PRINT QUARTERLY

DECEMBER 2019

VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER 4

DAVID TUNICK, INC.

WORKS OF ART ON PAPER

Albrecht Dürer, *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, 1513, engraving, 243 x 187 mm.

13 East 69th Street
New York, New York
10021

ADAA member
TEFAF MAASTRICHT
IFPDA Member

+1.212.570.0090
info@tunickart.com
www.tunickart.com

PRINT QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER 4 DECEMBER 2019

Contents

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

Donors to the Print Quarterly Appeal

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

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

The Inventory of the Sadeler Venetian Printing Shop

Georgios E. Markou

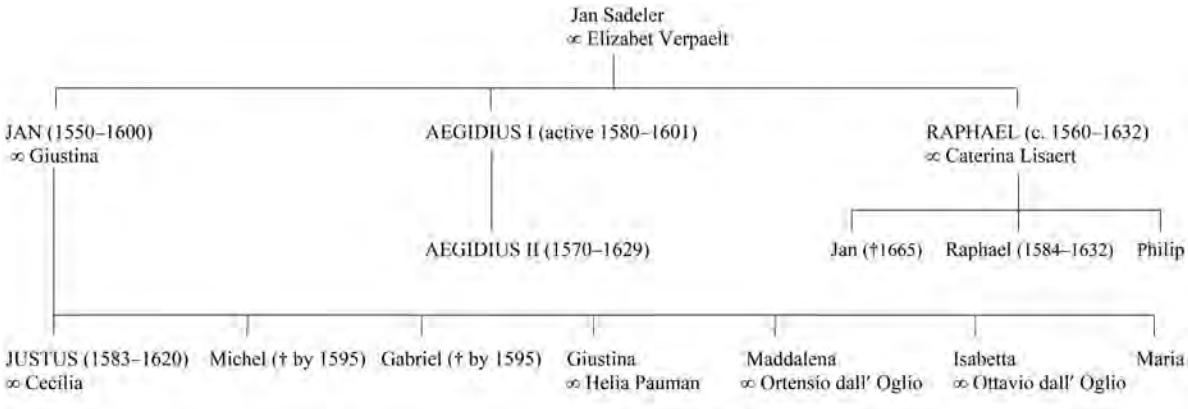
On 24 August 1600 the prolific Flemish engraver, draughtsman and publisher Jan Sadeler (1550–1600) died in Venice. Most notable among a large family of engravers, Jan established the Sadeler family's reputation in their native Antwerp through his book illustrations and later by publishing his own prints of religious and allegorical subjects after drawings of artists that belonged to his circle.[1] In 1586, probably in reaction to the political and religious oppression of Flanders under Spanish rule, Jan and his son Justus (1583–1620) moved to Germany and from there to Italy alongside Jan's younger brother, Raphael (1560–1632), and their nephew Aegidius II (1570–1629), all of whom were employed in the family's business (fig. 273).[2] After a short sojourn in Verona, the family settled in Venice in 1596 where they opened a shop that quickly grew to become one of the most profitable of the lagoon.[3] The success of the Sadeler shop in La Serenissima, however, was short-lived. In 1620, when Justus, Jan's only surviving son, died, the shop gave up production and the family's stock-in-trade was dispersed.

In his testament, in the Archivio di Stato in Venice, drafted on 17 August 1600, Jan gave specific instructions to his seventeen-year-old son Justus for the administration of the family's printing house in Venice and for managing his affairs.[4] As the new head of the family, Justus had to arrange the dowry of his youngest sister, Maria.[5] The sum was to derive, according to Jan's testament, from the income from the prints and the sale of his estate. Justus was also responsible, after securing Maria's dowry, for dividing the credit balance equally between the heirs.[6] According to a contract drawn up on 19 February 1603 between Justus and his brothers-in-law, the goldsmiths Helia Pauman and Ottavio dall' Oglio, each of Jan's five children was to receive 5,000 lire from the sale of Jan's estate.[7]

After the death of his father, Justus remained in the care of his uncle Raphael and collaborated with him in the management of the family business.[8] The seventeen-year-old inherited his father's treasured stock-in-trade, which, as Jan himself described, consisted of 'a large number of copperplates with various figures'.[9] The workshop, however, included another group of copperplates, which was not to be passed to Justus. According to an agreement that Jan drew

I would like to express my gratitude to the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation for supporting my research in Venice.

1. For the history of the family, see I. de Ramaix, *Les Sadeler, Graveurs et Éditeurs*, Brussels, 1991 and C. Limentani Virdis, *Una Dinastia di Incisori, i Sadeler: 120 Stampe dei Musei Civici di Padova*, Padua, 1992. For a catalogue raisonné of Jan Sadeler, see F. W. H. Hollstein and K. G. Boon, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700, Vol.* XXI, Amsterdam, 1980, pp. 83–190, nos. 1–622. Larry Silver remarks that Jan's most ambitious prints derived from designs by fellow emigrés to Italy from the Low Countries, in T. A. Riggs and L. Silver, *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540–1640*, Evanston, 1993, p. 28.
2. A useful discussion of the political events in Antwerp and how they affected the city's artists is included in the introduction to H. Mielke, 'Antwerpener Graphik in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVIII, 1975, pp. 29–83. Jan's beliefs are explored in N. Mout, 'Political and Religious Ideas of Netherlanders at the Court in Prague', *Acta Historica Neerlandicae*, IX, 1976, pp. 1–29.
3. Anna Omodeo remarked that the Sadelers came to monopolize the Venetian print market, in *Mostra di stampe popolari venete del '500*, edited by A. Omodeo, Florence, 1965, p. 8. For a survey of Venetian printmaking, see M. Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620*, London, 2001, pp. 170–80.
4. Archivio di Stato Venezia, Notarile, Testamenti, Giulio Figolin, busta 404, no. 564; first transcribed and published by R. Gallo, 'Gli incisori Sadeler a Venezia', *Rivista della Città di Venezia*, IX, 1930, pp. 53–54; see also W. Brulez, *Marchands Flamands à Venise: Bruxelles*, Rome, 1965, I, p. 348, no. 1050. For the life and oeuvre of Jan's only surviving son, Justus, see P. Sénéchal, 'Justus Sadeler Print Publisher and Art Dealer in Early Seicento Venice', *Print Quarterly*, VII, 1990, pp. 22–35.
5. Maria was never married. Instead, she took the veil and became a nun in Santa Maria Maggiore in Venice; see the document dated 14 October 1616 in Brulez, op. cit., II, p. 548, no. 3408.
6. Gallo, op. cit., p. 54, 'l'avanzo resti eguale diviso tra tutti cinque mei figluioli'.
7. Sénéchal, op. cit., p. 25. Jan appointed his son-in-law Helia Paumann as one of the executors of his testament in 1600, see Gallo, op. cit., p. 54. For Paumann, see P. Pazzi, *Dizionario Biografico degli Orefici, Argentieri, Gioiellieri, Diamantai, Peltrai, Orologiai, Tornitori d'Avorio e Scultori in Nobili Materiali*, Compiano, 1998, p. 240.
8. F. Baldinucci, *Cominciamento e progresso dell' arte dell' intagliare in rame: colle vite di molti de' più eccellenti maestri della stessa professione*, Florence, 1686, p. 28, 'Il maschio, che fu il sopra nominato Giusto, sotto la tutela di Raffaello suo zio paterno, e sotti i di lui insegnamenti nell' arte dell intagliare in rame'.
9. Gallo, op. cit., p. 53, 'io mi attrovo molti rami con figure intagliate diverse de mia ragione, et specialità'.



273. Genealogical Tree of the Sadeler Family.

up with his younger brother Raphael in Venice on 29 May 1600, the administration of their most important prints was to be shared between the two and the copperplates used only for 'mutual profit and interest'.[10]

It appears that Justus's youth and inexperience were a matter of concern for his father. Eager to secure the administration of his business, Jan stipulated that Justus was obliged to give an account of the shop's management to his sisters or their authorized representatives.[11] Should he have to be away from Venice, the heirs were to agree on a substitute from the family. Finally, in case Jan had not done this already during his lifetime, Justus was required to compile an inventory of the copperplates.[12] Previous attempts to trace the inventory of the Sadeler printing shop yielded no results and for this reason its existence has been questioned.[13]

A recent discovery in the Venetian State Archives confirms that Justus, in accordance with his father's testamentary bequest, had indeed commissioned an inventory of the copperplates of the Sadeler printing shop. The three-page document, compiled by the Venetian notary Antonio Brinis, is dated 20 November 1600, three months after Jan's death (Appendix).[14] The study of the inventory, which is the focus of the present article, sheds light on the production of the Sadeler shop and offers significant information on the contents of a Venetian printing house at the dawn of the seventeenth century.

The notary divided the 475 copperplates that he found in the Sadeler shop into two sections. The first contains 35 entries with 368 plates that belonged to Jan. The second group of twelve entries lists 107 works for which Jan and Aegidius I (active 1580–1601), his brother who at the time was residing in Frankfurt, retained joined ownership. This suggests that a contract, similar to the one that Jan signed on 29 May 1600 with Raphael, had also been drawn up with his other brother, Aegidius I. Besides the distinction regarding their ownership, the notary did not follow any particular order in the organization of the contents of the shop in his list. The plates have descriptive titles, either by subject, the series to which they belonged, the subject and the painter whom they were copying, or their state of production, with some works recorded as unfinished and others as new.[15] Religious subjects prevail by far, but there are also a large number of landscapes and ornamental prints. The witnesses to the document were the baker Battista from Belluno and the jeweller Pietro Serena. The latter may have been a collaborator of the family or an acquaintance of Justus's brothers-in-law who exercised the same profession.[16]

One of the most important factors that contributed to the success of the Sadeler shop in Venice was the ability

10. Gallo, op. cit., pp. 49–52; Brulez, op. cit., I, pp. 619–20.
11. Gallo, op. cit., p. 53, 'ne debba esso Jodogues de tempo in tempo respondere a cadauna delle dette sue quattro sorelle, o loro heredi la quinta parte restando'.
12. Gallo, op. cit., p. 53, 'et vogio anco che mancato che io sarò debba esso mio figlio farne fare inventario de tutti li rami predetti, se io vivendo non lo avesse fatto'.
13. Sénéchal, op. cit., p. 24, note 14.
14. Archivio di Stato Venezia, Notarile, Atti, Antonio Brinis, busta 477, fols. 169r–170r.
15. For the methods of production, see Bury, op. cit., pp. 14–15.
16. Bury remarks on the overlap between engraving and certain aspects of the goldsmith's work which encouraged these professionals to establish themselves in the same area; Bury, op. cit., p. 170. The Serena family originated from Murano; E. A. Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane*, VI, Venice, 1853, p. 395. Two of Jan's daughters, Giustina and Isabetta, were married to goldsmiths and resided in Brescia; Sénéchal, op. cit., p. 25.

274. Jan Sadeler after Johann-Theodor de Bry, *A Vase with Flowers on a Table, with a Fly and a Spider*, c. 1600, engraving, 301 x 230 mm (London, British Museum).

of its members to distinguish their products from those of the competitor printing houses.[17] This distinction is mirrored in the contents of the inventory. For instance, during Jan's lifetime, the Sadeler shop never published maps or prints relating to contemporary history, which were some of the subjects that were widely circulating in Venice at the time.[18] As such, no work of this kind is encountered in the inventory of their stock-in-trade. Instead, the Sadelers chose to produce figurative prints after works of Italian and Northern masters, introducing a new artistic language to the Venetian market for which there was great demand. The 'book of the six vases of flowers' recorded in the inventory, which can be identified with the series modelled on engravings by Johann-Theodor de Bry (1528–98), is one such case (fig. 274).[19] The significance of the particular series, which contains prints of elaborate vases with symmetrically arranged flowers, has long been recognized as instrumental for the introduction of the subject in Venice, while its publication by the Sadeler shop helped to raise the status of the still life from its subordinate role.[20]

Most of the works listed in the inventory, for which the notary gave some information regarding their subject or the title of the series, can be successfully identified within the oeuvre of the family. Plates that formed part of the series that Jan published in Antwerp and Munich were stored in the Sadeler shop in Venice. The prints for the *Imago Bonitatis Illius* (image of His goodness), depicting the creation of the world, that Jan published in Munich in 1587 after designs of his long-term collaborator, the Flemish painter Maerten de Vos (1532–1603), are recorded first by the notary.[21] The seven engravings of the series correspond to the six days of creation, with the final day rendered in two separate prints. The title-page, with the personification of Faith holding the stone tablets of the Ten Commandments and the sphere of the world, was emblazoned with the coat of arms of Duke Wilhelm V (1548–1626), Jan's patron at the time (fig. 275). Among the contents of the Venetian shop, the notary recorded two portraits of the Duke's wife, the Duchess of Bavaria, Renata of Lorraine (1544–1602; fig. 276). While Jan produced several prints of this kind during his career, the portraits of Renata are, surprisingly, the only ones identified in his stock-in-trade in Venice.[22] After de Vos, were the twelve copperplates of the *Boni et Mali Scientia* (knowledge of good and evil), a print series published in 1583 that illustrates the story of the first two men, from Adam and Eve in Paradise to Tubalcain in his forge.[23] Alongside these, Jan kept in Venice the print series of the four seasons, the four parts of the day and four parts of the world that he published in Antwerp in the early 1580s and the fifteen copperplates for the *Bonorum et Malorum Consensio* (consensus of good and evil), depicting the history of the family of Seth, that he published in 1586 in the same city.[24] These series, like many of the prints of the Sadeler shop, exercised a strong influence on Italian artists of the period.[25] Their presence in the Venetian *bottega* of the family, however, may have fulfilled an additional purpose. It was customary for workshops to keep modelbooks and examples of their most successful products in order to teach the accurate reproduction of the master's style and to ensure some degree of continuity among the products.[26] The series that Jan published in Antwerp and Munich, which brought considerable success to

17. G. J. Van der Sman, 'Northern Prints and Printmaking in Late Sixteenth-Century Venice' in *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian*, edited by B. Aikema, B. Louise Brown and G. Nepi Sciré, New York, 2000, p. 158; G. J. Van der Sman, 'Print Publishing in Venice in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Print Quarterly*, XVII, 2000, p. 240.
18. In 1605, Aegidius II Sadeler, Jan's nephew, produced in Prague a map of Bohemia and around 1620 a map of Valtellina, the valley in Lombardy bordering Switzerland; R. Gallo, 'Some Maps in the Correr Museum in Venice', *Imago Mundi*, XV, 1960, pp. 47–49.
19. Bury, op. cit., pp. 201–02, nos. 147–48. It should be noted that another book of a similar subject ('un libro di fiori rami tredici') is recorded in the inventory that was attached to the agreement between Jan and Raphael on 29 May 1600; Brulez, op. cit., p. 620.
20. B. W. Meijer, 'Sull' origine e mutamenti dei generi', in *La pittura in Italia: Il Seicento*, I, Milan, 1988, p. 595.
21. For the *Imago Bonitatis Illius* and a discussion of the depictions of animals, see A. K. Herrin, 'Pioneers of the Printed Paradise: Maarten de Vos, Jan Sadeler I and Emblematic Natural History in the Late Sixteenth Century', in *Zoology, Early Modern Culture: Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, edited by K. A. E. Enenkel and P. J. Smith, Leiden, 2014, pp. 329–400.
22. In the contract that Jan drew up with his brother Raphael there is 'il retratto del papa rame uno'; Brulez, op. cit., p. 619. This should be identified with the portrait of Pope Clemens VIII; Hollstein, op. cit., p. 181, no. 589.
23. R. M. Edquist, *Sadeler Catalogue*, Parkville, Melbourne, Victoria, 1990, pp. 4–8.
24. Edquist, op. cit., pp. 9–15, no. 186.
25. Carlo Antonio Procaccini (1555–1630), for instance, produced careful copies of *Bonorum et Malorum Consensio* for the fresco decoration of the Castello Visconti di San Vito, Milan, in the first decade of the seventeenth century; A. L. Conte, 'Sadeler and Procaccini: The Secular Decoration of Castello Visconti di San Vito in Somma Lombardo', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, XLIV, 2018, pp. 27–46.
26. E. Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*, New Haven, 2000, p. 23.

275. Jan Sadeler, Title-Page of *Imago Bonitatis Illius*, 1588–1600, engraving, 201 x 255 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

the Sadeler house as they continued to be printed well after his death, may have assumed that didactic role in the family's Venetian shop.

Names of artists whose works were copied by the Sadeler family were sometimes recorded in the entries. With the information probably communicated by Justus himself, the Venetian notary identified four landscapes as being by the Flemish painter and printmaker Paul Bril (1554–1626) and six landscapes by the Florentine Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630). Twelve landscapes, for which Jan and Aegidius I retained joint ownership, were after compositions of the Flemish painter Hans Bol (1534–93), who is described as 'inventor' by the notary.[27] These are most likely the eight landscapes with stories of the Old and New Testaments and the four landscapes with various scenes, where, in the signature, Bol's name is followed by the abbreviated *inven* (fig. 277).

While the inventory that was appended to the agreement of May 1600 between Jan and Raphael records plates after two Venetian masters, Titian (1488–1576) and Jacopo Bassano (1510–92), the one composed in November 1600 lists only works after Bassano.[28] The prints published by the Sadeler shop after works by the artist played an important role in the diffusion of the knowledge of the work of the

27. U. Mielke et al., *Hans Bol*, Amsterdam, 2015, I, pp. xxvii–ci. For the use of the word 'inventor', see Lincoln, op. cit., pp. 6–8.
28. Brulez, op. cit., p. 620, 'un'annuntiata tratta dal Titiano; un libro delle quattro stagioni del Bassan rami quattro; le cusine del Bassan rami due'.

276. Jan Sadeler, *Portrait of Renata of Lorraine*, 1588–95, engraving, 159 x 122 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

Bassano family of painters and in establishing their international reputation.[29] The entry records five plates of various subjects by Bassano. Amongst them would have been the *Adoration of the Shepherds* that Jan published in 1599 with a dedication to the newly-appointed bishop of Ceneda, Leonardo Mocenigo (in office 1599–1623; fig. 278).[30] The 'kitchen scenes', probably the most famous of the works that the Sadeler family copied after paintings by the artist, would not have been included in this group. The agreement between Jan and Raphael records that two of the kitchen scenes by Bassano, alongside the series of the four months by the same artist, belonged to the two brothers and according to Jan's testament these were not to pass to Justus.[31]

Among the most interesting copperplates in Jan's stock are five that were unfinished, suggesting that the shop was working on them shortly before his death in August 1600. The notary recorded the subject of only three of them, indicating that these may have been in an advanced stage of production. The *Christ at the Age of Twelve* (fig. 279) may have been a copy of the print that Aegidius II had engraved in 1598 in Prague after a drawing by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528).[32] The *Aristotle*, which, similarly, was not finished, may have been a version of the composition that Jan produced after Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611) sometime between 1587 and 1593.[33] The third one, a *Christ at Emmaus*, may be a variation of the print after the work by Bassano that was published by Raphael Sadeler in 1593.[34]

Alongside new series, such as the elusive drawing manual *Il vero modo et ordine per dissegnar tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano* (the correct way and order to draw all of the parts and members of the human body) that he published in 1608, Justus continued to produce the prints that he had inherited from his father.[35] The copperplates listed in the inventory were dispersed after his death in 1620, the year that marked the beginning of the end for the Sadeler printing house in Venice.[36] Some of them ended up in the hands of Stefano Mozzi Scolari (1612–91), a printmaker from Brescia who maintained a shop in the Venetian parish of San Zulian and specialized in reprints.[37] The rest passed to some publishers also named Sadeler, who had no connection with the engravers from Antwerp. Their stock-in-trade, which included the copperplates of the Sadeler family, was later acquired by the Remondini firm, then a small shop in Bassano del Grappa in the Trevigiana.[38] The production of the Sadeler works proved to be decisive for the success of the small shop, which grew to become one of the most important printing houses of the nineteenth century.

The inventory of the Sadeler shop, compiled on 20 November 1600, comes as a significant addition to the scholarship on the family's activities in La Serenissima. Jan's prints, described laconically by the Venetian notary, played an instrumental role in the introduction of the Northern tradition into the artistic culture of the lagoon. They remained in great demand for many centuries with their influence extending far beyond the Western world, to artists in Qing China and Mughal India.[39] Already from the dawn of the seventeenth century, Jan's extraordinary technical skills were being praised by the critics who studied his prints.[40] In the same spirit, the inscription on his funerary slab in the Venetian church of San

29. Sman, op. cit., pp. 559–60. For a discussion of the 'kitchen scenes', see Bury, op. cit., pp. 202–03, no. 149.
30. D. Beaujean, O. Rehor and K. Margarethe Mieth, *Grafik bis 1700: Von Dürer bis Sadeler: Bestandskatalog Museum Bautzen*, Bautzen, 2010, p. 328, no. 810.
31. Brulez, op. cit., p. 620, 'un libro delle quatro stagioni del Bassan rami quattro ... le cusine del Bassan rami due'
32. Hollstein, op. cit., p. 15, no. 39; see D. Limouze, 'Aegidius Sadeler, Imperial Printmaker', *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, LXXXV, 1989, p. 7.
33. Beaujean, op. cit., p. 331, no. 817.
34. Edquist, op. cit., p. 167.
35. For the history of the drawing manual etched by the artist Odoardo Fialetti and published by Justus, see Bury, op. cit., pp. 198–200, nos. 141–46.
36. For the stock-in-trade of the Sadeler shop after Justus's death, see Sénéchal, op. cit., p. 34.
37. A. Giachery, 'Stefano Mozzi Scolari *stampadore e miniatore di stampe di rame* nella Venezia del Seicento: vita, attività, eredi', *Bibliothecae.it*, I, 2012, pp. 93–120.
38. The acquisition of the stock is discussed in Sénéchal, op. cit., pp. 34–35. For the Remondini shop, see M. Infelise and P. Marini, *Remondini: Un Editore del Settecento*, Milan, 1990. For a catalogue raisonné of the publishing house, see M. Zotti and C. Alberto, *Le Stampe Popolari dei Remondini*, Vicenza, 1994.
39. For the impact of Jan's works in Qing China and the use of prints by the Sadeler family in the production of the *Jincheng Shuxiang*, an illustrated life of Christ, see N. Standaert, 'Chinese Prints and their European Prototypes: Schall's Jincheng Shuxiang', *Print Quarterly*, XXIII, 2006, pp. 231–53 and N. Standaert, *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor: The History of Jincheng Shuxiang (1640)*, Sankt Augustin, 2007, pp. 58–60. For the reproduction of Jan's prints in Mughal India, see J. Bautze, *Interaction of Cultures: Indian and Western Painting, 1780–1910: the Ehrenfeld Collection*, Alexandria, VA, 1998, pp. 47–48 and *A. K. Srivastava, Mughal Painting: an Interplay of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 85–87.
40. The German chorographer Matthias Quadt von Kinkelbach praised the skills of the Sadeler family; M. Quadt von Kinkelbach, *Teutscher Nation Herligkeitt: Ein außfuhrliche bechreibung des gegenwertigen/alten/und uhralten Standts Germaniae*, Cologne, 1609, p. 430. For a discussion of the passage, see D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550*, New Haven, 1993, p. 354.

277. Jan Sadeler after Hans Bol, *Castle and Garden with Figures Walking and Playing*, 1560–1600, engraving, 205 x 270 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

Cassiano reminded the beholder that Jan Sadeler was an 'engraver second to none; he led an exemplary life, and in an exemplary manner engraved customs and devotions'.[41]

Appendix

Archivio di Stato Venezia, Notarile, Atti, Antonio Brinis, busta 477, fols. 169r–170r.

Die 20 novembris 1600
Inventario de tutte le stampe di rame, che furono / de ragion propria del quondam signor Joanni Sadeler fiamengo fatto ad / instantia del signor ~~Jodocue~~ Justo suo figliolo. Le qual stampe / sono state lasciate in governo de detto signor Giusto da suddetto / quondam signor Giovanni suo padre come per suo testamento / rogato nelli atti di misser Giulio Figolin nodaro di Venetia / del di come in quello si disse apparer ritrovare /nella casa della sua habitatione della contra di San Cassan / et prima

41. 'Johannes Sadelerius Belga calcographus nulli secundus; ad exemplum vixit, ad exemplum sculpsit morum et pietatis'; inscription on the funerary slab of Jan Sadeler, published in G. Gallicciolli, *Delle memorie Venete antiche, profane ed ecclesiastiche*, VII, Venice, 1795, pp. 140–41. The tomb was lost with the rebuilding of the church in the seventeenth century.

278. Jan Sadeler after Jacopo Bassano, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1599, engraving, 216 x 292 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

un libro ~~de otto pezzi~~ noiato imago bonitatis pezzi 8.[42]
un libro ~~scie~~ boni et mali scientie pezzi 12[43]
un libro noiato bonorum et malorum ======= pezzi 15[44]
un libro de pianieti pezzi======= n° 8[45]
un libro delle quatro feste dell'anno pezzi 4[46]
un libro della vita della Madonna ==== pezzi 12
un libro Doctrine Pauli pezzi 6[47]
Quatro Paesi del Bril n° 4[48]
un libro de sei vasi de fiori pezzi 6[49]
un libro delli quatro venti pezzi n° 4[50]
sei paesi del Tempesta pezzi 6
Le quatro parte del giorno pezzi 4[51]
Le quatro parte del mondo 4[52]

/fol. 169v/
Quatro paesi de diversi pezzi n° 4
nuove paesi in blemi diversi pezzi n° 9
cinque pezzi diversi del Bassan n° 5[53]
ii pezzi de rame del pio mazor pezzi 11
~~Quatro~~
24 pezzi di rame de ~~sorte~~ diverse sorte, a Bacci 14 pezzi 24
~~8o~~ 79 pezzi de rame di diverse sorte a bacci 10 pezzi ~~8o~~ 79

42. *Creation of the World*, Hollstein, op. cit., pp. 85–86, nos. 9–16.
43. *The History of the First Men*, ibid., pp. 86–88, nos. 17–28.
44. *The History of the Family of Seth*, ibid., pp. 88–90, nos. 29–43.
45. *The Seven Planets*, ibid., pp. 168–69, nos. 517–24.
46. *The Main Four Christian Holy Days*, ibid., pp. 103–04, nos. 141–44.
47. *The Story of St Paul*, four plates after Maerten de Vos and two after Frans Pourbus, ibid., pp. 139–40, nos. 330–35; I thank Michael Bury for this observation.
48. Probably *The Landscape with Death and Cupid*; *Riverscape with Castle on a Rock to the Left*; *Riverscape, in Foreground Two Men Rowing*; and *Landscape with Rabbit-Hunt*, ibid., pp. 178–79, nos. 577–80.
49. *Bunches of Flowers in Vases*, ibid., p. 287, nos. 13–24.
50. *The Four Winds*, ibid., pp. 167–68, nos. 513–16.
51. *The Four Times of the Day*, ibid., pp. 166–67, nos. 509–12.
52. *The Four Continents*, ibid., pp. 163–64, nos. 493–96.
53. Probably *The Calling of Abraham*; *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*; *The Adoration of the Shepherds*; *The Adoration of the Shepherds*; ibid., pp. 92, 108–09, nos. 53, 180 and 182–83.

279. Aegidius Sadeler after Albrecht Dürer, *Head of the Twelve-Year-Old Christ*, 1598, engraving, 357 x 230 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

6 pezzeti de rame di statue pezzi n° 6
~~un bacheto undicesse~~ Dodese pezzi de rame de diverse sorte a 6 carantani
una passion del cascati pezzi nuove 9 in foglio real pezzi nuove[54]
cinque pezzi de rame di diverse sorte in foglio real
à 12 carantani
4 pezzi de rame de diverse sorte in foglio real a 10 carantani
Un Giudicio universal à 15 carantani[55]
un libreto de mezo fogio delli 12 messi pezzi 12
una passion grotesca pezzi 14[56]
Quatro imagine de frati mendicanti pezzi 4
37 pezzi de rame de mezo foglio de diverse sorte
24 pezzi di rame ~~de un quarto~~ de stampete picole de diverse sorte
sei pezzi de rame delli 12 mesi retagiadi
Tre pezzi de rame non finidi uno de Aristotile, uno de Cristo di eta de
anni 12, et l' altro di Cristo in Emaus.[57]
Doi pezzeti de rame de mezo fogio non finidi
Due pezzi de rame un San Francesco e un San Dominico[58]

/fol. 170r/
Doi ritratti della duchessa de Baviera[59]

Rami che sono per indiviso tra il sudetto quondam signor Zuanne / et il signor Egidio suo fratello che si ritrova in Francforte / cioe
Una historia de david pezzi ~~18~~ 16[60]
una passion de pezzi 14
12 paesi de ~~An~~ Gioan Bol inventor[61]
4 estremita dell' huomo[62]
4 evangelisti[63]
4 persecution di Cristo – 4 elementi – 4 stagion[64]
6 paesi retagiadi de muciano[65]
tre pezzi de rame ~~cioe~~ del' historia de Zona[66]
un rosario de pezzi 16
un pezzo à Bacci 14
Doi pezzi à bacci 10 / 4 meze fogie picoli
4 stampe nove non usade del precipuo della passion[67]

el presenti suprascritti
Io Petrus serena aurifex ~~ad sup~~
Io Baptista quondam Bartolomeo de civital Belluni fornaro

54. *The Passion of Christ*, ibid., pp. 117–18, nos. 233–41.
55. Probably one of the *Last Judgement* prints, ibid., p. 123, nos. 260–63.
56. *Passion of Christ with Grotesque Ornaments*, ibid., pp. 114–15, nos. 207–20.
57. *Christ at Emmaus*, ibid., p. 122, no. 259.
58. *St Francis* and *St Dominic*, ibid., pp. 144–45, nos. 365–66 and 362–63.
59. *Renata of Lorraine, Duchess of Bavaria*, ibid., p. 186, nos. 611–12.
60. *The History of Saul and David*, ibid., pp. 8–10, nos. 2–17.
61. Probably the *Landscapes with Stories of the Old and New Testament*, three and five prints, respectively, and *Four Landscapes*, ibid., pp. 177–78, nos. 565–76.
62. *The Four Last Things*, ibid., pp. 155–56, nos. 451–54.
63. *The Four Evangelists*, ibid., p. 137, nos. 313–16.
64. *The Four Elements as Mythological Figures* or *The Four Elements as Female Figures Sitting in a Landscape*, ibid., pp. 169–70, nos. 525–28 or 529–32. And probably *The Four Seasons, also the Four Ages*, U. Mielke et al., *Hans Bol*, Amsterdam, 2015, II, pp. 128–29, nos. 243–46.
65. These are reduced size, reversed copies of the series of saints in landscapes engraved by Cornelius Cort after Muziano; M. Sellink, *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700, Cornelis Cort, Part I*, Rotterdam, 2000, II, pp. 129, 135, 151, 170, 191, 201, nos. 107, 109, 116, 123, 131 and 134. I thank Michael Bury for this observation.
66. *Jonah Devoured by the Whale* and *Jonah Spat up by the Whale*, Hollstein, op. cit., p. 101, nos. 128–29. *Entombment, numbered 3*, ibid., p. 120, no. 251.
67. Michael Bury suggested that these might be four unused plates that had once been intended to form part of the series *Praecipua Passionis D.N. IESV CHRISTI mysteria* by Jan Sadeler after Christoph Schwartz, 1589, email 20 July 2019; ibid., pp. 117–18, nos. 233–41; see Gallo, op. cit., p. 53, for the nine plates that were used.

Wenceslaus Hollar's *Muscarum Scarabeorum Vermiumque varie figure* Anatomized and Identified

Mark Stocker, Julia Kasper and Phil Sirvid

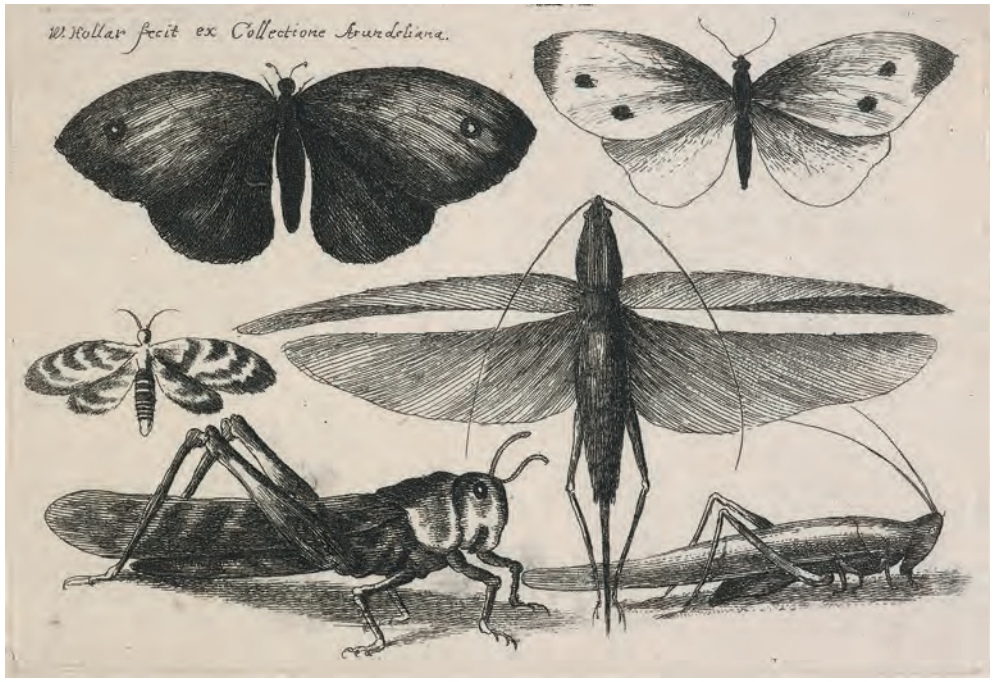
The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) is fortunate to own a complete first state set of the formidably titled series of twelve etchings, *Muscarum Scarabeorum, Vermiumque varie figure & formae, omnes primo ad vivum coloribus depictæ & ex Collectione Arundeliana Wenceslao Hollar Aqua Forti Æri Insculptæ, Antuerpiæ Anno 1646* (Varied figures and shapes of flies, beetles and worms, all for the first time depicted from the life with their colours and engraved on copper with acid by Wenceslas Hollar from the Arundeliana collection at Antwerp in the year 1646; fig. 280). *Muscarum Scarabeorum… figure* dates from the peak of Hollar's prolific career, when he was based in Antwerp, 1644 to 1652, as the title implies. This article identifies for the first time the depicted invertebrates and makes a proposal as to Hollar's likely source material.

Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure predates the discipline of entomology – a term coined by Charles Bonner in 1745 – by almost exactly a century. Although butterflies and other insects featured in the marginalia of late medieval illuminated manuscripts, they were little studied by naturalists or artists until the late Renaissance, certainly compared with plants,

The authors are grateful to the following for their art historical and entomological expertise: Susan Anderson, Arthur Evans, Jim Hardie, Robert Harding, Robert Hoare, Daniel Llavaneras, Mireille Mosler, Vazrick Nazari, Brian Ogilvie, Simon Turner and Alena Volrábová. We are also grateful to Robert Hannah for the translations.

1. B. Ogilvie, 'Nature's Bible: Insects in Seventeenth-Century European Art and Science', *Tidsskrift for kulturforskning*, VII, no. 3, 2008, pp. 5–21, especially p. 6.

280. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Title-page of Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure*, 1646, etching, first state, 78 x 117 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).



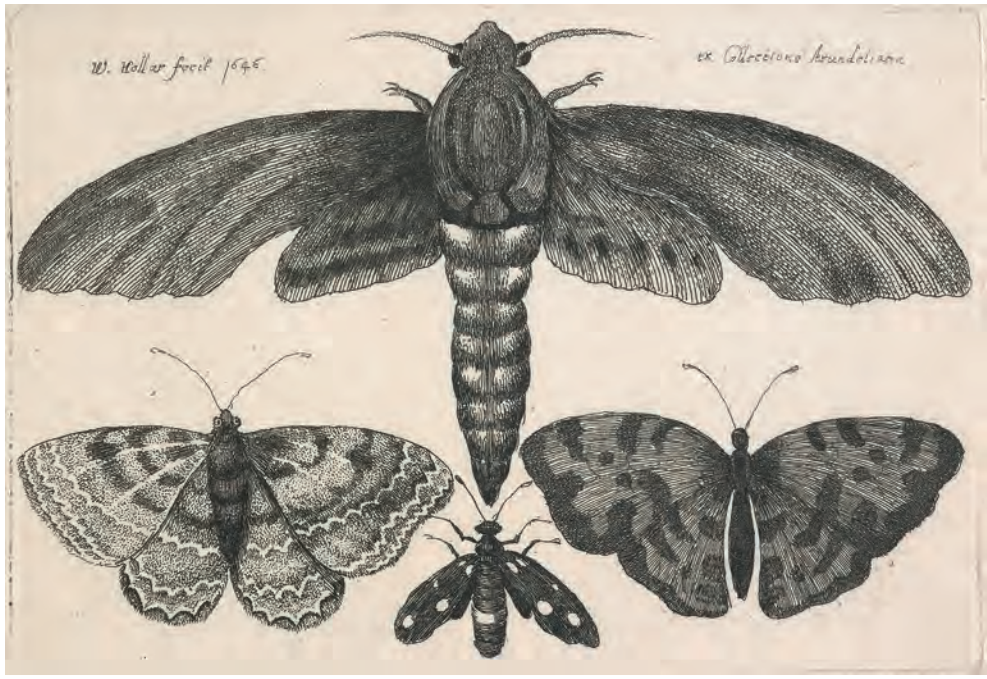
281. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Six Insects,* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure,* 1646, etching, first state, 77 x 111 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

mammals, birds and fishes.[1] The insect depictions of the Flemish father-and-son artists Joris (1542–1601) and Jacob Hoefnagel (1573–1623/32) are widely considered significant precursors.[2] Both of them worked at the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Vienna and Prague, the latter Hollar's birthplace. An edition of Jacob Hoefnagel's *Diversae Insectorum Volatilium icones ad Vivum Accuratissime Depictae per … D. I.* [Joris] *Hoefnagel* (Pictures/images of different flying insects very accurately depicted from life by Joris Hoefnagel) was published by Claes J. Visscher in Amsterdam in 1630. Yet the Hoefnagels' insects, which are often imaginary, indeed fantastic, emblematic constructs, involving the creation of 'new forms that had never existed – except perhaps in the mind of God', differ significantly from Hollar's more worldly realism.[3]

Temperamentally, Hollar was perhaps closer to Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), whose *De Animalibus Insectis …* (Bologna, 1602) aimed to show what a perceptive observer might see when confronted with the individual specimen.[4] That said, in artistic terms, Hollar owes far more to the delicacy and technical excellence of the Hoefnagels than to Aldrovandi's strictly illustrative, if not artless, woodcuts. A further recent precedent was Thomas Moffet (1553–1604), whose *Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum* (Theatre of insects, or rather of the smallest animals) was posthumously published in London by Sir Theodore Mayerne in 1634.[5] Moffet's compilation was in turn based on the late sixteenth-century material of Edward Wotton, Conrad Gessner and Thomas Penny. More richly illustrated than Aldrovandi, its emphasis is on natural history rather than the Renaissance emblematic tradition of the Hoefnagels.

Hollar's etchings, as their title and the inscription on figs. 283, 288, 290–295 implies, are based in some form on the collection of his patron, Thomas Howard, 21st Earl of Arundel (1586–1646). When Arundel left England permanently in 1642, he took his famous collection with him to Antwerp, where Hollar in turn

2. For Joris and Jacob Hoefnagel, see R. T. Godfrey, *Wenceslaus Hollar: A Bohemian Artist in England*, New Haven, CT, and London, 1994, pp. 131, 133; Ogilvie, op. cit., pp. 6, 10–11.
3. Ogilvie, op. cit., p. 7.
4. Ogilvie, op. cit., pp. 7–9.
5. V. Houliston, 'Moffet [Moufet, Muffet], Thomas [T. M.] (1553–1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004, XXXVIII, pp. 503–04.



282. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Moth and Three Butterflies*, from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum ... figure,* 1646, etching, first state, 76 x 115 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

was reunited with it two years later, shortly afterwards commencing his etchings.[6] Given that Hollar says the etchings were 'depicted from life with their colours', it is worth considering whether they were taken from the insects themselves, as proposed by Richard Godfrey and by the natural history co-authors of this article. The original source material may well have consisted of preserved specimens in Arundel's cabinet of curiosities. There are known precedents for insect collections, one of the earliest being Aldrovandi's collection in Bologna. Aldrovandi is recorded as advising the physician and collector Jacob Zwinger in a 1596 letter on how to preserve natural specimens, including insects.[7] A few other collections had insects, such as that of Andreas Colvius (1594–1671) of Dordrecht, who had a catalogue printed in 1655 in order to try to sell it.[8] Constant Sennepart (1625–1703) of Amsterdam also had insects among his collection, which was auctioned in 1704, but it is not clear when he started to collect them.[9] While insects could be found in collections of naturalia, they rarely appear to be a major focus before the 1660s.

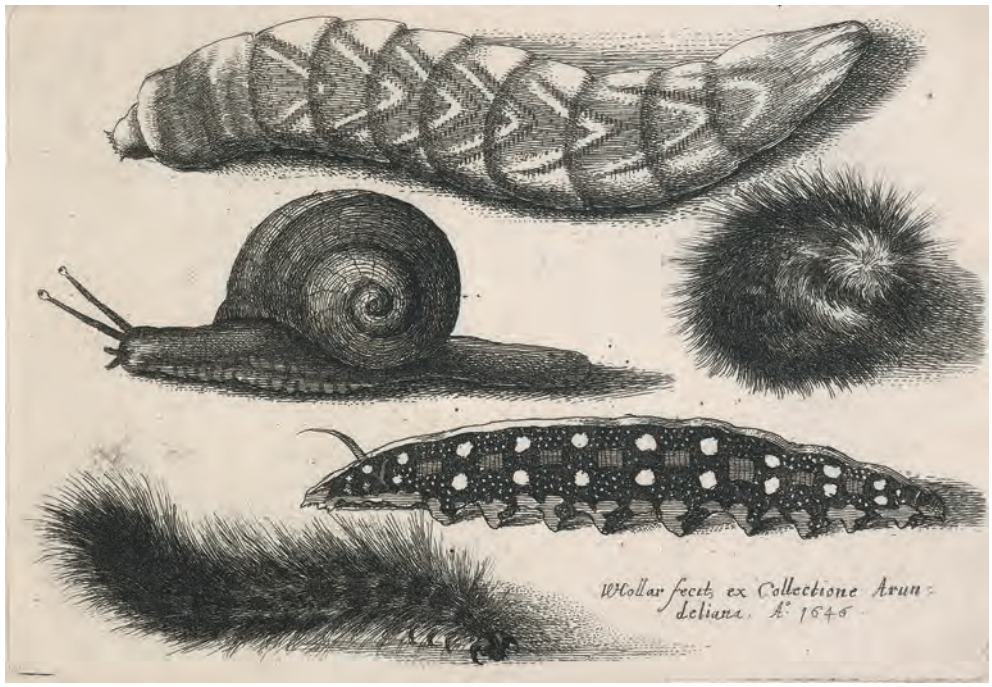
The Appendix features a remarkably complete taxonomy, even if some candidates must necessarily remain tentative. Hollar almost invariably depicted species that have remained common in Britain and present-day Belgium to this day. It remains a source of speculation, however, as to why Hollar did not depict either the Peacock butterfly (*Aglais io*) or the Red admiral (*Vanessa atalanta*), both attractive and common. While it is tempting to suggest that Hollar was captivated by prettier butterflies and moths as he progressed, an argument supported by the etching of *Forty-One Insects, Including Moths and Butterflies* (fig. 284), this cannot explain the omission of these two species, unless – equally unaccountably – there were

6. For Hollar and the Arundel collection in Antwerp, see especially R. Harding, 'Wenceslaus Hollar and the Earl of Arundel's "design to make a large volumn (sic) of all his pictures drawings & other rarities"', in *Perspectives on the Art of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677*, edited by A. Bubenik and A. Thackray, London and Turnhout, Belgium, 2016, pp. 51–55.
7. U. Aldrovandi to J. Zwinger, 4 October 1596, Universitäts-bibliothek, Basel, Switzerland, MS Fr.Gr. I.13, no. 44; online at e-manuscripta.ch. We are grateful to Brian Ogilvie for providing this and the following two references.
8. H. Engel, *Hendrik Engel's Alphabetical list of Dutch Zoological Cabinets and Menageries*, 2nd edition, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 62, no. 323.
9. Engel, op. cit., p. 251, no. 1399.

no specimens of them in Arundel's collection. In their slight departures from strict symmetry the prints reveal that they were indeed based on live specimens. Some, however, such as the furry caterpillars and the slimy, intruding snail, would have been impossible to preserve. The posture and capture of the movements of some insects, such as butterflies sitting upright and dragonflies and bumble-bees with their wings in motion, strongly suggest that Hollar went outdoors to study his art from life. He surely saw analogies between his creatures and the fur muffs that he famously and contemporaneously depicted; as Anne Thackray remarked, 'the furry caterpillars – muffs on the move – would have particularly delighted Hollar'.[10] He probably realized that he had pulled off a *tour-de-force* of pioneering invertebrate art. It is difficult to interpret the far larger and exceptionally rare etching of *Forty-One Insects, Including Moths and Butterflies*, a composite of the reversed *Six Insects* (fig. 281), *Moth and Three Butterflies* (fig. 282) and separate insects taken from seven more prints, as anything other than a celebration of his achievement.[11] Hollar also made a set of eight prints, *Diversae insectorum figurae*, and several further prints of butterflies and moths. Of these, the closest match to the *Muscarum Scarabeourum … figure* plates is *Five Butterflies, Two Beetles and a Fly*.[12] Other than the title-page, there does not seem to be a fixed sequence of plates and even in Hollar's lifetime they were bound in very different sequences. The numbers were inserted – and amended – in the second and third states.[13]

It has hitherto always been assumed that Hollar was only the etcher and that another artist, influenced by the Hoefnagels, probably made original coloured drawings or paintings. Drawings that have been associated with the series come from a set of gouaches thought to have been in the Arundel collection and sold at auction in London in 1965. Their provenance is giv-

10. A. Thackray, *Caterpillars and Cathedrals: The Art of Wenceslaus Hollar*, Toronto, 2010, p. 43.
11. S. Turner, *The New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700: Wenceslaus Hollar, Part III*, edited by G. Bartrum, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2010, pp. 196–206, nos. 913–924 (hereafter *New Hollstein*). *Forty-One Insects, Including Moths and Butterflies, New Hollstein*, p. 206, no. 925. The current title overlooks the snail. Godfrey, op. cit., p. 132.
12. *New Hollstein* 926; Pennington notes that it 'seems to belong to' *Muscarum Scarabeorum… figure*, op. cit., p. 336.
13. Pennington, op. cit., p. 334.



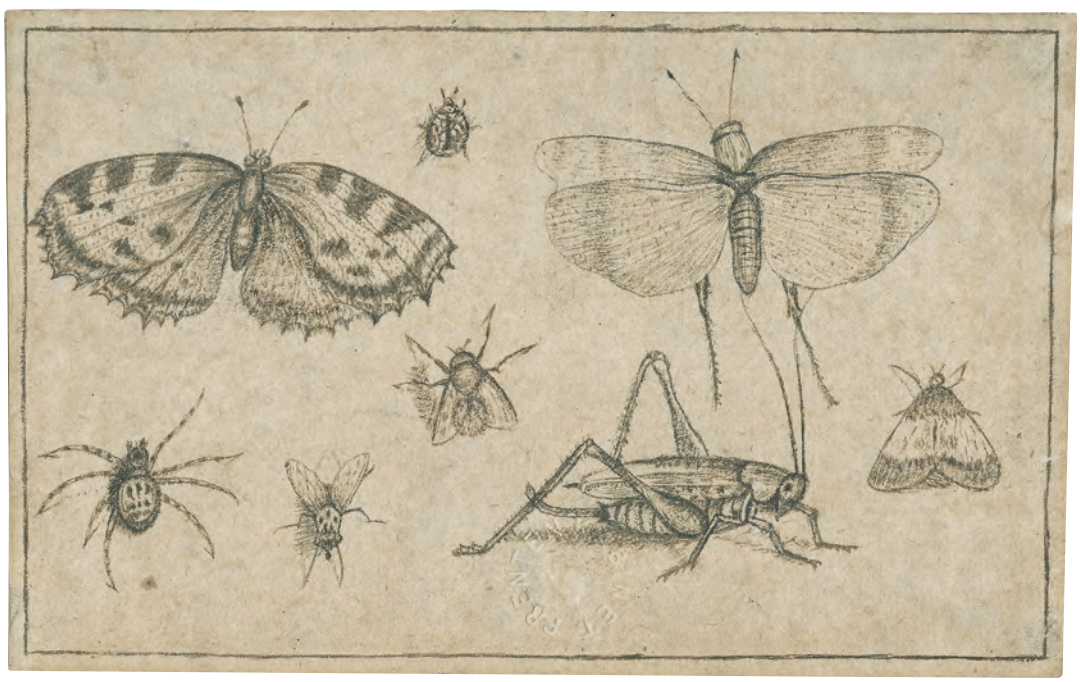
283. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Four Caterpillars and a Snail*, from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure*, 1646, etching, first state, 76 x 112 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

284. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Forty-One Insects Including Moths and Butterflies,* 1646, etching, only state, 338 x 216 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

en in the auction catalogue 'as possibly from the Earl of Arundel', citing an inscription in a nineteenth-century hand 'done by Hollar for the Earl of Arundel, from whose Collection they were taken'.[14] Two of these that relate to the subject matter of *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure*, *Five Dragonflies and a Spider* and *White Ermine Moths*, were later acquired by the New York dealer Mireille Mosler, while *Brown Dragonfly and Small Tortoiseshell Butterfly* is in the Maida and George Abrams Collection, Boston.[15] What immediately emerges is the distance, rather than dependence, between, for example, the rather exquisite drawings of dragonflies and spider and Hollar's robust, indeed amorous, counterparts on the title-page, while his subsequent prints are conspicuous for their absence of spiders. In no instances are the poses copied by Hollar. A single drawing in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, of *Butterflies, Flies and a Grasshopper* (fig. 285), apparently not from the Arundel set, formerly believed to be by Joris Hoefnagel, was reattributed to Hollar by Alena Volrábová in 2017.[16] Yet here too, as Volrábová rightly notes, the drawing does not match any of the prints and the formal relationship between figure and ground is far more sophisticated in the plates. The inclusion of a spider is moreover at odds with all the invertebrates depicted by Hollar. That said, the renditions in the drawing are of reasonable scientific accuracy, indeed of a standard comparable in this respect to Hollar's.

Te Papa's set of etchings came from the collection of Ditlev Gothard Monrad (1811–87), a former prime minister of Denmark and a Lutheran bishop. He was a political refugee of the Second Schleswig War of 1864, who resided in New Zealand between 1866 and 1869. Monrad was a cultured polymath, author

14. Sotheby's, London, 1 July 1965, lot 163, as 'an album of drawings of insects, butterflies, birds, fishes and mammals', Flemish school, mid-seventeenth century, 25 drawings in gouache, property of the Rt. Hon. The Lord Mowbray and Stourton.
15. See inventory of old masters at mireillemosler.com/inventory, accessed 23 February 2019. We are grateful to Mireille Mosler and Susan Anderson for providing information about their respective watercolours from the album. A further five watercolours of insects and beetles were listed at the Sotheby's sale, but their present location is unknown.
16. Inv. PK.OT.00363, search.museumplantinmoretus.be, accessed 23 February 2019; A. Volrábová, *Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677): Drawings. A Catalogue Raisonné*, Prague, 2017, IV/16, p. 316. The drawing was acquired in 1926 and therefore pre-dates the sale of the album drawings. It comprises (top row): large tortoiseshell butterfly (*Nymphalis polychloros*), ladybird (Family Coccinellidae), grasshopper with open wings (Family Acrididae); (bottom row): spider (Family Araneidae), two flies (Families Muscidae and Calliphoridae), longhorned grasshopper (Family Tettigonidae), lichen moth (Family Erbiidae: genus *Lycomorpha*).



285. Attributed to Wenceslaus Hollar, *Butterflies, Flies and a Grasshopper*, pen and brown ink, 88 x 142 mm (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum).

286. Wenceslaus Hollar, *A Moth, Three Butterflies and Two Beetles,* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure,* 1646, etching, first state, 78 x 114 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

287. *Small Emperor Moth* (*Saturnia pavonia)*, family Saturniidae, photograph.

of his country's liberal constitution, theologian, educationalist and art collector.[17] His interest in art had been stimulated by his friendship with Niels Lauritz Høyen (1798–1870), Denmark's first professional art historian, who acted as a buyer for him. Assembled from the mid-1840s onwards, the collection accom-

17. *Bishop Monrad in Aotearoa: Ditlev Gothard Monrad's Life and his Legacy to New Zealand*, edited by I. Macfarlane, Wellington, 2011.

288. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Dragonflies, a Bumble-Bee and a Butterfly,* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum… figure,* 1646, etching, first state, 77 x 111 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

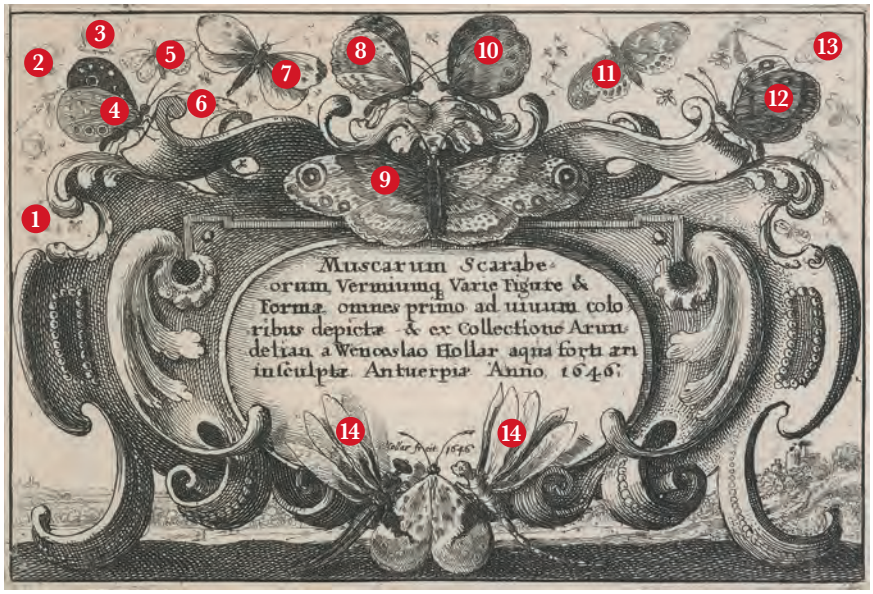
panied Monrad to New Zealand and when he left in January 1869 he offered it to the recently-established Colonial Museum – precursor of Te Papa.[18] The 599 items formed the foundation of the rich collection of European prints held today at Te Papa.[19] The single artist most prolifically represented was Hollar himself, with 58 etchings. These include the entire set of the 24 *Amoenissimae aliquot locorum …* (Delightful likenesses of some places lying in various countries) landscapes and seascapes, of 1635, and seventeen etchings after caricatures by Leonardo da Vinci, of 1645, the latter copied from drawings in Arundel's collection.[20]

18. V. Robson, 'Monrad's Gift to New Zealand', in Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 78.
19. Robson, op. cit., pp. 77–126. See also M. Norman, 'The Print Collection of Bishop Monrad (1811–1887)', Victoria University of Wellington, MA thesis, 2006.
20. *New Hollstein* 946.

Appendix

Etchings by Wenceslaus Hollar of the *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure* series in the collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington. The numbering follows the Pennington, op. cit., and *New Hollstein* sequences.

Figs. 280 and 289; *New Hollstein* 913.
The insects are numbered and described in a clockwise sequence starting at left.
1. Largest insect among a group of four, at left, near acanthus: Family Zygaenidae, possibly the variable burnet moth, *Zygaena ephialtes.* Compare fig. 282.
2. Upper left corner: Bumble-bee, genus *Bombus*, family Apidae. Compare figs. 288 and 292.
3. Top, touching the framing line: Tiger moth, subfamily Arctiinae, family Erebidae. This is inaccurately depicted in the 'at rest' pose of a butterfly.
4. Resting on the volute: Probably marbled white, genus *Melanargia*, family Nymphalidae. This butterfly is highly stylized.
5. Gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae, a species of the genus *Polyommatus*, viewed from below. Specimens from this family recur throughout the series.
6. Faint, between the two volutes: Garden tiger moth, *Arctia caja*, family Erebidae. Hollar has taken some artistic licence, as the wing shape and pattern are most un-



289. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Title-page of Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure*, 1646, etching, first state, 78 x 117 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

usual. The rear wing margin should not be undulating, as shown here.

7. Cabbage white butterfly, *Pieris rapae*. An alternative candidate is the Great white butterfly, Pieris brassicae, as the two are very similar. Both family Pieridae. Compare fig. 281.

8. Just left of centre, resting on vegetal frame: Silver-washed fritillary, *Argynnis paphia*, family Nymphalidae.

9. Below the vegetal frame on which sit the silver-washed fritillary and the painted lady butterfly, with opened wings: Wall brown, *Lasiommata megera*, family Nymphalidae. Compare fig. 286.

10. Just right of centre, resting on vegetal frame: Painted lady butterfly, *Vanessa cardui*, family Nymphalidae. Compare fig. 293.

11. As above, with opened wings.

12. Resting on the volute, at far right: As above.

13. Very faint, in upper right corner: Gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae. The spotty pattern represents artistic licence rather than accuracy.

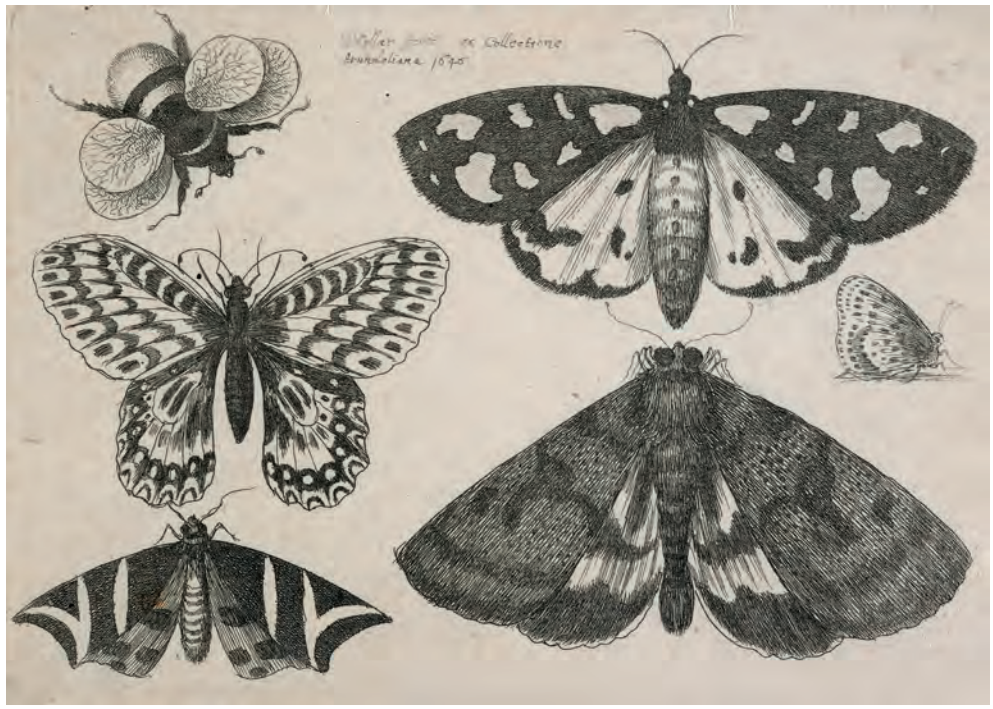
14. Near lower margin, at centre: Two dragonflies flanking a marbled white butterfly, possibly *Melanargia titea* or *Melanargia Lachesis*, family Nymphalidae. Neither butterfly is currently native to Britain or northern Europe; the latter, found in southern France and Spain, is the more likely candidate. Hollar's view of the butterfly is unusual; we are looking down on it while it holds its wings slightly open with only the forewings apparent. The dragonflies' wings are incorrectly posed vertically above the body when they should be level and at right angles to it. Perhaps Hollar was attempting to fill the panel carrying the title inscription. It seems very likely that he was playfully attempting to represent the two sexes, as the body shapes are different and they are in close proximity to the heart-shaped butterfly. The left-hand dragonfly is more authentic, while the right-hand one looks somewhat anthropomorphized, especially the head. The body is rather necklace-like. If the dragonflies are based on real species, as seems almost certain, they look as if they belong to two different families that would never mate (left, skimmer dragonfly, family Libelluidae; right, hawker dragonfly, family Aeshnidae). The hawker has rather unusual eyes that appear to be lovingly gazing at the skimmer. This emotion, however, is not reciprocated, as the latter appears to be studying the inscription.

Fig. 281. *New Hollstein* 914.
Top left: Meadow brown butterfly, *Maniola jurtina*, family Nymphalidae, possibly a male.
Top right: Cabbage white butterfly, *Pieris rapae* or great white butterfly, *Pieris brassicae*, both family Pieridae. Compare fig. 280.
Middle left: Moth, possibly *Dioryctria abietella*, family Pyralidae.
Middle and bottom right: Large conehead (bush-cricket), *Ruspiola nitidula*, family Tettigoniidae (viewed at two angles).
Bottom left: Migratory locust, *Locusta migratoria*, family Acrididae.

Fig. 282. *New Hollstein* 915.
Top: Hawk moth, family Sphingidae, either the Privet hawk moth, *Sphinx lingustri*, or the Convolvulus hawk

290. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Two Butterflies, a Wasp and a Moth,* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum . . . figure,* 1646, etching, first state, 78 x 115 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

291. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Two Moths and Six Insects,* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum . . . figure,* 1646, etching, first state, 77 x 113 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).



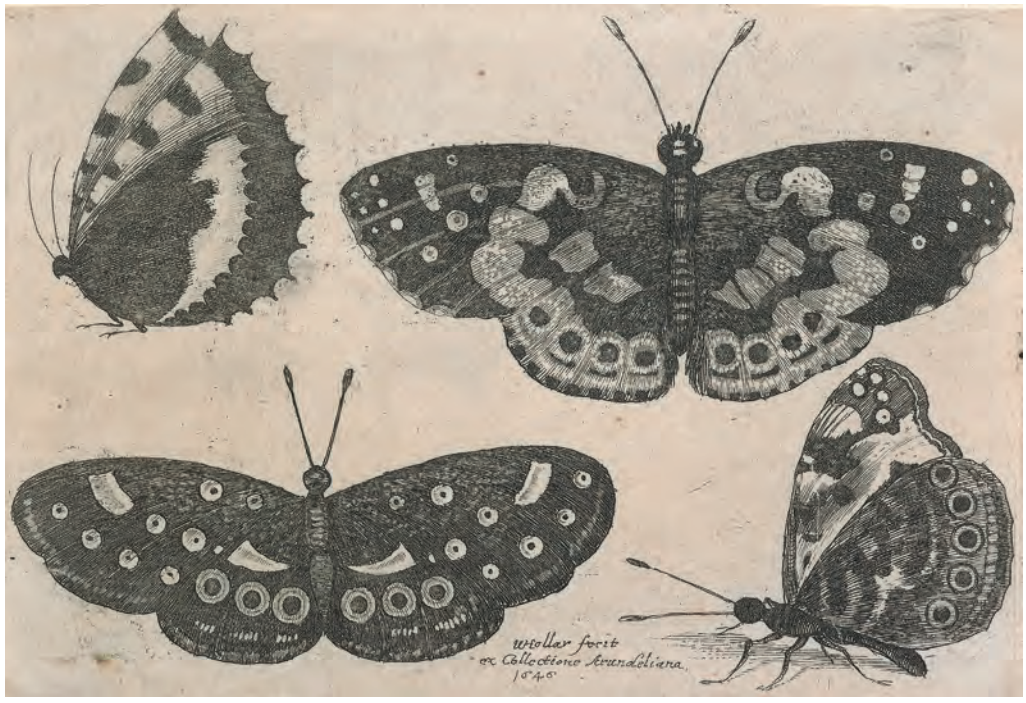
292. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Three Moths, Two Butterflies and a Bumble-Bee,* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure*, 1646, etching, first state, 78 x 113 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

moth, *Agrius convolvuli*.
Bottom left: Dingy skipper moth, *Erynnis tages*, family Sphingidae.
Bottom centre: Burnet moth, family Zygaenidae, possibly the Variable burnet moth, *Zygaenae ephialtes*. Compare fig. 280, No. 1.
Bottom right: Comma butterfly, *Polygonia c-album*, family Nymphalidae. Compare fig. 294.

Fig. 283. *New Hollstein* 916.
Top: Sphingid caterpillar, family Sphingidiae. The 'vermium' of Hollar's title denotes caterpillars. While caterpillars are not worms, this distinction was not established in the seventeenth century. Even today, many caterpillars within the order Lepidoptera are popularly called worms, for example the silkworm and the measuring worm.
Second row, left: Snail, possibly Garden snail, *Cornu aspersum*, family Helicidae.
Second row, right: Oak eggar caterpillar, *Lasiocampa quercus*, family Lasiocampidae.
Third row: Spurge moth caterpillar, *Hyles euphorbia*, family Sphingidae.
Fourth row: Tiger moth caterpillar, sub-family Arctiinae, family Erebidae.

Fig. 286. *New Hollstein* 917.
Top: Small emperor moth, *Saturnia pavonia*, family Saturniidae. Compare with fig 287.
Middle row, left: Seven-spotted ladybird, *Coccinella septempunctata*, family Coccinellidae.
Middle row, right: Two-spotted ladybird, *Adalia bipunctata*, family Coccinellidae.
Bottom row, left: A species of Brown butterfly, genus *Coenonympha*, family Nymphalidae.
Bottom row, middle and right: Wall brown butterfly, *Lasiommata megera*, family Nymphalidae. Compare fig. 280, No. 9.

Fig. 288. *New Hollstein* 918.
This etching, previously known as *Dragonflies and a Bumble-Bee*, has been retitled.
Top row, left: Bumble-bee, genus *Bombus*, family Apidae. Compare figs. 280, No. 2 and 292. The shape of the wings both in this representation and fig. 292 is probably an attempt to represent movement.
Top row, right: Damselfly, genus *Calopteryx*, family Calopterygidae. This identification assumes that the broad wings are not artistic licence.
Middle: Banded-winged grasshopper, genus *Oedipoda*, family Acrididae.
Bottom row, left: Gossamer-winged butterfly, possibly a species of *Polyommatus*, family Lycaenidae.
Bottom row, right: Dragonfly, infra-order Anisoptera. The strangely-shaped wings suggest an attempt to represent the insect in motion. Dragonflies have four wings,



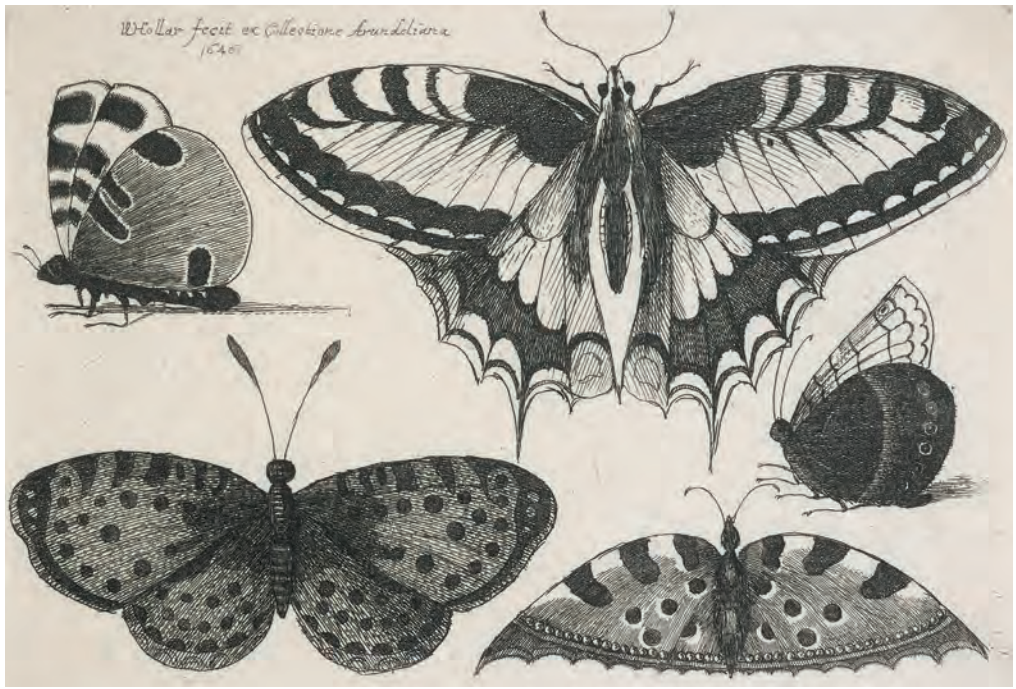
293. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Four Butterflies* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure*, 1646, etching, first state, 75 x 112 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

but in motion they would look blurred to the naked eye.

Fig. 290. *New Hollstein* 919.
This etching, previously known as *Three Butterflies and a Wasp*, has been retitled.
Top row: Scarce swallowtail butterfly, *Iphiclides podalirius*, family Papiliondae. The hind-wings appear rather faded and the spots at the junction of the rear edge and innermost margin are not as prominent as they are in nature. Despite the name 'scarce', this species was and still is quite common. The scarcity of British migrants explains the name. It is possible that Hollar based this specimen from one that he observed while working on the series in Antwerp.
Bottom row, left: Queen of Spain fritillary butterfly, *Issoria lathonia*, family Nymphalidae. Compare figs. 291 and 295.
Bottom row, centre: Paper wasp, *Polistes gallicus*, family Vespidae. Only one pair of wings rather than two is depicted. As the fore- and hind-wings can be linked to each other by hooks, this can convey the appearance of a single pair of wings.
Bottom row, right: Cream-spot tiger moth, *Epicallia villica*, family Erebidae. Compare fig. 292. The wings are in an unnatural pose for a moth, which explains why it has previously been described as a butterfly.

Fig. 291. *New Hollstein* 920.
Top row, left: Soft-winged flower beetle, family Melyridae, possibly the Common malachite, *Malachius bipustulatus*.
Top and bottom row, centre: Red underwing moth, *Catocala nupta*, family Erebidae, viewed from above and below. The last pair of legs in the lower image is too far to the rear, when they should be on the thorax.
Top row, right: Cinnamon bug, *Corizus hyoscami*, family Rhopalidae.
Middle row, left: Possibly *Sterrhopterix fusca*, family Psychidae. This accords with the absence of discernible wing patterns on the moth, though males have distinctively feathery antennae not apparent here. It could represent pictorial infill on Hollar's part.
Middle row, right: Probably a gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae. The spotty pattern visible through the underside of the wings probably represents artistic licence.
Bottom row, left: Probably a sawfly, sub-order *Symphyta*, family Cimbicidae. While the short clubbed antennae and bulbous abdomen correspond to this identification, the wing shape is inaccurate, possibly because it was observed in flight. As with the Psychidae moth, this may be pictorial infill.
Bottom row, right: Seven-spot ladybird, *Coccinella septempunctata*, family Coccinellidae.

294. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Five Butterflies, a Moth, a Beetle and a Spider,* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure,* 1646, etching, first state, 75 x 116 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).



295. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Three Butterflies and Two Moths,* from the series *Muscarum Scarabeorum … figure,* 1646, etching, first state, 77 x 115 mm (Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

296. *Old World Swallowtail Butterfly* (*Papilio machaon*), family Papilionidae, photograph.

Fig. 292. *New Hollstein* 921.
Top row, left: Bumble-bee, genus *Bombus*, family Apidae. Compare figs. 280, No. 2 and 288.
Top row, right: Cream-spot tiger moth, *Epicallia villicia*, family Erebidae. Compare fig. 290. This depiction is in a more standard collection pose, with wings outspread.
Middle row, left: Spanish festoon butterfly, *Zerynthia rumina*, family Papilionidae.
Middle row, right: Gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae.
Bottom row, left: Mottled tortoise moth, *Euplagia quadripunctaria*, family Erebidae.
Bottom row, right: The hindwings suggest the Light crimson underwing moth, *Catocala promissa*, family Erebidae, while the forewings suggest the Orange underwing moth, *Archiearis parthenias*, family Geometridae. The antennae appear to be drawn like those of a butterfly, with clubbed tips.

Fig. 293. *New Hollstein* 922.
Top row, left: Small tortoiseshell butterfly, *Aglais urticae*, family Nymphalidae.
Top row right and bottom row, right: Painted lady butterfly, *Vanessa cardui*, family Nymphalidae. Compare fig. 280, No. 10.
Bottom row, left: Speckled wood butterfly, *Pararge aegeria*, family Nymphalidae.

Fig. 294. *New Hollstein* 923. This etching, previously known as *Five Butterflies, a moth and two beetles*, has been retitled.
Top row, left: Possibly a leaf beetle, family Chrysomelidae.
Top row, centre: Old world swallowtail butterfly, *Papilio machaon*, family Papilionidae.
Top row, right: This appears to be an eight-legged ladybird, a creation of Hollar's imagination. The closest candidate is a male so-called ladybird spider, *Eresus sandaliatus*, family Eresidae, but this species has fewer spots and far more prominent legs.
Middle row, left: Gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae.
Middle row, right: Possibly a gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae, though with unusual wing formation.
Bottom row, left: Gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae, viewed from below.
Bottom row, middle: Scarlet tiger moth, *Callimorpha dominula*, family Erebidae.
Bottom row, right: Comma butterfly, *Polygonia c-album*, family Nymphalidae. Compare fig. 282.

Fig. 295. *New Hollstein* 924.
This etching, previously known as *Five butterflies*, has been retitled.
Top row, left: Tiger moth, probably *Arctia festiva*, family Erebidae. It is inaccurately depicted in the 'at rest' pose of a butterfly.
Top row, right: Old world swallowtail, *Papilio machaon*, family Papilionidae. Compare with fig. 296.
Middle row, right: Brush-footed butterfly, family Nymphalidae.
Bottom row, left: Queen of Spain fritillary, *Issoria lathonia*, family Nymphalidae. Compare fig. 290.
Bottom row, right: Large tortoiseshell butterfly, *Nymphalis polychloros*, family Nymphalidae. Although the wings are unusually shaped, the pattern and bottom border largely accord with this species.

Étienne Fessard's Prints of the Chapel of the Hôpital des Enfants Trouvés in Paris

Rena M. Hoisington

In the January 1751 issue of the widely read Parisian journal *Mercure de France*, the professional printmaker Étienne Fessard (1714–77) published a lengthy announcement for a five-year subscription plan for a new print series. These advertised engravings would reproduce the large-scale paintings that Charles Natoire (1700–77) had recently completed for the new Chapel of the Hôpital des Enfants Trouvés (foundling hospital) in Paris, designed by the architect Germain Boffrand (1667–1754). The chapel's decoration, quite unusually for its time in France, was conceived as a painted interior depicting fictive architecture in ruins (fig. 297). Natoire's paintings, which showed the magi and shepherds visiting the Holy Family with angels above, were integrated with the trompe l'oeil elements of a dilapidated classical building painted by the Italian father-and-son team of Gaetano (d. 1758) and Paolo Antonio Brunetti (c. 1723–83).[1]

In the first of many advertisements for this project, Fessard stressed the important role of prints in immortalizing great works of art:

> As everyone knows, the most beautiful paintings, whatever care one may take of them, cannot endure for as long as the prints that reproduce and can easily safeguard [their compositions] for entire centuries.[2]

His words now seem especially apt: the chapel was destroyed between 1868 and 1878.[3] Regularly cited and reproduced as historical documents in art historical and architectural discussions of this now lost eighteenth-century masterpiece, Fessard's prints have been valued for their reproductive function. Most recently, photographic enlargements of Fessard's prints were used to recreate the chapel in the 2017 exhibition 'Le Baroque des Lumières: Chefs-d'œuvre des églises parisiennes au XVIII siècle' organized by Christophe Leribault and Christine Gouzi at the Petit Palais in Paris (fig. 298).[4] The recreation was based on impressions of Fessard's etching and engravings printed in sanguine ink from the Musée Carnavalet and hand-coloured impressions from the Musée de l'Assistance Publique–Hôpitaux de Paris.[5] There has been, however, almost no consideration of these prints apart from their documentary utility. Made at the height of the artist's career, this series was Fessard's most acclaimed body of work and one of the most important large-scale print projects undertaken in mid-eighteenth-century France. Although W. McAllister Johnson and Roger Portalis and Henri Béraldi have choice things to say about Fessard (the former describes him as a 'black sheep' and the latter authors opine that he was 'of a talent well below his ambition and his pretensions'), they acknowledge the significance of the Enfants Trouvés series and grant that Fessard is an interesting figure in the history of eighteenth-century French printmaking.[6] Beginning with a close study of the prints themselves, this article re-examines the genesis, creation and marketing of

A version of this paper was first delivered at the conference 'Beyond Reproductive Printmaking: Prints and the Canon of European Painting, ca.1500–1810', 18–19 September 2017, at the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen and Technische Universität in Dresden, organized by Susanne Magister and Sabine Peinelt-Schmidt. A shorter version was presented at the study day on large-scale prints on 25 October 2017 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, organized by Freyda Spira. I am most grateful to the organizers of both of these programmes, as well as for the questions and comments I received from fellow participants and audience members.

1. M. Roux, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1930–77, IX, pp. 61–67, nos. 320–34; S. Caviglia-Brunel, *Charles-Joseph Natoire, 1700–1777*, Paris, 2012, pp. 90–94, 267–87, 290–91, 356–66, and 498–99; and C. Gouzi and C. Leribault, *Le Baroque des Lumières: Chefs-d'œuvre des églises parisiennes au XVIII[e] siècle*, Paris, 2017, pp. 112–19.
2. 'Personne n'ignore que les plus beaux tableaux, quelque soin qu'on en prenne, ne peuvent être d'une durée comparable à celle des planches que les répètent, & peuvent les conserver des siècles entiers sûrement & sans peine.' *Mercure de France*, January 1751, pp. 123–24.
3. L. Duclaux, 'La Décoration de la chapelle de l'hospice des Enfants-Trouvés à Paris', *Revue de l'art*, XIV, 1971, p. 45.
4. The design of the chapel recreation was by Véronique Dollfus.
5. My greatest thanks to Christophe Leribault for providing information about this installation designed by Dollfus via email correspondence, 23 August 2017.
6. W. McAllister Johnson, *The Rise and Fall of the Fine Art Print in Eighteenth-Century France*, Toronto, 2016, pp. 83–84 and 147 and R. Portalis and H. Béraldi, *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1881, II, pp. 129–51.

Fessard's series and considers the challenges involved in translating the painted décor of a large-scale architectural interior into engraving.

When the 1751 announcement appeared, Fessard was 37 and well established in the print trade through his work on a wide range of projects. A savvy businessman and marketer (at least, as will be seen, in pitching his projects, though he did not complete them in a timely fashion), Fessard avidly promoted his work in the *Mercure de France*. These announcements enable the tracking of his career and the production of his prints.

Fessard was a prolific printmaker, etching and engraving more than 1,200 prints after the designs of other artists – single-sheet prints, series and book illustrations that ranged broadly in terms of subject matter and style.[7] A native Parisian, he was the son of a minor print dealer and publisher. After studying with the professional printmaker Edme Jeaurat (1688–1738), he launched his career in the 1730s by engraving single-sheet prints based on paintings by eighteenth-century French artists, among them Jean Antoine Watteau, François Boucher, and Jean-Simeon Chardin. Fessard's 1738 print after Chardin's painting *Woman Sealing a Letter* exemplifies the techniques he used to interpret the paintings of his contemporaries (fig. 299).[8] Fessard, like most professional printmakers working in France since the late seventeenth century, used a combination of etching and engraving to translate Chardin's painting into the monochromatic and linear system of intaglio printmaking. He began by etching the main lines of the composition into his plate; he finished the composition by reworking this design with a burin to enhance the tonal gradations, augment volume and achieve depth. This complex and sophisticated interplay of etching and engraving varied according to the particular style of the printmaker, as well as the work and subject of the artist at hand.

In the 1730s Fessard began working closely with the antiquarian and amateur etcher Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, Comte de Caylus (1692–1765), to interpret the drawings of the sculptor Edme Bouchardon.[9] Best known is the series *Les Cris de Paris*, 60 prints published in five suites by Fessard in collaboration with François Joullain between 1737 and 1746. In these prints Caylus etched Bouchardon's red chalk drawings of street criers (now in the British Museum) and Fessard finished the compositions with burin.[10] It was probably this work with Caylus, whom he likely met through the work on the *Recueil Jullienne* and the *Recueil Crozat* in the 1730s, and Fessard's own predilection for etching that prompted Fessard to publish and subsequently sell the etched compositions of other amateurs and peintre-graveurs. Thus, in 1751 Fessard's first announcement for the Enfants Trouvés chapel series was prefaced by a long advertisement for etchings made by pensionnaires in Rome, including four architectural compositions by Ennemond Alexandre Petitot and Joseph-Marie Vien's series *Caravan of the Sultan to Mecca*.[11] Not long before, in 1748, Fessard had offered three prints of mythological subjects etched by 'Mad[ame] Louise D***' after the compositions of Bouchardon and Pierre, which 'prove that ladies can excel at this art'.[12]

In the 1740s Fessard worked on various small-scale prints, projects that he could complete – and be compensated for – more quickly. The *Mercure de France* advertisements from this period demonstrate that Fessard engraved several profile portraits of historical figures for the publisher Odieuvre.[13] Fessard also became increasingly involved in book illustration: his lively, etched line was well suited for creating the varied imagery of frontispieces, bandeaus, fleurons, vignettes and the like after the designs of such artists as François Boucher, Hubert-François Gravelot and Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger.[14]

At mid-century Fessard was clearly being strategic in his professional aims: diversifying his output, multiplying his streams of income, promoting his work and his versatility in the *Mercure de France*, and building his connections to an ever-expanding circle of artists, publishers and collectors. The recent completion of the decoration of the Chapel of the Hôpital des Enfants Trouvés offered an irresistible printmaking opportunity,

7. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, pp. 22–112, with 1,260 entries.
8. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, p. 31, no. 13. Chardin's painting is now in the collection of Schloss Charlottenburg in Berlin.
9. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IV [Caylus], pp. 60–68, nos. 43–44, 48–53, 56, 59–63, 77.
10. Much has been written on these prints, their subjects and Bouchardon's drawings; for a recent discussion see É. Kopp, 'The Cries of Paris', in A. Desmas et al., *Bouchardon: Royal Artist of the Enlightenment*, Los Angeles, 2017, pp. 204–27.
11. *Mercure de France*, January 1751, pp. 118–20.
12. *Mercure de France*, January 1748, p. 150. As Elizabeth R. Rudy has noted, this advertisement probably refers to the etchings of Louise Le Daulceur; 'On the Market: Selling Etchings in Eighteenth-Century France,' in P. Stein et al., *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France*, New York, 2013, pp. 65 and 210 note 97.
13. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, pp. 33–40, nos. 23, 30–32, 38, 44, 46–48, 50, and 53.
14. For Fessard's book-related work in the 1740s, see *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, pp. 32–33, 40–60, nos. 19–22, 55–87, 90–237, 239–42, and 244–316.

297. Étienne Fessard and Augustin de Saint-Aubin, after Charles Natoire, Gaetano Brunetti and Paolo Antonio Brunetti, *Perspective View of the Chapel of Enfants Trouvés in Paris*, 1759, etching and engraving, sheet (trimmed) 802 x 592 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

and Fessard, unencumbered by commitments to major print-related projects, was available.

There was no question that the chapel's decoration should be translated into, and commemorated through, prints. Touted as Natoire's masterpiece, the chapel was an immediate success, quickly becoming a tourist attraction.[15] Significant, too, was the charitable and pious mission of the foundling hospital itself, located adjacent to Notre Dame on the Ile de la Cité.[16] In 1746 an article on the history of the Hôpital des Enfants Trouvés appeared in the *Mercure de France*, one of several notices that addressed concerns about the large – and growing – number of young children who perished there due to overcrowded and unsanitary conditions.[17] Natoire had cleverly incorporated imagery of the nuns and the children they cared for into the programme of the chapel. Positioned in two rustic balcony scenes along the upper left wall, two discrete groups witness the unfolding events below, their figures linked spatially and temporarily to one another, and even to the spectator through a sophisticated play of gazes (fig. 300).

A print series of the chapel was clearly desired – and would potentially be lucrative. Fessard, perhaps working with a financial backer, seized this opportunity to associate himself with what was to become one of the most acclaimed artistic projects in mid-eighteenth-century France.[18] Fessard's first

15. A long article about the chapel and its decoration appeared in *Mercure de France*, July 1750, pp. 166–74.
16. On the early history of foundling hospitals in France, see R. Ginnis Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France*, Albany, 1984, pp. 1–27, chapter one, 'Social Problems and Social Welfare Until the Restoration', and M. Gruber, *Bastards: Politics, Family, and Law in Early Modern France*, Oxford, 2012, pp. 124–52, Chapter 5 'Redefining Social Interest: The Eighteenth-Century Foundling Crisis'.
17. *Mercure de France*, June 1746, pp. 42–54.
18. I am grateful to Antony Griffiths for suggesting the idea of a financial backer at our June 2017 meeting and discussion. Griffiths also refers to Fessard's project in the 'Subscriptions as Contracts' section of Chapter 22 in his invaluable publication *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820*, London, 2016, p. 359.

298. Recreation of the Chapel in the exhibition 'Le Baroque des Lumières: Chefs-d'œuvre des églises parisiennes au XVIII[e] siècle', Paris, 2017 (Image Benoît Fougeirol).

advertisement for the series outlined the five-year subscription process in detail, from the five-part installment plan of payment and delivery (five payments of twelve *livres* each, or 60 *livres* in total), to the order of execution of the plates, to the type and size of paper. The number of subscribers would be limited ambitiously high to 500 and Fessard hoped to sign up all of them in six months, after which date he would raise the price.[19] What's more, Fessard informed his readers that the plates 'would be broken (*seront cassées*)' upon realization of the 500 copies. Potential subscribers were encouraged to visit his studio between five and six in the late afternoon to see the progress of his work, beginning in April 1751. The proof of the etched state of *The Wise Man Balthazar and His Retinue*, which the artist pulled to check the progress of his work, may well have been one of the impressions he showed visitors (fig. 301).[20]

In the advertisement, the promised destruction of the sixteen copperplates was a particularly dramatic statement given that most matrices were kept in circulation in the print trade until they wore down or their images were no longer in demand. As unusual as it was, however, such a condition for a subscription-based project was not without precedent in eighteenth-century France. When the publication of the first volume of the *Recueil Crozat* was announced in the *Mercure de France* in May 1728, it, too, was offered

19. *Mercure de France*, January 1751, pp. 123–28.

20. As A. Griffiths, 'Proofs in Eighteenth-Century French Printmaking', *Print Quarterly*, XXI, no. 1, March 2004, p. 3, has pointed out, the survival of such proofs suggests that there was a small circle of artists and collectors who were interested in them.

299. Étienne Fessard after Jean-Siméon Chardin, *Woman Sealing a Letter*, 1738, etching and engraving, sheet 388 x 286 mm, platemark 285 x 238 mm (Washington DC, National Gallery of Art).

300. Étienne Fessard after Charles Natoire, *Nun and Little Girls Looking at the Nativity, First Painting of the Nuns*, 1756, etching and engraving, sheet (trimmed) 570 x 282 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

301. Étienne Fessard after Charles Natoire, *The Wise Man Balthazar and His Retinue*, 1752, etched state, sheet (trimmed to platemark) 525 x 303 mm (Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art).

by subscription in a limited edition of 500 copies (in addition to the 100 copies reserved for the King and the 200 copies reserved for the project's eminent patron Pierre Crozat), after which the plan would be 'to break (*rompre*)' the copperplates and woodblocks that replicated important Italian paintings and drawings in French collections.[21] Having engraved Jacopo Bassano's painting of *Diana and Acteon* for the second volume of the *Recueil Crozat*, 1742, Fessard was familiar with this prestigious project.[22] By limiting the edition of the Enfants Trouvés enterprise, Fessard asserted that it, too, would have an important and distinguished legacy.

The announcement delineated a clear vision for the graphic division of the chapel's decoration, no small feat given the scale and complexity of the interior. All but one of the plates would correspond to and depict Natoire's paintings as discrete compositions, including Natoire's trompe l'oeil paintings of the sculptures in the niches of Saints Geneviève and Vincent de Paul. Roughly speaking, the prints would be made and issued sequentially, starting with prints depicting the front end of the chapel and moving to those that showed the sides. Fessard originally conceived of the series as having sixteen prints, with the view of the heavens rendered in two plates and the final print representing a perspective view of the entire interior.

In addition to the *Recueil Crozat*, Fessard also loosely modelled his project on *La Grande Galerie de Versailles, et les deux salons qui l'accompagnent* (The Great Gallery of Versailles and the two accompanying salons; Paris, 1752), Jean-Baptiste Massé's publication depicting the complex allegorical programme painted in the 1680s by Charles Le Brun for King Louis XIV in the Galerie des Glaces and the two adjacent Salons de la Guerre et de la Paix (fig. 302). Indeed, Fessard cited this series by name in the introduction to his first *Mercure* advertisement in 1751.[23] Although the project was initiated by Le Brun in the 1680s, it soon came to a halt due to financial issues and war. The project was resuscitated by Massé in 1723 after he obtained an exclusive privilege from the duc d'Antin, *surintendant des bâtiments*. Between 1723 and 1731, Massé made detailed drawings of the décor, section by section, which he then entrusted to a team of printmakers to etch and engrave.[24] Although the date of 1752 appears on the title-page, the completed publication was not announced until the following year in the *Mercure de France*.[25] It had been in the works for decades. Following the title-page, frontispiece, introduction and explanatory text, the massive book's imagery consists of a fold-out spread with a splayed-open view of the Galerie des Glaces showing the ceiling and the four walls, each side identified *vis-à-vis* its location to adjacent spaces. This spread, in turn, was followed by a sequence of 52 numbered plates of varying sizes and formats. Here, as in Fessard's chapel, the plates correspond roughly to the compositions of the paintings and their partitioning was determined by the sculptural and architectural elements that surround them. Each plate would enable the viewer to study and appreciate Le Brun's magisterial ceiling in all its detail, and in a way distinct from experiencing the space in person, where one would have to crane one's neck and would also be taking in the splendour of the palatial gallery as a whole. By mentioning Massé's forthcoming publication in his announcement, Fessard not only strategically aligned his project with this important and grandiose book, but also invited potential subscribers to envision what the Enfants Trouvés print series would look like.

Like many reproductive print projects, the work took longer than anticipated. Only weeks before the chapel's inauguration on 28 March 1751, Natoire left Paris to take up his appointment as the director of the Académie de France in Rome. Fessard's follow-up advertisement in the June *Mercure de France* assured readers of his 'zeal for his enterprise', then listed by name more than 50 subscribers, including royalty, nobility and people of cultural significance.[26] This was a simple, brilliant and again most unusual commercial strategy.[27] With this demonstration of abundant support, Fessard

21. *Mercure de France*, May 1728, pp. 1002–14. Contrary to the promise of this announcement, the matrices were not destroyed and were later acquired by Pierre-François Basan, who published a second edition of the *Recueil Crozat* in 1763. On the first edition of the formally titled publication *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le Cabinet du Roy, dans celuy de Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans, & dans d'autres cabinets*, issued in two volumes in 1729 and 1742, see F. Haskell, *The Painful Birth of the Art Book*, London, 1987 and B. Leca, 'An Art Book and Its Viewers: The "Recueil Crozat" and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, XXXVIII, 2005, pp. 623–49.
22. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, p. 36, no. 39.
23. *Mercure de France*, January 1751, p. 123.
24. J. G. Castex, 'Graver Le Brun au siècle des Lumières: le recueil gravé de la Grande galerie de Versailles de Jean-Baptiste Massé', PhD dissertation, Université de Paris 10, 2008.
25. *Mercure de France*, December 1753, pp. 163–67.
26. *Mercure de France*, June 1751, pp. 154–57.
27. Although it was not uncommon to provide a list of the names of subscribers with the final publication (see, for example, mentions of such lists in conjunction with subscription-based projects in the *Mercure de France*, April 1728, p. 756 or November 1737, p. 2455), I have yet to come across an earlier instance in an eighteenth-century French journal where this information appeared in the advertisement.

302. Louis de Surugue de Surgis, after Jean-Baptiste Massé, after Charles Le Brun, *Protection Granted to the Fine Arts in 1663*, from *The Great Gallery of Versailles and the Two Accompanying Salons* (Paris, 1752), etching and engraving, sheet 640 x 462 mm, platemark 486 x 368 mm (Washington DC, National Gallery of Art).

added luster to his project and underscored that it was a worthy investment, encouraging the purchase of subscriptions by those who desired to be associated with these illustrious individuals.

Fessard's first print after Natoire became available in August, but it was not of the chapel. Rather it depicted one of Natoire's mythological nudes, a single-sheet print of Amphitrite based on a drawing by Natoire (fig. 303).[28] It is an elegant print, one in which Fessard made the most of his interpretive talents to suggest the luminosity, transparent shadows and blond tonalities of Natoire's work, especially by incorporating the white of the paper into the composition.

Prior to the Enfants Trouvés series, it appears that Natoire and Fessard had not worked together on any print-related endeavours.[29] It seems reasonable, accordingly, for Natoire to have first asked Fessard to make a print after his work as a test of sorts (and notably before Fessard placed his first *Mercure* advertisement for the print series in the January 1751). Fessard could sell the single-sheet print of Natoire's delectable nude – a subject for which the artist was well-known – and seal the deal to engrave Natoire's paintings. Natoire's departure for Italy provided an additional incentive to finish and advertise the *Amphitrite* print to gain more subscribers to the series. Indeed, Fessard concluded his announcement by extolling his work and stating that the *Amphitrite* print would provide 'hope' for the execution of the prints after Natoire's paintings in the chapel.[30] The *Mercure* announcement for this print is followed by a second list of more than ten important subscribers to the series, the first being none other than Madame de Pompadour, official mistress to King Louis XV.

The spring of 1752 came, and Fessard had still not issued any prints; his April 1752 advertisement in the *Mercure* cautioned interested individuals that due to 'maladies' and 'other circumstances that he could not control' he would not be able to deliver the first three prints before June.[31] It was not until the late summer of 1752 that Fessard issued the first three prints from the series, much to Natoire's frustration, as expressed in a letter written from Rome a few months earlier to Antoine Duchesne, *prévôt des bâtiments du Roi*:

303. Étienne Fessard after Charles Natoire, *Amphitrite*, 1751, etching and engraving, 389 x 238 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

> I am grateful to you for relating the information about Sieur Fessard's Enfants Trouvés enterprise. He is a young man who finds everything easy due to his vivacity, but such vivacity vanishes in the execution, along with all his words. He has not yet informed me of the state of this work; he always will flee from those who make him aware of his shortcomings.[32]

The prints were of the three compositions at the

28. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, p. 60, no. 317. Brunel-Caviglia, pp. 112, 114, and 375–76, D.456.
29. Fessard also engraved a drawing that Natoire made during his first visit to Rome in the years 1723–28, now lost, after an antique bas-relief, but this print is not dated; Brunel-Caviglia, pp. 172–73, D. 3.
30. *Mercure de France*, August 1751, pp. 140–41.
31. *Mercure de* France, April 1752, p. 1759.
32. Charles Natoire to Antoine Duchesne, 28 May 1752: 'Je vous suis obligé du détail que vous me faites au sujets du s[r] *Fessard*, touchant son entreprise des *Enfens trouvé*. C'et un garçon don l'ardeur luy fait trouver tout facile, mais d'une dans l'exécution tout s'évanouit, avec touttes ses paroles. Il ne m'a encore rien appris de l'état ou il en ait dans cet ouvrage; il fuira toujours ceux qui tendront à luy faire connoitre sa foiblesse', *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments*, edited by A. de Montaiglon and J. Guiffrey, Paris, 1887–[1912], X, p. 388.

304. Étienne Fessard after Charles Natoire, *The Wise Man Balthazar and His Retinue,* 1752, etching and engraving, sheet (trimmed) 531 x 269 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

305. Étienne Fessard after Charles Natoire, *The Wise Men Gaspard and Melchior Adoring the Infant Jesus, Altar Painting,* 1752, etching and engraving, sheet (trimmed) 608 x 352 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

front of the chapel, *The Wise Men Gaspard and Melchior Adoring the Infant Jesus, Altar Painting*, and the two flanking compositions *The Wise Man Balthazar and His Retinue* and *The Shepherds, with Women and Children in the Foreground* (figs. 304–06). Each scene is framed by architectural elements that reflect Brunetti's trompe l'oeil architectural painting, a framing choice that also visually unifies thirteen of the fifteen plates in the series.

Fessard was working from a group of drawings rendered in graphite, black chalk and white chalk on gray paper, now in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg (figs. 307 and 308). These, presumably, are the drawings Fessard mentioned in his first advertisement when he encouraged studio visits from potential subscribers, and also at the end of his advertisement for the *Amphitrite* print.[33] All fourteen are of the same dimensions and in the same orientation as the related prints. The drawings had historically been attributed to Natoire, but in 1975 the dryness of their execution prompted Irina Novosselskaya to categorize them as copies after Fessard's prints.[34] In 1986, Patrick Violette proposed the idea that the drawings, which he had not seen in the original, were by Fessard with retouching by Natoire.[35] The drawings have an excellent eighteenth-century provenance, having first been owned and appreciated by Natoire's patron Ange-Laurent de Lalive de Jully. In 1765, when he gave them to his friend the Comte de Cobenzl (1712–70), a collector of drawings and diplomat from the Netherlands who lived in Paris, Lalive de Jully noted:

> This is the suite of original drawings on fourteen sheets of the Chapel of the Enfants Trouvés painted here by Monsieur Natoire, director of our academy in Rome. Your Excellency has a superb collection of drawings from all of the schools and I always have desired, for the honour of my country, that some interesting drawings from the French School could have a good place there … These drawings have all been engraved with care.[36]

The drawings were subsequently acquired by Catherine the Great.[37] The Enfants-Trouvés Chapel was the largest, most complex and most ambitious painting series that Natoire had created and it would have been in his best interest to execute the intermediary drawings himself for Fessard to engrave, particularly when Natoire had moved from Paris to Rome in the spring of 1751 and could not supervise the project in person. Recently, Natoire scholars Susanne Caviglia and Perrin Stein have examined high-resolution images of these drawings and both agree that they are autograph works.[38] The difference in style from Natoire's other drawings – the aforementioned dryness – is characteristic of other drawings made expressly for engraving. The lettering that appears at the bottom of each was clearly added by a later hand, the titles copied from the prints. Although there are minimal signs of transfer on the drawings themselves, Fessard could have transferred the designs from the drawings to the grounds of his plates using tracing paper as described in Claude-

33. *Mercure de France*, August 1751, p. 141, advertisement for *Amphitrite*, [the series] 'est faite sur des desseins plus terminés & plus arrêtés que celui-ci'. The exchange of drawings relating to the Enfants Trouvés project is also touched upon in the correspondence between Natoire and Abel-François Poisson de Vandières, *surintendant des Bâtiments du roi* in 1752–55, though it is not entirely clear which works they are referring to; see *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, X, pp. 416, 468, and 474 and XI, p. 80.
34. I. Novosselskaya, 'Рисунки Шарля Натуара в Эрмитаже' [Drawings by Charles Natoire in the Hermitage], in Искусство Франции XV–XX веков. Сборник статей *[The Art of France, Fifteenth to Twentieth Centuries. Anthology of Essays]*, St Petersburg, 1975, pp. 22–34 and 221–22.
35. P. Violette, 'Natoire et Boffrand', in *Germain Boffrand 1667–1754: L'aventure d'un architecte independent*, Paris, 1986, pp. 276 and 280–81.
36. Letter, 1 April 1765, La Live de Jully to Cobenzl, 'C'est la suite des desseins originaux en quatorze feuilles de la chapelle des enfans trouvés peinte icy par Mr Natoire directeur de notre academie à Rome. Votre Excellence ayans une superbe collection de desseins de toutes les ecoles, jay toujours desiré pour l'honneur de mon pays que quelques desseins intressans de l'ecole francoise puisses y tenir une bonne place … ces desseins ont tous eté gravés avec soin'; A. Picart, ed., 'Correspondance artistique du Comte de Cobenzl (4e fascicule),' *Compte-rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire*, XII, 1885, pp. 38–39. On Lalive de Jully's influential collecting of contemporary French art, see C. B. Bailey, 'Pioneering *Patriotic Taste*: Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully (1725–79)', in *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris*, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 33–69.
37. I am most grateful to Catherine Phillips, who graciously shared her research and the catalogue entry she has written on these Natoire drawings for a forthcoming publication on the Comte de Cobenzl's collection. In addition, I am indebted to Elizaveta Abramova, Curator of French drawings at the Hermitage, who authorized new, high-resolution photography of these drawings for me to study. I also would like to extend my thanks to Zhanna Etsina, Manager in the Rights and Reproductions Office at the Hermitage, and Galina Mardilovich for the contact information.
38. Catalogue raisonné author Caviglia-Brunel was unable to see the drawings in person when she visited the Hermitage and, following Violette, attributed the drawings to Fessard with retouching by Natoire in 2012, pp. 498–99, R. 8–21. My greatest thanks to Susanne Caviglia (email correspondence in September 2017 and June 2019) and Perrin Stein (conversations and email correspondence in October 2017 and July 2019).

306. Étienne Fessard after Charles Natoire, *The Shepherds with Women and Children in the Foreground,* 1752, etching and engraving, sheet (trimmed) 533 x 272 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

307. Charles Natoire, *The Wise Man Balthazar and His Retinue,* c. 1751, graphite, black chalk, and white chalk with stumping on grey paper, 502 x 275 mm (St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum).

308. Charles Natoire, *The Wise Men Gaspard and Melchior Adoring the Infant Jesus, Altar Painting*, c. 1751, graphite, black chalk, and white chalk with stumping on grey paper, 559 x 356 mm (St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum).

309. Enlarged detail of fig. 308, drawing by Natoire.

310. Enlarged detail of fig. 305, engraving by Fessard.

311. Étienne Fessard after Charles Natoire, *Angels Singing the Glory of God, Painting of Glory*, 1754, etching and engraving, 573 x 748 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

Henri Watelet's entry on 'gravure' in the *Encyclopédie*.[39]

Overall Fessard's prints were successful translations of the designs of each composition, as well as of the play of light and dark across each scene. A comparison of a few details, however, underscores the difference in quality of draughtsmanship between Natoire's drawing and Fessard's etching and engraving (figs. 309 and 310).[40] Many of Fessard's faces, in particular, lack subtlety of emotional expression as well as the qualities of grace and delicacy that were highlights of Natoire's work. Fessard tended to simplify and stylize his faces, which also have a hardness about them. Interestingly, in 1752 Natoire suggested to Abel-François Poisson de Vandières, *surintendant des bâtiments du roi*, that one of the pensionnaire positions for the Académie de France in Rome be reserved for a printmaker to improve his draughtsmanship, but his suggestion was rebuffed.[41] Frustrated by the delay of the production of the prints and the sometimes lackluster draughtsmanship, Natoire was probably also unhappy with the incorrect lettering of two of the prints. The titles of the prints correspond

39. *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, edited by D. Diderot and J. le Rond d'Alembert, Paris, 1751–65, VII, p. 880. Some, but not all, of the drawings appear to have an incised grid, presumably to facilitate transfer of the image.

40. There are no known drawings by Fessard.

41. *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, X, pp. 385 no. 4908 (letter from Natoire to Vandières, 8 May 1752) and 390 no. 4913 (Marigny to Vandières, 30 May 1752).

to the location of the paintings within the chapel. Fessard accidentally reversed the lettering of the two compositions that flank the central altarpiece; the wise man Balthazar on the left (which is incorrectly titled 'droit'), the shepherds on the right (which is incorrectly titled 'gauche').

1753 came and went, and the next group of prints was not delivered to subscribers, but Fessard, true to form, placed multiple announcements in the *Mercure de France*. In the January 1753 issue, Fessard provided an update on the series, including a new timeline for its execution and delivery, with the final print promised for 1756. He also proudly stated that the French royal family now counted among the series' subscribers – he specifically mentions the King, the Queen, the Dauphin and Dauphine, and the Mesdames (Louis XV's daughters) – and claimed that the 500 subscriptions were almost all taken.[42] Yet in the April *Mercure* we find Fessard still angling for subscribers, assuring readers that more people had become interested in the series since he had issued the first three plates (then providing a list of more than 50 additional names, bringing the total number of subscribers to almost 150).[43] Then, in July 1753 he announced that 'M. Fessard, known for the enterprise of the Chapel of the Enfants Trouvés', had been accepted as a provisional member of the prestigious Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, which enabled him to exhibit works in the biennial Salon beginning in August 1753.[44] Of course the prints from the Enfants Trouvés series predominated among the artist's Salon submissions from 1753 to 1761.[45] As a provisional member, he was assigned to engrave portraits of Louis Galloche and Jean Restout, after portraits by Louis Tocqué and Maurice-Quentin de La Tour, respectively, for his reception pieces on 26 May 1753.[46] True to character, Fessard never completed his two reception pieces, which were reassigned to and completed by Johann Gotthard von Muller and Pierre Etienne Moitte in 1776 and 1771, respectively.[47]

Fessard delivered the next three prints in September 1754.[48] The most important of these was the *Angels Singing the Glory of God, Painting of Glory*; Fessard initially promised to issue this composition in two prints but, on the grounds that it would be easier 'to better judge its effect', engraved it as one larger plate instead (fig. 311).[49] This is the only horizontal composition in the series, the print's lettering cleverly incorporated into the semicircle below, which constituted the top of the central altar painting.

By April 1756, Fessard's original promised date to complete the series, four more prints arrived in the third group with assurance that the fourth group would be available by the end of the year.[50] This did not happen. To be fair, Fessard, like most professional printmakers of his time, had to balance multiple projects to maintain a steady income and to continue building his business, reputation and network of connections, though he promised more than he could deliver. In 1755 he obtained work for the royal family, when he was appointed *graveur de la bibliothèque du roi*, possibly through the good offices of the Comte de Caylus, and assisted with the production of the suite of prints that Madame de Pompadour made after the designs of the gem engraver Jacques Guay.[51] Fessard also etched and engraved several paintings in Pompadour's collection.[52]

The fourth *livraison* of chapel prints finally appeared in 1757, making fourteen in all.[53] Six years

42. *Mercure de* France, January 1753, pp. 142–44.
43. *Mercure de France*, April 1753, pp. 155–58. Including this list, Fessard had by now provided the names of 131 subscribers: 54, including Joullain's two subscriptions, in June 1751; twelve in August 1751; twelve, including up to six *Mesdames*, in January 1753; and 53 in April 1753.
44. *Mercure de France*, July 1753, p. 166.
45. *Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, Nogent le Roi, 1990–91, III, pp. 34 (1753); 38 (1755); 34 (1757); 33 (1759); and 34 (1761).
46. Montaiglon, *Procès-Verbaux*, VI, p. 351.
47. W. McAllister Johnson, *French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture Engraved Reception Pieces: 1672–1789*, Kingston, ON, 1982, pp. 141–42.
48. *Mercure de France*, August 1754, pp. 174–75. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, pp. 65–66, nos. 323 and 327.
49. *Mercure de France*, January 1753, p. 143.
50. *Mercure de France*, April 1756, p. 169. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, p. 66 nos. 328–29 and 331–32.
51. Portalis and Beraldi, op. cit., II, p. 140, note 2. Fessard began using this title after his name in the 1755 Salon *livret;* see *Collection des livrets,* III, p. 38. S. M. Wager, 'The earliest known version of Madame de Pompadour's *Suite d'Estampes* rediscovered,' *Burlington Magazine*, CLIX, April 2017, p. 286.
52. Fessard, with the assistance of his student Augustin de Saint-Aubin, engraved Christophe Huet's portraits of Pompadour's beloved dogs Ines and Mimi in 1755–56 and 1758, respectively. In 1756 Fessard published his four prints after Carle Van Loo's paintings of the *Allegories of the Arts*, the lettering of which clearly states were owned by Pompadour at her chateau at Bellevue. However, Fessard apparently did not obtain permission from Van Loo to engrave these paintings, see Portalis and Beraldi, op. cit., II, pp. 433–34. For images see *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, edited by X. Salmon, Paris, 2002, pp. 182–83, nos. 51–54, and pp. 198–200, nos. 63–64.
53. *Mercure de France*, June 1757, pp. 164–65. *Inventaire du fonds français*, IX, pp. 65–66 nos. 324–25, 330, and 333.

after his initial advertisement, Fessard at last turned to engraving the final and arguably the most important print in the series, the perspectival view of the entire chapel (fig. 297). By then, however, Fessard, always keen to seize an opportunity, already had his eyes on another project. In the December 1757 and February 1758 issues of the *Mercure de France*, he proposed a new subscription-based project – modelled on the 'same plan' as the Enfants Trouvés series – to engrave paintings in the Cabinet du roi. He followed the general description of this '*grand projet*', on which he said he would work with 'able students', with a list of subscribers.[54] He claimed that the 'satisfaction' of the subscribers to the Enfants Trouvés series prompted him to take up this new project.[55] It too was plagued by problems of various sorts and by the early 1770s Fessard had only completed two prints.[56] In 1759, Fessard finally issued the last of the Enfants Trouvés series with a defensive announcement in the *Mercure de France*, again citing 'maladies' as a reason for the delay along with the greater amount of work involved in making the three largest plates in the series.[57] Unlike the other fourteen prints, this composition was based on a drawing by one of Fessard's students, Augustin de Saint-Aubin (1736–1807), which is no longer extant.[58] It was by far the most elaborate and complex in the series. Saint-Aubin took some artistic liberties in rendering the space of the chapel, collapsing multiple perspectives into one composition to simultaneously show three walls, the ceiling and the floor, a view not possible in the space itself. As shown by the Petit Palais recreation, which is larger than the original, it was impossible to see the entire chapel in one glance (fig. 298). This print helped to situate each of Natoire's compositions, enabling one to appreciate how they were integrated into, and harmonized with, the Brunettis' fictional architecture and the physical elements of the space, including the windows, the marble altarpiece and the choir screen.

Fessard's breathtaking perspectival view numbers among his best and most beautiful prints for its draughtsmanship, range of tones, and the balance between the overall composition and the details. Like Saint-Aubin, Fessard had faced the particularly difficult task of distinguishing three kinds of light: the actual light from the windows, the fictive daylight suggested in Natoire and the Brunettis' paintings, and the fictive celestial light issuing forth from above the altar. In addition, this print featured the most extensive lettering of all the plates in the series, outlining the contributions of all the artists involved in its making.[59] It arrived four years late, but was indeed a spectacular finale to a most impressive and accomplished series.

Why did Natoire let Fessard engrave the series? Perhaps because no one else was willing to take on such a challenging and time-consuming project. Although Fessard would continue to engrave compositions by other artists until his death in 1777, his uneven work was disparaged in academic circles. Jean-Baptiste-Marie Pierre, director of the Académie Royale, was so frustrated with Fessard's inability to complete his reception pieces that he forbade the artist to exhibit prints at the Salon in 1771. On 12 June 1772, Pierre wrote to the Marquis de Marigny, 'Fessard is sixty-some years old, he is still only a provisional member, for want of talent to be a full member; his earlier works are worse than mediocre.'[60]

54. *Mercure de France*, February 1758, pp. 135–37.
55. *Mercure de France*, December 1757, pp. 167–70 and *Mercure de France*, February 1758, pp. 135–37.
56. Fessard etched and engraved Peter Paul Rubens's painting *Feste flamande* in 1762 and Nicolas Poussin's *L'Empire de Flore* in 1770. For a more detailed discussion of Fessard's involvement in this project – and the objection of his contemporaries to his work on it – see Portalis and Beraldi, op. cit., II, pp. 131–35, 137–38; *Inventaire du fonds français*, pp. 88–92, no. 404 and p. 107, no. 1,235; and J.-G. Castex, 'Un seul graveur peut-il *interpréter* tous les peintres?: Étienne Fessard ou les paradoxes de la gravure d'interprétation dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle,' in *La Gravure: Quelles problématiques pour les temps modernes?*, edited by I. Michel-Évrard and P. Wachenheim, Bordeaux, 2009, pp. 45–52.
57. *Mercure de France*, October 1759, p. 194.
58. A related small-scale sketch in Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 52349, recto, rendered in brown ink with two shades of brown wash over graphite, shows how Saint-Aubin captured the general play of light and shadow as well as the massing of forms in Natoire's and the Brunetti paintings; Duclaux, op. cit., p. 45, fig. 2.
59. The inscription below the image at the bottom of the plate reads 'Peint par Charles Natoire Peintre du Roy pour l'Histoire et par M^rs. Brunetti pere et fils pour l'Architecture / Dessiné par Aug. de S^t. Aubin' at left and 'Gravé par Et. Fessard 1759' at right. It also should be noted that there are two states for this final print. Whereas the first state only lists Fessard's name and address at bottom centre, 'a Paris chès l'auteur Graveur du Roy et de la Bibliothèque Rue de Richelieu', in the second state the names and addresses of Veuve Chereau and Joullain have been added to the left and right, respectively. It is most likely that these two publishers were acting as distributors for extra impressions outside of the subscription and receiving a share of the profits. The name and address of Joullain, who bought two subscriptions to the series, also appears on *The Wise Men Gaspard and Melchior Adoring the Infant Jesus, Altar Painting*, fig. 305.
60. Jean-Baptiste-Marie Pierre to the Marquis de Marigny, 12 June 1772: 'le s^r *Fessard* a soixante et tant d'années, il n'est encore qu'agréé, faute de talent pour être reçu; ses ouvrages antérieurs sont au dessous du mediocre'; M. Furcy-Raynaud, 'Correspondance de M. de Marigny avec Coypel, Lépicié et Cochin', *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, 1904, XX, pp. 258–59.

As for Natoire, these prints have become essential to the study of his oeuvre, although their varying dimensions have made them challenging to store together.[61] Within two decades of completion, the chapel décor, painted in oil directly on the plaster walls, started to present serious signs of ageing and the paintings were literally in ruins by the time the chapel was torn down in the nineteenth century.[62] Fessard's prints of this lost masterpiece attest to his prescient words in his first announcement for the series:

> What embrace should not be given to an art that prevents the ravages of time and conserves for posterity the beautiful ideas of a great man? This art is engraving: in multiplying the most exquisite works, it eternalizes them.[63]

61. Many impressions found their way into albums and portfolios of different sizes; the two largest prints of the perspective view and of the heavens are often folded in the centre. Relatively few institutions outside of Paris seem to have the entire series. Aside from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Duclaux notes that there are complete series of prints at the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and the Musée de l'Assistance publique; op. cit., p. 47, note 14. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has fourteen of the fifteen prints.
62. Piganiol de la Force, *Description historique de la Ville de Paris et de ses environs*, 2nd edn, Paris, 1765, I, p. 416, 'les peintures du rez-de-chaussée ayant été faites trop-tôt, & sans que le plâtre fut assez sec, sont déjà presque effacées. C'est une perte pour le public, qui les avoit admirées avec justice.' On 1 April 1765, La Live de Jully wrote to the Comte de Cobenzl, referring to the related drawings, 'cette collection deviendra tous les jours dautant plus interessante que la Chapelle ayant eté peinte avec la bâtisse trop fraiche la peinture en souffre tous les ans, et finira peut être par se perde totalement,' Pinchart, 'Correspondance artistique du Comte de Cobenzl', pp. 38–39.
63. 'Quel accueil ne doit-on pas faire à un art, qui prévient le ravage du tems, & qui conserve à la postérité les belles idées d'un grand homme? Cet art est la gravûre; en possession de multiplier les morceaux les plus exquis, elle les éternise encore', *Mercure de France*, January 1751, p. 123.

Rethinking Mary Cassatt's *Reflection* as a Self-Portrait

Nicole M. Georgopulos

In a 1910 article published in *Good Housekeeping*, Gardner Teall wrote of the artist Mary Cassatt (1844–1926):

> She works quietly and happily. I doubt if there exists a photograph of her, and yet I feel, as everyone must feel who knows her and who studies her work, that so much of herself is embodied in each of her pictures that they, perhaps, are almost themselves portraits of the soul of this great artist who paints with perfect fidelity that nobility of womanhood which is the American ideal.[1]

Although Teall's suspicions were not quite right, they were not unreasonable, as only a small number of photographs of Cassatt existed at the time. Cassatt had garnered a reputation for vehemently rejecting requests for photographs from curators and writers, and she relented only later in life.[2] Teall's poetic pronouncement of her paintings as pseudo-self-portraits, physical manifestations of her inner soul, was perhaps made more apposite by the fact that only two painted self-portraits of the artist exist (figs. 312 and 313). This is not to discount his assessment of Cassatt's ability to imbue her paintings with her singular essence. Indeed, her works often seem deeply personal and ripe for psychological investigation, even when her subjects are anonymous or unknown to the viewer.

One such example of Cassatt's talents as a portraitist can be found within her voluminous oeuvre of prints: a somewhat overlooked drypoint entitled *Reflection* (fig. 314).[3] Part of her *Set of Twelve* series made in 1889–90, it was first exhibited at the Deuxième

1. G. Teall: 'Mother and Child: The Theme as Developed in the Art of Mary Cassatt', *Good Housekeeping*, L, no. 2, February 1910, p. 146.
2. See Cassatt's letter to John Beatty of 6 October 1908 in the Archives of American Art, cited in N. M. Mathews, *Mary Cassatt: A Life*, New Haven, 1994, p. 278.
3. I am grateful to Liz Zanis and the rest of the staff of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Study Room for Drawings and Prints for the opportunity to repeatedly examine this print.

312. Mary Cassatt, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1880, gouache and watercolour over graphite, 331 x 246 mm (Washington, DC, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution).

Exposition des Peintres-Graveurs in March 1890 and later in her 1893 monographic exhibition at Durand-Ruel. *Reflection* is a deceptively simple composition, a full-length portrait of a woman seated in an informal, familiar pose. Her legs are casually crossed, one ankle lolling to the side. She leans forward slightly to rest her forearms on her lap, on the skirt of a simple dress. The figure's eyes are narrowed in concentration and turned towards the picture plane, drawing in the viewer, engaging us in a reciprocated looking that unfolds by virtue of what Teall would come to describe in his article, namely, the sense that we might discover something of the artist's self and soul in her works. At first glance, the title is somewhat confounding, as – unlike a number of other prints from the same series that feature mirrors – there is no 'reflection' in sight. What little scholarly attention this work has received rarely (if ever) commented on this choice of title, and the simplest explanation has yet to be articulated: that *Reflection* depicts just what its title suggests – a reflection. That is, *Reflection* is one of Cassatt's rare, literal self-portraits, made with the help of a full-length mirror that was a staple of her studio practice. With this interpretation the figure's relaxed posture is now more readily understood: she is utterly at ease in her own company, free of any social constrictions that might otherwise affect the relationship between an artist and her model.

Given the preponderance of mirrors throughout Cassatt's work, it seems only natural that she would eventually turn to her own reflection as a subject. Cassatt's mirrors are often playful, even duplicitous. To take but one example, the mirror image in *The Coiffure*, of 1890–91 – a print made not long after *Reflection* – offers the viewer an inconsistent image of the figure, effectively undermining her availability to our gaze.[4] In light of the mirror's ambiguity within Cassatt's oeuvre, it is fitting that *Reflection*'s identification as a self-portrait would be less than obvious. Given that she completed only two extant and explicit self-portraits and was purportedly disinclined to be photographed, the equivocal nature of Cassatt's print is entirely in character. The identification of the figure as the artist herself, however, is far from improbable, as the few photographs of Cassatt that we have bear a sufficiently convincing resemblance to the figure in her print. A rare photograph from her youth, taken circa 1863, reveals the same narrow eyes, fixed in a penetrating gaze (fig. 315). A slightly later photograph exhibits similar features, her head seen conveniently at nearly the same angle as in *Reflection* (fig. 316). Later photographs of Cassatt, which exist in greater number, show the same long nose, thin lips and high cheekbones as the woman depicted in the print (fig. 317).

The physical similarities between the print and these photographs are perhaps only enough to suspend disbelief, particularly because there are no known photographs of the artist from around the time of the print's production. An inventory of *Reflection*'s subtler attributes, however, allows for a more certain identification of the sitter as the artist herself, as Cassatt taps into a personal iconography that would have been legible to her friends and colleagues. One such trait that has often been remarked upon both by Cassatt's friends and a number of art historians can be detected in the later photographs of the artist: her love of hats. In his 1966 *Miss Mary Cassatt: Impressionist from Pennsylvania*, Frederick A.

4. A. D. Breeskin, *Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Graphic Work*, Washington, DC, 1979, no. 152.

313. Mary Cassatt, *Portrait of the Artist*, 1878, watercolour and gouache, 600 x 411 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

314. Mary Cassatt, *Reflection*, 1889–90, fifth state, drypoint, 259 x 175 mm, sheet 385 x 280 mm (New York, The New York Public Library).

315. Photograph of Mary Cassatt, c. 1863 (Private collection).

316. Alphonse K. Liébert & Co., Photograph of Mary Cassatt taken in Paris, c. 1867 (Private collection).

317. Photograph of Mary Cassatt (left) at Château de Beaufresne, with Mme. Joseph Durand-Ruel (right), 1910 (Paris, Document Archives Durand-Ruel).

Sweet (1903–84) writes of the painter, 'She dressed extremely well in a tailored manner, went to the best Paris dressmakers, such as Doucet, Redfern, or La Ferrière, and to Reboux for big hats with plumes and aigrettes'.[5] Writing more broadly on the millinery trade and its intersection with avant-garde painting of the late nineteenth century, Simon Kelly strikes a similar note, describing Cassatt as 'an avid shopper'.[6] Her passion for hats has been a recurring theme throughout her critical bibliography, suggesting that it is more than merely anecdotal; rather, hats were an indelible part of her self-image, an emblem of her public persona. That hats feature prominently in Cassatt's two long-accepted self-portraits confirms

5. F. Sweet, *Miss Mary Cassatt: Impressionist from Pennsylvania*, Norman, OK, 1966, p. 147.
6. S. Kelly, '"Silk and Feather, Satin and Straw": Degas, Women, and the Paris Millinery Trade', in S. Kelly and E. Bell, *Degas, Impressionism, and the Paris Millinery Trade*, San Francisco and Munich, 2017, p. 27.

the importance of millinery accessories to the artist, as each appears as a polychrome annex of her head. So too did they play a considerable role in her portrait practice over the course of her long career. In a number of figure studies from the same period as *Reflection,* Cassatt makes hats as much her central subject as the women wearing them. In *Young Woman in a Black and Green Bonnet, Looking Down*, for example, the chapeau seems possessed of its own physiognomy, appearing almost sculptural in its intricacy and design (fig. 318). By recognizing the personal, symbolic valence of hats within Cassatt's self-portraits, their appearance throughout her portrait practice can be recontextualized. More than merely bourgeois accessories, hats are markers of Cassatt's personality and taste, a sort of secondary signature.

Cassatt's association with hats, however, was perhaps most firmly established in portraits of the artist made by her friend and artistic interlocutor, Edgar Degas (1834–1917). That Cassatt often acted as a model for Degas over the course of their tumultuous working relationship has been well documented.[7] In nearly all of her appearances in Degas' oeuvre, she dons a hat.[8] While this would not have been unusual considering the fashion of the day, their persistent presence is noteworthy, given the amount of attention granted to the garments by Degas.[9] His best-known portrait of Cassatt depicts her in a familiar pose, her elbows resting upon her knees, clutching a fan of illegible cartes-de-visite (fig. 319). Her hat, embellished with a broad bow, is nearly as tall as her face is long, prolonging the space of her portrait into the indistinct background. In his series of paintings, drawings and prints of Cassatt in the galleries at the Louvre, Cassatt's wide-brimmed hat acts as her surrogate, substituting for her face while her back is turned away from the picture plane (fig. 320). That one of Degas' most sustained studies of Cassatt does not feature her face, but merely the back of her head adorned with a hat, suggests a singular association between Cassatt and the hats that so occupied both of their figure painting practices in the mid-1880s.[10] If that were not enough, it has long been established that Cassatt served as the primary model for Degas' numerous representations of women in millinery shops.[11] Identifiable even from behind by her distinctive copper hair, Cassatt was both model and muse for these works. Her close friend and confidante Louisine Havemeyer (1855–1929) recounts in her memoir how Cassatt had posed for a pastel that she owned: 'The movement of the hand that places the hat upon her head … is very characteristic of her [Cassatt]'.[12] Cassatt's association with hats, depicted both in her portraits of women and in her personal fashion, is borne out in the testimony of her contemporaries, be it verbal or visual. It seems only fitting, then, that she would choose to include a hat in her third self-portrait, as she did in the first two. In *Reflection,* the undulating waves of material that form a knot at the top of her head, rendered in deeply incised lines of drypoint, lend the hat a precarious sense of balance. Its great lobes furl and unfurl themselves, a coy wink to those who knew Cassatt well enough to realize that the accessory acts as a beacon of the sitter's identity.

Yet another aspect of the print functions in the same way, alerting those familiar with Cassatt's personal life to her identity, although with more subtlety and a certain degree of capriciousness. In the second state of the print, a slight pyramidal form of a small dog emerges from the folds of Cassatt's skirt (fig. 321). Although by the third state it would be partially effaced, the dog seen here resembles those found elsewhere in Cassatt's oeuvre.[13] Short-haired and with pointy ears that fold over, the dog may well have been one of Cassatt's own Brussels Griffons. Much like her love of hats, the importance of Cassatt's pets has been a recurring leitmotif in her critical bibliography. Sweet, as well as Adelyn Dohme Breeskin and Nancy

7. K. Jones, '"A Much Finer Curve": Identity and Representation in Degas's Depictions of Cassatt,' in K. Jones, *Degas/Cassatt*, Washington, DC, 2014.
8. Degas' catalogue raisonné identifies eight individual works, though there are many more that can be connected to (if not firmly identified as) Cassatt; see P.A. Lemoisne, *Degas et son oeuvre,* New York, 1946. See also Jones, op. cit., p. 94 note 38.
9. The importance of hats and millinery shops in the work of Degas and his contemporaries was the subject of a major publication, see Kelly and Bell, op. cit.
10. According to Kimberly A. Jones, the series constitutes one of Degas' most sustained studies of a single motif; Jones, op. cit., p. 87. It included a number of prints that were made around the same time that Degas and Cassatt were working together on the never-realized prints journal *Le Jour et la nuit.*
11. See Kelly, op. cit. and Jones, op. cit., p. 94.
12. L. Havemeyer: *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector,* New York, 1993, p. 258, referring to *At the Milliner's,* of 1882, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Another pastel entitled *At the Milliner's,* of c. 1882, in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, is identifiable as Cassatt, further confirmed by a pastel and charcoal sketch of c. 1882 now in the Musée d'Orsay, RF 5605.
13. A recently discovered intermediary state, published by Marc Rosen and Susan Pinsky, includes a more clarified image of the dog, indicating that Cassatt burnished out its facial features (although retaining its general shape) before the second state. See M. Rosen and S. Pinsky: *Mary Cassatt: Prints and Drawings from the Artist's Studio*, Princeton, 2000, pp. 60–61.

318. Mary Cassatt, *Young Woman in a Black and Green Bonnet, Looking Down*, c. 1890, pastel, 650 x 520 mm (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Art Museum).

Mowll Mathews – arguably the two most significant Cassatt scholars of the twentieth century – all make mention of Cassatt's love of dogs.[14] To take but one example, Breeskin, quoting from an 1898 announcement in the Philadelphia Ledger, writes that the painter was thought to own 'the smallest Pekingese dog in the world'.[15] It seems that Cassatt's fondness for dogs was also well known to her contemporaries.

14. Sweet, op. cit., p. 150; Mathews 1994, op. cit., p. 319.

15. A. D. Breeskin, *Mary Cassatt, 1844–1926,* Washington, DC, 1970, p. 24.

A touching anecdote relayed in Degas' letters reveals that in 1878–79 he wrote to his good friend Ludovic Lepic, a breeder of Brussels Griffon puppies, asking that he send one for Cassatt.[16] The happy result is the appearance of Baptiste – nicknamed Battie – in many of her paintings and drawings from around this time, such as *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*, of 1878, one of Cassatt's most celebrated works, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. So too is the family pet shown curled up in the lap of Cassatt's brother in a drypoint from c. 1883.[17] It is unclear whether the dog depicted in *Reflection* is Baptiste – he would have been getting on in years by that time – but it is well documented that Cassatt continued to have pet dogs until the end of her life, mostly of the same breed, as reflected in a number of late photographs of her (fig. 317).[18] Cassatt's use of her own pets as models suggests that their presence in her work had a personal resonance, making it all the more natural that a dog would appear in a state of Cassatt's self-portrait, as if he had wandered into her studio seeking attention, only to become bored and scamper off again.[19]

It is significant that the process of drypoint is itself an act of reflection. In rendering her image on the copperplate, which would eventually be printed in reverse, or mirror image, onto the sheet, Cassatt mimics the optical inversion of her appearance on the mirror. What is more, as a medium specifically intended to generate multiple impressions, printmaking further corresponds to the theme of duplication and reproduction at play in *Reflection*. With every pull of the press, Cassatt's doppelgänger on the mirror is further duplicated, as more and more doubles of the artist are created. Insistent on maintaining complete control over every step of the printmaking process, Cassatt was profoundly invested in developing her skills as a printmaker, eventually installing a press in her home studio in Paris, and this resonance would not have been lost on her.[20] By the early 1890s printmaking had become an increasingly prominent aspect of her artistic practice, making it all the more fitting that she would propagate her self-image via a printed self-portrait.

That circulation and dissemination in the public sphere are inherent to printmaking would not have been lost on the shrewd Cassatt, and drypoint was the perfect vehicle for a self-portrait, a surrogate for the artist herself. A discerning cultivator of her public image, Cassatt was keenly aware of her audience and market, particularly when it came to prints. With the help of dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, she capitalized on the boom in print culture that swept through the nineteenth century, including the marketing of her print suites such as the *Set of Twelve*, of which *Reflection* is a part.[21] In a recent article, Hadrien Viraben has demonstrated Cassatt's acute awareness of her public image and the great lengths to which she went to control it. Viraben's examination of the correspondence between Cassatt and her first biographer, Achille Segard, reveals her strategic thinking in selecting the photographs that would accompany his text, knowing that they would play a role in shaping public perception of her.[22] Her self-portraits can be understood as functioning in a similar way, emissaries set out before the eyes of her viewers. Norma Broude has interpreted Cassatt's other self-portraits as disclosing the ways in which she grappled with her own identity as an artist, as well as an expatriate woman of the upper-middle class, along with the social baggage that those categories entail.[23]

As much as *Reflection* acts as a proxy for Cassatt's public image, however, the print's equivocal identification – it is not explicitly designated as a self-portrait – complicates its interpretation. It seems that by mobilizing a personal iconography that would have been legible to those viewers in the know – her signature fashion accessory of the hat and the (albeit fleeting) presence of her precious pet – Cassatt toys with the relationship between her private and public selves, embellishing a portrait of a seemingly unidentified sitter with personal attributes. On the one hand, she knowingly plays with public perception

16. Edgar Degas to Ludovic Lepic, undated letter, reproduced in M. Guerin, *Degas. Letters*, translated by M. Kay, Oxford, 1947, pp. 144–45.
17. Impression in New York Public Library.
18. Breeskin 1970, op. cit., p. 24.
19. On pets as an integral part of bourgeois identity and their representation in nineteenth-century painting, see J. H. Rubin, *Impressionist Cats and Dogs: Pets in the Painting of Modern Life,* New Haven, 2003.
20. On Cassatt's prints, see Breeskin 1979, op. cit., and N. M. Mathews and B. S. Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt: The Color Prints,* New York, 1989.
21. On Cassatt's marketing of her prints, see B. S. Shapiro, 'Mary Cassatt's Color Prints and Contemporary French Printmaking', in Mathews and Shapiro, op. cit.; and W. Kruckenberg, 'Degas, Cassatt, Pissarro and the Making and Marketing of the Belle Épreuve', PhD dissertation, Temple University, 2014, pp. 155–211.
22. H. Viraben, 'Constructing a Reputation: Achille Segard's 1913 Biography of Mary Cassatt', *American Art,* XXXI, no. 1, Spring 2017, p. 107.
23. N. Broude, 'Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman or the Cult of True Womanhood?', *Woman's Art Journal,* XXI, no. 2, Autumn–Winter 2000–01, p. 37.

319. Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt*, c. 1880–84, oil on canvas, 733 x 600 mm (Washington, DC, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution).

through these subtle, symbolic elements. On the other hand, she maintains a degree of anonymity. In this light, Cassatt's title – *Reflection* – turns back on its original, literal meaning. In the study of her own image on the mirror's surface, Cassatt engages in thoughtful reflection, considering herself both within her own, private domain and in her broader social milieu. As an anglophone, Cassatt was singularly

320. Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Etruscan Gallery*, 1879–80, soft-ground etching, drypoint, aquatint and etching, 430 x 305 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

suited to appreciate the double inflection of the print's title; while in English 'reflection' can indicate both a physical reflection as well as the mental act of contemplation, it is not so in French. The print's French title, *Réflexion* – under which it was originally exhibited in 1893 – refers solely to the conceptual,

mental act, whereas *'reflet'* would signify an imagistic reflection.[24] Fully bilingual, Cassatt was perfectly positioned to enjoy the double meaning of the term in its English form even if it was partially lost on her francophone viewers. The contemplative nature of the print may also have come to bear on the process of creation; as Mathews poetically wrote about *The Bonnet*, another print from the *Set of Twelve*, 'Just as the model looks into the artist's hand mirror, the artist herself looks into the reflective surface of the drypoint plate and transforms into art the image she sees there' (fig. 322).[25] Mathews' description readily extends to a reading of *Reflection*, perhaps even more accurately than with the print it originally describes because of the subject's identity.

Another aspect of Cassatt's self-representation in *Reflection* further demonstrates the contemplative nature of the print while simultaneously confirming the figure's identity as the artist herself: her hands. An imbroglio of abbreviated lines with sparse, cross-hatched shading, the hands folded upon the figure's knees are only vaguely indicated, slipping into abstraction. Their scant representation is thrown into relief by the contrast of the otherwise refined, subtle lines with which Cassatt incises her facial features; her hands bear more of a resemblance to the quasi-architectural lines that indicate the folds of her dress, wrapping around the base of her chair. Cassatt's decision to represent her hands in this way is symptomatic of her devotion to the aesthetic principles of Realism, namely, to rendering her subject as she herself saw it. Her hands appear indistinct because, as she carried out her portrait, they would have been a blur of motion, moving across her sketching pad or copperplate. Cassatt's two other confirmed self-portraits similarly bear evidence for this penchant for Realist representation, her hands acting as emblems of the portraits' authenticity. In the semi-finished gouache Cassatt's hands are entirely obscured by her drawing board, itself scarcely indicated at far right (fig. 312). Even more telling is her accomplished self-portrait, also in gouache and watercolour (fig. 313). Much as in *Reflection*, Cassatt here carefully renders her face and elaborate hat, although paying greater attention to her dress and to the plush sofa on which she leans than she would in the later print. Despite the higher degree of finish in this self-portrait, Cassatt's hands appear yet again as a jumble of brusque lines, layers of tone built up in a way that obscures each individual gloved finger. That Cassatt was compelled to represent her hands thus is indicative of the candour of her self-portraits. While the rest of her body could have presumably remained fairly still for her sitting, captured in the mirror, her hands would have appeared as whirling blurs of motion as they executed her image. A comparison of the representation of her own hands to those of other subjects, such as those seen in other prints from the *Set of Twelve* such as *The Bonnet*, demonstrates that this feature is specific to her general portrait practice rather than to her figural work (fig. 322). Perhaps Cassatt was paying subtle respects to another Realist painter, Edouard Manet (1832–83), whose few self-portraits are marked by this same trait, and whom Cassatt considered to be one of her major influences (fig. 323).[26]

Whether or not she was responding directly to Manet, this shared characteristic suggests the symbolic import of the artist's hand as an emblem of artistic identity in the nineteenth century. More than simply a metonym for creative control, the 'artist's hand' became a significant element of form at the birth of Modernism. In contrast to the strict linearity of Neoclassicism and Academic Naturalism that worked to obscure the touch of the artist's brush, the loose, open facture that characterized the canvases of Realists and Impressionists, including Manet and Cassatt, was often described as bearing evidence of the artist's hand – of his or her literal, physical intervention on the canvas or sheet. James H. Rubin has noted this association between artists' hands and their identity at the birth of modern painting in his discussion of Manet's self-portrait, describing the unarticulated blurs of Manet's hands as embryonic, indicative of the ongoing process of creative expression.[27] The rhetorical significance of the artist's hand is also apparent in Cassatt's critical

24. The print's title was not specified when it was first exhibited at the Deuxième Exposition des Peintres-Graveurs in 1890, as the catalogue lists the *Set of Twelve* together as a whole under the title 'Épreuves de pointe sèche faisant partie d'une série de douze' (p. 16, no. 53). At the 1893 Durand-Ruel exhibition, it was listed as *Réflexion; Exposition Mary Cassatt, Galeries Durand-Ruel*, Paris, 1893, p. 37, no. 90. As is typical of many of Cassatt's works, the title was translated into English upon entering anglophone collections, such as that of Samuel Putnam Avery.

25. N. M. Mathews, 'Beauty, Truth, and the Artist's Mirror: A Drypoint by Mary Cassatt', *Sources: Notes in the History of Art*, IV, no. 2/3, Winter/Spring 1985, p. 78.

26. See also Manet's *Self-Portrait in a Skull Cap*, of 1878–79, in the Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo. Cassatt told her first biographer that she considered herself a Realist indebted to Manet's example, calling him, Degas, and Gustave Courbet her 'véritables maîtres'; A. Segard, *Mary Cassatt: Un peintre des enfants et des mères*, Paris, 1913, p. 8.

27. J. H. Rubin, *Manet: Initial M, Hand and Eye*, Paris, 2010, pp. 155–56.

321. Mary Cassatt, *Reflection*, 1889–90, second state, drypoint, 259 x 175 mm (New York, The New York Public Library).

322. Mary Cassatt, *The Bonnet*, 1889–90, third state, drypoint, 184 x 138 mm (New York, The New York Public Library).

bibliography. A contributor to the *New York Daily Tribune* wrote in 1895, 'It is not often that one meets with such authoritative drawing, with so firm and powerful a hand', referring metonymically to the strength of her execution.[28]

Accepting *Reflection* as a third self-portrait within Cassatt's oeuvre opens up a number of interpretive possibilities as to how she negotiated her self-image both privately and publicly as a woman artist working at the fin-de-siècle. Self-portraits occupy a central position in the nineteenth-century avant-garde, from the histrionic self-presentations of Gustave Courbet (1819–77) to the pensive meditations of Paul Cézanne (1839–1906). Deemed the 'defining visual genre of

28. 'The Chronicle of Arts: Exhibitions and Other Topics', *New York Daily Tribune*, 21 April 1895, p. 25.

323. Edouard Manet, *Self Portrait with a Palette*, 1878–79, oil on canvas, 830 x 667 mm (New York, Private collection).

our confessional age', self-portraiture embodies the Modernist quest for the authentic self.[29] *Reflection* thus participates in an on-going cultural discourse about selfhood, artistic identity and their negotiation through visual art. Well educated and highly conscious of her art-historical forebears, Cassatt enters into this discourse, drawing herself (both literally and figuratively) into the illustrious history of the genre of self-portraiture. If her unarticulated hands are an homage to her Realist roots à la Manet, her ponderous expression may pay tribute to a master of self-portraits known especially through his prints, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–69). Cassatt's pursed lips, half-open as if on the edge of expression, recall Rembrandt's countenance in his *Self-Portrait with Haggard Eyes*, of 1660.[30] At a turning point in her career – 1893 was the year of her first retrospective – Cassatt's inward contemplation is made material in *Reflection*.[31] Resultant is a print that seems to interrogate us as viewers as much as it does her own image; her shrewd gaze, initially directed toward her own reflection, in turn pierces us, making us coterminous with her mirror image. *Reflection* is thus a double portrait: of Cassatt's private self – captured alone in her studio – and her public persona – on the surface of the mirror, reflecting outward.

29. J. Hall, *The Self Portrait: A Cultural History*, London, 2014, p. 8.

30. Charles Blanc's publication of *L'Œuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1859–61, greatly contributed to the Dutch master's popularization in the nineteenth century and included Rembrandt's *Autoportrait aux yeux hagards* (II, no. 217).

31. Mathews, 1994, op. cit., p. 218. That Cassatt chose to include *Reflection* in that exhibition further reiterates the print's significance in her oeuvre.

Notes

SHARING IMAGES. RENAISSANCE PRINTS INTO MAIOLICA AND BRONZE, by Jamie Gabbarelli, examines the use of prints as models for maiolica and, to a lesser extent, small bronze reliefs or plaquettes in Renaissance Italy (Jamie Gabbarelli with Jonathan Bober, exhibition catalogue, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1 April–5 August 2018, Washington, National Gallery of Art in association with Lund Humphries, 2017, 156 pp., 98 ills., $39.99). The catalogue brings together over 80 objects drawn primarily from the National Gallery of Art's newly acquired William A. Clark collection of maiolica and its existing holdings, with the addition of a few loans from other American collections. *Sharing Images* deals specifically with a type of high-end maiolica known as *istoriato*, meaning 'decorated with stories', which emerged in Italy in the latter half of the fifteenth century. As this catalogue highlights, the new technology of print, which for the first time enabled the broad dissemination of a range of imagery, provided the catalyst for this type of ceramic decoration.

Maiolica is the Italian name for a type of tin-glazed earthenware pottery that had its origins in the Islamic world and became widely produced in Italy from about 1300. Following an initial firing, the earthenware was covered with a glaze mixed with tin, which provided a white ground suitable for painting in colour. A second firing fused the pigments with the glaze. An additional paste composed of metal oxides could then be applied to the surface which, when fired a third time at a lower temperature, coated the object with a shimmering lustre. Early Italian tin-glazed pottery tended to be decorated with abstract patterns, figures or animals, often in a limited colour palette. In the latter half of the 1400s, however, Italian ceramic painters began covering the surfaces of their vessels and dishes with more detailed narrative subjects, often drawn from ancient myth or history and painted in brighter hues. These elaborately decorated objects, which formed only a small proportion of maiolica production, were commissioned and collected by the grandest of Renaissance patrons.

As Gabbarelli underscores, it is no coincidence that this development in maiolica decoration was concurrent with the dramatic rise in the dissemination of the printed image in Italy and elsewhere. It has long been acknowledged that prints of all types provided models for artists and craftsmen to use in their work. Nowhere is this more evident than in maiolica painting. The first chapter of the catalogue provides a general introduction to the two media of print and maiolica and the emergence of *istoriato* as 'the Renaissance art form that was most explicitly and extensively influenced by the advent of prints'. A small section is also devoted to small-scale bronze plaquettes. Popular among collectors between about 1475 and 1525, these objects were similarly modelled on prints, although less frequently. The following chapters, which are organized primarily according to designer or subject, reveal the very direct correlation between an image's distribution in print and its appearance in maiolica. Gabbarelli's discussion begins with some of the earliest known examples of *istoriato* after Andrea Mantegna (c. 1431–1506), Antonio Pollaiuolo (c. 1432–98) and the so-called Mantegna Tarocchi (figs. 324 and 325). Ceramic painters repeatedly adopted the designs of Raphael (1483–1520), Parmigianino (1503–40) and Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540), known through engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–before 1534), Jacopo Caraglio (c. 1500/05–65) and others. Conversely, those by Michelangelo (1475–1564), who resisted having his compositions disseminated in print, were only rarely represented. The maiolica painters appropriated their models in multifarious ways, either transposing entire compositions onto their pottery, or dissecting and repurposing their printed sources to produce collage-like images. As has often been discussed, Francesco Xanto Avelli (c. 1487–after 1542) – perhaps the best-known Renaissance pottery painter – used a cut-and-paste technique that involved extracting figures from different graphic sources and reassembling them. Maiolica painters preferred subjects from classical authors such as Ovid and Virgil, reflecting the interests of the cultural elite. A chapter on the use of book illustrations as models reminds us that even the most simple, single-line woodcut illustrations could be adopted by *istoriato* painters.

By focusing on the Renaissance print's practical function and therefore its appreciation beyond collecting circles, this beautifully written book provides a welcome addition to the literature. It should be noted that it does not address the more technical aspects of the ceramic painter's workshop practice, such as possible methods of design transferal and the extent to which the *istoriato* images relate in size and detail to their sources. Rather, the purpose of the book and exhibition is to address questions surrounding the dissemination of prints, 'where, when and for how long they were copied'; how rapidly they circulated and were 'adopted and adapted by other artists'; and how an image might be transformed once it migrates from one medium to the other. We are reminded that, intrinsic to the print image, is the unpredictability of its trajectory once off the press and out in the world. As Gabbarelli notes, an apt example of the unexpected use of a printed design is the appearance of Francesco Marcolini's publisher's

324. Master of the E-Series Tarocchi, *Clio, the Muse of History*, c. 1465, engraving with traces of gilding, sheet 178 x 100 mm (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art).

device showing Truth being rescued by Time on a maiolica dish produced in Urbino. How a particular design translated into maiolica would be received and understood was equally uncertain and must have varied according to the knowledge and background of the collector. CATHERINE JENKINS

325. Workshop of Giorgio Andreoli, *Shallow Bowl with the Muse Clio*, c. 1535/40, maiolica, diameter 261 mm (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Widener collection).

ART AND VIOLENCE IN EARLY RENAISSANCE FLORENCE by Scott Nethersole is a fascinating book, which delivers much more than is promised in its title (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2018, 320 pp., 230 ills., £60). It is, indeed, a discussion of art and violence in fifteenth-century Florence, but it sets the argument in the much broader context of why images of great brutality and startling ferocity began to appear there in the second half of the century, what brought them about, how they were read by their contemporaries, whether they were enjoyed because of what they showed, or in spite of it, in the sense of highlighting the nobility of those who looked at them with interest while distancing themselves from the butchery. That is precisely what we do now when we disregard their subject matter and admire them as works of art. As far as the readers of this Journal are concerned, the book offers new insights into a number of prints, including the anonymous *Legend*

326. Francesco Rosselli, *The Flagellation*, third state, c. 1490–1500, engraving, 224 x 162 mm (London, British Museum).

of the Dead King, of c. 1480, here read in connection with the Pazzi conspiracy, and two prints of the *Flagellation* by the Master of the Vienna Passion and Francesco Rosselli, respectively (A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, London, 1938–48, I, nos. A.I.52, A.I.28 and B.I.7; fig. 326). On the two completely altered versions of Rosselli's engraving, Nethersole makes the sensible suggestion that whereas the first state, showing Christ unblemished and in a classical pose, was typical of such images in the 1480s, the second and third states, where He is bent over in pain while being hit by truculent tormentors, owe their appearance to the teachings of Savonarola in the 1490s. The print that is discussed at greatest length, however, is obviously Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Battle of Nude Men*, where the author takes issue with those who have read the print as a 'pattern book' for poses of warriors in battle and suggests that one must instead look at it as a *storia*. He highlights how it encompasses the triangulation between antique style, invention and the nude male body engaged in acts of violence, the very theme of this important book. It is a pity that the interesting interpretation of this elusive engraving offered by Ángel Arribas Gómez in these pages, which might have well met with Nethersole's approval, was possibly published too late for his inclusion (*Print Quarterly*, XXXIV, no. 4, December 2017, pp. 418–21). Citing Giovanni da Legnano's fourteenth-century legal treatise, the *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello*, Arribas Gómez proposed that the engraving portrays a duel between two noblemen that has degenerated into a more widespread confrontation involving the lower classe. DAVID LANDAU

PORTRAITS OF ARTISTS, TO 1800. After falling out of fashion in the early decades of the last century, in recent years the portrait print has started to enjoy something of a comeback, albeit as an object of academic scholarship rather than widespread collecting. One of the latest manifestations of this scholarly interest in the genre is the exhibition that took place in Munich in 2018 under the auspices of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte: *Platz da im Pantheon! Künstler in gedruckten Porträtserien bis 1800* (edited by Annalena Döring, Franz Hefele and Ulrich Pfisterer, multiple contributors, exhibition catalogue, Munich, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 25 October 2018–1 February 2019, Passau, Dietmar Klinger Verlag, 2018, 624 pp., 328 ills., €39.90). As the title of the show makes clear, the focus here was on portraits of artists and, more specifically, on portrait prints produced in series. But in truth this belies the diversity of the objects that it considered. To name only two examples, these included a woodcut from a fifteenth-century German edition of Boccaccio's *De*

327. *The Painter and Ivory Sculptor Marcia Varronis, also known as Iaia of Cyzicus*, from H. Steinhöwel, *Von etlichen frowen* (Ulm, Johannes Zainer, c. 1474), woodcut, hand-coloured in red, green, yellow and black, c. 80 x c. 110 mm (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library).

328. Attributed to Etienne Baudet, *Portrait of Caravaggio*, from G. P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (Rome, 1672), engraving, 165 x 128 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

claris mulieribus showing the ancient female artist Marcia Varronis (116–27 BC; fig. 327), and eighteenth-century illustrations of numismatic portraits from the collection of Count Giammaria Mazzuchelli (1707–65). This range of material can be explained by the art historical mission of the enterprise, which was concerned, above all, with the question of how artistic canons are formed.

The ambitions of the project are set out by Ulrich Pfisterer in the first of three essays that precede the catalogue proper. It is here that the central conceit of

the pantheon is explained. Pfisterer traces the word's usage as a term of approbation to Raphael's decision to be buried in Santa Maria della Rotonda in 1520, which is set within the context of contemporary artists' efforts to advance the status of their profession. What follows is a history of artist portraits from their emergence in the early fourteenth century to their widespread diffusion in the 1700s. While the author's call to compare portrait prints to portraits in other media is well taken, it remains somewhat unclear here what it was the print specifically is supposed to have contributed to this history. A bigger problem that this raises, however, is the question of portraiture *per se*. This is never really defined by Pfisterer, although he acknowledges the problems involved in assessing particular cases.

Other difficulties are presented by the narrow iconographical focus of the exhibition. This is especially apparent in the second essay by Valeska von Rosen, which considers the historical relevance of the distinction between portraits of artists and artists' self-portraits by comparing three groups of prints: the woodcuts executed for the second edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Vite* in 1568; the illustrations included in Nikolaus Reusner's *Icones* of 1589; and the portraits that appear in Giovanni Pietro Bellori's *Vite* of 1672. The differences between the first two groups of illustrations and those in Bellori's *Vite* are explained in terms of a growing interest in self-portraits and a declining interest in 'objective' depictions of artists by others, but this is not at all obvious. For the differences can also be explained by considering the intended function of the portraits in relation to the particular circumstances of their conception and production. A good example here is the rather sinister likeness of Caravaggio in Bellori's *Vite* which reinforces the negative view of his art that appears there (fig. 328).

The final essay in the catalogue by Diletta Gamberini deals with the relationship between poetry and pictorial representation in the case of portraits printed in series or as illustrations to biographical texts. In the early modern period, printed portraits of individuals deemed illustrious in any way were often accompanied by verse. After outlining the ancient precedents for this pairing of word and image, which was particularly pronounced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Gamberini goes on to describe the different forms that it could take. Sometimes this relationship was complementary, as in the second edition of Vasari's *Vite*, where the interplay between illustrations and the verses that accompany the prose biographies is very limited. At other times the two things were closely integrated, as in Hendrick Hondius's *Pictorum aliquot celebrium, praecipué Germaniae Inferioris, effigies* of 1610. By the eighteenth century, however, poetry was starting to play a more minor role in such publications, an interesting development about which it would be interesting to learn more.

The 122 catalogue entries that make up the rest of the book are well researched and beautifully illustrated. Although no attempt at comprehensiveness has been made, all of the prints that one would expect to see are there. It is to be hoped that the wonderful overview presented here will stimulate further research into the vast subject of printed portraiture as a whole that has yet to receive the attention it deserves. DOMINIC BATE

HENDRICK GOLTZIUS (1558–1617) designed, engraved and published a series of six large prints in 1593–94 that demonstrate his exceptional stylistic flexibility and technical skills: *The Life of the Virgin*, also referred to as his masterpieces (*Meisterstiche*). Two prints of the series, the *Circumcision* (fig. 329) and the *Adoration of the Magi* are in the style of the two most famous northern engravers, Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, while the other four – the *Annunciation, Visitation, Adoration of the Shepherds,* and the *Holy Family with the Infant St John* (fig. 330) – are in the manner of the Italian painters Raphael, Parmigianino, Jacopo Bassano and Federigo Barocci, respectively. Goltzius dedicated the series to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria (1548–1626) who, according to Van Mander, sent him a gold chain as a sign of recognition in return.

Hardly any other suite of engravings has been so extensively discussed in art historical literature, from Karel van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* (1604) until this day. Therefore, it must have seemed a rather audacious undertaking for Petra Wandrey to devote a monograph to these prints, *Ehre über Gold: Die Meisterstiche von Hendrick Goltzius. Bildtheorie und Ikonographie um 1600* (Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2018, 440 pp., 162 ills., €89). The author's main objectives are an elucidation of the art-theoretical concepts of the series, Goltzius's creative use of earlier visual examples and the reasons for Goltzius's dedication to the Bavarian prince. Moreover, the author seeks to demonstrate that the series has a clear structure and coherence, both formally and in terms of content. The result of her research surpasses by far all previous publications on the topic in scope and length: the book contains 162 images, 2,485 footnotes and a bibliography of 64 pages.

The first part of the book is devoted to the socio-historical context in which Goltzius operated, providing a survey of sixteenth-century print production in Haarlem (the town where the artist lived and worked), the poets of the Latin verses, the state of art theory in the Netherlands, religious issues, the courts of Munich and Prague as artistic centres and a discussion of the image of the Virgin in Dutch painting and printmaking. In the second part, each of the six *Meisterstiche* is discussed with regard to its technique, iconography and the pictorial tradition of the scene in Netherlandish, German and Italian art from the fifteenth century until c. 1600. Moreover, the author connects each print to one particular aesthetic quality in contemporary art theory, these being: colour,

329. Hendrick Goltzius, *The Circumcision,* third state, 1593–94, engraving, 475 x 355 mm (London, British Museum).

330. Hendrick Goltzius, *The Holy Family with the Infant St John,* third state, 1593–94, engraving, 470 x 353 mm (London, British Museum).

design (disegno), chiaroscuro, perspective, proportion and grace. The *Circumcision*, for instance, is associated with perspective, the *Visitation* with design and the *Holy Family with the Infant St John* with grace.

Duke Wilhelm V, also called 'the Pious', was one of the great champions of the Counter-Reformation in the North. He and his wife Renata of Lorraine showed a strong attachment to the reform movement of the Jesuits for which prayer, contemplation and the meditative function of art were essential elements of religious devotion. Goltzius's own religious creed is uncertain. Although influenced by the idea of tolerance and the spiritualism of his teacher Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert, it is highly probable that he remained a Catholic. Wandrey considers the *Meisterstiche* as an expression of a yearning for peace and unity in the Christian world that Goltzius supposedly shared with the Duke. That is possible, but we should not forget that dedications did not necessarily function as expressions of like-mindedness. When addressed and donated to prominent individuals, dedications gave the prints a cachet and provided their makers with a form of recognition. When addressed to art lovers or collectors of princely descent, Goltzius's dedications also reveal careful commercial nous. For example, in 1595, two years before Wilhelm V's abdication, Goltzius obtained an imperial privilege from Rudolf II (1552–1612), to whom he had dedicated his print series of 1586, the *Ten Roman Heroes*, to prevent his engravings from being copied.

Given the varied objectives and the profusion of material in the volume, it is not always easy to focus one's attention on the main arguments. The variety of information, however, makes Wandrey's book a broad survey of art and art theory of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, useful not only to the more general reader, but also to the expert. It is inevitable that some questions remain unanswered. Why, for instance, does the author mention a comparable print series ('enge gedankliche Übereinstimmung') only in one short sentence in the conclusion (p. 354)? She refers here to the twelve prints of the *Salus Generis Humani*, the Life and Passion of Christ, engraved by Aegidius Sadeler (1570–1629) after designs by Hans von Aachen (1552–1615) and Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1601), published by Hoefnagel in 1590 in Munich, one year before he was forced to leave the service of Duke Wilhelm V because of his Protestant faith. The print suite is dedicated to Ferdinand II, Archduke of Austria in Innsbruck, another champion of the Counter-Reformation, and the engravings were certainly known to Goltzius. More information about the points in common would have been welcomed. ILJA M. VELDMAN

OXFORD IN PRINTS. Since the seventeenth century, the image of Oxford has been recorded and publicized by innumerable artists, both local and visiting. Peter Whitfield's book *Oxford in Prints: 1675–1900* illustrates many of the buildings and streets of the city as published in a small selection of volumes in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2016, 160 pp., 80 ills., £25). The most extensive is the series of illustrated almanacks printed by the University, which took their definitive form in the early eighteenth century, a topographical headpiece with the calendar beneath. Among the other publications Whitfield draws on, the earliest is David Loggan's *Oxonia illustrata* of 1675. Later volumes include coloured aquatints from Rudolph Ackermann's *History of the University of Oxford* (1814), and William Delamotte's coloured lithographs from *Original Views of Oxford, its Colleges, Chapels, and Gardens* (1843). The prints are generally well reproduced, though the plates from Loggan are generally distorted in the gutter.

After a brief introduction giving details of the various sources, Whitfield provides a potted history of each of the buildings, including anecdotes about celebrated or notorious old members of the colleges. Inevitably, views of university and college buildings predominate, with exterior views leavened by several dramatic interiors, for example of the Radcliffe Observatory with its instruments in place. The latest building illustrated is Lady Margaret Hall, in a collotype reproduction of a pencil drawing by F. L. Griggs, which was published as the Oxford Almanack for 1922. The decision to include only two single-sheet prints is perhaps unfortunate, and print scholars will be disappointed to see that most of the almanacks are reproduced from the restrikes published in 1866, rather than from the original printings. More attentive editing would also have avoided minor errors – for example, although Whitfield rightly remarks correctly on the striking stone lettering above the porch in the front quadrangle of Oriel College, *REGNANTE CAROLO*, it is not shown in F. C. Lewis's aquatint. Finally, the list of illustrations includes the names of artists and engravers, but no dimensions. *Oxford in Prints* offers an agreeable souvenir of the city, but the full exploration of how local and national publishers capitalized on the beauties of Oxford remains to be written. COLIN HARRISON

SURIMONO POETRY PRINTS AT OXFORD. *Surimono* are the most elusive of all Japanese colour woodblock print genres. They combine terse poems with complex images in subtle and often playful ways. Unpacking their meaning today requires a deep understanding of poetic practice coupled with mastery of a wide range of literary works, iconographic conventions and popular customs. In *Plum Blossom & Green Willow: Japanese* surimono *poetry prints from the Ashmolean Museum*, Kiyoko Hanaoka and Clare Pollard have risen to the formidable challenges presented by these prints (exhibition catalogue, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum,

331. Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861), *An Arhat with a Tiger*, 1820s, woodblock print with metallic pigment and blind printing, 211 x 185 mm (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum).

2 October 2018–17 March 2019, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 2018, 152 pp., 103 ills., £15; fig. 331).

The preliminary essays provide the reader with sound background information. The section explaining the poetic conventions employed in *surimono* is particularly lucid and helpful. A selection of twelve *surimono* arranged

in chronological order over three pages allows the reader to grasp at a glance the way in which the style of these prints changed over time. The catalogue proper includes 43 *surimono*, each of which is accompanied by a concise explanation of its content and meaning. The visual and the verbal are given equal weight in these explanations. The poems appearing on each print are presented in the original Japanese, transliterated into Latin letters and translated into English.

Surimono were privately printed by specialist publishers in limited runs, usually at the behest of members of poetry clubs. No expense was spared: notable artists, the most accomplished block cutters and the most skilled printers were engaged and the most expensive pigments and finest papers were employed. Most of these deluxe prints were commissioned to mark the new year. Some celebrated landmark birthdays; others commemorated career milestones such as a kabuki actor's debut or name-change. It follows that they were issued in limited numbers. To meet demand for *surimono* among later collectors, high-quality facsimiles of many designs were produced in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The authors decided to include a number of these facsimiles in the exhibition and catalogue, taking care to identify them clearly. This decision allowed them to provide wider coverage of the genre than would have been possible had they restricted themselves just to the originals in the Ashmolean Museum. Overall, the Ashmolean's holdings do not match the number or quality the *surimono* in the Fitzwilliam Museum or the British Museum. Hanaoka and Pollard have, however, produced a catalogue that transcends the limitations of the material they had to work with. I know of no better English-language introduction to the genre. ELLIS TINIOS

YOSHIJIRO URUSHIBARA, A JAPANESE PRINTMAKER IN LONDON, A CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ. For many, Yoshijiro Urushibara (aka Urushibara Mokuchū, 1889–1953) is likely viewed as a peripheral figure – the London-based Japanese artisan who turned more than 90 paintings and drawings by Sir Frank Brangwyn (1876–1956) into woodblock prints, and helped educate British and French printmakers about Japanese colour block techniques. He is likely less well known as an artist in his own right. In the catalogue *Yoshijiro Urushibara, A Japanese Printmaker in London, A Catalogue Raisonné*, Hilary Chapman and Libby Horner suggest an artist of much greater breadth (contribution by Rebecca Salter, Leiden, Hotei / BRILL, 2017, 208 pp., 358 ills., €69).

The catalogue seems aimed squarely at print dealers and collectors. The 'Catalogue of Works' presents most of Urushibara's print work through images with information on seals, editions, exhibition and publication history as well as museum holdings of same, though the last category is often incomplete. Urushibara's own designs are presented first, and arranged by subject: 'florals', 'creatures', then 'other subjects' which are almost all landscapes. His collaborative work is divided into prints with Brangwyn, his major partner, then other artists. The result is an easy reference guide for anyone trying to identify or to learn more about a given print.

This structure reveals an interest in classification by subject and collaborator but does not address how Urushibara evolved as an artist – and thus how his own designs were surely impacted by his interactions with other artists or how his evolving ideas may have played a role when translating those artists' designs. Urushibara's own prints (and many of his collaborations) do not bear the year of their making, although one imagines primary research into newspapers, magazines and gallery catalogues would provide approximate dates for most works. Such research also would have allowed the authors to learn about his efforts teaching printmaking, and critical reaction to his prints. In short, a complex picture of Urushibara negotiating the interchange of

332. Yoshijiro Urushibara after Takahashi Hiroaki, *Boat in a Snowy Landscape*, 1913, woodblock print (Private collection).

aesthetic tastes and artistic techniques is avoided by the subject-oriented catalogue organization.

It is also largely sidestepped in the essays. The brief biographical essay by Horner provides many useful details of Urushibara's life but steers clear of positioning him art-historically. Horner terms the prints after Brangwyn 'interpretations' without elucidating the resonant term and its range of meanings or taking a position whether such 'interpretations' were justifiably blasted by one contemporary critic as being mere facsimiles. Chapman's essay on 'Urushibara and the British Colour Woodcut in the Japanese Manner' is long on the careers of British print artists and distressingly short on Urushibara himself, so that the titular artist has only a small, supporting role in the discussion. Discussion of Urushibara's impact on French printmakers – the subject of a Sorbonne MA thesis by Mayumi Nakamura – is fleeting. The conclusions, that Urushibara's floral prints 'were a delightful mélange of Japanese and western art' and, in the following sentence, that 'his animal studies, too, were redolent of traditional Japanese motifs and exhibited the qualities of Japanese colour woodcuts at their best' do not take us very far into the cross-cultural dialogues apparent in both Urushibara's solo prints and his collaborations.

Rebecca Salter's essay on Urushibara as master craftsman begins to project us into the subtle world of carving and printing, but also avoids the critical issues of how Urushibara negotiated the linked but discreet identities as reproducer of historical paintings (famously Gu Kaizhi's *Admonitions* scroll in the British Museum), adapter of designs by friends and colleagues, and creator of his own prints.

One may debate the role of a catalogue raisonné to gather basic facts or to be a reasoned compendium that posits an artist's development over a career, thus accounting for the artist's production. But it seems clear that such a catalogue should include all of the artist's known work, a difficult task made far easier in the internet age. Thus, it is hard to excuse prints catalogued but unillustrated or missed altogether even if they might be 'minor works'. Fortunately, collector Darrel C. Karl, whose earlier help is acknowledged in the catalogue, reproduces seventeen 'no show' prints and etchings in his Urushibara posts on his blog, easternimp.blogspot.com, begun in June 2016. He also begins the art historian's vital work of identifying motifs, speculating on influences, and providing evidence of Urushibara's complicated technical and aesthetic relationships. For instance, Karl notes Katherine Martin's identification of Urushibara's early print, *Boat in a Snowy Landscape*, as copying a design of 1907 by Takahashi Hiroaki (also known as Takahashi Shōtei, 1871–1945) and wonders why (fig. 332); and he greatly expands on the collaboration between Urushibara and Andrew Kay Womrath (1874–1953), speculating on their mutually reflective relationship.

The catalogue by Chapman and Horner makes the visual case that Urushibara is an artist worth studying. Now it is the task of art historians to critically assess his work and to determine its impact on a generation of printmakers in Britain, France and beyond. KENDALL H. BROWN

JULES CHÉRET (1836–1932). The art historian Virginie Vignon is undoubtedly one of the great specialists of Jules Chéret's life and art. In 2007, she defended her dissertation on the theme of Chéret as founder of a printing office dedicated to advertising (1866–1932). Today, she works in Le Signe – Centre national du graphisme in Chaumont, France, where she manages the historical posters assembled by the politician, botanist and art collector Gustave Dutailly (1846–1906). With more than 5,000 posters, this collection is one of the largest in a French public institution. Dutailly was fond of Chéret's work and his collection contains hundreds of posters and ephemera signed by the artist. Vignon is also an expert in typography: in 2014, she defended another dissertation in communication and information sciences on this subject. So who better to curate an exhibition dedicated to Chéret's ephemera, *Jules Chéret et l'Age de l'imprimé: L'image dans tous ses états* (exhibition catalogue, Courbevoie, Musée Roybet Fould, 13 May–4 August 2015, Paris, Somogy éditions d'art, 2015, 144 pp., 168 ills., €23)? The exhibition was based on the collection of the well-known art critic Roger Marx (1859–1913), a defender of Chéret, and comprised 175 pieces of various items, including postcards, menus, birth announcements, book covers and chromolithographs.

More than a simple exhibition catalogue, the book treats broader questions such as the history of the collection, the fin-de-siècle craze for collecting ephemera and, above all, the relationships between these smaller pictures and Chéret's big illustrated posters. According to nineteenth-century collectors of old papers, these advertising pictures were of historical and artistic interest for future generations and Vignon's book proves how right they were. These ephemera form a very important source of information on the beginning of modern advertising, but Vignon mostly examines their place in Chéret's esthetics. She brings to the fore how motifs migrate from one support to another and shows how the artist used everything he could to promote his art. Frolicking, smiling young women – the famous 'Chérettes' – children and harlequins populating the posters are the same ones we can see on the invitation cards, music scores and theatre programmes illustrated by Chéret. This book is full of precise and well-documented analysis and many rare illustrations, thus beautifully complementing Ségolène Le Men and Réjane Bargiel's exhibition catalogue *La Belle Epoque de Jules Chéret: de l'affiche au décor* (Paris, 2010). NICHOLAS-HENRI ZMELTY

CASSATT, DEGAS, AND PISSARRO. The Philbrook Museum of Art's first acquisition of a work by Camille Pissarro (1830–1903) in 2015, the etching *View of Rouen (Cours-la-Reine)* of 1884 (fig. 333), prompted the exhibition and publication *Innovative Impressions: Prints by Cassatt, Degas, and Pissarro*, edited by Sarah Lees with contributions by Richard R. Brettell and Corinne Kannberg (exhibition catalogue, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Philbrook Museum of Art, 10 June–9 September 2018, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 144 pp., 123 ills., $39.95). Lees took the opportunity to examine not just Pissarro's printmaking practice, but the fundamental relationships that shaped it: his collaboration and ongoing conversation with Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) and Edgar Degas (1834–1917). A thorough account of this trio's collective engagement in printmaking that, importantly, gives equal weight to each artist is long overdue. These artists more often have been treated in pairs, as Richard Brettell points out in his introductory essay, in studies such as Barbara Erlich White's *Impressionists Side by Side* (New York, 1996), Kimberly Jones's *Degas/Cassatt* (Washington, DC, 2014), and Nicole Minder's *Degas & Pissarro: Alchimie d'une rencontre* (Vevey, 1998).

Brettell's essay offers historical and historiographic context for the study of artistic collaboration. He coins the term 'triological' to describe the relationship between the three artists, based on Joachim Pissarro's definition of the 'intersubjective condition' of art making wherein production depends upon artistic dialogue (p. 5). Brettell calls attention to other nineteenth-century printmaking collaborations ripe for investigation, such as the publisher Alfred Cadart (1825–75) and printer Auguste Delâtre (1822–1907) and the group of artists who experimented with the technique of cliché-verre, and concludes by entreating scholars to turn their attention to these and other 'nodes of collectivity' (p. 9).

Lees grounds her study in the redefinition of etching achieved by the Société des Aquafortistes in the mid-1860s, noting the coincidence between the values that

333. Camille Pissarro, *View of Rouen (Cours-la-Reine)*, 1884, etching, softground etching, and drypoint, state III/III, image 149 x 200 mm (Tulsa, OK, Philbrook Museum of Art).

334. Edgar Degas, *The Jockey*, c. 1880–85, monotype on china paper, image 120 x 161 mm (Williamstown, MA, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute). Image courtesy Clark Art Institute. clarkart.edu

members assigned to the medium, such as originality and improvisation, and those broadly espoused by the Impressionists. Félix Bracquemond (1833–1914), Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic (1839–89) and, to a lesser extent, Marcellin Desboutin (1823–1902) emerge as key interlocutors between the world of printmaking and the Impressionist painters. After addressing how Cassatt, Degas and Pissarro each made their first etchings, Lees delves into the generative moment, circa 1878–80, when Cassatt first entered the orbit of the Impressionist circle, and the three artists decided to work together on a publication of prints entitled *Le Jour et la nuit*. With careful attention to the complex techniques employed by the trio, Lees analyses the radical prints they produced in this period, highlighting their mutual interest in lighting effects and the experimental interplay of foreground and background.

Following their intensive collaboration, each of the artists continued to make prints in increasingly individualized styles. In the second half of her essay, Lees demonstrates the sustained nature of their interaction in printmaking, both direct and indirect. For instance, she draws together the landscape monotypes of Degas and Pissarro and suggests, intriguingly, that Cassatt's adoption of pure drypoint might have been a reaction to her colleagues' work in monotype (fig. 334). She shows how Cassatt's exhibition of sophisticated colour aquatints in 1891 served as a flash point in the late careers of all three artists, spurring Degas's and Pissarro's own distinctive explorations of colour printmaking (fig. 335).

Throughout her text, Lees skilfully integrates prior scholarship, published primary sources and perceptive visual analysis to give a rich account of three entangled careers that redresses the balance of the tripartite relationship. Comparisons with unillustrated prints and states occasionally frustrate the reader, though the catalogue is illustrated generously with high-quality reproductions. *Innovation Impressions* reveals how Cassatt, Degas and Pissarro expanded the boundaries of printmaking both with and against each other.

ASHLEY DUNN

335. Mary Cassatt, *In the Omnibus*, c. 1890–91, colour drypoint and aquatint, state VII/VII, plate 366 x 268 mm (Cleveland, OH, The Cleveland Museum of Art).

HADEN, PALMER, WHISTLER AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF PAINTER-PRINTMAKERS. A touring exhibition and related catalogue with a catchy title, *Print REbels: Haden, Palmer, Whistler and the Origins of the RE (Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers)*, by Edward Twohig celebrate the bicentenary of Sir Francis Seymour Haden's birth (edited by Anne Desmet, contributions by Mychael Barratt, Joseph Winkelman, Elizabeth Harvey-Lee and Robert Meyrick, exhibition catalogue, Marlborough, Mount House Gallery (selected highlights), 10–28 January 2018; London, Bankside Gallery, 24 April–13 May 2018; Cheltenham, Chapel Arts (PrintREbels contemporary portfolio), 25 April–12 May 2018; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (selected highlights), 18 September 2018–6 January 2019; Bideford, Devon, Burton Art Gallery (selected highlights), 22 September–4 November 2018; Aberystwyth, The School of Art Museum and Galleries (selected highlights), 18 February–13 May 2019, London, Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers, 2018, 346 pp., 283 ills., £30). The show and catalogue are a timely reminder of the overlapping history of the Society of Painter-Etchers founded by Haden in 1880 (its 'Royal' status gained in 1888 and its name changed to 'Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers' in 1991) and the Royal Academy created in 1768, some 250 years ago.

Printmaker, collector and professor Edward Twohig insists on the pervasive influence of the RE's presidents from Haden to the present, but also shares his passion for the so-called rebels who campaigned tirelessly for the recognition and promotion of original prints. Most of the exhibits come from Twohig's personal collection and from that of Stuart M. Southall, principal sponsor of the exhibition.

The distinguishing quality of this publication is Twohig's point of view on the most significant consequences of the etching revival in Britain (fig. 336). His genuine admiration for the founders of the RE and the scholarship he displays in his comments about each impression mirror the passion that animated Haden and other pioneers who challenged the Royal Academy's reluctance to integrate printmaking into its programme. Despite the

336. Constance Mary Pott, *Self-Portrait at the Etching Press*, 1897, etching, 175 x 241 mm (Private collection).

337. Nana Shiomi, *Dürer's Twin Rhinos*, 2017, woodcut, 330 x 240 mm (© the artist).

unfortunate choice of a coated paper that sometimes reduces the readability of the prints, *Print REbels* successfully aims at a broad audience. The publication enumerates the milestones of the Society's history, provides an overview of its major contributors through Joseph Winkelman's useful timeline, adds a selection of bibliographical references and, thanks to Anne Desmet's glossary, presents the main printmaking techniques.

The most innovative part of the project, however, is the portfolio of 52 sheets presented at the end of the volume, the result of an invitation to the RE's current members to produce a print responding to the Society's heritage. It included a Dürer-inspired contemporary Japanese woodcut print by Nana Shiomi, who came to London to study at the Royal College of Art in 1989 after several years of studying printmaking in Japan (fig. 337. Jenny Ramkalawon, Assistant Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, selected 25 of them to be included in an anniversary box set. Each participating artist has been asked to choose another printmaker, past or present, as inspiration for their work and to comment on their choice. A wide range of subjects and techniques is covered, although etching has been privileged by most of the contributors. To no great surprise, Haden, Short, Palmer and Whistler were the most frequently selected, both for their technical inventions or powers of suggestion and their attitude towards tradition and conventions. The present RE members thus seem to share Twohig's reverence for the founders' spirit and confirm their strong attachment to the Society's tradition. CAROLINE GUIGNARD

QUIZ FOR OUR READERS. William Schupbach from the Wellcome Collection, London, sent in this conundrum (fig. 338; inv. 35084i). It seems to be an aquatint, possibly with some areas of mezzotint ground, with etching and drypoint, printed in dark brown ink. It was probably acquired before 1936, but apart from that nothing is known about the provenance. Might someone know the artist and date?

338. Anonymous artist, *Figures Seated and Standing Around a Table, in an Interior, with a Candle and Shadows*, aquatint, 188 x 253 mm (London, Wellcome Collection).

LUDWIG MEIDNER (1884–1966). To mark the 50th anniversary of the artist's death, the Institut Mathildenhöhe Darmstadt participated in the joint project Ludwig Meidner – Seismograph in the Rhine-Main area (http://ludwig-meidner.de/en/home-2/). Meidner was born into a Jewish merchant family in Bernstadt, Central Silesia (now Bierutów in Poland), and made his name as a painter of Expressionist apocalyptic landscapes in Berlin prior to World War I. Yet he was also a notable draughtsman, graphic artist and writer

339. Ludwig Meidner, *Bella Chagall*, 1922, etching, 194 x 144 mm (Institut Mathildenhöhe / Städtische Kunstsammlung Darmstadt).

and he sustained links with Expressionist literary circles; ironically, his friendship with Kazimir Edschmid (1890–1966) was partially the reason why Meidner spent the last years of his life in Darmstadt. In 1939, as an Orthodox Jew and having been declared a 'degenerate' artist during the Third Reich, Meidner and his wife Else fled from Cologne to settle in London. Their situation in exile was precarious and, understandably, given West Germany's post-war sponsorship of the 'Right of Return' for German Jews – the reparation laws, legislated in October 1953, June 1956 and July 1957, dictated aspects of restitution and the return of exiles (see 'Exil und Remigration', edited by C. D. Krohn, in *Exilforschung: Ein Internationales Jahrbuch*, IX, 1991) – Meidner remigrated in August 1953. Significant here was the fact that the Hessian state Minister of Finance, Heinrich Tröger (1901–75), was receptive to Meidner's claim for reparations (E. Scheid, in *Jugend und Alter: Ludwig Meidners Porträts aus den 1950er und 1960er Jahren*, Hofheim am Taunus, 2016, p. 20).

Instructively, the exhibition catalogue *Ludwig Meidner: Begegnungen/Encounters* drew not only on the artist's extensive estate, which is centrally held in the Jüdisches Museum in Frankfurt, but also on the rich archival holdings of over 300 drawings, prints, sketchbooks and intaglio plates belonging to the Darmstadt Municipal Art Collection and maintained by the Mathildenhöhe (edited by Philipp Gutbrod, contributions by Theresa Müller, Sonja Sikora, Mi Yeon Zentgraf, Birgit Sander, exhibition catalogue, Darmstadt, Institut Mathildenhöhe, Museum Künstlerkolonie, 9 October 2016–5 February 2017, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 2016, 272 pp., 156 ills., €45). A master of the Expressionist portrait, Meidner was prolific in this regard and he made sketches, paintings and prints of numerous acquaintances during the 1910s and 1920s, testifying to his wide literary and artistic networks (fig. 339). The exhibition seized on 30 of his contemporaries – poets, writers, actors, musicians, dealers, patrons and fellow artists – who were his friends, exposing tantalizing new visual imagery and data from the archives.

The dual-language catalogue brings this material together so as to offer a vivid and revised account of Meidner's life and influences. We are familiar with his pre-1914 membership of the Neue Club, an association of Expressionist poets founded by Kurt Hiller (1885–1972) in Berlin. Meidner's gestural and moody chalk drawings of Simon Guttmann (1891–1990), as well as the pen and ink sketches of Jakob van Hoddis (1897–1942), capture the futurist energy of the group's urban fantasies. The short essays on these individuals are accompanied by their poetry and by photographic and contextual evidence. Excellent biographic research reveals the bitter fate of van Hoddis and other German-Jewish intellectuals in the Holocaust.

Less familiar to scholarship, however, are Meidner's broader contacts in the Weimar era. He certainly encountered the Prague-born socialist Felix Stössinger (1889–1954), who became head of the press, propaganda and news office of the executive council of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of Greater Berlin. Between 1920 and 1921, Meidner made three portraits of Stössinger, a fluid pen-and-ink, bust-length profile sketch and two feathery etchings that sensitively portray the furrowed brow and downward gaze of the publisher cum writer. The drypoints of the cabaret artist Resi Langer (1886–1971) are more strident, though, with deeply incised, hatched lines that capture the mobility of the performer's features.

Also dating from the 1920s, Meidner's portrayals of the musician Walter Kaempfer (1899–1991) are the most versatile and more than ten prints are in the Darmstadt Municipal Art Collection alone. Kaempfer is depicted seated, in many cases resting his head in his hand, and each etching shows a variation of technique and evidence of prolonged sittings. Recurring physical features and quirks of dress, such as the musician's protruding ears, wide forehead and breast-pocket handkerchief, make the individual recognizable in every picture; these are scrupulously rendered within an overall framework of expressive realism. The selected works demonstrate the impressive scope of Meidner's work and are essential for understanding the disparate tendencies within his oeuvre as a whole. SHULAMITH BEHR

WILLIAM J. DICKERSON, 1904–1972: LITHOGRAPHS, BLOCK PRINTS & ETCHINGS sheds useful light on the accomplishments of a printmaker little known outside his native Kansas. Published to accompany an exhibition of his lithographs at the Wichita Art Museum, this slim, information-packed volume by Barbara J. Thompson summarizes Dickerson's training and career, centres on an illustrated catalogue raisonné of his 158 prints and concludes with appendices, bibliography and archival sources (exhibition catalogue, Wichita, KS, Wichita Art Museum, 4 March–18 June 2017, Denver, Barbara J. Thomson, 2016, 125 pp., 256 ills., $27). The author approaches her subject as an art historian with a familial interest – she is granddaughter to Coy Avon (C. A.) Seward (1884–1939), the Wichita commercial lithographer also devoted to art, who encouraged Dickerson's early printmaking, employed him in the art division of the Western Lithographic Company, urged him to attend the School of the Chicago Art Institute, and remained an influential mentor.

Dickerson enrolled at the Art Institute in 1926 and took classes in drawing, painting, block printing, etching and lithography. Evident proficiency in the latter led to student employment as a lithographic printer, followed by a job offer in 1930 to remain after graduation and

340. William Dickerson, *Adobe Houses at Galisteo*, 1946, lithograph, 178 x 197 mm (Wichita Art Museum, KS, Gift of Johanna C. Rayl).

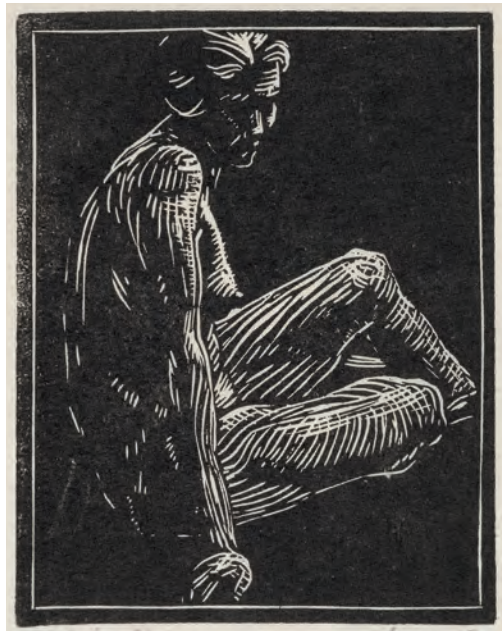
341. William Dickerson, *Untitled, Industrial Wichita no. 2*, 1934, lithograph, 279 x 375 mm. (Wichita Art Museum, KS, Gift of Mosby Lincoln Foundation).

instruct. Reluctant to narrow his focus to one medium, the young artist told his future wife Betty Millard that 'there are things I have to paint in Kansas'. He instead shouldered a broader teaching remit at the Wichita Art Association, became director in 1933, and held the position for 38 years. The resulting income, though initially meagre, enabled him to paint, make prints, organize exhibitions, mentor rising artists and marry. Each summer, Dickerson taught lithography from his home studio before decamping to New Mexico with his family for six weeks. Resulting sketches and paintings often became a basis for striking lithographs (fig. 340). Thompson notes that Dickerson saw himself as a traditional *peintre-graveur*, took pride in his ability to print his own work and was one of the few painter-lithographers of his generation able to do so.

Peer recognition came in 1931 with election to the nationally known Prairie Printmakers, a group that Dickerson later served as secretary and treasurer. Financial challenges posed by the Depression were eased by the Federal Arts Project, for which the artist made seven watercolours in 1933, seven lithographs in 1934, and six lithographs in 1936. A public profile was established in annual group exhibitions at the Art Association and by works sent to regional and national juried shows – Dickerson sold at exhibition and accepted commissions, but eschewed dealers which meant that he never found significant patronage outside Kansas. Of the 21 block prints, seven etchings, and at least 130 lithographs he made between 1926 and 1971, the lithographed landscapes stand out – centred on industrial Wichita (fig. 341), Kansas pastoral imagery and the terrain around Santa Fe and Taos. Compared to Regionalists such as Thomas Hart Benton (1889–1975), Grant Wood (1891–1942) and John Steuart Curry (1897–1946), Dickerson's vision is direct, unsentimental and apolitical. He recorded what he saw, then subtly condensed to heighten visual impact. Leery of romanticism and abstraction, he called himself a 'semi-realist'. His engagement with print techniques other than lithography was limited to the series of small block prints made in Chicago 1926–30 (fig. 342), and a handful of mostly figural etchings from the early 1930s.

Thompson's catalogue complements *The Regionalist Vision of William Dickerson: Selected Paintings from the DeVore Collection* (Manhattan, KS, 1997) – a volume of seven essays that includes an insightful consideration of the prints by the museum's curator Liz Seaton – her 1997 list provided a foundation that Thompson expands with information from a 2014 Dickerson family inventory. The 2016 volume also adds an accessible biographical outline, updated bibliography and new insights into Dickerson's debt to Seward (there were few areas of artistic activity in Wichita that Seward did not touch). Unfortunately, Dickerson's failure to keep a comprehensive record of his prints and frequent title variations pose unresolved questions. In response, Thompson left her illustrated catalogue unnumbered (pp. 26–89) and corralled problems into a numbered list (pp. 90–92). The latter is a work in progress with six titles duplicated and experimental lithographs omitted but illustrated on pp. 64 and 87, and one hopes that a definitive numbered catalogue will eventually prove possible. Dates for six etchings and most edition sizes remain to be established – Thompson makes edition suggestions for only 37 lithographs. Her catalogue concludes with appendices that usefully document Dickerson's lithographs for the Public Works of Art Project (1934), such as fig. 341, and Works Progress Administration (1936), together with gift prints circulated annually by the Prairie Printmakers (one by Dickerson), and Friends of Art at Kansas State University (two by Dickerson). Summing up the significance of prints within Dickerson's oeuvre, Thompson writes, they 'have a particular quality that actually provides his viewer with a more direct avenue than his paintings for understanding his great skill as a draftsman and gifted artist' (p. 24).

A desire to paint may have encouraged Dickerson's return to Wichita in 1930, but he clearly also relished joining the likeminded fellowship there devoted to promoting fine art in a small Midwestern town. The move enabled him to use lithography as a means to experiment, distill ideas and interact with students and peers. B. J. O.



342. William Dickerson, *Study (Nude)*, 1928, block print, 127 x 102 mm (Wichita Art Museum, KS, Gift of Tom Dickerson).

Nordfeldt (1878–1955), for example, regularly came to Wichita to teach at the Art Association in the late 1920s and 1930s, lived with Dickerson in 1937–38 and traded etching lessons with his host for lithography instruction. As a teenager, Dickerson had witnessed the Association's founding in 1924. As director, he shepherded it through the challenges of the Depression and war years, then oversaw its 1965 move and renaming as the Wichita Center for the Arts. Sadly, Dickerson's prints never circulated widely – his focus on lithography's artistic potential, as opposed to commercial use, made him a reluctant salesman. At present, only a handful are to be found in museums outside Kansas and many remain with family and friends. This makes Thompson's illustrated catalogue raisonné, and affirmation of the centrality of printmaking to Dickerson's practice, the more significant. CONSTANCE MCPHEE

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF ART'S *CORONATION LITHOGRAPHS*. A number of errors have entered the literature relating to the *Coronation Lithographs*, published in 1953 by the Royal College of Art (RCA), London. This piece presents a revised list of contents for the series and addresses inaccuracies related to specific artists.

Two publications list contents for the *Coronation Lithographs*: Robin Garton's *British Printmakers 1851–1951* (Devizes, 1992, p. 323) and Tessa Sidey's 'The Devenish Brothers' (*Print Quarterly*, XIV, 1997, p. 380). These listings are identical and show the series comprising 40 lithographs by 36 artists. Sidey cites as her source the catalogue for an initial exhibition at the Redfern Gallery, April–May 1953. Other evidence, however, indicates a different composition. A typescript list inserted into the catalogue for the RCA's 'Coronation Year Exhibition' at the Victoria and Albert Museum in July 1953 (now held in the National Art Library) shares its content with a second typescript in the Tate Gallery Archive (TGA 7043.2.26.176), produced when the lithographs were sold through the Artists International Association (AIA) Gallery in the same year. The AIA-RCA list (see below) comprises 36 prints. In comparison with the Redfern catalogue, two works are added and six omitted, while twelve have different titles.

Several factors suggest the accuracy of the AIA-RCA listing over the Redfern catalogue. There is a close match between the AIA-RCA contents and the holding of work from the series in the RCA Print Archive. The latter comprises 34 impressions, all of which are works on the AIA-RCA listing, but without the six shown in the Redfern catalogue only. Two further contemporaneous lists of subsets of the series also omit these six prints which are also absent from recent sales records and public collections, suggesting that they were never, in fact, proofed or editioned (RCA memo, 30 April 1953, Tate Gallery Archive, TGA 7043.2.26.192; and 'objects submitted', 8 July 1953, RCA Print Archive). All but one of the impressions in the RCA Print Archive were reproduced in the catalogue *150/150 Anniversary Exhibition: Printmaking from the Royal College of Art* (London, 1987); however, the titles appear to have been concocted for that exhibition.

The two prints on the AIA-RCA list missing from the RCA Print Archive are *Greyhound* by John Skeaping (1901–80) and *Houses of Parliament* by RCA student Kenneth Arnup. Skeaping produced a lithograph entitled *Greyhound* in 1953, but there is no other trace of Arnup's work. It seems probable that Arnup's print was never produced, while Skeaping's came too late for inclusion. In a further complication, the main text of the *RCA Coronation Year Exhibition* catalogue states that the series comprised just 33 works. It is therefore possible that one of those in the RCA Print Archive was proofed but never editioned. Given its current rarity, a candidate is *Bandsmen* by Keith Vaughan (fig. 343).

The Redfern catalogue thus seems to have been prepared in advance of publication, becoming inaccurate as prints were dropped or substituted. Sidey's dependence on it for her *Print Quarterly* article gives rise to a further problem: neither image used to illustrate the *Coronation Lithographs* seems to have been, in fact, a component of the series. The Redfern catalogue gives Edwin La Dell's *Horse Guards Parade* (fig. 344) the title *Whitehall*, leading to Sidey's mistaken use of a lithograph depicting Whitehall from 1947. Her second illustration is of Michael Rothenstein's *Night Illuminations*, again the title referenced in the Redfern catalogue (this print is also ascribed to the *Coronation Lithographs* in T. Sidey, *The Prints of Michael Rothenstein*, Aldershot, 1993, no. 10). Rothenstein did produce a lithograph entitled *Night Illuminations* in 1953, but the work listed in the AIA-RCA typescript, and held in the RCA Print Archive, is a different one, *Fireworks* (fig. 345). It thus seems probable that the latter, a suitably celebratory image, was that included in the series.

A final point of interest relates to *East End Celebration: Costers Dancing*, the contribution from Ceri Richards (1903–71; fig. 346). Roberto Sanesi's catalogue raisonné of Richards' graphic work gives the title *Costers Dancing* and states that the print was published by the RCA in an unlimited edition for the Festival of Britain in 1951, illustrating an impression dated to that year (*The Graphic Works of Ceri Richards*, Milan, 1973, no. 21). No mention of a Festival of Britain print is made in other sources, and the idea appears implausible given that the work was published in a limited edition two years later. Examination of Sanesi's illustration shows it to be a different state to other extant impressions of the print, including that in the RCA Print Archive. The likely explanation is thus that, for the *Coronation Lithographs*, the RCA print studio editioned an image which had, in

343. Keith Vaughan, *Bandsmen*, 1952–53, lithograph, 496 x 354 mm (Image courtesy Royal College of Art, London © estate of Keith Vaughan, DACS 2019).

344. Edwin La Dell, *Horse Guards Parade*, 1953, lithograph, 330 x 465 mm (Image courtesy Royal College of Art, London © estate of Edwin La Dell, courtesy the artist's family).

345. Michael Rothenstein, *Fireworks*, 1952, lithograph, 357 x 490 mm (Image courtesy Royal College of Art, London © estate of Michael Rothenstein, DACS 2019).

346. Ceri Richards, *East End Celebration: Costers Dancing*, 1952, lithograph, 370 x 510 mm (Image courtesy Royal College of Art, London © estate of Ceri Richards, DACS 2019).

1951, been produced only as a proof. This would be in line with the improvisatory approach that characterised publication of the *Coronation Lithographs* and that has been the cause of subsequent confusion.

Revised List of Coronation Lithographs:

Robert Austin	*Heralds*
Michael Ayrton	*Kettledrums*
Edward Bawden	*Life Guards*
Joan Beales	*Procession in Pimlico*
John Bowles	*Royal Barge*
Robert Buhler	*Spectators in the Mall*
Rodney Burn	*Celebration on the Solent*
Bernard Cheese	*The Drum Major*
Geoffrey Clarke	*Coronet*
Peter Downing	*Jitterbugs*
Ronald Glendenning	*Bandsmen*
Alistair Grant	*Hampton Court*
Alistair Grant	*Joyful Juniors*
Anthony Gross	*Hampstead Heath*
Barbara Jones	*Coronation Coach*
Edwin La Dell	*Bandsmen in the City*
Edwin La Dell	*Horse Guards Parade*
John Minton	*Horse Guards in their Dressing Rooms at Whitehall*
Charles Mozley	*Buckingham Palace Guard*
Jane Pickles	*Royal Barge*
John Piper	*Royal Residence*
Richard Platt	*Costers*
Jenny Tempest Radford	*Crown and Sceptre*
Ceri Richards	*East End Celebration: Costers Dancing*
Leonard Rosoman	*Two Pipers in the Sunlight*
Michael Rothenstein	*Fireworks*
Kenneth Rowntree	*Country celebrations*
William Scott	*Busby*
James Sellars	*Armour at the Tower of London*
Ruskin Spear	*Public Bar*
Humphrey Spender	*Westminster Abbey*
Julian Trevelyan	*The Mall*
Fred Uhlman	*The Tower of London*
Keith Vaughan	*Bandsmen*
Kenneth Arnup	*Houses of Parliament*
John Skeaping	*Greyhound*

MICHAEL CLEGG

ALDO CROMMELYNCK (1931–2008) lies behind the production of some of the most iconic prints of the post-World War II era. Often forgotten or gone unnoticed, his role as a master printer collaborating with the most influential artists of the late twentieth century is reassessed in *De Picasso à Jasper Johns: L'Atelier d'Aldo Crommelynck* and the exhibition it accompanied at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (edited by Céline Chicha-Castex, Marie-Cécile Miessner and Cécile Pocheau Lesteven, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 8 April–13 July 2014; Rodez, The Soulages Museum, 14 November 2014–8 March 2015, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France / Rodez, The Soulages Museum, 2014, 126 pp., 56 col. and 33 b. & w. ills., €32). Trained in the workshop of Roger Lacourière (1892–1966) and a printmaker in his own right, Crommelynck rose to prominence as a master printer due to his collaboration with Pablo Picasso throughout the 1960s and early '70s. He printed more than 700 plates for the Spanish artist living in France, and after the master's death he was chosen as a collaborator by American and British artists, most notably Richard Hamilton (1922–2011) and David Hockney (b. 1937).

Crommelynck's studio, located in an hôtel particulier in the heart of Paris, soon became a gathering point for international artists such as Peter Blake (b. 1932), Jasper Johns (b. 1930), R. B. Kitaj (1932–2007), Avigdor Arikha (1929–2010) and Ed Ruscha (b. 1937). Given the number of his American collaborators, in 1986 Crommelynck opened a second print studio in New York, spending his life between the two cities from then on. His role was not limited to that of an advisor or technical supervisor to the artists he worked with; he also introduced artists to intaglio who would not normally work in those techniques. This is the case for Hamilton, who first approached printmaking through screenprinting, the most popular print medium among Pop artists in the 1960s. When, however, Hamilton began looking to move forward in his practice and for a technique that would allow him a more personal, less mechanical way to transfer his touch onto paper, he turned to Crommelynck.

The book consists of an essay reconstructing Crommelynck's career chronologically, a timeline and a selection of photographs of the master printer and his studio followed by 50 entries reproducing prints by 30 artists. The important role of his brother Piero (1934–2001) in the atelier is largely overlooked (see P. Gilmour in these pages, XVIII, 2001, pp. 164–90). The last twenty pages comprise short biographies of the artists who collaborated with the master printer. These are less useful given the fame of most of the names included, such as Picasso, Hockney or Jean Michel Basquiat (1960–88). The essay and photographs serve as an interesting introduction to Crommelynck, but the hope remains for a more extensive evaluation of this pivotal figure. DOMENICO PINO

FURIO DE DENARO (1956–2012). The remarkably versatile railway engine driver, printmaker and art historian Furio de Denaro was celebrated in 2018 by an exhibition in his native Trieste and its accompanying catalogue *Furio de Denaro: Opera Grafica 1982–2012* (edited by Edoardo Fontana with contributions by Francesca Richetti, Alice Tavoni, Lucia Tomasi Tongiorgi, Alessandro Tosi, Lorenzo Nuovo, Cristina Chiesura, Lisa Masolini, Cristiano Beccaletto and Giorgio Marini, exhibition catalogue, Trieste, Biblioteca Statale Stelio Crise, 22 September–27 October 2018, Trieste, Battello stampatore, 2018, 188 pp., 164 ills., €22). The catalogue reveals many aspects of this generous personality, who was the founder and president of Associazione Culturale PRINTS (PResenze INcise a TrieSte), the association of Trieste printmakers. Printmakers in Pisa, Siena, at Il Bisonte in Florence and at schools and the University of Trieste have benefitted considerably from his teaching and enthusiasm. On his death in 2012, the Museo della Grafica di Palazzo Lanfranchi in Pisa presented the exhibition 'Furio de Denaro, Arte e scienza dell' incisione'. An obituary was published in the pages of this Journal (XXIX, 2012, p. 224).

Furio de Denaro made his first prints when still at school. He was assiduous in seeking out tuition in printmaking processes, attending the classes at the Scuola Libera della Grafica Carlo Sbisà in Trieste, before travelling to London where he studied lithography and woodcut at Camden School of Art, with John Roberts and David Carr respectively, and then going on to Camberwell where he was a pupil of the wood-engravers John Lawrence and Simon Brett. At Il Bisonte he learnt from Gabor Peterdi's seminar on engraving. Finally, he attended the multi-plate mezzotint workshop of Narumi Harushina. It was wood-engraving, however, that Furio chose as his preferred technique.

He revisited Britain frequently, London and the south coast towns in particular, from Folkestone to Clovelly, which he often depicted in his works (fig. 347). In 1999 he was elected a member of the Society of Wood Engravers. Nevertheless, there are relatively limited signs of British influence on Furio's prints, apart from an interest in Burne-Jones's illustrations for William Morris's poems and the surrealist nudes of John Buckland Wright. The *horror vacui* often apparent in the Italian's works could also be seen to be distantly connected to Morris's textile designs. Morris, of course, had been greatly admired by Italian woodblock printmakers from the 1890s onwards.

When looking at Furio's art it is useful to be reminded that Trieste is the coastal gateway to Dalmatia and that it has a long connection with Austria, not far away over the Alps. In 1983 Furio had met the highly acclaimed Friuli printmaker Tranquillo Marangoni (1912–92), another artist who was recognized by the English printmaking establishment through his election

347. Furio de Denaro, *Evening in London*, 1999, wood-engraving, 140 x 100 mm (Image courtesy Roberta Dittura de Denaro).

in 1971 as a member of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers. Among his other talents Marangoni was a notable engraver of *ex libris*, an area of printmaking in which Furio was to excel. Marangoni was certainly his most significant predecessor. Second only to Marangoni was the Trento printmaker Remo Wolf (1912–2009), whose woodcuts were closer to the transalpine Expressionist tradition deriving from Die Brücke. These two men had been the most prominent founders in 1952 of the Associazione Incisori Veneti, the body which must have been in Furio de Denaro's mind when in 2008 he set up the Associazione Culturale PRINTS. Furio's subjects in wood-engraving were frequently townscapes and marines. Some were works of imagination, in which one senses his interest in pre-Renaissance paintings, sculpture and manuscripts, such as his *Actual Babels* and his fantastic *Attesa melanconica* (fig. 348). His own features were often strikingly depicted using both the burin and various wood-engraving tools (fig. 349). That Furio was also knowledgeable of early twentieth-century Italian printmaking is shown in particular by his *Approaching Clapham Junction I*, with its railwayman's interpretation of the speed of wheels, which can be read as an allusion to Boccioni.

This volume also includes an essay on the artist's library, which held manuals on wood-engraving by the

348. Furio de Denaro, *Attesa Melancolica* (*Melancholic Wait*), 1995, wood-engraving, 195 x 204 mm (Image courtesy Roberta Dittura de Denaro).

349. Furio de Denaro, *Self-Portrait*, 1982, wood-engraving, 122 x 110 mm (Image courtesy Roberta Dittura de Denaro).

little mentioned William Norman Brown, Giulio Cisari and Iain Macnab of London's Grosvenor School of Art; John Farleigh, as well as works by Abraham Bosse and the early nineteenth-century instructional book on lithography by Henry Bankes. Closer to our time, the library shows an interest in artists as diverse as Edward Hopper, Ralph Goings and Chuck Close. Another essay covers Furio's work as a print historian (see also *Print Quarterly*, IX, 1992, pp. 198–99; XII, 1995, pp. 408–09 and XXIX, 2012, p. 224). Appendices are devoted to his one *livre d'artiste, Pinocchio xilografico*; to a letter from him to fellow printmaker and print historian Francesco Parisi; and to a survey of his life by his widow, Roberta Dittura de Denaro, the current President of PRINTS, who set up the Fondo Artistico Furio de Denaro. There is a very useful bibliography, which includes a long list of the artist's published writings. MARTIN HOPKINSON

ARTISTS' POSTCARDS. The book by Jeremy Cooper, *The World Exists to be Put on a Postcard: Artists' Postcards from 1960 to Now* (London, published by Thames & Hudson in collaboration with the British Museum, 2019, 160 pp. 160 pp., 344 ills., £19.95) is in effect a catalogue of an exhibition featuring selected highlights from the collection amassed by the author and donated to the British Museum. The subtitle suggests a narrative history of the medium that might also read as microcosm of recent art history. The story which Cooper tells, through the examples from his rich and varied collection, however, is somewhat less coherent than this would imply. He has chosen to organize his material into categories which overlap rather confusingly, sometimes prioritizing date of production ('1960s and 1970s'), or physical type ('Altered'), subject matter ('Portraits'), or purpose ('Political'). Other examples appear in catch-all categories such as 'Graphic', which here simply means cards with text rather than pictorial imagery. The concluding chapter 'Recent Postcards' encompasses a variety of cards which could have slotted in to one or more of the preceding chapters. The consequence of these overlaps is to render the chapter prefaces rather repetitive, and dense with lists of names and dates.

These caveats aside, the book is welcome as the first overarching account of the artist's postcard and

350. Rachel Whiteread, *Untitled*, 2005, photomechanical print, 105 x 150 mm (© the artist).

as such it is a fresh and engaging contribution to the growing literature on multiples and printed ephemera. Richly illustrated with examples of now rare or unique material, the book is valuable as a recovered history of objects that are inherently disposable, and often lost or damaged on route from sender to recipient. Each image is accompanied by careful documentation of who, what, where and when, thereby charting an artist's exhibition history and their associations with movements, from Fluxus and Conceptual Art through Pop, performance and political protest.

Some cards, in particular those sent as invitations or exhibition announcements, were produced in large numbers. From the image of Lynda Benglis, naked but for her dropped jeans, to Richard Long's evocative text piece *Crossing Places*, these demonstrate the postcard as a manifesto in miniature, a taster of the artist's attitudes and allegiances. The altered postcards were often found or appropriated and are thus unique works. For example, Rachel Whiteread's 1960s tourist postcard of an alpine scene, with punched holes, of 2005, becomes a two-dimensional equivalent of her sculptural explorations of negative space (fig. 350). This has uncanny echoes of Yoko Ono's *A Hole to See the Sky Through*, of 1971 – simply a hole punched through a white card – a piece which brilliantly expanded the scope of the postcard, linking it to performance, and inviting the viewer into a collaborative relationship with the artist.

At its best, the postcard is a masterpiece of creative economy, a visual haiku designed to inform, intrigue, provoke, amuse, subvert or protest. The small scale can create an intimacy between artist and recipient (as with Julian Opie's seemingly personalized 'hand-written' message on a lenticular card from 2006), but at the same time the postcard's public character is often acknowledged with declamatory slogans or utopian messages, especially in a political context. Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher (fig. 351), Tony Blair and Donald Trump have all prompted postcard protests, and AIDS activists and feminists spread word of their causes in postcard campaigns.

Cheap and adaptable, postcards circulate outside

the art market and the gallery system. As something designed to be sent through the mail, the postcard has a wider reach than a print in a portfolio or a painting on a gallery wall. It passes through many hands, and in some cases crosses the globe, as it journeys from creator to recipient. In this sense, as the title of a 2014 exhibition aptly asserted, 'The Postcard is a Public Work of Art'. This is summed up with elegant wit in Ben Vautier's card *The Postman's Choice*, published in 1967, which invited the user to write different addresses on each side of the card, and add a stamp to both, leaving it to the postal system to decide which address to deliver to, and which stamp to frank. George Maciunas, instigator of Fluxus, declared it to be 'a work of genius' – quite an accolade for such a modest piece of printed ephemera. Cooper claims that the postcards provide 'a lasting record of art events that might otherwise fade from memory' but in this fascinating catalogue Cooper has produced a lasting record of the medium itself and the many inventive uses that artists have found for it. GILL SAUNDERS

351. Cath Tate, *Prevent Street Crime*, 1982, photomechanical prints, 150 x 105 mm (© the artist. Courtesy Leeds Postcards).

Printing Colour 1400–1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions, edited by Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage, contributions by Doris Oltrogge, Mayumi Ikeda, Andreas Uhr, Kathryn M. Rudy, A. Klein, Naoko Takahatake, Linda Stiber Morenus, Shelley R. Langdale, Beth A. Price, Nancy Ash, Haddon A. Dine, Ken Sutherland, Lucia Burgio, Jo-Fan Huang, Edward H. Wouk, Marjolein Leesberg, Anja Grebe, Alexander Dencher, Jun Nakamura, Simon Turner, Elmer Kolfin and Marrijge Rikken, Leiden, Brill, 2015, 278 pp., 140 ills., €150.

This volume emerged from a conference held at Cambridge University in 2014 on 'Impressions of colour'. But it is more than a publication of papers given on that occasion, as it has been welded into a more coherent whole by the interventions and additions of the two editors. The 23 essays in this book stand as the most useful introduction to this long-neglected subject that has yet been published.

John T. Carpenter and Melissa McCormick, *The Tale of Genji: A Japanese Classic Illuminated*, contributions by Monika Bincsik and Kyoko Kinoshita, exhibition catalogue, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5 March–16 June 2019, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019, 368 pp., 312 ills., $65.

The catalogue explores the impact of the eleventh-century novel *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*) on the visual and decorative arts in Japan, tracing the evolving iconography of the novel through to the present day. It encompasses calligraphy, painting, lacquerware, textiles and finally, nine colour woodblock prints and three woodblock-printed illustrated books. The commentaries on these items explain the ways ukiyo-e artists manipulated the traditional iconography by employing *mitate* and *yatsushi* (see also *Print Quarterly*, XXXIII, 2016, pp. 310–11). They also consider the impact in the middle decades of the nineteenth century of the illustrations created by Utagawa Kunisada to accompany the wildly popular rewriting of the novel by Ryūtei Tanehiko, *A Fraudulent Murasaki's Rustic Genji* (*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji),* for which see also *Print Quarterly*, XXXI, 2014, pp. 326–27.

William Hunter and the Anatomy of the Modern Museum, edited by Mungo Campbell and Nathan Flis, contributions by Craig Ashley Hanson, Matthew Sangster, Meredith Gamer, Dominik Hünniger, Nicholas Thomas, María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui, Peter Black, Maggie Reilly, Stuart McDonald, Anne Dulau Beveridge, Michelle Craig, Donal Bateson, Jeanne Robinson, John Faithfull and Neil Clark, exhibition catalogue, Glasgow, The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, 28 September 2018–6 January 2019; New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, 14 February–20 May 2019, New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, and The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, in association with Yale University Press, 2018, 440 pp., 618 ills., £50.

The tercentenary of the birth of William Hunter (1718–83), founder of Scotland's first museum, was celebrated by an exhibition and a substantial catalogue. Nineteen contributions fully demonstrate the interests and collecting of this remarkable physician and anatomist, as well as publishing a letter of 1765 to his fellow Scottish doctor, William Cullen, outlining his plans for a museum, and the catalogue of the sale held in London by Hutchins on 22 May 1783 of his personal effects. Essays on Hunter's library, his major illustrated publication, *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*, and his collection of curiosities from the South Sea Islands are included. There are also significant sections on Hunter's portraits, his major collection of illuminated manuscripts, the pictures, and coins and medals which he owned, as well as the anatomical illustrations which he commissioned. The bibliography, although necessarily selective, will be of lasting use.

Although the catalogue entries and the introduction shed light on Hunter's interest in prints, a future small publication on this topic, briefly explored in a 2007 Hunterian exhibition catalogue, might also be of use. Hunter collected specific categories of prints, including engravings after Rubens, rare prints by James Barry, mezzotints by John Finlayson, and he had a keen interest in French seventeenth- and eighteenth-century engravings. He owned most of Hogarth's prints, Domenico Cunego's prints after Gavin Hamilton, engravings by Sir Robert Strange, mezzotints by Valentine Green, volumes of John Smith mezzotints and prints by Piranesi.

The Art of Campari, edited by Roberta Cremoncini, with contributions by Enrica de Biasi, Vicky Gitto, Paolo Cavallo, Pierpaolo Antonello, exhibition catalogue, London, Estorick Collection, 4 July–16 September 2018, Cinisello Balsamo, Silvana Editoriale, 2018, 96 pp., 73 ills., €25.

This book contains several essays and numerous colour pages devoted to the printed graphic design and advertising material used by Campari, the manufacturers of the aperitif, which was founded in 1860. From the early 1900s the firm under its second owner Davide Campari poured energy and money into self-promotion, and this publication draws on the firm's extensive archive to present an anthology of this work (see also *Print Quarterly*, XXVII, 2010, pp. 430–32). It is dominated by two designers: in the 1920s by the former Futurist Fortunato Depero (1892–1960, see also *Print Quarterly*, XXXIII, 2016, pp. 76–78), and in the 1960s by Franz Marangolo (1912–95).

Picasso: Von den Schrecken des Krieges zur Friedenstaube, edited by Markus Müller, contribution by Alexander Gaude, exhibition catalogue, Münster, Kunstmuseum Pablo Picasso, 28 April–2 September 2018, Dresden, Sandstein Verlag, 2018, 120 pp., 96 ills., €24.

Picasso's responses to war and peace are presented in thematic essays, including one on the motif of the dove. The catalogue features 53 exhibited objects, including 23 lithographs and one etching from the Kunstmuseum Pablo Picasso's own exclusively graphic holdings on the artist (deriving from the Huizinga collection). The loans were predominantly from French and German institutions but included *Man with a Lamb,* of 1943, cast in bronze from a clay model made in occupied Paris. The sacrificial subject is echoed in the two prints of *Paris 14 July 42,* published c. 1945, with a flayed goat as its focus: the first a white on black etching, the second a lithograph deriving from the offset etching in its negative. Picasso's earliest works in the exhibition were the pendant aquatints *Dream and Lie of Franco,* of 1937, of which the second plate was reworked in response to the bombing of Guernica in the same year. This provided the compositional germ for *Guernica,* of 1937, evoked in the exhibition by Tatjana Doll's appropriation in dripping paint, *RIP. On the Western Front Nothing New,* of 2009. The sombre sights of war were contrasted with Picasso's numerous post-war iterations on the dove theme, including two preparatory studies for a lithograph, *Youth,* of 1950, exhibited in three states.

Mitra Abbaspour, Calvin Brown and Erica Cooke, *Frank Stella Unbound: Literature and Printmaking*, exhibition catalogue, Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, 19 May–23 September 2018; Jacksonville, Museum of Contemporary Art Jacksonville, 6 October 2018–13 January 2019, Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, 2018, 112 pp., 105 ills., $35.

This volume focuses on four print series made between 1984 and 1999 by Frank Stella (b. 1936): *Illustrations after El Lissitzky's Had Gadya* (1984), *Italian Folktales* (1988–89), *The Moby Dick Prints* (1989–93) and *Imaginary Places* (1994–99). Each series is named after a literary work, respectively the Jewish folk tale *Had Gadya*, Italo Calvino's anthology of two hundred *Italian Folktales*, Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* and Alberto Manguel and Gianni Guadalupi's *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places.* Two introductory essays explore the interplay between narrative structure and abstract composition in the artist's graphic oeuvre, emphasizing his interdisciplinary interests and processes.

Baselitz Sottosopra. Xilografie dal Cabinet d'Arts Graphiques di Ginevra, edited by Enzo Di Martino and Manuela Rossi, exhibition catalogue, Carpi, Musei di Palazzo dei Pio, 15 September–12 November 2017, Carpi, APM Edizioni, 2017, Italian and English, 76 pp., 47 ills.

The catalogue accompanied a selection of 40 woodcuts by Georg Baselitz (b. 1938) shown on the occasion of the 18th Biennale of contemporary woodcut in Carpi, near Modena. The prints came from the impressive collection of more than 500 works donated over the years by the artist to the Cabinet d'Arts Graphiques of the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva. In Ugo da Carpi's hometown, the exhibition's intent inevitably focused on the dialogue between Baselitz's production and historic forms of printmaking, especially that of chiaroscuro woodcut. Thus the deep interest shown by the artist since his early career in the prints of the Renaissance and his reception of Mannerism became evident. Perhaps because of lack of space or thematic choices, the focus was on works from the 1980s and early 1990s, without extending to other aspects, such as comparison with other states of the prints in the Geneva collection, or the examination of the evolution of some of these subjects in the artist's oeuvre. The publication includes two short essays comparing Baselitz's activity as a printmaker with the graphic oeuvres of Albrecht Dürer and Ugo da Carpi, respectively.

Jörg Schmeisser Retrospective: Neverending Journeys, edited by Eri Wanajo, contributions by Roger Pulvers, Shuhei Ono, Reiko Iijima and Satoshi Fukaya, exhibition catalogue, Machida City, Tokyo, Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts, 15 September–18 November 2018; Nara, Nara Prefectural Museum of Art, 13 April–2 June 2019, Tokyo, Kyuryodo Art Publishing Co., 2018, 172pp., 199 ills., ¥2500.

Jörg Schmeisser (b. 1942) studied printmaking and drawing under Paul Wunderlich (1927–2010) at the University of Fine Arts in Hamburg from 1962. In 1966 he travelled to the Middle East with a research programme, after which he regularly worked as a draughtsman on archaeological excavations in the Middle East. From 1968 he studied at the Kyoto Art Academy, and became especially drawn to Japan's ancient culture and traditional artistic methods. Although he primarily worked in etching, Schmeisser enjoyed experimenting with Japanese woodblock printing and ink painting techniques. In 1978 he took up a position in the department of printmaking at the Canberra School of Art, Australia, which remained the base for further travels until his death in 2012. The influence of his peripatetic life is said to be reflected in his work, which combines varied and dramatic cultural and geographical landscapes with a meticulous diaristic approach. His prints typically use only two or three colours and vary the effects with plate tone. The extensively researched catalogue accompanied the first full-scale retrospective of Schmeisser's work. It contains information about the artist, his etching technique and motifs, his association with the Kurumaki printmaking studio in Nara, a list of all his prints made from 1964 to 2011 and a comprehensive bibliography.

Catalogue and Book Reviews

Eros Visible: Art, Sexuality and Antiquity in Renaissance Italy

Hérica Valladares

James Grantham Turner, *Eros Visible: Art, Sexuality and Antiquity in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2017, 464 pp., 340 ills., £60.

James Grantham Turner's new book is an erudite study of what he terms the 'erotic revolution' in Italian art – in other words, a classically inspired 'sensuous turn' in the visual representation of the human body that transformed artistic theory and practice during the first half of the sixteenth century. As Turner argues in his introduction and subsequent chapters, this 'perfect storm' of artistic innovation stemmed both from a more intimate knowledge of Greco-Roman antiquity and a desire on the part of early modern artists to produce images that would provoke a powerful physical, emotional and intellectual response from viewers. For Turner, this multi-layered form of art-induced arousal is emblematized by the rather licentious depictions of human and divine lovers doing what lovers do that appear in a variety of media and contexts in the decades spanning the death of Girolamo Savonarola in 1498 and the Counter Reformation.[1] His goal, then, is not only to recover and reinterpret Italian Renaissance erotica, but to reintegrate this largely marginalized sub-genre of 'hard-core' images into the discussion of more mainstream works of art. He accordingly takes a comprehensive, almost encyclopedic approach to this subject to reveal 'high artistic ambition in "pornography" and "lascivious things" in the most canonical painting', provocatively blurring traditional divisions between 'high' and 'low' artistic forms.[2] On the different connotations of 'lascivious' in late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Italian, Turner notes that while *carte di pitture lascive* were thrown on bonfires under Savanarola, for Pietro Aretino as well as the other writers and artists in his circle, *cose lascive* took on a more positive meaning as both a source of delight and an irreplaceable element in the creative process.[3]

Turner's book is divided into an introduction and seven thematically organized chapters. Chapter One sets the stage by surveying a number of exuberantly sensual art works by Leonardo and his studio, and considering the vital role of erotic images in the development of a more naturalistic, classicizing aesthetic in the late fifteenth century. Chapter Two and Three focus on Renaissance representations of the myth of Venus, Mars and Vulcan in different media to highlight the ways in which the study of antiquity, the interest in mythological subjects and the creation of pornographic images were closely interwoven in early sixteenth-century artistic practice. Chapter Four explores the metaphorical meanings of Venus's mirror in classical literature and the art of Titian and Tintoretto, where the goddess's erotically charged attribute comes to symbolize the art of painting itself; while Chapter Five traces the transformation of the seminal stain said to have been left on Praxiteles's marble statue of Venus by an infatuated viewer into a symbol of artistic prowess. Chapter Six investigates the association between sodomy and what Lodovico Dolce defined as 'double art' – an aesthetic ideal of representing front and back in a single pose that (according to Turner) also reveals a spirit of sexual experimentation and fluidity among Renaissance artists, intellectuals and their patrons. Finally, Chapter Seven pairs Marcantonio

1. As Turner himself avows in his introduction, his work builds on a well-established and developed body of scholarship. See Turner's own articles in *Print Quarterly*, among them vol. XXI, 2004, pp. 363–84; and S. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este*, New Haven and London, 2004; A. Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, Chicago and London, 2011; A. Nova, 'Correggio's '*Lascivie*', in *Renaissance Love: Eros, Passion and Friendship in Italian Art around 1500*, edited by J. Kohl, M. Koos, and A. W. B. Randolph, Berlin and Munich, 2014, pp. 121–30; M. Pardo, 'Artifice as Seduction in Titian', in *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images*, edited by J. G. Turner, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 55–89; P. Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe*, Cambridge, 2011; and B. Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture*, Princeton, 1999.
2. Turner, op. cit., p. 13
3. Ibid., p. 20.

352. Anonymous artist after Baldassare Peruzzi, *Mars and Venus Trapped by Vulcan's Net*, pen and brown ink and wash, 204 x 152 mm (Paris, Louvre).

353. Attributed to Agostino Veneziano after Marcantonio Raimondi, *A Nude Man and a Woman on a Bed Embracing, Position One*, from *I Modi* (first published 1524), engraving, 132 x 260 mm (London, British Museum).

Raimondi and Michelangelo, two artists who are not often categorized together, to consider how erotic motifs migrated from one medium and one studio to another.

Although prints are frequently discussed throughout Turner's book, they mostly play a supporting role in his analysis of the 'erotic revolution' in Renaissance art. His discussion of Baldassare Peruzzi's designs for the exterior façade of Palazzo Chigi (now known as the Villa Farnesina) in Rome is characteristic of his approach. Although no longer visible, these images, which were originally rendered in greenish, earthen coloured monochrome known as *terretta*, have been partly preserved through several contemporary drawings and prints. Peruzzi's composition of Mars and Venus trapped by Vulcan's net, which showed the two adulterous lovers lying on a bed, entangled in an intensely carnal embrace, with their nude bodies exposed for all to see (fig. 352; thought to be related to the lost Villa Farnesina fresco), became (in the words of Turner) like a 'paradigm in grammar' that enabled new representations of sexuality, domesticity and their startling collision.[4] In fact, Turner sees Peruzzi's *Mars and Venus* as an important model for Marcantonio Raimondi's lovers in the *Modi*, arguing that the opening image for his series of erotic prints (fig. 353) replicates key aspects of this earlier iconography: namely, the 'expanse of female back and buttocks, framed by a thin ridge of male musculature' as well as the drapery that serves as a background for the lovers' embrace and that is here supported by two bearded herms, which replace the audience of Olympian gods in Peruzzi's design.[5] Thus, prints are granted two important, but intermediary functions: as valuable documentation for now lost works of art and as playful recreations of iconographic motifs developed originally in other media.

An intriguing exception to this general treatment of Renaissance erotic prints as either reiterations or variations on more established iconographic sources is Turner's exploration of the echoes between

4. Tuner, op. cit., p. 132.

5. Tuner, op. cit., pp. 146–47.

354. Anonymous artist after Marcantonio Raimondi, detail from *A Man and Woman Embracing, Position Three* from *I Modi*, engraving, c. 50 x c. 70 mm (Milan, Private collection).

Michelangelo's and Marcantonio's work in Chapter Seven. Taking his cue from Ana Ávila's suggestion that *Modi* 3's muscular male lover (fig. 354) reproduces the figure of the Creator who similarly turns his back to the viewer in one of the Sistine Chapel ceiling frescoes (fig. 355), Turner traces a series of parallels between Michelangelo's celebrated paintings and Marcantonio's more irreverent inventions.[6] Yet it is not just Marcantonio who, according to Turner, borrows from Michelangelo, transforming the Sistine ignudi and the strapping young men from the *Battle of Cascina* cartoon into daring, sexual athletes. Michelangelo himself appears to have drawn inspiration from *I Modi* in conceiving several of the figures depicted in the *Last Judgement*: for example one of the angels lifting a column (fig. 356), who is shown *a tergo* and recalls the male lover of *Modi* 3; the group of Saints Blaise and Catherine, who evoke the lovers of *Modi 9* (fig. 357 and 358); and the group of saints who closely embrace and kiss each other as if 'resurrecting

6. A. Ávila, *Los Modi y los Sonetos lujuriosos: Giulo Romano, Marcantonio Raimondi, Jean-Frédéric-Maximilien Waldeck y Pietro Aretino*. Madrid, 2008, p. 77.

355. Michelangelo, *God Creating the Plants*, from Sistine ceiling, 1508–12, fresco (Vatican City, Sistine Chapel).

356. Michelangelo, *Angel Lifting a Column*, from right lunette of *Last Judgement*, 1536–41, fresco (Vatican City, Sistine Chapel).

357. Fragment, anonymous artist, after Marcantonio Raimondi, *Position Nine* from *I Modi*, reversed, engraving, 48 x 60 mm (London, British Museum).

and redeeming figures encountered in the fallen world of graphic sexuality' (see fig. 7.8 in the book under review).[7]

Still, Turner's overall study places little emphasis on printmaking as an artistic medium in its own right. Questions regarding important stylistic differences between engravers and the development of different techniques for the creation of varied visual effects, along with the perennial problem of viewership are largely reserved for Turner's analysis of paintings and drawings, on which he has much to say. A key question that is never raised in Turner's study is why Renaissance erotic prints present viewers with much more earthly, graphic depictions of sex than any other contemporary works produced in other media. It is undeniable that the sixteenth-century 'erotic revolution' touched all forms of artistic creation. It is also evident, however, that prints had a different role to play in this aesthetic and intellectual movement, granting engravers a greater level of graphic freedom – one might even say audacity – than was otherwise accorded to artists working in either painting or sculpture. In fact, with the exception of certain rather salacious drawings made in the intimacy of an artist's studio, very little compares to the sheer raunchiness of sixteenth-century erotic prints. But unlike the sensual, even pornographic drawings associated with artists such as Leonardo, Michelangelo and Raphael that were made for a very limited audience, Marcantonio's and Jacopo Caraglio's erotic prints were produced for commercial distribution and consumption – a fact that seems to slip through the cracks of Turner's wide-ranging account of the interrelation of art, sexuality and classical antiquity in sixteenth-century Italy.

358. Michelangelo, *Saint Catherine*, from right-hand side of *Last Judgement*, 1536–41, fresco (Vatican City, Sistine Chapel).

Turner's book is a worthy addition to the growing corpus of interdisciplinary studies on Renaissance erotic art. His prose is fluid and often witty, and the whole volume is sumptuously illustrated. Moreover, Turner's substantial bibliography reflects his extensive knowledge of the current research in Renaissance literature, art and culture, and his study will undoubtedly serve as an important reference for those interested in further investigating any aspect of Italian Renaissance erotica. As far as Turner's discussion of ancient art is concerned, however, a few corrections must be noted: the erotic paintings from the Roman villa excavated under the Farnesina, which are identified as encaustic panels from the first century AD in the caption to Figure 2.25, are actually frescoes produced in the late first century BC.[8] And although it is tempting to think that Agostino Chigi and the many artists he employed were aware of these extraordinary works of art from the reign of Augustus, it is unlikely that any modern viewer ever laid eyes on these wall paintings prior to the late nineteenth-century when they resurfaced in an exceptional state of preservation.[9] Even though these ancient frescoes did not serve as models for the Renaissance erotic revolution, they are concrete proof that sixteenth-century artists were not the first to make love visible.

7. Tuner, op. cit., p. 325.
8. Tuner, op. cit., p. 118.
9. Compare Tuner, op. cit., p. 363. On the history of the Roman villa under the Farnesina, see S. Mols and E. Moormann, *La Villa della Farnesina: le pitture*, Milan, 2008.

Architectural Prints and the Practice of Copying in the Late Renaissance

Dario Donetti

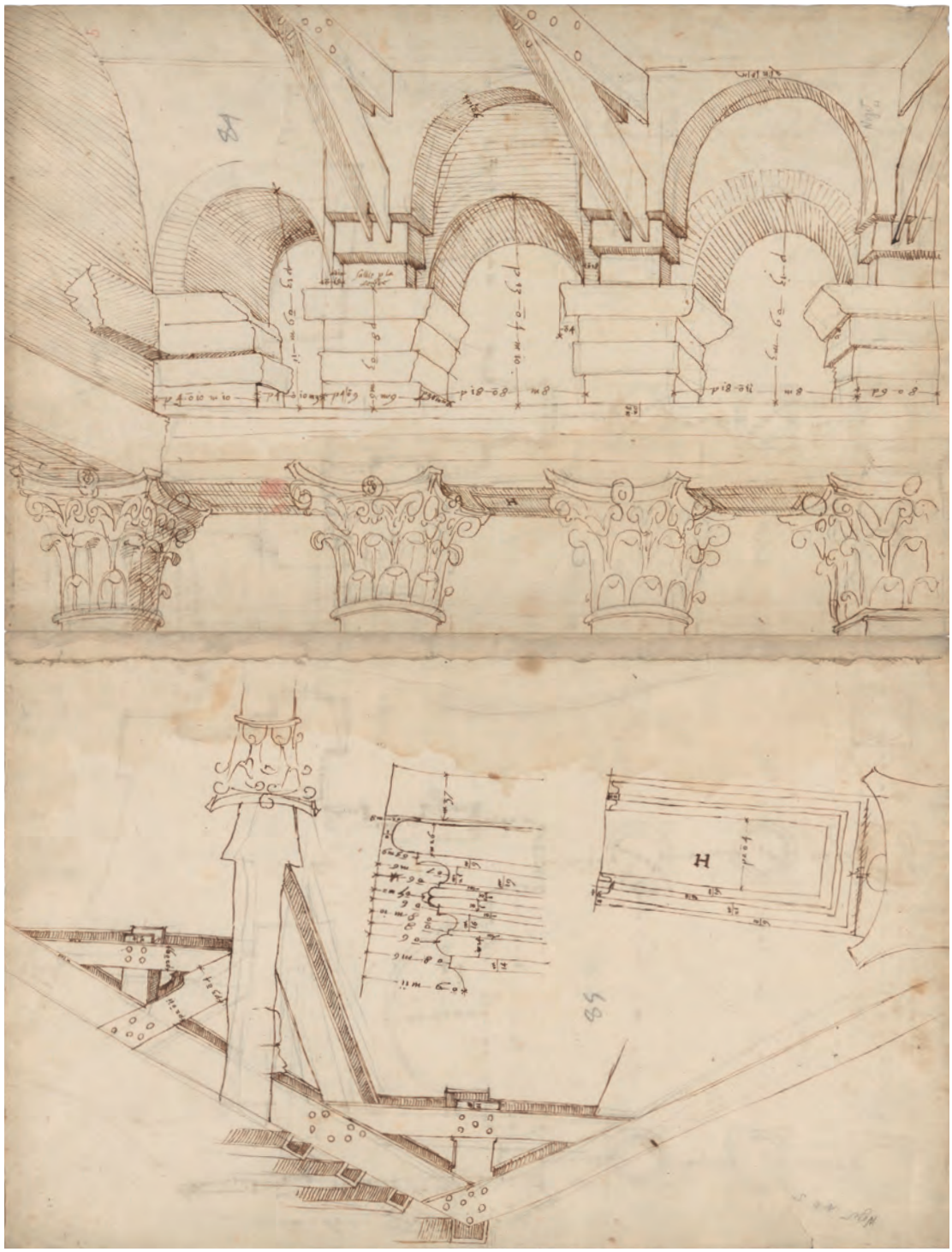
Carolyn Yerkes, *Drawing after Architecture: Renaissance Architectural Drawings and their Reception,* Venice, Marsilio, 2017, 288 pp., 186 ills., €38.

Drawing after Architecture: Renaissance Architectural Drawings and their Reception explores the collective efforts undertaken to document both ancient and modern architecture during the late Italian Renaissance, as well as the diffusion of such material throughout Europe, from that time to the end of the seventeenth century, when the massive production of prints accelerated the dissemination of artistic knowledge. Carolyn Yerkes calls on drawings and prints as primary evidence for the 'chains of received information' through which the sharing of both technical and stylistic notions took place.[1] In this sense, her work is indebted to a long-established historiographical tradition focusing on architectural representations, which, however, marshalled such images for other purposes: either to reconstruct the original design of a building, or to document antiquarian explorations, or to interpret the evolving conventions of architectural drawing. Rather than concentrating on issues of attribution or documentation, *Drawing after Architecture: Renaissance Architectural Drawings and their Reception* considers different series of prints and drawings deriving from the same sources, mostly realized by anonymous authors, and focuses especially on their moment of production and original purpose. The study thus proposes a new approach to the categorization of such copies 'based on the internal evidence of their making', placing itself squarely within the more recent trend of studies interested in the epistemological concerns of architectural practice and its material dimension.[2]

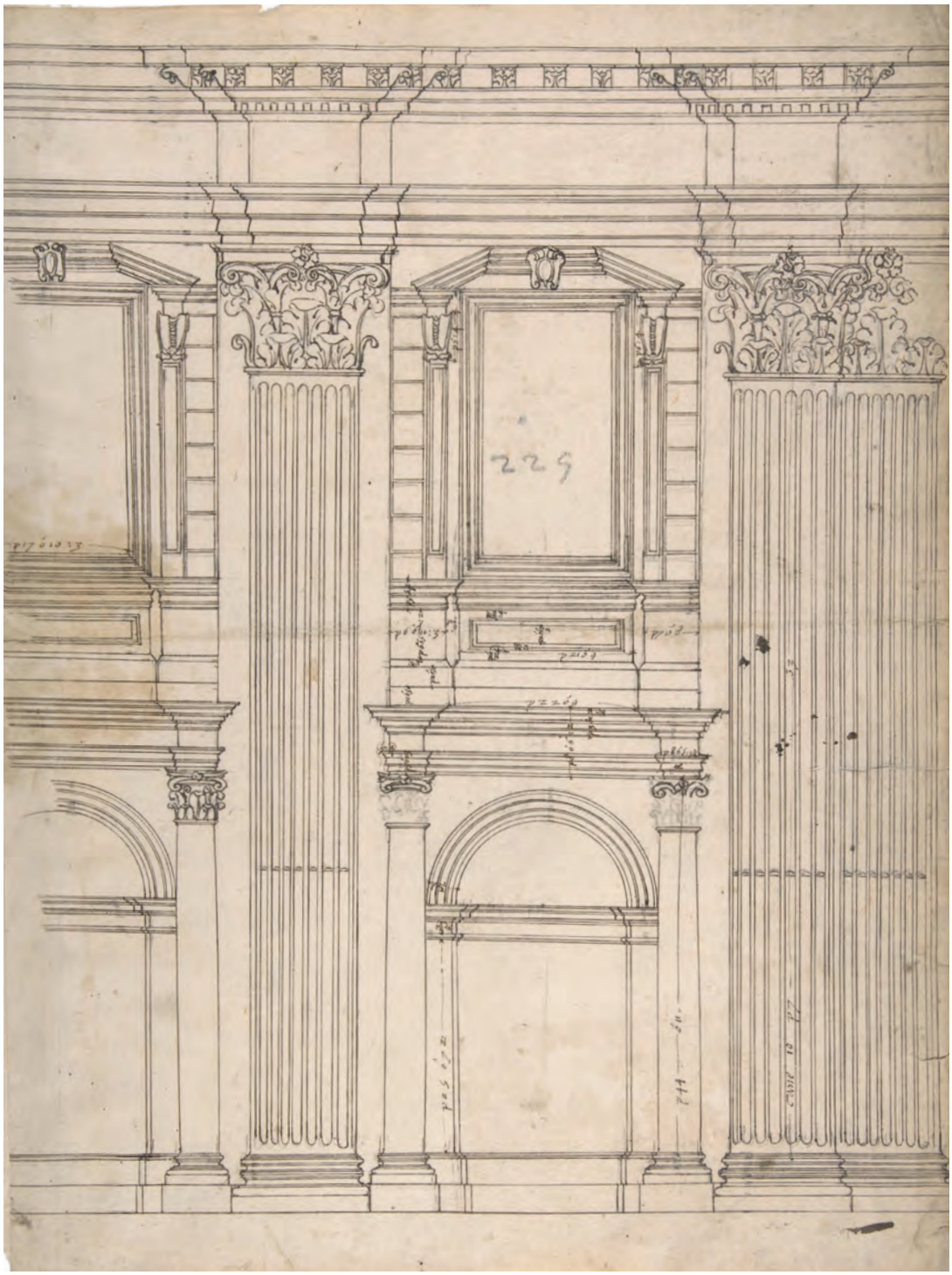
Yerkes most frequently cites drawings depicting ancient Roman architecture and sixteenth-century buildings in Rome, Florence and France preserved in two albums known as the Goldschmidt and Scholz scrapbooks (fig. 359). These once formed part of a single collection, probably assembled in the first half of the seventeenth century, but later became separated and mounted into albums. The collection was reunited in the twentieth century, when the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York purchased the albums, in 1949 and 1968, respectively. The common origin of the material is demonstrated by comparison with other drawings, such as those by the sculptor and architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1611) in the Uffizi – the prototype for many of the copies considered by Yerkes. Comparisons are also made with studies in Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Architectura civile* album in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, attributed to an anonymous Portuguese draughtsman, as well as with copies in the Worcester College album at Oxford, the Codex Destailleur D at the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin and the Cronstedt collection at the Nationalmuseum Stockholm. The extensive introduction, which is far more than a simple methodological preface, providing as it does the coordinates to orientate the reader within this web of related drawings, illustrates much of this material. With an innovative 'prosopographic approach' – modelled on historical methods that allow for an investigation of the common characteristics of a social group whose individual lives may be largely indiscernible – the author traces a common history for much of her material.[3] The advantage of this approach is that it reveals the nature of copying as an interpretative practice and explains its educational value even in the age of prints and academic teaching largely based on treatises and reproductions.

The following sections of Yerkes's book substantially mirror the content and even the subject divisions of the Goldschmidt and Scholz albums by analysing the fortune of two major Roman monuments, the Pantheon and St Peter's Basilica. The drawings and prints of the former stand as the epitome of antiquarian studies in the Renaissance. Reconsidering them illuminates the collaborative nature of surveying. It also reveals an early modern interest in the material dimension of construction, particularly evident from the drawings' attention to such technical features as the correspondence between structure and ornamentation. The building's system of circulation is also addressed by following how a draughtsman might have moved within the accessible parts of the ancient monument. The book further points to the emergence of this genre of graphic works as a subject of study in itself. The narrative occasionally leaps ahead in time, even examining representations of the building from the late nineteenth century, but it always returns to the Cinquecento as the moment when such an

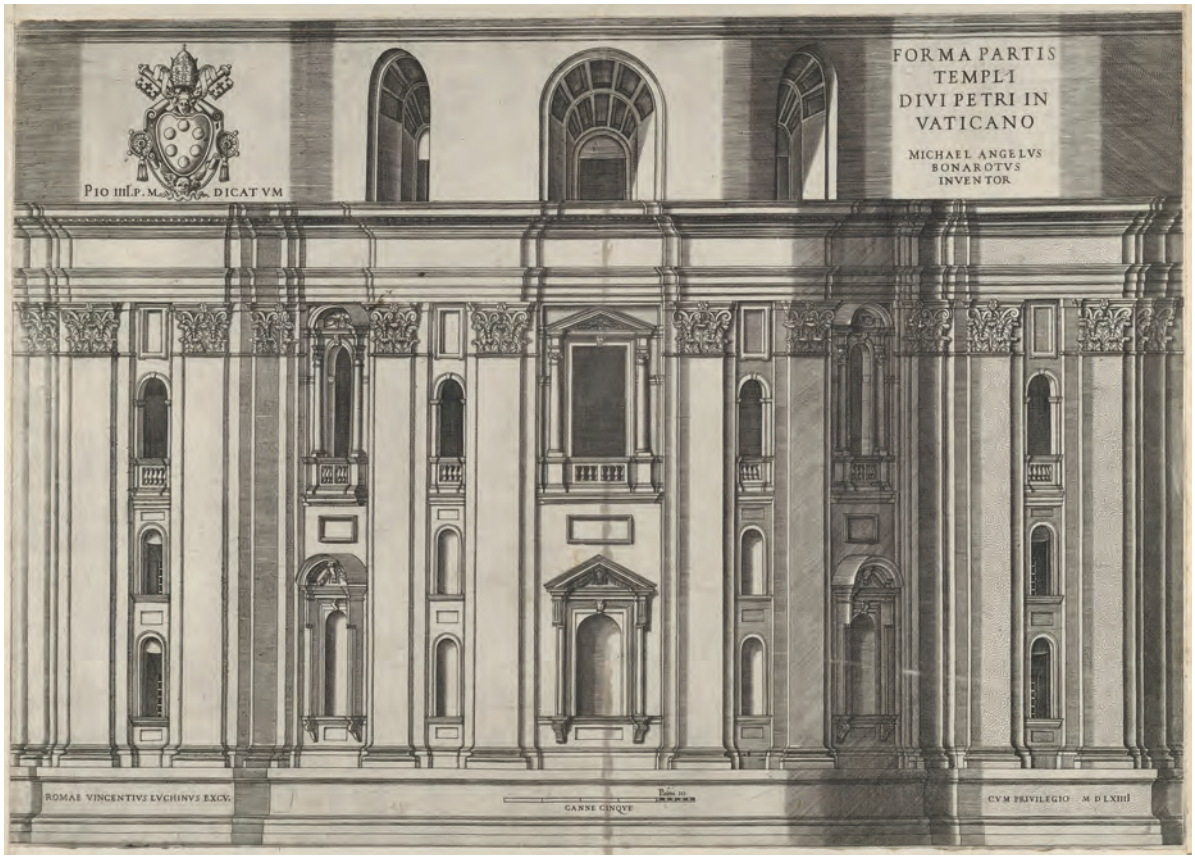
1. Yerkes, op. cit., p. 183.
2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 28.
3. Ibid., op. cit., p. 39.



359. Anonymous French artist, *Elevations of the Roof Structure of the Pantheon's Portico (top) and Bronze Truss (below, upside down); Smaller Details of the Portico Column Base (centre, upside down) and the Portico Architrave Soffit (right)*, mid-sixteenth century, pen and dark brown ink, over black chalk, 590 x 440 mm (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



360. Anonymous French artist, *Partial Interior Elevation of an Apse of St Peter's*, mid-sixteenth century, pen and dark brown ink, over black chalk, indented for transfer, 420 x 315 mm (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



361. Vincenzo Luchino, *Partial Elevation of St Peter's in the Vatican* (*Forma Partis Templi Divi Petri in Vaticano)*, 1564, engraving, 385 x 545 mm (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

epistemological system was established. For St Peter's, the author primarily focuses on the pivotal moment of Michelangelo Buonarroti's project. Here, the book succeeds in showing the 'historiographical potential' of surveying practice and the biographical intent embedded in series of drawings and prints systematically planned to illustrate one architect's buildings, especially when those series were devoted to such a paradigmatic artist as Michelangelo (fig. 360).[4]

Throughout, the method used to classify and interpret the material is evidential. Since one copy can differ from another, discrepancies – in certain cases, even errors, or misinterpretations – are used to formulate inductive arguments that establish different relationships between separate versions of the same subject. Secondary, tertiary and even quaternary derivations might find their place within a sequence that reveals the original source. Sometimes, it is the building itself at a particular moment in its history, other times a model or, more often, a further version of the same architectural object that circulated on paper and was endowed with its own fortune and diffusion. Comparative evaluation and an analysis of inscriptions demonstrate, for instance, that the architectural details of buildings by Michelangelo reproduced in the Louvre's François Derand album derive from the Scholz album, the author of which had copied Dosio's drawings that were in turn based on direct observation of extant models: the Louvre drawings constitute a model book that was, in fact, entirely built on second-hand information. Because of the importance of close observation for such an analysis, the book will please readers with an extremely rich apparatus of images, but it also challenges them by demanding careful reading and continuous shifts between the text and the copious illustrations.

Once unveiled, the 'chronological condensation' of some of the representations on paper sheds new light on the history of the buildings themselves.[5] Elements of the Pantheon that have now disappeared, but were still visible

4. Ibid., op. cit., p. 204.

5. Ibid., op. cit., p. 165.

362. Valerien Régnard, *Partial Elevation and Section through Michelangelo's Project for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome*, from *Praecipua Urbis templa* (Rome, 1650), engraving, 292 x 330 mm (London, British Museum).

in the late sixteenth century, include the famous bronze trusses from of the portico; the original revetment of the interior, described even in its colours and materials by the careful annotations of the Goldschmidt album; the metal apparatus integrating the oculus; and the peculiar octagonal pattern of the stucco vault of the entrance. Although probably dismantled in the 1560s, the latter motif enjoyed great popularity in the architecture of the Cinquecento – from Bramante to Giulio Romano and Girolamo Genga. A further revelation is the proposed identification of some drawings in the Scholz album, and of a series of related images, with depictions of the so-called 'master-model' for St Peter's, realized by Michelangelo in 1546/47 and no longer extant. By means of trenchant comparisons with the actual building and other original materials, details of this important intermediate project are inferred – such as the complex design of the vaults, or the problematic relationship between interior and exterior – thus explaining the idiosyncrasies of subsequent representations of St Peter's monumental apses. This allows different chronological stages merged within a family of illustrations – comprising in one instance prints by Vincenzo Luchino (died c. 1570; fig. 361), Étienne Dupérac (c. 1525–1604), Martino Ferrabosco (d. 1623), Jean Marot (1619–79) and Jacques Tarade (1646–1720) – to be distinguished from each other. But this book is especially important for the ways in which it confronts issues of classification, thus exposing the critical intentions that often underlie architectural depiction. The distinction made by Yerkes between 'primary' and 'secondary' classes of graphic documentation defines the gap between drawings resulting from on-site observation

and products of mediated access to the same information.[6] Clearly elucidated are the recurring features of what the author defines as a 'model drawing', a specific category of surrogate, which includes both drawn and engraved examples, deriving from a three-dimensional prototype in wood or clay.[7] Precisely because of the decontextualizing property of the print medium, the representational nature of such prototypes and their function as tools of design might gradually fade away in the sequence of derivations, as in the case of Michelangelo's unexecuted project for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome, which is presented as a virtually existing building by Valérien Regnard (active 1610–50; fig. 362).

Drawing after Architecture: Renaissance Architectural Drawings and their Reception is the last book of a series founded in 2005 by architectural historian James S. Ackerman and published by the Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio. Ackerman stands prominent among those scholars who breathed new life into the discipline in the second half of the last century. One of the many aims of his research was to capture the cultural implications of drawing practices, as well as their rhetoric and conventions; similar topics recur in this study, which finally brings to the attention of historiography a connective tissue of images – either drawn or printed – that shaped the perception of architecture in early modern Europe and speaks to a cultural history of its representation.

6. Ibid., op. cit., p. 139.

7. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 197–98.

The Icon of the Slave Ship

Jean Michel Massing

Cheryl Finley, *Committed to Memory: The Art of the Slave Ship Icon,* Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2018, 318 pp., 152 ills., $49.50.

Cheryl Finley's book focuses on the life, and afterlife, of a famous anti-slavery icon. In 1788 the Plymouth Committee of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in England published an engraved *Plan of an African Ship's lower Deck with Negroes in the proportion of only one to a Ton.*[1] The schematic, almost diagrammatic image shows rows and rows of 297 enslaved Africans, lying next to each other on the underbelly of the ship carrying its human cargo to the Americas. It was decided by the Committee that 1,500 impressions of this engraving, with an explanatory text, be printed and distributed gratis, as stated in the newspaper *The Western Flying Post: or Sherborne and Yeovil Mercury, and General Adviser* of 5 January 1789. Olaudah Equiano, author of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (London, 1789), congratulated the Plymouth Committee:

> Having seen a plate representing the form in which Negroes are stowed on board the Guinea ships, which you are pleased to send to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, a worthy friend of mine, I was filled with love and gratitude towards you for your humane interference on behalf of my oppressed countrymen.[2]

Equiano, an eyewitness to the slave trade, must have remembered his own experience, described thus:

> The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died… The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying rendered the whole scene of a horror almost inconceivable.[3]

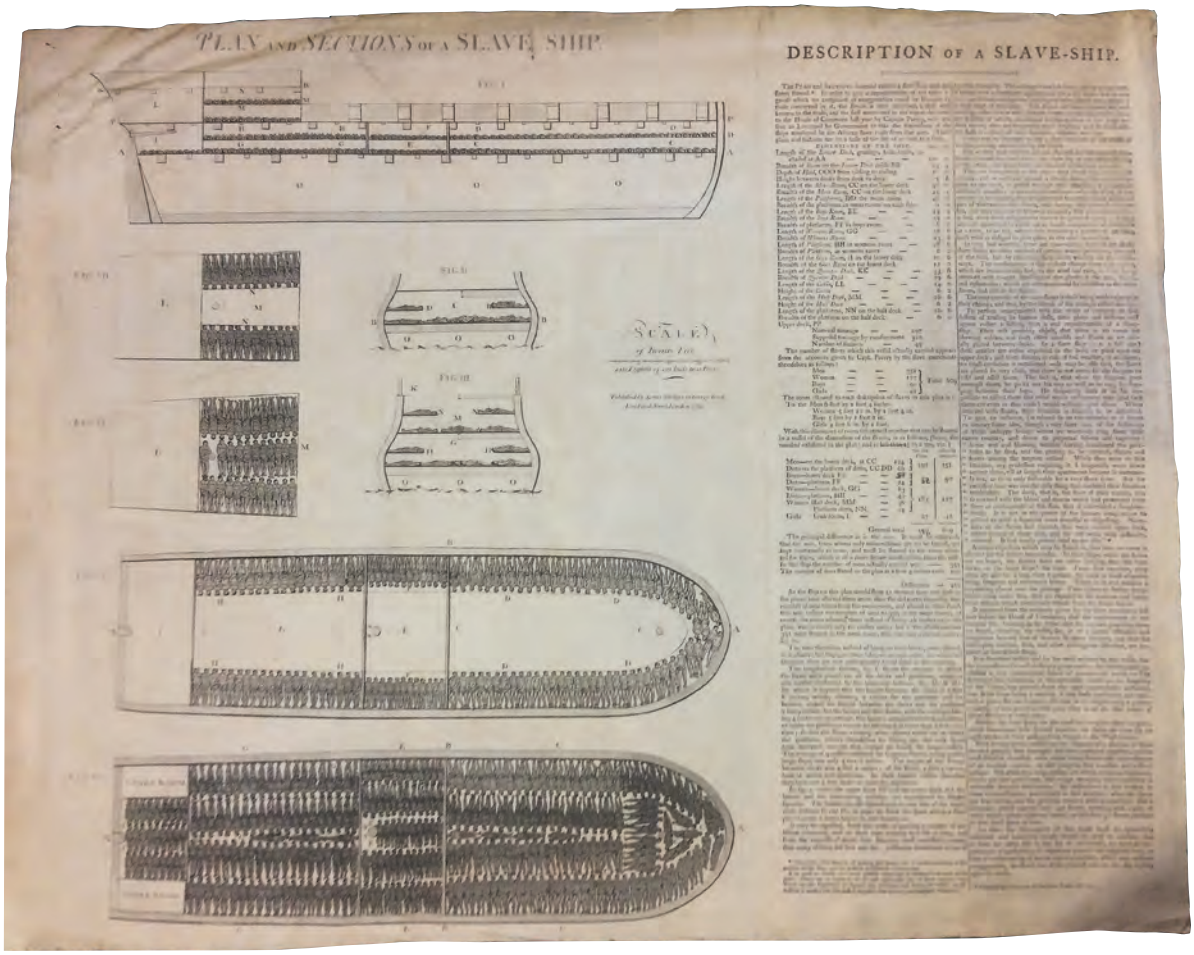
For Thomas Clarkson, the image was 'designed to give the spectator an idea of the sufferings of the Africans in the Middle Passage'. The four-page pamphlet detailed the horrors of the situation on such slave boats and identified the ship illustrated as the Brookes of Liverpool,

1. Engraving, 171 x 406 mm; Finley, op. cit., pp. 20–21, fig. 1.1.
2. Finley, op. cit., p. 19.
3. Finley, op. cit., p. 23.

which in one voyage actually carried 609 slaves.

When the Plymouth Committee pamphlet arrived in Philadelphia, the local New Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery commissioned the printer and engraver Mathew Carey to produce a copy and this was inserted into the May 1789 issue of the popular magazine *American Museum* to complement an article on 'Remarks on the Slave Trade' which reflected Pennsylvania's relatively emancipated view of the slave trade, calling as it did not only for the abolition of the trade, but of slavery itself. Another 750 copies were published at the expense of the Society the same year, while a further 1,500 were printed in broadside format and sent 'to each of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives and to the President of the US'. The same year, the Plymouth Committee published another broadside of the slave ship with the same text as in the original pamphlet; the engraver was Thomas Deeble (1762–c. 1801) from Bristol and the slaves are now shown shackled, as described in the text. The broadside combines the two most famous anti-slavery images, as the printer has added a kneeling slave with the inscription 'Am I not a man and a brother'.

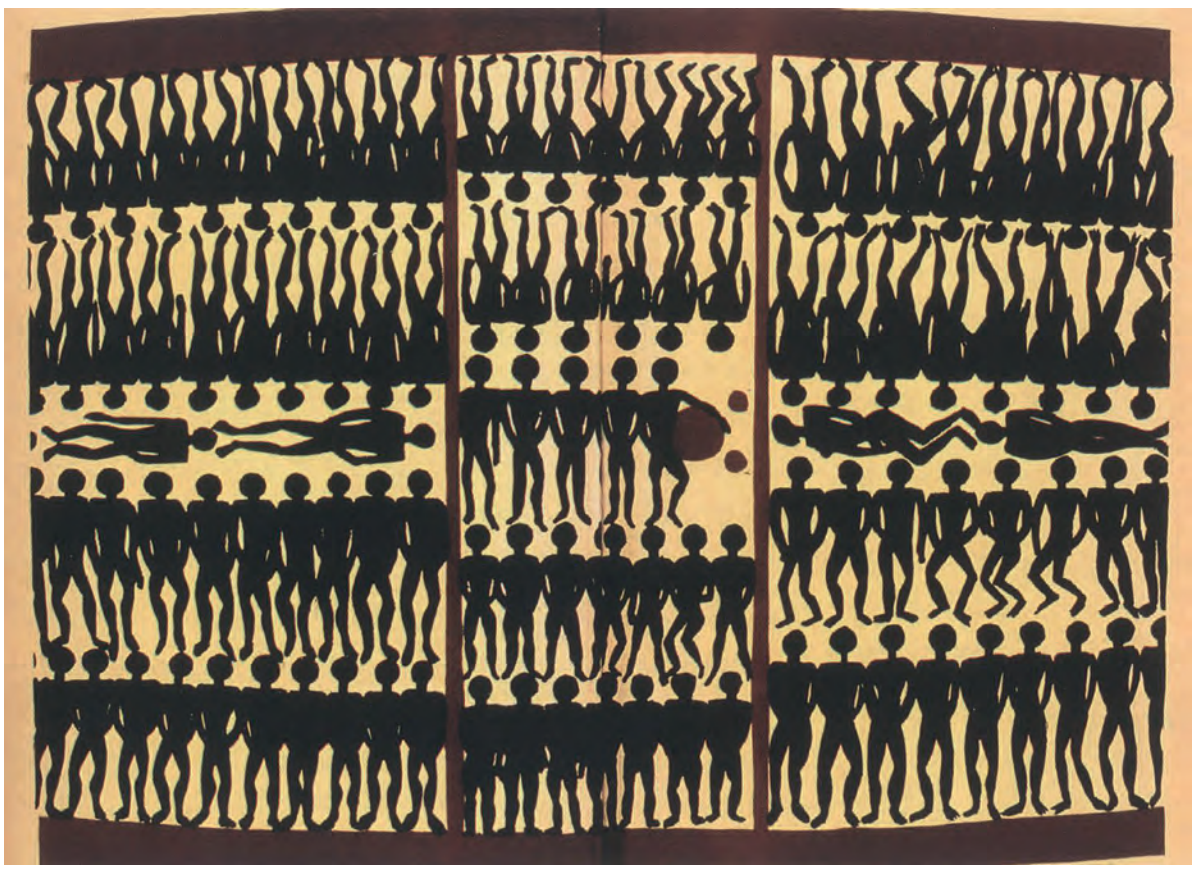
In the first third of her book, Finley's systematic study surveys the iconography and the commentaries of all these schematic images of slave boats visualizing antislavery propaganda (apart from the broadside *Stowage of the British Slave Ship 'Brookes' under the Regulated Slave Trade Act of 1788* which is unexpectedly overlooked). In 1789, the London Committee ordered a *Plan and Sections of a Slaveship* published in two versions, one with the descriptive text in four columns below the print, the other with the text in two columns on the right (fig. 363). The most popular broadsheet however was the



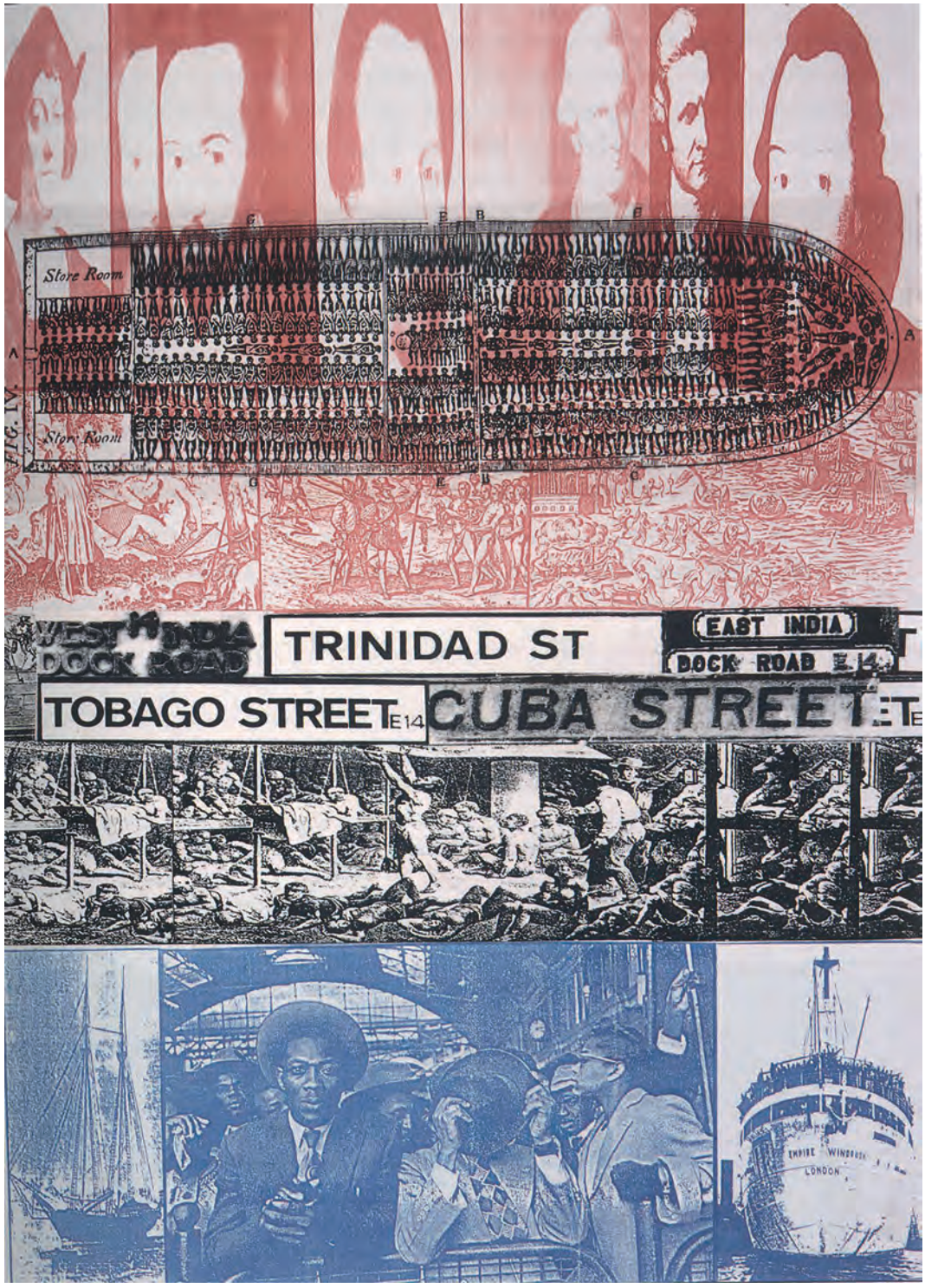
363. Anonymous artist, *Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship*, published by James Phillips, 1789, etching, engraving and aquatint, 490 x 375 mm, printed next to *Description of a Slave Ship*, letterpress, together 490 x 620 mm (London, British Museum).

well-known *Description of a Slave Ship* published by the London Committee in April 1789, and famously cited by Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce which includes the same plans and sections of the vessel, but in a different disposition. The illustrations of these three works are more precise than the earliest versions, with letters and numbers referring to the explanatory text. The broadsheets had wide circulation, with at least 8,700 copies sold of one of them, we are told, within three months of its issue, and copies sent to Members of both Houses of Parliament. On a visit to Paris, Clarkson asked the London Committee to send him a thousand prints of the plan and section of the slave boat with a French commentary and on 19 May 1789, the Société des Amis des Noirs decided to have it copied by 'M. de la Fosse'. A copy of the *Description of a Slave Ship* was published as a supplement to the *Courrier de l'Europe*. Mirabeau even had a wooden model of the ship made, now in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris. The *Description of a Slave Ship* did not lose its appeal, and, according to the Minutes of the London Committee dated 1 February 1791, 'Mr James Phillips is desired to print 400 wooden impressions of the slave ship and 500 of the copperplate impressions'; again examples were sent to Members of Parliament.

By 1790 at least six different engravings showing the tightly packed slave ship had been printed, a reflection of the effective visual power of such representations which, along with other publications, formed part of the campaign led by the Quakers and the abolitionist committees. On 14 October 1791, the Edinburgh Committee decided to print a new *Abstract of the Evidence*, 10,000 of them in 1791 alone, which included the image of the *Slave Ship*. Published in 1794 in London but by the Swedish-born naturalist Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization, Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa* showed the plans and sections of another slave ship and included an image of an insurrection on board; the model for that image, supposedly passed on to the author on the Ile de Gorée in 1787–88, shows



364. Miguel Covarrubias, *Endpapers*, from Malcolm Cowley, *Adventures of an African Slaver* (New York, 1928), 150 x 230 mm (Private collection).



365. Ingrid Pollard, *Untitled*, from the *Oceans Apart* series, 1989, Xerox print, acetate and printed text, 609 x 508 mm (London, Tate © the artist).

the revolt of the slaves on the *Fair Trader*, providing a revolutionary flavour.

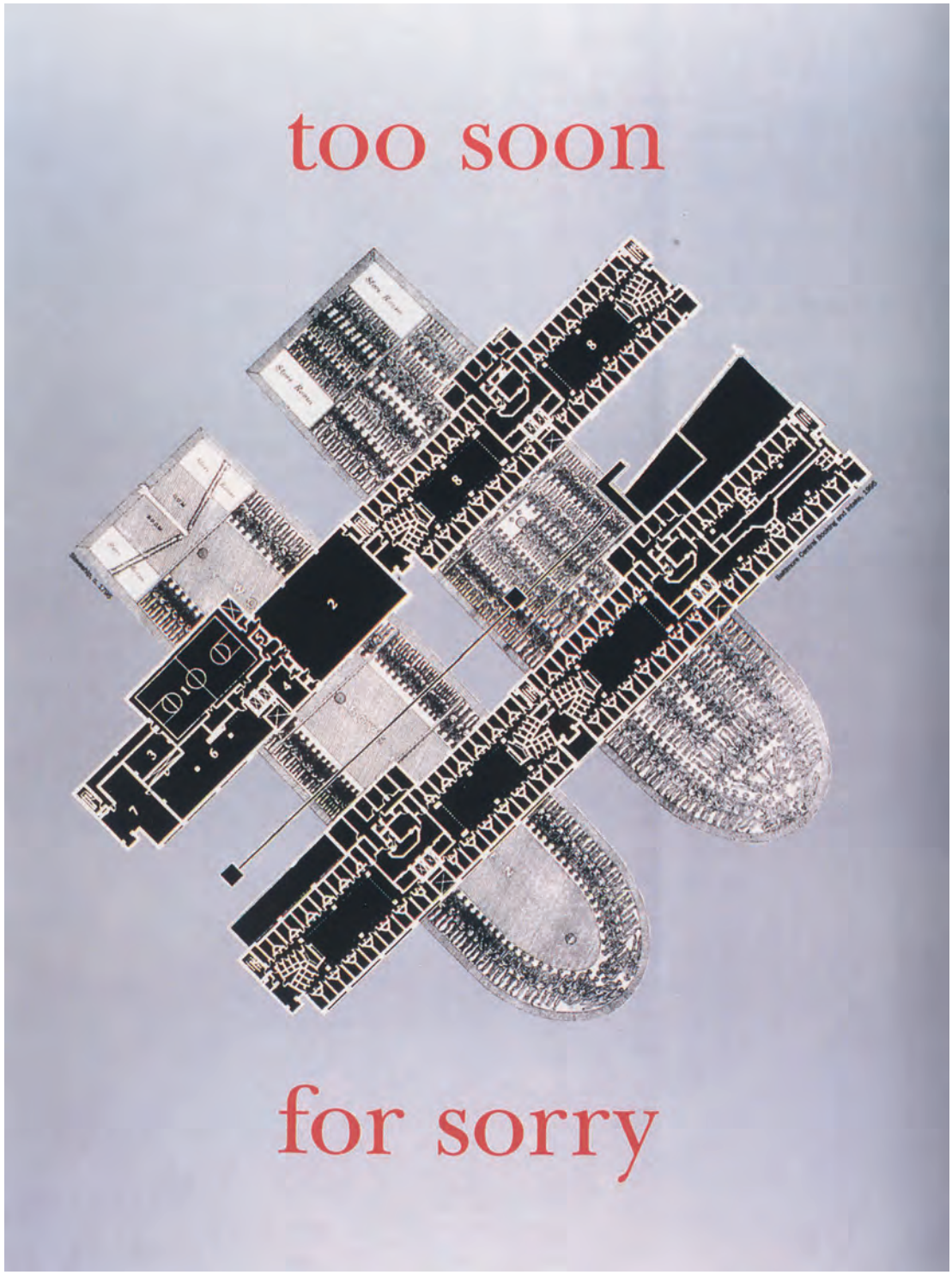
The slave ship illustration was diffused in numerous versions between 1790 and 1860, between the French Revolution and the American Civil War. In 1807 Clarkson published his *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament*, with a fine engraving of a slave ship which focused individually on the bodies and features of the shackled slaves, giving them more individuality and an almost classical stance. That same year the slave trade was abolished in Britain (though slavery itself ended only in 1833). Finley's book deals with this and many other examples, such as that of the French slave ship the *Vigilante*, captured in 1823 and illustrated in a short tract by a foldout engraving by 'J. Hawksworth', or that of a broadsheet published by Harvey and Dayton of the Spanish schooner *Josefa Maracayera* (in fact based on the French *Goélette espagnole 'La Josefa Maracayera'*, an impression of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). The first half of the nineteenth century also saw new iconographies of captured slave boats not only in prints, but also in newspapers (for example the *Death of Capt. Ferrer, the Captain of the Amistad, July 1839*). There is even a rare drawing by Lieutenant Francis Meynell of a view of the deck of the slave ship *Albanoz* of 1846 (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum) as well as François-August Biard's paintings of the slave trade. The slave boat was also included in children's literature.

Part One of Finley's book considers abolitionist slave ship prints from the period 1788 to 1900; the remainder of the book is devoted to their stature as an icon reappropriated by twentieth-century African American, British and African artists. Part Two deals with meaning and routes, from 1900 to the present, and Part Three with the period from the 1990s, when the slave ship became an artefact still capable of summing up the horror of the Middle Passage, but no longer used for its original purpose of abolishing the slave trade and slavery. Readers of *Print Quarterly* will be especially interested in its use by the Mexican-born artist Miguel Covarrubias (1904–57), who was linked to the New Negro Movement also known as the Harlem Renaissance, which placed socio-political issues at the forefront of its struggle. Covarrubias, 'the first artist to reclaim the slave ship icon in the twentieth century', interpreted the slave ship as an illustration to Malcolm Cowley's edition of Theodore Canot's *Adventures of an African Slaver*, published in New York in 1928. The yellow endpapers of the book show the mid-section of the slave ship, but here the stylized black figures are articulated (fig. 364). Covarrubias, in the words of Finley, is 'activating the force of the collective', affirming that 'knowledge of African religion, dance, art and culture did not die in the Middle Passage'. This may be true, but their 'dance', for Covarrubias, is probably also a Dance of Death.

Committed to Memory, which embraces much more than its title indicates, provides a rich account of the symbolic repossession of the past in which the image of the slave ship has its place within the wider context of racism, politics, imperialism, identity and sexuality, a creative strategy called here a mnemonic aesthetic. To stay within the graphic arts, one may mention works such as Keith Piper's lithographic poster *Past Imperfect Future Tense* of 1985, Ingrid Pollard's *Untitled* from her *Oceans Apart* series of 1989 (fig. 365), Godfried Dankar's *The Harder They Come* mixed media collage of 1994, William Cole's *Stowage* woodcut of 1997 as well as David Thorne and Resistant Strains collective's *Too Soon for Sorry*, a photolithographic poster of 1998 visually linking slavery to the American penitentiary system (fig. 366).[4] One of the most powerful contemporary works, and also probably the best known, especially in the United Kingdom, is Romuald Hazoumé's *La Bouche du Roi* created between 1997 and 2005, and based on the 1789 engraving of the Brookes. Named after the place in Benin from where enslaved people were transported across the Atlantic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the work of art incorporates 304 discarded plastic petroleum cans, each one representing, as in many of Hazoumé's sculptures, an individual living person. Mentioned briefly here but a topic worth a review on its own, this impressive installation was bought by the British Museum in 2007 to mark the bicentenary of the parliamentary *Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade Act* and exhibited not only at the British Museum, but in Hull, Liverpool, Bristol, Newcastle and at the Horniman Museum in London, all cities historically linked to the slave trade. The work not only recalls the western passage, but also contemporary exploitation and cheap labour through the contraband of petrol, between southern Nigeria and Benin, on motorcycles overloaded with dangerous canisters. By explaining his use of discarded material, Hazoumé gave an additional dimension to his work: 'I send back to the West that which belongs to them, that is to say, the refuse of consumer society that invades us every day'.

In the twentieth century, numerous artists working in different media, including photographers and filmmakers, as well as installation, performance and sound artists, have shown that the slave ship imagery has not lost its pertinence, but that it has also become a visual resource for contemporary socio-political preoccupations. The American and British imagery is treated in detail in Finley's wide ranging, systematic and excellent study of the history and fortune of an anti-slavery icon.

4. For Cole's *Stowage*, see *Print Quarterly*, September 2018, p. 361, fig. 260.



366. David Thorne and Resistant Strains collective, *Too Soon for Sorry*, from the *Maximum Security Democracy* series, 1998, photolithographic poster, 590 x 443 mm (Culver City, CA, Center for the Study of Political Graphics © the artist).

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Dominic Bate is a PhD student at Brown University. He previously worked in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, cataloguing German and Italian portraits.

Shulamith Behr is Honorary Research Fellow at the Courtauld Institute of Art. She specializes in German Expressionism and has published widely on issues of cultural identity, politics and gender. She curated the exhibition 'Conrad Felixmüller, 1897–1977: Works on Paper' (Courtauld Gallery, 1994).

Kendall H. Brown, Professor of Art History at California State University, Long Beach, is editor and lead author of *Water and Shadow: Kawase Hasui and Japanese Landscape Prints* (2014). His research focuses on Japanese woodblock prints of the *shin hanga* movement.

Michael Clegg is a PhD candidate at the University of Birmingham, working towards a thesis entitled 'Artists' Prints in Post-War Britain'. He has published on post-war British art in *Tate Papers* and *British Art Studies*.

Dario Donetti is Collegiate Assistant Professor in Renaissance and Contemporary Architecture at the University of Chicago. He is co-editing *Building with Paper: The Materiality of Renaissance Architectural Drawings* which stems from the *Euploos* digitization project of the department of prints and drawings at the Uffizi.

Ashley E. Dunn is Assistant Curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where she oversees the nineteenth-century French works on paper. She is currently researching Delacroix's wood-engravings.

Nicole G. Georgopulos is a PhD candidate in Art History at Stony Brook University, New York. Her dissertation studies representations of mirrors in nineteenth-century French art. In 2015–16 she served as Graduate Curatorial Intern for Drawings and Prints at the Morgan Library & Museum.

Caroline Guignard is an Assistant Keeper at the Cabinet d'arts graphiques of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva. She currently works on an exhibition about the Etching Revival in Europe, 'L'Eau-forte est à la mode: 1840–1910', planned for spring 2020.

Colin Harrison is the Senior Curator of European Art at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the author of *Turner's Oxford* (2000). His curatorial responsibilities include British paintings, drawings and watercolours, and prints before 1945.

Rena M. Hoisington is the Curator and Head of the Department of Old Master Prints at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. Her main research interests include eighteenth-century French prints.

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

Catherine Jenkins is an independent art historian based in London and a member of this Journal's Editorial Board. She is the author of *Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau* (2017) and co-author of *The Renaissance of Etching* (2019).

Julia Karoline Kasper is the Lead Curator of Invertebrates at Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington. She is a medical entomologist and an expert of New Zealand's flies.

David Landau, co-author with Peter Parshall of *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (1994), initiated the Fondazione Cini's Census of Italian Renaissance Woodcuts. He is the founding editor of this Journal (1984 to 2010) and a member of its Editorial Board.

Georgios E. Markou is a Rome Fellow at the British School at Rome. He received his PhD from the University of Cambridge for his dissertation on the artistic patronage of the Cypriot nobles in Renaissance Venice and the Veneto.

Jean Michel Massing, Emeritus Professor of Art History and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge University, is a member of this Journal's Editorial Board. He is the author of *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol.3.2 and contributor to *Eclaireurs: Sculpteurs d'Afrique* (2017).

Constance McPhee is Curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints, Metropolitan Museum of Art, where she is responsible for pre-twentieth century American prints, and British drawings and prints.

Domenico Pino, current Editorial Intern of this Journal, received his MA in History of Art from University College London, with a dissertation on villa Palagonia and the circulation of grotesque images in Europe. His research focuses on prints and eighteenth-century Italian art.

Gill Saunders is Senior Curator of Prints at the V&A, with interests in twentieth-century and contemporary art. She is also an authority on wallpaper history and the author of *Walls Are Talking* (2010).

Phil Sirvid is Assistant Curator of Invertebrates at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington. His research focuses on New Zealand arachnids, particularly spiders and harvestmen.

Mark Stocker was until recently Curator of Historical International Art at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, and is editor of *Tuhinga*, Te Papa's refereed journal. He edited *Sculpting Art History: Essays in Memory of Benedict Read* (2018) and co-edited *Tributes to Jean Michel Massing* (2016).

Ellis Tinios is an Honorary Lecturer at the University of Leeds with research interests in Japanese prints and book illustration. A member of the Editorial Board of this Journal, he contributed to *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art* (London, 2013).

Hérica Valladares is Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, with a long-standing interest in prints after the antique. Her book *Painting, Poetry, and the Invention of Tenderness in the Early Roman Empire* is forthcoming.

Ilja M. Veldman, emeritus professor in the history of art at the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam, is the author of books about Maarten van Heemskerck, Dirck Coornhert, the De Passe family and articles on iconography and print culture in the Netherlands c. 1450–1650.

Nicolas-Henri Zmelty is lecturer in contemporary art history at the University of Picardie Jules Verne, Amiens, and author of *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec La stratégie de l'éphémère* (2019) and *L'Affiche illustrée au temps de l'affichomanie 1889-1905* (2014).

GALERIE
PAUL PROUTÉ
DESSINS ESTAMPES

Henri RIVIÈRE
Paris 1864 – 1951

La Pointe du Décollé vue de la Garde-Guérin (Saint-Briac),

plate of the series titled *Paysages bretons*, engraved in 1891, printed in 1914
Woodcut in ten colors, 225 x 348, margins 353 x 526

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

ABRAHAM BLOEMAERT (Gorinchem 1566 – 1651 Utrecht)
The Prophet Aaron, c. 1600–1610 engraved by FREDERIK BLOEMAERT (1614/17 – 1690)?
Chiaroscuro woodcut from two blocks in brown and engraving from copper plate in black, 31.1 x 22.6 cm.
A very rare print.

*New catalogue **'Dutch Old Master Prints'** now available on request*

+31 (0)6 57 555 734 By appointment in Amsterdam info@jurjens-fine-art.com
www.jurjens-fine-art.com

SARAH SAUVIN

Old Master & Modern Prints

Ugo da CARPI (ca. 1480 - ca. 1532) *Sacrificio del patriarca Abraham* - ca. 1514 -1515
Monumental print engraved after Titian. Woodcut printed from four blocks on four sheets of paper, overall dimensions: 800 x 1020 mm. D. Rosand & M. Muraro 3A; J. Rapp 4th edition (of 8).
Very rare impression of the 4th edition (only one impression of each of the first three editions is known).

sarah-sauvin.com

International Fine Prints Dealers Association, New York
Chambre Syndicale de l'Estampe, du Dessin et du Tableau, Paris
Comité national de l'Estampe, Paris

+33 (0)6 24 48 33 64 *By appointment in Paris* contact@sarah-sauvin.com


20.09.19–05.01.20
Rien que pour vos yeux #2
Les plus belles estampes des collections
Musée Jenisch Vevey
Cabinet cantonal des estampes

International Fine Print Dealers Association

IFPDA FOUNDATION

CELEBRATING EXCELLENCE

The IFPDA Foundation Book Award

presented for *The Chiaroscuro Woodcut in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Naoko Takahatake, with contributions by Jonathan Bober, Jamie Gabbarelli, Antony Griffiths, Peter Parshall and Linda Stiber Morenus

Jordan Schnitzer Awards for Excellence in Printmaking

presented to Mel Bochner and Matthew Day Jackson

Jordan Schnitzer Family Foundation Lecture

presented by Jim Dine

Richard Hamilton Acquisition Prize

sponsored by Champion & Partners, presented to the Art Museum of the University of West Virginia

Announced by Jenny Gibbs, Executive Director of the International Fine Print Dealers Association (IFPDA) and David Tunick, President of the IFPDA Board of Directors

The IFPDA Foundation supports educational projects aimed at fostering connoisseurship in the field of fine prints for a new generation of collectors, curators, and specialists. Visit ifpdafoundation.org for more information.

2016

Nicolaas Teeuwisse

Old Master & Modern Prints & Drawings

Francesco Vanni (1563–1610, Siena). *The Stigmatisation of St. Catherine of Siena.*
Etching. 11.9 x 7.7 cm. Circa 1595. Bartsch 2 I (of II).

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

Works on Paper from the 15th to the 20th century

HILL-STONE

— Incorporated —

441 Elm Street, South Dartmouth, MA 02748
Tel: +1 774 206 1024 or +1 212 249 1397 oldmaster@hill-stone.com

By appointment in New York City ⁂ *Our 40th year in trade*

Chambre Syndicale de l'Estampe, du Dessin & du Tableau, Paris

PADA ifpda international fine print dealers association CINOA