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VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER 1

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Hieronymus Bosch (after), *The Besieged Elephant*, 1601, etching and engraving, 402 x 538 mm.

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

Drawings for the Woodcut Illustrations to Alessandro Vellutello's 1544 Commentary on Dante's *Comedia*

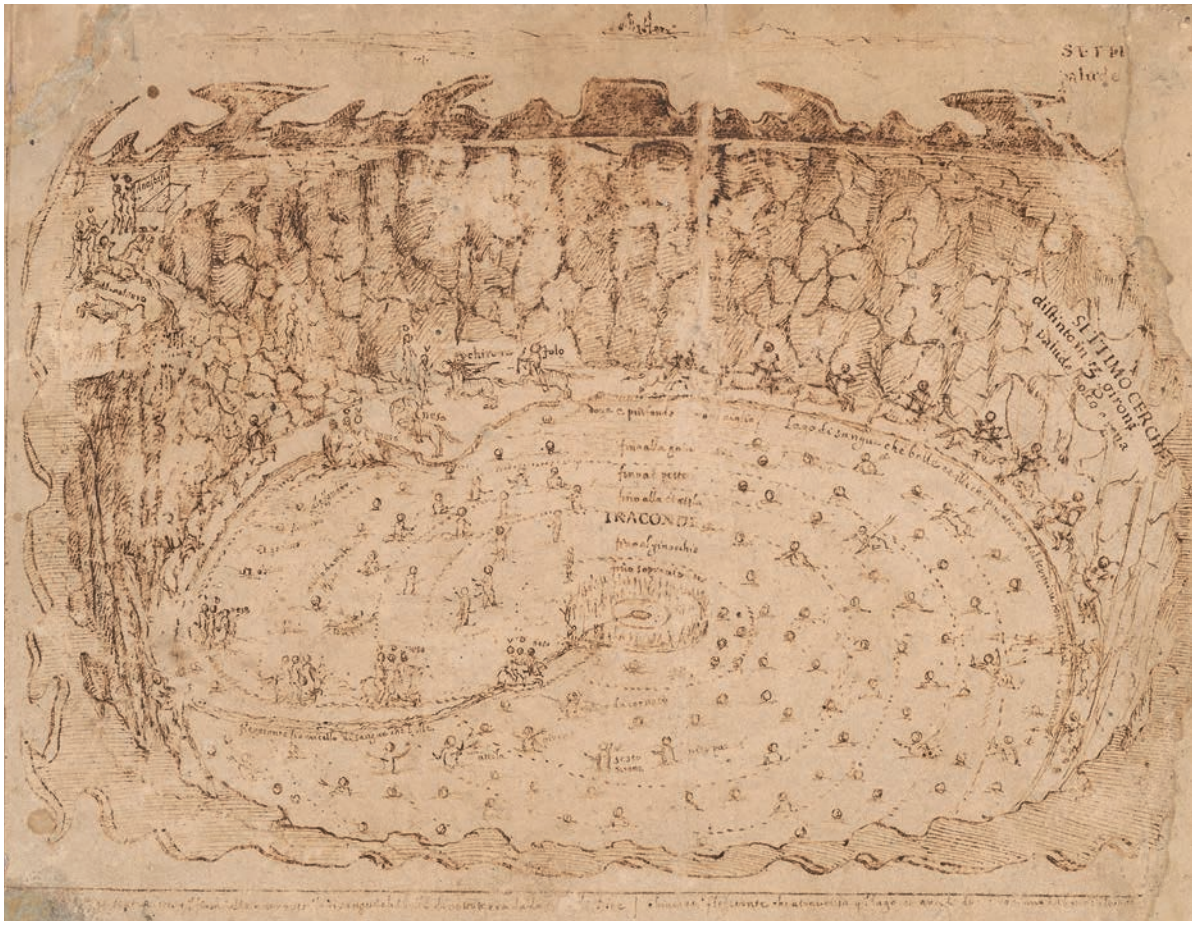
Rhoda Eitel-Porter

Even 700 years after its creation, Dante's *Divine Comedy* remains one of the most influential works of Italian literature. Originally referred to simply as *La Comedia*, it describes the author's imagined travels through the three realms of the afterlife – Hell, Purgatory and Paradise – in the spring of 1300; but at a deeper level it represents the soul's journey towards God. Numerous illustrated manuscripts and printed editions with illustrations, the first of which was published in Florence in 1481, attest to its importance and popularity.[1] Sandro Botticelli's (1445–1510) exquisite series of drawings, probably made in the 1490s, ranks prominently among visualizations of Dante, as do designs by Federico Zuccaro (1542–1609) and Giovanni Stradano (1523–1605).[2] By comparison, a set of twenty anonymous drawings of scenes from Hell and Purgatory is artistically modest. Drawn with a sharp pen in brown ink, these drawings pedantically

These findings were presented at the international colloquium *Venetian Disegno: Bellini to Tiepolo* at Pembroke College, Cambridge University, on 27 September 2013. I would like to thank Matthias Wivel, the Department of History of Art of Cambridge University, Pembroke College and the Statens Museum for Konst, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, for the kind invitation to speak. Thanks are also due to Paul Joannides for his help with this article. The drawings were part of work undertaken in the period 1999 to 2010 for this author's comprehensive catalogue of drawings by Italian artists born before 1550 in the collection of the Morgan Library & Museum.

1. Published by Nicolo di Lorenzo della Magna, Florence, 1481; the engraved illustrations have been associated with Botticelli.
2. H.-T. Schulze-Altcappenberg, *Sandro Botticelli: Der Bilderzyklus zu Dantes Göttlicher Komödie*, Berlin, 2000. M. Brunner, *Die Illustrierung von Dantes Divina Commedia in der Zeit der Dante-Debatte (1570–1600)*, Munich and Berlin, 1999.

1. Attributed to Alessandro Vellutello, Detail of *Virgil and Dante Passing through a Rocky Landscape with a Fumarole*, pen and brown ink, 207 x 280 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).



2. Attributed to Alessandro Vellutello, *Inferno, Canto 11–12, The Circle of the Violent*, pen and brown ink, 207 x 280 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).

situate the narrative without great skill or flair. Yet they display informed engagement with the written word and an unusual quantity of specific detail that merits closer consideration.

The drawings were presented to the Morgan Library and Museum, New York, in 1966 by the rare book dealer Hans P. Kraus.[3] With the exception of an article by the Dante scholar Lamberto Donati published in the journal *La Bibliofilia* in 1963, and two mentions in acquisition reports, they have remained unpublished.[4] Little is known about their provenance: at the time of Donati's article, they were owned by the antiquarian bookseller and man of letters J. I. Davis (d. 1967).[5] Davis had been in a business partnership with Giuseppe Orioli in the antiquarian bookselling firm Davis & Orioli in Florence since 1911. Most famous as the first to publish D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Davis & Orioli were major purveyors of Continental books, especially Italian, between about 1935 and 1968.[6] But Davis's reputation has become somewhat tarnished by the scandal surrounding the Vinland Map. He had tried, without success, to sell the map, which most scholars now consider a forgery made on genuine fifteenth-century parchment and

3. Inv. 1966.12.1–20; online collection.
4. L. Donati, 'Commento ad una serie di disegni del XVI secolo illustranti la Divina Commedia', *La Bibliofilia*, LXV, 1963, pp. 151–87. *Fellows Report,* 1969, pp. 91–92 (Italian school, c. 1500); *Review of Acquisitions,* 1969, p. 150 (Italian school, c. 1500).
5. Donati, op. cit., p. 151 (mention of Davis).
6. I thank Nicolas Barker, London, for information on Irving Davis received in an email of 2 January 2014. See also H. A. Feisenberger's obituary by Nicolas Barker of 20 September 1999 in *The Independent*. His property was sold by Sotheby's, London, on 2 December 1968 under the title *Valuable Continental Books from the Property of the Late JI Davis*.

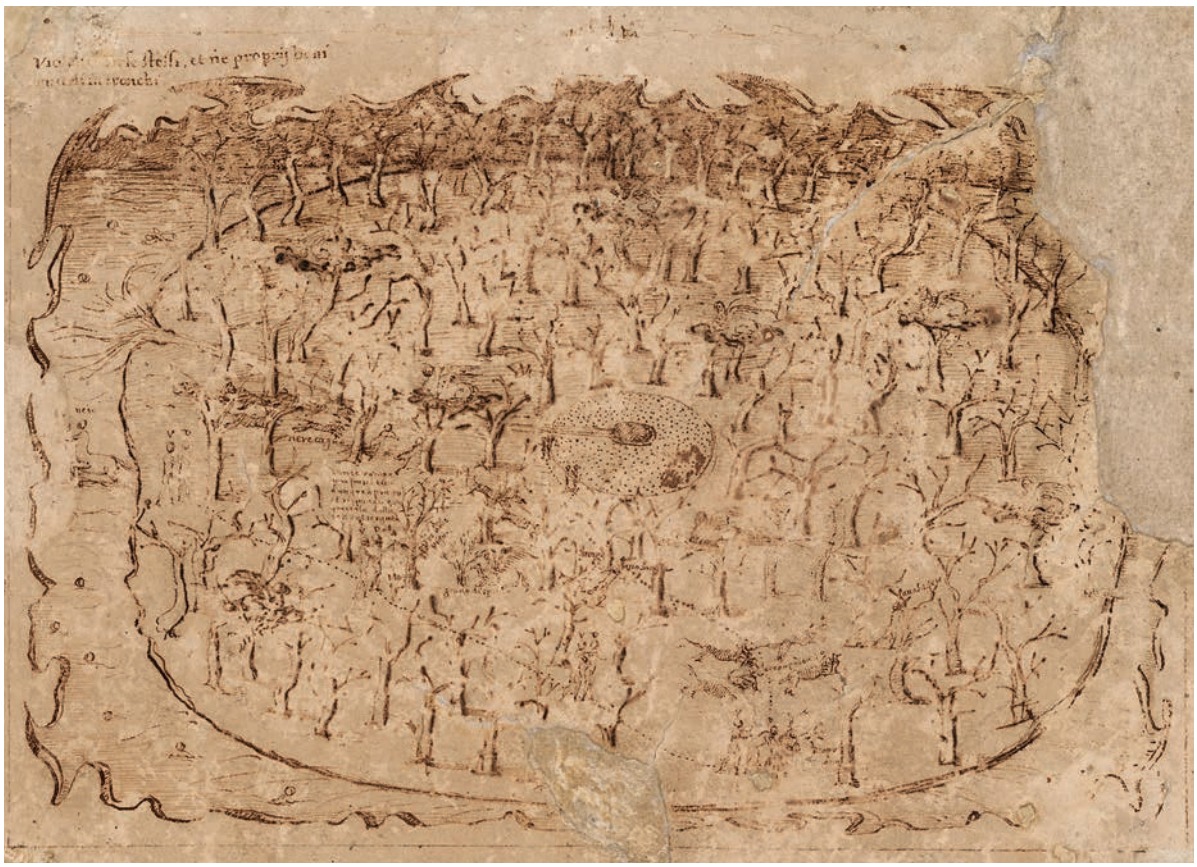
3. Attributed to Giovanni Britto, *Inferno, Canto 11–12, The Circle of the Violent*, from A. Vellutello, *La comedia di Dante* (Venice, 1544), woodcut, 126 x 109 mm (London, British Library).

inserted between authentic manuscripts before Nicolas Rauch sold it to Yale University's benefactor Paul Mellon in 1957.[7] Hence the Dante drawings' near contemporaneous appearance on the art market from the same source as the Vinland Map, their publication by a prestigious art historian and acquisition by a major US collection might lead one to think that they too were the work of a forger. However, unattributed and of little artistic merit, the drawings would have been too insignificant to warrant forgery.

Three of the sheets of paper bear a partial watermark consisting of a star surmounting the letter M within a shield resembling Briquet no. 8390, which also occurs on a Florentine document of 1529.[8] A tantalizing note in the Morgan's file mentions that 'A piece of paper (now removed) which was adhering to the back of one of the drawings is a leaf from an account book of the Medici bank, with entries dated 1475.' Donati makes no mention of this piece of paper, which is now in the Department of Literary and Historical Manuscripts. It might have been added later to increase the potential value of what could otherwise have been considered a rather scrappy set of amateurish sketches.

Donati identifies precisely the episodes represented on the extant sheets, which are no doubt the remainder

7. P. Saenger, 'Vinland Re-read', *Imago Mundi*, L, 1998, pp. 199–202 and K. Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men: The Story of the Vinland Map*, Stanford, CA, 2004.
8. C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, Paris, 1907, III, p. 452. Drawings 1966.12:7 and 9 show the upper part of a shield with a star, drawing 3 what is presumably the lower part of the same watermark: the lower part of shield with the letter M.



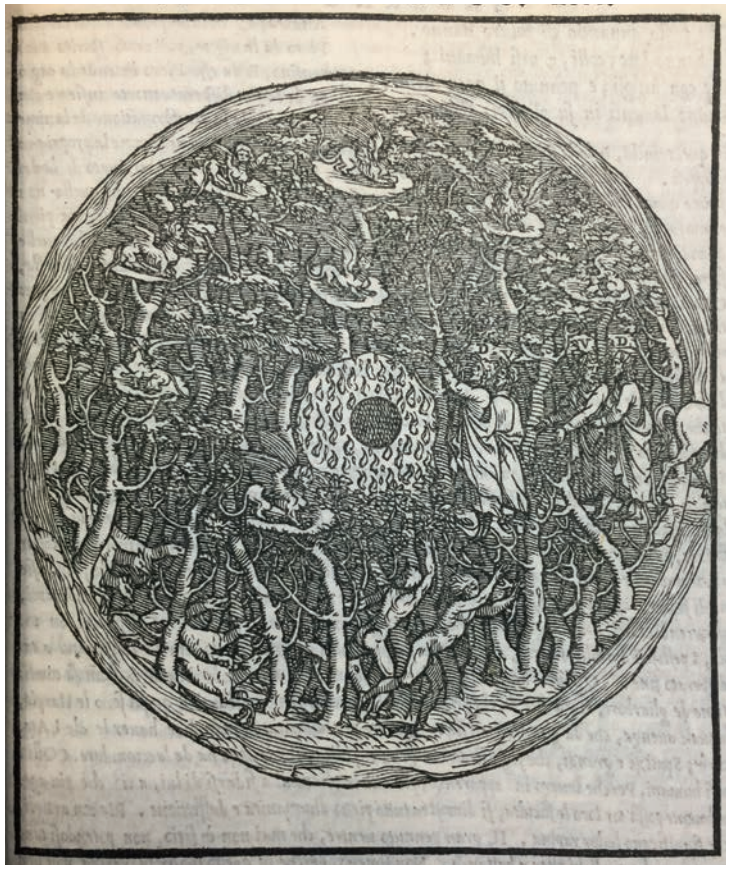
4. Attributed to Alessandro Vellutello, *Inferno, Canto 13, Virgil and Dante in the Forest of Those who have Committed Suicide,* pen and brown ink, 207 x 280 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).

of a more extensive series. The first three drawings show a barren volcanic landscape through which two diminutive figures representing Dante and Virgil wind their way along a rocky path before reaching the entrance to Hell (fig. 1).[9] There follow six scenes dedicated to Virgil guiding Dante through Hell and eleven dedicated to Purgatory; none survive illustrating Paradise. Some *canti* are very richly illustrated, while others do not feature at all. Such variation is not uncommon for Dante illustrations: Paradise is often represented in less detail than the other books because of the difficulty of visualizing the associated abstract concepts. The scenes are drawn with a neat, impersonal regularity calculated to present the subject matter with the utmost clarity, and all except the first three images are accompanied by extensive explanatory labels and inscriptions. Stylistic analysis has not led to any conclusions about the drawings' authorship. Donati considered them to have been made around 1500 by an unknown Italian draughtsman. In 1968, possibly taking into account the partial watermarks, the great drawings connoisseur Philip Pouncey characterized them as made around 1530–40 by a provincial hand contemporary with Girolamo Genga (c. 1476–1551) or Lorenzo Lotto (c. 1480–1556/57, as noted in the museum file).

It is here proposed that the series was drawn by the Dante commentator Alessandro Vellutello (b. 1473) in the course of preparation for his *La comedia di Dante Aligieri con la nova esposizione di Alessandro Vellutello* (The Comedy of Dante Alighieri with a new explanation by Alessandro Vellutello), published in Venice in June 1544 by Francesco Marcolini of Forlì.[10] As repositories of Vellutello's knowledge and understanding, the draw-

9. Inv. 1966.12:3.

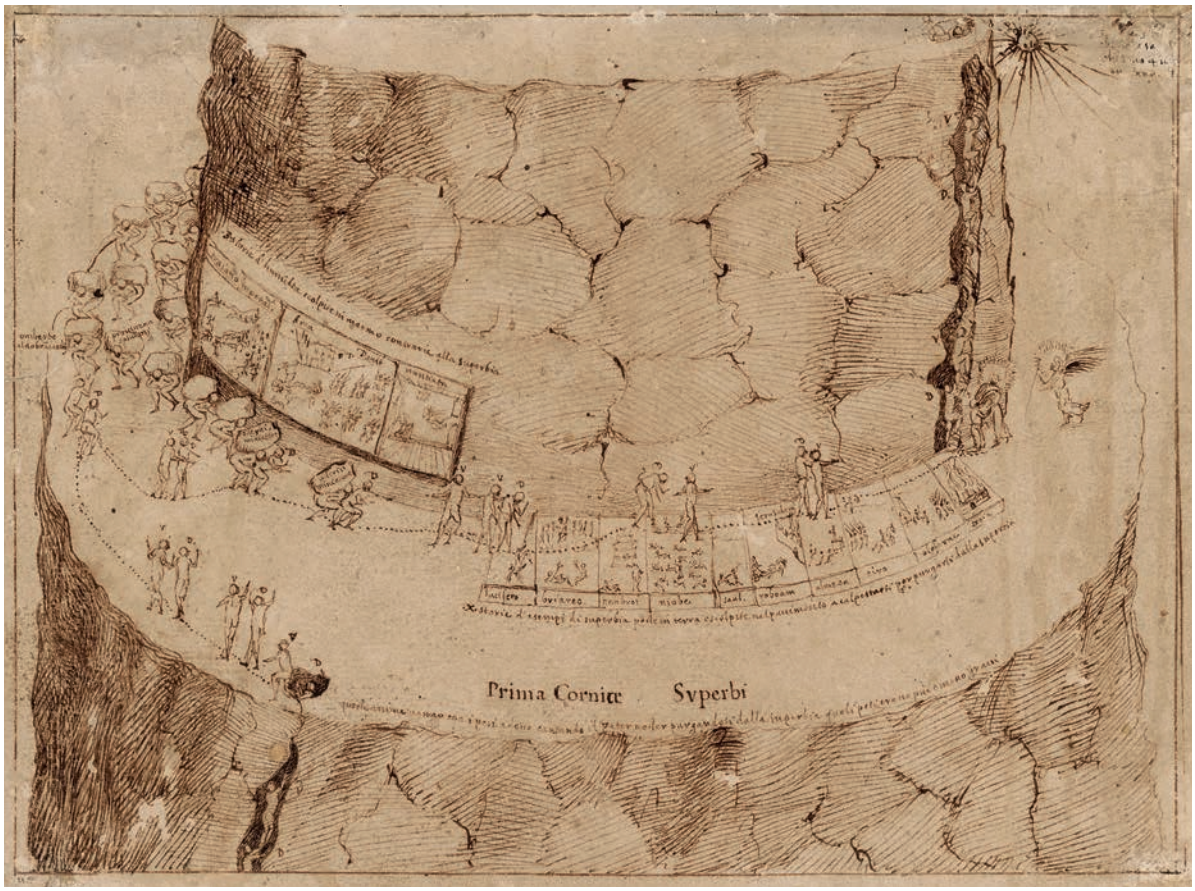
10. *La comedia di Dante Aligieri con la nova espositione di Alessandro Vellutello, impressa in Vinegia per Francesco Marcolini ad instantia di Alessandro Vellutello*, Venice, Marcolini, 1544.



5. Attributed to Giovanni Britto, *Inferno Canto 13, Virgil and Dante in the Forest of Those who have Committed Suicide*, from A. Vellutello, *La comedia di Dante* (Venice, 1544), woodcut, 126 x 107 mm (London, British Library).

ings would have initially served mnemonic and didactic functions, reflecting the author's broader intellectual concerns. The published volume is illustrated with 87 unsigned woodcuts interspersed throughout the poem and Vellutello's preface in which the geography of Hell is discussed. The originality of the woodcuts has long been recognized: for the first time in the exegesis of the *Divine Comedy*, illustrations are related closely to the commentary and provide a visual extension of the glosses.[11] Vellutello intended to transform his contemporaries' understanding of Dante through the compilation and publication of the commentary. He writes of his ambition to overcome the limitations of previous interpretations and that whatever his written commentary might lack would be made up for in the illustrations – 'suplir col disegno' – emphasizing that the woodcuts were conceived as integral to the commentary.[12] He reiterates furthermore 'come l'habbiamo disegnate' and the Renaissance man of letters Anton Francesco Doni, in Venice in 1544 when Vellutello's book was published, notes that Vellutello expended considerable time and money in order to have woodcuts made from preparatory drawings ('per fare intagliare tutti i disegni che vanno nella Comedia di Dante').[13] In short, there is enough evidence to have led previous scholars to hypothesize the existence

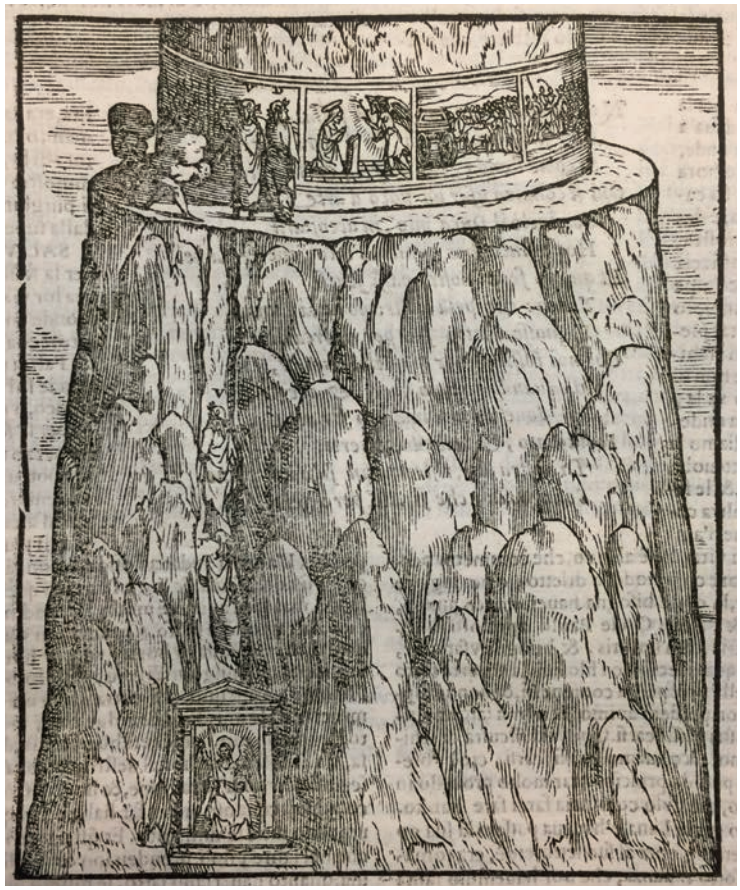
11. R. Mortimer, *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts. Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part II: Italian 16th Century Books*, Cambridge, MA, 1974, I, pp. 207–11, no. 146.
12. 'Descrittione de lo inferno', [p. 4] also cited by D. Pirovano, *Alessandro Vellutello, La Comedia di Dante Aligieri con la nova esposizione*, Rome, 2006, I, p. 76.
13. Velletullo, op. cit., [p. 6]. A. F. Doni, *La libraria del Doni fiorentino. Nella quale sono scritti tutti gl'autori vulgari con cento discorsi sopra quelli*, Venice, 1550, edited by V. Bramanti, Milan, 1972, pp. 73–74 'molto s'è affaticato con l'intelletto, e con la spesa del tempo e de' danari, per fare intagliare tutti i disegni che vanno nella Comedia di Dante'.



6. Attributed to Alessandro Vellutello, *Purgatory, Canto 10–12, Virgil and Dante Reach the First Ledge Reserved for the Proud,* pen and brown ink, 207 x 280 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).

of drawings or diagrams by Vellutello. Thus, in his comprehensive publication of 2006 on Vellutello's Dante commentary Donato Pirovano wrote that 'in all likelihood the commentator elaborated some sketches which he gave to the draughtsman and/or engraver and he then closely followed the creation of the woodcuts'. In an article of 2007, Massimiliano Rossi also strongly supported the idea that Vellutello was the inventor of the xylographic images and supplied 'schemi e schizzi' to a 'delineator', who he presumes was identical with the blockcutter.[14] A good case can be made for considering the Morgan drawings as remnants of such 'schemi e schizzi' from which images for the 1544 woodcuts were distilled. On most sheets, in an obsessive attempt to include the maximum amount of information, the draughtsman depicts several consecutive episodes accompanied by extensive explanatory inscriptions. The low artistic quality suggests the hand of an amateur who is more interested in exegesis of the text than artistic expression. More likely to reflect the analytical mind of an intellectual than the visual creations of an artist, the schematic drawings were probably made as an organizational tool early on in Vellutello's project, and accompanied his studies for almost twenty years, progressively acquiring annotations and inscriptions. Prior to publication of Vellutello's completed text, the drawings would have been given to an artist, possibly the blockcutter, who would have pared down the compositions to single rather than multiple scenes

14. Pirovano, op. cit., p. 76 'Molto probabilmente il commentatore elaborò degli schemi che poi forní al disegnatore e/ o all' incisore, e seguí con attenzione la fase di realizzazione delle xilografie'. M. Rossi, 'Alessandro Vellutello e Giovanni Britto che "per sé fuoro". Sul corredo grafico della Nova esposizione', *Studi Rinascimentali*, v, 2007, p. 127.

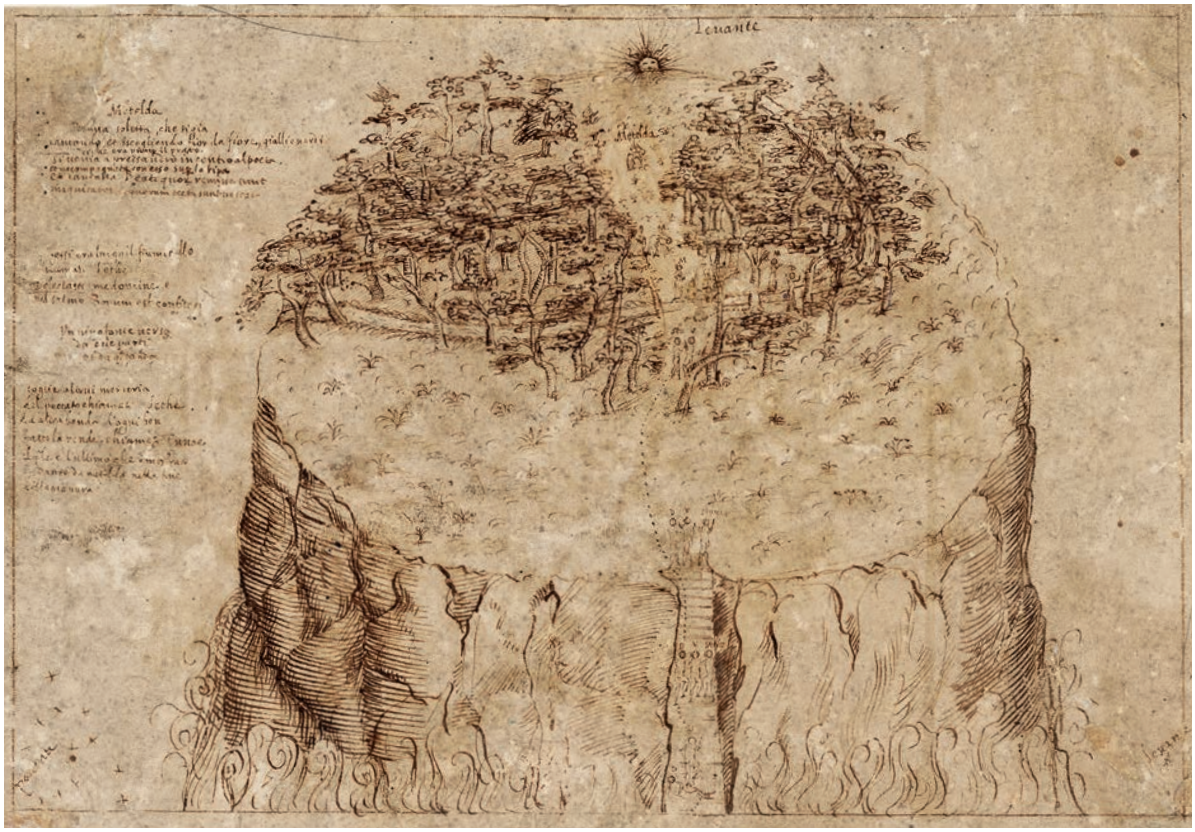


7. Attributed to Giovanni Britto, *Purgatory, Canto 10–12, Virgil and Dante Reach the First Ledge for the Proud*, from A. Vellutello, *La comedia di Dante* (Venice, 1544), woodcut, 126 x 105 mm (London, British Library).

with maximum impact, thus ensuring the popular success of the 1544 woodcuts.

Despite the great differences between them, the woodcuts share with the drawings unique features lacking in other Dante illustrations of this period.[15] In Dante's text Hell is imagined as nine concentric descending circles, each representing a gradual increase in wickedness and culminating at the centre, the deepest circle, where Satan is held in bondage. The sinners in each circle are punished in a fashion befitting their crimes. While maximizing the use of the oblong sheets of paper and with only an imperfect command of foreshortening, the draughtsman attempted to stage the action within a circle viewed from a bird's-eye perspective, which corresponds to the striking circular compositions also seen from above that appear repeatedly in the woodcuts. Close comparison reveals that in the translation from drawing to print, after removal of the drawings' copious minutiae, overall compositional schemes and some episodic vignettes often remain intact. In the drawing illustrating *The Circle of the Violent*, for instance, one sees Virgil and Dante, at upper left, labelled *V* and *D*, respectively, before the tomb of

15. Also consulted, among others 1) 1487, Brescia: Bonino de' Bonini, illustrated with 68 woodcuts; this is the second illustrated edition, but the first to be illustrated by woodcuts. 2) 149[2], Venice: Bernardo Benali and Matteo di Codeca da Parma, which reused the woodcuts. 3) 1506, Florence: Filioppo Giunti, as well as their derivations. 4) Dante con nuove et utilissime annotationi, Venice, Antonio Morando, 1554, with woodcuts. For other illustrated editions see M. C. Castelli, 'Immagini della "Commedia" nelle edizioni del Rinascimento', in *Pagine di Dante. Le edizioni della Divina Commedia dal torchio al computer*, Milan and Perugia, 1989, pp. 104–14 and pp. 128–51.

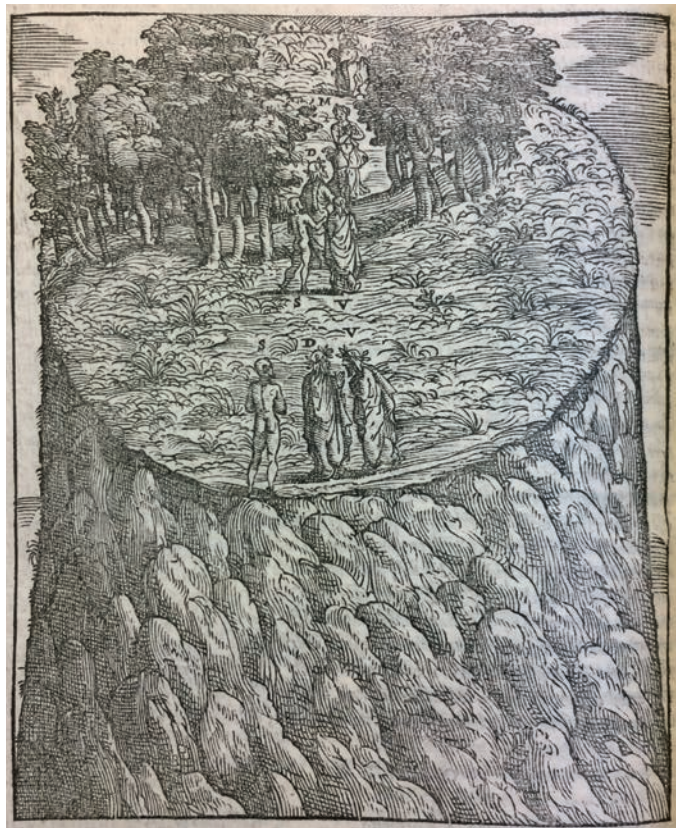


8. Attributed to Alessandro Vellutello, *Purgatory, Canto 28–29, Dante, Virgil and Stazio Reach the Summit, where the Earthly Paradise is Located*, pen and brown ink, 207 x 280 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).

Pope Anastasius, conveniently inscribed *Anastasius* (fig. 2).[16] Below, they meet the Minotaur, and descend to the river of boiling blood, where they encounter the centaurs and where Chiron provides them with Nessus as a mount and guide. Astride Nessus, Dante and Virgil move towards the centre of the composition through the river in which tyrants are immersed according to their degree of guilt. 'We moved onwards with our trustworthy guide, along the margin of the crimson boiling, in which the boiled were shrieking loudly', writes Dante. In the related woodcut, the tomb of Anastasius and the episode of the Minotaur were omitted, leaving just Dante, Virgil and Chiron standing at the top, above the tumble of rocks and an outer circle of galloping centaurs shooting arrows at the boiling souls (fig. 3). As in many of the other illustrations, in the drawing the action takes place at upper left, whereas in the woodcut it is at upper right, a customary reversal when transferring a design from drawing to print.

The drawing of Virgil and Dante in the *Forest of Those who have Committed Suicide* also reveals visual ideas employed in the woodcut (figs. 4 and 5).[17] In both, harpies sit atop platforms on barren trees. In the drawing Nessus exits at left, at the end of a dotted line indicating the path taken by the protagonists; in the print the centaur moves to the right, only his hindquarters remaining within the circle. There are further similarities in the scenes from Purgatory. Having passed through the gate of Purgatory, Virgil and Dante reach the first ledge, that reserved for the proud. The similarity between the schematic and artificially terraced hill with a tunnel connecting the levels in the drawing and the print is obvious (figs. 6 and 7).[18] The pair encounter three examples of humility carved in the rock: *The Annunciation*, *David Dancing before*

16. Inferno, Canto 11–12; inv. 1966.12.1.5.
17. Inferno Canto 13, inv. 1966.12.1.6.
18. Canto 10–12; inv. 1966.12.1.14.



9. Attributed to Giovanni Britto, *Purgatory, Canto 28–29, Dante, Virgil and Stazio Reach the Summit, where the Earthly Paradise is Located,* from A. Vellutello, *La comedia di Dante* (Venice, 1544), woodcut, 126 x 105 mm (London, British Library).

the Ark and *Emperor Trajan and the Widow.* The fact that the images appear right to left in the drawing, reversing Dante's narrative flow as seen in the woodcut, may indicate that the draughtsman already envisaged the ultimate goal of a print. Figs. 8 and 9 show Dante, Virgil and Stazio reaching the summit of Mount Purgatory, where the Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden is located.[19] Here Dante meets Matilda, with whom he later witnesses a divine procession of 24 elders and a griffin. The cutter adopts the general shape of the design although he tilts the flat summit a little further towards the viewer to provide more space for the action. Figs. 10 and 11 condense Cantos 28 and 29 of Purgatory into a single image. Below, Virgil, Dante, Stazio and Matilda walk beside the river in the garden. Both drawing and print show the apparition of the seven candlesticks held by angels that do not feature in Dante's account. Dante, Stazio and Matilda leave the forest to continue beside the river while Virgil slips away. The following drawing includes the complete set of 24 elders and the griffin shown in the woodcut.[20] Figs. 12 and 13 relate to Purgatory, Canto 32 and 33. Dante, Stazio, Matilda and Beatrice look at the Tree of Eden which was bare but has reflowered. Dante writes of an eagle that alighted on the Tree of Eden and broke off a branch, visible in the drawing between cart and tree. The eagle plummeted into the cart and left its feathers there, as appears in the drawing, whereas the woodcut shows the cart harbouring the eagle and a fox. The cart suddenly sprouts three heads with two horns on the shaft and one with a single horn on each corner. The misaligned perspective of the cart is corrected for the woodcut.

Unfortunately, no secure autographs by Vellutello are known so it is not possible to compare his handwriting with the inscriptions on the drawings.[21]

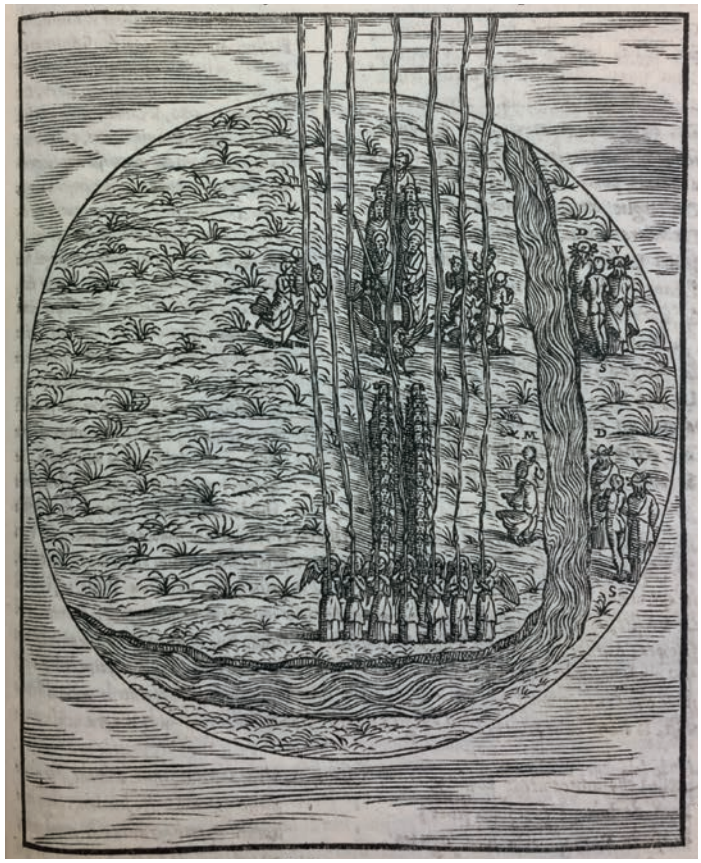
19. Canto 28–29; inv. 1966.12.1.16.
20. Inv. 1966.12:18.
21. I am grateful to Donato Pirovano for this information, email of 31 January 2017.

10. Attributed to Alessandro Vellutello, *Purgatory, Canto 28 to 29. Virgil, Dante, Stazio and Matilda and the Apparition of the Seven Candlesticks held by Angels*, pen and brown ink, 207 x 280 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).

Yet the drawings do seem to reflect Vellutello's exegetical preoccupations. Early on Vellutello locates Jerusalem in the middle of the hemisphere.[22] The five drawings, using a steep birds-eye perspective for Hell, all show the city at the top, as does one of the woodcuts.[23] There are also occasional correspondences in wording between texts on the drawings and the published commentary. Dante writes, 'misurebbe in tre volte un corpo humano' of the first ledge, whereas the 1544 commentary uses 'larghezza' rather than 'misurebbe', 'di larghezza quanto è tre volte la lunghezza d'un corpo humano', echoing the annotation of the relevant drawing '*Prima cornice / e di larghezza quanto 3 huomini*'.[24] Another instance of a closer link with Vellutello's commentary than with Dante's poem occurs on the drawing *The Circle of the Soothsayers* illustrating Inferno, Canto 20. The fragment inscribed at upper left, *[…]na di costoro hanno il viso volto alle rene / caminano all' indietro, con passo lento,* finds its complement in Vellutello's comment 'il viso e la gola insieme volto al contrario verso le reni, vengano indietro… quel lento passo'. Lastly, a similar lack of perspective, overload of visual information and stick-like figures already occur in a pictorial map of Vaucluse that accompanies Vellutello's 1525 Petrarch commentary.

While not impossible, it is highly unlikely that the Morgan drawings originated as copies of the woodcuts. For one, there are several drawings with all the hallmarks of original creations for which there are no corresponding woodcuts – the first three depicting Dante and Virgil's travels before reaching

22. Description of hell, unpaginated, 'in mezzo l'hemisferio nostro'.
23. Drawings 1966.12:4–7, 9. For images in Vellutello's 1544 edition see http://www.worldofdante.org/gallery_vellutello.html and https://www3.nd.edu/~italnet/dante/text/1544.venice.html. It is the first image of Vellutello's unpaginated preface, and similarly Inferno, canto 3.
24. Inv. 1966.12:13.



11. Attributed to Giovanni Britto, *Purgatory, Canto 28 to 29. Virgil, Dante, Stazio and Matilda and the Apparition of the Seven Candlesticks held by Angels,* from A. Vellutello, *La comedia di Dante* (Venice, 1544), woodcut, 126 x 105 mm (London, British Library).

the Gates of Hell, for example (fig. 1), or (fig. 14). Furthermore, the drawings are far more elaborate than the woodcuts which would be improbable for copies; any later scholar wishing to work up a Dante exegesis based on Vellutello would have started with closer copies of the woodcuts and is unlikely to have expanded on them in such a detailed fashion. In addition, there are the instances mentioned above of reversal between the prints and the drawings: a copyist would surely not have bothered to reverse details of the design.

The drawings show all the wear and tear – abrasions, losses and holes – of active use, which suggests they were serviceable tools rather than treasures in an art collector's portfolio. A few sheets have pinholes in the corners and display scattered stains in grey-black, reminiscent of printer's ink and very different from the dark-brown ink with which they were drawn. Their stained and spattered state suggests that the drawings were used in an active printing workshop. One drawing seems to show printed text on its verso, presumably offset from a damp sheet.[25] Vellutello's previous publications were known for the richness and variety of their woodcuts and he may have elected to publish with Marcolini, the leading printer in Venice at that time, in order to guarantee high quality illustrations. Marcolini operated a press from 1535 to 1559 and was known to collaborate with accomplished artists such as Giuseppe Porta called Salviati, generally credited with woodcuts in *Le Sorti di Francesco Marcolini, intitolate giardino di pensieri*, published in 1540.[26] There has been some speculation regarding the cutter of Vellutello's woodblocks. A likely

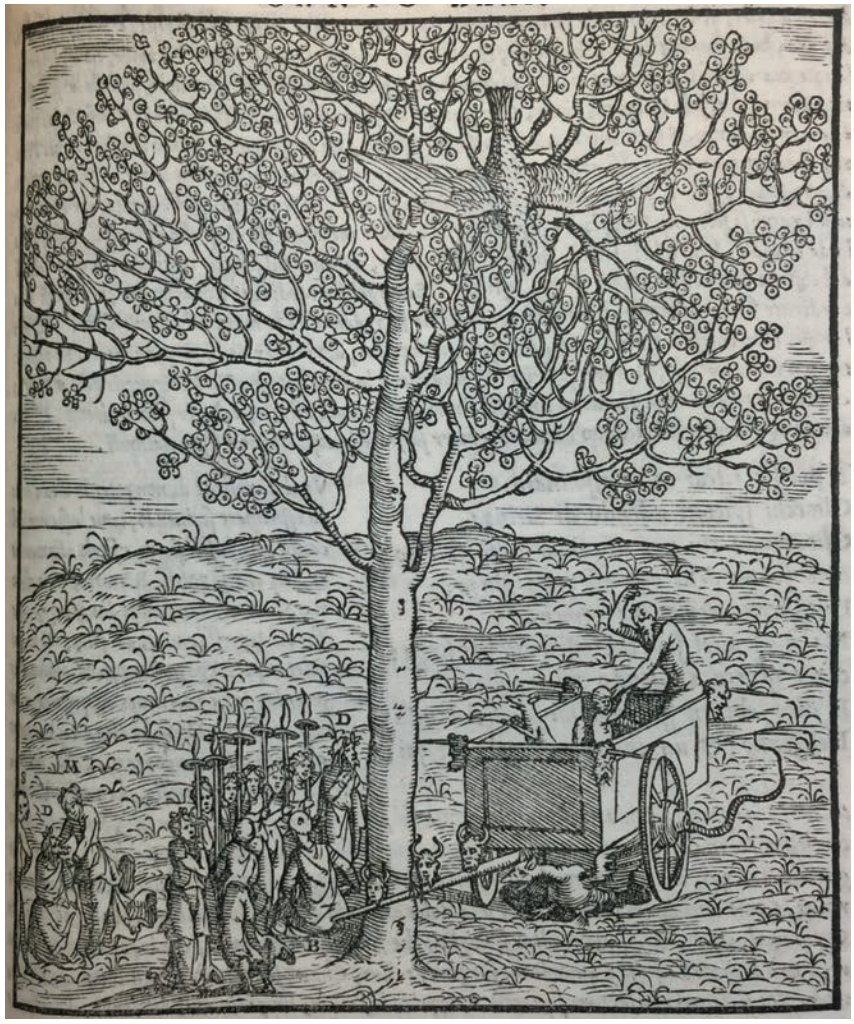
25. Inv. 1966.12:16.

26. D. McTavish, *Giuseppe Porta*, New York, 1981, pp. 79–86, 368–69, woodcut no. 2.

12. Attributed to Alessandro Vellutello, *Purgatory, Canto 32 and 33. Dante, Stazio, Matilda and Beatrice look at the Flowering Tree of Eden,* pen and brown ink, 207 x 280 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).

candidate is Giovanni Britto, who illustrated Girolamo Malipiero's *Il Petrarcha spirituale* published by Marcolini in 1536 and was active into the 1550s. First suggested by Silvia Fabrizio-Costa and Frank La Brasca in 2000, and more emphatically by Rossi in 2007, this identification also found favour with Piravano.[27] Born Johannes Breit and of German origin, Britto was active as a printmaker, cutter and in one instance also publisher.[28] From his known oeuvre, which includes woodcuts after Titian, Britto emerges as an artist of some renown who worked in a style characterized by close and meticulous hatching

27. S. Fabrizio-Costa and F. La Brasca, 'Tra immagine e testo: un commento alla "Divina Commedia" 1544' in *Lettere e arti nel Rinascimento. Atti del X Convegno internazionale, Chianciano-Pienza, 20–23 July 1998*, edited by L. Secchi Tarugi, Florence, 2000, pp. 681–95, especially p. 683 note 5. Rossi, op. cit., pp. 127–28. Pirovano, op. cit., p. 69.
28. Furthermore, the inscription *In Vinegia per Giovanni Britto Intagliatore...* appears in the colophon of the unillustrated *La congiuratione de Gheldresi contro la citta Danversa* by Joannes Servilius, published in 1543, which is evidence of Britto's activity also as a publisher. Copy at Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. For Britto, see D. Rosand and M. Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut*, Washington, 1976 (also Venice, Cini 1976), chapter V, especially p. 202, no. 45, and the recent overview in C. Callegari, *Disegni stampati a Venezia nel XVI secolo. Cronologia - Bibliografia - Glossario*, Venice, 2005, pp. 64–68.



13. Attributed to Giovanni Britto, *Purgatory, Canto 32 and 33. Dante, Stazio, Matilda and Beatrice look at the Flowering Tree of Eden* from A. Vellutello, *La comedia di Dante* (Venice, 1544), woodcut, 126 x 106 mm (London, British Library).

and an overall tonal homogeneity, hence a likely candidate to have been approached by Vellutello or the printer.[29] It is conceivable, though less likely, that Marcolini may have been involved himself: in his *Vite,* Giorgio Vasari praises Marcolini as an excellent designer and possibly the cutter of woodblocks for *Le Sorti*, although there is little evidence beyond Vasari's statement that Marcolini was more than a printer and publisher.[30] But whether or not Britto was the artist who made the final designs for and cut the woodblocks, he is unlikely to have been the author of the drawings. Comparing for instance Britto's accomplished woodcut in Malipiero's *Il Petrarca spirituale*, it is hard to believe that he was responsible for the drawings: they are simply not good enough.

The most likely candidate remains the poet and

29. His oeuvre includes *Adoration of the Shepherds,* two portraits of the *Holy Roman Emperor Charles V* (inspired by a model drawn by Titian), and a *Self-Portrait of Titian* signed *In Venetia per Gioanni Britto Intagliatore* datable to 1550 or before on account of Pietro Aretino's laudatory sonnet addressed 'to the German engraver' of that year. Titian supplied Britto with the design for this print and possibly even drew directly on the block for Britto.

30. Vasari, *Le vite,* edited by Milanesi, v, pp. 434–35, 'E chi non vede senza meraviglia l'opere di Francesco Marcolini da Forlì?'; cited in Rosand and Muraro, op. cit., no. 83 and pp. 265–66.

scholar Vellutello, who together with the Florentine humanist Cristoforo Landino (1424–98) was the foremost Dante commentator of the Renaissance. A patrician from Lucca, he was resident in Venice from 1525, when his commentary on Petrarch was published.[31] A likely date for the annotated drawings would lie between 1533 – the date of publication of Vellutello's edition of Virgil – and 1544, the date of publication of the Dante commentary. Although Vellutello's ideas enjoyed only modest success, with Michelangelo writing to his nephew Lionardo 'that the new commentary on Dante by a Lucchese has not been very well received by people who know anything, so there's no need to pay any attention to it' – the woodcuts enjoyed a long afterlife.[32] They were reprised by Marcolini in 1553, who used some twenty of them for Doni's *Inferni del Doni Academico Pellegrino*, and by the Sessa press for Francesco Sansovino's Dante edition of 1564, which was republished in 1578 and 1596.[33] It may be hoped that the Morgan set of drawings, most likely drafted as an analytical tool in the context of early modern literary criticism, will find its deserved place in the rich figurative tradition associated with Dante.

31. S. Gilson, *Reading Dante in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge and New York, 2018, pp. 175–76.
32. D. Parker, review of Pirovano, 2006, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, LXI, 2008, no. 1, p. 140.
33. *Inferni del Doni Academico Pellegrino. Libro secondo de Mondi*, *In Vinegia: nell'Academia Peregrina per Francesco Marcolini*, 1553. Marcolini's reuse suggests he may have owned the woodblocks and that they passed to the Sessa press after his death. *Dante con l'espositione di Christoforo Landino, et di Alessandro Vellutello. Sopra la sua Comedia dell'Inferno, del Purgatorio, & del Paradiso. Con tauole, argomenti, & allegorie, & riformato, riueduto, & ridotto alla sua vera lettura, per Francesco Sansouino fiorentino* (Venice, Sessa, 1564); Vellutello's commentary and illustrations were reprinted alongside that of Landino. It was also reissued in 1564 by Francesco Rampazetto, who presented unsold copies of the 1544 edition as if they were new.

14. Attributed to Alessandro Vellutello, *Purgatory, Canto 1 to 4 and 9. Virgil Washes Dante's Face to Purify him Before Entering Purgatory, They Meet Belacqua and St Lucy Carries the Sleeping Dante to the Gates of Paradise*, pen and brown ink, 207 x 280 mm (New York, Morgan Library & Museum).

The *Portuguese Genealogy* of Wenceslaus Hollar and the Lost Lisbon Monuments by François Duquesnoy

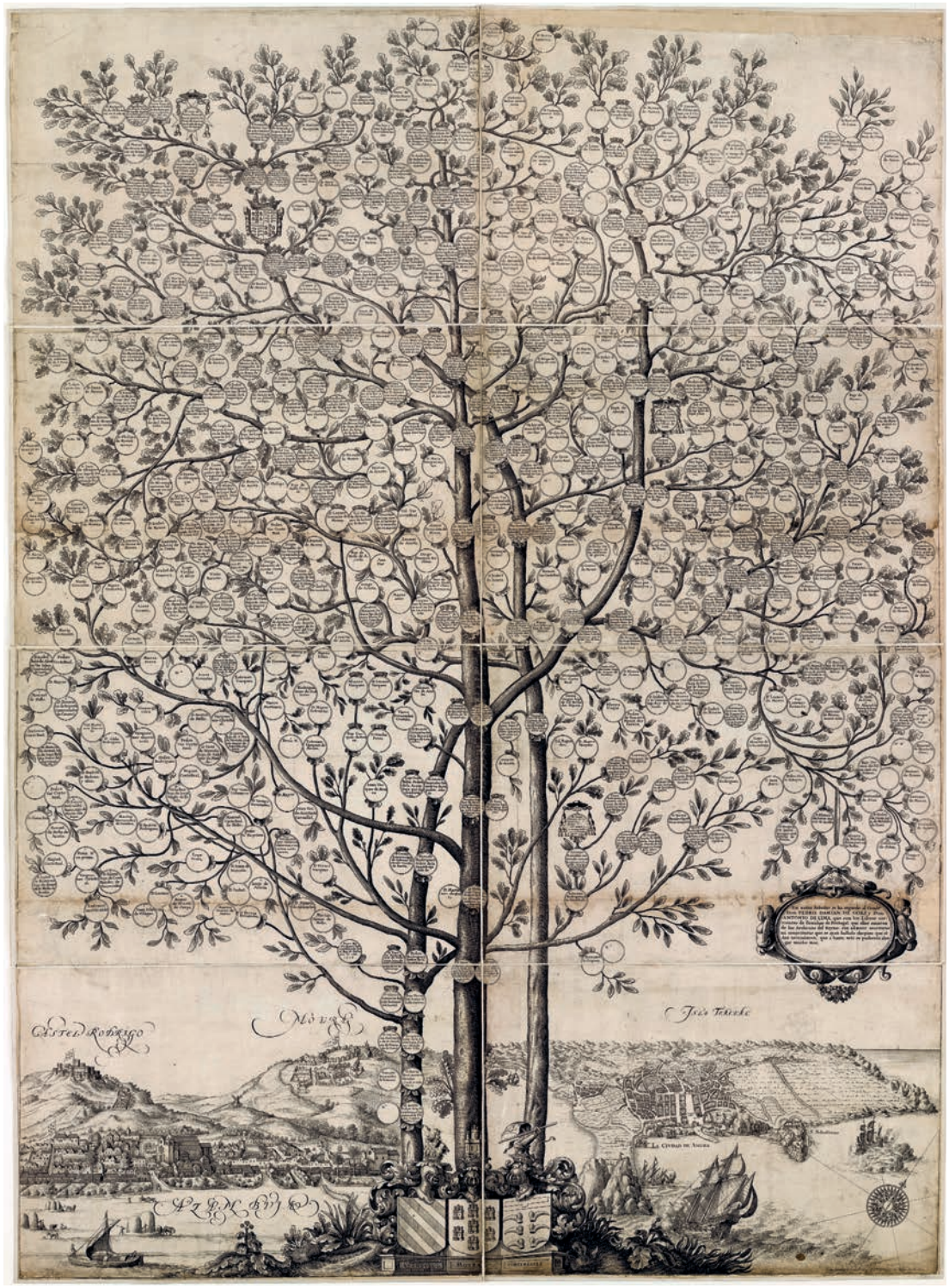
Joseph Connors

A large print in the British Museum, signed and dated 1645 by Wenceslaus Hollar, shows the intertwining genealogical trees of three Portuguese noble families, labelled Azambuja, Moura and Cortereales. It is an impressive artifact, over a metre and a half high and made from eight copperplates (fig. 15).[1] The branches bear over 500 roundels with individual names ranging from distant thirteenth-century ancestors to family members living at the time of publication. Many roundels sport crowns of nobility and three show the *galero* of a bishop or high prelate. Picturesque landscape vignettes at the bottom show four towns or castles. On the left we see Azambuja, a town on the Tagus about 50 kilometers upriver from Lisbon (fig. 16). The strongholds of Castel Rodrigo and Moura appear on hilltops in the background, though this is a convention for rendering places that are far removed in the interior of the peninsula. The veduta on the right takes us to the Azores, in particular the city of Angra do Heroísmo on the Isla Terceira, shown with its fortress of S. Sebastiano and its mini-Gibraltar of S. Antonio (fig. 17). Angra is copied exactly from a map by Jan Huygen van Linschoten dedicated in 1595 to Cristóvão de Moura, the first marquis of Castel Rodrigo (fig. 18).

Called the *Portuguese Genealogy*, the British Museum print has received scant attention in the Hollar literature and none in the literature on its well known patron, the Portuguese connoisseur and diplomat Manuel de Moura y Corte Real (1592–1651), the second marquis of Castel Rodrigo.[2] His father, Cristóvão de Moura (1538–1613), or Cristóbal to his Castilian colleagues, was made Conde de Castelo Rodrigo in 1594 and later first Marquês de Castelo Rodrigo (hereafter Castel Rodrigo). He married Margarita de Corte Real (c. 1560–1610) from the Azores in 1581. Manuel de Moura y Corte Real became second marquis of Castel Rodrigo on his father's death in 1613. In turn his son, Francisco de Moura y Corte Real (1621–75), became the third marquis of Castel Rodrigo on Don Manuel's death in 1651.

Don Manuel, the second marquis, is best known for his role in commissioning paintings from Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, Salvator Rosa and others for Philip IV in Rome in the 1630s. Destined for the royal suburban villa, the Buen Retiro, today they form the core of the holdings of Italian Baroque landscape in the Prado.[3] These were for the king, but Don Manuel's most ambitious personal commission was the high altar chapel of the Benedictine monastery of São Bento in Lisbon. Architecture and sculpture, including eight *memorie* of his ancestors, were to be fabricated in Rome by Francesco Borromini (1599–1667) and François Duquesnoy (1597–1643) around 1638–39. Though some elements were shipped and partly installed all trace of this important chapel

1. Inv. Q,6.137, formerly 2006.U.366. R. Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677*, Cambridge and New York, 1982, p. 94, no. 585; S. Turner, *The New Hollstein: Wenceslaus Hollar*, Part III, 2010, pp. 22–23, no. 718, as after Jacques van Werden.
2. J. Connors, 'Borromini and the Marchese di Castel Rodrigo', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, pp. 434–40; D. García Cueto, 'Mecenazgo y representación del Marqués de Castel Rodrigo durante su embajada en Roma', in *Roma y España: un crisol de la cultura europea en la edad moderna*, edited by C. J. Hernando Sánchez, Madrid, 2007, pp. 695–716; S. Martínez Hernández, 'Don Manuel de Moura Corte Real, marqués de Castelo Rodrigo: propaganda, mecenazgo y representación en la Monarquía Hispánica de Felipe IV', in *Poder y saber: Bibliotecas y bibliofilia en la época del conde-duque de Olivares*, edited by O. N. Wood, J. Roe and J. Lawrance, Madrid, 2011, pp. 97–120; and idem, 'Aristocracia y anti-olivarismo: El proceso al marqués de Castelo Rodrigo, embajador en Roma, por sodomía y traición (1634–1635)', in *La corte en Europa: Política y religión. Siglos XVI-XVIII*, edited by J. Martínez Millán, M. Rivero Rodríguez and G. Versteegen, Madrid, 2012, II, pp. 1,147–97, which skillfully contextualizes the account by the ambassador's estranged secretary: E. Glaser, *The 'Fortuna' of Manuel de Faria e Sousa: An Autobiography*, Münster, 1975.
3. J. Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, New Haven and London, 1980, 2nd edition, 2003, pp. 124–37; and A. Úbeda de los Cobos, 'Les tableaux de paysage destinés au palais du Buen Retiro de Madrid', in *Nature et ideal: Le paysage à Rome 1600/1650*, Paris, 2011, pp. 67–75.



15. Wenceslaus Hollar, *The Portuguese Genealogy*, 1645, etching, eight plates 1,515 x 1,093 mm, each plate 375 x 545 mm (London, British Museum).

has been lost.[4] The *Portuguese Genealogy*, however, when combined with a book on Roman music of 1639, surprisingly enough from the lyric world that attracted the young John Milton, offers important new information about Duquesnoy's lost Lisbon memorials.

The Moura clan traced its origins to the conquest of Moura from the Arabs in 1165 but its fortunes were made in the late sixteenth century by Cristóvão de Moura (1538–1613).[5] This trusted counsellor of Philip II was a major architect of the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal. Philip II invaded Portugal in 1580 and then lived in Lisbon for three years, during which time he grew ever closer to Moura. Their alliance could be seen on the Lisbon waterfront, where Moura's palace, with 185 rooms easily the largest private residence in the city, adjoined the Torreão, the massive royal tower-palace built by the king in 1580–83 (fig. 19).[6] After Philip II's death in 1598, however, Moura was displaced from royal favour by the Duke of Lerma, who emerged as *privado* or favourite of the new king, Philip III.[7] Moura was sent back to Lisbon as viceroy, where he died in 1613. The dream of his generation of Portuguese nobles, that the Habsburg

4. P. Varela Gomez presents important information on the chapel but did not find traces in the modern Cortes or its crypt: 'Les projets de Francesco Borromini et Guarino Guarini pour le Portugal', *Revue de l'Art*, CXXXIII, 2001–03, pp. 81–92; and '*Damnatio Memoriae:* A arquitectura dos marqueses de Castelo Rodrigo', in *Arte y diplomacia de la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVII*, edited by J. L. Colomer, Madrid, 2003, pp. 351–76; there is a brief mention in M. Boudon-Machuel, *François du Quesnoy 1597–1643*, Paris, 2005, pp. 156–58.
5. A. Danvila y Burguero, *Don Cristobal de Moura, primer marqués de Castel Rodrigo (1538–1613)*, Madrid, 1900, especially pp. 835–39; M. T. Fernández Talaya, *El Real Sitio de La Florida y La Moncloa. Evolución histórico y artística de un lugar madrileño*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 64–98.
6. J. A. França, *Une ville des lumières: La Lisbonne de Pombal*, Paris, 1965, pp. 29–30; G. Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture*, Middletown, CT, 1972, pp. 76–79 and pl. 48 for the Torreão; pp. 160–62 and pl. 119 for the palace; A. Gehlert, 'The Weilburg Painting Showing the Lisbon Entry of 1619 in its Historical and Pictorial Context', *Revista de História Arte*, XI, 2014, pp. 69–85.
7. J. H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven and London, 1986, p. 316.

16. Detail of fig. 15, showing Azambuja, Castel Rodrigo and Moura.

king would chose Lisbon as the capital of a united Iberian monarchy, swiftly faded.

In 1581 Cristóvão had taken a noble bride from the Azores, Margarita de Corte Real (c. 1560–1610). The couple decided that henceforth their progeny would have their conjoined name and arms.[8] The patron of the *Portuguese Genealogy* is their son, Manuel de Moura y Corte Real (1592–1651), the second marquis of Castel Rodrigo. Just as the first Castel Rodrigo had been pushed aside as *privado* of Philip III, the second Castel Rodrigo would be outmaneuvered by the Conde Duque Olivares (1587–1645) as *privado* of Philip IV. Enmity did not preclude imitation, however. At some point around 1628 one finds Castel Rodrigo imitating a fashion for printed portraits set by his rival. As is well known, Olivares commissioned his own, splendid printed portrait in Antwerp in 1626. He sent a sketch by Velázquez to convey his features to Rubens, who devised the elaborate frame and then turned the whole composition over to Paulus Pontius for the final

8. Frey Leão de S. Thomas, *Benedictina Lusitana,* Coimbra, 1644–51, II, pp. 484–85: 'They [the Moura arms] bear seven silver castles with black doors and windows in three pales on a red field, three of the castles in the center pale and one as crest. Let us hear the poem of João Roiz de Saa: "He [who displays] seven castles of gold / upon fiery red / is of the blood known / for taking Moura from the Moors / whence he took the name / one Dom Rolim the Foreigner / was their patron / whose fame still resounds / in the taking of Lisbon / for he was not the last [of his line]"'. ('*Mouras* / Trazem em campo vermelho sete castellos de prata em tres pallas, & os tres ficão (or sicão) por meyo tom poltas, & frestas, & lauradas de preto, & timbre hum castello das armas. Ouçamos a poesia de Ioão Rõiz de Saa: "Quem sete castellos doura / sobre / vermelho encendido / he o sangue conhecido / por tomar aos Mouros Moura / donde trouxe o appelido / hum Dom Rolim Estrangeyro / foy destes o Padroeyro / de cuja fama inda soa / na tomada de Lisboa / que não foy o derradeyro"'.) My thanks to Alice Wohl and Pedro Maria de Alvim for the translation.

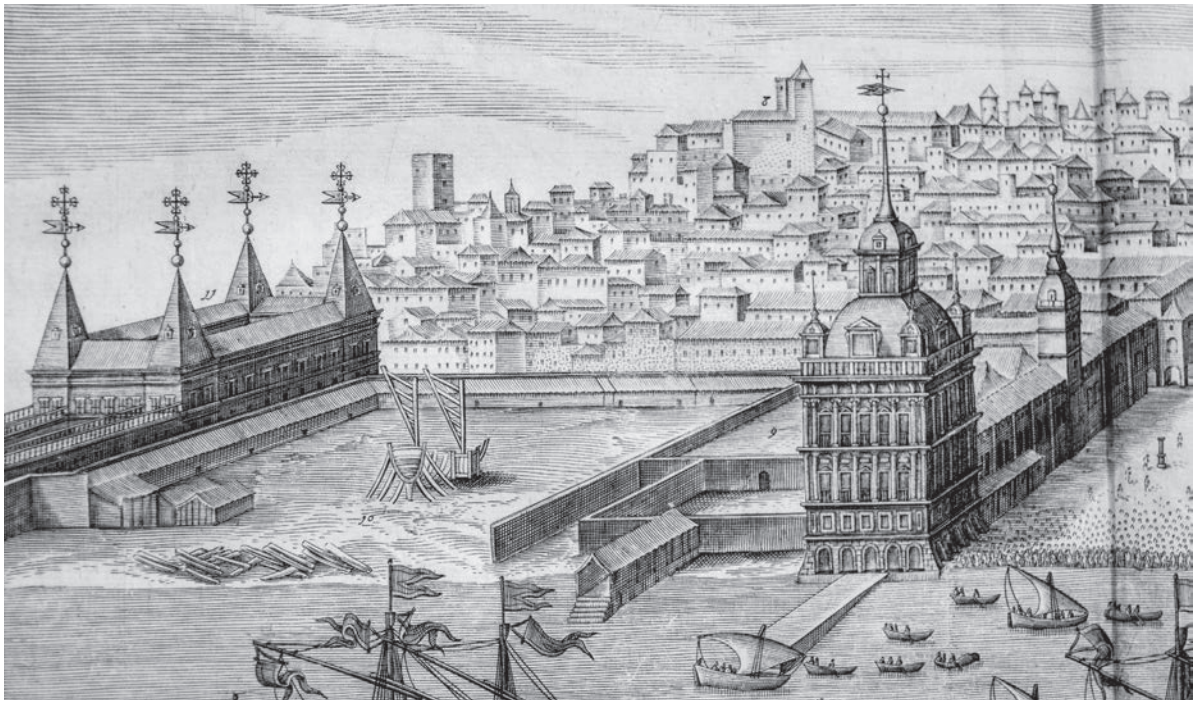
17. Detail of fig. 15, showing Angra in the Isla Terceira in the Azores.

18. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Map of Angra in the Isla Terceira*, 1595, engraving, 482 x 889 mm (Image courtesy Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps).

engraving.[9] Imitating his rival, Castel Rodrigo dug up portraits of his mother and father, who had died in 1610 and 1613, and sent them along with his own portrait to Antwerp, where Pontius turned them into respectable etchings (figs. 20–22).[10] Given the private nature of the commission few copies survive. Indeed, there is only one known impression of Don Manuel's portrait. It shows him in his early thirties, handsome and confident, with the cross of the Order of Christ embroidered on his doublet. Unlike his father and mother, who wear the old-fashioned ruff, the second Castel Rodrigo sports the new starched collar, the golilla, that came into fashion in the court of Philip IV in the 1620s.[11]

We may detect the same rivalry between Olivares and Castel Rodrigo in genealogy as we find in these portraits. Olivares was just as obsessed by family history as Castel Rodrigo and even more shameless in pushing his ancestry back into the early Middle Ages. Between 1638 and 1640 he commissioned an enormously long family history tracing the roots of the Guzman clan to the ninth-century kings of Brittany. Meant to be printed, the manuscripts now in London and Madrid contain 104 genealogical trees of royal and noble families of Spain, Portugal, France and Tuscany and include 27 fictitious portraits.[12] The

9. F. Huemer, *Portraits (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 19.2)*, Antwerp, 1977, pp. 64–66, figs. 9, 11, 12; M. McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings from Spain*, London, 2012, p. 118, fig. 60.
10. H. Hymans, *La gravure dans l'école de Rubens*, Brussels, 1879, pp. 271–73. The only complete set of three portraits appears to be in the Albertina Museum, Vienna, though the portraits of Cristóvão (DG87531) and Margarita (DG87534) can also be found in the British Museum (1866.0623.54, 1866,0623.55) and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (P.8531-R, P.8508-R), for which see Martínez Hernandez, 2011, op. cit., p. 99, figs. 2 and 3. The Albertina portrait of Manuel (DG87532) seems to be unique, though for later copies by Frans van den Wyngaerde (c. 1650) and in reverse by Antony van der Does and Pieter de Iode II (1606–74) see Martínez Hernández, 2011, op. cit., p. 98, fig. 1; and Varela Gomez, 2001–03, op. cit., p. 81, fig. 1. My thanks to C. Benedikt, C. Metzger and M. Pichler at the Albertina for their kind assistance.
11. A. Wunder, 'Innovation and Tradition at the Court of Philip IV of Spain (1621–1665): The Invention of the *Golilla* and the *Guardainfante*', in *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles and Innovation in Europe, 1500-1800*, edited by E. Welch, Oxford, 2017, pp. 111–33.
12. M. McDonald, 'A Genealogy for the Count Duke of Olivares', *Print Quarterly*, XXIII, no. 4, 2006, pp. 359–82.



19. Jan Schorkens, after a drawing by Domingo Vieira, *Detail of View of the Waterfront of Lisbon showing the Palace of Cristóvão de Moura and the Torreão of Philip II*, from J. B. Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del rey D. Filipe II. N.S. ao reyno de Portugal* (Madrid, 1622), etching, 640 x 320 mm, detail 230 x 155 mm (Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, f Typ 660.22.513).

Moura clan of Portugal was, needless to say, not among them. Though printing was deferred and eventually dropped due to Olivares's increasing troubles in the 1640s, the manuscripts would still grace his library in Madrid. After stripping many monasteries of their bibliographic treasures it is said to have contained 2,700 books and 1,400 manuscripts by the 1620s. Castel Rodrigo was his rival in both genealogy and book collecting. Jean-Jacques Chifflet, the pro-Habsburg political theorist in Brussels, remarked of him that 'in elucidating the lines of ancient princes our age has not seen the like'.[13] However, his bibliographic treasures were destined not for Madrid but for the family palace in Lisbon.

Castel Rodrigo eventually had a diplomatic career though Olivares made sure that he was kept far from the centre of power. He was sent from Madrid to Lisbon in 1628, and from there to Rome as the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, where he served from 1632 to 1641. The fireworks that he commissioned in front of Palazzo di Spagna to commemorate the election of Ferdinand III Habsburg (1608–57) as 'King of the Romans', a title meaningless outside the world of diplomatic protocol but the occasion for many displays in Rome, lasted a week and were immortalized in a series of prints by the young Claude Lorrain.[14] Castel Rodrigo was a friend of the Spanish Discalced Trinitarians, the monks who began the

13. Jean-Jacques Chifflet, *Vindiciae Hispanicae*, Antwerp, 1645, p. 4: 'Excell. D. Emanuelis de Moura, Marchionis de Castel Rodrigo, novi nostri Gubernatoris, cui in explicandis antiquorum Principum Stemmatis aetas nostra non tulit parem'.

14. M. McDonald, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Series C – Prints, Part One: Ceremonies, Costumes, Portraits and Genre*, London, 2017, I, pp. 202–08. P. Krüger, 'The *Feux d'artifice* by Claude Lorrain', *Print Quarterly*, VII, no. 4, 1990, pp. 424–33 maintains that Castel Rodrigo did not commission the prints though they came to be attached to several of the published accounts. See now also G. Bindi, 'Roma "gran teatro del mondo." La guerra festeggiata', in *La festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870*, edited by M. Fagiolo, Turin, 1997, pp. 100–09; and S. Bettini, 'I *Feux d'artifice* di Claude Lorrain. Fortuna e altre considerazioni', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XXXIV, 2001/2002, pp. 221–54 for political analysis, while F. Hammond, *Music & Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII*, New Haven and London, 1994, pp. 227–31 treats the Spanish fireworks in the context of Barberini public spectacle.

cloister of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in 1634 and then Borromini's famous church in 1638. He paid for the part of the convent that included the library. In a moment of enthusiasm, Castel Rodrigo offered the huge sum of 25,000 scudi for the façade, a pledge that was left unfulfilled on his departure from Rome in 1641.[15] In his enthusiasm for libraries one wonders if Castel Rodrigo visited the more distinguished private libraries of the city, not only the famous library founded by Cardinal Francesco Barberini in the palace at the Quattro Fontane in the mid-1630s but the library of the Altemps family, formed in the palace near Piazza Navona in 1610. Here he could have seen not only the printed books and the gallery for manuscripts and statuettes but also the large painted genealogy that traced this family, who were originally the Hohenems of Salzburg, back to 900.[16] In fact, it is in the context of family libraries that one should consider prints as large and unsellable as the *Portuguese Genealogy*.

Portugal revolted against Habsburg rule in December 1640. Castel Rodrigo's loyalty was never in question, especially since his father had helped to forge the union of the crowns 60 years earlier. But in this period of tension it was impolitic to have a Portuguese as the Spanish ambassador in Rome. Castel Rodrigo was reassigned to the Diet of Ratisbon. He left behind a dying wife in Naples and sold his silver to make the journey. He served in Vienna from 1642 to 1644 and then was transferred to Brussels as adjunct governor of the Spanish Netherlands. He served as minister of the crown during the peace conference in Münster. Alleging the burdens of age (though he was only 56) he returned to Madrid in 1648 after an absence of twenty years. He died there on 28 January 1651, fingering a medal given him by Urban VIII as 'the only thing that I took away from that embassy, into which I entered rich and with children, and from which I parted poor and without any, or almost without any'.[17]

The *Portuguese Genealogy* was commissioned during Castel Rodrigo's stay in the Spanish Netherlands in 1644–45. In the 1620s Castel Rodrigo had patronized the Portuguese mathematician, cartographer and historian João Baptista Lavanha (1550–1624). The view of the Castel Rodrigo palace in Lisbon shown in fig. 19 is from a large print by Lavanha and the engraver Jan Schorkens or Juan Schorquens (1595–c.1630) showing the *joyeuse entrée* of the Spanish king to Lisbon in 1622.[18] The same team, Lavanha as author and Schorquens as engraver, produced a magnificent genealogical table of the Iberian kings, *Silva genealógica de los fundadores de la Monarquía Espñola*. Almost two meters high, this giant print shows sixteen highly ramified trees whose inter-grafted branches culminate in the Habsburg monarch.[19] It is the immediate predecessor of the *Portuguese Genealogy*.

Lavanha apparently began work on a family tree for Castel Rodrigo as well but died in 1624 without producing it. The *Portuguese Genealogy* represents a successful attempt to restart this older genealogical project. Printed from eight copperplates it is not much smaller than the royal genealogy. Castel Rodrigo had research done by genealogical professionals, Pedro Damian de Goes and Antonio de Lima, as indicated in the cartouche at the lower right.[20] Once he found himself near the great printing center of Antwerp he must have had a now or never moment. Luckily he could avail himself of the services of the finest etcher

15. Rome, Archivio di S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, vol. 77b, doc. 12; O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII.*, Vienna, 1928–31, I, p. 44, reg. 225, mistakenly transcribed there as 2,500 scudi but the MS on p. 33 says 25,000 scudi. I am undertaking a study of the personal and architectural relationship between Don Manuel and Borromini.
16. J. Connors, 'Delle biblioteche romane attorno all'Alessandrina', in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis: Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento*, Rome, 1992, p. 490.
17. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Archivio Pio di Savoia, vol. 201 (203), fasc. 13, 29 December 1630, with codicil of 1651; Connors, 1991, op. cit., p. 440. The will is also discussed in Fernández Talaya, op. cit., pp. 61–64.
18. J. B. Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del rey D. Filipe II. N.S. ao reyno de Portugal E rellação do solene recebimento que nelle se lhe fez S. Magestade a mandou escrever*, Madrid, Thomas Iunti Impresssor del Rei N.S., 1622. Spanish version: *Viage de la Catholica Real Magestad Del Rei D. Filipe III N. S. al Reino de Portugal…*, Madrid, 1622.
19. This is a discovery of Martínez Hernández, 2011, op. cit., p. 103, fig. 5. On Lavanha (Castillian: Lavaña) see L. de Alburquerque, 'Lavanha, João Baptista', in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, New York, 1981, VIII, p. 65.
20. Caption at the lower right: 'En estos Arboles se ha seguido al Conde Don PEDRO DAMIAN DE GOES, y DON ANTONIO DE LIMA, que son los Libros corrientes de Familias de Portugal, que ellos sacaron de los Archivos de Reyno: sin admitir escrituras ni conjecturas que se ayan hallado despues que ellos escrivieron, que a hazer esto se pudieran alargar mucho mas'. Nicolao Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum qui usquam unquamve sive Latinam sive populari sive aliam quamvis linguam scripto aliquid consignaverunt Notitia*, Rome, 1672, I, pp. 201–02 and 111 refers to a manuscript by Damianus de Goes, *Nobiliaro de Portugal*, that he saw in Madrid in the library D. Hieronmi à Mascareñas, then (1672) Bishop of Segovia; and to a genealogical manuscript by Antonius de Lima, *Linages de Portugal*, that he saw in Madrid in the library of D. Hieronymus Ataidius Comes de Colares. Martínez Hernández, 2011, op. cit., p. 101 refers to the 1616 copy of Damião de Góis, *Livro das Linhagens Novas*.

20. Paulus Pontius, *Portrait of Cristóvão de Moura, First Marquis of Castel Rodrigo*, c. 1626, engraving and etching, trimmed 312 x 287 mm (Vienna, Albertina Museum).

of his day, Wenceslaus Hollar, who had moved from London to Antwerp in 1644.[21] Hollar often worked with the draughtsman Iacques van Werden and both sign themselves at the bottom right edge of the *Portuguese Genealogy*.

The main tree is that of the Moura clan, a stately oak that rises with ramrod straightness in the center of the sheet (fig. 15). The older but lesser trunk of the

21. A. Griffiths and G. Kesnerová, *Wenceslaus Hollar Prints and Drawings from the Collections of the National Gallery, Prague, and the British Museum, London*, London, 1983, pp. 43–45 on Hollar's Antwerp period.

21. Paulus Pontius, *Portrait of Margarita de Corte Real*, c. 1626, engraving and etching, trimmed 312 x 288 mm (Vienna, Albertina Museum).

Azambuja on the left begins with an ancestor from Flanders who came to the peninsula around 1200 and finishes with a graft into the main Moura trunk in 1410. The trunk on the right of the Corte Real family rises through seven generations and does not meet the Moura line until it reaches Castel Rodrigo's parents in the centre of the copperplate at the top left (fig. 23). This is the real focus of the *Portuguese Genealogy*. The coat of arms here, the largest on the print, stands out amidst the foliage: seven castles for the Moura and six 'bones of the dead' for the Corte Real of the Azores. These were the parents whom Castel Rodrigo had commemorated with the portraits engraved by Pontius in Antwerp around 1626 (figs. 20 and

22. Paulus Pontius, *Portrait of Manuel de Moura, Second Marquis of Castel Rodrigo*, c. 1626, engraving and etching, trimmed 310 x 216 mm (Vienna, Albertina Museum).

21).[22] Their union produced Castel Rodrigo himself, whose roundel is shown on the next branch conjoined with that of his wife, Leonora de Melo (1594–1641), whom we shall meet shortly. All but one of their children had died by 1645 but the surviving son, Francisco de Moura, is shown in a roundel just above his parents. He was 24 at the time of the print and just beginning to have children of his own. Francisco would become the third Marquis of Castel Rodrigo on his father's death in 1651. He would serve Spain as a noted diplomat and art collector as well as the planner of one of Madrid's great garden estates, the Villa Florida.[23]

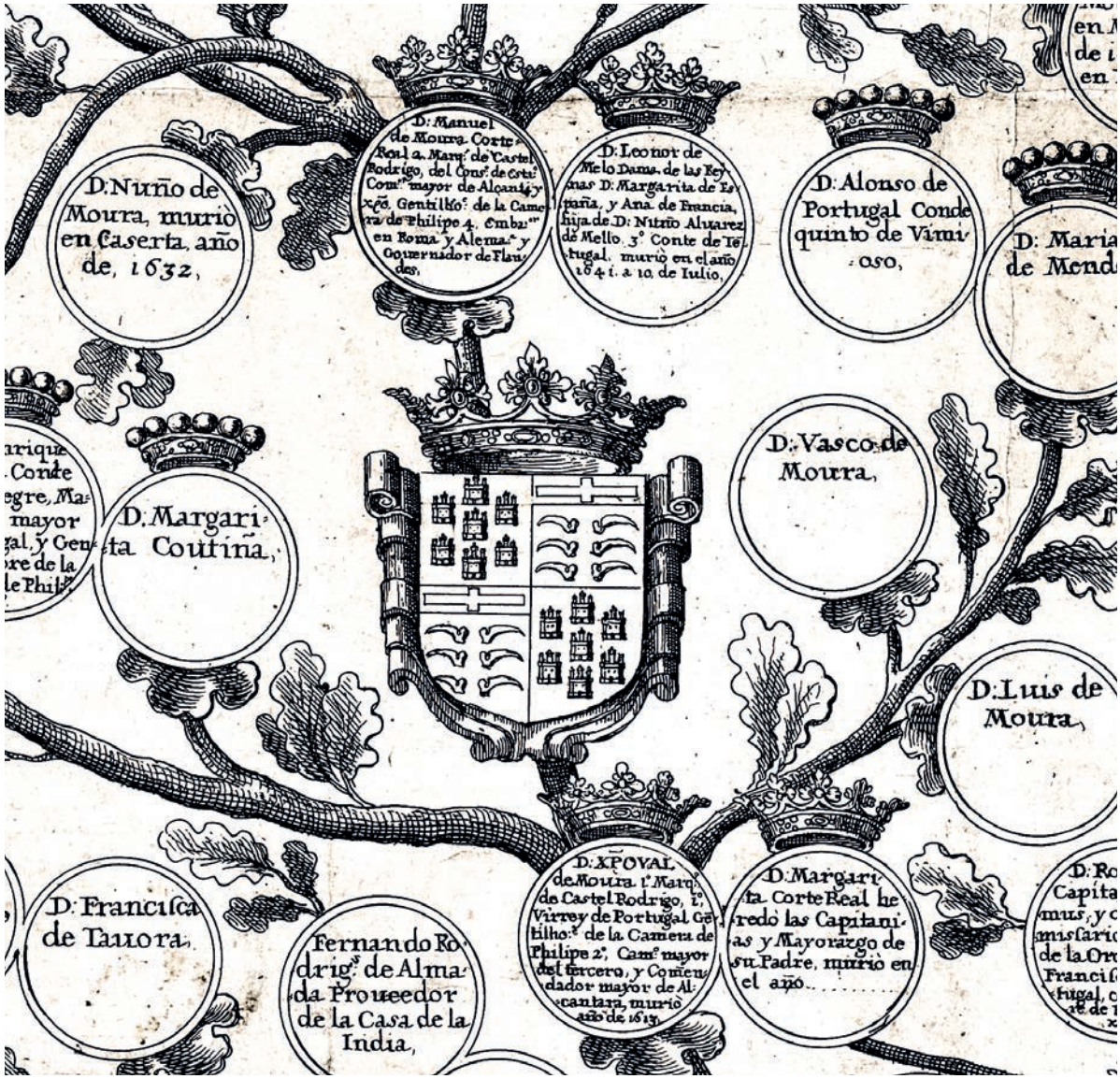
22. Fig. 21 inscribed in ink on lower border, *P.P. Rubens P* and *P. Pontius Sculp.*

23. Fernández Talaya, op. cit.

He could never return to Portugal. The great Castel Rodrigo palace on the Tagus was confiscated by the new Braganza monarchy. There was no impetus now to complete the dynastic chapel in São Bento and some of the marbles assembled there were sold.

Giovanni Pietro Bellori, in his life of Duquesnoy, says that there were eight *memorie* in the Lisbon chapel.[24] But which of the many ancestors on display in the *Portuguese Genealogy* might be the ones commemorated? The answer comes from an unexpected quarter, the

24. G. P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, edited by G. Previtali and E. Borea, Turin, 1976, p. 300: 'Disegnò li depositi per lo marchese Castel Rodrigo, che sono otto e tutti uniformi, con le memorie de' suoi maggiori: furono li marmi lavorati in Roma e mandati in Portogallo nella città di Lisbona, entro la Chiesa di San Benedetto, dove per le mutazioni seguite quelli che non erano stati messi in opera nel sepolcro sotto l'altare maggiore restarono imperfetti e collocati in sagrestia'.



23. Detail of fig. 15 upper left, showing union of Cristóvão de Moura and Margarita de Corte Real, and also union of Manuel de Moura and Leonora de Melo.

24. Anonymous artist, *Escutcheon with the Arms of the Melo of Angra Placed in Pretence on the Arms of the de Moura and the Corte Real with Allegories of Fame and Music*, title-page of F. Ronconi, *Applausi poetici alle glorie della signora Leonora Baroni* (Bracciano, G.B. Cavalli, 1639), etching, 189 x 126 mm (Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Mus 1452.15*).

world of music and Barberini opera in Rome during Castel Rodrigo's tenure as ambassador. At its center stands the famous singer, Leonora Baroni (1611–70), scion of a musical dynasty famous in Mantua, Rome, and even Paris and a favourite in Barberini musical circles.

In 1639 Leonora was honoured by a collection of poems, *Applausi poetici alle glorie della signora Leonora Baroni*.[25] In 267 pages poets and litterateurs like Gabriel Naudé, Fulvio Testi, Giulio Rospigliosi (the future Clement IX), Francesco Bracciolini (the programmer of the Barberini ceiling), Leone Allacci (in Greek), and Lukas Holste (in Latin) evoke the genius of Leonora Baroni, 'who will remain immortal in these pages', on the eve of her retirement. Ronconi, in searching for a patron hit upon Castel Rodrigo's wife, Leonor de Melo. Perhaps the two Leonoras had met at one of the Barberini performances reserved for women; in any case according to Ronconi the ambassadress was a great admirer of the singer.[26] He included a poem in honour of the patron's 'angelic intellect' and put the shield of her family, the de Melo of Angra, in pretence on the conjoined de Moura and Corte Real arms, on the frontispiece (fig. 24).[27] Though he mentions some of her family he writes more extensively of that of her husband, for whom he names precisely eight ancestors. The list begins in twelfth-century Spain, passes through the ancestor who moved to Portugal, and ends with Cristóvão de Moura, Castel Rodrigo's father. In this list we certainly have the names that were to go on the eight Duquesnoy *memorie* that were being carved at this time.

In these years the partnership between Borromini and Duquesnoy produced one of the most beautiful of all Baroque altars, the Filomarino Chapel in the church of SS. Apostoli in Naples.[28] Breathing the Hellenic air so cultivated by its patron, Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino, this masterpiece makes us regret all the more the loss of the other great export piece by the same team. The earthquake of 1755 wiped out much of historic Lisbon and Duquesnoy's eight 'depositi…con le memorie de' suoi maggiori' may never emerge. But thanks to a few pages of flattery from a fund-raising poetaster to a music-loving ambassadress and her heraldry-obsessed husband we at least now know their names.

25. F. Ronconi, *Applausi poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*, Bracciano, G.B. Cavalli, 1639. Milton was aware of the book when composing his own Latin poems to Baroni and the best studies come from Milton scholars: M. Byard, '"Adventurous Song": Milton and the Music of Rome', in M. Di Cesare, *Milton in Italy: Contexts Images Contradictions*, Binghamton, NY, 1991, pp. 305–28; and E. Haan, '"Written encomiums": Milton's Latin Poetry in Its Italian Context', ibid., pp. 521–47. See also Hammond, op. cit., p. 86; and García Cueto, op. cit., p. 714. A digital version is publically available on the website of the Harvard University Libraries.

26. A. Ademollo, *I Teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo*, Rome, 1888, pp. 25–35 on entertainments reserved for women, since in the main performances in Palazzo Barberini women were not allowed on stage or in the audience; see pp. 40 and 49 on Castel Rodrigo and Spanish comedy in Rome.

27. Ronconi, op. cit., pp. 263–67.

28. S. Schütze, 'Die Cappella Filomarino in SS. Apostoli: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung und Deutung von Borrominis Projekt in Neapel', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XXV, 1989, pp. 295–327.

Appendix

List of eight ancestors of Manuel de Moura from F. Ronconi, *Applausi poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*, Bracciano, 1639, unpaginated preface. Ronconi uses the Italian forms of the names, but the Portuguese forms can be found in the *Nobiliario* of Pedro Alfonso Conde de Barcelos, a genealogical compendium of the fourteenth century compiled by the bastard son of King Denis of Portugal. Juan Bautista Lavanha prepared the book for the press and dedicated it to Castel Rodrigo on 21 May 1622, adding notes especially for the Moura family.[29] The three oldest ancestors listed here do not appear on the *Portuguese Genealogy*, where ancestor no. 4 is the lowest (in other words, earliest) on the main trunk. All three appear, however, in the *Nobiliario* on p. 334.

29. Juan Bautista Lavanha, *Nobiliario de D. Pedro Conde de Bracelos* [for Barcelos] *hijo del Rey D. Dionis de Portugal ordenado y ilustrado con notas y indices por Iuan Bautista Lavaña coronista mayor del reyno de Portugal*, Rome, 1640, facsimile edition with introduction by J. Filgueira Valverde, Compostela, 1974; there are perceptive remarks on the *Nobiliaro* in Martínez Hernández, 2011, op. cit., p. 108.

1. *Pietro Roderigo* 'who took the Castello de Moura and other lands from the Muslims'.
Pedro Ruiz di Gusman, along with his brother Alvaro Ruiz, took the Castle of Moura from the Moors in 1165 (*Nobiliario*, p. 334, n. A).

2. His son *Martino, Gran Maestro dell'Ordine di Calatrava*. Martin Rodriquez was elected Maestre de Calatrava in 1238 (*Nobiliario* p. 334, n. A).

3. Martino's son *Pietro, Gran Maestro della Religione di S. Giacomo*. Pedro Martínez de Guzmán, Master of the Order of Santa María de España in 1279 and of the Order of Santiago in 1280.

4. Martino's other son *Vasco*, 'who brought the family from Castile to Portugal'. This is the first ancestor to appear on the *Portuguese Genealogy*, on the bottom of the main trunk, where he is called Vasco Martinez Serrano de Moura, son or grandson of the conqueror of Moura, Alcayde de Moura, who is buried in the church in the castle of Moura. According to the *Nobiliario* (p. 334, n. A) the name is Vasco Martins Serraõ de Moura; it goes on to say that he married Tareja Pires, daughter of Pedro Salvadores de Goes and it adds that Beatriz of Castile (consort of King Afonso III of Portugal) gave the town of Moura to him in 1284 and that he founded a chapel in Seville in 1264.

The *Portuguese Genealogy* inserts two more ancestors on the main trunk before continuing with the names in *Applausi poetici*:

4a. Gonçalo Vasquez, 'who married Mariane de Brito'.
4b. Gonçalo Vasques de Moura, 'who married Ines Alvares, daughter of Alvaro Gonçalves de Sequeyra and Beatriz Fernandes de Cambra'.

5. *Alvaro di Moura*, 'ambassador to Pope Urban VI (1378–89) and King Henry (III) of Castile (1379–1406)'. The *Portuguese Genealogy* gives his name as Alvaro Gonçalves Señor de Moura and that of his spouse as D. Urraca Fernandez Alcayadessa da Azambuja; the marriage brought the old Azambuja line into the main stem of the Moura. The *Nobiliario* (p. 335) has a long list of titles: 'Señor de Moura, de Portel, S. Alexo, y Alcayde del Castillo viejo e Evora, Monzon y Melgazo. Merino mayor de entre Tajo, y Guadiana reynando el Rey Don Fernando. Mayorazgo de Marmelar y el patronazgo de la Capillas que fundaron sus avuelos. Fue Señor de la Villa de Azambuja, per su muger Urraca Fernandez Señora della, instituyo el mayorazgo del Serraõ del Serraõ año 1410 y en este año murio…'

6. *Pietro Roderigo di Moura*, 'the famous warrior who turned to the devout life'. The *Portuguese Genealogy* calls him Pedro Rodriguez de Moura Señor de la Azambuja y del Marmellar and notes (as does the *Nobiliario*, p. 335, n. F) that he married Teresa de Novaes Señora de Montargil. At this point the note by Lavanha in the *Nobiliario* jumps without further ado to the generation of his patrons, the marquises of Castel Rodrigo, conde de Lumiares, grande de España (he explains that marquis means belonging to the royal family): their 'fourth grandchild' was Cristoval de Moura (Lavanha gives all this titles), then Manuel de Moura, who married Leonor, the daughter of the third Conde de Tentugal. Their son Francisco de Moura married Ana Maria de Aragon y Moncada, daughter of Antonio VI Duqe de Montalvo IIII Principe de Paterno.

The list in *Applausi poetici* skips another ancestor on the *Portuguese Genealogy*:

6a. Fernando de Moura Señor da Azambuja del Marmeliar y Monteargil.

7. *Rollino di Moura*, 'counselor of King Alfonso (V?) of Portugal (1432–81)'. The *Portuguese Genealogy* gives the name as 'D. Rolim de Moura Señor de la Azambuja y de los Mayorazgos de sus aguelos del cons. de los Reyes D. Iuan y D. Manuel'. The *Portuguese Genealogy* names his wife, Beatriz Caldeyra, and indicates that this is where the main trunk of the Moura branches off onto the line that will eventually produce Cristóvão and Manuel de Moura.

The list in *Applausi poetici* skips two generations that are found on The *Portuguese Genealogy*:

7a. Juan de Moura (d. 1495) 'who served King Manuel in the Empresa de la Mamorra 7b. Luis de Moura (d. 1586).

8. *Christofaro di Moura*. Cristóvão de Moura, the first Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, whose titles are given on the *Portuguese Genealogy* along with the death date of 1613. The *Portuguese Genealogy* traces the line of his wife, Margarita Corte Real, back six generations to an ancestor who lived in the Algarve in 1383; it claims that they were the leading family in Angra in the Azores for four generations before her birth. Since Castel Rodrigo's wife, Leonor de Melo, was the dedicatee of *Applausi poetici*, Ronconi wanted to flaunt her ancestors but had little to go on beyond her grandparents. On her father's side he says that they include Duke Gian Giacomo of Braganza. On her mother's side, Ronconi tells us, they include the Marchese di Sarria, Conte di Lemos, a blood relative of King Emanuele; and the family line of Astorga and Trastamaro, the Counts of Altamiro, whose barony is Osorio, a family older than the kings of Portugal, who often took their brides from it. 'Thus Your Excellence', Ronconi says to Doña Leonor, 'is quite worthily conjoined with D. Emanuele de Moura, Marchese di Castel Rodrigo, Conte di Lumiares, ambassador to Urban VIII'.

'Fox-Hunt Garbage'
Umberto Boccioni and British Illustration

Niccolò D'Agati

In spite of the large number of studies about the painter Umberto Boccioni (1882–1916), scholars have not highlighted the connection between his work as an illustrator and his deep knowledge of European illustration produced for commercial contexts such as advertising. It is argued here that during the early years of his career Boccioni was considerably influenced by the work of English, Belgian and French illustrators – mainly Cecil Aldin (1870–1935), Harry Eliott (1882–1959), Henri Cassiers (1858–1944) and Albert Beerts – who were well known in Europe through the circulation of their lithographs and postcards. This influence is clear in Boccioni's prints and temperas, and in two unknown lithographs made in his youth during a stay in Rome. The lack of analysis of Boccioni's early commercial works is largely explained by the difficulty of sourcing examples of relevant postcards and lithographs.

In 1905, in *Das Englische Haus*, published in Berlin, Hermann Muthesius wrote of Aldin's illustrations: 'Best known are a series of pictures by Cecil Aldin of hunting and sporting subjects (*The Fallowfield Hunt*, *Mated*, *Revoked*, *The Whip*, *The Huntsman* and so on). These are of delightful freshness and liveliness of vision.'[1] Aldin later produced a series of illustrations dedicated to childhood, play, animals and hunting.[2] These prints by him and other artists, like Eliott and John Hassall (1868–1948), particularly the latter's famous *Nursery Frieze*, were intended for decoration in middle-class houses: they could be hung on the wall like an ordinary painting, or the wall itself could be papered with a sequence of prints to create a frieze. These images became so popular that Muthesius described them as a typical decorative element in the children's room of the average English house. His remarks are of some interest as they attest to the diffusion by 1905 of two of Aldin's prints, *The Whip* and *The Huntsman*, which were among the contemporary British illustrations that influenced Boccioni.

Specifically, Boccioni's fox-hunting scenes exhibit similarities with Aldin's work and that of contemporary English printmakers, such as Eliott and Lance Thackeray (1869–1916), which has hitherto gone unnoticed. During his pre-Futurist years, as Boccioni travelled between Rome, Padua, Paris, Venice and Milan from 1903 to 1909, he worked as a commercial illustrator, an activity whose importance exceeded its financial purpose. 'It was fox-hunt garbage!' was his description of four drawings, probably made for commercial illustrations, in a letter of 25 August 1906 sent from Paris to his mother and sister. He wrote: 'I was planning to paint over or throw [them] away while I was packing my suitcase a few days ago', but then he unexpectedly sold them for 50 lire.[3] Analysis of his illustrations reveals a large range of visual sources, pointing to a different chronology for some of his works, a broader cultural context and a richer and more complex production than scholars have hitherto attributed to him.[4]

A comparison between Boccioni's horse-riding scenes and Aldin's prints leaves little doubt that the latter served as Boccioni's primary visual source. Aldin's *The Whip* and *The Huntsman* are mainly known through impressions published by Lawrence & Jellicoe in 1907 (figs. 25 and 26), but the discovery of two lithographs by Boccioni dated 1904 (figs. 27 and 28), published by Stiefbold & Co., Berlin, suggests he knew of Aldin's earlier, now rare, printed versions,

A heartfelt thanks to E. Coen and V. Baradel.

1. H. Muthesius, *Das Englische Haus: Entwicklung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung und Inneraum*, III, Berlin, 1905, p. 233 'Am bekanntesten ist eine Reihe Wandbilder von Cecil Aldin über Jagd und Sport (*The Fallowfield Hunt*, *Mated*, *Revoked*, *The Whip*, *The Huntsman* usw.). Bilder in herzerquickender Frische, und Lebendigkeit der Auffassung'. For an English translation see *The English House by Hermann Muthesius*, edited by D. Sharp, London, 2007, p. 233.
2. On Aldin, see R. Heron, *Cecil Aldin: The Story of a Sporting Artist*, Exeter, 1981 and R. Heron, *The Sporting art of Cecil Aldin*, London, 1990.
3. *Boccioni a Venezia: Dagli anni romani alla mostra d'estate a Ca' Pesaro*, edited by E. Coen, L. Magagnato and G. Perocco, Milan, 1985, p. 35, 'Ho venduto per 50 lire quattro disegni che giorni sono preparando le valigie avevo deciso di disegnarci sopra o buttarli. Era robbaccia della caccia alla volpe senza alcun valore!'.
4. See M. Calvesi and A. Dambruoso, *Boccioni: Catalogo generale*, Turin, 2016, pp. 347–86, with further bibliography, and V. Baradel, *Boccioni Prefuturista: Gli anni di Padova*, Geneva and Milan, 2007, pp. 174–97.

25. Cecil Aldin, *The Whip*, 1907, lithograph, 268 x 750 mm, published by Lawrence & Jellicoe, London (Cesena, Private collection).

published as early as 1902 by Lawrence & Bullen in London.[5] These early impressions – about 44 by 107 mm – are larger than the Lawrence & Jellicoe ones of 1907 and bear the inscription: *Copyright 1902. Published by Lawrence & Bullen, Ldt. 16 Henrietta Street Covent Garden, London, WC.* In the Nicotra collection in Italy there is a painting signed by Boccioni of a *Fox Hunt* which presumably was a model for a similar lithograph (fig. 28), although there are minor differences, for instance the fox chased by the dogs is missing. The two Boccioni lithographs dated 1904 allow us to bring forward the dating of the Nicotra painting to 1903–04 from the previously suggested 1904–05.[6]

The similarities between Aldin and Boccioni's lithographs include the green monochrome background; the focus on line as the main expressive

5. The two Boccioni prints were sold by Olivier Coutau-Bégarie in the *Animaliers – Chasse – Vénerie* sale, Paris, Hotel Drouot, Monday, 15 October 2007, lot 239; they are not included in Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit. A 1902 impression of *The Whip* was sold by Christie's in their *Palais Abbatial de Royaumont – Exposition au Palais Abbatial de Royaumont* sale no. 1058, Paris, 19–21 September 2011, lot 769, while a 1902 impression of *The Huntsman* hand-signed by Aldin is in a private collection in Vereeniging, South Africa.
6. Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., p. 356, no. 473, with suggested dating of 1904–05; and M. Calvesi, *Umberto Boccioni e l'amico Mario Nicotra*, Rome, 2000, pp. 28–29.

26. Cecil Aldin, *The Huntsman*, 1907, lithograph, 268 x 750 mm, published by Lawrence & Jellicoe London (Cesena, Private collection).

27. Umberto Boccioni, *Coming Back*, 1904, lithograph, 360 x 865 mm, published by Stiefbold & Co, Berlin (Image courtesy Damien Libert).

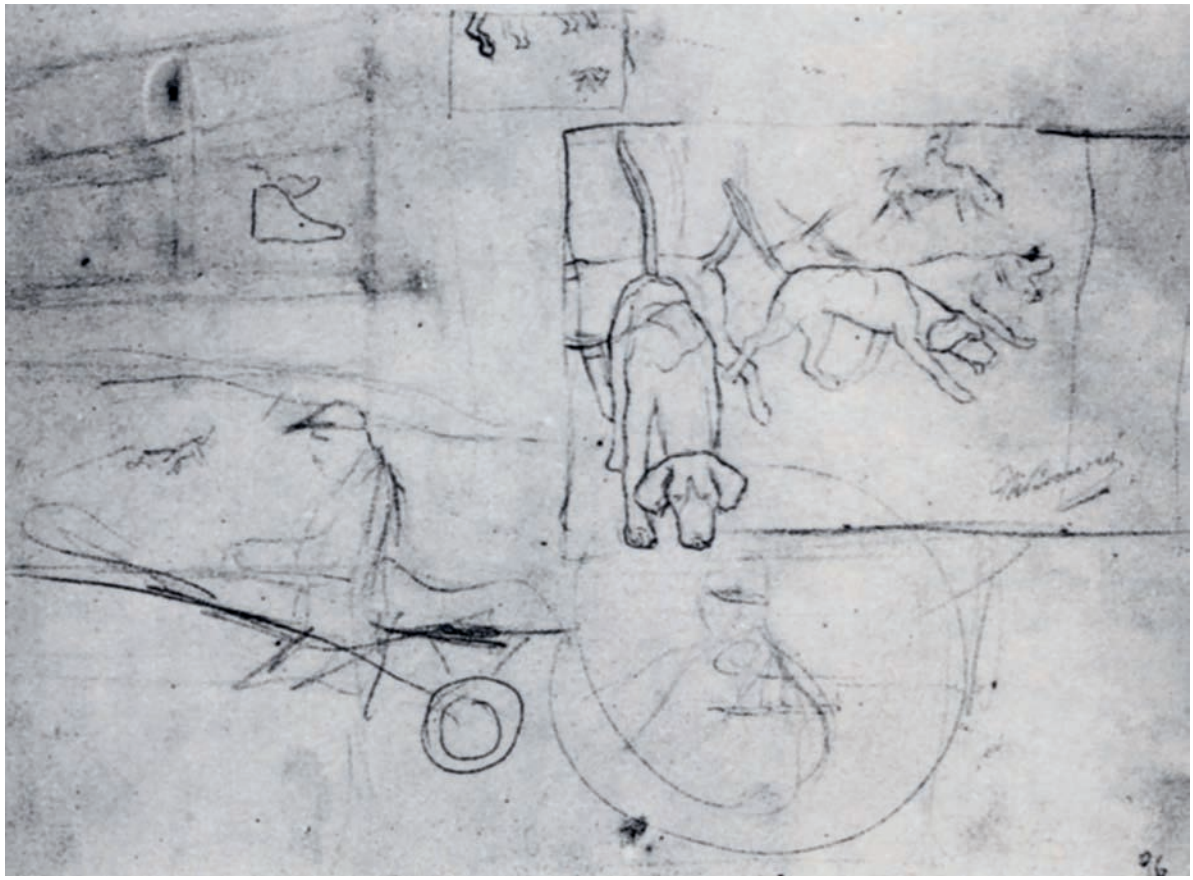
tool; a bold, fluid line circumscribing areas of flat colour with minimal modulations in tone; and Aldin's typically humorous cartoon-like style that differentiates such production from the usual, more naturalistic hunt-related lithographs. Further similarities include facial features and reddened cheeks and noses, the fashionable clothing, highlights on the boots and the outlining of the horses. If Boccioni's works were unsigned, all these elements would suggest an attribution to an English artist.

Boccioni was probably also familiar with Aldin's *Fallowfield Hunt,* a cycle of lithographs signed and dated 1900.[7] A drawing by Boccioni with sketches of sniffing dogs seems to have been derived from Aldin's lithograph *The Check* from the *Fallowfield Hunt* series, as two of the dogs are almost identical (figs. 29 and 30), and his gouache painting and lithograph *Fox Hunt* appear to be a remake of Aldin's *Full Cry* lithograph from the *Fallowfield Hunt* set.[8] Even Boccioni's better-known car race and hunting scene

7. Heron, 1990, op. cit., p. 119.

8. Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit, p. 356, no. 476, *Sketch of Huntsmen and Dogs*, c. 1904.

28. Umberto Boccioni, *Fox Hunt*, 1904, lithograph, 360 x 865 mm, published by Stiefbold & Co, Berlin (Image courtesy Damien Libert).



29. Umberto Boccioni, *Sketch of Huntsmen and Dogs*, c. 1904, pencil on paper, 208 x 280 mm (Location unknown).

Car and Fox Hunting (Automobile e caccia alla volpe; fig. 31) is in fact an elaboration of Aldin's print *Full Cry*, with the addition of automobiles like those in *Racing Cars*.[9] It is possible that such a subject might have been influenced by figurative sources from postcards, such as the series *M. M. Vienne no. 218* published by M. Munk, with its more naturalistic approach to the familiar subject of jockeys with the unmistakable dogs and group of drivers (fig. 32).[10] Moreover, the use of à plat colour in these early attempts is unlikely to have been associated with Toulouse-Lautrec (1864–1901), as suggested by Maurizio Calvesi, since Boccioni was probably not yet familiar with the French artist's work.[11]

Calvesi and Sonderegger ascribe Boccioni's gouache cartoons in the Nicotra collection to the alleged influence of Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri Matisse (1869–1954) and Vincent van Gogh (1853–90). Such juxtapositions seem hardly justifiable if we consider the artist's more likely and evident familiarity with the illustrators working for the publisher Ricordi, like Leopoldo Metlicovitz (1868–1944). A quick comparison between the annual covers of the journal *Musica e Musicisti* – especially the one for 1904 – and Boccioni's paintings such as *Woman in Front of a Window* in the Nicotra collection, reveals a stylistic derivation from contemporary Italian prints, while there is no trace of the suggested French influence (figs. 33 and 34).[12] Such a debt to Italian illustrations is understandable at this point in Boccioni's production,

9. M. Calvesi, 'Boccioni prima del Futurismo', in *Boccioni Prefuturista*, edited by M. Calvesi, E. Coen and A. Greco, Milan, 1983, p. 19; Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., p. 355, nos. 472 and 471. For Aldin's *Full Cry*, see Heron, 1990, op. cit., p. 26.
10. By this time postcards used to have a series number to identify a set of six or more. This number is the only way to identify with precision a set of postcards.
11. See Calvesi, 2000, op. cit., p. 22.
12. Ibid., pp. 26–27 and *Omaggio a Umberto Boccioni*, edited by B. Corà, T. Sicoli and C. Sonderegger, Milan, 2009, p. 18.

which seems to lack a truly personal style and borrows ideas from diverse sources. This, however, makes it difficult to establish a chronology for his commercial illustrations on a stylistic basis.

Boccioni's connection with English and Anglo-French printmaking is even stronger in works combining hunting scenes with images of peasants, automobiles or drivers, as can be seen in gouaches and lithographs from this period, such as those in the collection of the Automobile Club d'Italia in Rome. A work by Boccioni, dated by scholars about 1904, recently sold at auction (fig. 35) – and probably a lithograph, not tempera as the auction catalogue states – shows a policeman restraining an irate farmer, whose geese have just been killed by a now contrite motorist.[13] It is derived from an undated lithograph, *The Argument without an Answer (L'Argument sans réplique)*, by Albert Beerts, a Belgian illustrator living in France (fig. 36).[14] Beerts's print, which forms part of a set together with *Defeated (Le Déconfit)* and *A Sensational Entrance (Une entrée sensationelle)*, was inspired by the automobile company Renault, as the shape of the car reveals. Although Beert's style makes it impossible to identify the exact model, the radiator placed behind the alligator-shaped bonnet was typical of Renault since 1905.[15] Apart from the car crash subject and the contrast between a fast automobile and a rural setting, other details, such as the woman with her apron pulled up to her face who is crying for the pig or geese killed in the crash and the way the policeman points towards the driver of the car, strongly suggest Boccioni's source. Boccioni elaborates the scene by adding extra figures and creating a livelier, more comic-like narrative. But in light of this undeniable connection, Boccioni's *The Argument* ought to be dated around 1905–06, not long before the artist's move to Paris in March 1906.

Boccioni did not make this and other works of the same subject specifically for the Automobile Club d'Italia, as was suggested by scholars like Gino Agnese

13. Sale *Old and Modern Masters*, Capitolium Art, Brescia, 25–26 November 2013, auction 167, lot 70, title *Automobile Club Italia*; the dating 1904–05 suggested by Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., p. 358, no. 485. I have not seen the original, but inspection of a high-resolution image suggests this is a print and not a gouache or a pen drawing.

14. Little is known about Beerts's life, but that he worked as illustrator and editor in Paris is confirmed by the inscription *Estampes Sportives, Albert Beerts, 19 Rue des Bons Enfants, Paris* printed on his works.

15. R. Bellu, *Toutes les Renault*, Paris, 1979, p. 27.

30. Cecil Aldin, *The Check, The Fallowfield Hunt*, 1900, lithograph, 381 x 609 mm, published by Lawrence & Bullen, London.

31. Umberto Boccioni, *Car and Fox Hunting (Automobile e caccia alla volpe)*, c. 1905, gouache on cardboard, 790 x 1,340 mm (Image courtesy Automobile Club d'Italia, Rome).

and Calvesi and Dambruoso, nor for the Rome section of the club, which was founded in January 1906.[16] The alleged 'commission' from the Automobile Club is probably assumed from the Club's present ownership of these paintings and Agnese's heavily fictionalized biography of Boccioni.[17] A more reliable account is offered by the art historian Guido Ballo, based on his interview of the artist's sister, Amelia Boccioni. In 1960 he wrote, 'several panels and drawings with fox-hunting scenes, exhibited in a shop window in Rome, were acquired by the Royal House. Now they belong to Automobile Club Roma'.[18] The Automobile Club d'Italia was founded as a private federation of Italian car owners in Turin in 1905. The Automobile Club d'Italia changed its institutional profile in 1926 when the Italian State converted it into a legal entity and renamed it the Reale Automobile Club d'Italia. It moved to Rome in 1927.[19] There is no evidence that the Automobile Club d'Italia, whose headquarters were in Turin at that time, was involved in the commissioning of art from Boccioni between 1905 and 1906. If Amelia Boccioni's account is reliable, it is possible that Boccioni's paintings were bought by the Royal House of Savoy and donated to the newly created Reale Automobile Club d'Italia, although the lack of documentation in the Club's archives makes it impossible to verify this hypothesis.

32. Anonymous artist, *Hunting Scene and Drivers*, stamped in 1905, postcard, 89 x 138 mm, from the series *M. M. Vienne, no. 218* (Milan, Private collection).

Another lack of clarity about Boccioni's illustrations is the link with the art dealer and agent Cesare Racah (d. after 1920), who remains a shadowy figure inaccurately described by Agnese. According

16. 'Notiziario Sportivo. Automobilismo', *La Stampa Sportiva*, v, 1906, no. 4, p. 15.
17. G. Agnese, *Vita di Boccioni*, Florence, 1996, pp. 59–63. Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., p. 358, no. 485, mention a 'set commissioned by ACI', but without documentary evidence; on the set owned by the Automobile Club d'Italia, see ibid., pp. 355–58, nos. 471–72, 478–83.
18. G. Ballo, *Preistoria del Futurismo*, Milan, 1960, p. 108, note 2.
19. F. Paolini, *Un paese a quattro ruote: automobili e società in Italia*, Venice, 2005, p. 128 and C. Luna, 'Cento anni di storia dell'Italia in movimento', in *Motu Proprio. Cento anni di ACI, per andare avanti*, Rome, 2005, pp. 21–36.

to Agnese, Racah and his business partner Ulderico Bossi commissioned some of Boccioni's works. In fact, Racah was Bossi's successor rather than an associate.[20] 'Ulderico Bossi' was the name of a company specializing in publishing and selling prints, whose shop was in Corso Umberto I, now Via del Corso. Before taking over Bossi's business Racah worked as a salesman, with an office in Via Belsiana 1, Rome, as shown in the *Guida Monaci*, a guidebook to the city.[21] From 1907–08 Racah worked as 'the supplier of the houses of H. M. the King and the Queen Mother'. Boccioni probably worked for piece rate under Racah, creating pictures inspired by the English lithographic models that were extremely fashionable at the time. Racah himself could have provided the young artist with source material as Bossi's shop specialized in prints. Boccioni's gouache of a *Jockey*, for instance, was similar to a set of postcards with jockeys and other riders designed by Harry Eliott and published no later than 1904 (figs. 37 and 38).[22] A connection with Racah might also explain how the Berlin publisher Stiefbold & Co. came to print lithographs by Boccioni in 1904. Racah might have commissioned the tempera painting from Boccioni and sold it to Stiefbold & Co., who made lithographs after it.

Besides the work of Aldin and Beerts, Boccioni was also familiar with that of Eliott, as has been previously suggested but never proven.[23] At some undetermined moment, probably between 1902 and 1905, Eliott launched his own publishing venture in Neuilly-sur-Seine near Paris and published a cycle of twenty lithographs intended to be mounted as a

20. Agnese, op. cit., p. 59.
21. *Guida Monaci. Guida Commerciale di Roma e Provincia*, XXXII, 1902, p. 821 and *Guida Monaci. Guida Commerciale di Roma e Provincia*, XXXVIII, 1908, pp. 977 and 1,036.
22. Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., p. 356, no. 475.
23. On Boccioni's reliance on work by Eliott see A. Alberti, 'Boccioni Illustratore e Cartellonista', in P. Bellini, *Umberto Boccioni: Catalogo Ragionato delle Incisioni, degli Ex Libris, dei Manifesti e delle Illustrazioni*, Milan, 2004, p. 174, note 25; G. Fanelli and E. Godoli, *Il Futurismo e la Grafica*, Milan, 1988, p. 126; *La Grafica in Italia*, edited by G. Fioravanti, L. Passarelli and S. Sfligiotti, Milan, 1997, p. 40.

33. Umberto Boccioni, *Woman in front of a Window*, c. 1904, gouache on cardboard, 370 x 297 mm (Private collection. Image courtesy Galleria Russo, Rome).

34. Leopoldo Metlicovitz, Front cover for *Musica e Musicisti*, 1904, 170 x 240 mm (Milan, Private collection).

35. Umberto Boccioni, *The Argument*, 1905–06, probably a lithograph, 410 x 690 mm (Image courtesy Capitolium Art, Brescia).

36. Albert Beerts, *The Argument without an Answer (L'Argument sans Réplique)*, c. 1905, lithograph, 515 x 700 mm, published by Estampes Artistiques Albert Beerts, Paris (Palermo, Private collection).

frieze, as well as several sets of postcards including the famous *Sporting Life (La vie sportive)* series.[24] For fig. 27 Boccioni seems to have copied the motif of the dejected rider and the postures of the two wounded dogs from one of Eliott's postcards from the set *A Hunting Day* (*Une journée de chasse*), first published in 1903 (fig. 39). There is a further striking similarity between Boccioni's lithograph *Fox Hunt* (fig. 28) and Eliott's *Fox Hunting (Chasse au renard no. 12;* fig. 40), which suggests that Eliott's frieze images were published, as here proposed, in 1903 or early 1904.

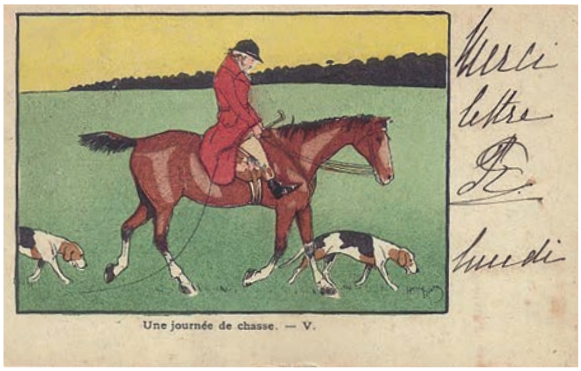
In addition to his familiarity with car-driving

37. Umberto Boccioni, *Jockey*, c. 1904–05, gouache on cardboard, 296 x 204 mm (Location unknown).

38. Harry Eliott, *Jockey*, c. 1904, postcard, 140 x 90 mm (Image courtesy Harry Eliott Club).

subjects by Ernest Montaut (1878–1909), as suggested by Calvesi, Boccioni may also have adapted works by Eliott.[25] Eliott's *Paris-Madrid* frieze, dated 1903, seems a particularly likely and important example, as are the later images dedicated to car races: the *Gordon Bennett Cup* (*Coupe Gordon Bennett*), *De Knyff, Jenatzy, The Descent* (*La Descente*) and *The Hill* (*La montée;* fig. 41), recently assigned to 1904.[26] Several of these prints would later become postcards and form part of the *Sporting Life* series. This was divided into two sets, the first was published in about 1903, the second in the latter half of 1904. The postcards from the second set bear a printed inscription on the back: '*Not all foreign countries accept postcards with correspondence on the front. Please enquire at the post office.' (Tous les pays étrangers n'acceptent pas la correspondance au recto (se renseigner à la poste)* which became mandatory in France after 1 May 1904, thereby providing a *terminus post quem*.[27] Their composition is

24. The literature on Eliott has not been able to clarify the dating of his work; see F. Poulain and M. Delattre, *Harry Eliott, le Plus Anglais des Illustrateurs Français*, Beaumont-en-Auge, 1994, pp. 20–21 and J. Cernogora, *Harry Eliott, le Gentleman Illustrateur*, Vernon, 2012. For the postcard series *Sporting Life* see G. Fanelli and E. Godoli, *La Cartolina Art Nouveau*, Florence, 1985, pp. 98–99.
25. On Boccioni and Montaut, see M. Calvesi, *Boccioni: Incisoni e disegni*, Florence, 1973, no. 2.
26. For the *Paris-Madrid* frieze, see Cernogora, op. cit., pp. 30–31. For *The Descent*, Poulain suggests a date of 1905; H. Poulain, *L'art et l'automobile*, Paris, 1973, p. 671. For *The Descent* and *The Hill* see sale, Osenat, Paris-Fontainebleau, *Automobilia*, 24 October 2015, lot 145, as being from 1904.
27. See *Bulletin mensuel des postes et des télégraphes*, supplement, XXVII, May 1904, no. 5, pp. 129–34, particularly paragraph IV, 'Dispositions nouvelles', lett. C, p. 132. In 1902 Britain changed the layout on postcards to the one now generally used. Previously, the blank part reserved for a short message from the sender was on the (usually decorated) front. The back was reserved exclusively for the name and address of the recipient. From 1902 the back of postcards was divided in two (like it is now): one part for the message and the other for the address and the stamp, while the front was entirely decorated. This new structure was adopted in different years in Europe; in Italy only in 1905. Therefore, by 1903/04 publishers stamped a sentence on postcards informing that new back-divided cards bearing messages on the back might be rejected by some countries, such as Italy that had not yet adopted the new format.



39. Harry Eliott, *A Hunting Day* (*Une journée de chasse)*, stamped in 1903, postcard, 141 x 69 mm, published by Harry Eliott, Neuilly-sur-Seine (Image courtesy Harry Eliott Club).

similar to that of two gouache paintings by Boccioni with automobiles and peasants, *The Hill (Auto in salita*) and *The Descent (Auto in discesa;* fig. 42*)*.[28] The uncertain chronology of Eliott's production, however, makes it hard to prove a direct link between these images and Boccioni's work and, albeit less likely, the similarities could be the consequence of a common source such as Montaut.

Eliott's influence is indisputable in Boccioni's gouache *Tennis Match* (*La partita a Tennis;* fig. 43), which enlivens the composition of a postcard from the first set of *Sporting Life* (fig. 44). Here Boccioni shows one of his rare stylistic innovations as an illustrator, in moving from a fluid, smooth contour line derived from Aldin and other English artists to a more angular one, with the varying thickness of a xylographic line and a rhythmic value that exceeds its function as an outline. That this change occurred around 1905 during Boccioni's second stay in Rome is well demonstrated by comparing the two related *Ciociara* images (the small gouache dated 13 May 1904 (in Padua, private collection), and *Ciociara Dance* (*Danza ciociara*) with the cartoons of around 1905 dedicated to folk costumes of the Ciociaria region, which reveal the new decorative, rhythmic line.[29] The culmination of this stylistic trend, represented in Italy by Aleardo Terzi (1870–1943), Giorgio Kierneck (1869–1948) and Luigi Bompard (1879–1953), is Boccioni's cover of 1905 for the magazine *Avanti della Domenica*.[30]

As noted by previous scholars, another source for Boccioni's illustrations was the Belgian Henri Cassiers' (1858–1944) Dutch-themed prints and postcards. The detail of the child playing with its boat in one of two prints by Boccioni, both titled *Dutch Family (Famiglia Olandese;* fig. 46), was probably inspired by Cassiers, specifically the poster *Red Star Line: Antwerpen – Amerika*, printed by O. De Rycker & Mendel in Brussels in 1898 and circulated as a postcard only after 1905.[31] Other popular works by Cassiers that circulated in the form of postcards and series of postcards depicted Dutch peasants and folk scenes, although Cassiers' influence should be understood more in terms of the style than of subject matter. The subtle, pen-like strokes

28. Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., p. 357, nos. 481–82.
29. Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., pp. 351–53, nos. 447–60.
30. Connections to contemporary Italian, Belgian and French printmaking have been suggested by A. M. Damigella, *Aspetti dell'Arte a Roma dal 1870 al 1914*, Rome, 1972, p. 68.
31. For Boccioni's prints see Damigella, op. cit., p. 68; Fanelli and Godoli, op. cit., pp. 124–28; Alberti, op. cit., p. 174, note 23. For Boccioni's two *Dutch Family* prints, see Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., p. 353, nos. 461–62. For Cassiers' prints see *Hommage to Brussels: The Art of the Belgian Posters 1895–1915*, edited by J. Block, New Brunswick, 1992, p. 57.

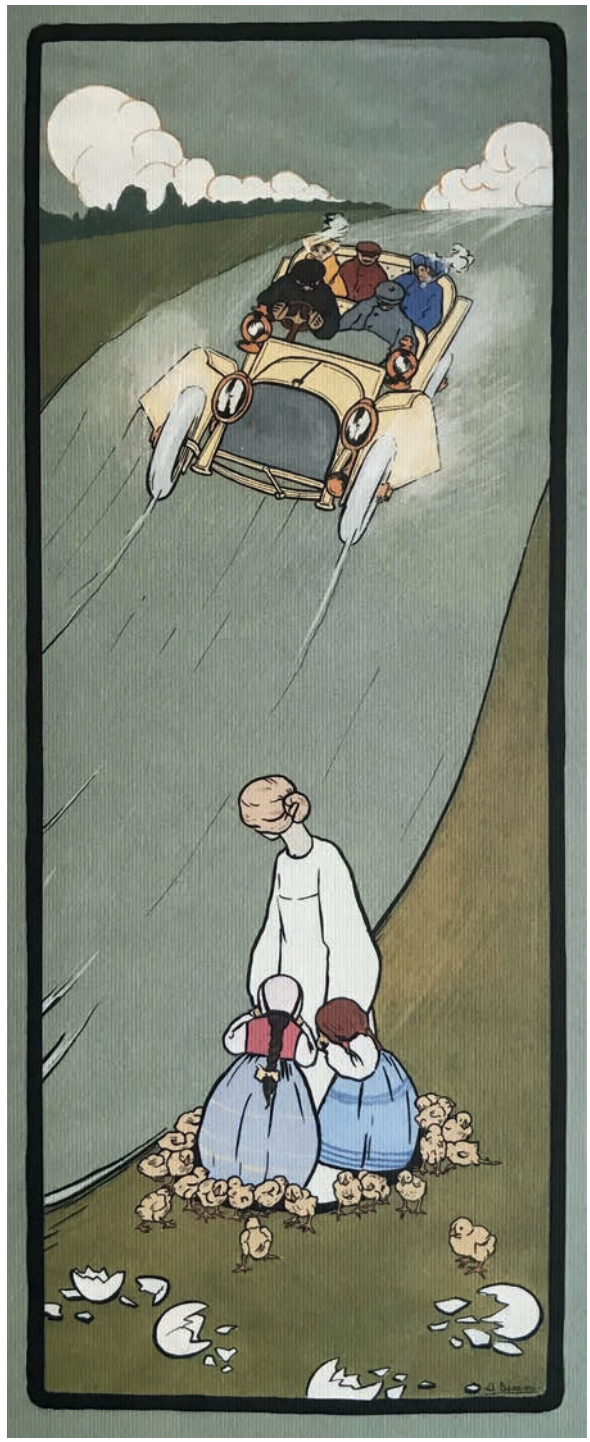
40. Harry Eliott, *Fox Hunting* (*Chasse au renard, no. 12)*, c. 1903, lithograph, 360 x 1,030 mm, published by Harry Eliott, Neuilly-sur-Seine.

41. Harry Eliott, *The Descent* (*La descente)* from the second series *Sporting Life (La Vie Sportive)*, c. 1904, postcard, 138 x 90 mm, published by Harry Eliott, Neuilly-sur-Seine (Milan, Private collection).

outlining trees, clouds and tufts of grass typical of Cassiers' work will later be found in Boccioni's car-racing subjects and in *Tennis Match*. Such affinities with Boccioni's work can be found again in Cassiers' 1903 postcard *Middelburg*, printed by Dietrich & Co., Brussels (fig. 45).

Boccioni's production of commercial illustrations during his early career has been largely overlooked, possibly in part because Boccioni himself seems to disown them in his writings. Moreover, the importance of English, French and Belgian postcards as visual sources for him has been underestimated. In an attempt to elevate Boccioni's early production, some accounts have suggested unlikely sources such as Toulouse-Lautrec and other French modernists, but it is clear that by 1903–05 Boccioni was more familiar with the widespread commercial art of postcards and prints than with French avant-garde painting.

One last example in support of this point is proved by the two humorous images by Boccioni depicting children and candy, published by Di Genova and dated about 1904 by scholars (fig. 47). Stylistically, these stand out from his caricatures.[32] In particular, the second of these prints seems to refer to a postcard of Belgian inspiration, from the series *S. 492* printed in Leipzig by Wezel & Naumann, depicting a crouching



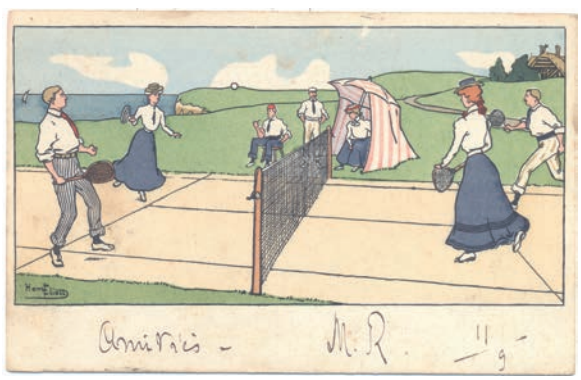
42. Umberto Boccioni, *The Descent (Auto in discesa)*, 1904–05, gouache on cardboard, 1,050 x 550 mm (Image courtesy Automobile Club d'Italia, Rome).

32. Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., p. 354, nos. 466–67.

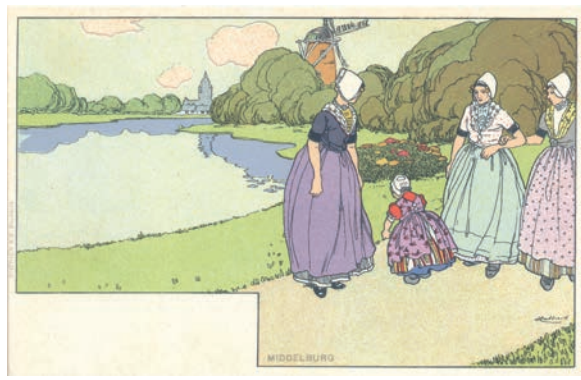
43. Umberto Boccioni, *Tennis Match* (*La partita a Tennis*), c. 1905–06, gouache on cardboard, 309 x 567 mm (Private Collection. Image courtesy Galleria Russo, Rome).

young girl in a red dress that might arguably be the source of the frightened girl at right in Boccioni's work, who turns to look over her shoulder (fig. 48). The postcard was stamped in 1906 and a possible date of 1905/06 for it would correspond with the chronology of Boccioni's cartoons, as their refined details seem too far removed from the style of his Roman years, as do their mannered decorative composition and precise, elegant lines. These elements link *Candies* and *Frightened Children* to contemporary children's book illustrations by Filiberto Scarpelli (1870–1933), Umberto Brunelleschi (1879–1949), Antonio Rubino (1880–1964) and Attilio Mussino (1878–1954) for the magazine *Il Giornalino della Domenica*.[33] In fact, Boccioni's images reveal striking similarities with Mussino's cover for issue no. 5 of 1906, which is

33. Mussino, cover for *Il Giornalino della Domenica*, 1906, I, no. 5. Attilio Mussino was already identified by Alberti as a source for the comics in the Touring Club's journal; Alberti, op. cit., p. 171.



44. Harry Eliott, *Tennis Match* from the first series of *Sport Life (La Vie Sportive)*, 1902–03, postcard, 90 x 140 mm (Milan, Private collection).



45. Henri Cassiers, *Middelburg*, c. 1903–04, postcard, 31 x 142 mm, published by Dietrich & Co, Brussels (Milan, Private collection).

46. Umberto Boccioni, *Dutch Family* (*Famiglia Olandese),* c. 1904, lithographic monotype, 435 x 297 mm (Padua, Private collection).

48. Anonymous artist, *Frightened Children*, stamped in 1906, postcard, 88 x 139 mm (Milan, Private collection).

probably an updated version of the Pied Piper of Hamlin as suggested by the crowd of children following the main figure (fig. 49). These connections with the milieu of children's illustrations, an activity to which Boccioni himself would turn in 1909 for the magazine *Il Corriere dei piccoli*, might suggest a date of 1906–07 for the two cartoons first published by Di Genova, who ascribed them to the artist's Milanese years.[34] Such a dating would fit perfectly with the 1906 diffusion of the German postcard, but also with what Boccioni writes in his diary on 25 September 1907, when he expresses satisfaction with the detail of his well-known drawing *My Mother* (*Mia madre*), adding: 'I am not sure what conclusions I should draw from this, but I definitely enjoy embellishing

34. On Boccioni and children's illustrations, see N. D'Agati, 'Boccioni: disegni inediti per il *Corriere dei Piccoli*', *Grafica d'Arte*, XXVIII, no. 109, January–March 2017, pp. 14–20.

47. Umberto Boccioni, *Candies* and *Frightened Children*, c. 1907, gouache on cardboard, 170 x 535 mm (Location unknown).

drawings with ornaments, as I will do in my next friezes of decorative motifs'.[35] The elongated shape and size of *Candies* and *Frightened Children*, 170 by 535 mm, conforms to the idea of small, decorative friezes following a strong narrative development. Both the diary entry and the illustrations of the Milanese years thus suggest that Boccioni continued to produce gouache paintings commercial in style, like those he had begun making in Rome that were mainly derived from contemporary English illustrations.

35. G. Di Milia, *Umberto Boccioni: Diari*, Milan, 2003, p. 52, 'Sono incerto ancora quali conclusioni tirarne ma certo che godo nell'impreziosire il disegno ornandolo come farò nei prossimi fregi di motivi decorativi'. For the drawing, see Calvesi and Dambruoso, op. cit., pp. 325 and 372.

49. Attilio Mussino, Front Cover for *Il Giornalino della Domenica*, 1906, 206 x 296 mm (Milan, Private collection).

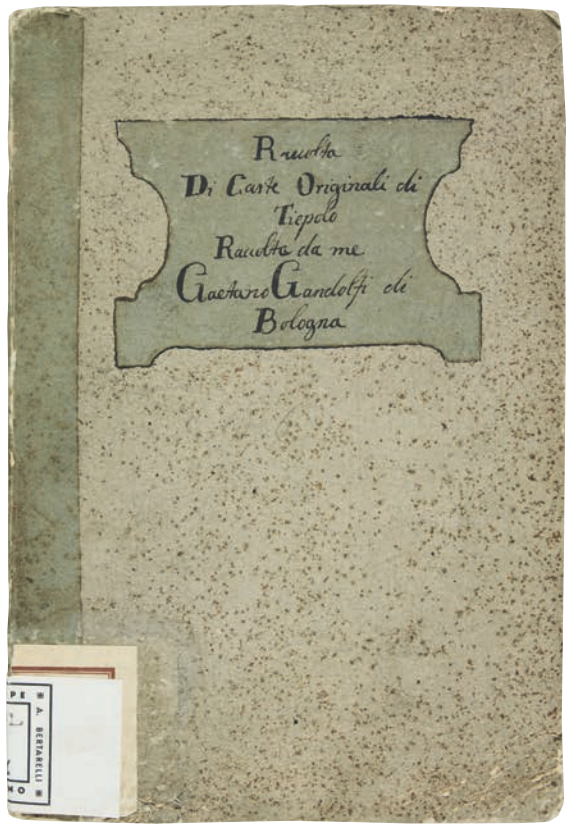
Shorter Notice

Gaetano Gandolfi's Album of Prints by Giambattista and Giandomenico Tiepolo

Donatella Biagi Maino

Scholars of eighteenth-century Bolognese art are well aware of Gaetano Gandolfi's (1734–1802) fascination with the creations of the much admired Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770) and those of his son Giandomenico (1727–1804). Equally well-known is the impact of the Venetian scholar Francesco Algarotti's sojourn from around 1715 to the early 1730s in Bologna, where he was a guest of the Accademia Clementina, one of the most prestigious academies of painting, sculpture and architecture in Europe at the time. It was Algarotti who initially encouraged young painters to pay less attention to their Bolognese teachers in order to learn from the work of the great Giambattista Tiepolo, the artist described by art historian Carlo Volpe as being of equal importance to the eighteenth century as the newly discovered Hellenistic sculpture of the Laocoön was for the sixteenth century ('funzionò nel Settecento come il Laocoonte nel Cinquecento').[1] Gandolfi studied Tiepolo's work from winter 1759 during the year he spent in Venice financed by the merchant Antonio Buratti, who had offered such a prize as a reward for artistic ability and rigour. He was able to experiment with brilliant Venetian tonalities of colour and combined such lessons with the skills he had acquired during his time in Bologna, where he had become familiar with the great Mannerist painters such as Parmigianino, Pellegrino Tibaldi and Niccolò dell'Abate as well as the teachings of the Accademia degli Incamminati.[2] The flamboyance of Gandolfi's style has been attributed to these diverse strands in his training and contributed to his success as one of the foremost painters of the second half of the eighteenth century in Europe.

What was hitherto not widely known is that Gandolfi, possibly inspired by his time in Venice, was also an avid collector of Tiepolo etchings, as demonstrated by the existence of an album in the Civica raccolta delle stampe 'Achille Bertarelli' in



50. Front cover of the album, 285 x 195 mm (Milan, Civica raccolta delle stampe 'Achille Bertarelli').

1. C. Volpe, 'I Gandolfi,' in *L'arte del Settecento emiliano. La pittura: L'Accademia Clementina*, Bologna, 1979, p. 94.
2. On Buratti, see D. Biagi Maino, *Gaetano Gandolfi*, Turin, 1995, pp. 16–23, and eadem, 'La tecnica del pastello nell'arte di Gaetano Gandolfi', *Studi di Storia dell'Arte*, XXVII, 2016, pp. 236–38.

51. Lorenzo Tiepolo, *Rinaldo Turning in Shame from the Magic Shield*, etching, 256 x 79 mm (Milan, Civica raccolta delle stampe 'Achille Bertarelli').

Milan.[3] The album entered that collection in 1935 as part of the Biblioteca Trivulziana, which itself had acquired in 1864 the archive of the Barbiano di Belgiojoso family together with its important collection of prints.[4] Entitled *Raccolta di carte originali di Tiepolo, raccolta da me, Gaetano Gandolfi di Bologna* (collection of original prints by Tiepolo, collected by me, Gaetano Gandolfi of Bologna), the album comprises a total of nineteen prints mounted on seventeen pages that were bound together, presumably for Gandolfi himself (fig. 50). The album pages were numbered by a later unidentified collector or archivist and its contents are listed in the Appendix below. Five of these prints – the largest group in the album – were engraved by Giandomenico and reproduce both his father's and his own inventions (Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9), while Giambattista is present with six etchings after his own works (Nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 12, 17).[5] Sheet 10, by Lorenzo Tiepolo (1736–76), is after Giambattista's painting *Rinaldo Turning in Shame from the Magic Shield* of c. 1740–46 in the National Gallery, London (fig. 51).[6] The pose of Rinaldo occurs similarly in *Rinaldo being Released from the Spell of Armida* in the collection of the Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen, Würzburg Residenz, possibly dating to 1752/53.[7]

Page 11 bears two engravings with scenes of Roman triumphs after Polidoro da Caravaggio, the first with musicians, slaves and the conqueror's chariot bedecked with his attributes, while the second depicts a Winged Victory at centre surrounded by loot and prisoners.[8] This accords well with Gandolfi's keen interest in classical sources, of which his design for the *Dying Gaul* engraved by Giacomo Leonardis in the noted collection of poems compiled for the Lambertini-Savorgnan wedding of 1762, *I riti nuziali*

3. The album was first made known by Giorgio Marini, 'Tra Idea e Imitazione: gli incisori emiliani nel Veneto', in *La pittura emiliana nel Veneto*, edited by S. Marinelli and A. Mazza, Modena, 1999, p. 205. I am indebted to Vittorio Casale for bringing the album to my attention. It is vol. S 131 and measures 285 x 195 mm.
4. Marini, op. cit., p. 205; I thank Giovanna Mori for verifying this information. See also https://trivulziana.milanocastello.it/it/content/patrimonio.
5. Sheets 1, 5 and 9 are inscribed at the bottom with the De Vesme page and catalogue numbers; A. de Vesme (A. Baudi di Vesme), *Le peintre-graveur italien. Ouvrage faisant suite au 'Peintre-graveur' de Bartsch*, Milan, 1906 (hereafter De Vesme).
6. I thank Domenico Pino for this observation.
7. For the Würzburg painting, see F. Pedrocco, *Tiepolo*, Milan, 2002, p. 287.
8. For similar works after the same decorations see P. L. Leone de Castris, *Polidoro da Caravaggio: L'opera completa*, Naples, 2001, p. 135, nos. 142–43, and references quoted therein.

52. Anonymous artist after Johann Brokoff, *Allegories of Justice and Peace on Clouds Above the Prague Skyline and a Personification of the River Danube*, etching, trimmed within platemark 228 x 158 mm (Milan, Civica raccolta delle stampe 'Achille Bertarelli').

53. Giandomenico Tiepolo after Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *The Three Theological Virtues,* 1746, etching, 160 x 174 mm (Milan, Civica raccolta delle stampe 'Achille Bertarelli').

degli antichi romani, provides earlier proof.[9] On sheet 13 we find an etching by an unknown artist after a relief from the Arch of Trajan in Benevento. Gandolfi would have known and studied engravings of antique sculptures and relief belonging to the Accademia Clementina as well as to private collectors, such as his patron Buratti. In addition, he would have been familiar with the Gallery of Statues, moulds of

9. Biagi Maino, 1995, op. cit., tav. xii.

54. Giandomenico Tiepolo, *St Vincent Ferrer Preaches to the Crowd,* 1750s, etching, 215 x 140 mm (Milan, Civica raccolta delle stampe 'Achille Bertarelli').

55. Giandomenico Tiepolo, *St Margaret of Cortona Before a Crucifix,* 1750s, etching, trimmed within platemark 252 x 92 mm (Milan, Civica raccolta delle stampe 'Achille Bertarelli').

classical sculptures initially part of Filippo Farsetti's workshop, but purchased by the Bolognese Pope Benedict XIV for the Accademia Clementina when Gandolfi was still a student.[10] This collection was open to the public and from the 1750s became a place for young artists to train according to the principles of Johann Georg Sulzer and Anton Raphael Mengs, a practice at the vanguard of European art academies.

On sheet 14 there is the personification of a river in the foreground and, in the centre, two female allegories of *Justice* and *Peace* (fig. 52). It is after an unidentified work of art by the Prague sculptor and woodcarver Johann or Jan Brokoff (1652–1718), noted for his wooden model *St John of Nepomuk,* of 1682, according to which the bronze statue on Charles Bridge in Prague was cast; a *Pietà,* of 1695; other statues on the Charles Bridge; and statues of the Church Fathers in the convent of Broumov. Sheet 15 contains two prints, one an engraving after the antique and the other an etched *Testa di Fantasia* by Giandomenico after one of Giambattista's inventions. Sheet 16 bears the annotation *'non è Tiepolo'* (not by Tiepolo) in pencil, probably by the librarian who also wrote the page numbering and an identical inscription on the subsequent sheet 17, a male academy. The inclusion of the academic nude is easy to understand as Gandolfi had enthusiastically attended life classes at the Accademia Clementina during his early training, a discipline that he would continue to practice well into his maturity, as is documented by Luigi Lanzi.[11]

This concentration on the work of the Tiepolo, underscored by the title *Carte Originali di Tiepolo*, is noteworthy. It must have been a conscious choice on the part of Gandolfi, considering that he could easily have acquired engravings by the great artists of the Bolognese or French school instead. These would have been readily available, and at no higher cost, in the shop of the renowned printer and bookseller Lelio Dalla Volpe, for whom, incidentally, Gandolfi himself worked and who was also a publisher used by the Institute of Bologna, of which the Accademia Clementina was a part, together with the Academy of Sciences. Dalla Volpe had his shop under the portico of the College of the Archiginnasio, then the seat of the University of Bologna, which is where the teaching for jurists and artists ('legisti e artisti') took place. The

10. D. Biagi Maino, 'Arte, scienza e potere: le risoluzioni di Benedetto XIV per le istituzioni accademiche bolognesi', in *Papes et Papauté au XVIII^e Siècle,* VI^e colloque Franco-Italien, edited by P. Koeppel, Paris, 1999, pp. 444–45.
11. L. Lanzi, *Storia Pittorica della Italia dal Risorgimento delle Belle Arti fin presso la fine del XVIII secolo,* Florence, 1834 edition, v, p. 183.

56. Gaetano Gandolfi, *St Margaret of Cortona with Saints Giacomo della Marca and Diego Curing a Cripple*, c. 1775, oil on canvas, 502 x 318 mm (Private collection. Image courtesy Jean-Luc Baroni Ltd).

various disciplines for artists included philosophy, medicine, mathematics, physical and natural sciences, while for legislators it was civil law and canon law. The shop had become a gathering place for intellectuals, who could find the latest publications there and meet with illustrious figures passing through the city. This was where important travellers could search for souvenirs such as engravings and drawings, and also meet the artists who had created them. Gandolfi was undoubtedly one of the main protagonists of these notable gatherings, even if we know that he was a reserved and modest person.[12] It is probable that he frequented the library of his friend Petronio Dalla Volpe, son of Lelio, where he was able to study and discuss prints that the other traded in, which might have included Tiepolo's *Capricci*.

Gandolfi worked in Bologna, the second largest city of the Papal States, and most of his commissions were either for the clergy, churches in Bologna, or prestigious commissions further afield such as his magnificent altarpiece representing *The Blessed Vernagalli Founds the Hospital of the 'Trovatelli'* (foundlings) painted for the cathedral of Pisa. It might therefore be expected that the artist would have been inclined to

12. 'Ed era stupore sentire come bassamente sentiva di se stesso, con quella modesta umiltà che è propria soltanto degli uomini eccellenti': from J.A. Calvi, 'Succinte notizie dei due celebri professori di Pittura Ubaldo e Gaetano Gandolfi scritte da un altro professore loro contemporaneo (30 giugno 1802)', ms., 1802, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Vienna.

57. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Three Soldiers and a Boy*, from *Capricci*, 1740s, etching, trimmed within platemark 140 x 176 mm (Milan, Civica raccolta delle stampe 'Achille Bertarelli').

collect and make use of prints with religious subjects, of which, however, we find only four examples in the album. Sheet 9 is derived from Giambattista's painting of the *Three Theological Virtues*, a monochrome roundel frescoed in the church of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, and one of a group etched by Giandomenico between 1746 and 1747 (fig. 53). The engraving also served as a model for Gandolfi's student Filippo Pedrini (1758–1844) when he frescoed the gallery of the Archbishop's Palace in Bologna in 1822.

The other three religious prints, depicting narrative scenes, were also etched by Giandomenico, but after his own cycle of paintings in the Oratory of the Crucifix adjacent to the church of San Polo in Venice (Nos. 1, 3 and 7). The album opens with a print after Giandomenico's unusual painting of *St Vincent Ferrer Preaches to the Crowd*, of 1749 (fig. 54). In this composition, a young man in the foreground at lower right looks out at the viewer, while three slightly peculiar figures, absorbed in conversation, occupy the middle ground. The saint, shown preaching to a massed crowd indicated only by a sea of hats, is here represented, as on other occasions, with a pair of wings and a flame above his head. Giandomenico painted a canvas with *St Margaret of Cortona Before a Crucifix* for the same venue. The painting is now lost, but is probably recorded in print No. 7 in the album, which shows the penitent saint in the habit of a Franciscan tertiary, with a curled-up dog in the foreground (fig. 55). Gaetano painted a similar figure of St Margaret in 1775 for an altarpiece in the parish church of Porto San Giorgio near Fermo, but in very different terms (see fig. 56 for a preparatory oil sketch). According to the doctrines learned in the years of Pope Benedetto XIV, which called on artists to move the emotions of the faithful, Gaetano imbues the scene with more pathos which is far cry fom the pietist emphasis of Tiepolo's version.[13] The last religious subject, No. 3 in the album, shows *St John of Nepomuk Drowned in the River Vltava*. Of unusual brutality, the scene shown in Giandomenico's painting, on which the print is based, is evocatively described by one art historian as 'a criminal act performed in the absence of witnesses'.[14] All three prints are part of a series by Giandomenico derived from his canvases in the Oratory. The album does not include a print after Giandomenico's painting of *Saints Helena and Macarius with the True Cross* from the same Oratory in San Polo, which might be considered a notable omission seeing that Gandolfi also treated this subject in a painting of 1793 now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, albeit with a different composition.[15] It is possible that the brutality of Tiepolo's scenes directly inspired Gandolfi's *The Blessed Leonard from Porto Maurizio Liberates a Possessed Woman* at San Bartolomeo della Beverara in Bologna and *Diogenes and Alexander*, of 1792, in a private collection.[16] Gandolfi reinterprets this in his own sophisticated compositional manner, situating the miracle among a crowd of cruel peasants, painted in an innovative anti-classical manner in the first painting, while placing the scene in front of a typical Bolognese rural residence for *Diogenes and Alexander.*[17]

Prints from the *Capricci* feature prominently in the album, which includes four examples from this series, Nos. 2, 4, 6 and 8, among them Giambattista's *Three Soldiers with a Young Boy* (fig. 57). With Roberto Calasso, who remarked, 'You can go through the eighteenth century in all directions without finding anything that resembles the *Capricci*', one can understand Gandolfi's predilection for those most mysterious and fascinating inventions.[18] Gandolfi also admired Giandomenico's Punchinello drawings, as a drawing in Venice in the Fondazione Cini demonstrates, but above all, he must truly have fully understood and admired the grandeur and nobility of Giambattista and Giandomenico's inventions and thus became a collector of their work.[19]

13. Biagi Maino, 1995, op. cit., fig. 110.
14. A. Mariuz, *Giandomenico Tiepolo*, Milan, 1971, p. 26, 'un episodio di 'cronaca nera' in assenza di testimoni'.
15. Gandolfi, *The Invention of the True Cross*; Biagi Maino, 1995, op. cit., p. 318, no. 222.
16. Biagi Maino, 1995, op. cit., pp. 319–20, nos. 226 and 219.
17. Biagi Maino, 1995, op. cit., figs. 253 and 254.
18. R. Calasso, *Il rosa Tiepolo*, Milan, 2006, p. 104.
19. Gaetano Gandolfi, *Grotteschi – Caricature a penna*, 291 x 204 mm, inv. 36.189, Fondazione Cini, Venice.

Appendix

List of etchings according to number of album page.

Cover. Inscribed in pen and ink, *Raccolta/ Di Carte Originali di / Tiepolo / Raccolta da me / Gaetano Gandolfi di / Bologna*; fig. 50

1. Giandomenico Tiepolo, *St Vincent Ferrer Preaches to the Crowd*; fig. 54
Etching, 212 x 131 mm, lettered, *S. Vicenzio Ferrerio. / Io.s Dominicus Tiepolo pinxit, et fecit;* De Vesme, op. cit., p. 414, no. 71.

2. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Seated Young Man, Leaning Against an Urn*, from *Varj Capriccj*
Etching, 143 x 183 mm; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 382, no. 3.

3. Giandomenico Tiepolo, *St John of Nepomuk Drowned in the River Vltava*
Etching, 220 x 107 mm, lettered, *Gioa: Domenico Tiepolo inv: pinx, et fecit*; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 411, no. 64.

4. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Two Soldiers with Two Women*, from *Varj Capriccj*
Etching, 135 x 170 mm; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 383, no. 5.

5. Giandomenico Tiepolo, *Young Woman Holding a Vase*
Etching, 280 x 90 mm, lettered, *Io. Bap. Tiepolo inve: / Io. Dom. Filius sculp*; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 428, no. 111.

6. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Three Soldiers with a Young Boy,* from *Varj Capriccj;* fig. 57
Etching, 140 x 174 mm; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 383, no. 4.

7. Giandomenico Tiepolo, *St Margaret of Cortona Before a Cross*; fig. 55
Etching, 229 x 90 mm, lettered, *Ioannes Dominicus Tiepolo/ invenit pinxit et delineavit*; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 412, no. 68.

8. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Standing Bearded Philosopher Holding a Book, a Soldier with a Flag in the Background,* from *Varj Capriccj*
Etching, 133 x 172 mm; De Vesme, op. cit., pp. 383–84, no. 8.

9. Giandomenico Tiepolo after Giambattista Tiepolo, *Three Theological Virtues*; fig. 53
Etching, 174 x 160 mm, lettered, *Joannes Batta: Tiepolo inv. et pinx / Jo. Dominicus Filius del. et fecit*; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 417, no. 79

10. Lorenzo Tiepolo, *Rinaldo Turning in Shame from the Magic Shield*; fig. 51
Etching, 256 x 79 mm, lettered, *Io. Bapta Tiepolo inv. et pinx. / Laurentius Filius del. et fecit*; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 442, no. 5.

11. N. Mellini? after Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Roman Triumphal Procession with Male Figure Seated on a Chariot and Musicians*
Etching, 65 x 214 mm, lettered, *Pulidor da Caravaggio in. f.*[20]

N. Mellini after Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Allegory of Victory with Arms and Prisoners*
Etching, 63 x 214 mm, lettered *Pulidor da Caravaggio in. f.*; in the banner: *N. Mellini inc.*[21]

12. Giambattista Tiepolo, *A Bacchante, A Satyr and A Faun*, from *Scherzi di fantasia*
Etching, 134 x 200 mm; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 392, no. 35.

13. Anonymous artist, *Trajan Entering Rome in AD 99 after his Campaign in Germany, after Roman Relief on the Arch of Trajan in Benevento*[22]
Etching, 157 x 185 mm

14. Anonymous artist after Johann Brokoff, *Allegories of Justice and Peace on Clouds Above the Prague Skyline and a Personification of the River Danube*[23]; fig. 52
Etching, 228 x 158 mm, lettered, … *Johannes Brokoff fecit.*

15. Anonymous artist, *Wall Decoration with Five Roman Figures: a Statue of Victory on a Pedestal, an Old Man, an Emperor, a Soldier, and a Naked Young Man*
Engraving, 110 x 63 mm, inscribed by hand with pencil on the album page, right-hand side: *non è Tiepolo*

Giandomenico Tiepolo after Giambattista, *Head of an Old Man, with Long Hair and Half-Opened Mouth with Tooth Showing,* state I/II
Engraving, 123 x 107 mm, lettered, *Do* [in reverse] *Tiepolo*; De Vesme, op. cit., p. 435, no. 152; Rizzi, 1971, no. 196.

16. Anonymous artist, *Seated Male Nude Academy, Holding a Chisel[?] in his Right Hand*
Etching, 174 x 112 mm, inscribed by hand with pencil on the album page, right-hand side: *non è Tiepolo*

17. Giambattista Tiepolo, *A Seated Young Man Seen from the Back Watched by Orientals,* from *Scherzi di fantasia*
Etching, 224 x 175 mm; lettered, *Tiepolo*; De Vesme, pp. 389–90, no. 28

On the verso of the album page an earlier archival reference '*C: 21: Carte original di Tiepollo L: 75: B*', from prior to the inclusion of the album in the Bertarelli collection.

20. This print appears to be unrecorded.
21. This print appears to be unrecorded. If indeed by the Bolognese engraver Nicola Mellini (1795–1836; Saur, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker,* VI, p. 714), this raises the question if the print might have been added to the album at a later date.
22. For the relief see P. P. Bober and R.O. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources,* 2nd revised edn., Turnhout, 2010, pp. 229–30, no. 179.
23. This print appears to be unpublished; for the artist see O. Pollak, *Johann und Ferdinand Maximilian Brokoff: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der österreichischen Barockplastik,* Prague, 1910.

Notes

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN IN MUNICH. As the dominant Netherlandish printmaker of the Renaissance, Lucas van Leyden (1489/94–1533) continues to receive ample attention from scholars and curators. Susanne Wagini has recently devoted an exhibition and elaborate catalogue, *Lucas van Leyden (1489/94–1533): Meister der Druckgraphik,* to the graphic work of the Leiden master, based entirely on the Munich holdings (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, 29 June–24 September 2017, Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2017, 312 pp., 227 ills., €39.90). In the opening essay, the author provides a clear overview of the literature on the life and work of Lucas, referring to illustrations in the catalogue or providing additional images. Special attention is given to the history of the Munich collection, which goes back to the collection of Prince-Elector Karl Theodor von der Pfalz (1724–99). His former album of 181 prints by and copies after Lucas forms the basis of its contemporary holdings of the Netherlandish peintre-graveur.

58. Lucas van Leyden, *The Surgeon*, 1524, engraving, sheet 130 x 88 mm (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München).

The first part of the catalogue comprises 59 entries on individual prints and print series. The engravings, etchings and woodcuts are not divided by subject or technique, but rather ordered chronologically in order to visualize artistic evolutions. This approach poses no problem, as Lucas dated a large part of his engravings and the author follows the additional dates suggested by Jan Piet Filedt Kok in the *New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Series* (NHD). Although a few of the included impressions are weak (no. 22), stained (nos. 1, 58.7) or damaged (nos. 3, 29), the selection presented provides a great overview of the quality and contents of Lucas's graphic output. Highlights include a unique hand-coloured woodcut of *The Crucifixion* and an impression of *The Surgeon* with rare margins (nos. 32 and 44; fig. 58). The largest engravings are depicted by double-page illustrations and many entries include figures of relevant works by predecessors, copyists and admirers, such as Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–1527/34) and Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (1606/7–69). The texts are rather descriptive, mainly dealing with matters of iconography and style. Often relying on scholars such as Filedt Kok and Ilja M. Veldman, the author's careful descriptions successfully demonstrate the original subject matter, the ingenious compositions and the virtuoso handling of the burin that characterize Lucas's prints (no. 12.2; fig. 59).

The second, unillustrated, part of the catalogue presents the complete holdings of Lucas prints in Munich. It is organized according to the *New Hollstein* – which in its turn was based on Bartsch. Next to the usual information, the technical entries of all 187 impressions meticulously describe the condition, inscriptions, collectors' marks, provenance and watermarks. What follows is an illustrated overview of the watermarks, and concordances based on provenance and inventory number. The merits of this catalogue section are twofold. First, it lists 60 impressions not described in the *New Hollstein*. This is not surprising considering that Filedt Kok included only good and well-preserved impressions from Munich, and often listed only a few locations for late impressions. Second, Wagini makes small corrections for some described Munich impressions (NHD 1, 99, 105, 109, 163), identifies two new states (NHD 127, 131) and describes watermarks either unknown in the *New Hollstein* or unrecorded in specific prints (for example,

59. Lucas van Leyden, *The Betrayal of Christ*, 1509, engraving from two plates, sheet 287 mm diameter (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München).

NHD 22–23, 31 and 21, 25, 27).

The publication concludes with two interesting contributions on print conservation in the nineteenth century. Wagini explores the activities and legacy of Johann Michael von Hermann (1793–1855). Although praised by contemporaries such as Joseph Heller (1798–1849), Hermann is often overlooked in the recent literature. The artistically trained collector, dealer and publisher was also a successful print conservator in Vienna and Munich. Half a century before the famous Max Schweidler (1885–1953), he was conducting extensive, technically complex conservation treatments that can be described as deceptive repairs. His method of adding paper to the margins and subsequently creating depressions to imitate platemarks became known as 'hermanisieren'. Ludwig Albert von Montmorillon (1794–1854) was involved in similar activities and probably received his know-how from Hermann. In the second essay, Katrin Holzherr elaborates on some of the deceptive repairs by Hermann and Montmorillon,

performed on prints by Lucas van Leyden and Israhel van Meckenem (c. 1440–1503). This discussion of easily overlooked adaptations will appeal to object-based scholars of early prints.

With its up-to-date bibliography and numerous illustrations, this well-researched and carefully produced catalogue provides a great introduction to the graphic work of Lucas van Leyden. Specialists of the master's output will rather be interested in the newly described states and watermarks and in the two additional essays on nineteenth-century print conservation. JEROEN LUYCKX

DÜRER AND THE REFORMATION. The extensive re-examination – after 500 years – of Martin Luther's religious revolution, which preoccupied numerous exhibitions throughout 2017, also found visual realization in Nuremberg. Organized by Dürer-Haus Director Thomas Schauerte, *Neuer Geist und neuer Glaube: Dürer als Zeitzeuge der Reformation* ('New spirit and new faith: Dürer as period witness of the Reformation') focuses on the great printmaker of the period (contribution by Wolfgang Wüst, exhibition catalogue, Nürnberg, Albrecht-Dürer-Haus, Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, 30 June–4 October 2017, Petersberg, Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017, 216 pp., 119 ills., €19.95).

As Schauerte's own impressive title essay makes clear, Dürer's well-known Reformation sympathies and his role in the adoption of the new creed in his native Nuremberg in 1525 should be reconsidered in light of his adjustment in old age to those rapidly changing times, as well as in the context of his previous humanistic orientation. Schauerte stresses the artist's long-standing connections to humanism at the turn of the century, especially via the 'arch-humanist' Conrad Celtis. But he also revisits the main documents linking Dürer to Luther's Wittenberg via Christoph Scheurl and Georg Spalatin (including the artist's wish in 1520 to make a Luther portrait; no. 25), and those related to Luther's chief rival Karlstadt, as well as Dürer's own ties to leading local citizens, especially Lazarus Spengler (associated here with the 1510 woodcut, *Penitent/King David*; no. 10). About the famously emotional 'Lutherklage' (lament about Luther) from the 1521 diary, Schauerte notes its prayer-like tone and pathos, while underscoring its anomalous prose. He points to Dürer's own autographical outburst against the cult of the Madonna at Regensburg, but notes his deep expression of dismay at iconoclasm in 1525 in a dedication to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer.

In reality, very few of Dürer's images show an unambiguous affiliation with the new creed except for the Melanchthon portrait engraving of 1526 (fig. 60). Even the more notable previous Reformation-minded discussions, focused around the 1523 woodcut of the *Last Supper* (fig. 61; no. 33), and the Munich painting of 1526 thought to depict the *Four Apostles*, are dismissed in this essay. The former, however, is here shockingly reattributed to Sebald Beham, despite its monogram and date (can we make no allowance for a lesser cutter of the block?). For the latter, Schauerte opts to credit Neudörffer's early, 1547 claim that the four holy men also signify the four temperaments, even as they also serve as a personal memorial of the artist for his home town (like his two engravings of Melanchthon and Erasmus in the same year, nos. 45–46).

Significantly, however, by citing a Dürer letter of 5 December 1525 to the astronomer Niclas Kratzer, Schauerte argues that Dürer engaged in the contentious 1526 Eucharist debates and surprisingly, in contrast to Pirckheimer, in support for the more radical, symbolic interpretation of Huldrych Zwingli, whom he even met in 1519 (pp. 31–32, 172–76; no. 52). Yet Schauerte concludes his revaluation of Dürer by tilting away from attributing any more certain Protestant persuasion, even one tinged with ambivalence about certain excesses (duly noted by Pirckheimer; no. 52). This inconsistency has sometimes been noted across succeeding centuries, including by his greatest admirers. Thus once more Schauerte peers at Dürer as both man and artist through the lens of a

60. Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of Philip Melanchthon*, 1526, engraving, 174 x 129 mm (Nuremberg, Kunstsammlungen).

learned humanist, and imputes the same outlook to his artist. This Dürer is more didactic than evangelical.

An accompanying essay by Wolfgang Wüst investigates Willibald's sister, Caritas Pirckheimer, a learned nun and an ardent enemy of the Reformation in Nuremberg. Building on a solid historiography, he reminds the reader that even in a city that embraced the Reformation, strong dissenting patrician voices proclaimed resistance. And Caritas provides the self-conscious perspective of a cloistered female, a vanishing identity in desacralizing Nuremberg.

In sum, this Dürer-Haus catalogue has much to recommend it. It not only reviews original autograph documents (also transcribed) and well-known prints, along with scholarly literature, both historiographic and current, but in both essays and extensive entries to exhibited works it brings a fresh, critical vision to familiar items. In the process, it recasts the question of Dürer and the Reformation against the wider context of his contemporaries and their own widely divergent views. Thus does Schauerte broaden our received wisdom about the artist and his personal spiritual convictions, once more providing thoughtful revaluation of the rich Dürer legacy under his trust. LARRY SILVER

SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER'S *COSMOGRAPHIA*. The first edition of the *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster appeared in 1544, the 31st of this ever-expanding project in 1628, but it is the fifth edition, published in 1550 in 1,800 Latin exemplars and as many in German, that gave the project, and more generally cultural geography, a unique resonance. The book includes 46 large views of cities, of which 30 are German. This emphasis on Germany can also be noted from the text as, out of its six books, those concerning the German lands take up almost half of the entire project. Münster's aim was to celebrate Germany through the role of its cities.

Local artists were often asked to draw the views, while patrons supported it with a fee of five or six talers. Jasper van Putten's book *Networked Nation: Mapping German Cities in Sebastian Münster's 'Cosmographia'* focuses on the large views of towns, especially those of the 30 German and Swiss cities, but also on the networks of regional scholars and patrons who furnished texts and images to

61. Albrecht Dürer, *The Last Supper*, 1523, woodcut, 214 x 301 mm (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum).

62. Anonymous artist, *View of Chur on the River Rhine*, from S. Münster, *Cosmographey oder Beschreibung aller Länder* (Basel, 1574), woodcut, 140 x 345 mm (www.vintage-maps.com, Goetzfried Antique Maps).

the project (Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2017, 377 pp., 120 ills., €149). Chapter one deals with the cosmographer, his life within the wider cultural implications of his time and the notion of German lands. The next chapter studies the city views, seen as city portraits. The maps are not homogeneous but include both bird's eye views and perspectival renderings and many of them combine more than one mode of representation. Some were taken from earlier publications. For the others, Münster asked for collaboration, to show that the country was 'not a crude and primitive land, but a paradise and pleasure garden in which everything can be found what a man needs.' These contributions are recorded in the *Cosmographia*, providing information on the networks he used. Chapter three, 'The Origins, Politics and Economics of the City View', looks at the artists and the middlemen, with emphasis on the views of Zürich and of Frankfurt showing political and religious implications, playing on aspects like the legendary origin of the cities or other values seen as characteristic. Intermediaries sometimes negotiated with the councils, on occasion even suggesting suitable artists. One who became quite successful was Sebastian's nephew Joseph Münster, who even helped to devise the legends for the views of Lüneburg and Lübeck. The next chapter, 'Bishops vs. *Bürger'*, is an account of the patrons for some of the maps, both the city councils for the imperial and the free cities, and the secular and religious leaders for the others, and their role in propagating civic pride. The first group often stressed the autonomy of the cities, the second their connections with the towns. Their dichotomy is illustrated by studies of the views of Augsburg and Wissembourg, as well as of Würzburg and Chur (the latter with two views: one of the entire town (fig. 62), the other of the bishop's castle; fig. 63). The next chapter merely focuses on Count Palatine Ottheinrich of Palatine-Neuburg and the view of Heidelberg that he submitted; he was not ruling the city but held an ancestral claim over the electorship of the Palatine, something he stressed through genealogical and topographical implications. Chapter six focuses on the Bernese artist Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch (1525–71), who copied sixteen Swiss city maps cut by the professional woodcutter Heinrich Holtzmüller. These views of Switzerland stress civic

63. Anonymous artist, *View of the Bishop's Castle in Chur*, from S. Münster, *Cosmographey oder Beschreibung aller Länder* (Basel, 1574), woodcut, 145 x 160 mm (www.vintage-maps.com, Goetzfried Antique Maps).

64. Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch, *The Oath on the Rütli Meadow, with Three Male Figures Representing the Three Original Swiss Cantons*, from S. Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1552), woodcut, 131 x 138 mm (London, British Museum).

pride within the wider German culture, often alluding to the myths of independence and Swiss victories, as well as the superiority of Swiss mercenaries. This chapter also includes interesting accounts of Manuel's *Oath on the Rütli* in the *Cosmographia*; the dagger was also a symbol for the Swiss (fig. 64). The final chapter, 'The Evolution of the City Book', is an account of the influence of Münster's *Cosmographia* on Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published in six volumes from 1572 to 1617, but also on a number of books of city views, some of them using illustrations from editions of the *Cosmographia*, published in France in the early 1550s and in Italy from the 1560s onwards. For Joris Hoefnagel, who was responsible for some of the maps in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the views became 'visual histories' in Braun's own words, thus reflecting first-hand experience – this is very different from the requirements of municipal patrons in Münster's project. By the time of the last edition of the *Cosmographia* in 1628, which saw the demise of Münster's project, the book's influence had led to the development of city-books and individual maps of townships without texts. By the middle of the seventeenth century, when the world had become much better known and readers' expectations more sophisticated, a new class of books developed, such as Matthäeus Merian the Elder's *Typographia Germaniae* (1642–56) with 1,701 topographical illustrations, the sixteen volumes of which focused on the nascent nation-states which slowly defined the historical geography of Germany.

Jasper von Putten's book is enriched by seven tables and six appendices including transcriptions of both the Latin and German texts, while others focus on sources, makers and contributors of city views, patrons and middlemen. Altogether, it is a thorough account of the geopolitical image of Germany in one of the great topographical endeavours of the sixteenth century. JEAN MICHEL MASSING

FONTAINEBLEAU RECYCLED. The edition of Montaigne's *Essais* published in Paris by Abel L'Angelier in 1588, the last one published during the author's lifetime, is very well known, especially through the so-called 'exemplaire de Bordeaux', a copy of the book filled with the author's corrections and additions. Readily available online, this copy, preserved at the

Bibliothèque Mériadeck in Bordeaux, has been the basis of practically all modern editions. It has been thoroughly scrutinized. There is, however, something surprising about its engraved title-page which seems hitherto not to have been pointed out, something more interesting to art historians than to literary scholars (fig. 65). Ornamental title-pages engraved on copper were not unusual in the late sixteenth century. What is surprising is that rather than having a new title-page designed and engraved for this edition, or even adapting an existing one, L'Angelier used a 40-year-old etching by an anonymous artist rooted in the Fontainebleau School style (C. Jenkins, *Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau, c. 1542–47*, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2017, part 3, Anon. 25). The Fontainebleau print is typical of the quickly executed ornamental etchings made in the 1540s. Parts of it were rather carelessly

65. Anonymous artist, *Ornamental Frame with Strapwork and Putti*, used for the title-page of Montaigne's *Essais*, 1588, etching, c. 230 x c. 160 mm (Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Mériadeck).

66. Rembrandt, *Nude Man Seated on the Ground with one Leg Extended*, 1646, etching and engraving, 97 x 166 mm (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery. Image Norfolk Museums Service).

erased to make space for the text of 1588. The central empty circle of the earlier version is still visible, having been burnished out only where it would interfere with the lettering. One can also distinguish the phantom of strapwork where the place of publication and publisher's name have been added. There is good reason to believe that the Fontainebleau etchings were not commercially distributed and were printed in few copies, which would account for the fact that the plate was still in good enough condition to produce several hundred impressions for L'Angelier's edition of the *Essais*. HENRI ZERNER

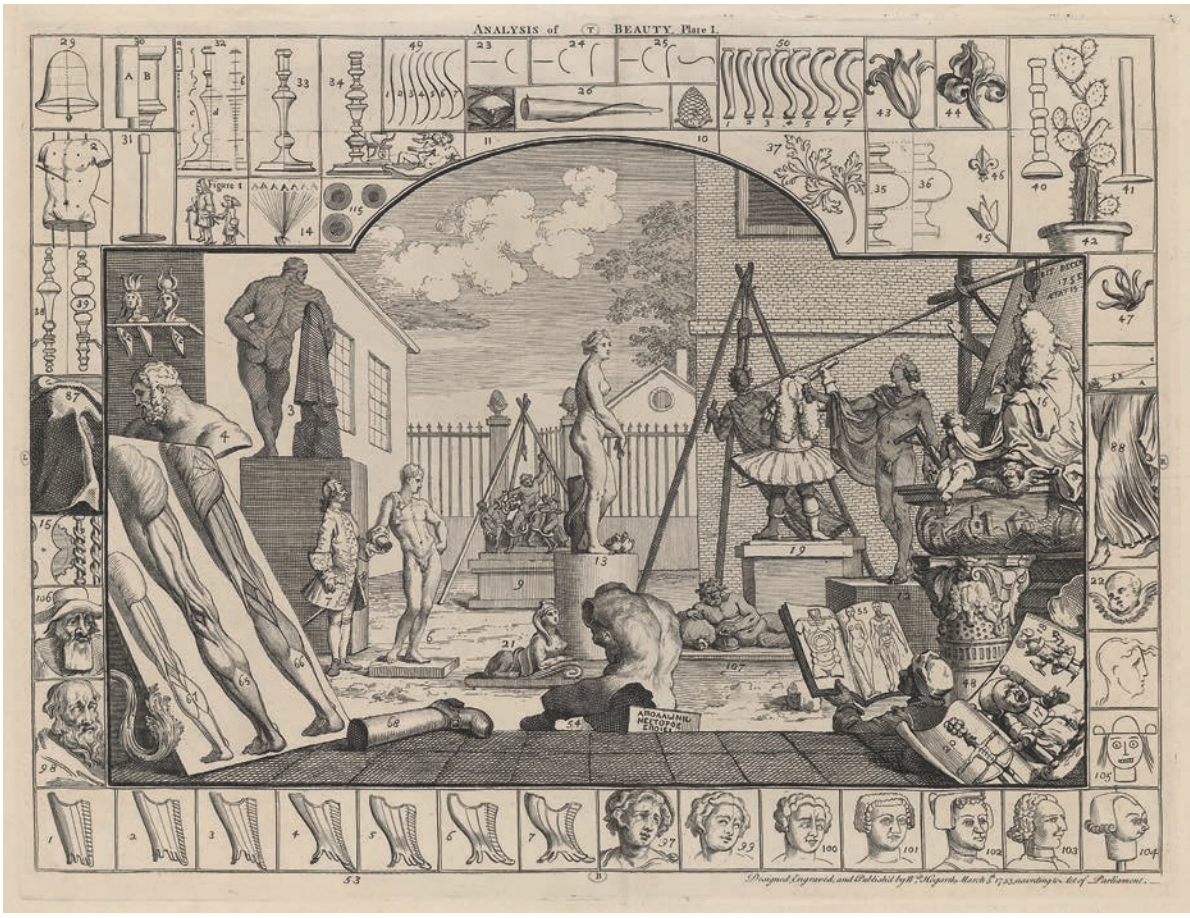
PERCY MOORE TURNER (1877–1950). A new biography throws light on a semi-forgotten figure. *Percy Moore Turner: Connoisseur, Impresario & Art Dealer* is written by his granddaughter, Sarah A. M. Turner, and draws on family papers as well as letters scattered through many libraries (London, Unicorn Press, 2018, 208 pp., 55 ills., £20). Unfortunately these do not give a complete picture of his career, and his manuscript autobiography is not printed here. The result is that this book can read like a timeline, and it is not easy to sort the wood from the trees. He left school in Norwich by the age of sixteen and began as a salesman of leather. But his father collected pictures and Turner's interest in art became a hobby. But it was only in 1902 that he by chance got a job working for a French firm in Bond Street. He soon learned to speak French well, and became familiar with many leading figures in the French art world. This formed his taste, even to the inclusion of a number of African carvings in his own collection.

This experience determined his future as one of the key figures linking the Paris and London art markets. He opened the Independent Gallery in 1920, where he put on a string of exhibitions of artists of his generation, all of whom he knew, such as the Bloomsbury circle in England, and Dunoyer de Segonzac and Jean Frélaut in France. But he obviously had an excellent eye for he also dealt occasionally in old masters, as well as in English landscape paintings, where he had a great affection for the artists from his home town, Norwich. He never had the capital to become a major player in his own right. Rather he was the fixer and arranger behind the scenes, advising collectors and broking deals. The collection of Frank Hindley Smith was formed on his advice, and he was given the responsibility for deciding on its distribution (mainly to the Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam Museums) in Smith's will. His role in putting together Samuel Courtauld's collection is shown by the fact that he was one of the two authors of a privately printed catalogue of it in the 1930s.

This biography makes it clear what an uphill struggle it was to sell modern art in England between the Wars. Turner was always short of funds and had to work phenomenally hard as a proselytizer, arranging exhibitions of pictures in numerous regional museums and art clubs and writing introductions and essays for many newspapers and journals. By the end of his life this and bad health left him completely discouraged, and after the War he made a spectacular gesture towards Anglo-French friendship by giving the Louvre three of his best paintings, a Clouet, a Géricault and the famous

and magnificent *St Joseph as a Carpenter* by Georges de La Tour, which he had offered to the National Gallery in 1938 for £15,000. Throughout his life Turner had collected prints for himself, although he seems never to have dealt in them. By his will his fine group of 93 Rembrandt etchings was left to Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery (on view in late 2017 in the exhibition 'Rembrandt: Lightening the Darkness'; fig. 66), and a number of prints and drawings by his French friends went to various British museums, along with his Daumier lithographs. ANTONY GRIFFITHS

ARTISTIC TRAINING AND AESTHETIC EDUCATION SINCE 1500. On its 150th anniversary, the Graphische Sammlung ETH Zurich hosted three exhibitions, the last of which presented prints and drawings related to artistic training since the sixteenth century. Considering that previous exhibitions have focused on this topic and that literature on drawing education is still developing, it is not primarily the subject of the exhibition that arouses attention. Rather it is the fact that both the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue, *Zeichenunterricht. Von der Künstlerausbildung zur ästhetischen Erziehung seit 1500*, edited by Michael Matile (with contributions by Franca Bernhart, Josepha Bosshart, Fabienne Dubs, Christina Enderli, Zilla Leutenegger, Cornelia Müller, Wanda Seiler, Leonie Singer, Sabrina Thöny and Beatrice Zaidenberg, exhibition catalogue, Zurich, Graphische Sammlung ETH Zurich, 8 November 2017–21 January 2018, Petersberg, Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017, 224 pp., 112 ills., CHF 30), were entirely based on the scholarship and curatorial work of a group of art history students from ETH Zurich. Attempts to link art history education with its application, especially within print collections, are still uncommon in German-speaking academic teaching. Joint ventures and their outcomes, such as the publication under review, thus deserve to be acknowledged.



67. William Hogarth, *A Courtyard with Famous Classical Sculptures*, from *The Analysis of Beauty* (London, 1753), etching and engraving, 382 x 494 mm (Zurich, Graphische Sammlung ETH).

The catalogue includes contemporary drawings produced by students of the artist Zilla Leutenegger (b. 1968) in ETH Zurich's Department of Architecture, as well as unpublished Swiss and German sketches from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The focus, however, is on Italian, Dutch and German engravings and etchings dating from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. The selection ranges from reproductive prints of antiquities and painted academy scenes to anatomical prints or sheets from drawing books. Most of these prints are renowned, such as Agostino Veneziano and Enea Vico's printed versions of Bacio Bandinelli's *The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli* (1531 and c. 1544), Hendrick Goltzius's print *Apollo Belvedere* (c. 1592), Sebastian Le Clercs's etched *Caractères des passions* (after 1692) after Charles Le Brun, Alexandre Calame's lithographs, taken from his *Leçons de Dessin appliqué au Paysage* (1862–63), or the etched illustrations to Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty, Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (1753; fig. 67). This selection already highlights the wide range of topics that this catalogue explores in its seven well-informed chapters: After an introduction detailing the correlations between early *disegno* and art theory and the emergence and understanding of the artist, the essays cover the common aspects of drawing education: the history of workshops and academies in Italy and the Netherlands, dilettante drawing culture, drawing lessons conducted with the help of prints (anatomy, proportion theory, geometry and the antique) and the practice of sketching live models. Whereas prints are referred to as templates and teaching media throughout the catalogue, the final chapter again concentrates on drawing books.

Although the discussion of the prints is rather often confined to description and largely draws on established interpretations, the different functions of prints and the changing practical, institutional and social contexts of their usage are thoroughly worked out. Likewise, the essays describe the diversification of printing techniques and their impact on drawing methods and teaching strategies. In contrast, what was unfortunately left out of consideration is the history and provenance of these prints within the Graphische Sammlung. One would also wish to learn more about the intentions and methods of the students of art history and architecture who studied these prints during the nineteenth century. But overall, this catalogue not only offers a solid overview of prints as an integral part of the development of drawing education between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it also successfully exemplifies the richness of university print collections that still wait to be explored by students of the arts, art history and other related disciplines. ANGELA NIKOLAI

CHINESE WALLPAPER IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND is a much awaited publication, and Emile de Bruijn, being a staff member of the National Trust, is best placed to write it (London, Philip Wilson Publishers, 2017, 272 pp., 173 ills., £30). The illustrations are

68. Chinese Bird-and-Flower Wallpaper at Felbrigg Hall, c. 1752, woodblock-printed outlines of the scenery, with the colours added by hand (Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk. Image David Kirkham / National Trust).

69. The Chinese Room at Erddig Decorated in a 'Print Room' scheme, 1770s, hand-painted Chinese landscape vignettes pasted onto a background of light pink English paper (Erddig, near Wrexham. Image Paul Highnam / National Trust).

products of the latest photographic technology, making the book beautiful as well as intellectually engaging. In the eighteenth century nearly every country house or grand mansion in Britain and Ireland had a 'Chinese room' or two, furnished with Chinese porcelains, lacquer cabinets and wallpapers. Porcelain and lacquer items can be moved around easily for close-up study. Wallpapers on the other hand are affixed to the walls, often with pieces of furniture in front of them blocking the view, and with half the design above eye level. All these obstacles combine to discourage the less committed scholars. Fortunately for the art history community Mr de Bruijn was not deterred.

The National Trust has one invaluable research resource at their disposal, namely the historical records for the country houses, or accounts written by contemporary visitors to those houses. For instance, a letter written by the owner of Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk, on 24 September 1751 has survived, from which it can be ascertained that Felbrigg was among the very first manors in Britain to have used full-length, purpose-made Chinese wallpapers (fig. 68). From the historical records, together with the wallpapers still in situ, Mr de Bruijn is able to establish a chronology charting what kind of wallpaper was in fashion from 1740 right up to 1970.

The earliest Chinese wallpaper favoured by British and Irish upper-class consumers is of the bird-and-flower design, a decorative scheme that contemporary Chinese households would have used as well, although not on their walls but on folding screens. Next came the 'people happily at work' genre, where Chinese men and women are shown growing tea, growing rice, rearing silkworms and making porcelain. Readers of *Print Quarterly* might find it interesting to hear of a vogue for 'Chinese print rooms' during the period 1760 to 1815 (fig. 69). Cartouches of different shapes – circular, oval, square or rectangular – each enclosing a bird-and-flower scene or a landscape were pasted on the walls to provide a series of views on a smaller scale rather than one big panoramic view. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the bird-and-flower type was expanded to resemble garden scenes, with balustrades, flower baskets, jardinières, bird cages and other features being added to the repertoire. One or two decades later the scenes are populated with men, women and children, either at work or at leisure.

When the Chinese wallpapers underwent restoration the National Trust took the opportunity to examine the structure of the papers as well as their decorative patterns. Thus they found out that the early wallpapers such as those at Felbrigg Hall are not, contrary to common belief, fully hand-painted. Instead the outlines of the design are printed in black ink and colours added by hand afterwards. The woodblock from which the design is printed could be as long as two metres, a truly remarkable technical achievement. It was only during the 1760s that fully hand-painted wallpapers began to replace the partly-printed ones.

The wallpapers were painted by Chinese artisans, but to make them an integral part of the country houses required the skill and ingenuity of British architects, interior designers and paper-hangers. The book is full of anecdotes of these resourceful people, from cutting out birds from English printed books and pasting them onto the wallpapers, to adding seamlessly a strip of sky when the Chinese sheets were not long enough. Along the way other British and Irish personages appear in the narratives – kings and their mistresses, owners of the country houses and their relatives and friends, English East India Company employees and sea captains, and many more. Because some of the wallpapers can be related to famous names such as Horace Walpole or, as in the case of Abbotsford House, to Sir Walter Scott, studying them becomes less impersonal and more like reading an historical novel. The illustrations, showing the wallpapers in situ with furniture and furnishings around them, are far more 'life-like' than wallpapers shown in isolation in a museum setting.

Despite its title the book actually goes beyond Britain and Ireland. In order to compare Chinese wallpapers in the British Isles with similar examples Mr de Bruijn cites items in Europe and the United States. It is no exaggeration to say that this book is a comprehensive listing of all Chinese wallpapers known to be in existence today and an indispensable reference work on the subject, with a history of British interior design thrown into the bargain. MING WILSON

PRINTS AND CONNOISSEURSHIP. The collaboration of the three small German print rooms of Göttingen, Trier and Tübingen, all affiliated with universities, resulted in a stimulating exhibition at the University of Göttingen's Kunstsammlung during the summer of 2016. Under the title 'Copy.Right – Adam von Bartsch', its declared aim was to examine the interconnection of art, commerce and connoisseurship. The wide-ranging research undertaken by the respective curators as well as by the attendees of so-called *Praxisseminare* (art-historical seminars with a practical focus) at all three participating locations is documented in the lavishly produced catalogue that accompanied the show (*Copy.Right: Adam von Bartsch: Kunst Kommerz Kennerschaft*, edited by Stephan Brakensiek, Anette Michels and Anne-Katrin Sors, exhibition catalogue, Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen, 17 April–11 September 2016, Petersberg, Michael Imhof Verlag, 2016, 350 pp., 264 ills., €45). The catalogue provides a welcome record of the varied themes touched upon by this project; this proves especially useful since an overall thesis is not readily apparent and needs to be

extracted from no less than 31 essays. They range from case studies on specific historical print portfolios (the *Recueil Jullienne*; the prints of Ploos van Amstel and the Prestel family; John Boydell's *Liber Veritatis*) and on early catalogue raisonnés (Stefano della Bella and Rembrandt as well as prints after Raphael), to essays examining the first technical handbooks, dictionaries and instructions on the collecting of prints (Abraham Bosse, Claude

70. Adam von Bartsch after Parmigianino, *Head of Bearded Man/ Moses*, 1785, etching in the crayon-manner, 263 x 204 mm (Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek. Image Martin Liebetruth).

Henri Watelet, Carl Heinrich von Heinecken, Johann Domenicus Fiorillo and Adam von Bartsch) to historical surveys on the art market, aesthetic judgement and the concept of connoisseurship over the last 350 years.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century reproductive intaglio printmaking had reached a technical peak. Its complexity and sophistication allowed the depiction of artworks (and here especially of old master drawings) at an astonishing level of verisimilitude. It was at this time, when the makers of those prints disappeared behind the work they reproduced, that Adam von Bartsch (1757–1821) introduced the term *peintre-graveur* to distinguish a very different type of print – one created by artists themselves after their own designs. Bartsch was himself an accomplished printmaker and the creator of many reproductive prints (fig. 70). Yet his print scholarship focused on the same questions of stylistic attribution that were asked by the drawings connoisseurs who were, in turn, aided by strictly reproductive prints. Consequently, the catalogue essays that deal with early print catalogues inevitably address a tradition of printmaking fundamentally different from that of the compendia which illustrate drawings – a duality that adds to the already somewhat confusing complexity of this project. Bartsch was an heir to both of these strands. His preference for the *peintre-graveur*, however, proved not only hugely influential for subsequent print scholarship, but also seems to have prefigured developments in printmaking itself. Reproductive prints became increasingly depersonalized and were ultimately superseded altogether by photomechanical processes.

Together, the texts assembled in this volume present welcome additions to these final chapters in the long-neglected history of the reproductive print. In recent years this subject has experienced a considerable revival of interest – perhaps best exemplified in the publications of Norberto Gramaccini and Hans Jakob Meier. Incidentally, the former taught for many years at Trier, one of the three participating institutions, and was responsible for building a print collection for the university there. (His own substantial collection consisting of more than 1,500 reproductive prints was acquired by the Getty Research Institute in 2015.) The catalogue's title, however, is somewhat misleading. If *CopyRight* was meant to refer to the reproductive nature of the majority of the prints presented, the legal question of copyrighting – an issue, after all, that had already occupied Albrecht Dürer when faced with Marcantonio Raimondi's engraved copies after his woodcuts for the *Life of the Virgin* – is not touched upon here at all. What would have been a much better title had already been taken some 40 years ago: *Bilder nach Bildern* (Pictures after pictures; Münster, 1976). Not surprisingly, the joint preface by the three organizers acknowledges their debt to this seminal 1976 exhibition held at the Westfälische Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Münster. It was subtitled *Druckgrafik und die Vermittlung von Kunst* (prints and the transmission of art) and organized by Gerhard Langemeyer and Reinhart Schleier. Schleier in particular, a professor of art history and frequent curator of print exhibitions, had a lasting impact on generations of students even if his untimely death in 2009 meant that he was never able to formulate a wider history of what he once termed 'the artwork in the age of its graphic reproducibility'. Whereas the Münster exhibition had examined the history of the reproductive print before Bartsch, the show in Göttingen was in many ways its sequel – and it is therefore fitting that its impressive catalogue is dedicated to Schleier. ARMIN KUNZ

TATTOOS IN JAPANESE PRINTS. Sarah E. Thompson, curator of Japanese Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, drew on the rich holdings of the MFA to produce *Tattoos in Japanese Prints* (Boston, MFA Publications, 2017, 152 pp., 122 ills., $24.95; fig. 71). In this lavishly illustrated book, Thompson offers a comprehensive survey of the representation of body tattoos in nineteenth-century Japanese colour woodblock prints. Numerous single- and double-page enlargements of details from selected prints enhance the impact of the book. These striking enlargements assist in reading the intricate tattoo designs. Thompson's concise and informative introductory essay explores the meaning of tattoos in Japanese society and the literary and social factors that led to their sudden appearance in popular prints. Large-scale body tattoos appear to have originated in the late eighteenth century among 'bandits' and were then taken up by petty criminals, firemen and others on the margins of society. The practice was banned in the 1810s with little effect. On the kabuki stage, actors wore body socks when playing such figures thus bringing the practice to the attention of a wider audience.

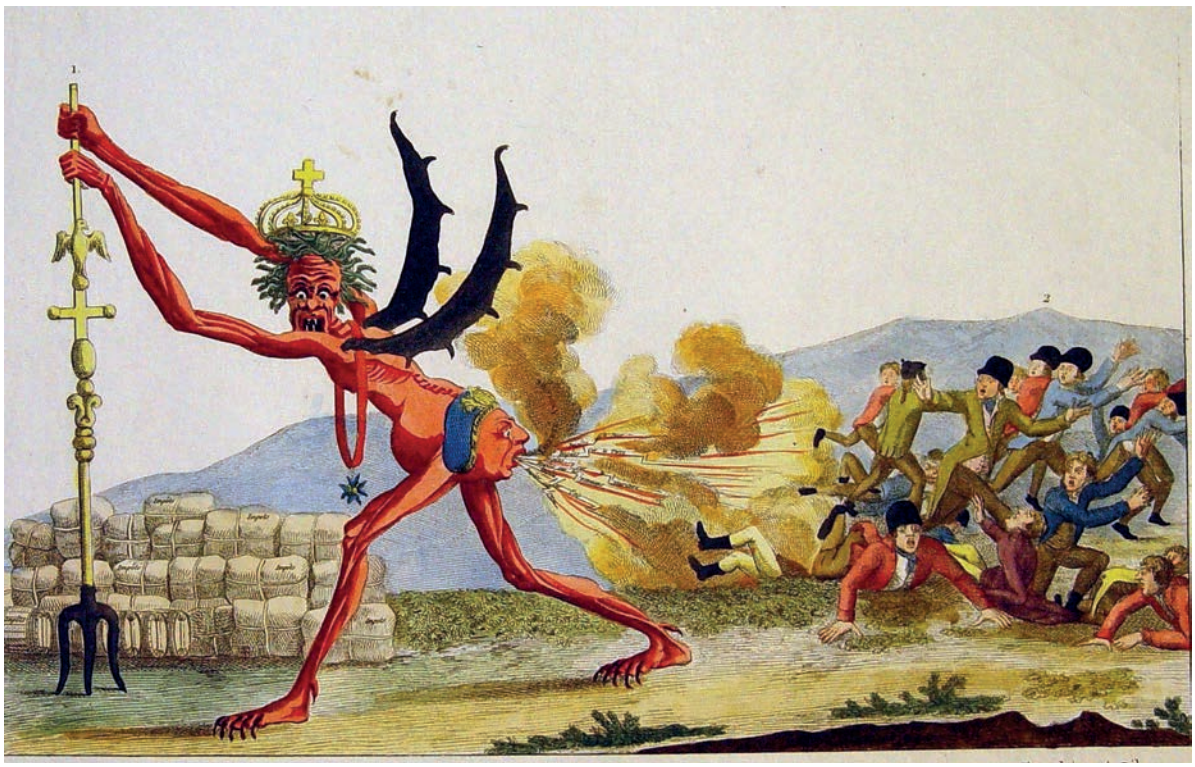
Thompson does not mention the fall in the price of Prussian blue in the late 1820s that made possible its use in print production. That pigment provided artists with a smooth and stable blue. Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) exploited it in his innovative landscape prints with their vast expanses of sea and sky; Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798–1861) employed it in his depictions of full body tattoos. Enabled by the availability of Prussian blue, Kuniyoshi single-handedly established the genre, first in his prints of Chinese heroes and later in his powerful depictions of Japanese heroes. His contemporaries soon took up the theme, in particular Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865), the most prolific of all ukiyo-e artists. Works by seven further artists are also included, all pupils of Kuniyoshi and Kunisada. These prints continue to offer a rich store of motifs for tattoo artists working in Japan and in the West. ELLIS TINIOS

71. Kitagawa Utamaro, *The Courtesan Onitsutaya Azamino Tattooes her Name and the Word 'inochi' (Life) into the Arm of her Lover Gontar, a Man of the World*, c. 1798–99, woodblock print, 387 x 250 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

REVOLUTIONARY ICONOGRAPHY IN EUROPEAN PRINTS. Among Jacques-Louis David's (1748–1825) lesser-known works are several caricatures from the period of the First French Republic, which stand in stark contrast to the noble figures gracing his history paintings. The most famous, representing the British government flatulating on 'free-born Englishmen', can be read as a response to similar images by James Gillray (1756–1815) and other London artists lampooning French *sans-culottes* (fig. 72). David's was however a very small contribution to the deluge of political prints that accompanied the great European revolutions, a phenomenon which is the subject of a recent encyclopaedia, the *Lexikon der Revolutions-Ikonographie in der europäischen Druckgraphik, (1789–1889)*, by an international team of scholars (edited by Rolf Reichardt, in collaboration with Wolfgang Cilleßen, Jasmin Hähn, Moritz F. Jäger, Martin Miersch and Fabian Stein, Münster, Rhema, 2017, 3 vols., 2,204 pp., 2,003 ills., €220). A monumental work in three volumes, encompassing texts by some 60 authors while remaining strikingly coherent, it bears testimony to the project directors' vision and organizational skills.

Geographically, the project is a rare and heartening example of research on a European scale. France, Germany, Austria, the United Kingdom and Italy, as well as the Netherlands and Switzerland, are extensively covered in detailed essays by specialists of each country, while examples from further afield are referenced when necessary. The nucleus of the team, however, is German, as are their institutional and financial backers (the Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and Gerda Henkel Stiftung). Interestingly, there are few French contributors, despite the centrality of the latter nation to the topic: project director Reichardt – as well as several of his closest collaborators who have been working on this publication over the last ten years – are indeed specialists of French revolutionary iconography. The scale of the project allows it to draw comparisons between the evolution of revolutionary print culture in various countries, as well as to note numerous cases of iconographical appropriation on an international scale. The limitations of previously available bibliography, which focused on shorter periods and smaller geographical areas, are thus successfully overcome.

The *Lexikon* is divided into four sections, of which the last is by far the longest, covering two and a half of the three volumes (about 1,750 pages). This is the genuinely



72. Anonymous artist after Jacques-Louis David, *Caricature of the English Government (Gouvernement Anglois)*, 1794, hand-coloured etching, 248 x 392 mm (London, British Museum).

encyclopaedic part of the publication, containing individual entries on iconographic themes and motives as diverse as 'Britannia', 'funeral processions', 'Phrygian caps', and 'future'. Each article averages between ten and twenty pages, affording the reader a comprehensive overview of the origin, evolution and transformation of the theme. This section will undoubtedly be of great use to any student of print culture during the age of revolutions since it contains references to most of the important iconographies they are likely to encounter in their research.

The first three chapters, despite only filling half a volume, could easily have been published together as an independent work (even the first two, comprising about 240 pages between them and offering a coherent and neatly-organized progression of content, would make a convincing book). Before the third chapter – which studies the conditions and typologies of print publication along national lines – come two sections that are more thematic in outlook. The first is devoted to the print as a medium, and begins by detailing interactions between the French revolution and print culture, as well as their parallel diffusion in Europe. This is followed by a study of technological possibilities, pictorial typologies, print producers and consumers, as well as the theme of political and historical memory. The second chapter continues along similar conceptual lines, although individual authors are here called in to analyse more specific themes: card games, print collectors, uses of cultural references and the 'transformation picture' (for example, foldable flaps uncovering hidden parts of the illustration, or images revealed by placing a source of light behind the paper).

Finally, the *Lexikon* must be commended for its liberal use of illustration. Scholars researching any particular theme will find a rich iconography in the three volumes, and even more so in the extensive online database on which the team have founded their work (prometheus.uni-koeln.de/pandora/source/show/giessen_lri). The fruit of extensive documentary research in the collections of almost 50 European institutions, it provides a good complement to an encyclopaedic work that is set to become an indispensable reference for students of print culture and political art during the long nineteenth century. DESMOND-BRYAN KRAEGE

HOKUSAI'S *GREAT WAVE*. Christine M. E. Guth's *Hokusai's Great Wave: Biography of a Global Icon* is a most welcome book on a topic with world-wide resonance (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2015, 272 pp., 76 col. and 3 b. & w. ills., $20). The author is a renowned authority on Japanese art who has already published a ground-breaking study on the collecting activities of early Japanese tycoons, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton, NJ, 1993). Her new book on Hokusai traces how a woodblock print design, *Under a Wave off Kanagawa* (also known as *The Great Wave*) from the *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* series by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), achieved world-wide fame, turning into a global icon that was rapidly taken up in other media (fig. 73). Not only is *The Great Wave* by far the most famous Japanese work of art, but it has also become the most famous woodblock print design from any part of the world. According to Guth some 5,000 to 10,000 impressions were printed. While books centred on single works of Western art are not unusual, this is one of the few examples of a monograph on a single non-Western work of art, a trend that will, one hopes, continue.

The author provides the reader with a clear, generally chronological structure and points out the most relevant and sometimes startling manifestations and transformations of Hokusai's print. Part of this book's appeal is the great variety of images that demonstrate how a single motif is reproduced in a bewildering range of formats and media in a process that has, if anything, been accelerated by the Internet and software such as Photoshop. After setting the stage with an introduction to Japanese woodblock print production in the late Edo period and, in chapter one, an exploration of the origin and initial meaning of the print, in chapter two Guth examines the role of the Japonisme movement in the reception of the print in Europe and USA. She then focuses on the widening popularity of the print and its transformation into a worldwide icon by looking mostly at case studies from post-World War II Japan and USA (chapter three). The final two chapters are dedicated to the global branding of the *Great Wave* and the many ways that it has been transformed into an image that is readily understood by large parts of the population.

Guth perceptively demonstrates that after its publication around 1830, the print's fame grew by a number of twists and turns rather than catching on immediately. There was also a history of the production and reception of similar Japanese images of crashing waves, such as the early seventeenth-century screens by Tawaraya Sōtatsu depicting the waves at Matsushima, now in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington DC, or porcelains, prints and paintings, including Chinese examples. The crashing wave design with its origins in East Asian art was in essence an intermedial and cross-cultural phenomenon predating *The Great Wave*. In the West, it was another design by Hokusai, his woodblock print *Mount Fuji Viewed from the Sea*, from his three-volume book *One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji*, that first made his name from the 1850s because of its wider availability (fig. 74). In fact, *The Great Wave* was not publicly shown until 1883 and not reproduced until 1898, when it appeared in an article by Samuel Siegfried Bing in the *Transactions of the Japan Society,* published in London. Claude Debussy, who

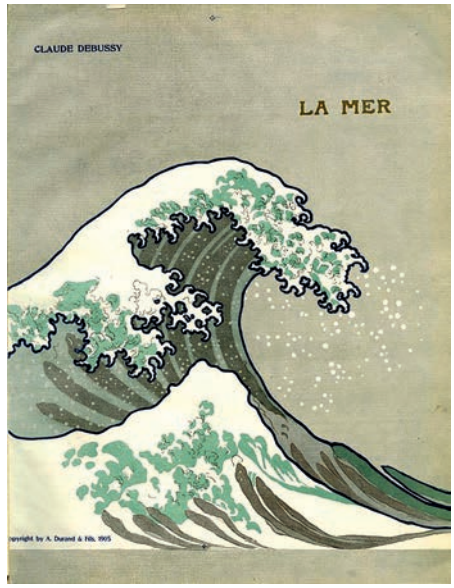
73. Katsushika Hokusai, *Under a Wave off Kanagawa* (*The Great Wave*) from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, c. 1830, woodblock print, 254 x 381 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. JP2569).

74. Katsushika Hokusai, *Mount Fuji Viewed from the Sea* from the book *One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji*, c. 1834–49, woodblock print, 227 x 158 mm (London, British Museum).

in 1905 composed a piece called *La mer, trois esquisses symphoniques pour orchestre* (The sea, three symphonic sketches for orchestra) inspired by the image and published the musical score with a detail of Hokusai's print decorating the cover, also helped to popularize it (fig. 75).

Even after Bing and Debussy, Western appreciation of Japanese art was much more extensive and the original *Great Wave* shared the stage with versions in Hokusai's *Manga* and *One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji* volumes. Its transformation into a global icon seems to have been a later, post-World War II phenomenon. One fascinating example derived from the later image in *One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji* is a Royal Copenhagen plate design in which the wave is placed on the right side of the composition and the tips of the waves turn into white swans – the Danish national bird – instead of Japanese plovers (p. 71). An example as late as the TWA 800 Memorial erected in 2004 in Shirley, NY, to commemorate the 1996 plane crash and depicting a wave releasing 230 seagulls, reveals a mixture of Hokusai's wave designs, and the plovers have become seagulls, one for each of the victims.

Not everyone will be convinced by all of Guth's comparisons. Utagawa Kuniyoshi's striking print *The Great*



75. Cover of the original edition of Debussy's Score for 'La mer', 1905.

76. Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *The Great Priest Nichiren Casting a Mantra on the Waves at Kakuta on His Exile to Sado Island (Sashu rukei Kakuta nami daimoku)*, from the series *Concise Illustrated Biography of the Great Priest* (*Koso go ichidai ryakuzu*), c. 1830/35, woodblock print, 234 x 368 mm (Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago).

Priest Nichiren Casting a Mantra on the Waves at Kakuta on His Exile to Sado Island (Sashu rukei Kakuta nami daimoku), from the series *Concise Illustrated Biography of the Great Priest* (*Koso go ichidai ryakuzu*), of c. 1830/35, with its undulating wave patterns and a wave that crests outside of the image frame, is more likely to have been Kuniyoshi's own compositional idea as it is well in line with the striking originality of the rest of his oeuvre (p. 51; fig. 76). Similarly, the assertion that Sado Island in the background of Kuniyoshi's print is likely to have been seen by contemporaries as evoking Mount Fuji seems a somewhat daring statement.

The book sheds light on the ongoing search for formal likenesses between Japanese and Western art in studies on Japonisme. As Guth points out, this trend was in part a Japanese nationalistic endeavour by which Japanese artists could be positioned as the teachers of Western artists. She also presents a timely reminder to be sceptical of influences: although the painting *The Green Wave* of 1879 by Claude Monet, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, has been declared to have been 'influenced' by Hokusai's *Great Wave*, she notes that the artist is unlikely to have seen the print in question (p. 122). HANS BJARNE THOMSEN

FRENCH CARICATURE. The Grolier Club recently mounted an exhibition on French caricature during the July Monarchy (1830–48). The exhibits came from the collection of one of the Club's members, Josephine Lea Iselin, who also wrote the accompanying catalogue *Vive les Satiristes! French Caricature during the Reign of Louis Philippe 1830–1848: Books, Albums, and Prints from the Collection of Josephine Lea Iselin* (exhibition catalogue, New York, The Grolier Club, 22 March–27 May 2017, New York, The Grolier Club, 2017, 146 pp., 93 ills., $50). Iselin explains that her interest in French caricature evolved gradually after she became a grandmother in later life. Given the large amount of available material, she decided to narrow the focus to the period from 1830 to 1848, corresponding to the reign of Louis Philippe (1773–1850). The book discusses in particular the thematic and technical richness offered by caricature in those years.

The book consists of three parts. The first, an introduction, comprises three subchapters dedicated, respectively, to the years 1830–35, 1835–48 and 1835–50, and deals with the socio-artistic context of the time. It contextualizes the key figures of French caricature during this period, whether these are the artists themselves, such as Honoré Daumier (1800–62; fig. 77), or the publishers who played a crucial role in the production of satirical images, such as Charles Philipon (1800–62). Iselin relies here mainly on the works of David Kerr (*Caricature and French Political Culture, 1830–1848: Charles Philipon and the Illustrated Press*, Oxford, 2004) and Keri Yousif (*Balzac, Granville, and the Rise of Book Illustration*, Farnham, 2012) to build her arguments and to give a very useful overview of the repercussions generated by the political situation, as well as of the issues raised by social satire. Particular attention is paid to the role of journals such as *Charivari*, which painstakingly mirrored the political situation and the social context. This happened in a time of censorship: Philipon for instance paid dearly for his predilec-

77. Honoré Daumier, *The Court of the Beggar King (La Cour du roi Pétaud)*, published in *La Caricature*, 23 August 1832, hand-coloured lithograph, 343 x 514 mm (Collection of Josephine Lea Iselin).

78. Grandville, *Scarab Family (Famille de Scarabées)* from *Les Métamorphoses du jour,* 1829, hand-coloured lithograph (Collection of Josephine Lea Iselin).

tion for free expression, being imprisoned for several months and having some of his journals closed down.

The second part of the book, entitled 'The Editor/Publisher and his Artists', analyses the collaborations that Philipon established with caricaturists and draughtsmen. It is also arranged in subchapters, the first of which is dedicated to Philipon himself. The other subchapters are dedicated to Henry Monnier (1799–1877), Grandville (1803–47; fig. 78), Tony Johannot (1803–53), Charles-Joseph Traviès (1804–59), Honoré Daumier (1808–79), Paul Gavarni (1804–66) and Cham (1818–79). Iselin reconstructs the collaborative projects for each of these artists, focusing on the production details and issues. This helps us understand the succession of publications and the satirical and illustrative work by artists like Grandville, for example. Wood-engraving plays a crucial role here because it made the printing process easier by allowing text and image to be printed from the same matrix. The discussion of artists' works also highlights the numerous characters that were created and staged through caricature. Social satire is very prominent by dint of a multitude of events that these characters deal with. Daumier's *Robert Macaire* or *Ratapoil*, Monnier's *M. Prudhomme* or Traviès's *M. Mayeux* ably illustrate this approach to social criticism and to the changing society.

The third part of the book consists of a series of catalogue entries, arranged in the same order as the subchapters of the second part of the book, thus complementing chapter two with quality illustrations. Iselin selected the most representative examples, possibly aiming to show the diversity of techniques, subjects and projects realized. She took great care in translating or transcribing the captions of the images, which allows a supplementary analysis of the social impact of these characters. It is helpful to find this information, together with the production details, in the catalogue entries. The descriptions are detailed and the references that the author mentions are among the most significant publications on this subject.

The book provides a concise but articulated discussion of the main issues related to French caricature under the July Monarchy and Iselin has to be commended for producing a beautiful and useful book. CAMILLA MURGIA

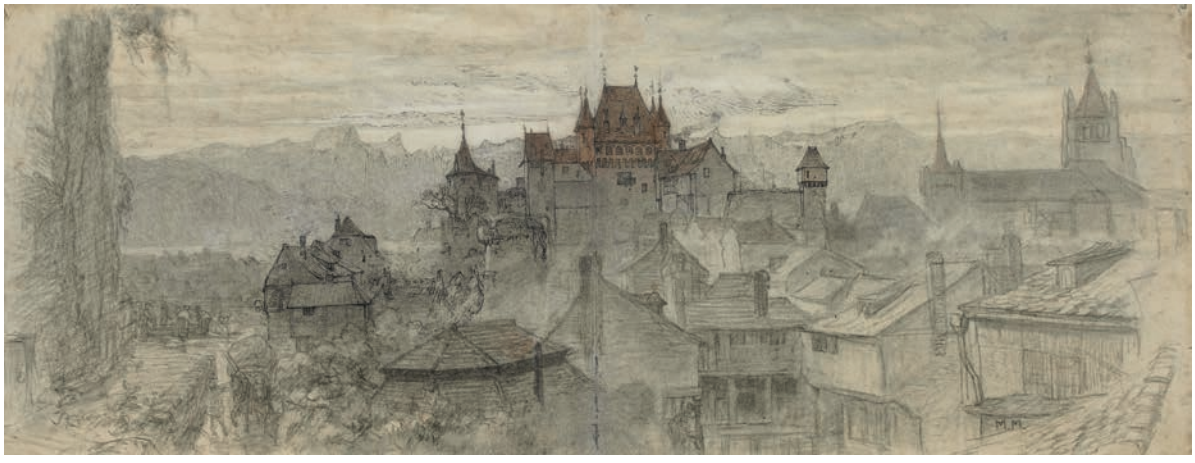
MATTHIJS MARIS. We have waited a long time for a lengthy study of Matthijs Maris (1839–1917). Two publications accompanying an exhibition at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, have done a great deal to remedy this (Erma Hermens, Laura Raven and Su-

zanne Veldink, *Matthijs Maris at Work,* published on the occasion of the exhibition 'Matthijs Maris', Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 6 October 2017–7 January 2018, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 2017, 112 pp., 189 ills., €30 and Richard Bionda, *Matthijs Maris,* the exhibition catalogue for this show, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 2017, 304 pp., 282 ills., €40). This latter publication is the principal subject of this review. Maris's elder brother, Jacob (1837–99), was the finest and most influential Dutch landscape painter of the nineteenth century. Matthijs, the second of the three Maris brothers, is triumphantly shown to be very much his own man, a Romantic and eventually a Symbolist artist, only loosely connected to The Hague School (fig. 79).

Printmaking occupied just a few years in his career, but for the first time it receives the serious and full scholarly attention it deserves. All fourteen of the etchings by Maris known today are included and illustrated in this catalogue. The possibility that there were more early prints than the one of c. 1862–64 recorded here showing a girl carrying a child beside a goat cannot be totally discounted. All the other prints were executed between 1880 and 1886. Little is known about this one and nothing about where he learnt to etch. Not covered here, although mentioned, are an etching by Carel Bendorp (1819–97), to which Maris made some corrections and a wood-engraving, *The Bathers,* referred to in the catalogue of the 1917 Memorial Exhibition held in the French Gallery in London. In c. 1866–67 his contemporary Jan Hendrik Weissenbruch (1824–1903) provided a lithograph very faithful in style after Maris's painting *Going to School.*

Maris had encountered prints very early in his life as his father, a foreman responsible for printing woodcuts and lithographs for a bookseller and publisher, brought

79. Matthijs Maris, *The Young Cook,* 1871, oil on canvas, 330 x 210 mm (Heiloo, Private collection).



80. Matthijs Maris, *View of Lausanne,* 1861–62, black chalk and pen and brown ink, 255 x 660 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

81. Matthijs Maris, after J. F. Millet, *The Sower*, c. 1881–82, etching and drypoint, 615 x 497 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

home prints by Jan Luyken (1649–1712) and illustrations from the magazine *Kunstckronijk* for him to copy even before he attended the Haagsche Teekenacademie (The Hague Drawing Academy). Rembrandt's etchings, of course, were vital for him, but by the mid-1850s he was also drawing inspiration from the etchings of Adriaen van Ostade (1610–85).

Nineteenth-century German printmakers, however, were equally significant. Maris revered the woodcuts of Alfred Rethel (1816–59) throughout his career and

keenly studied the illustrations of Adrian Ludwig Richter (1803–84), particularly when planning multi-figured genre subjects. Matching this was Maris's frequent recourse to Goethe's *Faust* for subject matter. Among landscape artists, Camille Corot was his hero, both for his paintings and prints. Did he by chance see the Frenchman's *cliché-verres*? The spiky treatment of Maris's first etching, the girl carrying a child beside a goat could well be indebted to Corot. An impression of the 1837 etching of the *Mona Lisa* by Luigi Calamatta (1801–69) held pride of place on the walls of his London homes. Tellingly, Maris had softened the lines of this print in pastel. Also in his possession was an impression or reproduction of Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael, *Il Morbetto*, here titled *The Plague of Phrygia*. In 1861 he visited Lausanne where the mediaeval buildings had a lasting influence on his paintings, drawings and prints (fig. 80). Looking at these one thinks of Victor Hugo, whose name is not mentioned here. Despite the fact that 750 of Maris's letters survive today, surprisingly little is known about his reading and knowledge of other artists' works. Did he read Gérard de Nerval, did he have any knowledge of the etchings of Rodolphe Bresdin, of the paintings and lithographs of musical subjects of Henri Fantin-Latour, of the drawings of Seurat or the *noirs* of Odilon Redon? We do know that writers as diverse as Shelley and Omar Khayyam were familiar to him.

Maris settled in Paris in 1869 and served in the National Guard in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71 before becoming involved with the Communards. It was there he first attracted the patronage of the dealers Goupil, Elbert Jan van Wisselingh and the London-based Glaswegian Daniel Cottier. Eventually in 1877 Maris settled in London where he remained for 40 years until his death. His work was much admired in Britain, particularly in Scotland, but also in Canada where there was a significant number of collectors of Scottish origin. Maris's interest in English art was greatly enhanced by his move. He was particularly taken with the lushly tressed women of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones. Whistler was also an influence on his depiction of women in white. It was however George Frederick Watts's ethereal work, readily visible at the Grosvenor Gallery, which left the deepest impression on Maris from the 1880s onwards. Watts's use of religious allegory and universal themes appealed to him, as well as his writings on art. Was Maris also interested in the burgeoning popularity of Theosophy and in the growing fashion for the ideas of the eighteenth-century mystic and philosopher, Emanuel Swedenborg?

The authors of *Matthijs Maris at Work* compare the inking of his etchings with the layering, scraping and rubbing in some of his paintings. In the main volume there is a reference in a letter from Maris to Whistler's friend, the little known Charles Edward Holloway (1838–97), about varnishing his plates 'before passing them through the press covered with glass paper or sandpaper'. Few landscape etchings by Holloway are known today, although he was a member of the Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers from 1882. Arthur Lucas published one of his etchings, *Rochester Castle,* in 1892. Maris was certainly inventive in his techniques, following Maxime Lalanne's recommendation in using sulphur and salad oil. He aimed at 'fine-grey' first states and used *retroussage* – the wiping of an inked, engraved plate so as to draw up a slight amount of ink to the edges of the filled lines, causing a slight smudging of the lines when printed – for velvety and atmospheric effects, quite unlike the precision of his Dutch contemporaries. On occasion he coloured his mounts to avoid too great a contrast with his frames. Much the largest etching by Maris was his free and grand copy after J. F. Millet's *The Sower,* published in an edition of 133 by Cottier (fig. 81). Five other prints were published by this dealer. These were republished by the Goupil Gallery in 1916 after retouching by Muirhead Bone (1876–1953). *The Sower* seems to have been a deliberate attempt to surpass mezzotint, a technique Maris disliked as too opaque and undifferentiated in tone. MARTIN HOPKINSON

PAUL KLEE (1879–1940). The volume of Paul Klee's print oeuvre has been known since the publication of Eberhard W. Kornfeld's catalogue in 1963, reprinted in a revised edition in 2005 (reviewed by this author, *Print Quarterly,* XXIII, 2006, no. 1, pp. 88–89). Susanne M. I. Kaufmann's recently published dissertation *Paul Klee als Druckgraphiker: Zwischen Invention und Reproduktion* now offers a first analysis of the role and significance of Klee's prints as a whole (Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2015, 184 pp., 137 ills., €39.90). Her key argument is that printmaking for Klee was not merely a way of reproducing his drawings in connection with commissioned works, but a possibility for technical and artistic experimentation. In consequence, innovations achieved in this medium had an impact on Klee's entire artistic oeuvre, as can be seen particularly well in his *Inventions* series of 1903–05 (figs. 82 and 83) or in his Cubist etchings produced between 1913 and 1915 (fig. 84).

Kaufmann demonstrates that in his many years of involvement with printmaking, Klee developed various strategies for responding to different demands. Since the conception of the *Inventions* as his first work intended for the public, Klee's prints have always served to attract audiences and buyers to his work as such and not merely to his graphic works. Klee used the potential of reproductive printmaking as a means of distributing his work, thus achieving wider public awareness of it. In her investigation, Kaufmann traces Klee's stylistic development in his prints as well as his handling of

82. Paul Klee, *Jungfrau (träumend), Virgin (dreaming) / Invention 3,* 1903, etching, 236 x 298 mm (Bern, Zentrum Paul Klee).

editions and colourations. She also reconstructs the function of Klee's prints for his art, using sources and testimonies of their reception. And while all of the 111 known graphic works created between 1901 and 1932 recorded in Kornfeld's catalogue are addressed by Kaufmann, she has sensibly opted for selected analyses in order to pursue specific and previously neglected questions. These case studies often lead her to important insights. For example, the presentation of his *Inventions* at the exhibition of the Munich Secession in 1906 was initially a public and economic failure for Klee, but the contacts made at that time resulted in invitations to exhibitions and individual purchases for years to come. Thus, Kaufmann can demonstrate that the episode led indirectly to Klee's success.

Kaufmann's investigation follows research perspectives of the last three decades. In her description of the phases of Klee's stylistic development in his graphic work, she follows ideas established by Jürgen Glaesemer, Marcel Franciscono, and Charles Werner Haxthausen. The acknowledgement of Klee's strategic and economically calculated approach to his prints is based on a paradigm first introduced by Otto Karl Werckmeister. By combining these premises, and above all by systematically considering Klee's use of prints throughout his entire career, Kaufmann contributes some significant new points; for example, concerning his participation in the portfolio of the artists' association Sema in 1912, or his print production at the Bauhaus. Furthermore, her argument that Klee's prints were of central significance for his oeuvre is very plausible. She answers the traditional question of whether Klee even as a painter ultimately remained a draughtsman with a resounding 'yes'. The line, as the basic element of graphic art, can be seen as Klee's key achievement, which ultimately allowed him to develop his own pictorial language with its

unique form of abstraction.

At the same time, Kaufmann argues that the central role that graphic art played for the avant-garde movement of the twentieth century needs to be reassessed. Here, one might object that the so-called 'graphic wave' in Germany was by no means a purely avant-garde phenomenon, and that in order to evaluate it, it would be necessary to look at all modern art contemporary with Klee: Max Slevogt's graphic works, for example, occupy a prominent position in the culture of the late German Empire and early Weimar Republic. This, in turn, calls into question the description by Leopold Zahn, which Kaufmann employs uncritically. In his text 'Von den Ursachen graphischer Massenproduktion' (On the causes of graphic mass production; *Der Kunstwanderer*, I, 1919, pp. 78–79), Zahn sees this 'graphische Sturmflut' (graphic storm wave) as bound to Expressionism's linearity, understood as the intellectual counter-movement to the sensual colour of Impressionism. One can agree with Kaufmann that Klee's contemporaries were clearly aware of the significance of graphic production for avant-garde art. It was only the reception of graphic art after World War II that meant it was increasingly sidelined, as it was not in keeping with the one-sided view that modernity was linked to the symbolic and expressive possibilities of colour and painting. In this sense, Kaufmann's book is not only the first comprehensive evaluation of the

83. Paul Klee, *Komiker (Comedian) / Invention 4,* 1904, etching, 153 x 168 mm (Bern, Zentrum Paul Klee).

84. Paul Klee, *Garten der Leidenschaft (Garden of Passion)*, 1913, etching, 96 x 148 mm (Bern, Zentrum Paul Klee).

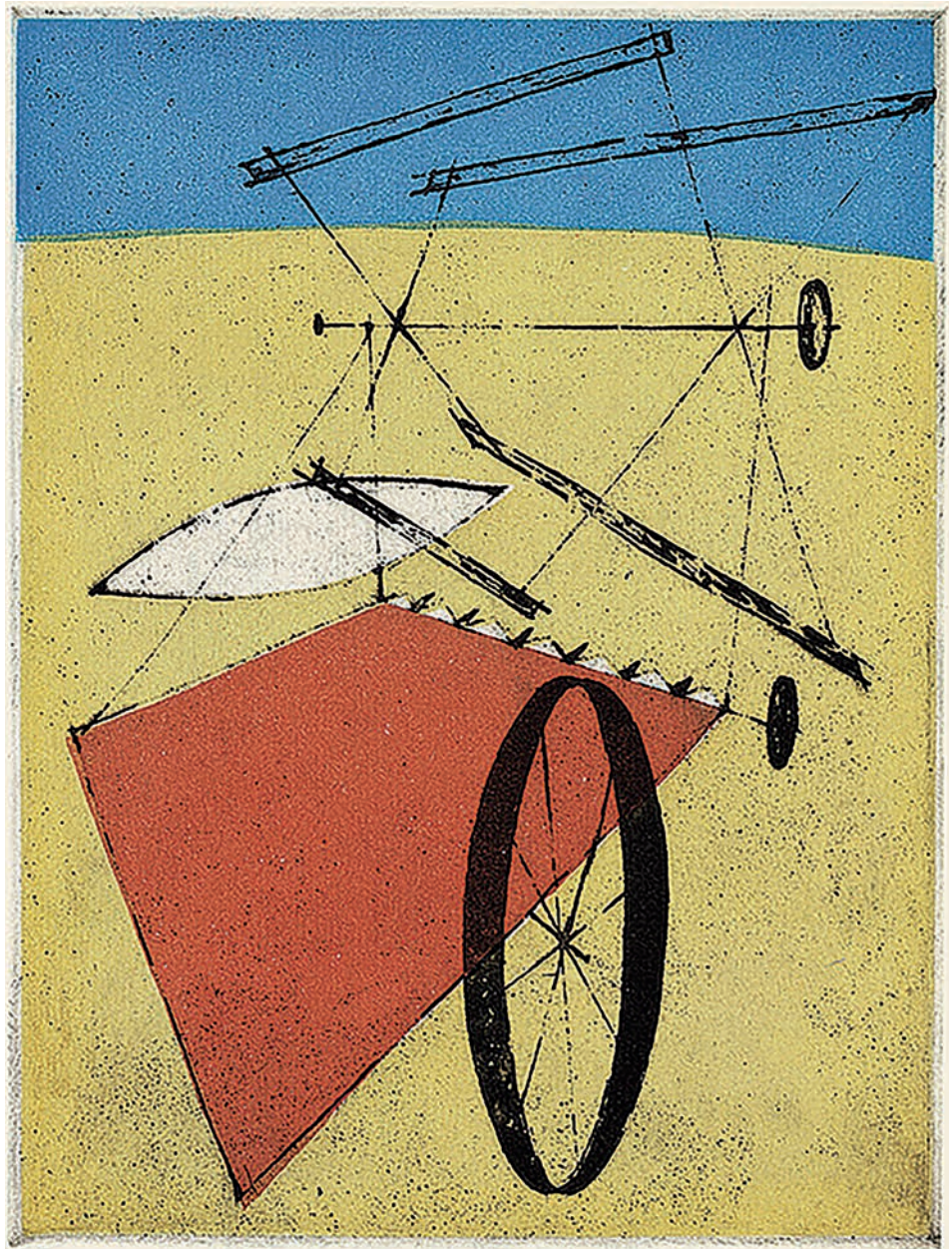
importance of prints for Klee's artistic oeuvre, but also contributes to correcting the way in which we understand the art history of the first third of the twentieth century.

The book is abundantly illustrated with 129 reproductions, many in large format and almost all in colour. Illustrations for comparison with the works of other artists are used sparingly, in keeping with the way in which the author adheres to comparisons introduced by previous scholars. The bibliography is extensive and includes a number of primary sources. While it covers the research field in its breadth, some additional titles from the highly specialized scholarship on Klee would have deserved consideration. Also, the articles by Hans Bloesch 'Ein moderner Graphiker' (*Die Alpen*, VI, 1912, no. 5, pp. 264–72) and by Jürgen Glaesemer 'Die Druckgraphik von Paul Klee' (in *Paul Klee: Das graphische und plastische Werk. Mit Vorzeichnungen, Aquarellen und Gemälden*, Duisburg, 1974, pp. 18–29) are not explicitly referred to. Published approximately at the same time, Kathrin Baumeister's book deserves mention: *Die Beste aller Welten. Künstler illustrieren Voltaire's Candide. Chodowiecki, Monnet, Moreau, Unold, Klee, Kubin* (Berlin, 2015). Minor inconsistencies within the bibliographical system are negligible, but the distinction between 'published sources' and 'secondary literature' is questionable for methodological reasons and not always readily comprehensible. Thus texts by Will Grohmann appear in both categories, and Jean Paul's *Vorschule der* Ästhetik and Hermann Bahr's book *Expressionismus* of 1916 would have been better placed in the first category according to the logic of Kaufmann's own subdivisions. A mistake has crept into the bibliographical details of Wilhelm Hausenstein's *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart*, which was published not in 1913 but in 1914. GREGOR WEDEKIND

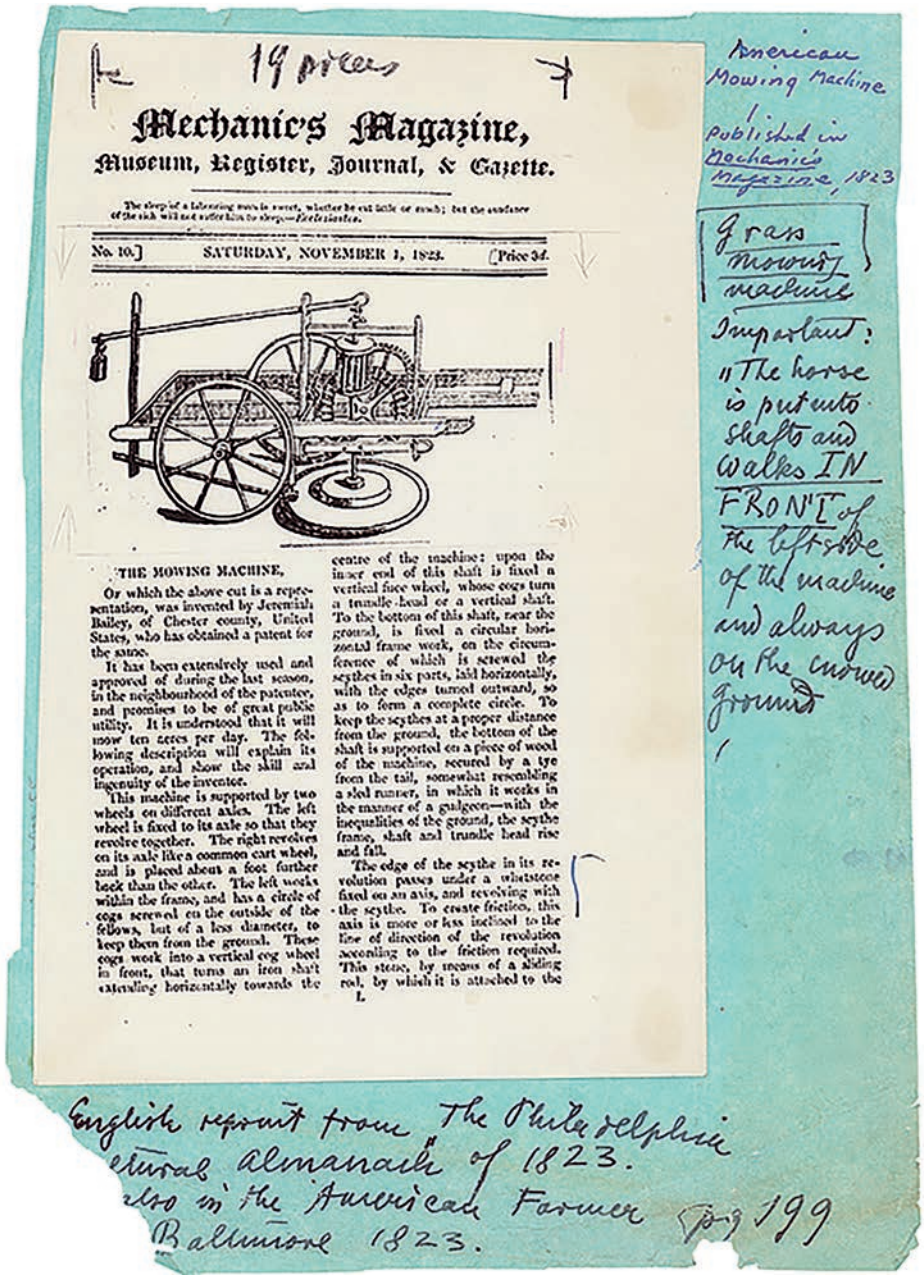
REAPER: RICHARD HAMILTON AND SIGFRIED GIEDION. In 1949 Richard Hamilton (1922–2011) made a series of prints on the theme of an old-fashioned piece of farm equipment, the reaper, at the Slade School of Art, using the medium of copper but employing a variety of techniques – engraving, drypoint, etching, aquatint and stippling – and using different tools: the roulette, burin, drypoint needle and punches (fig. 85). Along with work by Geza Szobel and Suzanne and Pierre Fremont, seventeen of them (or rather sixteen with one printed in two states and, supposedly, in editions of fifteen to 25) were exhibited at Gimpel Fils, 50 South Molton Street, in February 1950. These prints and their connection with Sigfried Giedion's book *Mechanization Takes Command* (Oxford, 1948) are the subject of a 2017 exhibition catalogue *Reaper. Richard Hamilton and Sigfried Giedion* (edited by Carson Chan, Linda Schädler, Filine Wagner, Fredi Fischli and Niels Olsen, contributions by Esther Choi, Kevin Lotery,

Spyros Papapetros, Fanny Singer and Hadas Steiner, exhibition catalogue, Zürich, Graphische Sammlung ETH Zürich, 3 May – 25 June, Zürich, Graphische Sammlung ETH Zürich and JRP Ringier, 292 pp., 154 ills., CHF 45). This was published on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Graphische Sammlung and the 50th anniversary of the History and Theory of Architecture Institute (GTA), which houses the Giedion papers (fig. 86). One of its professors, Adam Caruso, designed the exhibition.

Dawn Leach-Rühl established the chronology of Hamilton's *Reaper* series in the March 1988 issue of *Print Quarterly* (v, 1988, pp. 66–71). This exhibition catalogue looks more closely at the imagery and explores the



85. Richard Hamilton, *Reaper (0)*, 1949, sugar aquatint and etching, 197 x 148 mm (Kunstmuseum Winterthur © the artist / ProLitteris, Zurich. Image Jean-Pierre Kuhn, Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich).



86. Title-page of *Mechanic's Magazine*, 1 November 1823, letterpress, 216 x 140 mm (ETH Zürich, Estate of Sigfried Giedion).

relationship with Giedion's text: in fact it reproduces his text 'Mechanization Encounters the Organic', in which, through patents and ephemera, Giedion shows how the McCormick Reaper, Wood's Reaper with Self-Raker, Appleby Twine Binder and Marsh's Harvester transformed US agriculture, moving the farmer from self-sufficiency to specialization and, consequently, making the farmer vulnerable to global markets.

Hamilton's *Reapers* are not *per se* illustrations of Giedion's images: the language of rotating blades, wheels, platform and seat is used but the result is as abstract as the market price is to wheat. A lenticular

shape that appears in McCormick's Virginia Reaper, of 1846, reproduced in Giedion, appears in eight of the prints. Kevin Lotery's insightful essay looks closely at the visual imagery: whether they have a seat; include crops or lack a horizon line. But Giedion was not the only source: Hamilton had made drawings of models at the Palais de la Découverte, Paris, in 1949.

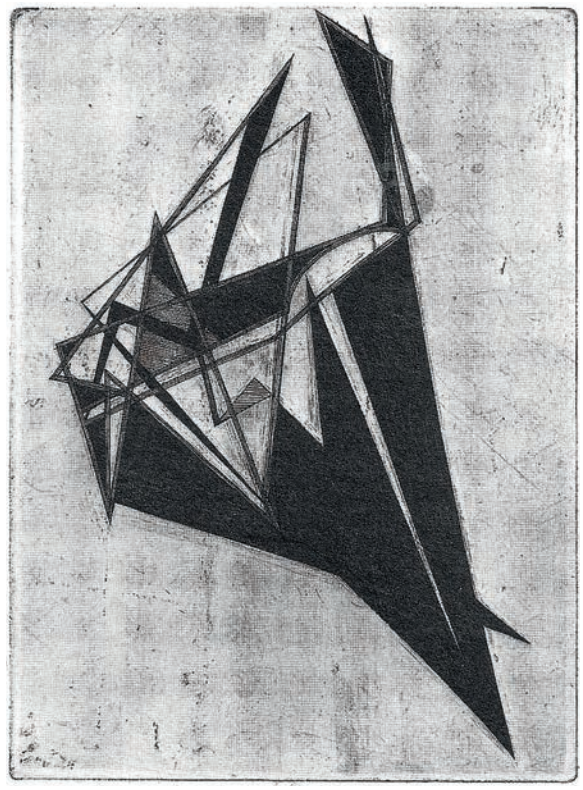
Fanny Singer's essay looks at the possible art historical tradition behind the series, looking at Paul Nash's oil painting *Mineral Objects*, of 1935, and Eileen Agar's gouache and leaf *Reaper*, of 1938, which was not exhibited until 1965 and so an unlikely influence. The connection with Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) is also explored. Given Hamilton's future friendship and work with Duchamp it is easy to project backwards: there is debate whether Hamilton perhaps saw, with Nigel Henderson, Roland Penrose's copy of Duchamp's *Green Box* in 1948 or in 1952: this included the diagrammatic *Chocolate Grinder*, of 1934, although Duchamp's 1965 etching is closer to the *Reaper* series. The congruence between the two is more likely to lie in Hamilton's training as a technical draughtsman before and during World War II, and Duchamp's own school education which, as Molly Nesbit has shown, prioritized technical drawing. But there are other interesting coincidences: in 1913 Duchamp considered 'Agricultural Machine' as a subtitle to *The Bride Stripped Bare by her Bachelors, Even*, and Giedion included a plate of Duchamp's *Nude Descending the Staircase*, of 1912, in his section on the 'Springs of Mechanization' in *Mechanization Takes Command*.

Whilst the word 'Reaper' may also refer to the dead of World War I and II (the artist became involved with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), Hamilton is primarily aligning the semi-mechanized reproductive nature of printmaking and editioning with nature, impacted by mechanization and industrialization: the burr is the furrow. STEPHEN J. BURY

POST-WORLD WAR II PRINTMAKING IN PARIS. The subject of Elisabeth Furtwängler's well-researched and well-written book *Druckgraphik im Paris der Nachkriegszeit: 'L'estampe est à la mode'* is printmaking in Paris in the years following World War II (Munich, Verlag Silke Schreiber, 2017, 330 pp., 106 ills., €32). The book is based on the author's dissertation, which was submitted in 2015 to the University of Koblenz-Landau. The subtitle, *L'estampe est à la mode*, refers to an article by book and print dealer Bernard Gheerbrandt published in 1958 and is a homage to Charles Baudelaire and his 1862 text *L'eau-forte est à la mode!*. In her introduction Furtwängler seems to wish to justify her book by reminding the reader that the 1959 edition of Kassel's *documenta* featured a special section for prints with a separate catalogue and that most of the exhibited artists were from Paris. She also states that many non-French artists produced their prints in Paris, which at that time was still the artistic capital of the world.

After a description of the general artistic situation in Paris at the end of the war, Furtwängler looks first at the different Salons (Salon d'Automne, Salon des Réalités Nouvelles and Salon de Mai), then at contemporary publications on the subject, followed by a study of French prints in German and international exhibitions. Already in 1946 the French occupation administration organized shows of contemporary prints in German towns, even outside their zone of occupation, and an important donation, including recent prints by Picasso, was made to the Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe. This donation subsequently travelled to many major German towns.

Prints were published in different forms. Similar to a *livre d'artiste*, the *livre de peintre* united text and image but differs from a traditional illustrated book in that it was a true collaboration between writer and artist, rather than an artist illustrating an existing text. The printer Fernand Mourlot (1895–1988) started producing original posters for exhibitions and worked with many contemporary artists, including Matisse, Picasso and Bonnard, but



87. Pierre Courtin, *12 May 1949*, from the book by Graphies (A. Flocon and G. Bachelard et al.), *À la gloire de la main* (Paris, 1949), engraving, 180 x 130 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

88. Pierre Soulages, *Etching No. 13,* 1957, aquatint, 593 x 435 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

also with those of the younger generation such as Pierre Alechinsky, who thanks to him started working with colour lithography. Chapters are devoted to especially important publishers and dealers such as Aimé Maeght 1906–81), Heinz Berggruen (1914–2007), Bernard Gheerbrand (1918–2010) and Nesto Jacometti (1898–1973). We learn about the graphic workshops in Paris, some of which still exist, and about the print studios that opened very quickly after the war and were accessible to all artists. Among the most important were the Atelier Hermitage, founded by Johnny Friedlaender and Albert Flocon, the British artist Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17, which he started in Paris in the 1930s before moving it to New York in 1940, and the studio created by the American-born artist Henri Goetz in 1962.

Furtwängler pays much attention to the very active artist group Graphies, which existed from 1949 to 1952 and initially counted ten artists, among whom were Christine Boumeester, Pierre Courtin (fig. 87), Henri Goetz and Raoul Ubac. Later, better known names such as Jacques Villon, Jean Fautrier and Germaine Richier joined the group for certain exhibitions. She also looks at the prints of artists of the Cobra group, but hardly even mentions Asger Jorn, the most important printmaker of that group, who, it is true, in those years printed hardly anything in Paris. A final chapter is devoted to printmaking by artists interested in gestural expression, such as André Masson and Hans Hartung, texture, such as Max Ernst or Jean Dubuffet, and the rough treatment of the materials, such as Wols or Fautrier. Also included are studies of the artists Courtin, Etienne Hajdu, Roger Vieillard and Pierre Soulages (fig. 88). These are all fine printmakers, but today only Soulages is considered a major artist. This is altogether a very informative book on a little explored subject. Its main flaw is probably that it is published in German rather than in French or English, which would have allowed it a much wider audience. JONAS STORSVE

KP BREHMER: Real Capital-Production is the first monograph in English, long overdue, on the work of Klaus Peter Brehmer (1938–97) and functions as a belated catalogue for the London retrospective of late 2014 (edited by Doreen Mende, contributions by Kerstin Stakemeier, KP Brehmer, Jürgen Becker, Mark Fisher, Alex Sainsbury, Georg Jappe and René Block, exhibition catalogue, London, Raven Row, 25 September–30 November 2014, London, Raven Row and Koenig

89. KP Brehmer, Installation view of the 2014 exhibition with *Briefmarken (Stamps)*, 1966–70 (Image Marcus J. Leith).

90. KP Brehmer, *Korrektur der Nationalfarben, Gemessen an der Vermögensverteilung (Correction of National Colours, Measured by Distribution of Wealth)*, 1972 (Collection Alexander Schröder, Berlin. Image Marcus J. Leith).

Books Ltd., 2017, 177 pp. 162 ills., £29.95). Brehmer was part of the generation in Germany that included Gerhard Richter and Sigmar Polke and was centred around the René Block Gallery in West Berlin. While the other artists were predominantly painters, Brehmer brought to the group the experience of printmaking and the use of print as a revolutionary tool.

Brehmer had worked as a commercial printer before he studied at the Düsseldorf Academy. Here he developed prints using etching and print blocks (clichés) which enabled him to print large editions on commercial machines. When he first began working with Block, since Brehmer was able to make the clichés himself, an otherwise expensive process, it meant paradoxically that an original print could be made cheaper than a reproduction of Brehmer's work, resulting in what Block describes as 'a revolution in art production.' Brehmer's prints demonstrate a love and knowledge of the printing process, including colour separation, test bars, printing the same image in any colour as well as in what was to become his signature half-tone dot, enlarged to reveal the process and taking the image towards abstraction. While his friend Richard Hamilton worked with all the best printers in Europe in pursuit of excellence, Brehmer printed everything himself. Between 1966 and 1972, he worked on a series of prints derived from enlarged postage stamps in what is described as an act of 'ideological kleptomania' (fig. 89). These, complete with perforated edges and cancellation marks, were presented as printed objects, and explore ideas of national identity and how meaning is changed through a process of layering and random chance.

The publication includes a fascinating interview with Block, who discusses how his gallery operated, his relationship with Brehmer (he persuaded Brehmer to live in the apartment below the gallery) and the developing art scene in Berlin. It also features in full Brehmer and Jürgen Becker's collaborative *Ideal Landscape*, in which Becker's prose poem, written in response to a series of landscape prints by Brehmer, was printed and distributed as a pamphlet with text and images. Mark Fisher's essay on 'Politics Beyond the Street' provides a broad overview of Brehmer: from his exploration of imagery associated with Pop through to the later works and his use of data representation as subject matter, as in his flagship piece *Correction of National Colours, Measured by Distribution of Wealth*, of 1972 (fig. 90). Here the bandwidths of the colours that make up the German flag – black, red, gold – correspond to the wealth of different strata of society, with black representing the middle class, gold big business, and red the remainder of households. Writing on 'Brehmer's Kleptomania', Kerstin Stakemeier considers the use of appropriation in his working method as being 'a renewed expropriation of bourgeois culture'.

The book is designed with great care, even down to the way it opens flat to allow an uninterrupted reading of the many double-page spreads, as befitting an artist who was acutely concerned about the presentation of visual data. The oeuvre is divided into two sections, the 1960s and 1970s, with the images and texts separated. The reproductions give a very clear impression of the works and their scale, so for example the four-panel piece *Colour Sample Classic Range*, of 1969, has been photographed in situ and expands across two full pages, with no distracting captions. Likewise, the small printed collage *Box for Beuys*, of 1965, is presented surrounded by ample space to give a sense of its intimacy. Brehmer's work is brimming with ideas, informed by the language of printmaking but always shaped by an acute sensibility to materials and a sense of how to address the spectator. This excellent publication will bring this singular artist and experimental printmaker to a much wider international audience. PAUL COLDWELL

TONY CRAGG (b. 1949) was part of the new generation of British Sculptors, alongside Richard Deacon, Anthony Gormley and Bill Woodrow, who came to prominence in the late 1970s. His work is personified by a restless curiosity; this led him to create major works with a wide range of materials, including flotsam, which he would use to assemble wall and floor installations. Perhaps his most well known piece in this medium is *Britain Seen from the North*, of 1981, where the viewer may look upon the silhouette of a figure as it contemplates a map of Britain as a mosaic made entirely out of coloured plastic. Indeed, his sculptural inquiry is responsible for works made with stacks of debris, installations of sandblasted glass, laminated wood, bronze and plaster, to name just a few. These works, often referencing objects and groupings, are a study of forms, as well as an exploration into the relationship we have to the objects we surround ourselves with. It is therefore of no surprise that Cragg would apply this restless inventiveness to drawing. These applications are documented in the first of a five-volume catalogue devoted to pieces on paper, prints and drawings (André Buchmann, *Anthony Cragg: Works on Paper. Volume I (Works in Five Volumes)*, Cologne, Buchhandlung Walther König, 2017, 420 pp., 2,205 ills., £48). Three of the other volumes document his sculpture from 1969 to 2017. The last volume brings together the artist's writings, providing us with a comprehensive catalogue of Cragg's work over a career of some 50 years. The volume dedicated to works on paper comprises around 300 full, half- or quarter-page reproductions. This is followed by a visual index of small reproductions, twenty to the page, complete with captions which indicate the drawings, and finally by prints, of which there are over 300.

Cragg's approach to printmaking is an extension of drawing. Indeed, it does not seem at all unusual

91. Tony Cragg, *Six Bottles*, first state, 1988, etching, 190 x 326 mm (© the artist. Image courtesy Buchmann Galerie Berlin/Lugano).

92. Tony Cragg, *Six Bottles*, second state, 1988, etching, 190 x 323 mm (© the artist. Image courtesy Buchmann Galerie Berlin/Lugano).

that the techniques with which he works – etching and lithography – are most closely related to drawing. Certainly, these are also the two methods that require an understanding of the overall process, including the effect of materials and chemicals upon one another in the creation of the print. For example, in lithography the effect is brought about through the connection of grease and water, while it is the action of the acid itself that becomes the determining factor in many of Cragg's etchings. In particular, the artist is drawn to spit bite as a direct means of drawing into the aquatint with the acid. This is clearly evidenced in his elegant Morandiesque *Six Bottles* of 1988 or the *Laboratory Still Life* series of the same year (figs. 91 and 92). It is also clear that Cragg responds to the speed of line that can be achieved through drawing with a needle in hard ground. Many of these prints seem to echo the trace of the ice-skates' blade as it rapidly crosses the rink. Cragg is a fast thinker, and clearly seeks out processes that can match his rapid thoughts. A minor disadvantage of this volume is that the single-page reproductions only carry a number for identification which has to be cross-referenced via the concordance list at the end of the book with a visual index in order to discover a work's dimensions, year and material. PAUL COLDWELL

FLATBED PRESS AT 25. This big, lavishly illustrated hardcover by current co-directors Mark Lesly Smith and Katherine Brimberry details the history of a collaborative press in Austin, Texas (Austin, University of Texas Press, 2016, 432 pp., 253 ills., $65). Founded in 1989 by Brimberry and Smith, Flatbed Press offers intaglio, relief, monotype and lithographic printmaking. From the outset it has received support from the University of Texas at Austin as well as Texas State University, and is financed by the production, publication and sale of new print editions printed in close collaboration with the artists. The book describes the innovative, improvised techniques created by Flatbed's in-house printers to enable ambitious projects by visiting painters, sculptors and photographers as well as more experienced printmakers.

Susan Tallman's introductory essay gives the newcomer a primer on the specific appeals of printmaking to artists, as well as the dichotomy that exists between uniqueness and multiplicity in the medium. She does this by providing colourful examples of Flatbed's engagement with artists, who often supply the master printer with 'a demand to adapt age-old processes to fit the production of an unprecedented object the artist has only partially imagined.' Tallman notes the fluctuations in

93. Terry Allen, *Hitter,* 1996, soft-ground etching and aquatint with chine collé, image 152 x 203 mm (Image courtesy Flatbed Press).

94. Michael Ray Charles, *White Power,* 1994, line etching and aquatint with hand colouring and embossing, image 400 x 298 mm (Image courtesy Flatbed Press).

printmaking's popularity, returning to a high in the last decade through artists such as Robert Rauschenberg (1925–2008) and reflecting 'a world now plastered with printed images.' Flatbed Press was named not only after the slab of metal rolled through the press, but also refers to critic Leo Steinberg's assessment of Rauschenberg and the potential of the new 'flatbed picture plane' to allude to 'any receptor surface on which objects are scattered, on which data is entered, on which information may be received, printed, impressed'. In 1993 Rauschenberg and Susan Weil collaborated with Flatbed on a photogravure, *Light Borne in Darkness*.

The main body of the text is a selection of 40 artists' biographies and 41 further illustrations of work made with the studio. In these brief profiles we see evidence for Brimberry's belief that sculptors make good printmakers because 'they don't try to reproduce their primary medium but instead take their ideas into two dimensions with curiosity laced with conceptual goals'. We see this in the machine tooling of John Robert Craft (b. 1962) and the spatial minimalism of Margo Sawyer (b. 1958). Tallman notes the 'bumpy interlacing of Hispanic and Anglo culture' as a common thread through the Flatbed portfolio – elsewhere we see the personal and political tied together by an irreverence and 'hardscrabble realism … with an underlying sense of humour', for example, the baseball player as stand-in for the artist's abusive father in *Hitter,* of 1996, by Terry Allen (b. 1943; fig. 93), the watermelon-eating black figure in *White Power,* of 1994, by Michael Ray Charles (b. 1967; fig. 94) and in *Terrorist Juggling Plates,* of 1990, by Robert L. Levers Jr. (1930–92).

The book then moves into a chronological section, which is especially worthwhile for the Flatbed loyalist and Texas print historian, but may be of less interest to a wider readership. Looking through the image documentation that follows, however, reveals that Brimberry, Gerald Manson, current master printer Tracey Mayrello and others printed all of the work reproduced here – a testament to the unique nature of print studios as the site of image production. They are places where an artist's idea can move through many hands with its integrity left uncorrupted. Flatbed continues its mission today with its own exhibition programme, an annual contemporary print fair for Texas-wide printmakers initiated in 2014, a healthy roster of ongoing artist collaborators and open access courses providing new blood. JAMES RANDELL

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Fortuny (1838–1874), edited by Javier Barón, contributions by Gianluca Berardi, Stéphane Guégan, Carlos G. Navarro and Santiago Alcolea, exhibition catalogue, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 21 November 2017–18 March 2018, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2017, 480 pp., 405 ills., €36.10.

The Mariano Fortuny who is remembered today is the textile and dress designer, who died in 1949 and whose widow established a museum in his memory in Venice. Far less familiar is his father, the Catalan painter and draughtsman, who died young at the age of 38, but who in his lifetime was almost as famous as his son was to become later. This huge and beautifully illustrated catalogue covers all aspects of his work and life, although paintings and drawings dominate the 168 entries, and only ten are devoted to his etchings. He only made 29 plates (if we ignore a few odd rarities), but their quality is high and they deserve to be better known. Nine of them were published by Goupil in Paris, who devoted equal energy to commissioning etchings by others after his paintings and to publishing photogravures made from his pen drawings. It is remarkable how what today would be seen as three distinct categories of production were then published by the same publisher in the same formats so as to look as though they formed a single oeuvre.

A fascinating part of the catalogue is devoted to Fortuny's collection of historic bric-a-brac which was dispersed at auction in Paris in 1875. The photographs of the works in situ in his studio suggest a typical nineteenth-century artist's collection. Untypical, though, is the extraordinary quality of many of the pieces, which today grace some of the great museums of the world.

La France zwischen Aufklärung und Galanterie: Meisterwerke der Druckgraphik aus der Zeit Watteaus / La France au Siècle des Lumières et de la Galanterie: Chefs-d'œuvre de la gravure à l'époque de Watteau (bilingual, German and French), edited by Hélène Lehl and Felix Reuße, contribution by Véronique Meyer, exhibition catalogue, Freiburg, Augustinermuseum, 24 February–3 June 2018, Petersberg, Michael Imhof Verlag, 2018, 184 pp., 165 ills., €29.95.

This exhibition catalogue celebrates the gift to the museum in Freiburg, Germany, from the local collector Josef Lienhart, of his collection of French prints of the eighteenth century formed since the 1970s. His interest centres on book illustration, and the catalogue includes books, preparatory drawings and single-sheet prints. Véronique Meyer's introductory essay covers French printmaking of the eighteenth century, and the catalogue entries are by a group of scholars led by Hélène Iehl.

Catalogue and Book Reviews

Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau

Femke Speelberg

Catherine Jenkins, *Studies in Prints and Printmaking – Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau, c. 1542–47,* Parts I–III, edited by Peter Fuhring, Craig Hartley, Ger Luijten and Jan van der Stock, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, Sound & Vision, 2017, Part I, 212 pp., 73 ills., Part II, 346 pp., 313 ills., Part III, 312 pp., 216 ills., €495.

Almost 50 years after Henri Zerner published his *École de Fontainebleau: Gravures* (Paris, 1969), this new three-part publication by print scholar Catherine Jenkins is certain to succeed it as the standard reference on the printmaking endeavours of the group of artists active at the French court of François I at Fontainebleau, from c. 1542 until 1547. The idiosyncrasies of their prints have intrigued scholars since the time of the great connoisseur Pierre Jean Mariette (1694–1774), but to this day many questions about their making and purpose remain unanswered. This is in large part due to the dearth of contemporary documentary evidence about the Fontainebleau printmakers, which prevents us from answering some of the most fundamental questions, such as whether there even was a printing press at the chateau proper. In addition, problems of attribution, the often complex or strange iconographies found in the prints, and the uneven quality of execution and printing have all contributed to the fact that when it comes to learning more about Fontainebleau prints, it is difficult to see the proverbial forest for the trees. This is all the more frustrating because the name 'School of Fontainebleau', first coined by Adam von Bartsch (1757–1821) in his efforts to categorize the group for his *Le Peintre Graveur,* seems to imply a homogeneity of intent, purpose and perhaps even training. While it is generally recognized that no such formative unity existed among the Fontainebleau printmakers, Jenkins carefully and methodically dispels this notion further by focusing principally on what the surviving prints can tell us about the individual contributors, their technical development and engagement with models, and the afterlife of their prints.

Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau, c. 1542–47 is the seventh volume in the series *Studies in Print and Printmaking* and consists of a text volume followed by a comprehensive two-part catalogue containing all known prints by the artists active in the Fontainebleau workshop. Part II is devoted to the three main, fully identified printmakers Léon Davent (fig. 95), Antonio Fantuzzi and Jean Mignon, while known, named masters, newly identified printmakers and anonymous prints are the subject of the third volume. Through extensive material analysis primarily focused on paper (watermarks, chain lines, hue and thickness) but also including ink composition, Jenkins has been able to tie together more closely the working practices of several Fontainebleau printmakers who made use of the same stock of paper and inks to print their plates in concise printing campaigns. This research, based on the comparison of more than 1,400 watermarks, has led among others to the identification of the chiaroscuro printmaker 'Master ND' as a new member of the workshop (fig. 96).[1] Several of his woodcuts prove to be printed using paper, inks and imagery identical to other prints made at Fontainebleau. Jenkins also introduces new artistic personalities, such as the 'Master of the Story of Cadmus' (fig. 97) and the 'Master of the Black Eye', whose technically accomplished works betray a distinct, personal style of etching. Another new insight is the identification of collaborative prints, in which multiple artists worked on one plate based on their artistic specialization in areas such as landscape and figures, a method seemingly adopted from Netherlandish workshop practice. Scholars who are familiar with the Fontainebleau bibliography will note the exclusion of three prominent names, that of Geoffroy Dumonstier, Leonard Limosin and Juste de Juste. While they have previously often been included in the group, principally based on stylistic grounds, the artists are here excluded by the author because material discrepancies suggest that their prints were printed elsewhere, and likely slightly later in the century.

1. See also C. Jenkins, 'The Chiaroscuro Woodcuts of the Master ND at Fontainebleau', *Print Quarterly,* XXX, 2013, pp. 131–43.

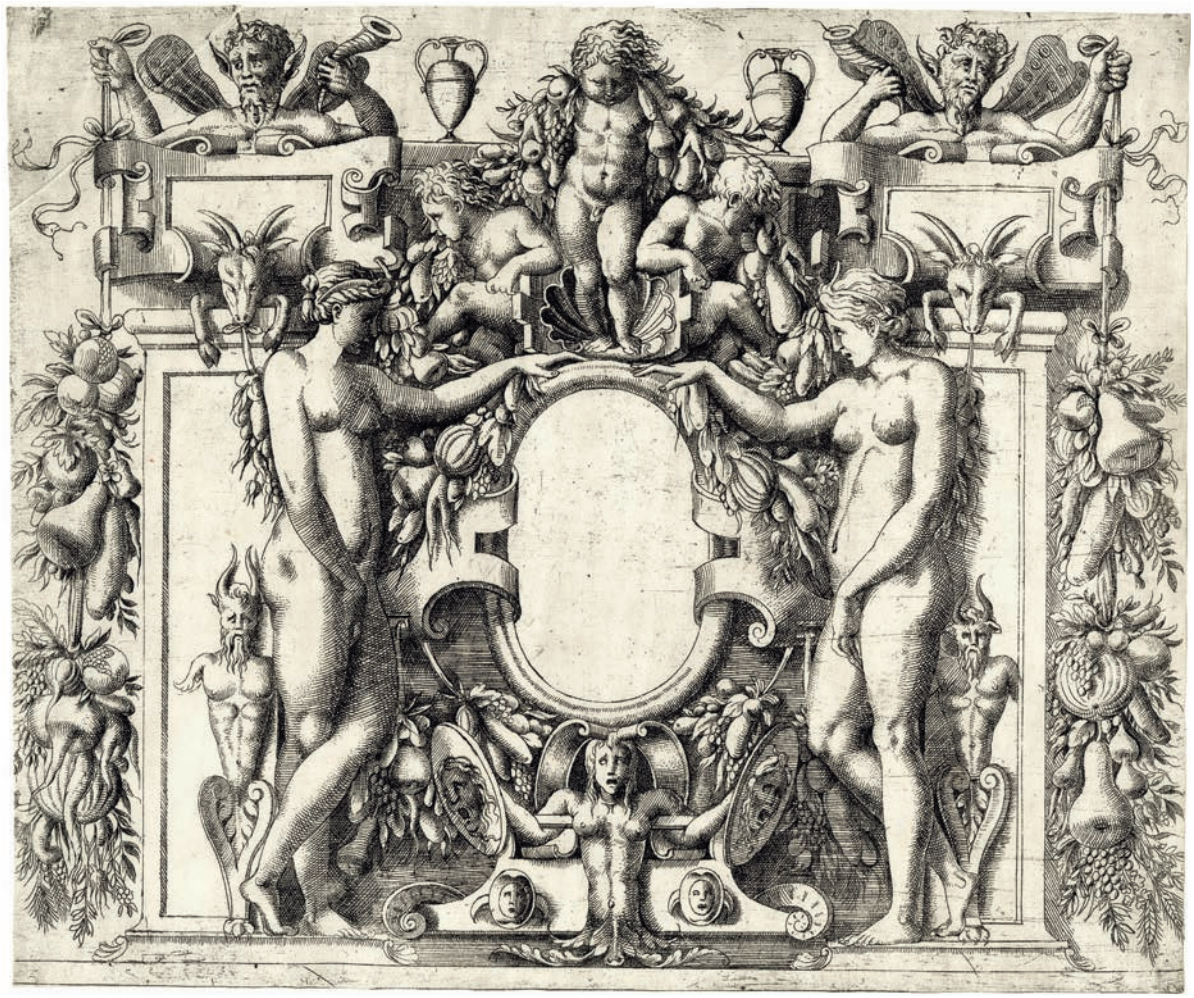
Watermarks, unfortunately, do not help to establish a more precise chronology within the output of the Fontainebleau workshop during the relatively short period of its activity. Only 41 prints are inscribed with dates which, except for some early outliers by Davent, all fall between 1542 and 1547. Jenkins proposes that the nucleus of activity should be situated between 1543 and 1545, when all associated artists created prints in the workshop. Francesco Primaticcio, who did not make prints himself but whose work was often the subject of the prints, is identified as the creative leader of the enterprise. From 1544 onwards, Luca Penni likely took over his role in overseeing the printing endeavours, which ended abruptly in 1547. That year marked the death of François I, as well as Penni's departure for Paris where he would set up his own workshop. How

95. Léon Davent after Giulio Romano, *Psyche in Despair*, c. 1542, engraving, printed in red ink, trimmed 253 x 195 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

96. Master ND after Michelangelo, *Ignudo, from the Sistine Chapel*, c. 1544, chiaroscuro woodcut from two blocks in brown, trimmed 340 x 268 mm (London, British Museum).

and if these events correlate directly remains uncertain. Based on the lack of payments for the printing activities in the surviving *Comptes des Bâtiments*, Jenkins speculates that it was not a project initiated directly by the king, but rather by the artists themselves. She notes that the workshop produced about 440 distinct prints over a five-year time span, which puts its output on par with a professional publishing house such as Hieronymus Cock's *Aux Quatres Vents*. Although it is still unclear who provided the capital needed for the copperplates, ink and paper stock, based on their productivity the efforts of the Fontainebleau printmakers should therefore be regarded as a short-lived but bona fide enterprise rather than a casual experiment. The workshop activity was divided into a group of more or less professional printmakers who produced prints at regular intervals, and a second group of other artists from the Fontainebleau milieu who occasionally experimented with printmaking but on a more casual basis.

The impressive scope of the print production brings to the fore questions of function and audience. Why did the Fontainebleau artists suddenly start making prints in the 1540s? As with many other aspects concerning this enigmatic group of printmakers, there is no simple answer. In the concluding chapter of the text volume, the author tackles this problem by demonstrating how the prints fit within the culture in which they were produced. At the chateau itself, they functioned as a kind of souvenir for the many visitors and courtiers who, from 1539 onwards, admired the building and its unique decor. They also informed artists and craftsmen both near and far of the style and subject matter



97. Master of the Story of Cadmus, after Primaticcio, *Ornamental Frame with Nude Figures*, c. 1544–47, etching, trimmed 243 x 283 mm (London, British Museum).

98. Master I♀V, partially after Michelangelo, *Man Against a Tree*, 1543–44, etching, trimmed 306 x 223 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

that were in vogue at court, and more generally they fed an interest in *all'antica* imagery that had become widespread by the 1540s.

A deeper understanding can perhaps be distilled from the chapter dedicated to the source material used by the Fontainebleau printmakers. Jenkins's revelatory, watermark-based observation that several fifteenth-century copperplates by Andrea Mantegna were printed in the Fontainebleau workshop, possibly during one of the earliest printing campaigns, indicates that the project

from early on adopted a dual role. On the one hand, the prints represented a means to illustrate the creativity, style and distinctive decor of François I's Fontainebleau to the vast and diverse audiences with no, or limited, access to the chateau itself. Unsurprisingly, their influence was greatest in the field of ornament, in which the Fontainebleau School had arguably proven itself most distinct. On the other hand, however, the prints played an important role in introducing designs from Italy, the Netherlands and Germany into the French milieu. As a means of representation and inspiration, prints thus brought Fontainebleau to the world, and the world to Fontainebleau and France. Seen in this light, it is not surprising to find among the Fontainebleau prints the earliest known copies after figures from Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling, or reproductions of Netherlandish landscape drawings, published well before the genre was widely adopted by printmakers and publishers in Antwerp. The print production at Fontainebleau thus tied in closely with Primaticcio's role as an art agent for the French king. In this capacity he travelled to Rome soon after the completion of the decoration campaigns of the 1530s, where he made drawings of antiquities and other artworks that would interest the king, and even sought to have some reproduced in print, before a print workshop had been established at Fontainebleau.

Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau, c. 1542–47 manages to present the highly specialized subject of Fontainebleau prints in such a manner that it is both easily accessible to a lay audience and thought-provoking for print specialists. Written with great reverence for previous scholarship, Jenkins presents her work, filled with new discoveries based on exhaustive research, with an admirable lack of self-indulgence. Together, the text and catalogue volumes offer a wealth of illustrations, including multiple states of specific prints, full-colour reproductions of drawings related to the prints, and other relevant artworks.

As Jenkins herself alludes to in her closing remarks, when she writes that 'for now, the Master I♀V must remain the Master I♀V', there is still much to be discovered about the printmaking activities at Fontainebleau (fig. 98). Yet, with this three-volume publication she has not only armed future scholars with a wealth of new information and insights, but perhaps more importantly has also clearly proven the value of a well-rounded methodological approach that thoroughly analyses the physical properties of prints, in addition to style, iconography and information acquired from secondary sources. In the age of digitization, it is a potent reminder that a print is not simply an image, but a complex, three-dimensional work of art that warrants physical examination, collaborative investigation with paper conservators and scientists, and the study of as many impressions as possible to unpack the unique variables hidden behind the deceptive notion of the 'exactly repeatable pictorial statement'.[2]

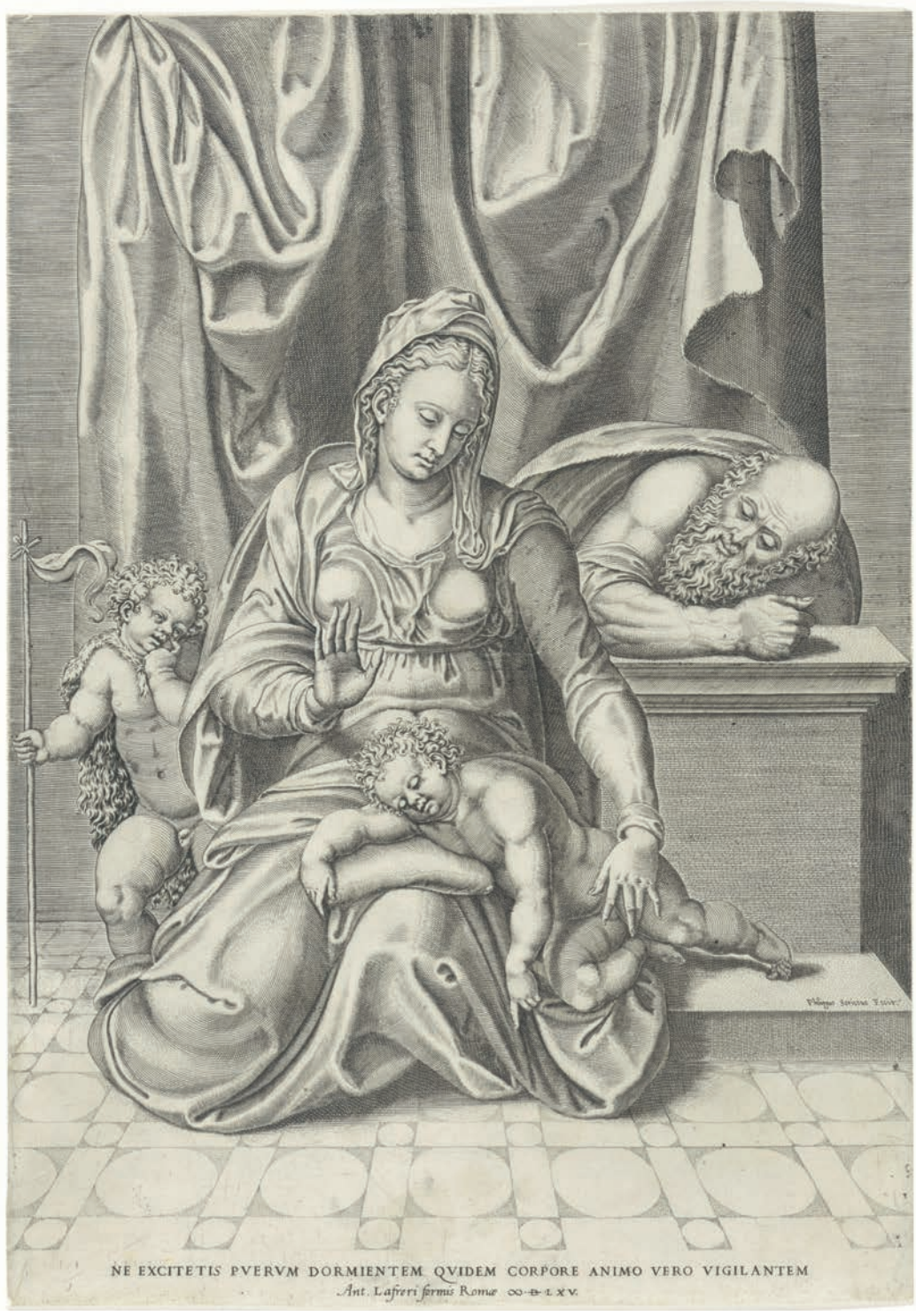
2. Print Curator William M. Ivins coined this phrase in 1953 to explore the value and meaning of prints within the realm of art and science as objects that could convey identical information in multiples; W. M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication*, Cambridge, MA, 1953, pp. 158–80.

After Michelangelo

Michael Bury

D'après Michelangelo: La fortuna dei disegni per gli amici nelle arti del Cinquecento, edited by Alessia Alberti, Alessandro Rovetta and Claudio Salsi, contributions by Andrea Donati, Laura Basso, Ilaria De Palma and Giovanna Mori, exhibition catalogue, Milan, Castello Sforzesco, 30 September 2015–10 January 2016, Venice, Marsilio, 2015, 408 pp., 211 ills., and *D'après Michelangelo: La fortuna di Michelangelo nelle stampe del Cinquecento*, edited by Alessia Alberti, with a contribution by Giovanna Mori, 269 pp., electronic version only, €100.

This exhibition catalogue documents the diffusion, in the sixteenth century, of Michelangelo's inventions for his so-called 'presentation drawings'. The drawings in question were those believed to have been made by Michelangelo for his friends Gherardo Perini, Tommaso de' Cavalieri and Vittoria Colonna. Each of the drawings is treated in turn, with copies and variants in different media, organized according to a fixed scheme: drawings and paintings, prints and finally what are here called the decorative arts, including



99. Philippe Soye after Michelangelo, *The Madonna of Silence (Madonna del Silenzio)*, state II/II, 1565, engraving, 398 x 279 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

sculptures, carved gems, engraved crystals, metalwork and maiolica. Alessandro Rovetta is slightly apologetic about this system of organization as perhaps appearing rather forced, but it does have the advantage of making it easy to appreciate the different ways in which the various media made use of Michelangelo's inventions. Although this review will concentrate on the prints, the most original aspect of the exhibition, overall, was the assembling of such a rich range and variety of material, including many things previously unknown or at least little known. Together they reveal that visual ideas that began as intimate and private drawings for friends rapidly gained an astonishingly wide public diffusion.

In her introductory essay, Alessia Alberti notes that the juxtaposition of prints and works in other media emphasizes the fact that prints were only one of the many means by which the original inventions were diffused, however she gives them very considerable prominence overall. For each of the presentation drawings she contributes a discussion of the related prints. But she also adds something of much wider value: a second volume, titled *La fortuna di Michelangelo nelle stampe del Cinquecento,* that aims to provide a complete catalogue of sixteenth-century prints after the whole corpus of Michelangelo's work, including his architecture. The prints are classified according to the works by Michelangelo they relate to and each entry considers different states, existing bibliography and the locations of examples. This incredibly useful and important addition to the literature, for which subsequent scholars will be very grateful indeed, takes the form not of a traditional book but of a flash drive that can be inserted into the USB port of a computer. The whole package of book and flash drive is beautifully produced, with illustrations of many rare and out-of-the-way items; it will be a fundamental resource for anyone interested in exploring Michelangelo's impact on the arts of his own time. But also, more generally, it will be of considerable interest to those concerned about the ways in which visual ideas were diffused in the sixteenth century.

Although this catalogue is admirable in so many ways, there appears to be a certain lack of clarity in the definition of the underlying concept. At one point Rovetta describes the purpose of the exhibition as being to show the reception and diffusion of Michelangelo's inventions by means of copies. But what is actually provided is wider than that. Alberti adopts, in practice, a much less restrictive position in her selection of the prints. She brings into discussion works which, in one way or another, show knowledge of those inventions and she explicitly points out that many of them are derivations not copies. She includes, for example, Philippe Soye's *Madonna del Silenzio* as an example of the use of Michelangelo's composition of the same subject as the stimulus for a new personal invention (fig. 99; p. 23 and No. 85). With such a broad range of material, it becomes imperative to clarify the actual intentions and purposes of their makers. Unfortunately this is done rather hesitantly.

Some of the prints related to the presentation drawings are very close to the originals, even, as in the case of the so-called *Dream*, maintaining something of the idea of a drawing (fig. 100). In these cases, it is reasonable to suppose that they were intended as copies. But others suggest quite different purposes. We might take the engraved *Tityus* of 1543 as an example (fig. 101). Alberti is clearly right to consider this dated plate, which subsequently came into the hands of Lafreri, as the original, from which the very similar version (in reverse, and slightly compressed to fit a narrower plate) published by Salamanca was copied. Apart from the reasons laid out by Alberti herself, its priority is revealed by the treatment of the Temple of Minerva from the Forum of Nerva in the background. The version published by Salamanca shows a five-columned portico, suppressing the space for the missing sixth column, a space that is clearly shown on the 1543 version.[1] The elaborate setting created for the figures has little to do with Michelangelo but, as Alberti points out, creatively develops the implicit narrative of the subject, locating the scene in Hades. The river, meant as the Acheron (identified in the drawing by the presence of a crab), is very clearly delineated. The tree with the monstrous shouting head is omitted; but the explosive fire in the ruined temple behind reinforces the evocation of a hellish environment. The drawing, with its abbreviated allusiveness, is replaced by a pictorially complete image. Very similar transformations are evident in prints that make use of Michelangelo's invention of *Ganymede.*[2]

Alberti describes the *Tityus* as the anonymous engraver's 'personal interpretation' of Michelangelo. But while the process of design surely did involve personal interpretation, it seems unlikely that this was the engraver's ultimate purpose. Only in passing does Alberti mention what seems to me to have been the most likely motive from the beginning: the creation of a subject-print depicting the punishment of Tityus. From around 1510, the time of Marcantonio's

1. I wrongly claimed the priority of the Salamanca version in my essay 'Michelangelo's Dream and Prints' in *Michelangelo's Dream*, edited by S. Buck, London, 2010, p. 66. Alberti believes that Lafreri commissioned the plate, but the existence of impressions printed before his address was added makes that unlikely.
2. Alberti in the catalogue under review, I, pp. 132–44.

100. Anonymous artist after Michelangelo, published by Michele Lucchesi, *The Dream of Michelangelo*, engraving, 437 x 295 mm (London, British Museum).

101. Anonymous artist after Michelangelo, *Punishment of Tityus*, state III/III, 1543, engraving, 294 x 426 mm (London, Victoria and Albert Museum).

engravings with figures taken from the *Battle of Cascina* cartoon, Michelangelo's powerfully expressive forms had been appropriated and re-contextualized to create complete compositions. Some purchasers of such prints will have known about the authorship of the figural inventions and may have acquired impressions because of Michelangelo's fame; some may have known about the form of the original drawings and been in a position to appreciate what had been done with them. Vasari knew about both the *Tityus* drawing and the 1543 engraving and in his second edition of the *Lives* (1568) he condemned the print, along with others after Michelangelo's presentation drawings, for its poor quality.[3] Few, however, will have been so well informed as Vasari. The plate of the *Tityus* had, in its first state, an inscription that referred only to the subject matter; Michelangelo's name was entirely absent. Furthermore, nothing remained to allude to the original medium of the invention as a drawing. The most plausible interpretation is that the print designer appropriated Michelangelo's extraordinary invention in order to achieve his own visualization of the narrative subject matter; neither the authorship nor the specific visual qualities of the original was his primary concern. His print was, I suggest, intended to function as an expressive object in its own right, not as a copy or variant. The same may be said of the *Ganymede* and of several of the other prints after Michelangelo included here. It is a pity that the intentions and purposes of those who made them are not more fully explored in the catalogue. We may have here a sign of the difficulty of putting to rest the old notion that Italian prints of this period are essentially to be understood as 'reproductive'.

3. G. Vasari, *Le Vite*, edited by R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, V, 1984, pp. 19–20. Vasari had already mentioned the drawing of *Tityus* in his first edition, of 1550; Bettarini and Barocchi, VI, 1987, p. 113.

La Dynastie Bonnart

Antony Griffiths

Pascale Cugy, *La Dynastie Bonnart: Peintres, Graveurs et Marchands de Modes à Paris sous L'ancien Régime*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017, 400 pp., 128 ills., €28.

This meticulously researched and well-organized book is an important contribution to the study of French printmaking and one of the best books on prints published in recent years. It is the distillation of the author's four-volume thesis of 2007 on the Bonnart family held at the University of the Sorbonne in Paris. Since then she has published a number of articles and catalogue entries that have revealed some of her discoveries and ideas, but this book is the major work.

The Bonnart family is hardly unknown. They are one of the few producers that have given their name to a genre: in the nineteenth century 'Bonnarts' became a term used to define the full-length men and women in fashionable clothing standing against a plain or a simple background (fig. 102 and 103). Earlier they were called 'modes' and were wildly fashionable from the 1680s to the 1720s. Although invented by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean (1654–95), the concept of these images was expanded by the Bonnart family who became the major producers, and their products were sold and imitated all over Europe.

But this was only a part of their production. They were one of the great dynasties of producers of the 'demi-fine' prints – the intaglio print that sat between the high-end printmaking of the 'estampe savante' and the bottom end of the woodcut. The family's vast production of calendars, confraternity certificates, canons of the mass, religious prints and other utilitarian sheets is now mostly lost. The many documents that Cugy has found in the archives show that they also supplied prints for the pedlar trade, and she has traced a few surviving impressions which prove that they produced stock lettered in Italian for sale through their agent Nicolo Billy in Rome, whose address they put on the plate itself. Nevertheless one of them, Robert, contributed as an etcher to plates for the Cabinet du Roi. So within one family the production ranged across the entire hierarchy of intaglio printmaking, from top to bottom, and was distributed all over Europe.

The family followed a classic pattern with an enterprising father (Henri I, a plate printer by profession) who had four sons, each of whom played some part in the business in the rue Saint Jacques. The two elder sons were the central figures and both began to expand into printmaking and publishing while still working for their father. Henri II (the younger) set up at the sign of the Coq on his marriage in 1677; Nicolas (the elder), a letter engraver by training, set up a few doors away at the Aigle on the death of his father in 1682. The two shops collaborated intensively and must have exchanged stock on a regular basis. It seems that the reason for the division was French marriage law that required each dowry and the children's portions to be accounted for separately. Of the two younger sons, Robert made an independent career as a painter but still contributed numerous designs for the family output, as did Jean Baptiste.

The 'mode' owed its development to the Bonnarts, and Cugy gives a remarkably subtle and intelligent account of the genre. Exactly the same sort of print was published by both Nicolas and Henri II. Often the lettering does not state who the designer or engraver was, and stylistically it is almost impossible to distinguish hands. Although they were not sold as fine prints, they were always well-made and printed on good paper and survive in large numbers. Bound volumes of their figures (and the imitations by rivals) were collected by everyone who was fashion-conscious, which meant most classes of society, for they emerged just at the time when Louis XIV was giving the French aristocracy herded together in Versailles little to do but show off their new clothes. The Bonnarts may also be credited with the close association between fashion and fame that has endured since those days. Plates that began as generic types were later reworked and turned into portraits of named individuals, although they made no attempt whatever to give them any physical resemblance. Such reworkings extended to details of clothing, but Cugy shows that although they reflect changes in fashion they do not document it in the way that successive issues in a modern journal would. The alterations were a commercial gambit to keep the plates saleable by giving them a veneer of being à la mode. Indeed, the author shows convincingly how dangerous it is to use these prints as simple documentation of the fashion of the day. Their production can only be understood as a response to the demands of a much wider market.

Another dimension of the Bonnarts' commercial acumen was to expand the genre of the single figure or group of fashionable figures to embrace many earlier genres of print. So traditional sets of the times of day, the continents, classical deities, pastoral characters

102. Anonymous artist after drawing by Robert Bonnart, published by Nicolas Bonnart I, *Portrait of Catherine Thérèse de Matignon, Marchioness of Seignelay, Wearing Fontange, a Black Veil and Mantua with a Blue Petticoat*, 1690–96, hand-coloured etching and engraving, 290 x 196 mm (London, British Museum).

103. Anonymous artist, published by Henri Bonnart II, *The Element of Air*, engraving, 267 x 184 mm (London, Victoria and Albert Museum).

and others were remade with fashionable Frenchmen and women cast in the appropriate roles (fig. 102). This was a creative decision of real originality and allowed the standard format and size of the 'mode' to extend beyond fashion into classes of people. Thus the Bonnart family supplied sets of street trades, dancers and exotic foreigners. Moreover, they sold their 'modes' coloured, decorated with spangles, or adorned with swatches of clothing – the so-called 'estampe habillée'. It became the most versatile and protean category of print production ever invented and the Bonnart family became very prosperous. They kept the stock of plates carefully within the family for another two generations, until two unexpected deaths within a few years of each other left the plates in the Aigle in the hands of a widow whom the rest of family disliked intensely. The resulting feud and lawsuits finished off the business and the plates were sold piecemeal. The final auction took place in 1764, nearly a century after Henri I had first ventured into publishing. Cugy's admirable study of the family and their prints is likely to remain the standard work on them for at least as long.

Enlightened Collector and Writer Ceán Bermúdez

Mark McDonald

Ceán Bermúdez. Historiador del arte y coleccionista ilustrado, edited by Elena M.ª Santiago Páez, contributions by Javier González Santos, Daniel Crespo Delgado, David García López, Beatriz Hidalgo Caldas, Miriam Cera Brea, Concha Huidobro Salas, Ángeles Santos Almendros, exhibition catalogue, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 20 May–11 September 2016, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2016, 543 pp., 263 ills., €50.

The catalogue under review accompanied the exhibition held in Madrid devoted to the Enlightenment writer and collector Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (1749–1829; figs. 104 and 105). Ceán is best known for his six-volume dictionary of Spanish artists, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España,* published in 1800 and one of the fundamental sources for Spanish art history. Less appreciated are his intellectual preoccupations reflected in his extensive writings, his association with leading Enlightenment figures and artists, and his tremendous activity as a collector of prints and drawings and promoter of their worth within a progressive social ideology. The catalogue that contains five chapters and individual entries presents groundbreaking scholarship and is the most complete study of this fascinating figure.[1]

104. Francisco de Goya, *Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez*, c. 1798–99, red chalk, 124 x 98 mm (Private collection).

Ceán is introduced by Javier González Santos through a comprehensive annotated chronology that sets his life and work within the context of key political, social and cultural events. González Santos is also the author of the biography of Ceán, which traces his background and education, professional career, political beliefs and publications. Ceán is often described as the first historian of Spanish art and his writings include translations, catalogues and descriptions of art collections.[2] Daniel Crespo Delgado reassesses Ceán's reputation as a writer showing that he was not an encyclopedist producing extensive tracts on art history, as he has sometimes been described, but one closely attuned with Enlightenment principles. Ceán's knowledge of art was based on not only his extensive research and travels but also his associations with artists. David García López examines these matters and Ceán's methodology.

Ceán regarded the progress of the arts as a sign of an enlightened society. Printmaking was key to achieving this. It was seen as providing access to art of the past and present and disseminating information of technological and scientific interest. The establishment of the Royal Academy of San Fernando in Madrid in 1744 had a profound consequence for the professional recognition and training of artists in Spain. Engraving first appeared in the curriculum in 1752 and evolved into a core activity. In August 1790, José Vargas Ponce addressed the subject of printmaking at the Academy in his *Discurso histórico sobre el principio y progreso del grabado* (Historical discourse on the origins and development of engraving) where he describes the different types of engraving and strongly supports its value for the

1. See also J. Clisson Aldama, *Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez escritor y crítico de Bellas Artes*, Oviedo, 1982.

2. Details of Ceán's writings (published and unpublished) are provided in the Bibliography.

105. Francisco de Goya, *Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez*, c. 1786–88, oil on canvas, 1,220 x 880 mm (Private collection).

sciences and the fine arts.

Ceán's activity as a collector of prints and drawings complemented his intellectual disposition. Beatriz Hidalgo Caldas examines Ceán's classification of drawings, his writings on collecting and the market in Spain to form a comprehensive understanding of his ambitions. In addition to drawings by Italian, Flemish and Spanish artists from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, he owned works by artists he knew, such as Goya.

In the last essay, the curator of the exhibition, Elena Santiago Páez, examines Ceán's interest in prints. Ceán's assessment of their value and reasons for collecting them is made clear in his lengthy introduction to the catalogue of his collection, *Cátalogo racionado de las Estampas que posee D. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez formado por él mismo* (1820). He laments the paucity of print collections in Spain with the exception of the Escorial that he notes was little accessible. Ceán observes that he built his collection without having to leave Spain. He began collecting prints in Seville between 1768 and 1778 sourced from vendors in the Baratillo and from estate sales of deceased artists. Upon his return to Madrid a year later, he bought an impression of Pedro Perret's engraving, of c. 1594, made in honour of the architect Juan de Herrera that he described with great enthusiasm in a letter to Antonio Ponz (fig. 106). This is the first document by Ceán relating to printmaking. It also provides a model for how to describe, analyse and interpret a print. In 1791 Ceán returned to Seville where he remained until 1797. Early in his stay there, he wrote the *Discurso sobre el discernimiento de la pinturas, dibuxos y estampas originales de las copias*, a small manual dedicated to *aficionados* who wanted to form a collection. Around the same time he also wrote the *Ensayo para el arreglo por escuelas o reynos de una colección de estampas escogidas* (Essay on the arrangement by school or country of a print collection). The *Discurso* describes the different types of prints and their history as well as what qualifies as a good print. The *Ensayo* is a catalogue of his collection that around 1791 comprised 756 loose sheets. The collection was organized chronologically by school and mainly comprised prints by European masters, amongst them Dürer, Altdorfer, Cranach, Parmigianino, the Carracci, Della Bella, Piranesi, Callot, Lucas van Leyden, Rembrandt and prints reproducing paintings by Raphael, Titian, Rubens and others. The list contains 42 Spanish prints, a number of which today are very rare. The earliest is Diego de Astor's 1606 *St Francis* after El Greco (fig. 107). The collection did not contain popular or devotional prints. By the end of his life, Ceán's collection is thought to have comprised around 13,000 prints that included single sheets and book illustrations. More than 80 per cent of these are now in the Biblioteca Nacional where they arrived in 1867 after the State purchased the collection of Valentín Carderera (1796–1880).

Three further closely related manuscripts by Ceán dating from 1819–20 concern prints. The first is a bibliography on printmaking covering from 1550 to 1807 that was to serve as an incomplete outline of its history in two parts and a catalogue of his collection (his second catalogue). This second catalogue records almost 13,000 prints (including book illustrations) indicating that he had added over 12,000 prints since his first catalogue. The outline provides a fascinating account of Ceán's view of the development of printmaking, abandoning Florence in favour of Germany as its birthplace and acknowledging important print scholars such as Sandrart and van Mander. The second part of the outline describes the progress of printmaking, with Dürer at the helm but incorporating Italians such as Marcantonio Raimondi. The progress is incomplete, neglecting the Spanish, Flemish, French and English schools but we find the discussion in the catalogue of his prints (the third manuscript) that is known through a copy made by his son Joaquín Ceán in 1833. The manuscript also discusses the origins for printmaking in Spain and accounts for its erratic development. The catalogue lists 227 prints by Goya, including a first edition of the *Caprichos* that Goya gave to Ceán's wife, Manuela Margarita Camas, the set of proofs of the *Disasters of War* with Goya's manuscript captions in pencil and the set of the *Tauromaquia* reordered by Ceán, all of which are now in the British Museum.[3] Although the relationship between Ceán and Goya has been explored in an earlier exhibition at the Biblioteca, it is a strange omission not to have an essay on the subject in the present catalogue.[4] Their mutual passion for prints fueled their friendship.

The bulk of the catalogue comprises entries for 158 works divided into nine sections that correspond to the preliminary essays. The first section draws on material relating to Ceán's biography and includes letters, prints and Goya's portrait from around 1786–88 where Ceán is seated next to a table covered with prints (fig. 105; no. 1.1). The material presents a profile of his life and the same judicious balance can be found in the following section relating to Seville, where Ceán spent long periods of his life. He knew the city's art collections intimately and was the earliest promoter of the Sevillian

3. See British Museum collections online. *Caprichos,* 1975,1025.420.1-5, *Disasters of War,* 1975,1025.421.3; *Tauromaquia,* 1975,1025.422.3.

4. See E. Santiago Páez, 'El gabinete de Ceán Bermúdez' in '*Ydioma Universal' Goya and la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1996, pp. 53–98.

106. Pedro Perret, *Minerva Protecting Youth: Homage to Juan de Herrera*, c. 1594, engraving, 311 x 216 mm (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España).

school of painting, especially Murillo. The third part of the catalogue relates to the *Diccionario* and includes some of Ceán's manuscript entries and genealogies for artists (for example, nos. 3.4, 3.6, 3.9). In the *Diccionario*, printmakers have equal footing with painters and sculptors. In Volume V, one of the indexes is dedicated to etchers and engravers in which 130 artists are identified (from 1524 to 1798). Ceán planned to illustrate the *Diccionario* with portraits of artists. Goya prepared a number of red chalk portraits including one of Ceán (fig. 104), but the *Diccionario* was published without illustration (nos. 3.14–18). The catalogue sections that

107. Diego de Astor, after El Greco, *St Francis*, 1606, etching and engraving, 228 x 147 mm (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España).

follow address Ceán's interest in architecture, his unpublished manuscripts, extensive library and his drawings, before turning to Ceán's print collection. 65 works are described. They include a transcription of the letter relating to the Perret print mentioned above (fig. 106; no. 9.2) and other documents pertaining to his writings on prints followed by a selection of those he owned: key works by German artists followed by the Italians, Dutch and Flemish and Spanish. Each entry includes Ceán's observations allowing us to appreciate what he regarded as important about an artist or a print. For example, Pietro Testa is described as 'a professor of great genius born of poor parents and difficult circumstances' (no. 9.32). Elsewhere he comments on the influence particular prints had on Spanish artists; for example, Murillo based his painting of the prodigal son on Rembrandt's 1636 etching (no. 9.37).

The catalogue is a model for how to present such a complex subject lucidly. The meticulous research is expressed through engaging essays and an up-to-date bibliography, supported by excellent illustrations and a high overall standard of production.

Prints in Paris c. 1900

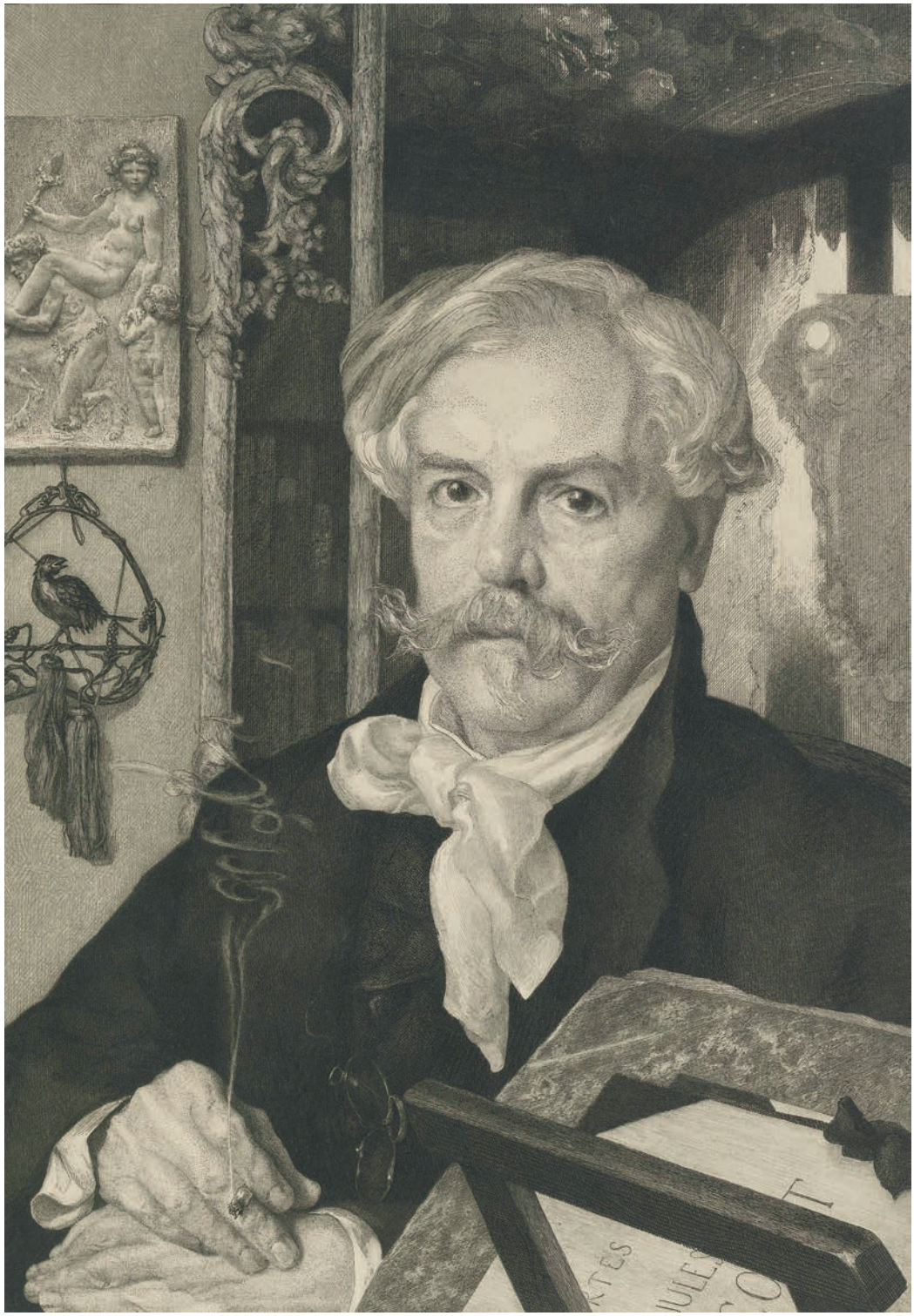
Mary Weaver Chapin

Fleur Roos Rosa de Carvalho, *Prints in Paris 1900: From Elite to the Street*, exhibition catalogue, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, 3 March–11 June 2017; Tokyo, Mitsubishi Ichigokan Museum, 17 October 2017–17 January 2018; Brussels, Mercatorfonds, 2017, 192 pp., 185 ills, €45.

The Van Gogh Museum is beloved by scholars and tourists alike for its world-class collection of paintings by the eponymous artist and his contemporaries. Less well known is the fact that, over the last two decades, the museum has built a significant body of graphic art, making it one of the most important repositories of French printmaking between 1880 and 1905 (fig. 108). Moreover, the museum has shown an admirable commitment to publishing its collection, first with a book aimed at a general audience in 2013, followed by an extensive print database launched in 2015.[1] A major exhibition and catalogue are the latest contributions to publicizing this extensive collection.

In *Prints in Paris 1900: From Elite to the Street*, Fleur Roos Rosa de Carvalho, curator of prints and drawings at the Van Gogh Museum, investigates the mobile nature of the original print in *fin-de-siècle* Paris. She traces its journey from the rarified realm of the *cabinet d'amateur* of the wealthy print connoisseur to the raucous streets of Paris, which were awash with posters and handbills (fig. 109). Rather than rehearsing the research of print historians such as Phillip Dennis Cate (who contributes a fine introduction) and others who first studied the explosion in graphic arts in France at the time, Roos Rosa de Carvalho instead takes a large step back from the material. This distance allows her to examine the contexts in which these objects circulated and to understand, as she states, 'the broader field of cultural production to which the critic, the dealer and the consumer also belonged, each contributing in their own way to the appreciation and hence also the significance of the artistic print'.[2] To this end, the author approaches the subject from multiple perspectives. Part one of the catalogue focuses on the private amateurs – the men (for they were all men) who developed the language of rarity and codified the first canon of contemporary printmaking in the 1890s. She explores not only the attitudes and collecting habits of these gentlemen collectors, but also their environments, which were richly appointed with custom-made furniture for their ever-expanding print collections. At the opposite end of the spectrum were the everyday citizens who saw colour posters and *petites estampes* (handbills, illustrated sheet music, theatre programmes, and the like) in profusion throughout Paris. Regretfully, as the author notes, the voices of the common spectator on the street have been lost to posterity, but we can nonetheless survey the vast variety of graphic displays he or she would have seen, as well as the new visual idiom created by artists that was meant to 'speak in a language as rapid as electricity'.[3] To conclude, in part three Roos Rosa de Carvalho considers

1. F. Roos Rosa de Carvalho and M. Vellekoop, *Printmaking in Paris: The Rage for Prints at the Fin de Siècle*, Brussels, 2013; review by M. Chapin, *Print Quarterly*, XXXI, 2014, pp. 330–33; the website can be found at www.vangoghmuseum.com/prints.
2. Roos Rosa de Carvalho, op. cit., p. 16.
3. Louis Morin, quoted in Roos Rosa de Carvalho, op. cit., p. 64.



108. Félix Bracquemond, *Edmond de Goncourt*, 1882, etching, 463 x 323 mm (Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum).

109. Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen, *The Street, Poster for the Printer Charles Verneau*, 1896, lithograph in seven colours, 2,345 x 2,960 mm (Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum).

how dealers, Edmond Sagot (1857–1917) chief among them, responded to popular prints; applying criteria previously limited to *belles épreuves* (fine impressions of collectible prints), dealers and critics effectively created a class of rare and collectible posters and prints originally meant for the mass audience (fig. 110). In this way, public art was once again rendered private.

Throughout the catalogue, Roos Rosa de Carvalho ably demonstrates the competing claims on the original print and the inherent tension of the 'multiple original'. She highlights the voices of the amateurs and critics and convincingly lays out the ways in which they shored up their positions as arbiters of taste and erudition. The friction between notions of rarity and mass production – and the rhetorical quicksand contemporary critics attempted to skirt – is most pronounced in the author's examination of posters, and especially the proposed creation of a poster museum in 1899. The new museum would have canonized and made available to the public the *arriviste* poster, which many lauded as 'frescos for the masses'. Roos Rosa de Carvalho captures the contentious and contradictory tone of the debate, which unfurled in the pages of *L'Estampe et l'affiche*. Ultimately – and ironically – after praising the poster as the ideal art for the masses, the cultural elite consisting of artists, critics and *amateurs* concluded that only they (and not the masses) 'were capable of judging the value of popular printmaking and of providing the reverential focus these works deserved'.[4] The poster museum project died on the vine, victim to clashing notions of access and exclusivity.

Roos Rosa de Carvalho is to be commended for building upon a vast and established body of research

4. Roos Rosa de Carvalho, op. cit., p. 88.

110. Georges Bottini, *The Shop Window of Edmond Sagot*, 1898, lithograph in five colours, 287 x 185 mm (Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum).

111. Félix Vallotton, *La paresse* (*Laziness)*, 1896, woodcut, 250 x 330 mm (Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum).

on *fin-de-siècle* printmaking and more recent studies on the poster, while contributing new insights and research of her own.[5] Like the prints themselves, which were called upon to be both rare and democratic, the author has managed to create a book that is meaningful for the specialist while also approachable for a reader new to the subject. Although the catalogue as a whole is not focused on formal analysis, several passages of the text examine individual sheets in detail, showing Roos Rosa de Carvalho to be a sensitive observer of objects, as well as of the social trends that surrounded them. The Van Gogh Museum is likewise to be lauded for devoting curatorial time and resources to two publications and a website to illuminate this rich collection.

Prints in Paris 1900 is blessed with a clean design, ample footnotes and a good bibliography. In a novel and welcome addition to the credit lines, Roos Rosa de Carvalho has indicated the contemporary prices of the prints (when known), allowing viewers to make comparisons of relative value. If there is one fault to be found in this excellent volume, it is the height of the trim size; although it allows for large plates, it makes for awkward handling and dooms the book to the purgatory of the oversize bookshelf in libraries. Finally, it seems appropriate for a book that interrogates notions of high and low, the exceptional and the popular, that each catalogue includes a high-quality facsimile of Félix Vallotton's *La paresse,* 1896 (see fig. 111). This addition not only illustrates the often democratic nature of printmaking and offers the popular viewer a free gift with purchase of the book, but will surely keep print curators busy in the future when they must tell disappointed patrons that they have a reproduction rather than a *belle épreuve*!

5. The first generation of print scholarship of this era dates to the 1970s and 1980s with work by Phillip Dennis Cate, Patricia Eckert Boyer, and others; in the last decade, studies on the poster have been published by Chapin (2012), Ruth Iskin (2014), and Nicholas-Henri Zmelty (2014).

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