the beholder of early modern English emblems of Death, examines visual heuristics and the process of emblematic figuration. Emblems are contextualized within explicit religious practices such as sermons, diaries and prayers and studied according to her concept of 'emblematic literacy' – a simultaneous sensory reception of text and image which had a transformative effect on the soul of the beholder (fig. 46).

Paulette Choné's essay, in French, retraces the immense fertility of several iterations of Death in Lorraine, dealing in particular with the marble relief of *The Death of René de Chalon* by Ligier Richier (c. 1500–67), which remains in the church of Saint Étienne in Bar-le-Duc to this day (fig. 47). Richier's skeleton, dating from the same time as the emblematics of Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), Guillaume de La Perrière (c. 1503–65), Claude Paradin (c. 1510–73) and Barthélémy Aneau's (c.1505–61), is arguably one of the most salient embodiments of the concept of *vanitas*. Far from being a representation of Death, the beholder of this monument faces an uneasy aporia, whereby the work is simultaneously a commemorative effigy, personified abstraction, symbol and symbolic montage. A second section, under the title 'On the living dead (Des morts vivants)', reflects upon a wide panel of death experiences revealed in a variety of emblems of everchanging meaning. These emblems are here understood as a treasury primarily serving the purpose of personal meditation. The final section 'On death as the mistress of life (De la mort maîtresse de vie)', develops the didactic moral *raison d'être* of emblems of death.

Pedro Campa examines Spanish funeral emblems in relation to the eschatological and soteriological perspectives found in *Libros de Relaciones de honras que hizo el Colegio de la Co[m]pañia de Iesus de Madrid, à la M.C. de la Emperatriz doña Maria de Austria, fundadora del dicho Colegio, que se cele-*

47. Ligier Richier, *Funeral Monument of René de Chalon Holding up his Heart*, 1547, height 2,010 mm (Bar-le-Duc, France, church of Saint-Étienne).

braron a 21. de Abril de 1603 (Book of the tales of Honours made by the College of the Jesuits of Madrid at the death of Maria of Austria, founder of the said college, which were celebrated on 21 April 1603). The suggested manner to approach this corpus is 'to find clear demarcations of the symbolism expressed in the individual funerals of members of … royal families, and to divide them into discrete periods'. Gabor Tüskes and Éva Knapp offer a rich account of death in the literary emblematics of Hungary while Massimo Rinaldi analyses the dialectical connections between the concepts of death and time through consideration of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian funeral imprese. Further essays deal either with a selection according to country – Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa on Poland, Ruben Amaral Jr on Portugal – or a confessional collection – Revd G. Richard Dimler S.J. contributes a chapter on Jesuit emblems of death. 'Dying for one's country' is the topic chosen by Donato Mansueto, while Simon McKeown expounds on the relationship between death and sorrow in Swedish emblematics.

With this volume, a team of scholars reappraises theoretical approaches to the subject of death and, most importantly, the emblem is interpreted as an evolving phenomenon that informs the dialogue between novel approaches and traditional disciplinary boundaries. VALERIE HAYAERT

REMBRANDT CATERING TO COLLECTORS. A small but fine selection of Rembrandt prints on view in New York in late 2015 was accompanied by Robert Fucci's well written and informative catalogue *Rembrandt's Changing Impressions* (New York, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, 9 September–12 December 2015, New York, The Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University and Cologne, Buchhandlung Walther König, 2015, 156 pp., 83 ills., $35). Like the 1969 travelling exhibition 'Rembrandt Experimental Etcher', also shown in New York, the catalogue focuses on just a few of the master's prints in multiple impressions. Fucci explains both the numerous changes between states for the later etchings, as well as the editions on special types of paper with variations in inking, by suggesting that Rembrandt intended to please collectors who wanted to put together complete oeuvres of printmakers including proof states and other rarities. He argues that the changes between states seen in the large *Raising of Lazarus* of 1632 are because Rembrandt needed multiple proofs in his search for the right composition, and that impressions of the unfinished plate were only pulled to serve this need during the creative process, making them extremely rare.

By the end of the 1630s, however, this was different. The first state of the *Portrait of Jan Uytenbogaert*, also known as *The Goldweigher* – in which the sitter's face was largely left blank – was not a real proof but created especially for a select group of collectors (fig. 48). With fifteen known impressions, this 'proof' is by no means rare. In this case, the sitter, Uytenbogaert, was among the most prominent print enthusiasts of his day, an inner circle of connoisseurs of which Rembrandt himself must have been a part.

Fucci is not the first to argue that Rembrandt's multiple states and use of unusual papers were not just stages in the creative process. Already in 1718, Rembrandt's biographer Arnold Houbraken had suggested that Rembrandt deliberately created states for the market. In the present catalogue, however, a firm basis for this argument is provided for the first time by the introductory essay and catalogue entries. It is convincingly explained that it is no coincidence that Rembrandt started pulling multiple impressions of unfinished etchings at a time when the Amsterdam print market was flourishing, with exorbitant prices being paid for rarities. Although information about early print collections is scarce, it seems only natural to assume that the collectors willing to pay high prices for collectables by Lucas van Leyden and Albrecht Dürer were also interested in proofs and impressions on special types of paper, such as those created by Rembrandt. Evidence for collectors in Paris in the 1630s who were interested in rarities was provided by Hugo Chapman and Antony Griffiths in their ground-breaking article on Jacques Callot in this Journal in 2013 ('Israel Henriet, the Chatsworth Album and the publication of the work of Jacques Callot', pp. 273–93). They argue that Callot's publishers pulled proofs before letters that were especially intended for the market.

Fucci may, however, be too strict in his division between real proofs that were a regular part of the creative process, such as those for the *Raising of Lazarus*, and the ones created especially for collectors. For example, Rembrandt may have had good reason to leave Uytenbogaert's face blank during its gestation, but pulled a few extra impressions of this proof state for his collector friends. This may also explain why there are as many as fourteen impressions of the first two states of the so-called *Great Jewish Bride* of 1635, with the lower half unfinished (four impressions of the first state and ten of the second state are known, E. Hinterding and J. Rutgers, *The New Hollstein: Rembrandt*, I, edited by G. Luijten, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2013, no. 154; fig. 49). Some states may have been both working proof and collector's item.

The same collectors may also have been interested in owning an impression of the first state of Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait Leaning on a Stone Sill* retouched by the master in black chalk (Hinterding and Rutgers, op. cit., II, no. 171). No less than six of them are known today, all with quite similar drawn additions, and three bear retouchings in pen and brush and ink. Could Rembrandt have 'created' retouched proofs as collector's items? Were the retouchings on two impressions of the first state of the *Portrait of Jan Uytenbogaert* really helpful in the printmaking process? And what about the three retouched early proofs of the *Self-Portrait in a Soft Hat and a Patterned Cloak*, which

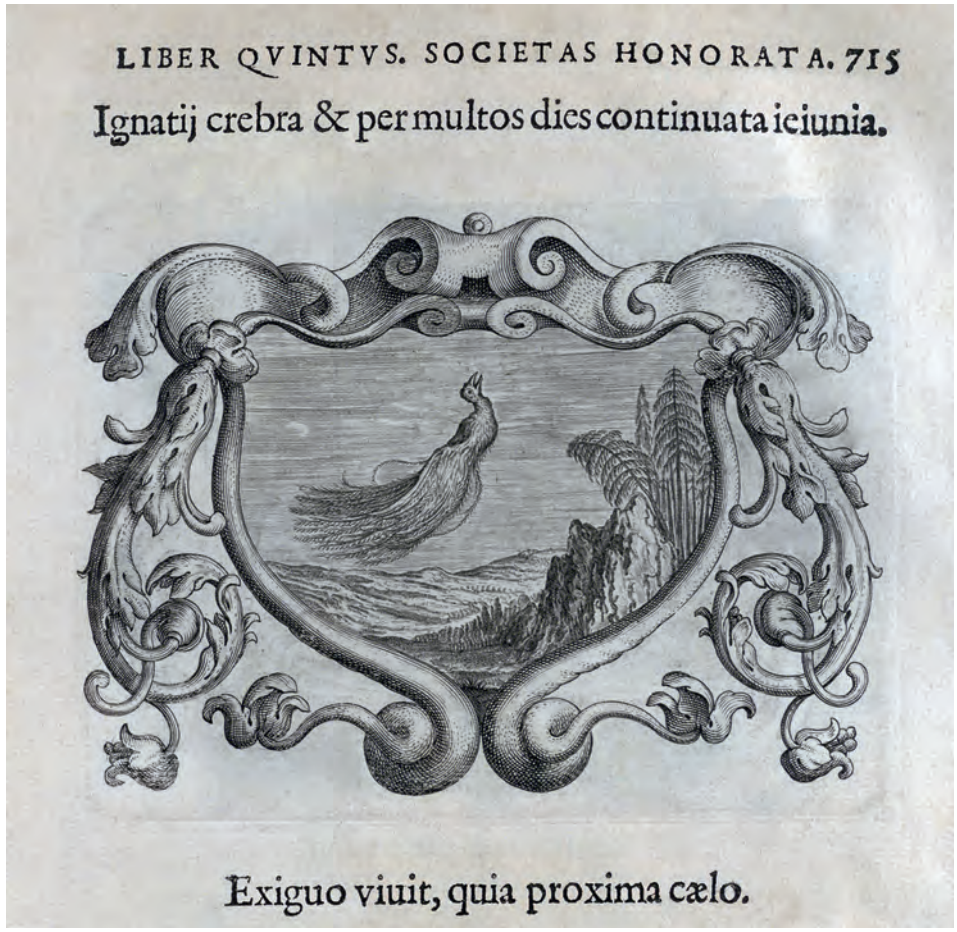
48. Rembrandt, *Portrait of Jan Uytenbogaert*, or *The Goldweigher*, 1639, counterproof of state I/III, etching and drypoint, with black chalk for the face, 252 x 204 mm (Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art. Image Mitro Hood).

49. Rembrandt, *The Great Jewish Bride*, 1635, state II/V, etching, 219 x 168 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

do not have a clear function in the finishing of the etching and seem to have been added later (Hinterding and Rutgers, op. cit., I, no. 90)? Perhaps the idea of Rembrandt catering to collectors may even be taken a step beyond Fucci. JACO RUTGERS

THE JESUITS AND THE *IMAGO PRIMI SÆCULI*. In 1640, to celebrate the first centenary of the Society of Jesus founded when Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and his original ten companions received the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* (The governance of the Church Militant), the Jesuits of the Flemish province decided to publish *in-folio* a massive book of 952 pages plus an extensive index, with 126 emblems symbolizing the history of the Order. With engravings by Cornelis Galle the Elder (1576–1650), paid for by the Jesuits, the book was published in Latin in Antwerp by the Plantin Press under the direction of Balthasar Moretus as *Imago primi sæculi Societatis Iesu a provin-*

50. Cornelis Galle the Elder, Frontispiece to *Imago primi saeculi Societatis* (Antwerp, 1640), engraving, 105 x 137 mm (Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's University Press).



51. Cornelis Galle the Elder, *Emblem Symbolizing Ignatius of Loyola's Fasts*, in *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp, 1640), engraving, 317 x 198 mm (Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's University Press).

cia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem societatis repræsentata (Picture of the first century of the Society of Jesus presented by the Flemish-Belgian province of that Society). A shorter, reworked Dutch version, composed by, among others, Laurentius Uwens and Adriaen Poirters, featuring a 'versatile reading and adaptation from the Latin emblems', appeared, also in 1640, as *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eeuwe der Societyt Iesu*. Current awareness of the Jesuits' seminal role in the newly globalized world of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries means that the book *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits: The Imago Primi Saeculi (1640)*, edited by John W. O'Malley, S.J., will appeal not only to historians and students of religion, but also to those art historians fascinated by the Jesuit artistic language, including the rich symbolism found, for example, in its emblems (Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's University Press, 2015, 781 pp., 479 ills., $120). Apart from the Introduction, the book under review contains five seminal articles dealing with the *Imago,* as well as a study of the frontispiece (fig. 50) and the opening emblem, and concludes with the remaining 125 emblems focused on the first 100 years of the Society and placed at the end of the *Prolegomena* and each of the six books. All the emblems are illustrated in the book under review and are accompanied on the opposite page by English translations of the Latin verses by Michael Putnam, assisted by Alexander Sens for the Greek and James Walsh for the Hebrew verses.

O'Malley studies the structure of the *Imago*, which consists of the *Prolegomena* followed by six parts or Books, respectively I, *Societas nasciens* (The birth of the Society); II, *Societas crescens* (The growth of the Society); III, *Societas agens* (The active Society); IV, *Societas patiens* (The Society suffering); V, *Societas honorata* (The Society honoured) and VI, *Societas Flandro-Belgica* (The Society in Flemish Belgium). He also discusses the Jansenist controversies, a theme developed further in Marc Fumaroli's contribution 'Classicism and the Baroque: The *Imago primi saeculi* and its Detractors', which has been translated and slightly adapted from *L'école du silence: Le sentiment des images au XVIIe*

siècle (Paris, 1998). Here Classicism and Baroque are respectively compared to Atticism and Asianism in rhetoric, and the *Imago* is brilliantly assessed in theological and cultural terms, and studied in regard to its influence. Jeffrey Muller's essay 'Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders', was also first published elsewhere. In his words:

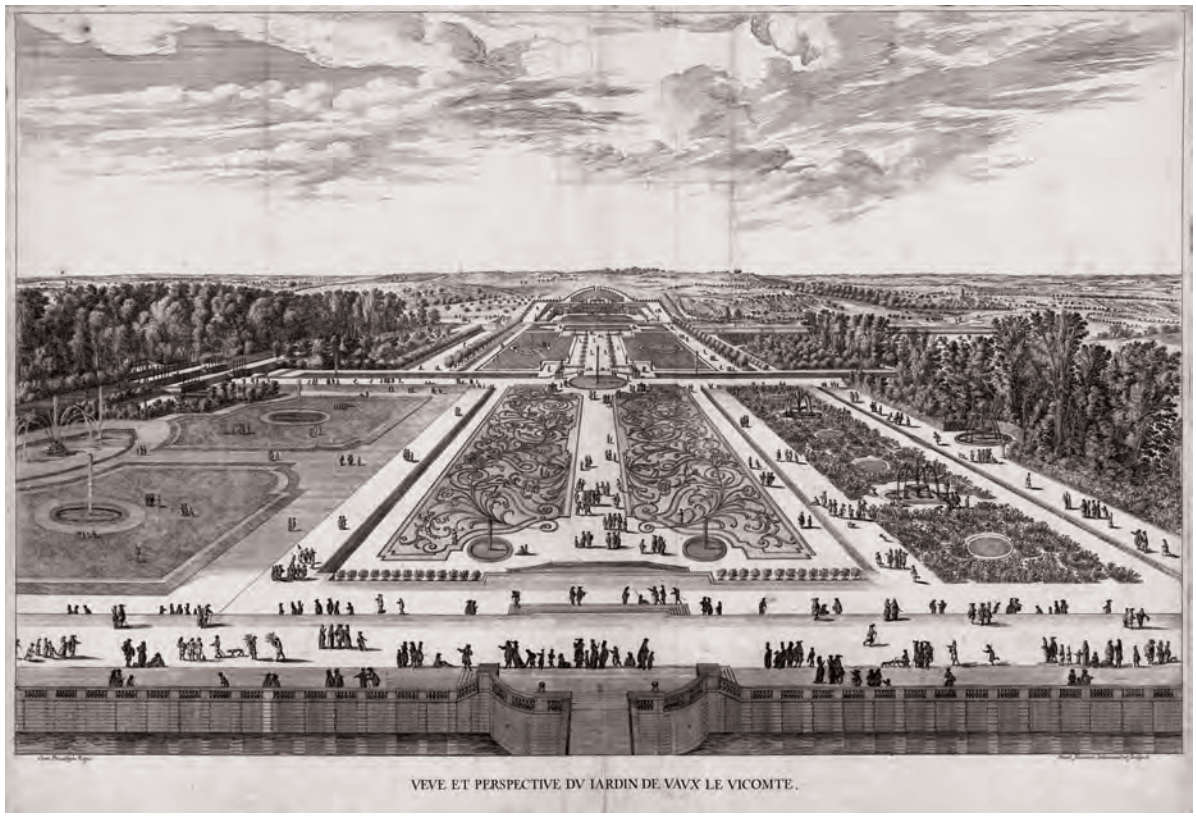
> Jesuit's uses of visual images and signs were richly varied, dynamically innovative, widespread, and integral to a much larger historical process: the revolution in media, forms, functions and content that was instrumental to the conversion of Southern Netherlands society starting in 1585, and paradigmatic as well for Jesuit practice throughout the world.

'The *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu* as Emblematic Self-Presentation and Commitment' by Marc Van Vaeck, Toon van Houdt and Lien Roggen, focusing on the emblematic symbolism and wider resonance, are the book's core contribution. The emblems of the *Imago*, composed by, probably among others, the Jesuits Sidron de Hossche (1596–1653), Jakob Van de Walle (1599–1690) and Willem van der Beke (1608–83), are linked to the Roman Jesuit Sylvestro Pietrasanta's *De symbolis heroicis libri IX*, published in Antwerp in 1634 by the same printing house as the *Imago*, and Paolo Aresi's six-volume *Imprese sacre* (1574–1644) as well as to several other emblem books. The *Imago* is rightly analysed as a self-representation of the Jesuit order and a mirror of Jesuit education. To take only one example, 'Ignatius's frequent fasts ongoing for many days' are symbolized by an emblem with a bird of paradise, a bird with the reputation of staying in flight and never landing, with the motto *Exigio vivit, quia proxima cælo* (It lives on a little because it is nearest to heaven; fig. 51).

The emblems were also used for large paintings (of which ten and a fragment of another survive) displayed as *affixiones* (public emblem exhibitions) during the festivities of 1640 in the baroque Jesuit church in Antwerp. The *Imago* was also used in Brussels almost yearly from 1640 to 1685 as the source for later *affixiones*, and for new emblematic publications including sermon books by Henricus Engelgrave, Johannes van Sambeeck's *Het geestelyck jubilee van het jaer O. H. MDCL* (The spiritual jubilee of the year of our Lord 1650 (Antwerp, 1663), and Franciscus Nerrincq's *De goddelycke voorsienigheydt* (Divine providence; Antwerp, 1710). Emblems from the *Imago* were also adapted for stained glass windows in the Catholic chaplain's quarters in the hamlet of Blatten near Malters in the canton of Lucerne (1656–57), and appeared on 40 painted and gilded wooden panels (some of them in low relief) in the Jesuit church of Córdoba in Argentina. To these known examples this pioneering study has added another, *The Ecstasy of Ignatius of Loyola*, in the church of San Ignatius in Bogotá, Colombia, made by the sculptor Pedro de Laboria in 1748. Altogether, the book reviewed here is a worthy study of 'unquestionably one of the most impressive emblem books ever published'. JEAN MICHEL MASSING

THE GARDENS OF ANDRÉ LE NÔTRE. The handsome catalogue *Illusion und Imagination: André Le Nôtres Gärten im Spiegel barocker Druckgraphik* accompanied an exhibition in Düsseldorf that focused on the spectacular formal gardens of André Le Nôtre (1613–1700) as they were represented in etchings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (exhibition catalogue, Düsseldorf, Museum für Europäische Gartenkunst der Stiftung Schloss und Park Benrath, 15 September–17 November 2013, Düsseldorf, Grupello, 2013, 320 pp., 201 col. ills., €38). Most of the illustrations are of the many prints showing grand views of well-known gardens that Le Nôtre designed or contributed to the design of, with sections devoted to the Tuileries, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Fontainebleau, Vaux-le-Vicomte (fig. 52), Versailles, Clagny, Trianon, Marly, Neudon, Sceaux, Saint-Cloud, Chantilly, the Palais Royal and the Hôtel de Condé (in that order); also included are ground plans, portraits, festivals and the occasional diagram, instrument, painting or sculpture, and finally a look at Le Nôtre's gardens in travel books of the early eighteenth century.

Three introductory essays provide background. The first, by Stefan Schweizer, focuses on Le Nôtre himself, pointing out how little is known about him apart from stereotypical and oft-repeated anecdotes. The dramatic and generally idealized views of his creations brought widespread fame to the gardens, but not to their architect, who remains unnamed on the prints. Furthermore, the rise of the 'natural' English landscape garden led to criticism of the style and the perceived absolutism expressed in his designs as gardener to the Sun King, Louis XIV. The second essay, by Christof Baier, concerns gardens as a major subject in seventeenth-century French printmaking and collecting (Le Nôtre himself had a large collection of engravings and etchings – in 130 bound volumes – including many garden views) and explains how garden prints benefitted from the development of new perspectival and spatial ideas, especially birds-eye views, as well as technical innovations in etching in the Netherlands, Italy and France of the later sixteenth century. In the mid-seventeenth century prints of the royal collections and properties, regulated, standardized, and protected by the royal privilege, were being commissioned by Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's minister of finance, and assembled in the 23 volumes of the *Cabinet du Roi*, a gigantic undertaking to create an official record, a sort of paper museum of the crown's magnificent holdings. Printed plans and views of gardens were already popular, and Colbert engaged leading artists such as Israël Silvestre and Pierre Le Pautre to record such vistas for the *Cabinet*, and after 1678, when he allowed the individual sheets and bound volumes to be sold on the open market, the gardens' fame spread yet further. The third essay, by Ina Mittelstädt, opens with a paragone from Jean de La Fontaine's fragmentary poem *Le Songe de Vaux* (The dream of Vaux) that praises Le Nôtre's gardens at Vaux-le-Vicomte, the magnificent



52. Israël Silvestre the Younger, *Perspective View of the Garden of Vaux-le-Vicomte Designed by André Le Nôtre,* 1660, etching, 538 x 782 mm.

property of Nicolas Fouquet, Louis XIV's *superintendant des finances*. Fouquet's extravagances and ambition, embodied in this magnificent estate and its gardens, led the King to halt what was deemed insubordinate competition by having Fouquet arrested in 1661 (he died in prison nineteen years later) and also hiring Le Nôtre and the other creators of Vaux to surpass its grandeur at Versailles. Mittelstädt examines further instances of the reception of Le Nôtre's gardens by contemporary writers, such as Madeleine de Scudéry and André Félibien. In keeping with the relative invisibility of Le Nôtre, these texts praise the gardens and the owners, but only La Fontaine names the creator.

Each section of the catalogue is introduced by a preface, usually illustrated, and there is a bibliography of primary and secondary sources. The entries themselves are thorough, informative and engaging. At nearly nine by twelve inches, the book's format is ample, and although this is not sufficient to show most of the prints, many of them handcoloured, at even half their actual size, the illustrations are of high quality and, through the use of delicate shadowing beneath the lower edges, seem to be floating on the page, hinting at three-dimensionality and appropriate to the typically deep perspective of the images. LINDA B. PARSHALL

CAPITALISM AND CARTOGRAPHY IN THE DUTCH GOLDEN AGE. In this spirited account Elizabeth Sutton shows how maps and mapping were handmaidens of Dutch expansion in the age of Rembrandt, Spinoza and Vermeer (Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 2015, 192 pp., 27 b. & w. ills., $50). Written with clarity resembling Claes Jansz Visscher's ichnographies, or ground plans, of 1634 showing the Beemster, the agricultural landscape of fields, roads and canals north of Amsterdam reclaimed from the eponymous lake between 1609 and 1612, or Simon Stevin's plans for an ideal city, of 1649, the book contends that Dutch maps reflected the aims of the Dutch East and West India Companies. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Sutton asserts, was an ideologue of enterprise that inspired what Visscher and others made manifest in their printed views of Amsterdam and of Dutch overseas possessions. Grotius provides a theory that aligns cartography and capital. His *Jurisprudence of Holland* and other writings argue that private property is an unalienable human right and that for the control of property it is the duty of bureaucratic mechanisms of state to safeguard landowners' freedom. Like Cartesian *bon sens,* in the Netherlands 'natural right of free will' (p. 39) was held to

be *la chose du monde la mieux partagée* (the best shared thing in the world). Setting in place a system of obligations, it was based on ownership and the ideology of regulation that Stevin's *Castrametatio dat is legermeting* (the measurement of fortresses; Rotterdam, 1617) plotted in its gridded views of military sites and urban centres.

'Empirical systems' or 'visual mechanisms', Dutch maps galvanized economic development (p. 5). Appealing to the sociologist Anthony Giddens (b. 1938), Sutton notes that in the Netherlands symbolic capital was a function of imposed reason implemented either by allocation (controlling distribution of goods and modes of production) or authority (a state or corporate body defining social time and space). Maps were the machinery of reason. Drawing on Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1930; original German appeared in 1904), Sutton adds that for many individuals devotion to duty allayed doubt about death and redemption; ownership and enterprise thus upheld the illusion of identity, 'a commodity produced and distinguished through display of goods' that included maps (p. 9). Based on the 'rhetoric of possession', cartography mobilized the ethic by way of 'the creation and continuous reproduction of a Dutch imagination of self, nation, and the way things are and should be' (pp. 11 and 15).

The book takes a critical view of its matter. After giving an overview of capital development in early seventeenth-century Holland, Sutton looks at how Visscher and the West India Company drew urban diagrams to establish zones of possession and sovereignty. Views of Dutch harbours and waterways stressed the viability of industry and commerce, especially in the planned community of Beemster where polders were transformed into habitable places. Maps of Dutch colonies affirm how Grotius's notion that a God-given need to develop an unpopulated space (*res nullius*) or untended land (*terrarum deserta*) applied to the

53. *Map of northern Pernambuco and Tamarica, Brazil,* published by Joan Blaeu, 1662, hand-coloured engraving, 533 x 406 mm (The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands).

New World. Visscher's and Joan Blaeu's maps of Brazil are proof: narrative vignettes and cartouches adjacent to the mapped areas show how colonial development is organized and managed (fig. 53, showing a sugar refinery before a house of Dutch colonists and at lower right a sea battle of 1640 between Dutch and Spanish fleets; first published in C. Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum … historia* (The history in an eight-year period of matters and deeds having occurred in Brasil and elsewhere; Amsterdam, 1647). Likewise, after purchasing from Native Americans the island that would become New Amsterdam, Peter Stuyvesant (c. 1612–72), in order to plot the area, appealed to cartographic process, its means of gridding and dividing space into composite units. Showing how Stuyvesant and the colonists mastered the art of miscommunication to obtain new holdings, Sutton notes how Visscher presented 'a coherent picture of New Amsterdam as a civilized trade emporium and the illusion of national and colonial unity' that could be seen as universal and specific (p. 128).

The concluding pages argue that Dutch cartography appealed to military logic which tended to equate social with spatial control. Drawing on extant records and instrumental readings attesting to the force of Grotius's vision of capital development, Sutton discerns with unsettling clarity the role that visual media played in the acquisition of property and power. Looking at the sorry conditions of social injustice and inequality in our time through the underside of the Golden Age of Dutch cartography, hers is an enthusing and unsparing study of the way maps and their commerce have shaped the world in which we live. TOM CONLEY

DRAWN FROM THE ANTIQUE: ARTISTS & THE CLASSICAL IDEAL revisits the common thesis that the antique provided the bedrock of aesthetic education and practice in Western Europe (edited by Adriano Aymonino and Anne Varick Lauder, exhibition catalogue, Haarlem, Teylers Museum, 11 March–31 May 2015; London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 25 June–26 September 2015, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 2015, 256 pp., 285 ills., £35). The period of this artistic influence is typically dated from the Renaissance into the nineteenth century, when the previously canonical status of antiquity became increasingly marginalized. The title has a dual meaning, with artists literally producing drawings and prints derived from the sculptures of antiquity or casts after them (fig. 54), and metaphorically, when, like the young Gian Lorenzo Bernini visiting the Vatican from morning to sunset, these artists were nurtured and nourished by their firsthand exposure to the masterpieces of Greece and Rome. The passage concerning Bernini from his son's biography is transcribed as an appendix. It is one of nineteen literary vignettes from Vitruvius to James Northcote ('We are tired

54. Odoardo Fialetti, *Artist's Studio*, c. 1608, from Fialetti's *Il vero modo et ordine per dissegnar tutte le parti et membra del corpo umano* (Venice, 1608), etching, 110 x 152 mm (London, Katrin Bellinger collection).

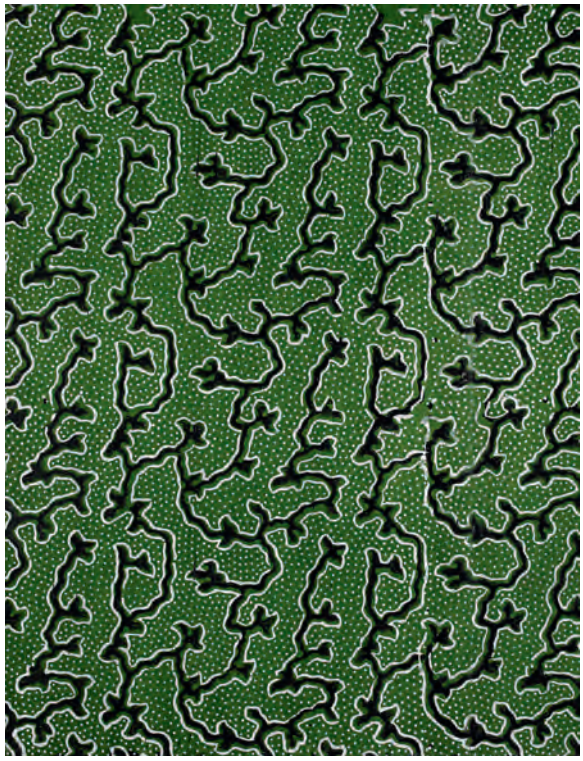
55. Gijsbertus Johannus van den Berg, *The Drawing Lesson,* c. 1790s, black and red chalk, 483 x 375 mm (London, Katrin Bellinger collection).

of the Antique') that are included in the catalogue of an exhibition of 39 drawings, prints and paintings shown in 2015. Even with loans from ten museums in Europe and North America, the catalogue effectively showcases examples from the collection of Katrin Bellinger, who may be known to readers of this Journal as a former drawings dealer. Many of the works from this collection are unpublished or have never previously been exhibited and they do not disappoint: Hubert Robert's *The Artist Seated at a Table, Drawing a Bust of a Woman*, c. 1763–65 (also reproduced as a detail on the jacket cover) and Gijsbertus Johannes van den Berg's *The Drawing Lesson*, c. 1790s, invite a scrutiny from the external viewer that mirrors that of the artists represented within the works. *The Drawing Lesson* is especially arresting for showing two women studying a female bust (fig. 55). If the textual component is uneven especially in length – one essay on ideal beauty and the canon in classical antiquity is four pages, the other, on the theory and practice of drawing after the antique, 52 pages and the individual catalogue entries are overly long – then the design and production values more than compensate. Each image is reproduced in colour and typically in a full-page plate. Federico Zuccaro's *Taddeo in the Belvedere Court in the Vatican Drawing the Laocoön,* of c. 1595, with its horizontal orientation, merits a double-page spread (no. 5). Elsewhere, reproductions of the drawings of the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Farnese Hercules* are shown opposite their engraved successors, and each catalogue entry is accompanied by multiple explanatory images. One of the essays attempts to codify the various typologies of drawings as didactic, record, translations, documentary, marketable and promotional, but the images taken as an artistic corpus testify to the potent materiality of the reproduction of ancient sculpture from three dimensions into two. With works executed in oil on canvas, in red and black chalk, mezzotint, engraving, etching, woodcut, ink and watercolour, we cannot resist being drawn to the antique via the preferred modalities and innovative technologies of its artistic interlocutors. VICCY COLTMAN

DECORATED PAPERS. Based on the Olga Hirsch Collection of decorated papers, P. J. M. Marks's beautifully illustrated book, *An Anthology of Decorated Papers: A Sourcebook for Designers*, presents an obvious comparison to Albert Haemmerle's standard work on the subject, *Buntpapier: Herkommen, Geschichte, Techniken*, published in Munich in 1961 (London, Thames & Hudson, 2015, 256 pp., 256 ills. £38). The Olga Hirsch Collection – considered one of the largest in the world with more than 3,600 sheets and books – has been preserved since 1968 at the British Library, co-publisher of the present book. The purpose of Haemmerle's book was to establish an interpretation of the decorated papers phenomenon technically, historically and geographically. It was the first to present a wider perspective, but had a special focus on German manufactured gold papers, for which it is still a principal reference. The book under review, on the other hand, calls itself an 'anthology' and tries to include decorated papers not previously considered, mainly oriental papers and sheets produced during the twentieth century, which were executed to a high artistic standard and for a mass market. Other sections are dedicated to the varied styles of marbled and block-printed papers (figs. 56 and 57).

The technical description is subdivided into several chapters: hand-marbled, paste, brocade, block-printed, mass production, and miscellaneous, and all are well accompanied by relevant examples of the infinite possibilities imagined by artists and printers. Due to this division and the decision to have the illustrations mixed rather than following a chronological order, the historical clues and characteristics are hard to detect. It would be inappropiate to expect new research in the field from a book clearly intended as a 'a sourcebook for designers', but some potentially misleading, although formerly accepted statements and opinions might have been revisited. For instance, the term 'slightly primitive style' referring to the Italian block-printed papers should be modified after the valuable research by Paola Marini on the Remondini (*Remondini: un editore del Settecento*, edited by M. Infelise and P.

56. *Detail of European Comb-Marbling Paper*, eighteenth century (London, British Library).



57. *Detail of German Block-Printed Paper*, c. 1830–70 (London, British Library).

Marini, Milan, 1990); Michela Gani on the Bertinazzi (*Carte decorate*, Modena, 1993); and Silvana Gorreri on the Laferté ('Louis Antoine Laferté: legatore francese in Parma (Un contributo alla storia della legatoria del Settecento in Italia)', *Rara Volumina*, II, 1994, pp. 45–64). Their research has revealed a proto-industrial manufacture from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century that has little to do with improvisation. The origin of the misunderstanding is to be found in the twentieth-century Italian decorated papers produced in Varese, Venice and Florence, which used some of the original woodblocks and adapted them in colours, following the taste for an evocative 'antiquarian' paper. A key to understanding the real impact of decorated papers in the history of taste is to consider the original sheets in their historical context, and not only for their exterior decoration. The paragraph dedicated to the use of decorated papers gives a good overview and would deserve further development, because the study of taste through printed and non-printed papers is an area worth pursuing in print scholarship. From book binding to wrapping paper, to wall or object decoration, paper is the simplest indicator of taste, because it comes into direct contact with all of us in daily life, serving to make it if not better, at least prettier. ALBERTO MILANO

BOOK ILLUSTRATION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VENICE. The topic of eighteenth-century Venetian book illustration is so vast and varied that it seems to change shape constantly, depending on the perspective taken. The classic approaches of art history, book publishing and librarianship include the fields of typography, printmaking and the art of the period, but book illustration was also a productive and economic phenomenon involving finance and art patronage. The spread of ideas and figurative models are further aspects to be considered.

This predicament is confronted by the exhibition and accompanying catalogue *Tiepolo Piazzetta Novelli*: *L'incanto del libro illustrato nel Settecento Veneto* (Tiepolo, Piazzetta and Novelli and the allure of the illustrated book in eighteenth-century Venice; edited by Vincenza Cinzia Donvito and Denis Ton, Padua, Musei Civici agli Eremitani, 24 November 2012–7 April 2013; Antiga Edizioni, Crocetta del Montello, 2012, 479 pp., 267 b. & w. ills., €35). The authors have courageously attempted a panoramic view of a complex subject that enjoyed enormous vogue at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This revival of the Venetian illustrated book on an international scale may be explained by the liberal political climate regarding censorship as guaranteed by the Republic, and the government's protective policy towards the *Scuola dei Librai e Stampatori*, among other factors. The introduction in Venice of subscription publishing to finance, albeit partially, the production of the most luxurious books, and the existence of a wide market able to appreciate the superb quality of Venetian illustrated books, were other favourable conditions.

As Francis Haskell masterfully showed in his *Patrons and Painters* (London, 1963), this phenomenon was shaped mostly by certain enterprising publishers who were able to involve artists and engravers in a dense web of reciprocal activity. The most striking and best-known of these collaborations were those of Giovambattista Albrizzi (1698–1777), with his near monopoly of the illustrations of Giambattista Piazzetta (1683–1754) in editions 'characterised by an opulent, aristocratic elegance' (Haskell, p. 335); Giambattista Pasquali (1702–84), who was patronized at the beginning of his publishing activity by the knowledgeable collector, art dealer and later British Consul at Venice Joseph Smith; and Antonio Zatta (1757–97), who collaborated mainly with Pietro Antonio Novelli (1729–1804). It was also due to the great number of printmakers active in Venice that some of the most beautiful illustrated books in all of Europe were produced in the city. These publications were adorned with an infinite variety of vignettes, frontispieces, portraits, chapter headings, borders and decorations. Their subject matter ranges from religious books to erudite classical studies, from literary and theatrical classics to treatises on architecture and city guides aimed at the growing market of international tourism. It is clear that series of topographical

58. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Design for a Frontispiece for Carlo Sigonio's 'Opera omnia'*, c. 1731, pen and ink and grey wash over graphite, 362 x 262 mm (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe).

59. Francesco Zucchi, after Giambattista Tiepolo, *Portrait of Carlo Sigonio*, from *Caroli Sigonii Mutinensis Opera Omnia edita et inedita* (Milan, 1732), etching and engraving, 372 x 269 mm (Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria).

prints such as *Le fabbriche e vedute di Venezia* with etchings by Luca Carlevarijs (1663–1730) of 1703, or *Il gran teatro di Venezia* promoted by Domenico Lovisa in 1720, had a different meaning and market from the *recueils* of reproductions of painting collections and the series of landscape prints and of specific ceremonies involving the Venetian nobility. These diverse publications used a formal vocabulary that placed text and image in a relationship that transcends the merely decorative, as analysed by Giuseppe Morazzoni in his fundamental study *Il libro illustrato veneziano del Settecento* of 1943.

The curators focus on works conserved in the Biblioteca Civica, the Biblioteca Universitaria, the Museo Civico collections and a large private collection, all in Padua. They examine individual artists and engravers, who were often the last element of the production line. A great number of loose prints are illustrated, which, although not discussed in the publication, are among the finest prints of the period. While these works attest to artists' simultaneous production of independent prints and book illustrations, the specific character of the latter is not defined. The selection was mostly made by the publisher, as may be seen from the mainland publishers in the principal cities of the Veneto, including Verona, the seat of archaeological studies and philology under the guidance of the erudite Scipione Maffei (1675–1755), and Padua, where historical and linguistic studies multiplied, centred around the seminary and the university. This activity took place even though neither city could boast the presence of printmakers to rival Venice. In fact, they had to turn to La Serenissima in order to produce their prints.

Following the curators' three introductory essays, the catalogue consists of thematic chapters which address the work of the main artists active in book illustration. Paolo Delorenzi's essay is justly dedicated to the ephemeral publications produced for particular occasions, such as commemorating nominations to public office, marriages between members of the nobility, or the taking of vows for one of these. The opening essay discusses the intense activity of Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770) as a book illustrator, for whom the engraver Andrea Zucchi (1679–1740) seems to have played an important role: from 1719 he was head of the workshop for printers and copper engavers (Bottega di scultori e stampatori in rame) in Venice.

The young scholars responsible for the catalogue entries have gathered up-to-date information in an exemplary fashion. Among the new attributions and discoveries is a small drawing by Giambattista Piazzetta conserved in the Uffizi Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe (inv. 20805 F), recognized by Denis Ton as a preparatory drawing for the frontispiece of Volume 15 of Albrizzi's Italian edition of a geographic encyclopaedia by Thomas Salmon, illustrated with engravings by Giuseppe Filosi.

To this may be added an even more exciting *trouvaille* in the same Florentine collection: a pen-and-ink drawing with grey wash by Giambattista Tiepolo, recently published in *Drawing in Venice: Titian to Canaletto* edited by Catherine Whistler (Oxford, 2015, p. 54, no. 95; fig. 58). This can here be identified as the preparatory study for the celebratory portrait of Carlo Sigonio (c. 1529–84) engraved by Francesco Zucchi (1692–1764) for his *Opera Omnia*, edited by Filippo Argelati and published by the Società Palatina, Milan, in six folio volumes from 1732 to 1737 (fig. 59). The connection confirms Tiepolo's presumed role in illustrating publications promoted by Argelati, the librarian of the Archinto family, who was among Tiepolo's Milanese patrons. A letter by Zucchi dated September 1731 reveals that the printmaker was told to base his portrait of Sigonio on a seventeenth-century engraving and to add his coat of arms and shield. This demonstrates that the requisite for editorial clarity made it permissible for the printmaker to alter substantially the beautiful invention of a well-established artist, here eliminating the antique relief showing Roman soldiers with horses before a seated ruler, visible on the base of the portrait but partially covered by folds of heavy drapery. This was a motif much used by Tiepolo in his etchings, beginning with the *Capricci,* which were probably conceived during those same years. GIORGIO MARINI

LUIGI ROSSINI. The prints of Luigi Rossini (1790–1857) are inconceivable without the example of his predecessor and hero, Giambattista Piranesi (1720–78). But, as the artist himself notes, he 'had the good fortune to find all the monuments excavated by the French and afterwards the excavations continued by the popes', so that he 'could see all the monuments in a very different way from those depicted by Piranesi'(*Incisore / Engraver Luigi Rossini 1790–1857: Il viaggio segreto / The Secret Journey*, edited by Maria Antonella Fusco and Nicoletta Ossana Cavadini, bilingual exhibition catalogue, Chiasso, m.a.x.-museo, 8 February–4 May 2014; Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, 9 October–30 November 2014, Milan, Silvana Editoriale, 2014, 240 pp., 51 col. and 67 b. & w. ills., €32). Like Piranesi, he was a newcomer to Rome who aspired to be an architect but found printmaking to be more immediately profitable, and, encouraged by the painter Vincenzo Camuccini (1771–1844) in 1817 he taught himself etching, seeing a gap in the market left by the departure of Piranesi's plates from Rome in 1799. His first major set of views from c. 1820 was entitled *Le Antichità Romane* in homage to Piranesi – although it corresponds to Piranesi's *Vedute* rather than his *Antichità Romane* – and some plates, such as his *Veduta del Ponte Molle sul Tevere*, are essentially Piranesi updated. But Rossini also tackled newer subgenres of the topographical print, exemplified by his spectacular set of four plates forming a *Panorama of Ancient and Modern Rome* seen from the tower of Santa Francesca Romana (then Santa Maria Nova; fig. 60). This composition combines extreme wide-angle views

60. Luigi Rossini, *View of Rome with the Colosseum*, from *Panorama di Roma Antica e Moderna*, 1827, etching, 560 x 825 mm (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica).

suggesting the use of optical aids with a dramatic evening light. The individual panels are impressive enough, but stitched together they form a panorama that is as compelling a spectacle as anything by Piranesi, and unusually informative about the topography of Rome in the 1820s, and indeed the century before. In his other views from high vantage points, also highly informative topographically, he inserts a somewhat disjunctive foreground with over-scaled foliage reminiscent of the German Romantics.

The figures in most plates from 1817 to 1835 are by Bartolomeo Pinelli (1781–1835), which infuse Rossini's meticulous topography with a Pier Paolo Pasolini-like sense of ancient Rome as the dwelling place of the contemporary proletariat, the same people that Rodolfo Lanciani (1845–1929) would flush out of aqueducts and triumphal arches during post-unification excavations. Like Piranesi, Rossini and Pinelli exaggerate the scale of buildings relative to figures. However, in Piranesi the skewed proportions have the effect of making the buildings vaster, overpowering the angular madmen clambering over them, whereas in Rossini the effect is the opposite: the figures seem like miniatures in a normally-scaled environment.

The catalogue for the exhibition held at the m. a. x. museo in Chiasso was designed to showcase a series of preparatory drawings in watercolour belonging to Rossini's heirs and a selection of the 616 plates acquired by the Calcografia from Rossini's sons in 1909–10. The drawings deserve to be better known, and include a view of the ancient Porta Salaria with a rare view of the Villa Patrizi in the background. They correspond exactly with the plates (although one of the Aventine was never etched) and an interesting essay by Giovanna Scaloni compares the techniques of the drawings to the prints and draws out the subtlety of the way in which Rossini translated the colours and tonalities of watercolour into etching. The other essays include a discussion by Raffaella Castagnola of Rossini's autobiographical accounts of his marriage and his early years in Ravenna and his will.

There are no catalogue entries and the catalogue section is in fact an unnumbered selection of well-printed plates, so that it is difficult to connect the essays with the illustrations or find any commentary on individual items.

DAVID R. MARSHALL

VISIONARY PRINTS. Nineteenth-century visionary or fantastic art, with its dramatis personae of skeletons, demons, incubi and ghosts and its fascination with melancholia, insanity, crime, the grotesque and the irrational, has been the subject of several recent exhibitions, notably 'Dark Romanticism', the major survey shown in Frankfurt and Paris in 2012–13 (catalogue edited by F. Krämer, Ostfildern, 2012). The present volume, *Fantastique! L'estampe visionnaire de Goya à Redon,* edited by Valérie Sueur-Hermel, is the catalogue of the spectacular exhibition organized by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France from its holdings but held at the Musée du Petit Palais (Paris, Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, 1 October 2015–17 January 2016, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2015, 192 pp., 133 ills., €39).

The exhibition comprised 170 prints, of which only 100 are reproduced in this lavish publication (although several additional subsidiary plates show remarkable details). The lack of illustrations of the other prints included in the exhibition and discussed in the text is, however, particularly

61. Ernest Meissonier, *A Nightmare (Un Cauchemar)*, 1834, lithograph, 205 x 185 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

62. Eugène Delacroix, *Faust: The Sabbath (Faust: la nuit du sabbat)*, 1827, lithograph, 225 x 295 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

disappointing. There is a short bibliography, a glossary of technical terms, but unfortunately no artists' biographies. The catalogue's three large sections are devoted to three successive generations of artists. They are preceded by a chapter on the earlier prints that haunted the artistic imagination throughout the nineteenth century – Dürer's *Melancolia*, Rembrandt's *Doctor Faustus*, Piranesi's *Prisons*, Jacques Callot's *The Temptation of St Anthony* and, above all, Goya's *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*. Goya's print was copied or reinterpreted by Achille Devéria (1800–57), François-Nicolas Chifflart (1825–1901), Félix Bracquemond (1833–1914), and Gustave Doré (1832–83), among others. In the caricature *Un Cauchemar* by Ernest Meissonier (1815–91), published in *Le Charivari* on 6 February 1834, Goya's artist has been replaced by King Louis Philippe tortured by nightmare visions (fig. 61).

Lithography was introduced into French artists' studios c. 1815 and was widely used by the artists of the Romantic generation, especially for book illustrations. Literary influences included E. T. A. Hoffmann, Jacques Cazotte's *Le Diable amoureux* (Paris, 1762), Goethe's *Faust*, and later in the century, Edgar Allan Poe. One of the first practitioners was Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), who produced some of his greatest graphic works during the 1820s, such as *Macbeth Consulting the Witches* of 1825 and his lithographic suite of Goethe's *Faust*, of 1828 (fig. 62). Delacroix's strong influence on the artists of Victor Hugo's circle – Louis Boulanger (1806–67), Célestin Nanteuil (1813–73), and Achille Devéria – is convincingly demonstrated. Gothic imagery was also the staple of phantasmagorias, printed 'diableries', magic lantern projections, alphabets, playing cards and other forms of popular imagery. Tony Johannot's *Voyage où il vous plaira* (Paris, 1843) and J.-J. Grandville's *Un autre monde* (Paris, 1844) are presented as prime examples of the early nineteenth-century illustrated book, abounding in fantastic, dream-like images.

There was also a strong streak of visionary art, here termed 'le Romantisme Second Empire', even during the realist era in the middle years of the century. The outstanding figures were Doré – especially his illustrations for

Dante's *Inferno* (Paris, 1861) and *La Rue de la Vieille-Lanterne* or *Allégorie sur la mort de Gérard de Nerval* (Paris, 1855), an evocation of the tragic death of the poet, who hanged himself – and the social outcasts Rodolphe Bresdin (1822–85) and Charles Meryon (1821–68). With their combination of topographical accuracy and disturbing features, Meryon's etchings were much admired by Charles Baudelaire, Victor Hugo and other men of letters. He is strongly represented by some of his best-known works from *Eaux-fortes sur Paris,* including *Le Ministère de la Marine* (sixth state, 1865), an accurate view of the Admiralty on the Place de la Concorde but with threatening sea creatures, birds and ships flying through the air towards it. This is cleverly juxtaposed with *Le Choléra sur Paris,* an etching by François-Nicolas Chifflart (1825–1901), also dating from 1865, in which the swirling bodies of the victims rise through the skies. Bresdin is well-represented by his *Comédie de la Mort*, of 1854, one of his greatest works. Predominantly realist artists who took occasional excursions into the macabre included Bracquemond and Alphonse Legros (1837–1911).

63. Félix Bracquemond, *Frontispiece to Baudelaire's 'Les Fleurs du mal',* 1860, etching, 160 x 100 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

In the 1850s Bracquemond's output included the etching *Le Haut d'un battant de porte* (The top of a door), a macabre *trompe l'oeil* of 1852, and in 1860 he was commissioned to do the frontispiece for the second edition of Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal*, although that design was rejected by the poet (fig. 63). Legros, for his part, also made etchings for Poe's *Histoires extraordinaires* (Paris, 1861) and La Fontaine's *La Mort du Bûcheron* (Paris, 1876).

Bresdin was a teacher of Odilon Redon (1840–1916), whose twelve albums of lithographs, produced during the last two decades of the century, bring the entire repertoire of esoteric and morbid imagery, of the Grim Reaper, the femme fatale, and Satanism, into the twentieth century. In this closing section Redon is in the company of choice examples of the work of Félicien Rops (1833–98), Max Klinger (1857–1920), Marcel Roux (1878–1922), Felix Buhot (1847–98), Henri Rivière (1864–1951), Émile Bernard (1868–1941) and James Ensor (1860–1949). CHRIS MICHAELIDES

HANS CHRISTIANSEN. The catalogue of the recent monographic exhibition of the versatile artist Hans Christiansen (1866–1945) presents one of the lesser-known members of the Darmstadt colony and the wider German Art Nouveau (Jugendstil) movement (*Hans Christiansen: Die Retrospektive*, edited by Dorothee Bieske and Philipp Gutbrod, exhibition catalogue, Darmstadt, Institut Mathildenhöhe, 12 October 2014–1 February 2015; Berlin, Bröhan-Museum, 18 February–24 May 2015; München, Museum Villa Stuck, 18 June–20 September 2015; Flensburg, Museumsberg Flensburg, 11 October 2015–17 January 2016, Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz, 2014, 216 pp., 190 ills., €39.80). The exhibition and catalogue are a collective effort by the Mathildenhöhe Institute in Darmstadt and the Museumsberg in Flensburg, Christiansen's home town. The exhibition was also shown at the Villa Stuck, Munich, and the Bröhan Museum, Berlin, both of which have an ongoing interest in Germany's Art Nouveau heritage.

The investment in the reappraisal of this artist, long overshadowed by contemporaries such as Joseph Maria Olbrich, Peter Behrens and Henry van der Velde, is clear in the excellent quality of the catalogue, which balances informative text and illustrations. The introductory essay by Michael Fuhr sets out some of the challenges of categorizing an artist like Christiansen, whose work ranges stylistically from his early training in historicism, through an engagement with the new styles of the fin-de-siècle – Jugendstil, Art Nouveau, Impressionism and Post-Impressionism – and on to the Art Deco and Expressionist prints and paintings of the interwar years. Similarly, Christiansen utilized a wide range of media, including prints, designs for posters (fig. 64), stained glass, tableware (fig. 65), fashion and textiles, as well as for whole interiors and fine art. This breadth reflected

64. Hans Christiansen, *Poster for the Illumination Celebration in Orange at the Darmstadt Artist Colony*, 1901, lithograph, 607 x 742 mm (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe).

the expanding parameters of the arts during this period, when the boundaries between the arts, crafts and industrial design became increasingly blurred.

Christiansen's primary métier remained the graphic arts, where his strength lay in flat arrangements of stylized flowers and figures. Even where these were deployed across glass, textile, ceramic or wall surfaces their essential quality remained two-dimensionally graphic. His striking colour schemes are marked by the mixing of hot and cold, bold and soft colours in effective combinations that made the most of new colour lithographic techniques.

The book is arranged chronologically, covering Christiansen's early training and career development, his transformative period in Paris, from 1895/96 to 1899, his work in Darmstadt from 1899, the decline of his career in the interwar years and its eventual eclipse as the Nazis came to power. This allows us to appreciate his flexible and energetic pursuit not just of work, but of inspiration and freedom. The picture presented is one of fascinating fecundity on the international art scene; of an able artist whose career encapsulates the vibrant transnationalism of the design reform movement of the fin-de-siècle.

Both in Dorothee Bieske's chapter on the artist's early career and Claudia Kanowski's essay on his years in Paris, from 1895/96 to 1899, we can trace his openness to new ideas. From early on he sought a path beyond the restrictions of academic historicism. His association with Justus Brinkmann, the influential director of the Museum of Applied Arts in Hamburg, connected him to a circle of design reform thinkers across Europe. In particular, Brinckmann's interest in Japanese art gave Christiansen access to a rich resource of Japanese prints that dramati-

65. Hans Christiansen, *Design for a Bonbonnière with a Female Nude and Long Veil*, 1898/99, pencil, watercolours and gouache (Museumsberg Flensburg).

cally transformed his eye. To this was added travel to America and then across Europe to Paris.

Christiansen was in many ways an artist of synthesis. In particular, Kanowski notes traces of the influence of the graphic work of Jules Chéret, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec and Alfons Mucha during his period in Paris. Rather than being derivative, his assimilations mark an artist who remained receptive to new ideas. This continued at Mathildenhöhe as his practice continued to evolve, inspired by the talented colleagues gathered in Darmstadt.

Art history tends to demand of artists a particular, recognizable style and that their contribution can be easily encapsulated in a single representative, 'significant' work. This is, however a distortion of much artistic practice, particularly during periods of experimentation and ferment like the fin-de-siècle. Christiansen's work captures the energy of a period that burst the bounds of traditional practice. His receptivity to new ideas from Japan, France and America and his transmission of these in the seminal journal *Jugend*, as well as in *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, and his contribution to the Darmstadt colony make him a significant figure in the story of German graphic art. His career reflects the period's fertile exchange of ideas and ready experimentation across different media, in particular via the mobile medium of print. CHARLOTTE ASHBY

EDOUARD VUILLARD. The several dozen lithographs by Edouard Vuillard (1868–1940) that Sabine Helms generously donated to the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich were a welcome occasion for Andreas Strobl's exhibition and catalogue *Edouard Vuillard: Einblicke in die Lithowerkstatt* (Glimpses into the lithography workshop; Munich, Pinakothek der Moderne, 15 April–28 June 2015, Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2015, 128 pp., 84 ills., €24.90). The catalogue presents a thorough analysis of Vuillard's ingenious transferral of his visual language into the medium of lithography. Strobl argues that Vuillard not only reiterated the visual concepts of his painting in his prints, but developed them further when drawing on the lithographic limestone.

Between 1893 and 1900 Vuillard created 60 lithographs that count among the most exquisite pieces of Nabis printmaking and demonstrate his own outstanding role within Parisian lithography. Vuillard's art can only be understood within the context of his artistic circle and his passion for the theatre, and Strobl's informative biography introduces the reader to Vuillard's artistic environment, focusing on his close connections to experimental theatres such as the Théâtre de l'Œuvre and the Théâtre-Libre, which at the time were beginning to embrace literary symbolism.

In the chapters that follow, Strobl writes as though he were looking over Vuillard's shoulder, analysing the artist's avant-garde working processes. He retraces Vuillard's first attempts at lithographed playbills, exploring his tremendously creative experiments with the medium. In only a few months, Vuillard developed an idiosyncratic style in his lithographs destined for theatre posters. They deviate from the typical traits of the genre, such as clarity and immediacy. Instead, he favours ambiguity over easy comprehension. In contrast to contemporary compositions that separate text and marginal vignette, Vuillard's text and image occasionally overlap or are sited close together. Moreover, the figures seem to be mysteriously interwoven and the setting itself is difficult to decipher.

Strobl demonstrates that Vuillard aligned his technical repertoire with the thematic content of each playbill. He also succeeded in translating the entanglement of surface and space, which is so characteristic of his painting, into the black and white of lithography. Presumably in 1893 – shortly before or alongside his playbills – Vuillard created small black-and-white lithographs, which are inspired by the theatre or by avant-garde magazines. These lithographs were printed by Edward Ancourt (active 1860s–90s), the leading printer in Paris. Here and in later works, Vuillard applied increasingly unconventional methods to the medium. For example, he freed himself from drawing on the entire surface of the lithographic stone. He also employed hatching with chalk and brush, scraping and scratching, achieving surprising effects, different structures and grey tones. Vuillard thereby distanced his lithography, much like his paintings, from the art of the Nabis, which tended towards clear lines and distinct contours.

Starting in 1895, following his intensive work for the

66. Édouard Vuillard, *Maternity*, 1896, lithograph, trial proof, sheet 309 x 316 mm (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung).

theatre, Vuillard created a small group of important lithographs. Strobl corrects a few details relating to these that Claude Roger-Marx had recorded in his highly esteemed catalogue raisonné. For example, Strobl provides convincing evidence that the 1895 version of *La Couturière* is not a new state of the original print from 1893–94, but an entirely new work. He also shows that the black-and-white version of *Maternité*, of 1896, was not printed before but in between colour versions.

Through this last lithograph, Strobl explains Vuillard's practice of creating his motifs from colour that he changed with every trial proof (fig. 66). In *Maternité* (Maternity), we see Vuillard's development towards the techniques employed in his masterpiece, the album *Paysages et intérieurs* (Landscapes and interiors), published by Ambroise Vollard (1866–1939) in 1899 (fig. 67). The album was printed by Auguste Clot (1838–1936), with whom Vuillard had collaborated since his participation in Vollard's *Album des peintres-graveurs* in 1896. In *Landscapes and Interiors*, Vuillard virtuously plays with close-range and distant visions, as well as with extreme views from above and below. Once again Strobl illustrates how artfully Vuillard experiments with differing structures, for example by integrating the surface structure of handmade paper or by scratching the chalkline. Vuillard printed with up to four, often translucent, colours, creating graphically planar art (Flächenkunstwerke). By looking over the artist's shoulder, Strobl skillfully opens the reader's eyes to Vuillard's imaginative experimentation with lithographic techniques, and his talent for nudging his subjects into abstraction. ANNE BUSCHHOFF

67. Édouard Vuillard, *Title-page for Landscapes and Interiors*, c. 1899, lithograph, trial proof, sheet 587 x 463 mm (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung).

MODERN BRITISH PRINTS: COWIN COLLECTION AND SYBIL ANDREWS. *Machine Age Modernism: Prints from the Daniel Cowin Collection*, published on the occasion of the exhibition curated by Jay A. Clarke for the Clark Art Institute, documents the late Daniel Cowin's holdings of modern British prints, which date largely from the start of World War I to the end of World War II and chronicle the Machine Age aesthetic that captured the vitality and dynamism of the early twentieth century (exhibition catalogue, Williamstown, Clark Art Institute, 28 February–17 May 2015, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015, 112 pp., 67 col. ills., $27.50). The works in the exhibition are presented in full-page colour reproductions and in a comprehensive checklist. Two essays, artists' biographies and a brief glossary of printmaking techniques round out the handsome catalogue.

Limited to 40 prints with particular strength in works by C. R. W. Nevinson (1889–1946), Edward Wadsworth (1889–1949) and Sybil Andrews (1898–1992), Cowin's intimate collection reflected his personal taste and interests rather than a broad engagement with the period. The essayists provide important historical context, lending a greater and more cohesive understanding to the works. Jonathan Black addresses Wadsworth's and Nevinson's printmaking practices in relation to their respective engagement with Vorticism and Futurism and subsequent military service during the Great War. Clarke, on the other hand, focuses on the postwar linocuts of the Grosvenor School, which dominated Cowin's collection. Both essays offer valuable insights, but Clarke's shines with new observations on the critical reception of the linocut medium.

Founded in 1925, the Grosvenor School of Modern Art quickly gained traction as a progressive venue for arts education in London. Claude Flight (1881–1955), one of the school's most popular and influential teachers, attracted a diverse and free-thinking group of artists from England and abroad – among them a large number of women – to his weekly linocut class. Many of his most distinguished students exhibited together in annual exhibitions organized by Flight and were recognized for their richly coloured, geometric images of modern life (figs. 68 and 69). Their innovative use of the novel medium of

68. Sybil Andrews, *The Gale*, 1930, linocut, 210 x 242 mm (Daniel Cowin Collection © Glenbow, Calgary, 2014).

69. Sybil Andrews, *Sledgehammers*, 1933, linocut, 300 x 345 mm (Daniel Cowin Collection © Glenbow, Calgary, 2014).

linocut suited their shared interest in modern materials as well as in modern imagery. Flight equated the simplified forms and pared down style of successful linocuts with 'industrial efficiency' and promoted this visual shorthand as a means of conveying a universal expression of emotion.

Despite the Grosvenor School's commitment to modern art, critics often trivialized and, as Clarke argues, 'feminized' their linocuts by describing them repeatedly as decoration, design or craft. Even as interest in Grosvenor School prints grew, they continued to receive backhanded praise in the press, admired for their striking design but admonished for their lack of ambition and seeming facility. Such descriptions rarely plagued the male-centric Vorticists, whose geometric abstractions were influential for the Grosvenor School. Clarke's investigation of the critical writing on the linocuts exposes the gendered language used to subvert the medium and its practitioners, a topic given scant scholarly attention previously. The fact that Grosvenor School artists such as Flight and Andrews praised the accessibility of linocut and promoted it as a useful way to teach art to schoolchildren opened the door to patronizing criticism. Their social and educational agenda, Clarke astutely notes, 'served to further denigrate the medium' by associating it with 'the domestic sphere'.

Clarke debunks the validity of the critics' arguments by highlighting Andrews's own writing on the medium. The artist despised the notion of decoration as added excess and strove to capture the essential aspects of form and thought in her work. The ease of linocut allowed Andrews to focus on expressing her ideas and images with sharpness and clarity. This aspect of the medium, she noted, proved most useful to students still grappling with their work, 'The tech-

nique being simple, the whole emphasis is left on the idea and, not lending itself to fuss, of necessity the student learns simplification, learns to eliminate non-essentials'. A pedagogical lesson that should be endorsed, not degraded.

Hana Leaper's recently published catalogue raisonné of Andrews's linocuts complements Clarke's assertions about the artist's stated goals (*Sybil Andrews Linocuts: A Complete Catalogue,* exhibition catalogue, London, Osborne Samuel Gallery, 24 September–10 October 2015, Farnham, Lund Humphries, 2015, 136 pp., 108 ills., £30). In an introductory essay, Leaper lays out an extensive biographical framework for Andrews's linocuts from her childhood influences in Bury St Edmunds to her role as a teacher in British Columbia. In the course of her career, Andrews's images were often informed by the untraditional female roles she pursued, whether working as an airplane welder during World War I or building boats during World War II, which makes the historical link between her Grosvenor School linocuts and the domestic sphere particularly ironic.

Leaper's catalogue raisonné includes colour illustrations for all of Andrews's extant linocuts as well as for disputed works, short commentaries on imagery and technique, a full list of exhibitions and a selected bibliography, making it essential to future scholarship on the artist. SAMANTHA RIPPNER

WILLIAM GEAR (1915–97). Andrew Lambirth's *William Gear*, which accompanied the exhibition 'William Gear 1915–1997: The Painter that Britain Forgot', is by far the most ambitious book yet published on this notable Scottish painter (Eastbourne, Towner Art Gallery, 18 July–31 August 2015; Edinburgh, City Art Centre, 24 October 2015–14 February 2016, Bristol, Sansom & Company, 2015, 440 pp., 200 col. ills., £40). Quite naturally, the author's focus is on the artist's paintings. For a full appreciation of his printmaking we need to wait for the promised catalogue raisonné. Although the absence of footnotes and the selectivity of the bibliography are disappointing, the book rewards by revealing two forgotten prints executed in 1934 while Gear was a student at Edinburgh College of Art – a drypoint and an etching very much in keeping with contemporary Scottish adherents of the latter day Etching Revival. We are not told who initiated him into the rudiments of printmaking, but he may have been taught by Adam Bruce Thomson (1885–1976)

70. William Gear, *Trellis*, 1952, lithograph, 282 x 400 mm (Image courtesy Redfern Gallery, London © the artist's estate).

and in etching may have found inspiration in the plates of William Wilson (1905–72), who had begun his studies in the same college in 1932.

Lambirth tells us that during this period Gear also experimented with monotype. He returned to the technique in Norwich in 1945, before being introduced to traced monotypes by Jankel Adler (1895–1949) in London and to lacquer printing by Karl Otto Götz (b. 1914) in Saxony in 1946. Although Gear had learnt screenprinting in Paris from the American Dorr Bothwell (1902–2000) in 1948 or 1949, it was only in 1952 that a commercial artist, Sam Wells of Edinburgh, got him to make any. Gear had already made four of five lithographs on Paris at the Atelier Jean Pons, where his close friend the Irish artist Stephen Gilbert (1910–2007) worked, who like Gear was a member of the artist group CoBrA. Gear's own description of working with the French master printer is that Pons did 'the preparation and fixing', while allowing Gear complete freedom in making the design, which Pons then editioned.

Arguably the most useful contribution of this book is Lambirth's judicious use of quotations from some very intelligent comments on Gear's art made by contemporary critics and artists, as well as the artist's own notes. Particularly important for the understanding of the Scot are the following statements: 'My paintings often turn out to be designs for sculpture' and 'I am now convinced that the painter cannot divorce himself entirely from nature', although 'it is only after it (painting) has reached maturity that I see its counterpart in nature'. Indeed, virtually all Gear's paintings and prints are sculptural, reminding the viewer of closely packed trees and similar man-made forms, such as the towers for mining winding gear which he knew from an early age in his native Fife, and the poles supporting the hops in the Weald of Kent and Sussex, where he spent much of the 1950s and early 1960s, firstly in the village of Littlebourne, near Canterbury, and later as a pioneering and discerning curator of a small provincial art gallery, the Towner in Eastbourne.

The only piece of sculpture that he is known to have made himself was the realistic stone *Self-Portrait* of c. 1935, derived from a life mask. The central points of many of Gear's surrealist paintings of the late 1930s were sculptures. While in Paris from 1947 to 1950 he became a friend of Ossip Zadkine, as well as becoming one of the two British artists closely associated with CoBrA. Stephen Gilbert, the other CoBrA adherent, who also made lithographs with Pons, actually turned from painting to sculpture. Gear remained in contact with CoBrA artists after that movement's demise. He was particularly interested in the Dutchman Constant's *New Babylon* projects of the late 1950s, which were as much sculptural as architectural. It seems likely that Gear was well aware of the group of the now unduly neglected Continental 'abstract' sculptors who exhibited with André Bloc's Espace gallery. Lambirth compares Gear's approach with that of the English sculptor Robert Adams (1917–84). The artist himself compared his work (in a conversation I had with him c. 1989–90) with the art of Antony Caro, calling a painting in the Hunterian Art Gallery as 'Caro before Caro'.

Among the images from nature, the late John Berger wrote of Gear's twisted tree trunks as 'dancing fragments of colour' and as 'a little like burning bushes', as well as 'a dappled flickering luminosity'. The Scot's greatness as a colourist has not been fully appreciated. His colour was much affected by the ever-changing light of the sky and the movement of clouds seen through trees, branches and undergrowth. Bryan Robertson noted in Gear's work 'vibrations of light and colour over foliage or the play of light on water', while Philip James described 'an effect of light scintillating like sunlight piercing the roof of a dark wood making the autumn leaves glow like fire.' Gear's fascination with the mediaeval stained glass in Canterbury Cathedral should also be remembered, as well as the subtle changes in the colour of this glass arising from slight differences in the light outside the building. MARTIN HOPKINSON

EQUIPO CRÓNICA: CONTEMPORARY VISUAL LANGUAGE AGAINST THE SPANISH DICTATORSHIP. Equipo Crónica (1964–81), a team formed by the two Spanish artists Rafael Solbes (1940–81) and Manolo Valdés (b. 1942), is the subject of a recent exhibition in Bilbao and Valencia and its accompanying catalogue (edited by Tomàs Llorens Serra and Boye Llorens Peters, Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes, 10 February–18 May 2015; Valencia, Bancaja Cultural Centre, 22 September 2016–8 January 2017, Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes, 2015, 308 pp., 287 ills., €38; fig. 71). Equipo Crónica's most prominent paintings became icons of Spanish art during the last years of the Franco dictatorship. In addition to paintings, the Equipo Crónica systematically created prints, mainly screenprints, as well as small, hand-painted *papier mâché* sculptures in the years 1968 to 1980. Like Equipo Crónica's graphic work that was published in portfolios, the sculptures were made from moulds in specialized workshops in Valencia and were published in signed and numbered editions, of fifteen or 25 copies. When Solbes died, Equipo Crónica disappeared. Valdés, however, has continued to develop some of its most characteristic concepts, including reworking the most famous painted images from the Spanish Golden Age, such as Velazquez's *Las Meninas,* through a synthesis of dense and mostly homogeneous colours.

Equipo Crónica was part of a larger artistic project comprising the Estampa Popular of Valencia (1964–68) and the Equipo Realidad (1966–76). The goal was to incorporate contemporary international artistic trends into the cultural context of Spain – at the time an economically, politically and culturally underdeveloped country – and to create art that was politically engaged in opposition to the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco (1892–1975).

71. View of the Exhibition 'Equipo Crónica' in the Bancaja Cultural Centre in Valencia, 2016.

Estampa Popular of Valencia was an association of various artists created to exhibit and sell inexpensive prints with a compelling message against the dictatorship. It was related to similar art collectives in other Spanish cities, the first of which was organized in Madrid in 1959. Under the influence, and benefitting from the excellent organizational skills, of the art critic and curator Tomás Llorens, the Valencia art collective produced remarkably unique prints. For these young artists the use of traditional techniques, such as linocuts, with their slight expressionist deformations, was associated with images that approximated social realism. By contrast, modern industrial printing techniques such as screenprinting and offset lithography, were used for images taken from mass media, advertising and television, similar to visual ideas prevalent in American Pop Art. The prints made by Estampa Popular of Valencia suggest a link with the broadsides by the Mexican José Guadalupe Posada (1852–1913): both connected with popular traditions, used a figurative style and a critical or satirical tone, and chose social and political events as their subject matter. Estampa Popular felt that their main task was to find new images to update the tradition of European intellectuals and artists of the political left (moving away from the outdated models of official socialist realism) and drawing closer to new international artistic trends. In the Spanish social context of those days, in an atmosphere of fierce religious and political censorship, a widespread labour migration from villages to big Spanish cities as well as to France and Germany coincided with a massive influx of European tourists on the beaches of the Mediterranean coast, accompanied by chewing gum, Coca-Cola and the first television broadcasts. These contrasts between Spanish immigrants seeking work in Europe and European tourists coming to Spain for fun, may explain why the prints by Estampa Popular of Valencia show figures of young ladies in bikinis and rural women with black scarves covering their hair, farmers and James Bond, Superman along with Velazquez and Picasso in television shows (fig. 72).

Equipo Crónica, whose literal translation is 'chronicle and report team', was organized to develop these artistic concepts with greater intensity and rigour. The abundant production of paintings and graphic works was organized into thematic series that examined topics as diverse as the relationship between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century paintings and contemporary ones, the images of

72. Equipo Crónica, *Homenaje a Picasso* (Homage to Picasso), 1966–67, screenprint, sheet 500 x 650 mm, image 353 x 502 mm (Valencia, Institu Valencià d'Art Modern. Donation Manolo Valdés).

73. Equipo Crónica, *El hapenning del Conde de Orgáz* (The hapenning of the Count of Orgaz), 1968, screenprint, sheet 665 x 870 mm, image 600 x 700 mm (Alicante, Museo de Arte Contemporaneo).

the cinema, political propaganda posters or the playing of billiards (fig. 73). The Equipo also engaged with cultural and political events such as the last executions of the dictatorship, the dictator's death and, as in the Guernica series, the return of Picasso's *Guernica* to Spain. The paintings and screenprints of Equipo Crónica are virtually indistinguishable from each other because in both the artists developed the same concepts and the same figures. They used acrylic paint on canvas in a way that achieved results remarkably similar to screenprinting on paper, with a similar flatness and boldness of colours. Equipo Crónica's paintings, with large, mostly monochromatic areas of contrasting colours and sharply drawn outlines, are similar to those of contemporaries such as Valerio Adami (b. 1935), Roy Lichtenstein (1923–97) or R. B. Kitaj (1932–2007), whom Equipo Crónica cite visually along with El Greco, Francisco de Goya, Piet Mondrian and Joan Miró.

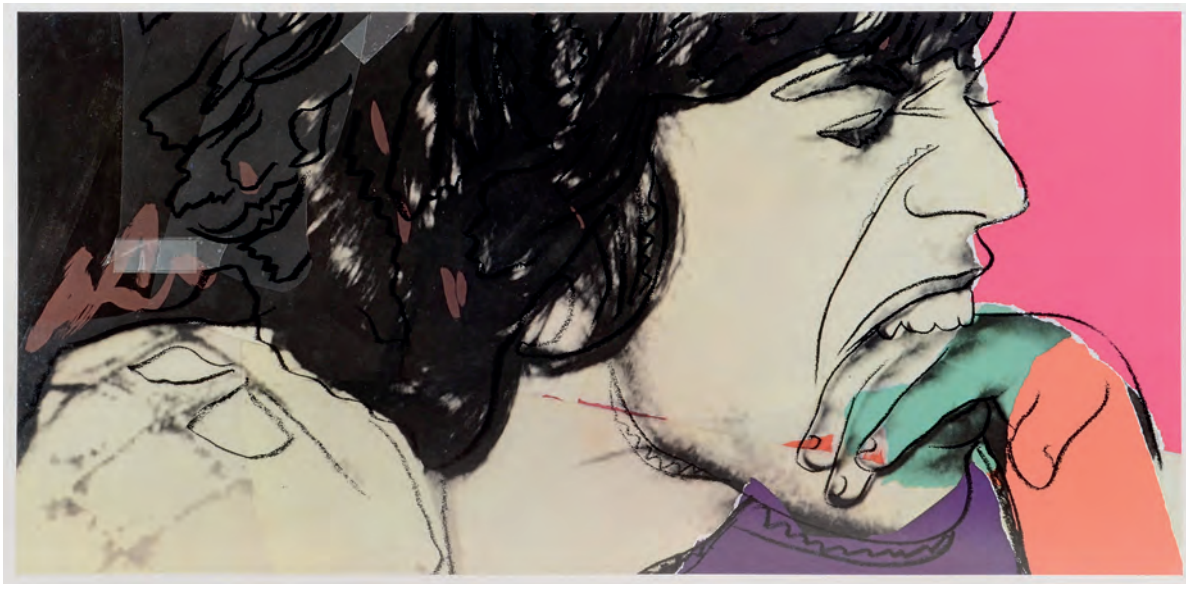
The catalogue, which has exceptional documentary value, highlights especially the relationship between Estampa Popular and Equipo Crónica. Along with an abundance of reproductions of prints and paintings, the catalogue also includes important texts written by members of Equipo Crónica throughout its history, and texts written by Llorens during the early years of this art collective. Valeriano Bozal, Llorens and Michèle Dalmace, personal friends of the artists with profound knowledge of the team's work, each contributed one chapter. The tone of their texts is deliciously autobiographical, providing essential information and interpretations for an enduring understanding of Equipo Crónica's art. RICARDO MARIN-VIADEL

THE IMPOSSIBLE TASK OF CATALOGUING WARHOL. In his essay 'On Exactitude in Science' Jorge Luis Borges wrote about an empire where the science of cartography was so perfected that a map was made that coincided with the empire itself (*Collected Fictions*, New York, 1998, p. 325). Point by point, this vast map replicated the land. It was so exact that after being abandoned by future generations, the map became part of the empire's territory and was inhabited by beggars and animals. Today, the cartographers of the sprawling empire of Andy Warhol (1928–87) are *catalogue raisonneurs*. Point by point, they trace the output of an artist who held a mirror to the world. Their task is no less than replicating the world as it appeared in Andy's mirror.

The official catalogue raisonnés of Warhol's paintings, sculpture and drawings have been sponsored by the New York-based Andy Warhol Foundation for the Arts. Four volumes have been published so far, and another seven are anticipated. There are also the catalogue raisonnés encouraged, but not sponsored, by the Warhol Foundation: Callie Angell's impeccable *Screen Tests: The Films of Andy Warhol, Catalogue Raisonné, Vol. 1* (2006, the second volume is in preparation) and Frayda Feldman and Claudia Defendi's *Andy Warhol Prints: Catalogue Raisonné 1962–1987* (4th edition, 2003). Nina Schlief's thoughtful exhibition catalogue *Reading Andy Warhol: Author, Illustrator, Publisher* offers an initial chronological overview of Warhol's books and book projects, which sheds light on the literary side of an artist who claimed never to read (2013). Most recently, Canadian curator Paul Maréchal has begun mapping the outskirts of Warholiana with *Andy Warhol: The Record Covers, 1949–1987* (2nd edition, Munich, 2015), *Andy Warhol: The Complete Commissioned Posters, 1964–1987* (Munich, London and New York, Prestel, 2014, 160 pp., 162 ills., £35), reviewed here, and *Andy Warhol: The Complete Commissioned Magazine Work, 1948–1987* (Munich, 2014).

In the 1970s Warhol claimed that 'making money is art and working is art and good business is the best art' (*The Philosophy of Andy Warhol*, New York, 1975, p. 92). It seems Maréchal has taken the artist at his word and has begun the arduous process of documenting Warhol's 'commercial' work. His three catalogues make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the richness and variety of Warhol's oeuvre beyond the better-known media in which the artist worked. In particular, Maréchal's comprehensive research on Warhol's magazine work will be an important resource for scholars in years to come. The parameters of these catalogues, however, can at times seem a bit arbitrary. For example, Maréchal limits the commissioned posters catalogue to 1964–87, although Warhol began making posters in the 1950s. Purposefully excluded are exhibition posters, posters made in collaboration with other artists, posters that replicate Warhol's album covers and those promoting Warhol's post-1965 films, but included are posters that promote Warhol's films from 1965 as well as posters based on his earlier art and magazine covers. Some of the interesting and obscure works identified in this volume include the 1964 flower poster for Warhol's first exhibition at the Castelli gallery, which was also made into a folded invitation, revealing how deftly Warhol recycled the same imagery both for his art and advertisements for it. Also mentioned is the 1977 offset lithograph *Love You Live*, created for a one-night record launch party, illuminating the ephemerality of the genre (fig. 74). Yet the catalogue feels far from comprehensive. It comprises 52 posters, commissioned by 33 different commercial sponsors, ranging from the New York City Parks Commissioner to Radio Switzerland. Most are printed by offset lithography although a handful are silkscreened. Many of the posters appear to have come from Maréchal's private collection, while the others are widely held in private and public collections inside and outside of the United States, such as the estates of Jean Michel Basquiat and Keith Haring.

In common with the other Warhol catalogues is the difficulty of comprehensively documenting the entirety of the artist's 'work'. For example, the attempt to differentiate Warhol's silkscreen 'paintings' from his silkscreen 'prints'



74. Andy Warhol, *Love You Live*, 1977, proof, offset lithograph, 380 x 576 mm (London, Peter Harrington Books).

and silkscreen 'posters' is paradoxical to the artist's blurring of traditional art historical genres. Should they be differentiated according to their support medium (paper vs. canvas), their purpose (commercial vs. art), their uniqueness (unnumbered vs. limited edition), their relationship to the artist (authentic vs. outsourced), or their subject matter (meaningful vs. vacuous)? How do we even determine what counts as one of Warhol's works? Of course, his paintings and illustrations should be included, but what about the paintings and illustrations he skilfully delegated to others? What about his modelling work? His Time Capsules? His audio recordings? Should there be catalogue raisonnés for those too? As Michel Foucault suggests in his essay 'What is an Author?' the task is not only to understand the artist's work, but also the concept of that 'strange unit designated by the term, work' (*Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, New York, 1977, p. 118). Whatever criterion one might use to elucidate the strands of Warhol's output, he himself seems to have made this impossible. There is no 'art' or 'business' Warhol, or even a 'Warhol' in the sense of the traditional artist-artwork relationship.

There is, however, a vast Warhol empire. Its territory embraces not only paintings, sculpture, drawings, prints, films, posters, album covers and magazine illustrations, but also cassette tapes, photographs, books, window displays, correspondence, television shows and commercials, public appearances and advertisements, Time Capsules filled with the detritus of a life, his collections of perfumes and folk art, and the still-circulating rumours and scandals. These too should be laboriously mapped, until the catalogue raisonné coincides with the entirety of Warhol's work. But then how will we know where Warhol's work ends and the where world begins? LUCY MULRONEY

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PRINTMAKING IN ZARAGOZA. María Belén Bueno Petisme's *Actualidad de la gráfica en Aragón: El grabado en Zaragoza durante el siglo XX* (Contemporary graphics in Aragon: engraving in Zaragoza in the twentieth century) derives from the author's doctoral thesis at the University of Zaragoza, supervised by José Luis Pano Gracia (Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 2015, 568 pp., 56 ills., €50). Her book emphasizes the importance of integrating art historical teaching into the technical training of artists, since both aesthetic and manual education form the basis for their creative talents. Bueno explains the decisive role played by her own studies at the Zaragoza School of Art, which led to her qualification as senior technical specialist in art and design, with a focus on printmaking. She simultaneously gained her history of art doctorate. One of the particularly notable aspects of the book, beyond its overview of twentieth-century printmakers in Aragon, is its review of printmaking exhibitions and prizes. The Spanish Association of Printmakers (Agrupación Española de Artistas Grabadores) has contributed most significantly to the discipline, awarding prizes for printmaking from the second half of the twentieth century onwards. The international graphic arts show 'Ibizagrafic' also encouraged the participation of many Spanish and foreign printmakers, including ones from Aragon. These more localized awards have doubtless given rise to the National Print Prize, established in 1993 by the Calcografía Nacional, the na-

tional graphic arts organization in Spain. Renamed the National Graphic Arts Prize, it has become one of the most prominent accolades in its field. Bueno's study makes clear that the Aragon-Goya Prize introduced by the government of Aragon is also doing much to support and foster the art of printmaking.

All of these awards have bolstered the work of printmakers, as have the large number of exhibitions examined in this book, starting with the memorable 'Goya and Spanish Engraving' in 1952 and 'Goya and Picasso in Spanish Engraving' in 1973. The exhibitions cited include works by leading printmakers from Aragon such as Salvador Victoria (b. 1928–94), Antonio Saura (1930–98) and Mariano Rubio Martínez (b. 1926; fig. 75). Of similar interest was the presence of works by Abel Martín (1931–93) in 'Contemporary Spanish Printmaking', organized by the Directorate General of Artistic and Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Education and Science in 1975. However, the most significant exhibition that highlighted the rise of contemporary printmaking in Aragon was 'Grabado Aragonés Actual' of 1993.

Certain printmakers are examined in detail, including Francisco Marín Bagüés (1879–1961), Ramón Acín Aquilué (1888–1936), Manuel Lahoz (1910–2000), Rubio Martínez and Maite Ubide Sebastián (b. 1939), many of whom were connected with the School of Arts and Crafts in Zaragoza. Other artists, who operated later in the twentieth century, can be considered true reformers of printmaking in Zaragoza, since they introduced new avant-garde currents to the medium. Notable among these are Pascual Blanco Piquero (1943–2013), Natalio Bayo (b. 1945), Julia Dorado (b. 1941), María Cristina Gil Imaz (1957–2011) and Borja de Pedro (b. 1945). To these must be added others with a more international presence who spent much of their careers abroad and can be considered multidisciplinary such as Saura, José Manuel Broto (b. 1949; fig. 76) and Víctor Mira (1949–2003). Their circumstantial connection to Aragon obliges us to study their work in a wider context that acknowledges the divergent paths they have followed. A number of the artists have worked as true peintre-graveurs, and in the case of Broto and Saura their prints may be seen as an extension of their paintings. Mira has been an especially outstanding printmaker since 1985, when he took up the discipline at the invitation of the Meadows Museum in Dallas, USA, and worked at the Southern Methodist University printing workshop. He also worked in Germany, the Netherlands and in the graphic arts studio at the Fundació Pilar i Joan Miró in Palma, Mallorca, where he produced an intriguing collection of prints based on Beethoven's music. Aragon is represented in Mira's oeuvre through his tributes to Goya's graphic oeuvre, such as in his print series *Disparate de Fuendetodos*, of 2004, with 'Los Disparates' (The follies) referring to Goya's print series of that name and Fuendetodos being Goya's place of birth. Of particular importance were Mira's prints devoted to Africa. As for Saura, although painting was an important facet of his art that converged with his printmaking, he was particularly active in the latter field. In 1978 he exhibited his graphic works at the Fondation Nationale des Arts Graphiques et Plastiques in Paris, where he also demonstrated his interest in illustrating books. This resulted in his winning the prize at the first Biennial of European Graphic Arts, held in Heidelberg in 1979. Shortly afterwards the catalogue raisonné of Saura's prints was published in 1985 by Mariuccia Galfetti (updated in 2000).

Bueno's publication highlights an important period in which the graphic arts in Zaragoza reached their zenith, encouraging Aragonese artists to enter into dialogue with the work of printmakers on the European scene. The recognition their work received, however, varied according to the channels through which they produced and presented their art. BENITO NAVARRETE PRIETO

75. Mariano Rubio Martínez, *Solo Goya. Goya solo*, 2003, etching (Image courtesy the artist).

76. José Manuel Broto, *Vestigia Vitae* (The vestiges of life), 1991, acquatint (Image courtesy the artist).

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Lorenzo Gigante, *Cinque xilografie della Passione da Altomünster alla Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna*, Ravenna, Longo Editore, 2015, 96 pp., 73 ills., €20.

A thorough study of five very small coloured woodcuts acquired by the Ravenna library in 1989. They belong to a known series of the Passion, which can be shown to have been produced in the Brigittine monastery of Altomünster near Munich. Despite their Gothic appearance, the woodcuts were made in the first half of the sixteenth century and continued in production into the following century.

Robert Nanteuil, *Poèmes et Maximes*, edited by Rémi Mathis, Paris, Comité national de l'estampe, 2016, 24 pp., 4 ills., €8 and Champfleury, *Chien-Caillou*, edited by Rémi Mathis, Paris, Comité national de l'estampe, 2016, 24 pp., 6 ills., €8.

These are the first two small books in a series published in editions of 500 by the Comité national de l'Estampe in Paris. Both are edited and produced by the multi-talented Rémi Mathis of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and make accessible semi-forgotten texts that are important for the print historian. Nanteuil's (1623–78) poems are no masterpieces but they help explain why he held a position at the French court unmatched by any other printmaker before or since. Champfleury's now little-read novelette (the title translates as 'Dog-stone') is a *roman-à-clef* based on the engraver Rodolphe Bresdin (1822–85), then 23 years old. It established an image of Bresdin that informed not only later criticism of his work, but also his own view of who he was.

Alberto Milano, *Generali e mendicanti, attori e sovrani: Ritratti nelle stampe a larga diffusione dal XVII al XX secolo. Generals and beggars, actors and sovereigns: Portraits in widely circulating prints from XVII to XX century*, edited by Alberto Milano, contributions by Nicolas Boerma, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Wolfgang P. Cillessen, Tim Clayton, Giuliana Ericani, Patrizia Foglia, Maria Goldoni, Roeland Harms, Philippe Kaenel, Alena K ížová, Marie-Dominique Leclerc, Dominique Lerch, Alberto Milano, Philippe Nieto, Sheila O'Connell, John Roger Paas, Maria Chiara Pesenti, Rolf Reichardt, Martine Sadion, Elisabetta Silvestrini, Tom Stammers, Konrad Vanja and Pierre Wachenheim, Bassano del Grappa, Tassotti Editore, 2013, 416 pp., 146 ills., €60.

This publication records the proceedings of the eighth Bildlore conference, organized by the Société internationale d'ethnologie et de folklore. The 23 essays, which focus upon portraits in popular prints, are in Italian, English, German and French. The abstracts are generally in a different language to the main body of text, allowing readers lacking knowledge of all tongues the opportunity to grasp each topic. Papers are categorized by sitter: 'Sovereigns and Generals', 'Martyrs and Heroes' and 'Artists and Bandits'. Editor Alberto Milano introduces the book through highlighting specific points of interest related to wide-diffusion prints, such as reliance on predetermined 'types', exaggerated features and the spectrum of knowledge inherent to a massive audience. The subject matter of the authors is fittingly broad, ranging from heroes of the French Revolution to images of eighteenth-century Russian court jesters. Giulia Ericani's paper on popes depicted by the Remondini family is worthy of mention, since generations of Remondini ran an important printmaking factory in Bassano del Grappa, the host city of the conference, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

Alberto Milano, *Colporteurs: I venditori di stampe e libri e il loro pubblico*, contributions by Elda Fietta, Marie-Dominique Leclerc, Laura Carnelos, Dominique Lerch and Claudio Salsi, exhibition catalogue, Castello Sforzesco, Milan, 24 February–29 March 2015, Museo *Per Via*, Pieve Tesino, 13 June–30 August 2015, Milan, Edizioni Medusa, 2015, 184 pp., 124 ills., €25.

One of the last publications masterminded by the late regretted Alberto Milano, it contains six essays about print pedlars, together with a mass of fascinating illustrations from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The Museo *Per Via* in Pieve Tesino is the only museum anywhere to be devoted to these key figures in the trade in cheap prints.

Florian Rodari, *L'Univers comme alphabet: Art et Artistes*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 2015, 264 pp., 21 ills., €23.

The polymath Florian Rodari (b. 1949) is an enthusiastic author, poet, publisher and art historian. Following his work in the department of prints and drawings at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva, he was director of the Musée de l'Elysée in Lausanne from 1979 to 1983, and now is curator of the collection belonging to the Jean and Suzanne Planque Foundation housed at the Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence. The predominance of paintings within the collection show that Rodari's interests extend significantly beyond prints, although his fondness for the medium cannot be denied. Rodari is also the longtime curator for the renowned collection of the William Cuendet & Atelier de Saint-Prex Foundation at the Musée Jenisch Vevey. The collection's treasures include the superb prints gathered by the painter and excellent printmaker Gérard de Palézieux (1919–2012). Rodari organized many memorable exhibitions, among them 'Anatomie de la couleur: l'Invention de l'estampe en couleurs', shown in Lausanne and Paris in 1996–97, and 'Claude Mellan (1598–1688): L'écriture de la méthode' of 2015 at the Musée Jenisch Vevey. *L'Univers comme alphabet* republishes 24 texts from exhibition catalogues or catalogues raisonnés, eleven of which are devoted to prints by such artists as Rembrandt (1606–69), Albert-Edgar Yersin (1905–84), Mellan and Georg Baselitz (b. 1938). Rodari presents his pertinent observations in fluid and elegant prose, allowing the reader to take pleasure in the findings of his intelligent eye.

Dernière danse: L'imaginaire macabre dans les arts graphiques, edited by Franck Knoery and Florian Siffer, contributions by Daniel Bornemann, Élise Canaple, Philippe Kaenel, Barbara Martin, Frank Muller, Joëlle Reichenbach and Thérèse Willer, exhibition catalogue, Strasbourg, la galerie Heitz, Palais Rohan, 21 May–29 August 2016, Strasbourg, Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg, 2016, 208 pp., 190 ills., €32.

This well-illustrated publication is devoted to the iconography of Death in graphic art from the fifteenth century to the present. It is arranged as a picture book rather than as a catalogue, with four essays and introductions to groups of images. The main weight is on the past two centuries.

Juliet Mitchell, *Louise Bourgeois: Autobiographical Prints*, contribution by Roger Malbert, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, mac, 23 April–19 June 2016; Thurso, Thurso Art Gallery, 25 June–31 July 2016; Inverness, Inverness Museum & Art Gallery, 6 August–10 September 2016; Dumfries, Gracefield Arts Centre, 17 September–30 October 2016; St Helier, Jersey Arts Centre, 14 November–10 December 2016; Bracknell, South Hill Park Arts Centre, 14 January–2 April 2017, London, Hayward Publishing, 2016, 76 pp., 52 ills., £9.99.

While this is a modest publication, it is something of a small treasure. Published to accompany the Hayward touring show of the same name, it is designed with both style and clarity, reproducing each of the prints from the *Autobiographical Series*, of 1994, and *11 Drypoints*, of 1999, as full page illustrations complete with borders. Prints by Bourgeois (1911–2010) seem to begin with the space of the whole sheet, giving the drama an extra sense of vulnerability. Malbert provides a succinct biographical essay that also places the prints within the context of the artist's sculptural practice, while the renowned psychoanalyst and feminist writer Mitchell is ideally placed to offer interpretations of these disturbing but compelling prints. Both essays are written to engage a broad audience without diminishing the darker aspects of Bourgeois's vision.

Kathan Brown and Valerie Wade, *Made in San Francisco: Ed Ruscha Etchings: 1982–2014*, exhibition catalogue, San Francisco, Crown Point Press, 12 July–3 September 2016, San Francisco, Crown Point Press, 2016, 107 pp., 93 ills., $40.

This catalogue illustrates all the etchings made by Ruscha (b. 1937) at Crown Point Press in San Francisco over a period of more than 30 years. It accompanied an exhibition of Crown Point publications selected by Ruscha himself.

Sally McLaren: In Search of Stillness, edited by Silvie Turner and Ruaridh Webster, contribution by Mel Gooding, Wiltshire, Sally McLaren, 2016, 2 vols., 176 and 46 pp., 120 and 91 ills., £125.

This is the first extended publication on this 80-year-old painter and printmaker (b. 1936), who was introduced to the methods of S. W. Hayter in the late 1950s by Tony Harrison at Central School of Art and Design, before studying with the master himself at Atelier 17 from 1961 to 1962. Mel Gooding discusses her etchings and their relationship to the natural landscape, in particular with rocks and geological strata, as well as her use of irregular cut-out plates. In the second volume, in an interview with Silvie Turner, McLaren herself lays out her life and interests, including her continuing engagement with colour and printmaking over a period of six decades.

Stephanie Buck, Linda Conze and Rebecca Wilton, *Timm Rautert: Bildanalytische Photographie 1968–1974*, exhibition booklet, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 2 July–25 September 2016, Dresden and Leipzig, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden and Spector Books, 2016, 56 pp., 56 ills., €11.90.

Timm Rautert (b. 1941) lectured from 1993 to 2008 at the Academy of Visual Arts in Leipzig and his Bildanalytische Photographie – translated as 'image-analytical photography' – comprises a cycle of 56 works produced between 1968 and 1974 that explores the limits and materiality of analogue photography. Rautert referred to this cycle as providing a 'grammar' for the medium, and it encompasses visual conundrums questioning the status of the photographic image, or its relation to text. Rautert's work is modest in scale but agile in its exploration of issues of authorship, duration, exposure, automaticity and orientation. His cycle could perhaps be related to nascent conceptual art as seen in some works by John Hilliard (b. 1945). The photographs were shown with prints from the Kupferstich-Kabinett's collection. Buck's text reflects on issues of seriality, visible reality versus illusion, the manipulation of technical means, and the status of the original versus reproduction that are raised both by Rautert's cycle and printmaking.

Andrea Büttner, edited by Susanne Gaensheimer and Anthony Spira, exhibition catalogue, Frankfurt am Main, MMK Museum für Moderne Kunst, 16 February–21 April 2013, Milton Keynes, MK Gallery, 12 April–16 June 2013, London, Koenig Books, 2013, 336 pp., 201 ills., £25.

Andrea Büttner (b. 1972) is a multi-media artist from Stuttgart whose output includes prints. This English-German catalogue featured her photography, sculpture, installations, paintings and drawings as well as a substantial number of woodcuts, although its numerous texts, with the exception of a brief mention in a transcribed interview, neglect the artist's printmaking practice. The woodcuts, from 2004–12 and usually cut along the grain, cover a range of imagery and styles, from figures depicted via single outline to groups of figures rendered in detail and to German or English text only. *Untitled* (*Three Kings*), of 2010, refers to medieval print imagery and is the most ornate of the figural works.

Catalogue and Book Reviews

Max Klinger

Jeannette Stoschek

Max Klinger: L'Inconscio della realtà, edited by Paola Giovanardi Rossi and Francesco Poli, contribution by Mirko Nottoli, exhibition catalogue, Bologna, Palazzo Fava, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 25 September–14 December 2014, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2014, 144 pp., 171 ills., €25.

Incubi nordici e miti mediterranei: Max Klinger e l'incisione simbolistca mitteleuropea, edited by Emanuele Bardazzi, Giulia Ballerini and M. Donata Spadolini, exhibition catalogue, Centro Espositivo Antonio Berti, Sesto Fiorentino, 30 November 2014–18 January 2015, Florence, Edizione Polistampa, 2014, 182 pp., 330 ills., €34.

Max Klinger 1857–1920: Meistergraphik und Zeichnungen vom Jugendstil zum Surrealismus, contributions by Kathrin Schade and Stephanie-Gerrit Bruer, exhibition catalogue, Stendal, Winckelmann Museum, 5 July–4 October 2015, Mainz, Franz Phillip Rutzen, 2015, 104 pp., 123 ills., €30.

Marsha Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture: On the Threshold of German Modernism*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2014, 434 pp., 141 b. & w. ills., £80.

While the 200th anniversary of the death of Max Klinger (1857–1920) may still be a few years off, there have been several exhibitions and publications in recent years. These were able to build upon extensive research devoted to the artist, widely acknowledged as the most creative and prolific modern German printmaker. Publications range from studies and essays issued during his lifetime to the more recent works under discussion here; his correspondence alone comprises some 6,300 items.[1] Literature on the artist up to 2008 is recorded in the vast bibliography compiled by Frank Zöllner and Thomas Pöpper, which one hopes will continue to be updated.[2]

In his own day, Klinger's critics and collectors were mostly based in German-speaking countries, although the artist himself lived in Brussels in 1879–80, in Paris from 1883 to 1887, in Berlin 1887–88 and in Italy from 1888 to 1893 when he returned to his birthplace of Leipzig. Although Italy was fundamental for his artistic formation, there was little critical response to Klinger's graphic work during his lifetime despite some of his works being displayed in Rome in 1902 and in Venice in 1899, 1907, 1909 and 1910. It was, however an Italian, Giorgio de Chirico (1888–1978), founder of the proto-Surrealist Pittura Metafisica movement, who championed Klinger in an influential essay in *Il Convegno*.[3] De Chirico had become inspired by Klinger's work while studying in Munich and the essay was only published in 1920, the year of Klinger's death. He described Klinger as 'l'artista moderno per eccelenza' (the quintessential modern artist), an epithet that still informs scholarly interpretations of Klinger's artistic influence and the reception of his innovative art of alienation and disorder, replete with motifs evoking fantasy, dreams and the world of the unconscious in addition to more realistic subjects. But while Klinger addressed such themes in painting, drawing and sculpture, he established his reputation with the fourteen extraordinary cycles of etchings (some with additional intaglio techniques) that he produced between 1879 and 1916 and these clearly continue to preoccupy scholars and museum curators.[4]

Indeed, in 2014 and 2015 there were no less than three separate Klinger exhibitions, all of which emphasized his graphic work. 'Max Klinger: L'Inconscio della Realtá' ac-

1. The foundation LETTER is preparing a critical edition of Klinger's correspondence.
2. F. Zöllner and T. Pöpper, 'Klinger Bibliography', in *Max Klinger: Wege der Neubewertung: Schriften des Freundeskreises Max Klinger e.V*, I, edited by P. Langer, Z. A. Patakí and T. Pöpper, Leipzig, 2008, pp. 254–306.
3. G. De Chirico, 'Max Klinger', *Il Convegno*, November 1920. Reprinted in *Metaphysical Art*, edited by M. Carrà, pp. 97–136, New York, 1971; A. Tiddia, 'Klinger e l'Italia, Spunti per un itinerario critico', in *Max Klinger. Sogni segreti di un simbolista*, edited by A. Tiddia, Lana, 2005, pp. 31–45.
4. For the last ten years, see A. Tiddia, op. cit., and *Eine Liebe. Max Klinger und die Folgen*, edited by H.-W. Schmidt and H. Gassner, Bielefeld, 2007; H. Jacob-Friesen, 'Zu den künstlerischen Beziehungen Max Klingers und zur Wirkung seiner Graphik', in *Max Klinger: Die druckgrafischen Folgen*, Heidelberg, 2007, pp. 146–51; M.-J. Geyer, *Max Klinger – Le théâtre de l'étrange: Les suites gravées, 1879–1915*, Strasbourg, 2012.

knowledged the donation in 2011 of nearly all of Klinger's print cycles to the Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna by the neuropsychiatrist Paola Giovanardi Rossi (it also included a small selection of his paintings and sculptures from the collection of Siegfried Unterberger and a drawing from an anonymous private collector). Curator Francesco Poli's essay in the accompanying catalogue provides a richly illustrated introduction to the artist's graphic oeuvre and his writings. Rossi herself considers Klinger's influence on European art around 1900 and deftly summarizes the impact on his printmaking of the work of such masters as Albrecht Dürer, Francisco Goya, Philipp Otto Runge and Arnold Böcklin as well as his artistic exchanges with the work of his contemporaries in the Symbolist, Expressionist and Pittura Metafisica movements. She further explores the artist's prints through a personal lens – that of collector and neuropsychiatrist, focusing especially on their metaphorical and psychological aspects.

The exhibition in Sesto Fiorentino examines not only the symbolist dimension to Klinger's graphic art, but also provides visitors with a major insight into the perception of Klinger in Europe during his lifetime. A selection of Klinger's graphic art, both cycles and single works, was shown. Curator Giulia Ballerini introduces Klinger's graphic oeuvre by analysing the important role played by women in Klinger's conception of art, and the significance of his stay in Italy. Francesco Parisi considers the importance of Klinger's theoretical pamphlet *Painting and Drawing,* published in 1891. Following the current scholarly trend to present Klinger in a wider context, in the final essay Curator Emanuele Bardazzi discusses Klinger's etchings in relationship to those by his European contemporaries. This broad and fascinating investigation references more than 50 artists, both famous and obscure, among them Franz von Stuck, Hans Thoma, Heinrich Vogeler, Käthe Kollwitz, Sascha Schneider, Alfred Soder and Guido Balsamo Stella. However, both catalogues only mention peripherally important predominantly German-based sources and research and instead focus almost exclusively on publications in Italian and French. Klinger's essay *Painting and Drawing* was translated into Italian as late as 1998, and few of the letters written by Klinger have been translated into English or French.

In 2015 a little-known private collection of Klinger's prints and drawings was publicly shown for the first time at the Winckelmann Museum in Stendal, Saxony-Anhalt. The collection was started during Klinger's lifetime by the Leipzig psychologist Fritz Tögel (1888–1967), who bought more works of art directly from the artist's estate after his death. The drawings, most of which are nudes, are sensational discoveries like the first study for *Beethoven* – believed to have been lost – which Klinger made in Paris in 1886 and presented to the Leipzig consul Fritz Nachod. The first two essays of the carefully researched exhibition catalogue by Bruer and Schade focus on Klinger's affinity for the art and mythology of classical antiquity. The chapter on prints is arranged thematically, with categories including nudes and portraits; love, death and nightmares; and music and philosophy.

With *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture: On the Threshold of German Modernism*, Marsha Morton focuses on the artist's modernity and his work created during the 1870s and 1880s, decades that witnessed the founding of the

77. Max Klinger, *Intermezzo (Adam and Eve with Death and the Devil),* 1887, from the cycle *A Love, Opus X*, etching with engraving and aquatint, 246 x 457 mm (Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste).

German Empire in 1871, the financial crash of 1873, and the growth of financial power and industrialization. For Klinger it was a crucial time of artistic formation, one in which he established unsettling artistic innovations that reflected something of the instability of the time, marking his first-known drawings, his time at the academies in Karlsruhe and Berlin, his first exhibitions, and his rich output of graphic cycles. Not least, by 1887 he had published ten of his fourteen print portfolios, including the series of ten etchings titled *Paraphrase on the Finding of a Glove,* of 1881, in which he introduced elements of esoteric symbolism based on myth, dreams and fantasy for which he would become best known, as well as such gritty realistic commentaries on the dark side of urban existence as *A Life,* of 1884 – a series of fifteen etchings showing a young woman gradually reduced to prostitution and destitution. Only afterwards did Klinger begin the monumental paintings, such as *The Judgment of Paris*, the *Crucifixion,* the *Beethoven* and the cycles *On Death I* and *II*, *Brahms Fantasies*, and *Tent*. Morton's concentration on the Wilhelmine period coupled with her tremendous insight into the history of ideas and the cultural background of the time stimulates the reader's interest in Klinger in relation to his era. Morton successfully situates Klinger's early prints and drawings in the context of the cultural and material developments of the period, applying an interdisciplinary approach that takes into consideration Darwinism, psychology, literature, ethnography and criminology.

Morton discusses Klinger's work thematically, beginning with his Danish friend Georg Brandes, who pioneered a style of literary criticism that explores psychological motivation. Brandes published an essay on Klinger as early as 1887 in the second edition of his anthology *Moderne Geister* (modern spirits). Morton also investigates Klinger's grounding in German Biedermeier and Romantic culture, his interest in the aesthetic of Romantic irony as well as the humour, parody and evocations of the grotesque found in the work of the early nineteenth-century German writers Johann Paul Friedrich Richter (known as Jean Paul), Heinrich Heine and E. T. A. Hoffmann. As she notes, beginning in the 1870s Klinger was further influenced by the ideas of the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, whose writings *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* and *Parerga and Paralipomena* he owned. For Schopenhauer, sexuality and death represent the most important parts of human existence, but the sexual act will always be undone by death, and the biological imperatives of death, life and sexuality can hardly be controlled or rationally understood. Klinger's coupling of death and carnal desires in drawings such as *Naked Lovers on a Bed,* of 1875–77, in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, and his prints *Happiness* and *Intermezzo* from the cycle *A Love, Opus X*, of 1887 are inspired by the philosopher (fig. 77).

78. Max Klinger, *Temptation (Verführung)*, 1884, from the cycle *A Life*, *Opus VIII*, etching with engraving and aquatint, 410 x 216 mm (Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste).

Although Morton's book could be read in single chapters, the reader would miss out on the subtle cumulative effect of its arguments, which become denser and more powerful as the book progresses. The reader might leaf back and forth to follow, for example, the process of Klinger's use of arabesque and grotesque. Two chapters

79. Max Klinger, *Chained (Gefesselt)*, 1884, from the cycle *A Life*, *Opus VIII*, etching, engraving and aquatint, 294 x 207 mm (Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste).

in particular are among the most compelling in the book. In one, Morton analyses the artist's relationship to Darwin's theory of evolution, which was being popularized at the time in newspapers and magazines such as the *Gartenlaube* and *Fliegende Blätter*. Klinger read Darwin's writings in 1875. Morton sees Darwin's influence reflected in Klinger's drawings and prints of centaurs, such as the *Intermezzi, Opus IV*, of 1881, of women in nature with animals as in *Etched Sketches, Opus I*, of 1879, and in *Eve and the Future, Opus III*, of 1880. The last chapter looks especially at Klinger's cycle *Dramas, Opus IX*, of 1883. Here he describes the modern metropolis of Berlin, its criminality, social injustice and changing standards of moral and social behaviour as can be seen in the etching *In Flagranti,*

showing before the backdrop of a bourgeois villa the shot lover of the owner's wife, and *A Murder,* an event sited near the Spree river.

Morton also addresses the broad theme of sexuality that runs throughout Klinger's works, evident in the cycle *A Life, Opus VIII*, of 1884, where he presents the social descent of a young woman from the middle class into prostitution. The print *Temptation,* of 1884, shows a consensual carnal act under water astride exotic fishes (fig. 78). The woman's fall is traced in the next scenes, with the implication that bourgeois society is culpable for her death. In the etching *Chained,* of 1884, the same woman is exposed naked and with closed eyes to the lecherous gaze of a crowd of men with generalized features representative of male lust (fig. 79). Morton's examination of the roles of Klinger's female figures, featuring instances of self-determination as well as suffering under a hypocritical social system and treatment as a sexual object, is an especially convincing one and emphasizes Klinger's important artistic role in confronting the social ills of his time. This brilliant, densely packed publication cannot be deemed easy reading. It is, however, a rich reward for the many Klinger scholars who have followed Morton's research over the last twenty years and provides a solid basis for further research as the artist's anniversary year 2020 approaches.

M. C. Escher

Tim O'Riley

The Amazing World of M. C. Escher, edited by Micky Piller, Patrick Elliott and Frans Peterse, exhibition catalogue, Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, 27 June–27 September 2015; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery, 14 October 2015–17 January 2016, Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, 2015, 144 pp., 142 ills., £19.95.

David Steel, *The Worlds of M. C. Escher: Nature, Science, and Imagination*, contributions by Federico Giudiceandrea, Salvatore Iaquinta and Roger Penrose, exhibition catalogue, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, 17 October 2015–24 January 2016, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, 2015, 208 pp., 89 ills., $50.

These two publications accompany retrospectives on Maurits Cornelis Escher (1898–1972) and bring together works produced throughout his life. While popular with the public, Escher is often considered marginal in the institutional art world, and it is timely to reassess his ongoing relevance and to reflect on his work as a whole.

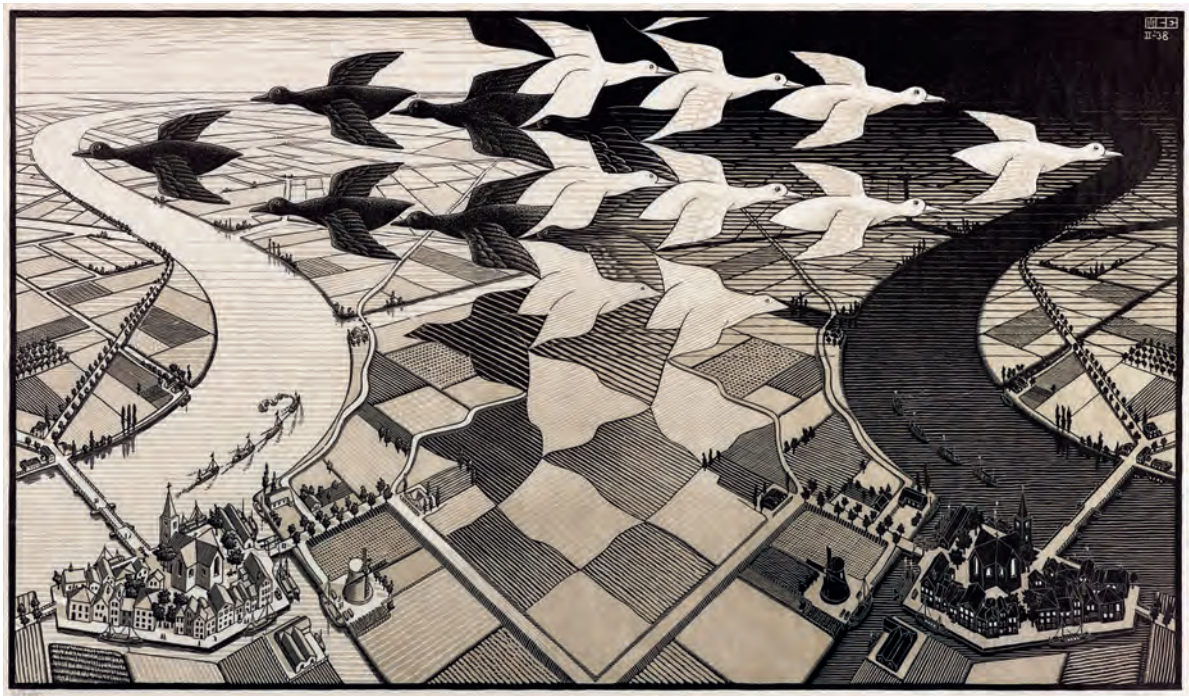
The Amazing World of M. C. Escher is a handsome, well-illustrated volume with full colour plates that facilitate an appreciation for the material qualities of even the monochrome prints. Each of Escher's prints is accompanied by a text from one of the scrupulously well-informed authors and, on occasion, by studies or photographs. There seems to be an underlying desire to reappraise Escher's oeuvre as well as to present it to a broader, yet interested audience. Micky Piller rightly highlights the disjuncture between a populist appeal and a kind of institutional 'lack of appreciation'. Escher was contemporaneous with the Surrealists, and shared some of their preoccupations, but his work invites more contemplative viewing through which contradictions – rather than overt juxtapositions – gradually unfold. Escher's art and thought relate more to visual conundrum and scientific endeavour, problem solving and riddles, falling within a Dutch tradition of 'pin-sharp mimesis' that predates much computer-generated imagery.

David Steel's catalogue is a less systematic and more lavish tome. The plates have been spot-varnished and some of the pages printed with yellow, grey or green backgrounds. Its larger dimensions allow for a greater variety in scale, giving prominence to Escher's drawing and mark-making. The emphasis is on the image, accompanied by occasional extended captions and comment. Photographs of Escher's forays into three-dimensional model-making and sculpture, drawings and images of the various woodblocks, plates and stones upon which he worked are featured, giving further insight into his material practices. Early works reflect Escher's experiments with style and his sensitivity to the medium (fig. 80).

In terms of analysis, the Edinburgh publication is more propositional and suggestive of Escher's ideas about infinity and eternity, and offers pithy yet informative texts. Given its US context, the North Carolina catalogue's selection is slightly different, but both publications are specific and academically referenced. The diverse characters and the range of images and texts they bring to bear on Escher's thought processes make them excellent companions.

Perhaps as a consequence of his upbringing in the low-lying Netherlands, Escher's travels through Europe and extended periods in Italy during the 1920s and 1930s were

80. M. C. Escher, *Skull with Cigarette*, 1917, pencil, black and coloured chalks on brown paper, 771 x 616 mm (Collection of Dr Stephen R. Turner © 2015 The M. C. Escher Company, The Netherlands).



81. M. C. Escher, *Day and Night*, 1938, woodcut, 392 x 678 mm (The Hague, Gemeentemuseum Den Haag).

for him a profound source of artistic inspiration. His drawings in Italy noted details of the places encountered and later formed the basis for his prints, many of which he fastidiously printed by hand. The more conventional images that emerged from this working process are grounded in observed reality, yet also suggest imagined realms. Like much of his work, the lithograph *Phosphorescent Sea*, of 1933, and the woodcut *Freighter*, of 1936 – a product of the Mediterranean voyage along the coast of Spain and Italy for which the Italian shipping company Adria provided Escher a berth in exchange for prints for its advertising material – display an inventiveness and heightened perception of detail, and are profoundly beautiful.

Graphically distinct works that hint at an alternative reality inspired by these years of European travel, such as *Hand with Reflecting Sphere,* of 1935, might be contrasted with Escher's later work which prioritized the 'expression of a train of thought'. Yet the 'refined craftsmanship' Piller notes in the 1955 lithograph *Three Worlds*, suggests a connection with the external or natural world that imbues Escher's work with a sense of the unexpected. The various printmaking processes at the artist's disposal – woodcut, lithograph and mezzotint – are both technically involved and time-consuming. Thus, while Escher's attraction to such processes perhaps encouraged him to inhabit an interior world, his observations were equally directed at his surroundings and artistic medium.

Escher's preoccupation with eternity and infinity suffuses his experiments with tessellation (fig. 81) or visual riddle and signifies an enduring restlessness where physical space simultaneously liberates and imprisons without end

82. M. C. Escher, *Relativity*, 1953, lithograph, 291 x 294 mm (The Hague, Gemeentemuseum Den Haag).

(fig. 82). His prints suggest the dynamism of being in motion and simultaneous foveal and peripheral vision. Some of the motifs may have had personal origins, just as his work may evoke personal memories for a whole generation. The school I went to, a long time ago, owned a reproduction of the almost four-metre-long woodcut *Metamorphosis II*, of 1939–40, which hung in the headmaster's corridor. When one walked past this long image, one could follow the various metamorphoses as they developed. It seemed to encourage a slowing down, as both eye and brain tried to make sense of the image. For me, it is challenging to disassociate Escher's work from the sense of trepidation that a call to the headmaster's office prompted. Escher himself seems to have had an uneasy relationship to school and the Edinburgh publication testifies to the centrality in his work of the staircase at his school in Arnhem. This was a place of transition from one 'hell' to the next, as he called it in a 1964 lecture.[1]

Printmaking occupies static fields – the matrix or the paper – and was the form available to Escher at the time, but it is tempting to imagine him working with the possibilities of computing. A pencil-and-ink study for his final print, the colour woodcut *Snakes*, of 1969, represents the surface of the snake in a tessellated design reminiscent of three-dimensional computer modelling, then in its infancy but which has since become ubiquitous. Recent digital games such as *Echochrome* (Game Yarouze, 2008) or *Monument Valley* (Ustwo, 2014) are indebted to the visual puzzles that Escher's work poses and suggest that the popularity of his work endures, finding contemporary applications and audiences well beyond the realms of printmaking and art.

1. Reprinted in M. C. Escher and J. W. Vermeulen, *Escher on Escher: Exploring the Infinite*, New York, 1989, p. 42.

Giorgio Morandi

Amy Worthen

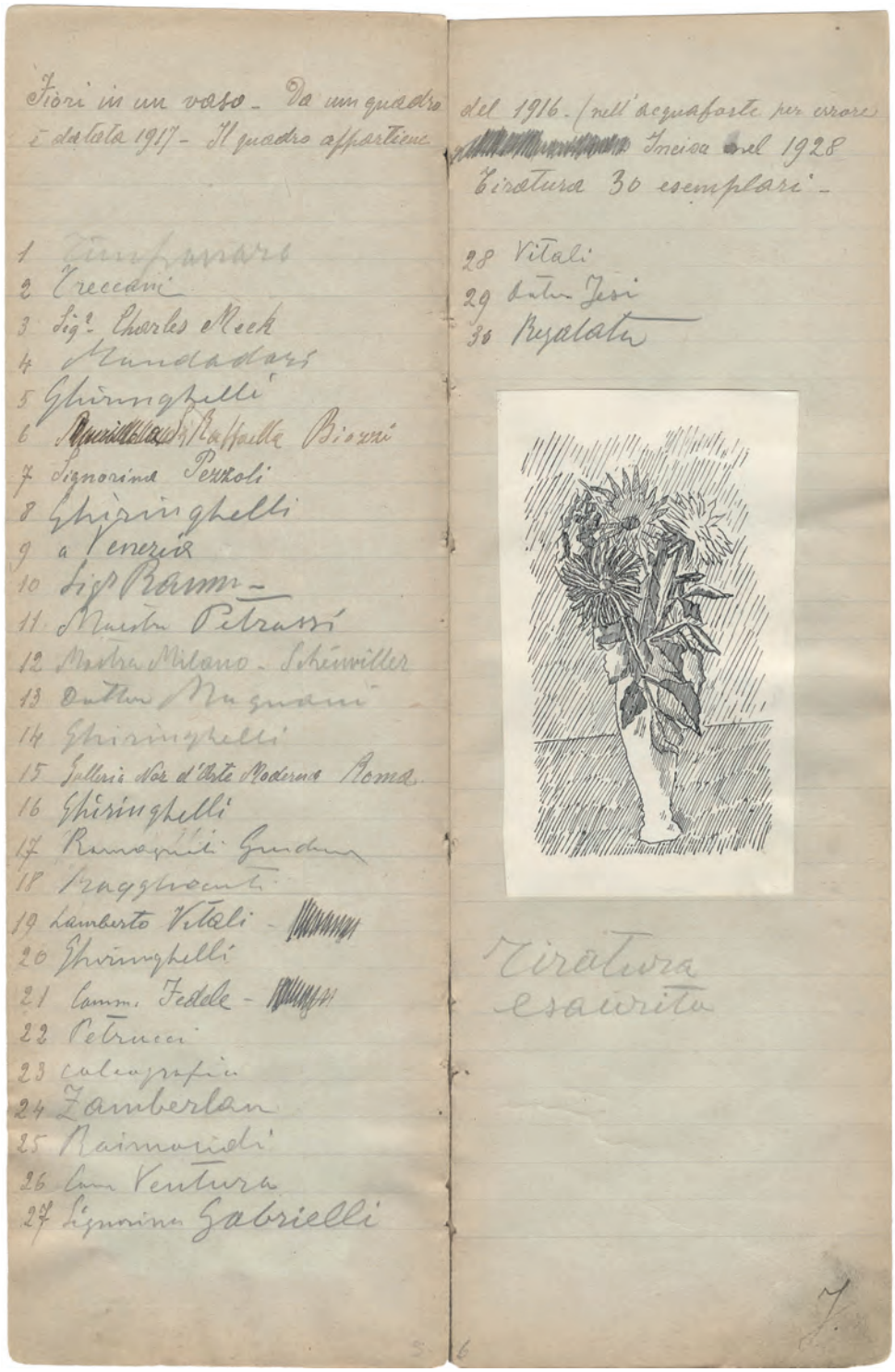
Morandi in Calcografia: La collezione di matrici dell'Istituto Centrale per la Grafica (Morandi at the Calcografia: the collection of printing plates in the Central Institute for Graphic Art), edited by Fabio Fiorani and Ginevra Mariani, exhibition catalogue, Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, 10 June–1 November 2015, Rome, Campisano Editore, 2015, 280 pp., 420 ills., €40.

A *calcografia* collects, stores, prints and conducts research on printing plates. The most important national collections of this type are in Rome, Madrid and Paris. Italy's Calcografia, currently known as the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica (ICG), was founded in 1738 by Pope Clemente XII as the Calcografia camerale romana. It is the oldest and largest *calcografia* in existence, holding over 23,000 plates and blocks dating from the 1500s to the present. Perhaps best known for the 964 plates by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, it also owns 101 etching plates by Giorgio Morandi (1890–1964).

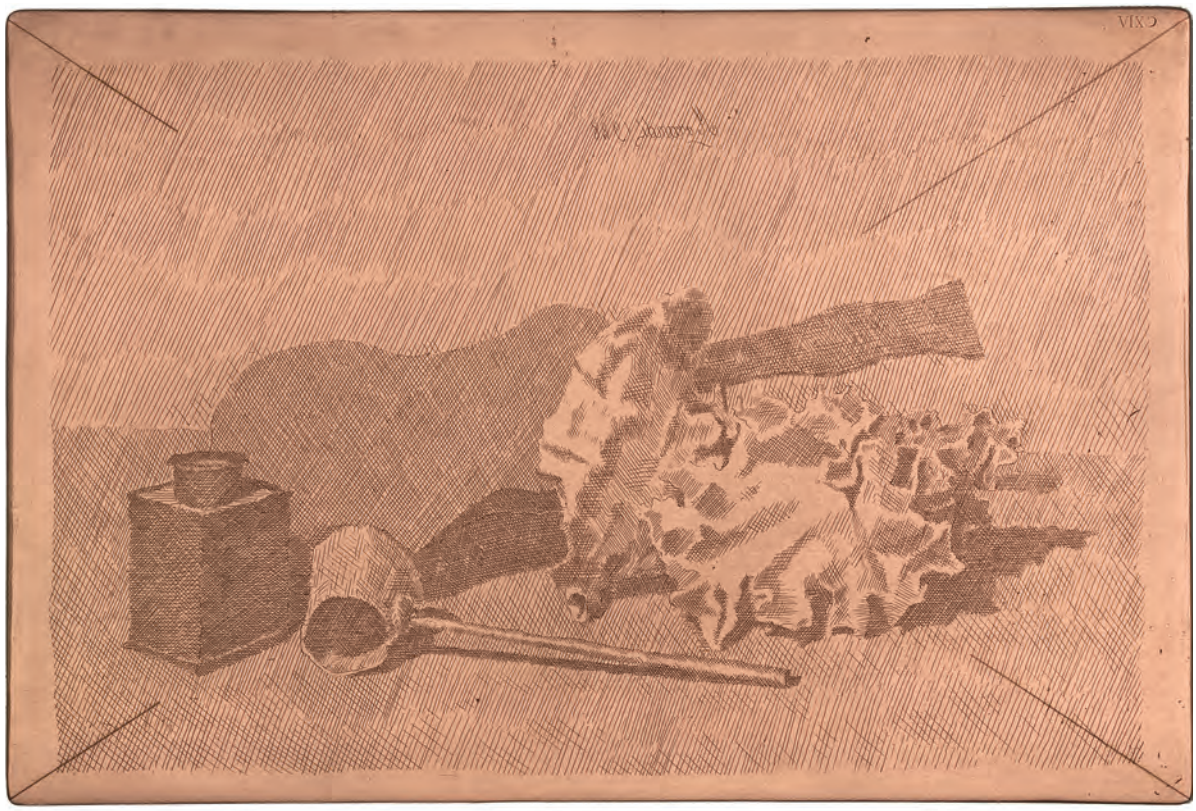
Long before the practice of limiting editions existed, plates and blocks were routinely reprinted at the Calcografia and were frequently reworked. The Calcografia in Madrid, for example, reprinted edition after edition of Goya's worn plates. The advent of connoisseurship, oeuvre catalogues and a print market in which prices reflected quality and rarity, slowed down but did not completely halt the practice of posthumous printings. Eventually, artists and printers began to cancel plates by scratching across them or by cutting off a corner, making subsequent printing obvious. When, at the beginning of the twentieth century, print historians began to study matrices, tools and processes in a systematic way, Calcografia collections became gold mines (well, copper mines) for scholars. Today, the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica is a modern research institution that collects plates, prints, related drawings, books, photographs, and videos, houses artists' and printers' archives, conserves plates, publishes catalogues and organizes exhibitions.[1]

The core catalogues of Morandi's etchings, written by Lamberto Vitali and Michele Cordaro, attributed 131 prints to the artist.[2] *Morandi in Calcografia* differs in that its primary subject is Morandi's plates as well as his working relationship with the Calcografia. Produced in conjunction with the Istituto Centrale's 2015 exhibition of selected plates, this book comprehensively addresses the donation, storage, study and conservation of its entire collection of Morandi's plates and archival documents. Richly illustrated and written by a team of historians, conservators,

1. For online searches, see calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it.
2. L. Vitali, *L'opera grafica di Giorgio Morandi*, 3rd edn., Turin, 1978; M. Cordaro, *Morandi incisioni: catalogo generale*, Milan, 1991.



83. Giorgio Morandi's notebook showing his sketch of the etching *Flowers in a Vase* of 1928, each page 310 x 105 mm, open 310 x 210 mm (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica).



84. Giorgio Morandi, Cancelled plate for *Still Life with Guitar*, 1928, etched copper, 233 x 347 x c. 2 mm (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica).

archivists and an artist, it brings together data, research and analysis of his plates and papers.

Director Maria Antonella Fusco presents the cross-disciplinary project and praises Italy's keepers and conservators. Fabio Fiorani evokes Morandi's humanity, generosity and poetics, and justifies the value of collecting printing plates, which he deems uniquely able to reveal – even more than state proofs can – the moments of a print's creation. Ginevra Mariani reviews the circumstances and motivations of the three donations of plates and documents. In 1948 Morandi donated 75 plates. In 1990 his sister Maria Teresa Morandi gave twenty plates (primarily to prevent posthumous printings), as well as the remarkable handmade notebook (*registrello*), begun in 1927, in which the artist recorded information about his editions (fig. 83; noting 'tiratura esaurita', in other words that the complete edition had been sold out). To this Carlo Zucchini added in 2010 six plates previously believed to have been lost or destroyed. Giuseppe Trassari Filippetti focuses on the Zucchini gift to verify his own conclusions about Morandi's etching technique first published in 1990. Janet Abramowicz recalls Morandi as a teacher, artist and family man in Bologna. Gabriella Pace examines the correspondence between Morandi and his printer Carlo Alberto Petrucci (1881–1963) with reference to his choices of inks, papers and the challenges of obtaining art supplies during the war years. Lucia Ghedin's informative essay on the conservation and restoration of the plates is filled with useful technical information.

The sections cataloguing the plates and the reproductions of every page of Morandi's notebook form the heart of this publication. Also included are a table of concordance between notebook and plates; an interview with former Director Maurizio Calvesi; studio photographs by Luigi Ghirri; previously unpublished archival documents; and an updated bibliography pertinent to Morandi's etchings, compiled by Elisa Corrado and Serena Cipollini. Among the previously published texts are the presentations of Morandi's print exhibitions written by Petrucci, 1948, Maurizio Calvesi, 1966, and Cordaro's essay for the 1990 exhibition.[3] Further, Abramowicz's section reprints

3. M. Calvesi, 'Dal segno al tono: la "morandiana methodus"', in *Morandi: L'opera grafica: Rispondenze e variazioni*, edited by M. Cordaro, Milan, 1990, pp. xi–xxii; Cordaro, 1991, op. cit., pp. vii–xix.

the Preface and chapter one from her *Giorgio Morandi: The Art of Silence*.[4] She studied etching with Morandi at the Accademia di Belle Arti, Bologna, was his last teaching assistant and remained a friend of the artist's sisters after his death. Her description of Morandi as a teacher of etching rings true. He taught the only thing he felt he could teach his students – technique. He shaped and sharpened their tools. He cut up the sheets of copper and grounded the plates, smoking them with a torch. (There are artists in Italy who still teach printmaking this way).

Abramowicz also addresses Morandi's complicated relationship with Fascism. He had friends among intellec-

4. J. Abramowicz, *Giorgio Morandi: The Art of Silence*, New Haven, CT, 2004, pp. xi–21.

85. Verso of fig. 84 showing Pietro Bombelli after Giuseppe Soleri-Brancaleoni, *St Francis of Paola before the Trinity*, 1792, etching and engraving, 347 x 233 x c. 2 mm (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica).

tuals on the left and received critical support from them, and in 1943 spent a week in jail because of his associations with left-leaning friends. But during the 1920s and '30s he had been able to exhibit and had obtained his teaching position at the Accademia thanks to Fascist connections, and his work was collected by many individuals prominent in the regime. Petrucci, Director of the Calcografia, was the secretary of the Sindacato nazionale fascista belle-arti, sezione bianco e nero (National Fascist Union of Fine Arts, Black-and-White Department). She shows that the image we have of this provincial artist-hermit working in solitude is not strictly accurate. In fact, Morandi was very much in the world. The presentation of a 'painter of silence' was part protection and part obfuscation, a reputation artfully constructed by the artist himself and perpetuated by family, friends and critics after his death.

Beginning in 1913, Morandi etched a few prints in his post-Impressionist and Cubist styles. During the 1920s he learned much from Rembrandt's richly inventive graphic language, as well as from the prints of reproductive engravers whose patterns of swelling lines, lozenge intersections, dots and flicks convey colour, texture and light. Morandi distilled these ways of drawing on a plate into his personal, autographic manner of etching and honed in on the subject matter – still lifes, flowers and landscapes – that we recognize as distinctively his. He etched both on copper and zinc plates. Generally, he bought new copper, but for reasons of economy he occasionally etched both sides of a plate or recycled old ones. *Still Life with Guitar*, of 1928, for instance, is etched on the back of a plate from 1792 depicting St Francis of Paola (figs. 84 and 85). Drawing through bitumen-grounded plates with etching needles that he sharpened to various sizes, Morandi massed parallel lines, wove meshes and constructed tonal passages that vibrate optically, suggesting form, light and shadow. Cross-hatching is tricky to get right – the acid can bite the points of intersection too quickly – so it is astonishing to realize that Morandi generally achieved a significant degree of complexity with a single etch, no stopping out with varnish and no successive biting. He used drypoint needles, *échoppes*, burins, burnishers and scrapers when he needed to touch up a plate. More than three quarters of his total printed oeuvre was produced between 1928 (when his prints began to receive wide recognition) and 1933. In 1930 he was appointed to the chair of etching at the Accademia di Belle Arti of Bologna and taught there until his retirement in 1956.

Morandi liked to etch, but was not interested in printing his own editions. In 1928 Petrucci, the last practising printer who was Director of the Calcografia, began to print editions for him. In Bologna, Morandi would print a few proofs, select paper for the edition, and send the plate and instructions to Petrucci in Rome. Petrucci would print as needed, distribute impressions to individuals and galleries, and send Morandi money for the sold prints. The artist would draw a tiny picture of the print and record information about the editions and the purchasers of individual prints in his notebook of editions.

In 1949 Petrucci asked Morandi to donate printing plates to the Calcografia and offered him the first solo exhibition in its new exhibition space. Morandi was well aware of the Calcografia's potential as an inspirational resource for artists and of the high honour of having his plates kept there for posterity along with those of Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–c. 1534), Agostino Carracci (1557–1602), Salvator Rosa (1615–73) and Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–78). It is also likely that Morandi felt that his plates were of artistic value independent of the impressions since these were the objects he had created (fig. 86). With the artist's permission, Petrucci engraved a Roman numeral (corresponding to the numbered prints in the exhibition) at the top right corner of each plate to serve as a cancellation mark. The documentation proofs taken from these cancelled and numbered plates were described in Vitali's catalogue raisonné. During the 1950s, Petrucci used both chemical (sulfuric acid and caustic soda) and mechanical means (scrapers and fine abrasives) to eliminate the oxides and metallic salts that had formed on plates that he was still printing for Morandi. The donated copper and zinc plates were packed in a wooden box. Most of these plates still had dried ink in the lines and many had been corroded by acids from the printers' finger and palm prints and from environmental sources. Most were covered with bitumen – a substance used by printers to protect plates – and were wrapped in paper.

Following Morandi's death, his sisters gave the artist's personal collection of etchings to the Uffizi Gallery. They also requested in 1965 that the wooden box containing the plates should be hermetically encased in an outer zinc box for the next 50 years. But by 1985 the Calcografia's staff were concerned that the box was swelling, possibly as the result of an electrolytic reaction between the two metals in the presence of humidity, or because of exhalations from the wood reacting to the zinc and forming hydrogen gas. By ministerial decree, the box was reopened. That year, the Calcografia mounted a small exhibition of the plates, safely sealed in display cases filled with inert anhydrous nitrogen gas while techniques to restore them could be developed. Staff chemist Antonio Zappalà suggested new strategies for restoration, and the results of his cleaning of the 95 plates were published by Cordaro in the exhibition catalogue *Morandi, L'opera grafica: rispondenze e variazioni* as well as in his (nearly identical) *Catalogo generale*.[5]

In 1997 new sliding vertical cases and a climate-

5. Cordaro, 1990, op. cit.; Cordaro, 1991, op. cit.

86. Giorgio Morandi, *Flowers in a Cornetto, in an Oval*, 1929, etched copper, 300 x 201 x 0.5 mm (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica).

controlled environment for housing and accessing the Calcografia's 23,000 plates were completed. Before-and-after photographs of the plate storage facility (the Calcoteca) document the conditions in which plates were previously and are currently stored (p. 45). In recent years, in order to prevent further degradation following cleaning, corrosion inhibitors, plastic film and cellulose lacquer barriers have been applied to Morandi's plates. Zucchini's 2010 donation spurred the institution to revisit its conservation practices and research on the plates, which brings us to 2015 and *Morandi in Calcografia*.

In evaluating this book's practical use, I paid special attention to the catalogues of the plates and the notebook of editions, and their ease of consultation. Although 101 physical plates are in the Istituto Centrale's collection, the catalogue lists 114 entries because the etched versos of plates – even if not by Morandi – are counted as separate objects. The plate catalogue section is divided in two parts. In the first, reasonably large photographs of the restored plates are presented one or two per page (pp. 74–156). In

the second, 55 mm-wide thumbnail photographs are arranged in two columns with the restored and cancelled plate on the left and the photograph of the documentation proof on the right (pp. 157–93). The catalogue information includes title according to Vitali; both catalogue raisonné numbers; medium and support; dimensions; plate cancellation roman numeral (if engraved on the plate); and name of donor. If a plate was etched with an image on both sides, the verso is illustrated and cross-referenced. Unfortunately, the catalogue of plates lacks a guide to its use or a key to abbreviations and numbering, so the significance of some of the data is unclear.

I searched for information related to the plate for a Morandi etching in the Des Moines Art Center's collection, *Large Still Life with Coffee Pot*, 1933.[6] It was exciting to find large and thumbnail photographs of the plate of this highly finished etching as well as of its unexpected verso with another, incomplete image etched by Morandi. But the photograph of the documentation impression severely exaggerates the blacks of a print that Morandi himself said should be 'rather light with luminous whites', and is a caution to readers in regard to other images reproduced here.

The Des Moines Art Center's print is numbered '20/40'. On our print's relevant page of Morandi's editions notebook I found his handwritten note indicating that only print numbers one through twenty were signed and dated, and that the numbering of 21 through 40 needed to be verified. He marked the edition 'sold out'. While it is good to see the photographs of every page, most of which bear little drawings made after the prints, much of this information is also transcribed in the Cordaro 1990 and 1991 catalogues.

Although *Morandi in Calcografia* has much valuable content, the photographs of the restored printing plates are not entirely satisfactory. Because the plates were shot head-on under very even lighting conditions, the photographs do not convey a sense of the depth of the etched lines, nor of the thickness of the plate and its bevelled edge. The physical nature of the etched line might have been more evident had the plates been left clean rather than inked and wiped (as if ready for printing) before they were photographed. Speaking as a working engraver, I would have preferred to see the plates photographed in a way that brought out their three-dimensional qualities rather than obscuring them. Also, the book's graphic designer cropped many of the plate photographs to within the bevel, eliminating important visual information depicting how this consummate etcher and teacher prepared his plates.

For the most part the book is well edited, with few lapses. In Abramowicz's essay the last line should read 'natura' morta instead of 'matura' morta (p. 71). The photograph of Abramowicz with Morandi and his sister was printed in reverse (p. 59). For no. 9 recto, the catalogue raisonné number should be Vitali '10', not '1'. *Morandi in Calcografia*'s bibliography claims to list all of the texts cited by the authors of the essays as well as updating the bibliography published in Cordaro, 1990. In fact, both failed to include at least three publications pertinent to Morandi's prints. This omission is rectified in the catalogues of exhibitions held in Munich in 1981 and Des Moines and elsewhere in that same year and in conference papers published in 1985.[7]

In focusing on the plates of a single artist, *Morandi in Calcografia* opens up a world of the collection, storage, conservation and display of printing matrices. It offers a model of state-of-the-art practices and, by extension, it makes evident the challenges others may encounter in collecting such material. From time to time artists' plates – think Rembrandt – appear on the market. Whether these plates are bought for study, to reprint, or to hold as a precious relic, owners have a fiduciary responsibility to care for them. The book should be of great interest to curators and conservators as well as to printmakers who wonder how to store, protect and even bequeath their plates. Anyone who loves Morandi's prints will be delighted to see the photographs of the plates. Collectors and dealers may find the notebook entries useful. But if you require good images and comprehensive information about individual prints in his oeuvre, the book does not stand alone – you still need to consult Cordaro's *Catalogo generale*.

6. Vitali op. cit., no. 94; Cordaro, 1991, op. cit., no. 1933.1.
7. *Giorgio Morandi: Ölbilder, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, Radierungen*, edited by F. A. Morat, Munich, 1981; A. N. Worthen, 'Giorgio Morandi as an Etcher', in *Morandi*, edited by J. M. Lukach and J. T. Demetrion, San Francisco, 1981; A. N. Worthen, 'Morandi colorista; incisore in bianco e nero', in *Morandi e il suo tempo. Primo incontro internazionale di studi su Giorgio Morandi, Bologna, 16–17 novembre*, edited by M. Pasquali, Milan, 1985. Worthen, 1981, *Morandi as an Etcher*, op. cit., is cited in Cordaro 1990, 1991 and 2015, op. cit., however, none of Cordaro's three bibliographies lists it.

Marcel Duchamp's *Boîte-en-valise*

Stephen J. Bury

Marcel Duchamp, *From or By Marcel Duchamp or Rrose Sélavy (Box in a Valise) = De ou par Marcel Duchamp ou Rrose Sélavy (Boîte-en-valise)*, designed and edited by Mathieu Mercier under the supervision of the Association Marcel Duchamp, Köln, Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2016, 80 replicas and printed reproductions, limited edition of 1,500 copies, £128.

'Breathtakingly beautiful', was critic Walter Benjamin's reaction, when in a café on the Boulevard St. Germain in late spring 1937, Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) showed him a reduced format hand-coloured pochoir of his painting *Nude Descending a Staircase* from 1912. Most probably this pochoir was part of Duchamp's *From or By Marcel Duchamp or Rrose Sélavy (Box in a Valise)*, which he was working on at the time. It might be tempting to see Duchamp's project at this point as a response to Benjamin's 'Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', an essay that had been published twice in French in Paris in 1936, and was also influencing the thinking of André Malraux (1901–76) about a museum without walls. Was Duchamp pointing out to Benjamin that works of reproduction could have aura too?

This is far-fetched. Duchamp had effectively already given up painting as 'retinal art' by 1918 and coined the term of the readymade – a mass-produced object as art – possibly elaborating on Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven's idea of exhibiting a urinal. He had created the first artist's multiple with *Rotoreliefs*, which he first displayed at the 1935 inventor's salon Concours Lépine, in Paris, and had become involved with film, producing, for example, *Anemic Cinema*, in 1926. All these gestures by Duchamp are much more likely to be the very precedent for Benjamin's thesis on the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction. This was largely focused on film but also discussed Dadaism (with which Duchamp was identified). Benjamin saw Dadaism as an attempt to create an art form for this new age of the disappearing aura; and he thought the attempt had been unsuccessful, resulting in what he termed the barbarism or anti-art of Dada.

In a television interview with James Johnson Sweeney in 1956, Duchamp gave an account of the origins of *From or By Marcel Duchamp or Rrose Sélavy (Box in a Valise)*: 'instead of painting something the idea was to reproduce the paintings that I loved so much in miniature'. He began to work on the project in 1935. Although there had been no monograph on his work (it was 1954 before that happened), he dismissed the idea of a book in favour of a 'box in which all my works would be mounted in a small museum, a portable museum, so to speak, and here it is in this valise.' And of course, with Duchamp's playfulness, valise was an anagram of selavi, itself a pun, *c'est la vie*.

Duchamp intended a run of 300 boxes with an additional twenty that were to include a brown carrying case and an 'original' print – these were given to friends and collectors. Components were planned in these amounts. The project involved photographing original paintings that had been sold or scattered: Man Ray did many of the French ones, Sam Little the Hollywood ones, and Frank Bushman those in New Haven, CT. Duchamp, where possible, visited to make notes on the colouring or *coloriages*, as he intended that others would complete the boxes. Iliazd, whose real name was Ilia Zdanevitch (1894–1975), worked on Box C, while Joseph Cornell (1903–72) worked on Box A and B in 1943: this was part of Duchamp's strategy to eliminate the artist's touch or *patte*. The use of the zinc stencilling process of pochoir, however, resulted in variations between copies. While still in France after the German invasion, Duchamp made three trips as a cheese merchant to occupied Paris to collect various box components using an *Ausweis*, or travel pass, obtained through Gustave Candel, a wholesale cheese merchant in Les Halles. Everything secured, the components for the Box were packed up with Peggy Guggenheim's art collection and shipped to the United States in 1942.

The new facsimile designed and edited by the French conceptual artist Mathieu Mercier is in a long tradition of artists reconstituting Duchamp's works, of which Richard Hamilton's (1922–2011) *The Green Box* is perhaps the best known example. Here, Mercier, whose Paris dealer is TORRI, took Box G as his model This was produced in 1968 and bears the stamped signature of Marcel Duchamp but is signed by Teeny (Matisse) Duchamp. It was assembled by Jackie (Matisse) Monnier. The F and G series contain 80 items whereas the earlier series had 68 items: five of the additional items, *Red Nude*, of 1910, *Laundry Barge*, of 1911, *Network of Stoppages*, from 1914, *Sieves*, also from 1914, and *Female Fig Leaf*, of 1950/51, had been recently acquired by the collector Mary Sisler. Other changes were the omission of the grey card behind *9 Malic Moulds*, of 1914–15, and the remaking of *Traveller's Folding Item*, of 1916. There is some diversity in the typefaces beyond Duchamp's use of Banville Gros, a 1936 face by the

87. Facsimile of Box G *From or By Marcel Duchamp or Rrose Sélavy (Box in a Valise) from 1968, containing 80 items*, 2016, 376 x 368 x 76 mm.

Fonderie Olive, Marseilles, used for titles and names in the original Box. And there is further variety in the reproductive techniques as modern colour photography and printing achieved likenesses as good as the collotype and pochoir used earlier.

Mercier's facsimile box with its green book-cloth cover is a bit smaller than the 1968 Box G, but it is faithful in scale (fig. 87). There is a precautionary sheet with instructions on how to open the box without damage. The central standing frame consists of a reproduction of *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*, of 1915–23, on transparent plastic with pullout sections or *tirettes*, the left side one including *Nude Descending a Staircase*, a pochoir version of which Benjamin might have seen in 1937. At the left of the central frame, three miniatures of the readymades, *50cc of Paris Air* of 1919, in plastic, *Travellers Folding Item*, of 1916, in card, and *Fountain*, of 1917, form a vertical gallery. Loose folders or *feuilles libres* contain further reproductions where Mercier and the Hong Kong printers C & C Joint Printing have reproduced the transparent window of *The Brawl at Austerlitz*, of 1921, substituted for the original carbon paper of *Oculist Witnesses*, from 1924, with tissue paper or recreated the variegated left edge and the fold of *Monte Carlo Bond*, from 1924.

Unless you are a curator, conservator or collector with $150,000 to spare, you will not get to handle one of Duchamp's fascinating multiples, so this affordable and well-executed facsimile is welcome. The Box itself raises questions of originality, reproducibility, portability, the facsimile, the miniature, translation, captioning and classification, the use of images by museums and, indeed, what constitutes a museum.

R. B. Kitaj

Alexander Adams

Jennifer Ramkalawon, *Kitaj Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné*, exhibition catalogue, London, The British Museum, 30 May–1 September 2013, London, The British Museum Press, 2013, 256 pp., 300 col. ills., £40.

R. B. Kitaj 1932–2007: Die Retrospektive, exhibition catalogue, contributions by Hubertus Gaßner et al., Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Gallery of Contemporary Art, 19 July–27 October 2013. In conjunction with 'Obsessionen' retrospective held at the Jüdisches Museum, Berlin, 21 September–27 January 2013 and at the Jewish Museum London and Pallant House, Chichester, 24 February–16 June 2013, Bielefeld/Berlin, Kerber Verlag, 2012, 157 col. ills., €34.

These two publications cover the prints of Anglo-American artist R. B. Kitaj (1932–2007); one relates a selection of them to his overall artistic oeuvre, the other catalogues all his prints in detail. Kitaj was born in Ohio and worked as a merchant seaman until 1950, when he decided to study art, first in New York City and then in Europe. He settled in London in 1959. He was one of the best draughtsmen of the nude in his era. His figures were carefully observed and realistically depicted, but also meaningful and serious in ways that life drawings rarely are. In addition, Kitaj was almost certainly the most accomplished pastelliste of the post-war period. In 1994, his Tate retrospective was attacked by a number of newspaper art critics and he was personally denigrated (for perceived arrogance and pretension). He fought back robustly, accusing critics of xenophobia and anti-Semitism. In 1997, hurt by public criticism and grieving the loss of his wife, he moved to Los Angeles. In 2007, facing terminal illness, he ended his life.

Kitaj regularly made prints, although printmaking was not a core activity for him except between 1964 and 1975. From 1964 he worked closely with Chris Prater at Kelpra studios to produce boldly coloured, but technically demanding screenprints.[1] These were photo-mechanical montages using Kitaj's hand-drawn stencil images and derived from sources such as book covers, illustrations, photographs and text. They fall within the Pop idiom, although they are intellectually allusive and refer to high rather than popular culture. Marlborough Fine Art, Kitaj's life-long dealer, commissioned and funded the artist's print editions. While teaching in the USA, Kitaj directed the publication of the *In Our Time* suite (1969–70; fig. 88) at Kelpra London studios via transatlantic correspondence, as shown by a letter included by Ramkalawon. Rose and Chris Prater donated Kelpra's printer's proofs to the Tate Gallery. In 1969 Kitaj dabbled with computer-designed elements but found the process uncongenial and did not pursue it.

Kitaj was a bibliophile with an extensive personal library and his screenprints often include literary references to personal favourites. He established friendly contact with poets, principally Americans, such as the Black Mountain poets Ed Dorn, Robert Duncan, Charles Olson and others, who became subjects for drawn, painted and printed portraits. In particular, Robert Creeley became a favoured subject (fig. 89), as in a suite of four prints, *A Sight by Robert Creeley*, of 1967, signed both by artist and poet. Kitaj's love of classic cinema was manifested in his use of film stills as montage material and as the inspiration for a few compositions, such as *A Life*, of 1975.

The retrospective exhibition 'Obsessions' covered paintings and 34 screenprints – specifically *Boys and Girls*, of 1964; a selection of eighteen of the 50 prints from the *In Our Time* suite, of 1969, and the complete fifteen-print suite *Mahler Becomes Politics*, of 1964–67. Full comprehension eludes the viewer, as Kitaj's work contains a vast network of references to high art, culture, philosophy, history, pop culture, American slang and his own life. This complexity and allusiveness perplexed many and antagonized others. *Yaller Bird* is phonetically spelled slang for a yellow-clad pilot (fig. 90). The exhibition catalogue accompanying 'Obsessions' includes essays on aspects of Kitaj's art, but none specifically on prints. It deals with Kitaj as a Jewish artist who found particular meaning in the writing and lives of Jewish intellectuals and theologians. The screenprints feature book covers by a number of Jewish writers and make clear the artist's intellectual debts. Kitaj's dry humour is apparent in some of his choices of book covers used for screenprints such as *The Jewish Question*, of 1970, and *How to Read*, of 1969–70. Kitaj would select a book cover and have it photo-mechanically reproduced as a colour screenprint – often unmodified, in its battered, second-hand condition – because he liked the covers, found the titles provocative or humorous or because he admired the book itself.

In 2007, the year he died, Kitaj offered to donate to the British Museum a set of artist proofs of nearly all his prints. The catalogue *Kitaj Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné* is based on

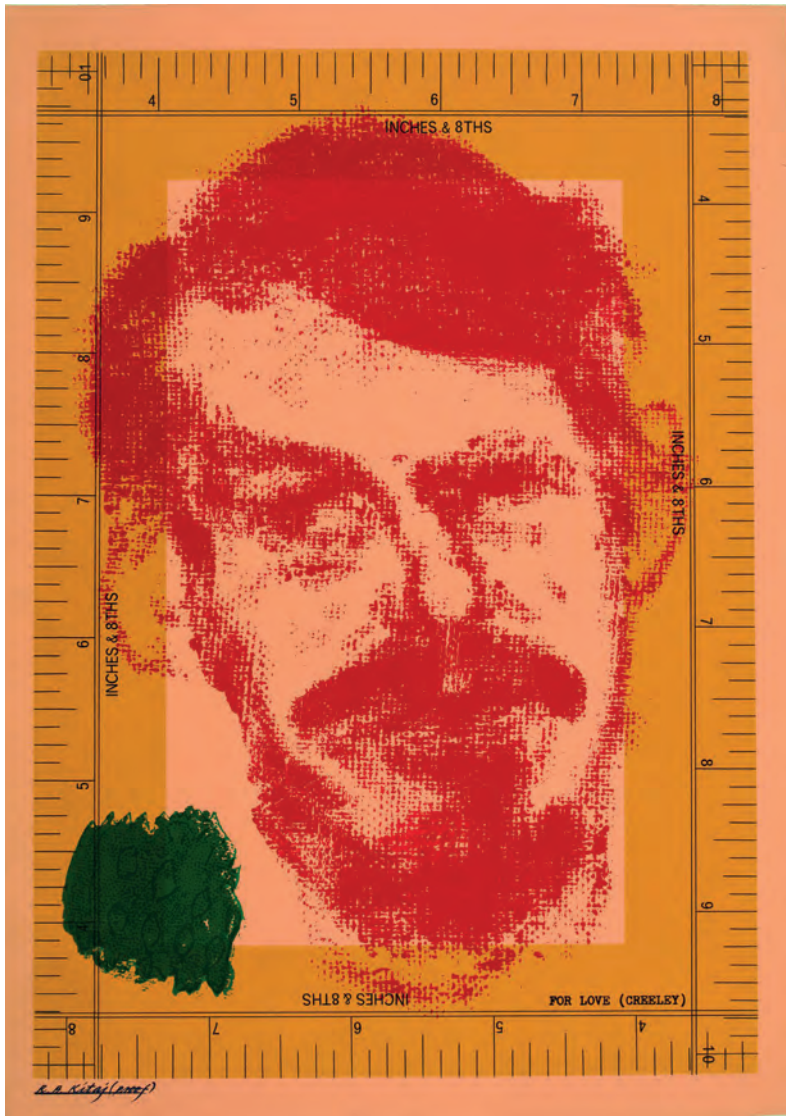
1. P. Gilmour, 'R. B. Kitaj and Chris Prater', *Print Quarterly*, XI, 1994, pp. 117–50.

88. R. B. Kitaj, *La Lucha del Pueblo Español por su Libertad*, from the series *In Our Time: Covers for a Small Library After the Life for the Most Part*, 1969–70, screenprint, 554 x 443 mm (London, British Museum © R. B. Kitaj Estate, courtesy Marlborough Fine Art).

these proofs, supplemented by the few items not in that group, such as the suite *Struggle in the West: The Bombing of London,* of 1967–69. The donation included unique test proofs of uneditioned works, some of which were complicated prints that had taken a long time to make, including *An Exhortatory Letter to the English*, of c. 1969, and the undated *Hand in Baseball Glove.*

The catalogue's introductory essay discusses Kitaj's attitude to printmaking and his modus operandi. Illustrations of all 271 of his prints follow in chronological order, with suites grouped together without individual dates. Full data on the print specifications is at the back. Some illustrations and book covers that were sources for Kitaj's imagery are identified in notes. There is a one-page bibliography but no list of print exhibitions. This volume supplants Jane Kinsman's catalogue of 1994 by adding prints from that year and later, as well as a few earlier omissions.[2] Several commercial posters are not docu-

2. J. Kinsman, *The Prints of R. B. Kitaj*, Canberra, 1994.



89. R. B. Kitaj, *For Love (Creeley)*, 1966, from the series *First Series: Some Poets*, screenprint, image 596 x 420 mm, sheet 646 x 458 mm (London, British Museum © R. B. Kitaj Estate, courtesy Marlborough Fine Art).

mented here. Kitaj's last prints were restatements of previous motifs from other media. Apart from the *Biblical Portraits* suite of 1991–94, they are single items rather than part of a series.

Kitaj's technique varied greatly over the years. In the mid-1970s he stopped making screenprint montages and worked instead on individual lithographs and intaglio prints of figures and heads, most of which have an experimental, unsatisfactory air. Although he continued to make prints after the mid-1970s, after turning away from montages Kitaj never really resolved what he wanted of printmaking. Drawing on lithographic stones produced graphics that he found too 'flat', leading him to draw on textured transfer paper which allowed the production of lithographs with a pastel-like, powdery surface. The lithographs are generally portraits, including some self-portraits. In the late 1980s Kitaj changed to a much looser and more expressive style. His last print, *The World's Greatest Pitcher – Satchel Paige*, a lithograph, was made in 2006, at a time when he was facing the degenerative Parkinson's disease that would eventually rob him of his artistic abilities.

Although Kitaj made a number of hard-ground etch-

90. R. B. Kitaj, *Yaller Bird*, 1964, screenprint, 640 x 510 mm (London, British Museum © R. B. Kitaj Estate, courtesy Marlborough Fine Art).

ings (some with aquatint), drypoints and one embossing, this *catalogue raisonné* suggests that he did not respond well to intaglio printmaking or exploit it effectively. He liked to draw with outlines too thick for hard-ground etching and more suited to screenprint and lithography, which also allowed him to incorporate collaged elements and colour. Among the intaglio prints, the soft-ground etchings of 1982 are closest to Kitaj's natural artistic inclination, although unfortunately he did not pursue this technique. It should be mentioned that *After Ryder, First State*, of 1982 is described as an etching, but as the illustration suggests, it is at least partially a drypoint, a conclusion since confirmed by the catalogue's author (no. 234).

Kitaj had doubts about the value of his prints, and in later years requested that they be excluded from publications and exhibitions. He even threatened to cannibalize or destroy his personal proofs but – apart from a few proofs modified or used as collage – his print collection remained intact before its donation to the British Museum. One has to conclude that the more sophisticated of the montage prints, such as *Vernissage-Cocktail*, of 1967 (which juxtaposes the Abstract Expressionist Irascibles group with a Pop Art setting) were the most successful of his prints (fig. 91).

91. R. B. Kitaj, *Vernissage-Cocktail*, 1967, screenprint, 1,040 x 708 mm (London, British Museum © R. B. Kitaj Estate, courtesy Marlborough Fine Art).

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Alexander Adams is an artist, writer and experienced printmaker based in Bristol. Adams has written about abstract prints, including those of Anni and Josef Albers and Ian Davenport.

Charlotte Ashby is a lecturer in Art and Design History at Birkbeck, University College London and Oxford University. She specializes in Northern and Central Europe at the fin-de-siècle.

Stephen J. Bury, Chief Librarian of the Frick Art Reference Library and Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Center for Book Arts, New York, is the author of *Artists' Multiples* (2001) and *Artists' Books* (2015).

Anne Buschhoff is curator of prints and drawings from the nineteenth century to the present at the Kupferstichkabinett of the Kunsthalle Bremen. Most recently she has published on Émile Bernard and the prints of the Nabis.

Barbara Butts, former Curator of Prints, Drawings and Photographs at the Saint Louis Art Museum, is the author of a catalogue raisonné of Hans von Kulmbach's drawings (*Master Drawings*, XLIV, 2006, no. 2) and co-curator of 'Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein' (2000).

Marjorie B. Cohn is the retired Curator of Prints at the Harvard University Art Museums. She was formerly also Conservator of Works on Paper and, occasionally, Acting Director.

Viccy Coltman is Professor of eighteenth-century history of art at the University of Edinburgh and author of *Fabricating the Antique* (2005) and *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760* (2009).

Tom Conley, Abbott Lawrence Lowell Professor of Visual and Environmental Studies and of Romance Languages and Literatures at Harvard University, studies relations of space and writing in literature, cartography and cinema.

Rhoda Eitel-Porter, former curator and department head of prints and drawings at the Morgan Library & Museum, is Editor of this Journal. Her research focuses on Italian art 1400 to 1700.

Thomas Frangenberg is Reader in History of Art at the University of Leicester with a research interest in Italian, German and French art and art theory 1400–1800 and the history of the illustrated art book.

Jamie Gabbarelli is the Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. His PhD thesis was on 'Networks, Copies, Collaboration: Ventura Salimbeni, Philippe Thomassin, Raffaello Guidi and Printmaking in Rome 1585–1620' (Yale, 2015).

Valérie Hayaert, Research Associate at the Institut des Hautes Études sur la Justice (IHEJ), Paris, is a classicist, historian and humanist researcher of the early modern European tradition. She is the author of *'Mens emblematica' et humanisme juridique* (Geneva, 2008).

Martin Hopkinson is a member of this Journal's Editorial Board and author of *Italian Prints 1875–1975* (2007). His main research interests are British, French and Italian prints of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann is Frederick Marquand Professor of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, and the author of many articles and books including *Arcimboldo: Visual Jokes, Natural History, and Still-Life Painting* (Chicago, 2009).

Loredana Lorizzo is Professor of Modern Art History at the Università di Salerno, Italy. Her studies are focused on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian, Flemish and Dutch art, especially on the mechanisms of the art market.

Giorgio Marini is Curator of Prints at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi in Florence, and a member of the Editorial Board of this Journal.

Ricardo Marín-Viadel is Professor of Art Education in the School of Fine Arts of the University of Granada, Spain, and author of *Las Incantadas* (2013) and *Equipo Crónica: pintura, cultura y sociedad* (Valencia, 2002).

David R. Marshall is Principal Fellow, Art History, at the School of Culture and Communications of the University of Melbourne. His research interests centre on the art, architecture and urbanism of the city of Rome in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Jean Michel Massing, Emeritus Professor of Art History and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge University, is a member of this Journal's Editorial Board. He published *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol.3.2.

Julie Mellby is the Graphic Arts Curator within Rare Books and Special Collections at Firestone Library, Princeton University. Her research has focused on twentieth-century modernism.

Chris Michaelides is Curator of Romance Collections at the British Library, with a particular interest in nineteenth-century French prints and twentieth-century French and Italian publications of the avant-garde.

Alberto Milano, who died last year, was a prominent scholar of so-called popular prints and paper-based ephemera (see *Print Quarterly*, XXXIII, September 2016). He curated exhibitions and published on optical devices, decorated papers and playing cards.

Lucy Mulroney is Senior Director of the Special Collections Research Center at Syracuse University Libraries and is preparing a book on *Andy Warhol, Publisher* for University of Chicago Press.

Benito Navarrete Prieto is Associate Professor at the Universidad de Alcalá, Spain, and author of *La pintura Andaluza del siglo XVII y sus fuentes grabadas* (Madrid, 1998) and *I Segni nel Tempo: Dibujos españoles de los Uffizi* (Madrid, 2016).

Tim O'Riley is an artist and Reader in Print and Digital Practice at the Royal College of Art, London. He has also taught for many years at Chelsea College of Art, part of the University of the Arts London.

Linda Parshall is professor emerita of German Literature, Portland State University, Portland, OR. Recent publications have focused on landscaped gardens and park design, especially on Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau and Muskau Park.

Samantha Rippner, former Curator of Drawings and Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, is a freelance curator and writer based in San Francisco. Her publications have focused on modern and contemporary drawings and prints.

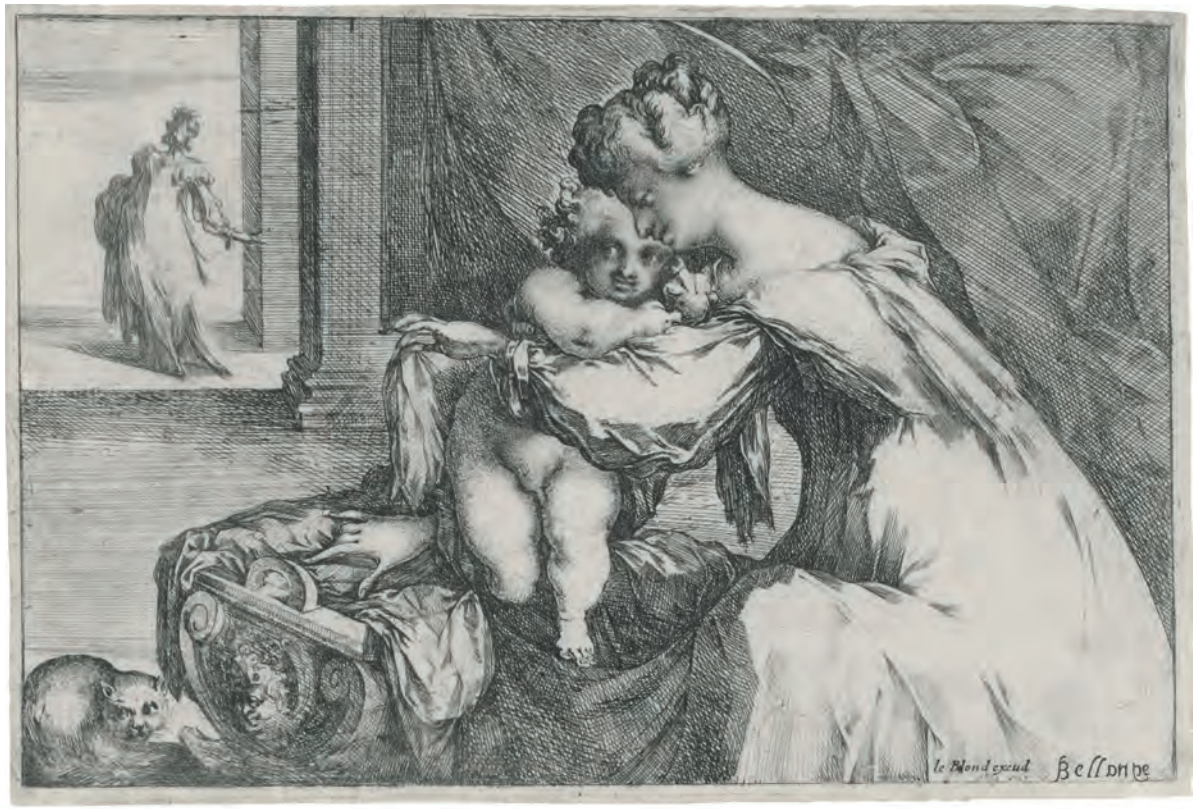
Jaco Rutgers is currently preparing the volumes on prints after Rubens's inventions for the Hollstein series in collaboration with Simon Turner. Together with Erik Hinterding, he compiled the New Hollstein Rembrandt volumes (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2013).

Jeannette Stoschek is Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig. Her work has centred on contemporary and nineteenth-century prints and drawings.

Amy N. Worthen, Curator of Prints and Drawings Emerita, Des Moines Art Center, is a specialist in the history of prints. She has authored several studies on Morandi as an etcher.

PAUL PROUTÉ S.A.

PRINTS AND DRAWINGS



Jacques **BELLANGE**

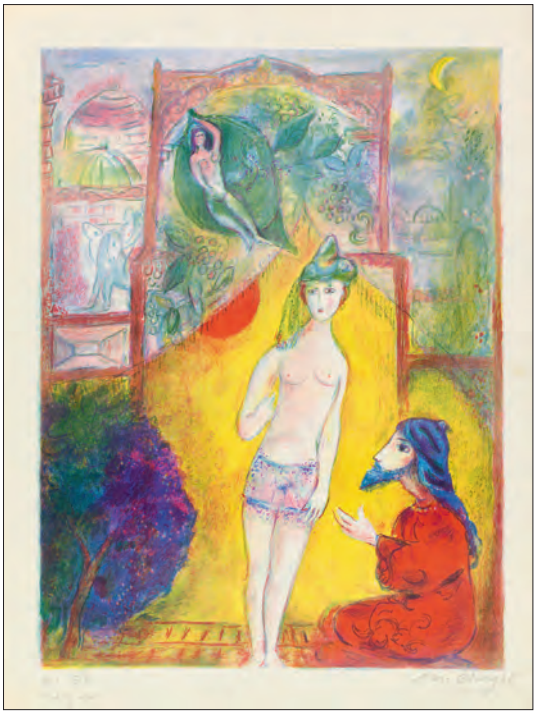
Bassigny 1575 – Nancy 1616

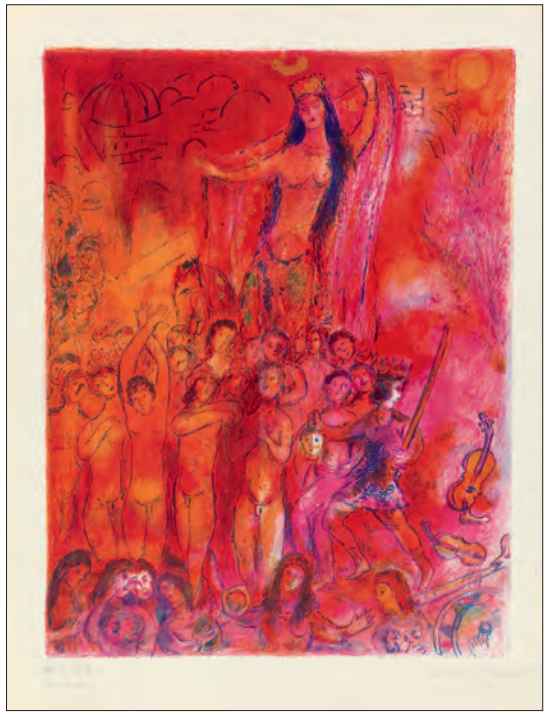
The Virgin and Child with Cradle

Drypoint and engraving
146 x 218 mm, trimmed slightly within the platemark
(Walch 7 iii/iv, Worthen, Reed 6, Thuillier 26, Griffiths, Hartley 6 ii/ii)

74, rue de Seine 75006 Paris *proutesa@wanadoo.fr* *(33) 1 43 26 89 80*
www.galeriepaulproute.com

SWANN
AUCTION GALLERIES





Marc Chagall, *Arabian Nights*, complete portfolio with 13 lithographs, 1948. Estimate $250,000 to $350,000. At auction March 2.

Upcoming Auctions

19th & 20th Century Prints & Drawings
March 2

Old Master Through Modern Prints
May 2

Contemporary Art
May 11

American Art
June 15

Todd Weyman • tweyman@swanngalleries.com

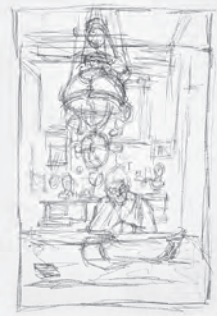
104 East 25th Street New York, NY 10010 • 212 254 4710 • **SWANNGALLERIES.COM**

New Publication

Eberhard W. Kornfeld Fondation Giacometti, Paris

Alberto Giacometti
Catalogue raisonné des estampes
Volume I – 1917–1957/1958 – 1–231

Paris/Berne 2016
Fondation Giacometti/Editions Galerie Kornfeld



Eberhard W. Kornfeld Fondation Giacometti, Paris

Alberto Giacometti
Catalogue raisonné des estampes
Volume II – 1957/1958–1965 – 232–452

Paris/Berne 2016
Fondation Giacometti/Editions Galerie Kornfeld

Eberhard W. Kornfeld. Fondation Giacometti
Alberto Giacometti
Catalogue raisonné des estampes. Volume I and II

Vol. I, No. 1–231, Vol. II, No. 232–452. ISBN: 978-3-85773-057-3
Text in French. Price for the 2 volumes CHF 450.-

Next Auction Sales: June 15 and 16, 2017

Closing date for consignments March 15, 2017

GALERIE KORNFELD · BERN
EXCELLENCE AND EXPERTISE SINCE 1864

Laupenstrasse 41 · CH-3008 Bern · Tel. +41 31 381 4673 · galerie@kornfeld.ch · www.kornfeld.ch

Venator & Hanstein

Book and Print Auctions

SPRING AUCTIONS 2017

23 March Library of Dr. Henning Rasner

24 March Rare Books Manuscripts Autographs Old Prints

25 March Modern Prints Contemporary Prints

Pablo Picasso. Crâne de Chèvre. Aquatint. B.691.

Cäcilienstrasse 48 · 50667 Cologne · Tel. +49-221–257 54 19 · Fax +49-221–257 55 26
info@venator-hanstein.de · www.venator-hanstein.de

Nicolaas Teeuwisse

Old Master & Modern Prints & Drawings

Jean Etienne Liotard (1702–1789, Geneva) – after. *Mademoiselle Lavergnée (La Liseuse).*
Etching and engraving by J. Daullé and S. F. Ravenet. 58.5 x 42.5 cm. Circa 1755. Tilanus 53.

Catalogue XVII *Selected Works* now available

Nicolaas Teeuwisse OHG · Erdener Str. 5a · 14193 Berlin-Grunewald
Telephone: +49 30 893 80 29 19, +49 30 890 48 791 · Mobile: +49 171 483 04 86
Email: nicolaas@teeuwisse.de · www.teeuwisse.de

Fine Old Master & Modern Prints & Drawings

ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE Haarlem 1610 – 1685 Haarlem

Village Romance.

Etching; 1667. Hollstein & Godefroy 11, the eighth of twelve states.
A brilliant impression in excellent, fresh condition. Trimmed to the platemark all around.

From the collection of D. G. de Arozarena (died c.1860), Lugt 109.
Lugt noted that his sale of 11-16 March 1861 contained "un oeuvre exceptionnel de A. van Ostade".

HILL-STONE

– INCORPORATED –

By appointment in New York

441 ELM STREET, SOUTH DARTMOUTH, MA 02748
tel: +1 774 206 1024 and +1 212 249 1397
oldmaster@hill-stone.com www.hill-stone.com