PRINT QUARTERLY

DECEMBER 2021

VOLUME XXXVIII NUMBER 4

DAVID TUNICK, INC.

WORKS OF ART ON PAPER

Jasper Johns, *Decoy*, 1971, 19 color lithograph with die cut, on BFK Rives paper, including blind stamp of the publisher, ULAE, 1047 x 749 mm. 41 1/4 x 29 1/2 in.

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

Memoirs of the Print Trade

Introduction

Antony Griffiths

This issue of *Print Quarterly* departs from our usual formula, and contains ten memoirs written by members of the print trade. When the Fine Art Print Fair in New York could not take place in its usual form in 2020 because of the Covid crisis, I was asked to give a lecture on Zoom and chose to speak about the relationship between the print-seller and the print collector. This made me realize how little information survives about the print trade, and, with the encouragement of David Tunick, President of the International Fine Print Dealers Association (IFPDA), I decided to organize this project.

To avoid too much repetition, I asked each of the contributors to write something about their own careers and then to focus on a specific aspect of the trade. The range is wide, from the old masters to the contemporary, but I make no pretence that everything has been covered. A lot more could have been written, and many potential contributors have been left without a voice through the limits on the space available. Those I have invited have all helped *Print Quarterly* in its 38 years, and are friends whom I know and feel I can impose upon. For this reason the memoirs are inevitably centred on Britain and the United States and on areas of printmaking in which I have had some personal involvement. But I have tried to get an international perspective, and am delighted to have contributions from France and Germany.

The print trade is now a specialized niche within a wider art trade, and there are no courses that offer professional training. The main requirements are an excellent visual memory and a passion for the subject; business acumen is secondary. The stimulus is finding new material; the danger is boredom from over-familiarity with repetitive stock. Most of those who enter the field do so by chance, and begin as an assistant to an established dealer or in an auction house. This gives them the necessary experience and contacts among collectors and dealers to set up on their own account. The print trade, like all trades, depends on collaboration far more than competition, and this underlies the existence of trade organizations like the IFPDA and the establishment of print fairs. The trade has a shared interest in maintaining public interest in its wares and increasing the number of buyers. It also relies on internal passing of stock back and forth, either by sale or on consignment, when a dealer finds a client who might buy a print that another dealer has in stock.

Like many other areas of the art world, the print trade was traditionally built on a network of runners. Anyone operating as a single shopkeeper was rarely able to travel further than local dealers or auctioneers to acquire stock. The supply from collectors they knew who might wish to sell was undependable. Such dealers relied on runners, whose business was to go around local auctions and lesser or general dealers, and snuffle out items of interest that they then sold on to the specialist trade. Such people must have existed from the beginning of the trade, but have no public visibility or history unless they become shopkeepers themselves, and their continued existence is threatened by the internet.

Members of the public used to be introduced to the trade in shops, but today this is more likely in fairs, with their ambience of wealth and effortless expenditure. This can be deceptive. A few dealers are extremely successful and can retire with considerable wealth, but for most it is an enjoyable way of earning a living. It offers variety and interest but is also hard work; some of these memoirs record how the market has become international and the exhausting travelling that is required. There are risks and casualties. If a print turns out to be a reproduction, a copy, or cleverly restored, the dealer has to suffer the loss. Cash flow and late payments are a problem for all. In my time I can recall several bankruptcies, one death from alcohol poisoning, one suicide, several collapses when partnerships disintegrated or backers withdrew, and one case when someone disappeared leaving behind unpaid debts.

Every business depends on working capital. The

traditional source was a loan from a bank, but few bankers understand the art market, and many in the print trade have built up their own capital by re-investing their profits. A few have relied on private individuals who lend them funds; backing from private or public equity is rare. Shared ownership, which is now common in the world of paintings and drawings, is also unusual except for very expensive and scarce prints or when a whole collection has been purchased.

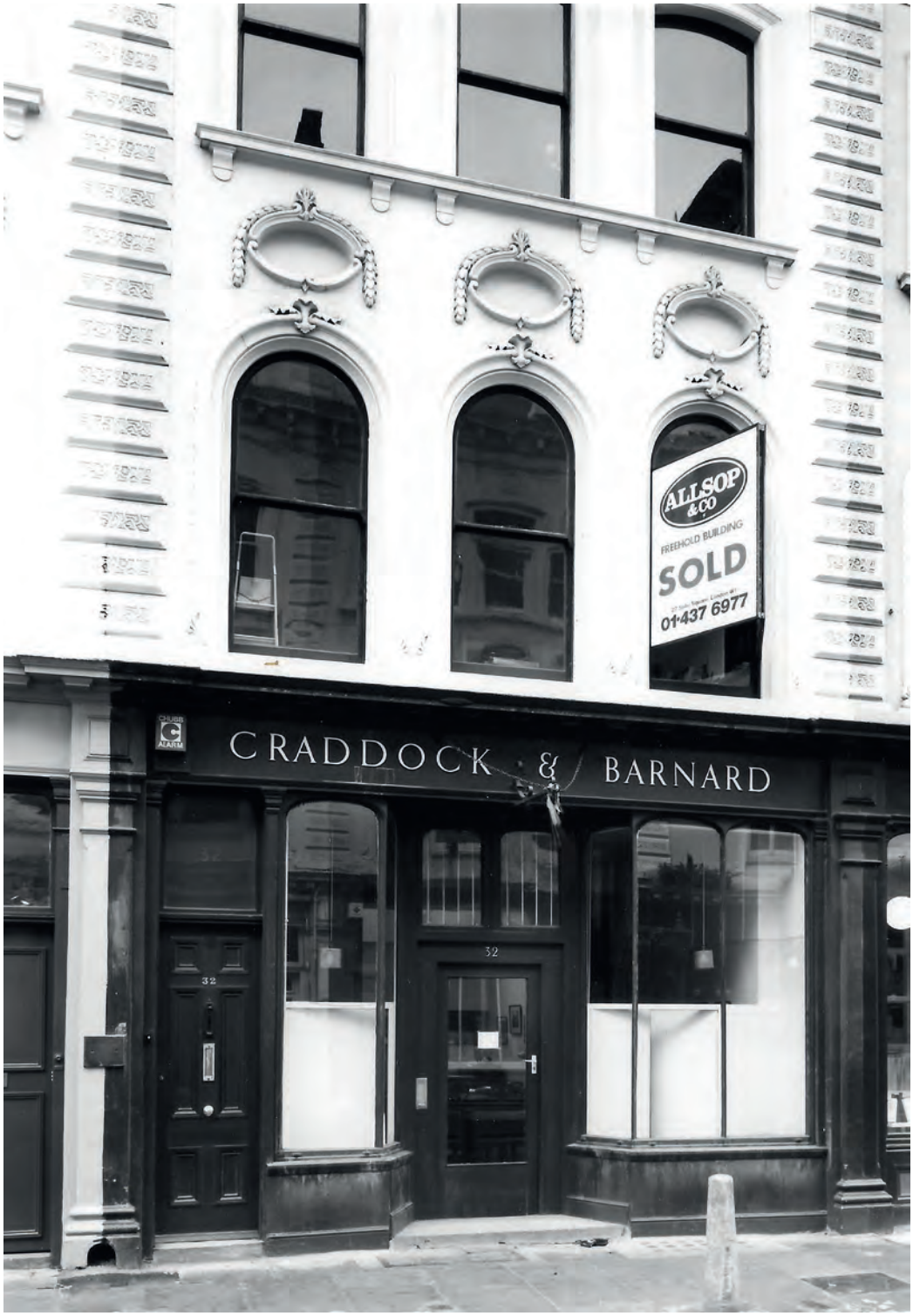
The number of prints that have been and are still being produced is huge, and any dealer has to decide where to position himself or herself within the wide range of possibilities. The writers here have all worked at the upper end of the market, but this still allows a wide variety. In Britain and America, and Germany too, the past 50 years have seen the interest in the traditional wide canon of printmakers decline and be replaced by a concentration on prints produced by painters whose names figure in a more general history of art. Rembrandt, Dürer and Goya have always been dominant figures, but they now cast a deep shadow over their contemporaries. Specialist printmakers, such as Callot and Stefano della Bella, and whole areas such as mezzotints and French eighteenth-century printmaking, that used to be a core area of the print market, have dropped out of favour and are less often seen today. The rise of interest in photography has been extraordinary. It was a niche field hardly taken seriously in the 1970s, but it is now a bigger business than the one described in these pages. This has affected the perception of the historic print which many now only understand as a peculiar form of reproduction that tried but failed to be a photograph.

Gap-filling to create a core collection is no longer a priority for any museum. Hyatt Mayor, of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, used to travel round with a notebook in which he had listed all the prints missing in the Met's collection from Bartsch's and other standard catalogues. I remember James Byam Shaw of Colnaghi's, who told me this, chuckling when he added 'it was quite a thick book'. The current interest in the major institutions, perhaps partly driven by academic interests in 'print culture', is in types of prints that have been traditionally neglected, such as hand-coloured prints or those of unusual kinds or subject matter. France is the one country that remains true to traditional patterns of collecting, although Hubert Prouté's memoir shows that some tastes have changed even there.

Many of the writers remark on the rise in prices for many (but far from all) types of print. The landmarks here are a few auctions, especially the Chatsworth sale of December 1985, which released onto the market material of a rarity and quality that had not been seen in living memory; such auctions pushed prices far higher than any dealer would have dared to ask. They also comment on the declining supply of material, although the reasons for this are not obvious. But undoubtedly it has become a major factor in the trade, which suffers today from a vicious circle of declining demand consequent upon the lack of prints available to buy. Old master prints have become an increasingly recondite area, and the print business today is primarily one in modern and contemporary prints made within the past 100 years. This is very noticeable in the auction world. The expansion of British firms to New York, and their subsequent takeover by other international firms is part of a more general history of the art market. But it has entailed the decline of the auction trade in London and New York in less expensive areas. Today auctions of such prints only survive in other sale rooms, especially at Bassenge in Berlin and the Hôtel Drouot in Paris.

When I first knew the print world in 1970 it seemed to me to be dominated by old men, and the same might be true in the eyes of young people today. At Sotheby's there was Mr Wilder and at Colnaghi's Arthur Driver, both of whom are fondly remembered in some of these memoirs. There were still dealers in damp musty shops full of portfolios and books. I remember George Suckling (1892–1980) who specialized in portraits and Stanley Crowe (1904–82) who dealt in topography, as well as Andrew Block (1892–1985?), who ran a quasi-junk shop with portfolios arranged by subject. Some of the writers in these pages mention other long-established dealers who deserve to be recorded, but to do this systematically would require a separate project.

The shop of Craddock and Barnard, opposite the British Museum, used to be the entry point for many a novice collector in London (figs. 247 and 248). The walls were lined with boxes containing prints in thin window mounts; in the centre were two tables on which the collector could look through one box after another. The photos reproduced here were taken shortly before it closed its doors in 1998, and it only survived as long as it did because Osbert Barnard owned the freehold of the premises. Rising rents and rates have forced print shops out of the London high street in the same way as they have forced the art trade out of Bond Street. The grandest and longest established dealer of all, Colnaghi's in Bond Street, no longer deals in prints and has a new address in St James's. In New



247. Craddock and Barnard, 32 Museum Street, London, 1998.

York the number of specialist print shops has also declined, and those that remain often deal as much in paintings, drawings or photographs as in prints. Paris is an exception, where the print shops are kept alive by lower rents, and by the strong French bibliophile tradition that links fine prints with fine books.

As print shops have retreated from the high street, their proprietors have set up new bases in offices, apartment blocks or at home; some have retreated to the country. They usually have a separate space in which they can receive clients, but are only open by appointment. The public is likely to be introduced to such 'private dealers' at a fair, through advertisements or via their website. They are a relatively new phenomenon, but their operations remain traditional. They carry a stock, attend auctions, meet other dealers and travel to visit museums and collectors. A new breed is of the consultants who act as intermediaries between sellers and buyers, and are particularly active in the modern and contemporary field.

Print fairs have had a huge impact, and the print year is now centred around them. Their advantages in acting as a focus to encourage new and existing clients are huge, and few dealers can afford to ignore them. But inevitably they are expensive to participate in, which is a particular problem for those who already have gallery spaces, and they have potential drawbacks. As one dealer remarked to me, there are few things worse than seeing your best client buying from another dealer a few stalls down the room, and then avoiding catching your eye as he or she hurries past you on the way out.

The publisher of new prints has a different set of problems. He or she has to deal with living artists, an experience that is exhilarating but can also be exasperating. The publisher has to fund the production of the print, which can be very costly, and then sell it. This requires advertising, exhibiting at fairs where it has to stand out amidst much competition, and showing it to potential customers among individuals, museums and corporate clients. If an edition sells well the rewards are great. If it does not sell, the losses can be formidable.

The memoirs that follow mention a few of the major collectors during the past 50 years and a few of the major auctions. Throughout the period, the market in America has remained strong, and the market in Britain weak. A living could be made by buying in one country and selling in another. The 50 sales of the Petiet stock in Paris produced a supply of modern French prints that nourished the trade over several decades. The anonymous sales of the eighteenth-century Oettingen-Wallerstein collection also released a large quantity of prints onto the market, most of them unfashionable but in astonishing pristine condition. The Japanese market became very important for modern prints during its boom years in the 1980s, and auction catalogues of that time were the fattest that I have ever seen. But that market has not recovered since the crash of the early 1990s. China, now such a major economy, has so far had almost no impact on the print market that is described here. Buying prints as an investment was briefly in fashion during the inflation of the 1970s, but the failure relative to the stock market of the excursion of the British Rail Pension Fund into this area seems to have deterred later imitators. Collecting by corporations has come into and gone out of fashion within these years, and so has the mania for cutting up and colouring the plates in illustrated books. The nature of the private collector has begun to change. As specialist print collectors decline in numbers, many buyers now collect many different kinds of art, including medals, bronzes, paintings, textiles, ceramics and so on. Specialism is giving way to eclecticism.

Many of the memoirs comment on the rise of the internet, and some remark on the willingness of some collectors to purchase prints having only seen online images. Some link this with a decline of connoisseurship and the ability to assess the quality of an impression. In a few of the early issues of *Print Quarterly* (for example, September 1996 and June 1998) David Landau gave lengthy round-ups of the catalogues from print dealers that had recently arrived through the post. I remarked in September 2006 on how these catalogues were migrating to the web, and today with few exceptions it is only in the area of contemporary print publishing that paper catalogues are still being produced. This and the progressive disappearance of the print shop has forced the market for lower-priced prints onto such internet sites as eBay, with all the problems that that creates.

The creation of new digital communications is a factor that underlies many of these memoirs. This is hardly unique to the print trade. Younger readers will find it hard to imagine the world in which my generation grew up. I offer a brief chronology of the changes as I experienced them in my years at the British Museum. A small memory capacity was added to electric typewriters in the early 1980s; word processors came in, only for secretaries, in the mid-1980s; the stand-alone desk word processor/computer for curators arrived at the beginning of the 1990s, with many complaints from curators (few of whom had ever used a keyboard before) and the trade unions

248. Interior of Craddock and Barnard, 1998.

(who foresaw the demise of the typist and secretary). New network cabling was installed in the later 1990s which allowed access to email, the internet and the collection database. The beginnings of the database was a quasi-spreadsheet in the 1980s; the first purpose-built database programme came in 1991 and has by now been replaced twice. Digital photographs arrived at the beginning of the 2000s, and were first attached to database records in 2003. The database went online in 2007 and by the 2010s was regularly being consulted via mobile phones.

It is anyone's guess what a survey of this kind will report in another 50 years, and how the Covid pandemic will affect the future. I have learned a lot from reading these memoirs. When I joined the British Museum in 1976, I assumed that what I saw going on had been the same since the beginning of time. I now realize how much was recent, and that change is constant. Future historians will find many facts and dates to add to what is written here, but the perspectives of the participants are irreplaceable. So I conclude by thanking on behalf of *Print Quarterly* our ten contributors for their fascinating memoirs; we are most grateful to them.

A Brief Bibliography of the Recent Print Trade:

Paul Prouté, *Un vieux marchand de gravures raconte*, Paris, 1980.

Albert Reese of Kennedy Gallery wrote some reminiscences that were published in early issues of *Print Quarterly* (II, 1985, pp. 124–28; VIII, 1991, pp. 291–93; IX 1992, pp. 292–95). The first two were about the rise in prices for prints in his lifetime; the third was about the changing appreciations of American printmakers since he published *American Prize Prints of the 20th Century* in 1949.

Richard Brown and Stanley Brett, *The London Bookshop*, Private Libraries Association, Pinner, UK, 1971, contains evocative photographs taken by Richard Brown in 1971 of

the shops of Stanley Crowe, George Suckling and Andrew Block, with a preface by Percy Muir.

Christian Herchenröder, *Meistergraphik – Graphikmarkt: Sammeln, Preise, Geschmack*, Munich, 1983

Richard Day, *Artful Tales: The Unlikely and Implausible Journal of an Art Dealer, 1957 to 1997*, London, 2008 (the author began his career under Peter Wilson at Sotheby's; reviewed by me in *Print Quarterly*, XXVI, 2009, pp. 410–11).

Katherine MacLean et al., *Sotheby's Maestro, Peter Wilson and the Post-War Art World: An Anthology of Memoirs by Colleagues, Dealers and Collectors*, 2017 (on the auction world).

Eberhard Kornfeld's memoirs were privately published in 1998: *Ebi Kornfeld, 95 Episoden und Erinnerungen*.

Christine Oddo, *Henri Marie Petiet, Art and the Dealer*, Paris, 2017 (and the note on it by Martin Hopkinson in *Print Quarterly*, XXXV, 2018, pp. 439–42).

Frederick Mulder commented on four sales in the *Print Collectors' Newsletter*: the Chatsworth sale of 1985 (XVI, 1986, pp. 208–09); the British Rail Pension Fund sale of 1987 (XVIII, 1987, pp. 130–31); the Blum sale of 1988 (XIX, 1988, pp. 53–55); and the anonymous German sale (later identified as of the Graf von Plessen of Nehmten, Holstein) at Christie's in 1991 (XXII, 1992, pp. 202–03).

Dave Williams commissioned a DVD in 2009 titled 'All About Prints' which contains footage taken at the New York Print Fair and interviews with some members of the trade.

Lastly, two long and fascinating interviews were made in 2008 by the Archives of American Art, for the oral history collection at the Smithsonian Institution, with two dealers, Sylvan Cole and Robert M. (Bob) Light. These have been transcribed and are available on their website (I owe my knowledge of these to Armin Kunz).

Obituaries Published in *Print Quarterly*

Hubert Prouté wrote the obituary of Osbert Barnard in *Print Quarterly*, V, 1988, pp. 283–85 (for the Craddock & Barnard archive given by Christopher Mendez to University College London, see Hilary Chapman in *Print Quarterly*, XIV, 1997, pp. 317–18).

Nicholas Stogdon wrote about Richard Godfrey in *Print Quarterly*, XX, 2003, pp. 159–61.

Reba White Williams wrote about Sylvan Cole in *Print Quarterly*, XXII, 2005, p. 460.

I wrote a note about Luigi Majno of Milan in *Print Quarterly*, XXIV, 2007, p. 175.

Alan Stone wrote about R. E. (Ray) Lewis in *Print Quarterly*, XXV, 2008, p. 80.

Obituaries were published in *Print Quarterly*, XXXIII, 2016, pp. 214–15, of Robin Garton (by Gordon Cooke) and Helmut Rumbler (by his widow, Petra).

Gordon Cooke

In 1976 I responded to an advertisement in *The Times* for an assistant in a small West End art gallery and Robin Garton hired me. I had studied fine art at Leeds University, painting and art history. My knowledge of nineteenth- and twentieth-century printmakers was non-existent but I had made some silkscreen prints. I was then aged 23 and working as a landscape gardener.

Robin had been a sleeping partner in Christopher Drake Ltd and, after its collapse, had acquired its stock and mailing list. He took over the premises, an early eighteenth-century shop at 9 Lancashire Court, an alleyway off New Bond Street opposite Fenwicks. He then lived in Wiltshire and came in on average twice a week, leaving me to answer the phone, man the gallery and type letters.

We issued catalogues regularly, which were at first a typed list and later illustrated and printed. No 24 was issued in spring 1982 with 243 items. This was in a larger format and was the pattern for the future. Our stock was predominantly British and many of our customers were in North America. We later began selling to Dutch and German dealers, so in the early 1980s Robin started making sales trips on the Continent. Artists such as Seymour Haden, David Young Cameron, Muirhead Bone and James McBey were then popular in Europe.

We held an exhibition of Robin Tanner's etchings in 1977, to coincide with the publication of Kenneth Guichard's *British Etchers 1850–1940*, Robin Garton's first such venture. We were surprised by Robin Tanner's popularity, and we sold most of his stock of proofs. This led us to publish new editions of his early prints and editions of unpublished and new etchings. The artists working in the pastoral tradition were a significant part of our business: Samuel Palmer, Frederick Landseer Maur Griggs, Graham Sutherland and Paul Drury.

Drury became a regular in the gallery and he introduced me to the widow of his classmate at Goldsmiths' College, William Larkins, whose prints I admired. This led to an exhibition held in 1979, my first. There was great interest in the rediscovery of artists, and we held shows of Douglas Percy Bliss (at the Alpine Club), Eric Ravilious, Mabel Royds, John Copley and Ethel Gabain. There were also large exhibitions of artists who were our stock-in-trade, such as Muirhead Bone (in partnership with Jim Goodfriend), Haden (with Theo Laurentius) and Gerald Brockhurst.

We had no lease for 9 Lancashire Court and the landlords wanted to redevelop the area. Eventually we moved to first floor offices at 39–42 New Bond Street in 1986. An exhibition of Charles Meryon in 1987 sold out, followed by *The Modern Spirit in British Printmaking* later that year, which reflected the change in taste from Haden, Cameron and McBey, whose work was prevalent in US collections, to artists such as Paul Nash, Christopher R. W. Nevinson, Edward Wadsworth and the Grosvenor School, who were not.

In 1988 we dissolved our partnership and issued our final catalogue together, No. 42. Robin Garton remained at 39–42 and Garton & Cooke became Garton & Co. I issued my first stock catalogue as Gordon Cooke Ltd in June 1988 and until 1997 traded from my home in Notting Hill Gate as a private dealer. While in New York in 1988, I was introduced to a Walter Sickert collector by Kennedy Galleries. He was moving to Florida where he felt the climate would compromise his prints. I bought the collection and issued a catalogue of 35 Sickert etchings, with additional works from Daniel Bell, in October. By mid-November it had sold out.

As a private dealer I worked closely with a few collectors, mostly in North America. I would send a transparency of a new acquisition to a client via UPS, and often a cheque would come back the same way in two days. I had a bank account in New York and would take the cheque to their London office in Grosvenor Square, where it was put in the overnight bag and the funds were credited to my account the following day.

In the early 1980s Dave Williams had visited Garton & Cooke and bought a Paul Nash lithograph. He had decided to start a collection of British prints and asked me to install them in his London office. As his collection and his business expanded, I was called upon to rehang in ever larger spaces. Dave's timely purchases from me in the 1990s regularly restored a precarious financial position.

For two weeks in 1993 I rented the back section of The Fine Art Society in New Bond Street for £3,000 and put on a show of early etchings by Graham Sutherland. Although the venture was a failure commercially, people came into the gallery who I felt sure would buy a print, just not a Sutherland etching. I had the idea of putting on a show of American prints later that year. Several US dealers consigned works, and the show of 75 works opened in September 1993. I hung five Martin Lewis etchings in a line, and someone came and bought them all.

When in 1994 the Tate Gallery put on a Whistler show (it travelled to Paris and Washington DC), I put on a selling exhibition at The Fine Art Society. In 1879 the company had commissioned Whistler to go to Venice and make a series of etchings. It had held several exhibitions of his work including the celebrated 'Arrangement in White and Yellow' in 1883, so it was an appropriate venue.

The gallery was then still in the same premises, 148 New Bond Street, where it was founded in 1876.

249. Gordon Cooke with Robin Garton outside the gallery at 9 Lancashire Court, London., c. 1982.

The building was a five-storey townhouse which had been remodelled by E. W. Godwin, also the architect of Whistler's White House on Tite Street, Chelsea. Although set up as a print publisher, The Fine Art Society soon became a pioneer of the one-man show and staged many important exhibitions. As well as paintings, it dealt in sculpture, the decorative arts and architect-designed furniture.

In 1997 a vacancy arose, and I was invited to join The Fine Art Society. The company bought my business. We had mounted a number of shows together by this time and our stock was complementary. My approach was to treat the prints in the same way as the rest of the gallery's stock of pictures, so instead of being kept in boxes they were framed individually to be hung. The aim was to keep a small stock, to mount exhibitions, and to extend interest to buyers who were not necessarily print collectors.

As dealing from home had enabled me to save money on rent, so the arrangement at The Fine Art Society meant that the print business did not carry the full overhead of a gallery but had a superb central location. Their financial resources enabled me to buy collections and to set aside individual works for future exhibitions.

Over twenty years I staged 80 exhibitions at The Fine Art Society, 50 of which were print shows. 'Pastoral' in 2002 combined prints by William Blake, Palmer, Edward Calvert, George Richmond, Griggs, Nash, Drury, Sutherland and Tanner with furniture designed by Gordon Russell. Later that year we staged an exhibition of prints by Sickert, bought from a descendant of a partner in the Leicester Galleries, at C. G. Boerner in New York. Two years later we showed Ruth Bromberg's collection of Sickert prints and drawings, which she had assembled to aid her in writing her catalogue raisonné. In both cases, we bought the collections outright, over 250 prints in all.

There were other Sickert shows, three Palmer shows (The Fine Art Society had held his memorial exhibition in 1881), exhibitions of prints by Meryon, John Copley, Muirhead Bone, Mabel Royds, Martin Lewis, Gabain, Eric Ravilious, Edward Bawden and Geoffrey Clarke, and in 2009 *War*, with prints by Nevinson, Nash, Wadsworth and Eric Kennington. Altogether we put on seven Whistler exhibitions, the largest in 2016 consisting of 78 prints, in partnership with C. G. Boerner and Harris Schrank. We also bought and sold Samuel Josefowitz's Whistler collection, which is now housed in the Colby College Museum of Art in Maine. I retired in 2017 but continued as chairman of the London Original Print Fair.

When I started work for Robin Garton in 1976, it was largely a mail order business and orders came either as telegrams or letters, mostly with cheques. Some of these had the amount blank and the letters or cables asked for 'items 21, 34, 56 and 36 if 34 has been sold.' Most of the orders were from North America and the customers were dealers, collectors and museums.

We bought stock at auction, from other dealers and runners. Lott & Gerrish were a good source and it was also possible, before (Martin) *Gordon's Print Price Annual* and the internet, to buy British prints in American galleries with a worthwhile profit margin. Our gallery in Lancashire Court was tucked away in a cul-de-sac, but a high proportion of those who came in would buy something. Many Americans tracked us down, and there were visits from dealers such as Sylvan Cole, then with Associated American Artists, on a buying spree in London and Paris.

In December 1977, after just over a year working for Robin Garton, I first flew to America with a portfolio of prints for sale. After three days in Boston I took the train to New York, which took all day. There I visited Sylvan Cole, Betty Roth at the New York Public Library, James Goodfriend, David Tunick, Albert Reese, Gold Lion Gallery, Martin Sumers, Wally Findlay, Louis B. Dailey, Martin Gordon, Kennedy Galleries, Midtown Galleries and finally Dorothy Schneiderman at Harbor Gallery on Long Island.

A few of these were already customers, but many others were suggested by Jim Goodfriend. I was surprised how receptive and hospitable they all were, and most of them knew more about the prints I was selling than I did. I returned to England having made a number of sales, including works by Canaletto, Whistler, Palmer, Haden, Griggs, Cameron, McBey, Charles Shannon, Robert Austin and Sutherland. In 1978 I went to California and, among other sales, a number of Whistlers went to Gumps in San Francisco which then had a picture department. Sales trips to America became a regular part of Garton & Cooke's trading and I often went four or six times a year. It was our practice to visit any customer who made a significant purchase.

On 10 November 1984 I attended the first New York Fine Print Fair in a school on the Upper East Side. There was a queue outside before it opened and it proved a great success. The week before I had met Norman Rosenthal at the Royal Academy of Arts to discuss the possibility of staging a print fair at the RA. Norman had asked David Landau, editor of *Print Quar-*

250. The interior of The Fine Art Society, London, showing the Whistler exhibition of 2016.

terly and curator of the print section of the recent exhibition 'The Genius of Venice, 1500–1600', to attend. With David's support my suggestion was accepted.

A committee was formed with David, Andrew Edmunds, Robin Garton, Christopher Mendez, Frederick Mulder and William Weston. Meg Hausberg was recruited as the administrator, and on 20 June 1985 the first London Original Print Fair opened in the Diploma Galleries for three days following an evening preview. There were sixteen exhibitors, Thos. Agnew & Sons, Catherine Burns, Christopher Drake, Andrew Edmunds, Kate Ganz, Garton & Cooke, Hill-Stone, Stephan Lennert, Lott & Gerrish, Marlborough Graphics, Paul McCarron, Christopher Mendez, Frederick Mulder, Redfern Gallery, William Weston and Wolfgang Wittrock.

After only two years Meg Hausberg moved back to New York and Helen Rosslyn became Fair Director. That year the event also moved to December, and within the RA as the Diploma Galleries were refurbished to become the Sackler Galleries. By 1991 the number of exhibitors had grown to 31, made possible as the fair was staged in the Main Galleries for the first time. The 34th Fair in 2019 with 50 exhibitors was followed by two online events as those in 2020 and 2021 were cancelled due to covid-19. Over the years the Fair reflected the growth in contemporary dealers and publishers, as the number of old master and early modern exhibitors declined.

My career began in 1976 when America was the most important market, many collectors were very knowledgeable and museum curators would make time to look at prints with little notice. Arriving at Kennedy Airport with a portfolio, I would tell the customs officer that I had come to sell my prints and that they were duty free. They often wished me luck. I visited many collectors and museums around the USA, landing in an unfamiliar city, renting a car and somehow finding my way to the destination. In hotels I would hide the portfolio under the bed while I went out for dinner.

Sales trips and regular catalogues were the basis of our business, and Robin Garton's decision to become a publisher with *British Etchers 1850–1940* provided

another string to our bow. Robin was insistent that the phone number be printed on the back of the title-page, and one Friday evening there was a call from a collector in Vancouver. We talked for over an hour and he became an important client.

The advent of print fairs created a new rhythm, and trips around America diminished as bureaucracy increased. Instead of breezing through customs it became necessary to ship, to hire an agent and to register for New York Sales Tax. From a business in which one sought clients, finding stock increasingly became the priority, and interest would centre on fewer works by a smaller circle of artists.

It became routine that after some years, a US client might ask for a valuation of their collection. Subsequently it would be donated to a museum, resulting in the loss of both a client and the opportunity of reselling what they had bought. Auctions had been a place where dealers bid against one another, but increasingly we found ourselves bidding against our clients or other private individuals. Many clients, however, became and remain friends and their collection is both decoration and joy. After two missed years I hope there will be a London Original Print Fair at the Royal Academy in 2022 and a queue for the opening.

Alan Cristea

I studied art history at Cambridge University in the mid to late 1960s. As the subject of my final year thesis I chose the nineteenth-century French printmaker Charles Meryon, a choice largely determined by Baudelaire's admiration for the artist.

In 1969, following my final exams, I was faced with the choice between continuing down an academic route or summoning up the courage to deal with the world beyond Trinity College. The choice was ultimately determined by a lack of money. I had to earn some. As luck would have it, my sister was working as a secretary to Gilbert Lloyd at the Marlborough Gallery in Old Bond Street, and she managed to secure an interview for me along with two other candidates. At one point during the interview we were asked if any of us knew anything about prints. I tentatively raised my hand and was promptly dispatched to their burgeoning print gallery, at that time called Marlborough New London, whose premises had been designed by Victor Pasmore. Amongst well-established artists such as Graham Sutherland, Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth and John Piper, all of whom were happy to make print editions, were a few younger generation artists who had been taken on to raise Marlborough's profile as a cutting-edge gallery.

Although my studies at Cambridge had never taken me beyond the nineteenth century, I, like so many other students, was attracted by the 'shock of the new'. The Whitechapel Art Gallery was a favourite destination, and it was there that I saw Bryan Robertson's 'New Generation' exhibitions as well as solo shows of Jasper Johns and Franz Kline. Thus the younger artists at Marlborough such as Joe Tilson, R.B. Kitaj and Allen Jones held the most appeal for me. Here was a generation of artists who had come to public attention in the so-called 'swinging sixties', who had a genuine interest in breaking down social barriers and who saw printmaking as a way of distributing original art at reasonable prices to a far wider audience.

Whilst the powers that be at Marlborough understood that publishing portfolios of etchings and lithographs by the senior artists was an extremely effective way of raising revenue with large profit margins, the younger artists were beginning to understand the creative potential of screenprinting. Gordon House, who was both the designer of all Marlborough's catalogues and an artist/printmaker in his own right, served as the link between them and his friend Chris Prater, who was to become the foremost printer of original editions by this generation of artists. Whereas the unit printing cost of an editioned screenprint nowadays normally runs into hundreds of pounds, in the late 1960s/early '70s the equivalent cost was in single figures. Retail gallery prices, even for artists with international profiles, seldom exceeded £50, with prints by younger artists selling for between £10 and £20. Editions also tended to be longer than today, with 75 being frequent. This was governed by the fact that the tax authorities at that time deemed that if any print was published in an edition exceeding

251. Alan Cristea and Georg Baselitz in the artist's studio, September 2018 (Image Helen Waters).

75 copies it was a reproduction, and as such subject to a high purchase tax.

Following the example of successful marketing strategies in America, several London-based galleries began to understand that publishing original prints could prove to be a lucrative, albeit time-consuming and labour-intensive, exercise whilst the younger artists were attracted by printmaking's creative and experimental potential in a world where hierarchies between painting, sculpting and printmaking were beginning to crumble. I took a great deal of satisfaction out of helping to disseminate original works of art in editioned form at prices that many could afford. There were still buyers who claimed that 'my six-year old could have done that', but there was a majority who were very happy to buy into contemporary art in printed form as the years of post-War austerity were replaced by the era of 'you've never had it so good'. The buyers for the most part were not obsessive print-collectors, who were few then and remain few today, but people with newly acquired disposable income who wanted the pictures hanging on their walls to reflect their new position within society.

When I transferred to the print division of the Waddington Gallery in 1973, I was introduced to a variety of new artists, all of whom were happy to benefit monetarily and creatively from printmaking. Amongst them, mostly in the younger generation, were artists who saw the discipline as a genuine way to create images that were not possible in any other form. On a personal level I was anxious to add to the roster of artists who were committed to printmaking techniques of varying kinds. I was already working with several of the leading so-called Pop artists who were eager to use contemporary printmaking methods, as well as with others more closely associated with industry than art. Richard Hamilton was the father figure of this generation of artists, and it was with a great sense of achievement that I managed to persuade him to distribute his editions through Waddington Graphics.

A domino effect was set in motion and before too long we were able to persuade such great exponents of varied forms of printmaking as Jim Dine and Mimmo Paladino to join our enterprise. Richard Hamilton was already employing numerous time-honoured methods such as etching and engraving but was constantly adding new technology to his repertoire. Jim Dine was devoted to the genre and loved to experiment with combinations of woodcut, etching, lithography and more recently, digital printing. Similarly Mimmo Paladino revelled in the combination of different printmaking methods. A once largely domestic exercise was turning into a truly international one. Rather than just relying on UK based printers, I was now working with printers in various Continental countries as well as in America. Projects, such as those with Frank Stella and Roy Lichtenstein, were hugely expensive but also, fortunately, highly lucrative.

I have never really considered myself to be a print dealer on the secondary market, but, learning from the experience of my employers, I quickly understood that buying and selling prints by both living and dead artists constituted a financial insurance policy. If one loves works on paper, and particularly prints, it is a great pleasure to exhibit and promote prints by the likes of Pablo Picasso and Jasper Johns. However, another important reason for doing so was, and still is, to underwrite editions by the artists whose prints we distribute. Hence I have always considered myself first and foremost to be a publisher. The greatest pleasure for me is to act as a catalyst for the production of new, editioned work, even though the majority of the new prints that we help to bring into existence are not necessarily going to find a ready audience or market. In a sense, the artist, unless he or she is merely making variations on tried and tested formulae, is always one step ahead of his or her potential buyer. The excitement in publishing is in the experimentation, in finding the right printer for the artist, and in the conversations which gradually form the way in which a work of art in multiple numbers comes to fruition. We are a completely artist-led enterprise. Without them we have no justification.

I left Waddington Graphics at the end of 1994 to form my own company, and with the firm intention of continuing with the core business of publishing original prints by contemporary artists. I could have done this without having a gallery at all, but I knew that first and foremost artists want to have their prints treated with the same respect as their unique works. This entails showing them within a gallery environment. They want their prints to be displayed professionally, they want to maximise their clientele and they want to have creative and ongoing conversations with their publisher about new projects. Therefore constant communication is vital, and a huge amount of a dedicated publisher's time is spent in the studios of both artists and printers.

In theory the business is quite straightforward, but the practice is not so easy. As well as time, the occupation demands large amounts of upfront expenditure. At any one moment seven figure sums are invested in works in progress which have not yet materialised. It also requires extensive staffing and storage facilities. We currently have between 20,000 and 30,000 prints in stock, and all of them have to be stored in exactly the right conditions. They all need a location code on our database. By law, they all have to be stock-checked annually. As the roster of artists expands, of necessity so does the staff, and most employees are involved in administration rather than in sales, artist liaison or project management.

In 1969 when I began work in the art world, we displayed prints in plastic folders stacked in display bins, most of them attached to backboards with glue – cow gum was regarded as a perfectly acceptable adhesive. When prints were dispatched to clients, they were mostly sent in narrow mailing tubes. Unsurprisingly damage was frequent, whether through acid seeping into paper or through delicate ink surfaces cracking under pressure. Fifty years later acid-free, water soluble hinges are a must, and almost all prints are packed flat in crates for shipment around the world. The few complaints we receive are usually down to the difficulty clients experience in finding the prints amidst the packaging. But the consequence nowadays is that the cost of framing and packing can often exceed the price of the print itself.

Payment methods have also completely changed. The most common methods in the early days were cash or cheques. Large amounts of cash changed hands with no questions asked. Doctors, lawyers and other professionals often countersigned cheques that they had previously received from their clients and made them over to the gallery. Now we refuse to take cash payments in any amount, and any receipt of cash over 10,000 euros would trigger an investigation into the source of the funds. Credit card payments are expensive to process and can easily be cancelled by the remitter after the event. Bank transfers are the obvious answer, but even these can cause problems due to different bank requirements in different countries. In the age of emails rather than letters, invoicing has also become problematic. Many galleries, including ours, have been the victims of fraud: emailed invoices have been intercepted and bank details changed before being sent onwards to the client. Terms and conditions have lengthened to the extent that they can barely be accommodated on the invoice.

The introduction at the beginning of 2019 of anti-money laundering regulations (AMLR) to the art world for any transaction exceeding €10,000 places increased demands on the client to provide proof of identity and to supply often intrusive personal information. In most countries this law either does not apply or is not implemented, with the result that clients in those countries are unwilling to release the information – information which, ironically, conflicts with other recently introduced legislation intended to protect the privacy of the consumer. Increased legislation again requires increased staffing and expenditure. Editions in theory allow the

252. Alan Cristea and Howard Hodgkin in the artist's studio, January 2012 (Image Andrew Smith).

dissemination of original art at affordable prices, but the prices are forced upwards by increased overheads. Therefore the temptation to display more expensive items becomes almost inevitable, and the pressure to trade in unique works increases exponentially. This explains the scarcity of galleries devoted exclusively to publishing editioned prints.

Prints also suffer at the hands of the clients who cannot distinguish between the concept of uniqueness and that of originality. The lack of education about prints means that many potential clients assume that they are looking at copies of pre-existing unique works. The question 'where is the original' is still asked on a daily basis. Dealers often do not help, giving descriptions of prints which frequently reveal an economy with the truth. It should be the responsibility of the dealer and/or publisher to describe exactly what they are showing. There are big differences between a screenprint and a photo-silkscreen, a hand-drawn lithograph and an offset photo-lithograph, an etching and a photo-etching. All have their place, but it is the responsibility of the seller to be complete and accurate in the documentation of what they are selling.

And then there is the market. Many see the acquisition of prints as an attractive way of 'investing' in contemporary art, and seek assurances about the potential for future resale at a profit. I have, over the years, advised clients of this kind to buy property rather than art because the quality and originality of a print often has very little to do with its monetary value. The art market demands famous names and is rooted in fashion and scarcity. We have to be conscious of these considerations, but it is important for a publisher to place the greatest importance on creative collaboration. Some of the greatest prints that I have published over the years are valued at less than a reproductive print by a famous name.

Adrian Eeles

I got into the art world by accident. Having left university I had no firm idea about what to do, but needed a job urgently. My parents sent me to see a banker friend about a possible job in the City, and at the end of our desultory talk I expressed interest in the superb modern British pictures on his walls. He jumped up and showed me round his collection, and at the end said that he thought I should really work in an auction house, not banking, and he gave me an introduction to a director of Sotheby's. After being turned away a couple of times I was offered a job as porter in the print department, to replace Chris Mendez who was leaving to start on his own very distinguished career as dealer. I arrived, much too early, on 2 January 1963 and was given a grey overall. At that time, prints and old master drawings shared one smallish room, under which was a basement piled high with framed sets of sporting prints awaiting the next sale. My job was to put lot numbers on everything, carry them up to the sale room and hang them in the allotted wall space which was rather too small. Then I swept the basement floor and began lotting up for the next sale. Print sales were then pretty frequent: buff-coloured octavo catalogues for sporting and fancy prints and ordinary old masters (mostly sold in bundles), or green covers for the better things, with only a few works illustrated.

Sifting through piles of prints when lotting them up gave me a rudimentary knowledge of how to distinguish different artists' hands and their techniques. I had three mentors: Mr Wilder, Richard Day and Anthony Hobson. Mr Wilder (we always called him that) had joined Sotheby's in 1911 and was immersed in prints. His long experience in the print trade had included the rise and fall of the mezzotint market in the 1920s and 1930s, the collapse of the market for etching revival artists like Muirhead Bone, James McBey and F. L. Griggs, and the rise and rise in value of Rembrandt and Dürer prints whilst other fine printmakers were being increasingly overlooked. He was extremely generous about sharing his vast knowledge, and patient with beginners. Richard Day was principally the expert for old master drawings, but had an overseeing role for the assessment of the prints. The print department, however, was actually part of the book department, which made great sense given the many affinities between books and prints. The director in charge was Anthony Hobson, a very distinguished scholar and bibliophile, with a brilliant mind and a very brisk manner. After I had been there a few months he rang down to Richard Day and said: 'Eeles is NOT to start cataloguing yet and he is NOT to go to the counter'. Because of pressure of work he soon relented, but rightly insisted that I should show him every catalogue entry. I learned from him how to catalogue consistently and concisely. He often asked to see the prints themselves, especially the parcel lots, and often made me rewrite my entries. It was a good discipline, and my fear of him was soon replaced by respect and ultimately friendship.

The sheer quantity of prints which came in over the counter would nowadays astonish; dozens of framed prints and bundles of unframed, of which a good quantity would be rejected and go straight on to Portobello Road. A lot of material was brought in by 'runners' who worked mostly out of their vans. We picked out the better things and sold the rest in parcel lots, briefly described. We had many bidders, most of whom had viewed the sale and were London-based dealers, and they included several antiquarian booksellers. The important old masters sales (two to three a year) were attended by all the international dealers from Europe and the USA. This included Richard Zinser (very, very difficult), Dr Trautscholdt, head of C. G. Boerner and accompanied by Frau Muthmann (both extremely courteous, but distant), Mr and Mrs Lugt (polite and slightly condescending), Osbert Barnard (very shy, critical of everything), Arthur Driver (Colnaghi, affable and much respected), Hubert Prouté and Pierre Michel (doyens of the Paris trade, an incomparable pair), Robert Light, Ray Lewis and David Tunick from the USA. The dealers all sat at a horseshoe-shaped table under the rostrum, as it was useful for the auctioneer to have the main bidders immediately under his eye. The sales clerk had the postal bids and private instructions. There were no telephones, and dithering when bidding was not tolerated unless the lot was something quite exceptional. Museum directors or curators, notably from Boston, Cleveland and Washington often attended sales. Unlike nowadays, the saleroom would be nearly full, with many people actively bidding.

The catalogue descriptions then were much more pithy, and there were virtually no condition reports and no printed estimates. This was incredibly useful for the saleroom expert in that he would have a much

better sense during previews, of which lots really interested the bidders and whether one's estimates were correct or considered too high (if too low, we were not told!). I learned a lot from dealers' responses and could then see where to pitch the reserve price. I still remember with shame showing what I thought was a fine Schongauer to Ray Lewis; he looked, turned it over, and said: 'Adrian, when WILL you learn to look at the back of the print?' It had the large red stamp of an Amand-Durand facsimile. With the encouragement of Ray and some other dealers I began to include condition reports in the catalogue, but this was much resented by many in the trade, because it would eventually oblige them to do the same in their own catalogues. Descriptions of quality of impression were also a contentious issue: what is 'fine' or 'very fine' or only 'good' is a subjective judgement dependent on the person's eye, their degree of experience and their taste for hyperbole.

We had a great many properties from British country houses, often when cash was needed for death duties or mending the roof, and nobody much missed portfolios of prints. The first of these I was allowed to catalogue came from the Lloyd-Baker family, and the sale in 1965 was a bit of a flop because my estimates were too enthusiastic. The main item, a stunning fifteenth-century metalcut print, did not get lift-off partly because it was torn in half and crudely stuck together, something I had discounted in view of its exceptional beauty and rarity. Other flops included single-owner sales of Honoré Daumier and Russell Flint. Sporting subjects and decorative prints were evidently on the wane, but we saw that we should try to increase our share of the market for nineteenth- and twentieth-century prints; we were envious of the glamour of the Kornfeld sales in Bern, an annual event in June that all print connoisseurs liked to attend. Collectors then were less coy about being seen viewing a sale or bidding, and they were usually well-informed in their collecting area and made time to visit museum print rooms. Most of the collectors I knew, like Charles Cunningham, Arthur Vershbow, Otto Schäfer, Fritz Gross and many others were charming and generous. Norton Simon was a notable exception to the rule.

In 1964 Sotheby's bought Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York. This caused a seismic shift in the balance of the London auction house, as experts' time and attention were now much more focused on the United States than before. Stephen Somerville opened the print department in New York and soon increased our share of the print market, notably in the area of twentieth-century prints. It was, however, the Nowell-Usticke sale of Rembrandt etchings there in 1968 that set a new level for prices as well as for detailed catalogue descriptions. Henceforth I made regular trips to the USA, New York mainly and Los Angeles, where there was another office. I also visited our European offices, though attempts to hold sales in France, the Netherlands and Italy were fraught because of local trade opposition. I did catalogue a sale of chiaroscuro woodcuts in Florence, but the Italian trade boycotted it, overseas dealers were nervous about coming to buy in Italy and bid in hundreds of thousands of lire, and my estimates were too much enhanced by my enthusiasm.

Aside from the unfading popularity of Dürer and Rembrandt, buyers generally preferred prints by the peintre-graveurs rather than the so-called reproductive engravings; works by Marcantonio Raimondi were harder to shift than Bartolomeo Biscaino or Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione. Major printmakers like Piranesi and Goya suffered from over-production and too many reprints. Gradually a taste for northern mannerist printmakers like Hendrick Goltzius and Jacques de Gheyn II emerged, and there was always a modest market for Dutch landscape etchings, although a surfeit of late impressions did not encourage collectors in that field. Italian buyers had a different approach to quality and condition, and preferred to buy more cheaply later and damaged prints. They would not bid very far on an early pull by Canaletto or G. B. Tiepolo, to my disappointment; but an auctioneer must accept the market level, not try to impose it.

Four outstanding prints were sold at auction during the 1960s: a Goya *Colossus* aquatint, discovered by the drawings dealer William Drummond in a frame on the pavement of the King's Road, which went to Boston; the superb Aylesford impression of *The Hundred Guilder Print,* bought by Colnaghi for Charles Cunningham and now, surprisingly, in the print room at Stuttgart; a *Letter M* by the Master E.S., bought by Zinser, now in a US private collection; and *The Womens' Bath* by the Master P.M., also bought by Zinser and now in Amsterdam. The latter three prints came from the Schocken family. I mention these because they set a new high level of price for exceptional old master prints, and changed the direction of the market, not necessarily for the better.

Our chief rival in King Street was soon to catch up with Sotheby's in holding sales of important prints. Christie's had an enviable client list of English grand families, although traditionally these people usually

sent their pictures to Christie's but their books and prints to Sotheby's. Under Noel Annesley's direction, more important and dedicated print sales began to appear: Spencer Loch in 1969 (Schongauer's *Censer* and Rembrandt's *Clump of Trees with a Vista*, for Cunningham and later Norton Simon); in 1970 A. C. J. Wall (a classic 1920s/early 1930s collection of Rembrandt, Meryon, Whistler, Muirhead Bone and Gerald Brockhurst, mostly originally purchased from Colnaghi); Lord Margadale's Rembrandt *Ecce Homo*, 32,000 guineas in 1971 (for Cunningham and later Amsterdam); and the Weld sale of Italian prints with notable chiaroscuro woodcuts in 1976. After this sale the chief London cataloguer, Nick Stogdon, moved over to Christie's in New York to head their print department, where he pioneered sales devoted to twentieth-century American prints. Although at this time any communication between staff of the two rival auction houses was forbidden, Noel and I did liaise about our sale dates to avoid any clash. We also collaborated about some faked collectors' marks that had begun to appear in small consigned groups, usually with a good-sounding 'stamp' like Astley or Hibbert, which were unlikely to be found on a middling to late impression of a Rembrandt; they were, in actual fact, drawn in.

The big auction houses faced more intense scrutiny at this time, firstly from the US authorities concerned about monopolies and conditions of trading, and secondly from journalists. Chief of the latter was Geraldine Norman, a statistician working on *The Times*, who devised the Times-Sotheby Index first published in 1967. This was supposed to reassure would-be art buyers that their investment was certain to go up in value, and the graph was based on predicted as well as actual prices. It was dropped in 1971 when there was a serious dip in the art market, but Geraldine became a saleroom correspondent and campaigned hard for more transparency. The main change was that unsold lots were to be declared as such, and no longer concealed by a fictitious buyer's name. Reserves could not be set any higher than the low estimate, and printed estimates now appeared under each lot in the catalogue. When later on the auction houses began to guarantee properties or to have a financial stake, this had to be declared.

But the most radical change in saleroom practice was when both Sotheby's and Christie's almost simultaneously introduced the buyer's premium, which was non-negotiable in theory, and enabled the auctioneers to reduce the sellers' commission even down to zero when pressured by the vendor. This move was very controversial and is still much resented, especially by dealers. A big change in the actual conduct of sales was the introduction of telephone bidding; this gave buyers complete anonymity and relieved them of the need to attend the sale or use an agent, but it slowed down the auctioneer's pace drastically and deprived the sale of any momentum. Another factor which adversely affected the flow of prints through the saleroom was when both houses introduced a limit-value on single lots; anything estimated below £1,000 was not permitted, and the threshold has now moved up to £5,000. Only Bassenge in Berlin and Swann in New York keep up the tradition of selling multiple low-value lots, including many prints that would formerly have been offered in bundles. On the more recent introduction of online bidding and online-only auctions, I prefer not to speak.

In my time at Sotheby's it became clear to me that nineteenth- and twentieth-century prints would be increasingly favoured by collectors. Our first big success was the Ludwig Charrell collection of Toulouse-Lautrec lithographs in 1966, for which the charismatic chairman Peter Wilson allowed us a hard-back catalogue and colour illustrations. Thereafter our separate sales of nineteenth- and twentieth-century prints took off, and the regular highlights were Degas, Lautrec, Munch and Picasso. We even tried holding sales of contemporary prints on their own, to the great displeasure of the modern dealers. Then in 1976 I was invited by its then owner Lord Rothschild to join P. & D. Colnaghi on the retirement of Arthur Driver, and after a handover period I left my department at Sotheby's in the capable hands of Nancy Bialler and Libby Howie.

Colnaghi, founded in 1760, was a venerable institution living on its past glories. Previous scholar-dealers, Harold Wright (prints), James Byam Shaw (drawings), and Gustave Mayer (paintings) had brought the firm to pre-eminence, and the library and archive, including annotated sale catalogues and stock-books going back many decades, was a quite exceptional asset. The firm occupied an imposing building in Old Bond Street; my department occupied the whole of the fourth floor and had the hushed atmosphere of a museum print room. The firm's overheads, however, were a burden, and the traditional ways of selling were no longer productive of sufficient profit. It was only the occasional very large sale which kept things afloat.

I quickly found that the transfer from auctioneer to dealer was far less easy than I had assumed. I was an incautious buyer and too robust in my ideas of pricing. Another surprise was to find how reluctant

253. Sotheby's Old Master Drawings sale, 8 July 1964; the porter is showing a portrait drawing by Ingres belonging to Sacheverell Sitwell. Behind the rostrum, from left are Richard Day, Adrian Eeles, a lady from the press, Stephen Somerville, Carmen Gronau, John Rickett, Fred (assistant sales clerk), Maggie and Zoe (departmental secretaries), Sam Patch (head sales clerk). Round the table are an unknown lady, Peter Claasz, Vitale Bloch, Hans Calmann, Adolf Stein, Alfred Frauendorfer, Alistair Mathews. Sitting behind them are Lazar Herner and Marianne Feilchenfeldt.

some collectors were to commit to a purchase, very often haggling and then walking away without any decision. I was used to bidders in the saleroom (often the very same people) being more decisive. Museum curators were usually more focused, but their follow-ups often petered out after too a long wait.

Colnaghi's regular print exhibitions were highly regarded in the print world, and stock would have been previously set aside by my brilliant colleague Katharina Mayer-Haunton (the daughter of Gustave Mayer) in order to make themed exhibition catalogues. I declined to allow a long-planned exhibition of stipple engravings, but we did interesting shows of engravings after Rubens, artists' portraits, Dutch mannerist prints, French eighteenth-century engravings, all with moderate sales after a lot of academic and other preparatory work. I was fortunate to take on commission the duplicates from the Goya collection of Tomás Harris, retained by his three sisters, and of which the better items went eventually to Norton Simon in Pasadena. No longer being under the constraints of an auction house, I was gradually able to develop more personal relations with clients, and visiting collectors and curators on their home turf became a major part of my working life. It was also the best way of selling expensive items of stock, especially when they were

small enough to carry with me. And visits to the gallery were beginning to tail off, I noticed, particularly after art fairs started to proliferate, bringing all the dealers together in one large tent.

I was always reluctant to participate in fairs, especially because it was difficult to show prints effectively on an over-lit temporary stand. One could not engage with most people as they drifted in and out, and it was too public an arena for any real discussion. It was at Maastricht, however, that I first met Joseph Ritman, whose eye was caught by our Dürer *Melencolia* and who appeared in Colnaghi the following week without warning. He became the most serious collector of Rembrandt etchings since Charlie Cunningham, and was much more selective of quality than his main rival, Sam Josefowitz. I first bought for him at the Lieberg sale at Kornfeld in 1979. He was disappointed at my limited final choice, but subsequently agreed that we should only go for the very finest impressions and make no compromises. He had very definite choices of subject, and I was obliged to furnish him with an estimate of rarity and value for each piece. Of course he found my predictions unpalatable, though they were often only too true in the event. My other good clients were mostly based in America, so that my visits to the USA became more frequent and more crucial, and much enjoyed apart from the huge stress of intercity air travel and bleak hotels.

The Colnaghi print stock was traditionally large and not always of the best quality, and I refrained from buying any more 'useful' prints, as these just sat in boxes, unwanted and unloved. We still had a great many left-over prints from the Liechtenstein collection acquired in the early 1950s. We had some good and regular clients, like Eric and Mary Stanley, Fernando Zobel and Marianne Schwarz, but the Colnaghi tradition of having prints for every taste and at every level of price was no longer sustainable. Unfortunately there was constant tension inside the building and many sudden changes of direction. The print department kept its reputation intact, but nonetheless it was a sad day when it was closed down after I had reluctantly decided to leave in 1980. I felt badly about this outcome, but after an interval the department re-opened with Ruth Bromberg in charge, although it was again closed down after a very few years. However, the archives and stock-books are now in safe keeping and accessible.

At Artemis Fine Art, originally started as a vehicle to harness the outstanding talent of David Carritt, who though already ill was still very much a presence in the firm, I was invited to open a new print and drawing department. I decided to keep a stock which was small but high-end, and for the first time occasionally bought things in shares with other dealers, because really good items had become so expensive. Being less conversant with the world of old master drawings, I preferred to take these on consignment and only when their attribution was secure. Through my friendship with George Goldner, the Getty Museum became a major client. As for prints, I continued to buy outstanding Rembrandts for Ritman, and I had regular sales to Boston, Chicago, Washington and most other American print rooms. Nick Stogdon (by now a dealer) and Artemis took on consignment the Felix Somary collection of Rembrandt etchings to exhibit in New York in 1985. Other notable sales included the Spencer Albums of prints which ended up via Melvin Seiden in the Fogg, where they were brilliantly catalogued by Jerry (Marjorie) Cohn, and a group of proof impressions of Goya's *Los Caprichos*, put together by Stogdon and Artemis and catalogued by Juliet Wilson-Bareau, which was sold to the Prado. Together with Bob Light, I rashly bought Rembrandt copperplates which had been reprinted by Basan, and much to our surprise, many museum print rooms decided they simply had to have one or even several.

It was a blow when in 1995 Mr Ritman was obliged to cede his Rembrandt collection to his bankers, who approached Sotheby's about selling it at auction. I was called in by them to advise, and it was decided that Artemis and Sotheby's would buy the collection together, produce a catalogue and sell it privately, preferably as one lot. I suggested to the director John Walsh that this would be a marvellous start to a print collection at the Getty, but he preferred not to embark on that. Various possibilities in the Middle and Far East were tried without success, so the collection was split up and as usual the best items sold very quickly. Gratifyingly, the outstanding Chatsworth *Ecce Homo* went to the St. Louis Art Museum. Another of the main buyers was Laszlo von Hoffmann, whom I had been advising since the Schäfer sale at Kornfeld in 1992. He was a very important book collector who became fascinated with old master prints, especially northern schools of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Aside from Artemis he bought mostly from Boerner and Stogdon, and put together an extraordinary group of engravings by the Master ES, Schongauer and Meckenem. Towards the end of his life he asked me to find a buyer for his entire collection, which I did. However it is sad when a client, for whatever reason, decides to sell a collection that you have helped to form, although one is grateful to be asked to arrange its

disposal; this has happened to me several times. Long-term relationships are so important and can bring rewards. For instance, in my first year at Sotheby's I met Stephan von Kuffner at the front counter, was asked to assess his family print collection (then in a bank vault), subsequently met his heirs, always stayed in touch and eventually, in 2000 (nearly 40 years later), I was offered the collection for sale.

In 1995 Artemis acquired the famous German print-dealing firm C. G. Boerner. Ruth Muthmann, whom I much liked and admired, was looking to retire and wanted to hand over the business and its stock to a firm of repute. I was honoured to be approached, and I had my eye on their New York office because I knew that we had to have a proper presence there. So many clients were based in the USA, and the annual print fair at the Armory on Park Avenue was becoming a crucial venue; everybody in the print world came to it. We also highly valued the Düsseldorf office, with its unique library and treasure of auction catalogues, plus its reputation as the oldest art-dealing firm in Germany and its long tradition of publishing a regular *Lagerliste* (stocklist). The gallery in New York was run by Susan Kaye and Sebastian Goetz, who were joined by Armin Kunz who eventually took charge in larger premises on 73rd Street.

To operate three separate but related galleries was perhaps over-ambitious, particularly in view of the increasing scarcity of good prints, the perceptible dwindling of gallery visitors, the increasing lack of interest in 'ordinary' material, and when most collectors were too busy to spend time in a study room. The so-called passing trade being almost non-existent, we relied more and more on our personal contacts, museum or private, to buy or sell our important prints. Probably wrongly, we did not much venture into the twentieth century, apart from the German Expressionists. Museum curators were increasingly after big names and strong images that would make an impact on their trustees and donors, and so small delicate prints, however rare and beautiful, did not answer. In general the connoisseurship of old master prints appeared to be on the wane through lack of time and commitment, and it was in danger of becoming as rare as is now the knowledge of ancient cameos or gold boxes. In general, the paucity of material discourages collectors, who like to be offered new things on a regular basis, or their interest flags and they move on to a more exciting and active area of art. And for the same reasons, the number of print dealers has reduced drastically. In central London for instance, now that Chris Mendez has retired, Andrew Edmunds and Grosvenor Prints are so far as I know the only remaining print shops. Prouté carries on splendidly in Paris, but most dealers now work from home or from a rented upper room.

There is, however, a more encouraging point of view, namely that print connoisseurship is flourishing in museum print rooms and academic institutions. This is evidenced by the scholarly and highly varied contributions to *Print Quarterly*, whose authors constantly surprise us with the depth of their knowledge. And in addition, museum exhibitions devoted to or including prints are still fairly frequent. In recent years I have seen Hercules Segers in Amsterdam, chiaroscuro woodcuts in both London and Paris, Rembrandt in Oxford, Marcantonio Raimondi in Manchester, and there have been many similar exhibitions in the USA which I have unfortunately missed. Perhaps the most frustrating thing for collectors is that they can admire these outstanding prints when put on show, but they cannot find them to buy.

Artemis, which had the immense drawback of being a public company with a shifting conflux of shareholders, was heading towards closure in 2006 after bruising arguments with the main shareholder, the insurance company Axa. I had already decided to leave before then, and I am thankful to say that C. G. Boerner managed to extricate itself from the group and carries on valiantly in Düsseldorf and New York. I have a few collectors who still consult me, notably Bob Hoehn, whose distinguished Rembrandt collection we largely built up together, and which was exhibited in San Diego in 2015. In recent years I have preferred to be writing rather than actively trading, and am glad of this chance to record some reminiscences of my time in the rarefied world of old master prints.

D. Lesley Hill & Alan N. Stone

Lesley was studying Economics and Art History at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Alan and Lesley met in late November 1978 at a lecture by one of Lesley's art history professors, William MacDonald, whose topic, appropriately, was *Piranesi's Carceri Prints: Sources of Invention*. The lecture accompanied the exhibition 'Antiquity in the Renaissance' at the Smith College Museum of Art. Alan had opened a small gallery in Northampton in 1977 after leaving the world of teaching Art History. He scoured the countryside looking for prints and drawings, and there were things to be discovered, from a Nicolas Poussin drawing (now at the Fogg Art Museum), to prints by James Tissot found at a small fair in Connecticut and even a Rembrandt etching unearthed for $5 with a Connecticut antiques dealer.

At this time, in the late 1970s, we gravitated toward prints because American museums, in particular, were interested in building their print holdings. We found the connoisseurship of prints congenial and their centrality in the development of style in European art irresistible. While we admired drawings and tried to find interesting sheets in our travels, the drawings trade had not yet assumed the glamour in which it became enveloped around the time of the epochal sale of Chatsworth drawings in 1984. We still continue to trade in drawings whenever we can find idiosyncratic examples. The passage of the years has confirmed our antiquarian bent with which we began in trade. While we admire much of early twentieth-century art, Hill-Stone Inc., stubbornly perhaps, remains deeply committed to the preceding centuries.

As neither of us had served the traditional apprenticeship with another dealer, we had to be extra energetic in travelling to acquire and to sell. We left for our honeymoon/first business trip to Europe after our wedding reception in Alan's gallery (some of the attendees were the dealers Jim and Carol Goodfriend, James Bergquist, David and Constance Yates and the curator at The Clark, Rafael Fernandez). Lesley's degree in Economics meant that she took over the cheque book and discovered that we had little money to spend on acquisitions on our first buying trip. The California print collector, Mary Stansbury Ruiz, offered to lend us $5,000 which was gratefully accepted. Mary was a true friend and a real connoisseur, buying Mannerist prints when few others were.

On that first trip we bought an extraordinary impression of Hendrik Goudt after Adam Elsheimer's *Ceres Searching for her Daughter* from Arsène Bonafous-Murat in Paris. It had appeared in one of his first catalogues and had sat unsold for months. Upon our return to Northampton, the American dealer Todd Butler visited from London and quickly bought it. Todd sold it on to Adrian Eeles, then at Colnaghi, within a week.

As dealers were judged then by how far they were from the art world epicentre which was East 57th Street, we realized we had to move to New York City. We chose to become private dealers, at the time a somewhat unusual idea. Our second New York apartment on Park Avenue had a second bedroom and that became the office/gallery. In the 1980s and 1990s clients visited to look through our drawers, including colleagues, curators and collectors from Europe. Among them was the late Jan van der Waals who was adored by our cranky cat, Caliban. We especially prized the visits by visiting curators and scholars at the New York Public Library, Morgan Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the latter of whom were close enough to walk over). We felt that our conversations with curators always enlightened us and enriched our understanding of artists and techniques.

Since the fall of 1979 we travelled with great regularity to Europe, chiefly as buyers, and inevitably as observers of the market. We had always sensed that the printed image offered the possibility of trade in major works by well-known artists as well as rare arcana. The canon of 'important' prints, however, has expanded. Or rather, the importance of 'the canon' has diminished, and desirable prints today are those depictions of strange, one-off subjects or idiosyncratic examinations of more familiar themes even if the artists are not well-known or authors of a large body of work.

We soon discovered that the trade was populated by people of exceptional sensibility, both in terms of the discovery of the various artists and the understanding of aesthetic qualities of printed images. From the late 1960s to the present those dealers and auctioneers constituted a remarkable group of individuals whose energy, personal confidence, taste, intelligence and curiosity has informed the upper end of the international market of today. Each brought an individual sense of what

254. Lesley Hill and Alan Stone in South Dartmouth, Massachusetts, in 2014.

constituted a memorable impression or an important artistic element in printmaking as we now perceive it. Most importantly, we all learned from one another and, out of admiration or emulation, we often shared each other's tastes.

Dealers and auctioneers, some now dead, constituted critical forces in the expansion of the trade, and for the invigoration of interest in printmaking. Bob Light, August Laube, David Tunick, Paul McCarron, Hubert and Michèle Prouté, Ruth-Maria Muthmann and Marianne Küffner and Nancy Bialler of C. G. Boerner, and R. E. Lewis, whose directness was exceeded only by his connoisseurship, all represented the redoubtable and admired exemplars of the trade whom we came to know. David Tunick published illustrated catalogues whose precision became a model for us and other dealers. Even if their tastes were necessarily different one from another, each gave to the trade a focus of interest that continues today. The print world owes these dealers an enormous debt of gratitude for their belief in the importance of the printed image.

Each one of those dealers created the conditions under which younger dealers made their way. Helmut Rumbler and James Bergquist represented complementary approaches, the former with brilliant impressions of acknowledged masterworks and the latter with marvellous, often obscure curiosities. Arsène Bonafous-Murat, who had worked for many years at Prouté in Paris, and Nicholas Stogdon, then with Christie's in New York, both combined personal experience and painstaking scholarship. They offered such extensive inventories that Arsène changed perceptions of what constituted the market in French prints and Nick, later on his own, of printmaking in Germany. Armin Kunz, another print scholar of note, carries on the illustrious traditions of C. G. Boerner with dry wit and broad and well-informed interests.

Adrian Eeles, now retired to a study of Proust in French, combined from the late 1960s a remarkable knowledge of collectors and their collections with a deep interest in Italian and French printmaking as well as the more traditionally appreciated artists. He was ably aided by the breathtaking knowledge of Katharina Mayer Haunton. His approach to trade was similar to that of Christopher Mendez, who saw aesthetic quality and intriguing interest in areas of printmaking outside traditional German and Dutch masters. More than any other dealer at the time, Chris brought forward with puckish relish examples of prints with curious techniques and unusual connections to other objects.

Three auctioneers expanded the trade, again from the 1960s. Eberhard Kornfeld continued the firm of Gutekunst and Klipstein and still at the age of 98 brings together both old master and modern prints to market in quality from a nucleus of earlier collections. Noel Annesley at Christie's may have seemed a sardonic presence from the podium, but his taste and discernment made Christie's sales a significant factor in the enhancement of taste from the late 1970s. The late Richard Godfrey of Sotheby's chose not to stand on the podium, but, notwithstanding, with his personal connoisseurship and approachability, brought dealers and collectors to similarly heightened awareness of graphic quality.

The recent history of the trade cannot be characterized in exclusively positive terms. A constriction of supply, always a melancholy fear of the trade, now represents an undeniable reality. This phenomenon has two contradictory effects, on one hand raising prices for fine impressions and on the other reducing new or non-specialist interest in a market perceived to be less active and thus less important, especially for older works.

As well, the death of many of the earlier cadre of dealers has created challenging conditions for the trade. Their loss as informers of taste and exemplars of connoisseurship, as well as the paucity of notable material available, surely has resulted in a decline in connoisseurship and a narrowing of taste, especially among some newer collectors.

With the rise of the perception of the art market in general as a forum for financial speculation, print interest has been distorted by deceptive or confusing descriptions in some areas of the trade, and timidity and lack of curiosity on the part of clients. New collectors often ignore curious images or proof states of better-known works. They reduce the inherent flexibility of the medium to more simplistic structures. The effects of such market manipulation and collectors' financial preoccupations, if unchallenged, can reduce the breadth and depth of interest in prints.

To all this must be added the de-emphasis on direct examination of prints that in earlier years was a *sine qua non* of private acquisition. In this matter, the internet has been unavoidably culpable even if it broadened the visibility of prints in the market. The internet has unfortunately over-simplified understanding and connoisseurship, in that digital images promise more clarity of visual information than they can deliver. The sad effect of its influence is that many prospective buyers have not learned how to look at printed images in the original.

An invaluable and effective counterweight to these problems has been the rise of two important fairs devoted to prints, first the London Original Print Fair and then the New York City-based print fair run by The International Fine Print Dealers Association, whose members, all of whom are elected and carefully vetted, present works that are reliably described. The leadership of the organization has risen brilliantly to the challenges of the present market.

Both fairs bring a vast panorama of prints to a large and varied audience and have become the most broadly based, the most important commercial – and the most educational – venues for the sale of prints. Art fairs have become an extremely important means of trade outreach and they do attract new collectors. American museums have also supported collectors, giving them access to their collections and curatorial expertise and, not least, putting their collections on fully illustrated websites, as pioneered by the British Museum. These have become an essential tool for research.

Coming full circle, the unexpected advantage of the rise of dealer websites, internet and email meant that after 34 years in New York City we no longer had to be there to do business. In 2013 we bought an eighteenth-century house on the Massachusetts coast. We now have a proper print room as well as enough bookshelves for our constantly expanding art library.

Post pandemic, we are looking forward to the resumption of fairs. The social element of the print market and print connoisseurship has served and will continue to serve an orderly and transparent market. Dealers, curators and collectors exchange ideas and opinions regularly. In direct proportion to their experience and intelligence, collectors have appreciated the trade as an indispensable resource for their own growth as collectors. The role of dealer and auctioneers remains central to the expansion in interest and appreciation of this ancient, noble art form.

Armin Kunz

I started work at C. G. Boerner at the beginning of 1997, after studying for far too long in Germany and England, and having held a fellowship in the print department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York where I had the privilege of being taught most of what I know about prints by Suzanne Boorsch. F. Carlo Schmid, an old friend from student years in Berlin, who had written his thesis on Johann Christian Reinhart and his printmaking enterprise, joined in 1999. Shortly before our arrival, the firm had been acquired in 1995 by Artemis Fine Arts on the initiative of Adrian Eeles. Not surprisingly, joining a 175-year-old dealership in the late 1990s, I found myself caught up in the midst of multiple changes.

When I arrived in Düsseldorf, I found that computers had been installed, but Ruth-Maria Muthmann, the previous owner of the firm who had agreed to stay on to ease the transition, adamantly ignored them. She insisted that her letters be written on a typewriter, albeit an electric one. The obsolete fax machine was fighting to survive, and it was a few years before the screech of the dial-up modem was replaced by the 'ping' from the inbox of one's email account, now linked to the electronic ether by a DSL connection. International phone calls were still considered an extravagance. When, after the end of one such conversation across the big pond, it became clear that I had forgotten to mention something deemed to be important, this caused some not-so-mild annoyance since making another call was considered to be completely out of the question. Carlo and I were glad, therefore, to have Marianne Küffner as a good-natured and supportive mentor. She had been with the firm since the late 1960s and was able to provide us youngsters with the much needed institutional memory. Even more important was her warmth and a youthful attitude that belied her age.

The 1980s had been a buoyant market for old master prints. Many of the price records set at the time, as, for example, at the sale of the collection of the Swiss collector Albert Blum at Sotheby's in New York in February 1988, were not broken for decades to come. But in the middle of 1990 a worldwide financial crisis arrived and left the art market reeling. As a colleague once put it, in May we witnessed the sale of Rembrandt's *Three Crosses* at Doyle Galleries in New York for an astounding US$990,000 and thought we could all leave early for summer, but when we returned in the fall the market had practically disappeared. (The dealer who had acquired this impression of Rembrandt's masterpiece had to wait for over two decades before he was finally able to sell it.) The situation was worsened by the fact that, particularly at the top level, the market was driven by a mere handful of collectors. When some of them were no longer able to participate due to the global crisis, prices dropped precipitously.

Artemis was a firm with solid financial backing and a network of collectors that reached from Southern California to Australia and Japan, and the acquisition of the venerable dealership of C. G. Boerner made a lot of sense. The simplest way of putting it was that Artemis thereby acquired one of the sources from which it had been buying some of their finest prints during the previous decade. But there was another reason that made this partnership desirable. For all her conservatism, Frau Muthmann had the admirable foresight to establish a branch in New York in 1984, and this provided a base for Artemis's own (albeit short-lived) expansion into America. (After Artemis's demise, C. G. Boerner became an independent company again in 2005.) The founding director of C. G. Boerner Inc. was Nancy Bialler, and her small office on Manhattan's Upper East Side played a significant role in deepening Boerner's many existing institutional contacts, and enabled it to build new ones, especially among private collectors.

The success of Boerner's overseas venture can be seen as a reflection or perhaps even a symptom of a far-reaching change in the art world, which had started in the 1970s. In Europe, museums had fewer and fewer discretionary funds and were, as a result, increasingly restricted in their access to the market. Granted, many European holdings (and here I take the liberty to continue to include the UK as part of the Europe that I am talking about) are larger and their histories far older than those in America. But not so many of them can get away with what a Viennese curator friend once declared with hardly a trace of irony, that the Albertina sees itself as 'a complete collection'. How different the situation is in the New World! As a European dealer travelling through the American heartland, I am constantly amazed to see how even small colleges and university museums still regard themselves as continuing to grow their collections.

The drying-up of public funds in Europe meant that it became more and more difficult to sell lower- and middle-priced prints. Ironically, significant acquisitions can still take place, even if rarely. They require in each case the initiative of the curator, the support of her or his director, and the availability of federal funding and third-party donations. In Germany, major support has come from the Kulturstiftung der Länder since 1988. A quick look at *Patrimonia*, a series of publications that accompany outstanding acquisitions, shows that these are by no means limited to the larger museums. The same is true in the Netherlands, whereas in more centralized countries, such as France and Spain, major purchases are usually reserved for the national treasure houses, whether the Louvre in Paris or the Prado in Madrid.

One of the things that Frau Muthmann insisted on was that the *Geschäftsführer* (director) of the Düsseldorf office should sit in the front room and greet all the visitors. After a while I began to wonder if this was really necessary since pretty much the only person who came by on a regular basis was the mail man. I thought that working in the *Chef Zimmer* in the back (which came with its own toilet) would be a much better idea, and would be far more conducive to writing the factsheets used in the annual catalogues that were given the understated title *Neue Lagerliste*. Only later, when I came across the visitor books from the 1970s, did I understand whence this idea of *Anwesenheitspflicht* (attendance duty) in the front room derived. Leafing through those old diaries I could see how back then visits from clients on a daily basis had been very much the rule.

So, again, a change had taken place, this one driven by a variety of factors. What affects a highly specialized dealership in old master prints and drawings, perhaps more than anything, is the fickle nature of taste. The art world has become increasingly dominated by modern and contemporary art. A gallery fostering a scholarly interest in earlier works, a place which resembles a print study room more than a white box studio, has become decidedly old-fashioned. Ever since the late eighteenth century, one of the driving forces for the expansion of the print market was the development of prints of a much larger size meant to be framed and hung on the wall rather than pasted into albums. This general trend continued in later years despite such counter-movements as the etching revival and the print portfolio of the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. Today, contemporary printmaking tends to be large, bold, and colourful. Earlier prints, on the other hand, have little of the 'wall power' that seems to be so coveted today. They originated in the world of books and libraries where they provided visual encyclopedias to complement the written and printed word. To get to know prints requires patience, and the willingness to study and learn about forgotten iconographies and quality of impression. Such a commitment of time has become rare among today's art public.

Another marked change over the last four decades has been in the role played by the auction houses. It is probably fair to say that until the 1970s auctions were very much the domain of the specialist, and hence primarily of the dealers. Buying a print at auction was not very different from acquiring it privately from an old collection since auction prices were not widely available. Even when *Gordon's Print Price Annual* began to appear in 1978, to be followed by the *Almanach der Graphikpreise* eight years later in 1986, these annual reviews were hardly geared to private collectors. Being a print dealer (and I assume that the same was true with dealers in other areas of the art market) was very much like being a member of a private club. While it remained closed to outsiders, it was astonishingly transparent to those inside, and the auction houses even printed the names of the buyers on the results lists that were mailed out to the subscribers who bought their catalogues (a practice that ended in the mid-1970s). Today, auction prices are widely available for anyone (which is almost everyone) who owns a smart phone. Every dealer has an anecdote about the collector who admires a work at a fair, goes away to 'think about it over a cup of coffee', only to return having found the record of its sale in Pforzheim, South Cerney, or Troyes, where the dealer had thought that he had made an inconspicuous and attractively cheap purchase.

In the latest twist in the development of this omnipresent market, pretty much everyone will not only know about those provincial sales but probably also compete in them. The auction houses' drive to sell directly to the final buyer was started by the global houses back in the 1970s, and has by now caught on even with small provincial salerooms, being made possible by the reach afforded through the internet. Today a dealer bidding at auction is likely to be already competing against her or his potential client. In the print world, this was first noticeable with modern and contemporary works rather than with earlier prints, where the subtleties of an engraving by Albrecht Dürer or Lucas van Leyden still set limits to the possibility of forming a judgement based purely on remote information. In the modern

255. C. G. Boerner gallery in Kasernenstr. 13, Düsseldorf, 1954 (Archive C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf).

and contemporary field, auction houses have become the principal market from the moment a publisher's edition has sold out. This is especially true for works by artists deemed to be 'hot' and the taste of the moment. It is only when the supply is meagre and the buying timid that the auctioneer will sadly reminisce about the good old days when 'all those nice dealers' were filling the sale room and competing for lots.

There is, however, one section of the market in old master prints where auctions are rarely involved: that is for truly exceptional and rare prints. Granted, there were notable exceptions such as the sale of prints from Chatsworth (Christie's, London, 1985) or the two-part sale of prints 'from a German Family of Title' (Christie's, London, 1991–92). All of them were full of treasures, although the timing of the latter sale during the recession after 1990 was rather unfortunate. Yet, by and large, truly superb impressions can usually be found privately and not at auction. N. G. Stogdon was arguably the outstanding dealer for the quality and rarity of the prints he offered as well as for his learned presentation (it is said that the editors of *Print Quarterly* were more than once tempted to acknowledge this with a review in this magazine – which would have been a first for a dealer's catalogue [but see p. 423 in this issue – note from the Editor]).

Needless to say, this was an advantageous position for dealers. Yet it also had a counterproductive effect that only became apparent in retrospect: namely, a decades-long stagnation of values. By the 1980s, the price of a superb and scarce old master print had reached the half-million-dollar range, and the occasional, more expensive outlier merely confirmed this rule. And this was very much the level at which top prices remained well into the twenty-first century. When looking at the catalogue of the above-mentioned Blum sale of 1988 today, one is repeatedly astonished how high some of the prices were. Repeating the

same exercise with any major old master drawing sale from the same period, one's reaction would be quite different. To realize what amazing drawings could be had back then for prices that from today's perspective appear to be extremely modest, might even induce a mild depression! The main reason for this widening discrepancy between the value of prints and drawings is the simple fact that far more good drawings have appeared at auction, resulting in a steady increase of prices which, in turn, continued to bring more material to the market.

Drawings also received more support than prints from a crop of young private dealers entering a field that, among other things, promised a certain level of commercial excitement. This ultimately affected museums and private collectors alike. Looking briefly at Germany again, two things are apparent: curators (and their directors) are likely to prefer the acquisition of a significant drawing over that of a print in the same way as many of the *Fördervereine* (support groups) affiliated with the *Kupferstichkabinette* (print rooms) have their hearts set more on drawings than on prints. The founding and expansion of these groups have none the less been an important and welcome response to the diminishment of public funding in recent years. They are modelled on a long-established US practice where collectors have always sought advice and been given it by curators. In return, these collectors support acquisitions and donate works to those museums. Establishing such a tradition in Europe is also leading to closer relationships between dealers and museums. I vividly remember how very guarded this relationship was, perhaps more so in Germany than elsewhere, as recently as twenty years ago. It was only when transferring to Boerner's New York office that I realized how fundamentally different the American approach was. A market-savvy curator like Andrew Robison could become as much a mentor to me as the 'new kid on the block' as Adrian Eeles and Marianne Küffner had been within our own firm when I started out.

To write at a time when the market is still suffering greatly under the impact of the covid-19 pandemic provides an opportunity to reflect on past and present methods of selling. The print market attracts people who take pleasure in handling objects. There is a visual as much as a haptic aspect to holding these works, and old-fashioned printed catalogues are still among the most important tools to advertise one's wares. Yet it has by now also become essential to have an online presence both on one's own website as well as on aggregate platforms, be it a dealers' organization such as the IFPDA and, more recently, ONPAPER.ART, or commercial sites such as Artnet, Artsy, or 1stdibs. A younger generation of collectors as well as of curators is increasingly making use of these. However, given the overabundance of information made available on the web, one's presence there alone is hardly sufficient to attract attention. Reaching out via email has taken over the role of postcard mailings, and recently social media platforms such as Instagram have become something that is being noted by the younger generation of collectors and curators.

The calm waters of the print market were never sucked into the whirlpool of the increasing number of fairs that needed to be attended worldwide (the print branches of the big contemporary galleries as well as the major print publishers are the exception here). In the 1970s, Art Basel or the Kölner Kunstmarkt were the fairs that no contemporary dealer could miss. The IFPDA's New York Print Fair (now called the Fine Art Print Fair) has maintained such an all-encompassing importance for the print trade ever since it was founded in 1991, following on the success of its predecessor, the New York Fine Print Fair, that had already started in 1984. By now, it has even encouraged such spin offs as the New York Satellite Print Fair (mostly attended by smaller secondary market dealers) and the E/AB Fair that is reserved for contemporary publishers. European fairs have unfortunately lost their importance. For many years, the Stuttgarter Antiquariatsmesse (founded in 1962) had, despite its book-related origins, been an important showcase for old master print dealers. Some (Kistner, List, Schwing) are no longer active, while others (Fach, Rumbler) decided that it was no longer worth their while to attend; today Laube and Boerner seem to be the last to hold out. Despite France's continuing importance as a source market, the Salon de l'Estampe in Paris never really lived up to its original promise, and at the still prospering London Original Print Fair, which began in 1985, the focus has shifted more or less completely to the modern and contemporary sector. Over the last decade, the loss of prominent showcases for earlier prints in Europe has been somewhat compensated by the addition in 2010 of a dedicated section of works on paper to TEFAF Maastricht, the juggernaut among the old master fairs.

It is still too early to tell when some sort of post-pandemic normality will resume and what it will look like. How soon are people going to be ready again to attend crowded fairs? The pandemic has forced an enormous traffic online, and many of the digital means implemented or further perfected over the past

256. C. G. Boerner's stand at the Burlington Fine Art Fair, Royal Academy, London, 1977 (Archive C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf).

year can be expected to stay. The ongoing challenge faced by dealers is to find ways to attract attention in what is increasingly becoming an overload that threatens to drown out everyone and everything in some kind of informational white noise. Who knows, but one strategy might be to step back and adapt the time-tested sales method used by one of the greatest of the old timers. Rumour has it that Richard Zinser, who was the source for some of the most important old master print acquisitions of American museums during the first decades after World War II, used to travel around with his treasures wrapped in brown packing paper. Perhaps we could update to a somewhat fancier portfolio. Still, to judge from my own experience, one thing is certain: there is absolutely no method, be it analogue, digital or virtual, that can beat the personal presentation of an original work of art.

Christopher Mendez

I was born in 1943 and brought up in Hackney and went to grammar school (Dame Alice Owen's) in Islington. My older brother Theo (1934–97) was an artist and took me around museums and galleries. This fascinated me, and I left school to take a job as a Museum Assistant at the Victoria and Albert Museum, in the department then known as E.I.D. (Engraving, Illustration and Design). After signing the Official Secrets Act, my job entailed manning the visitors' desk in the print room, hanging displays in the galleries, and working in the storeroom fetching and carrying. I realised that my lack of formal qualifications would not get me far in the museum world, but the Director, Trenchard Cox, kindly introduced me to Jim Kiddell at Sotheby's, who gave me a job in the Print Department. The long-standing expert there was F. L. (Tim) Wilder (1893–1993), who had started working at Sotheby's in 1911 and spent his life with prints; in the 1930s he edited the annual *Print Prices Current*. During my time at Sotheby's, I was sent to Amsterdam for a month primarily to look at the Rembrandt etchings in the Rijksmuseum, which was a revelatory experience.

I was young and enthusiastic, but the pay was rotten, and Charles Ede of the Folio Society offered me a better paid job setting up an art department selling prints and drawings from their premises in Stratford Place, London. We produced regular small catalogues and sold to the captive book club members, my task being to find and catalogue suitable stock. This involved some travel and I got to know the trade in Paris: for example, the Toulouse-Lautrec lithograph *Ta bouche* was available in quantity printed in either red or green, and I would buy so many of each colour and sell them for a good profit. Reprints by Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Berthe Morisot and Édouard Manet were also readily available, and I suppose were printed to order. I began to realize that I might make a living as an independent dealer, and left to set up on my own account in 1965. I started dealing from home and here is the chronology of my addresses:

7 Great Queen Street, Holborn, 1966–67 (dealing from home)

36 Great Pulteney Street, Soho, 1968–71 (dealing from home)

35 Great Pulteney Street, 1971–74 (a small ground floor shop)

51 Lexington Street, 1974–85 (a larger ground floor shop, parallel to Great Pulteney Street, and opposite the shop of Andrew Edmunds)

58 Jermyn Street, St James's, 1986–2000 (a rear ground floor gallery)

53 Clerkenwell Close, 2001–20 (dealing from home)

I was very much helped by assistants in my shops, Louise Roddon, Jacqueline Conning, Helen Burgess, Sharon Sage and Jo Elford, who looked after the place when I was away and helped with bureaucracy like VAT. I had no staff otherwise, but employed an accountant to deal with tax. I began with my final month's salary and approximately £100 of savings, and issued my *Catalogue No. 1, English Prints 1700–1900*, in the winter of 1966 from my flat in Holborn. I never borrow money and never had a backer or partner, and so would buy and sell for small profits to create an income. In those days there was more collaboration between dealers and also with booksellers – the camaraderie between dealers was helpful. I had no specific mentor but was very fortunate to meet so many friendly and helpful people in my early years: Peter Ward-Jackson, Brian Reade, Lionel Lambourne, Mr Wilder, Richard Day, Jack Naimaster (in the Fine Art Society), Carlos van Hasselt, Paul Grinke, Yvonne Tan Bunzl, John Cornforth, to name only a few. My first customers were the contacts I had made at the V & A, Sotheby's and the Folio Society and from this start I gradually accumulated a band of customers including many museums.

I concentrated on London but also made buying trips around country booksellers and to provincial auctions. There were many more dealers to visit at the time and some of the longer established book dealers had old stock since before the War, and I made frequent lucky finds. Even in auctions one could make discoveries as prints were often sold in bundles. For example, I found an impression of Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's engraving of *Two Peasants* (Hind 12) in a bundle of seventeenth-century prints of beggars by Pieter Quast, and one of the rare landscapes by Jan Brosterhuizen with a group of etchings by Paul Sandby. The only way forward was by looking, looking and looking again, and that's how I did it.

The best example of the right prints in the wrong place must be the Kohlrausch album of 'contemporary' German prints collected in the early nineteenth century, which I found in the book stock of the dealer Spink in 1975. The choicest prints were

bought by the British Museum at that time and the residue of the album in 1981. Many works from this album were exhibited and published in Antony Griffiths and Frances Carey's *German Printmaking in the Age of Goethe*, 1994.

An early visitor to Great Queen Street was Mr Hyatt Mayor, the legendary curator of prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. He carried a small notebook with lists of prints lacking in the collection as recorded by Bartsch, checked Ottavio Leoni, bought my impression of Bartsch 13, and crossed it off the list. He was on the verge of retirement but introduced me to his young successor John McKendry, a great enthusiast for the unusual who became a good friend. At about this time I saw a Parisian bookseller's list which described three albums of prints by Stefano Della Bella. I assumed that a local print-seller would have bought them, but the next time I was in Paris, I visited the shop and was amazed to discover that the volumes were still for sale. They contained hundreds of etchings by Stefano, always early impressions or states and with many unfinished touched proofs. I swapped some of them with the Met in return for duplicates which included a group of Ecole de Fontainebleau works. The most important was the proof impression of *Death on the Battlefield*. Phyllis Dearborn Massar was then a docent researcher in the print department. She catalogued them in full and the Met published a picture book, *Presenting Stefano Della Bella*, in 1971. Sadly my early days of involvement with the Met were cut short by the tragic death of John McKendry in 1975, when he was only 42 years old.

While at Sotheby's I had met Rudi Wunderlich, president of the Kennedy Galleries in New York, and he occasionally asked me to view London auctions

257. Christopher Mendez with Mr Wilder, 1980s.

and bid on his behalf. So I started going to New York where I met that group of dealers, including Jim Goodfriend, Lucien Goldschmidt, Rocky Rockman, William Schab, Helmuth Wallach, Walter Schatzki and the Old Print Shop. I also became better acquainted with Phyllis Massar and the people at the Met and the Cooper Hewitt. Rudi invited me to his home in Ossining where the barn was used as storage, including many fine English mezzotints which had been there since the Depression killed that market. It was still not fully recovered in London, but he consigned to me a large group which I exhibited at the gallery of John Baskett and Richard Day in New Bond Street in 1969 because at that time I was still dealing from home with no gallery space.

I attended many Continental auctions and in addition to Drouot in Paris there were a number of smaller provincial houses: Stephan List, Bassenge, Karl und Faber, Lempertz, Tenner, Winterberg, Paul Brandt and Hauswedell all of which were good hunting grounds. I was always up against Boerner but not so many American or other overseas dealers visited until some years later. One of the most notable of these auctions was the sale of prints collected by Jean Cantacuzene (Lugt 4030) in Paris, Drouot, two sales in 1969, where I bought my famous impression of Antonio Fantuzzi's *Elephant with fleurs-de-lys*, printed in red, which I sold to the Boymans Museum. It is illustrated on the dustjacket of Catherine Jenkins' *Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau c. 1542–47*, published in 2017.

I met Georg Baselitz at one of Stephan List's auctions in Frankfurt in the late 1960s, before he became famous (and rich). He had been buying sixteenth-century prints for low prices there and in Paris. He approached me and offered to sell me his then collection. We agreed to meet at the next auction, and he turned up with a boot-load in his car, modest stuff but excellent general stock (my catalogue 16, 1970). We met again a few years later when he sold me his collection of prints by Carl Wilhelm Kolbe which, added to another group I bought from a runner in London, produced my catalogue 38, November 1977.

I accumulated my reference library gradually, buying anything I could afford, whether new or second hand; this became an essential tool and long before so much information was to appear on the internet. My copy of Munz's Rembrandt catalogue was nearly new when it turned up in a book auction, but it contained three loosely inserted Rembrandt etchings which more than paid for it. I also often visited the Print Room at the British Museum for research or to make comparisons, not always to my advantage!

Before the London Original Print Fair was established, I used to exhibit at book fairs, the annual one in London in June every year at the Europa Hotel, the international book fairs in Europe (Amsterdam, Düsseldorf, Stuttgart), and for two years at the Works on Paper Fair in New York, the latter in partnership with my great friend Andrew Edmunds. Once the London fair started, I exhibited there from its inception in 1985 until 2018, and always shared the space with Andrew. I advertised for many years in the *Burlington Magazine* and in *Print Quarterly*.

In 1998 the firm of Craddock and Barnard closed down. There was little stock remaining but more for sentimental reasons I decided to take over the name and goodwill. This had virtually no effect on my existing business. I did better when Colnaghi's closed down their print business, and I was asked to sell off their remaining stock on a commission basis. This took a couple of years and filled my boxes and catalogues. I issued my last catalogue in 2006. I claim, with considerable truth, only to have dealt in prints that I had seen myself so I never took much notice of *Gordon's Annual*. However my son Hugo and I did create a website from which I sold many prints but as supply dried up it became difficult to maintain.

When I started my business 55 years ago the art market in general was waking up from many years of inactivity since the 1930s slump and the miseries of World War II. Long-established print-sellers had quantities of stock and frequent auctions, in London alone, contained hundreds of lots, often comprising bundles of minimally catalogued works. Gradually the dealers' stock began to diminish and the auctions became less frequent and with better cataloguing and few bundle lots. A new generation of dealers appeared: R. E. Lewis (San Francisco); David Tunick (New York); Theo Laurentius (Voorschoten); Helmut Rumbler (Frankfurt); Bonafous-Murat (Paris). Some of the sleeping giants woke up, Colnaghi (London); Prouté (Paris); C. G. Boerner (Düsseldorf) and some stayed asleep! Prices rose rapidly and notable auction sales took place with massive fully illustrated catalogues describing in great detail the treasures on offer: Viscount Downe; Nowell-Usticke; Blum; Schafer and, of course the great Chatsworth sale of 1985 – I was convinced that lot 1 would be mine, acting for the Rijksmuseum, and was dismayed to be outbid, Ouch!

Some of the older generation of dealers in London began to close when death, retirement or the enormous costs of renting space soared (Paris was, and still is, less affected as the rents seem to be controlled). Auctions

258. The shop front of Christopher Mendez in Lexington Street, London, watercolour by Chris Deards, 1983.

became less frequent and minimum value lots excluded the vast range of interesting and beautiful works by minor masters. Famous names ruled the roost, Dürer, Rembrandt and Goya, but Della Bella, Callot, Hollar, seventeenth-century Dutch landscapes, portraits and many others were no longer offered. Without print shops to browse in, collectors lacked opportunities to buy although Drouot in Paris and especially Bassenge in Berlin still cover the field comprehensively, but 'lesser' masters often fail to find buyers.

As years passed by I had thought I might meet old friends again, but mostly not. Some were acquired by museums sometimes but not always using tax beneficial schemes in the USA or here using the 'in lieu' system. One collection I thought would be mine was that of Peter Tomory who spent his entire working life in New Zealand and Australia and collected seventeenth-century Italian and Italianate etchings, many from my catalogues or during his bi-annual trips to Europe. When he retired back to England in 2004 he asked me to sell his collection to raise cash. I made the descriptions and everything was photographed (no scanners then!) and ready for the printer when news of the sale reached Auckland. Curator Mary Kisler called to enquire and I sent a proof copy of the text for her to pick something; I was somewhat taken aback when she replied 'We'll take them all'. A fitting tribute to an extraordinary man. (I still had to pay the printer for the catalogue that never was!).

Frederick Mulder

I began to collect prints in 1968 as a graduate student at Oxford, where I had come to finish an American PhD. I had a very generous Canada Council Fellowship to do this, and for the first time in my life I had some money to spare, and I decided to use it to buy prints. I made my first purchase of a Rembrandt etching, *St Jerome in a Dark Chamber*, in February 1969. Wanting to educate myself, I took the print to the British Museum to ask the curator what he thought of it. I was surprised and dismayed when he turned up his nose and took me to the boxes where the Rembrandts were kept and pulled out a stunning impression of this subject, the blacks rich and velvety, unlike mine where the blacks were well worn. I realised that whereas the British Museum had indeed an impression of St Jerome in a dark chamber mine was actually of St Jerome in a rather well lit room! Through a chance meeting I managed to sell it for a modest profit to an American collector I met in the print and map shop Sanders of Oxford, even telling him what I had paid for it. Buoyed by my first ever sale, I decided to take my girlfriend to Paris for a week instead of reinvesting the proceeds.

That trip to Paris turned out to be the start of a wonderful adventure. While I was there, I visited Hubert Prouté on the rue de Seine, who I had met at the auctions in London, and going through his boxes discovered an impression of Pablo Picasso's *L'Ecuyère* of 1960, another impression of which I had recently bought at Craddock and Barnard for £18. I knew that the print had recently fetched £40 at auction and as Prouté was asking the same price as I had paid for the Craddock impression, I asked to buy it. Prouté then told me that he had bought a good part of the unsigned edition of 1,000 and said I could have more than one if I wanted. Although I had barely enough to purchase a group of impressions until my next scholarship cheque arrived, I went back in the morning and purchased seven impressions. The next week I went to London and sold the prints to two dealers, some to Christopher Drake, the others to London Graphic Arts, a Detroit-based print dealership which had a gallery in Bond Street. The staff member at LGA asked if I had any other impressions. I knew there were lots more at Prouté, so I took the train to Paris the next day and bought another group, which in turn I sold to LGA. By then Prouté was realizing that he was selling the subject too cheaply, and began to ask more than I could sell them for.

During my final year in Oxford I decided that instead of going back to Canada to become an academic, what I really wanted to do was to try my hand at being a print dealer in London. I had spent nine straight years at university, and I thought that even if the dealing did not work out, I would have had an interesting and useful break from academic life. One of my first visits in London was to another Canadian, Larry Sackin, whom I had met at Sotheby's, and who had a concession at Harrods to sell Rembrandt etchings. Larry hated travelling and asked if I would cover European auctions for him; I would get a ten percent commission for any Rembrandts I bought at auction, and my air ticket would be paid for. My first auction was in Frankfurt where Helmut Rumbler had only just set up and I not only bought prints at auction for Larry, but I bought a number of things from Helmut, which I sold in turn to Larry. One of my most memorable experiences was taking an urgent call in Paris from Larry, who asked if I could go to Copenhagen the next morning as he had discovered there were some Rembrandt etchings coming up for sale there that afternoon. So first thing in the morning I flew to Copenhagen, viewed the auction, and bought a marvellous group of early impressions of Rembrandt etchings. One example of the sort of thing that simply does not happen anymore!

After eighteeen months working as a private dealer in London, I was invited in early 1972 by Arthur Driver from Colnaghi to take a job there, to be trained to succeed him in five years when he retired. Having turned the job down twice, as I enjoyed working for myself, Jacob Rothschild, who then owned the firm, asked to see me, and we worked out a deal whereby I would have a financial stake in at least some of the prints I bought. I loved my time at Colnaghi, where Arthur and his colleague Katharina Mayer-Haunton taught me a great deal. After a year in the Old Master Prints department I offered to take over the Modern Print department, which was just being set up in the lower ground floor. This would be the first department in the firm into which a client could simply walk without making an appointment.

Colnaghi was an amazing place in those days. It had an extraordinary stock of old master prints, gathered over many years and released for sale only

259. Exhibitors and their assistants at the first London Print Fair in 1985. Identifiable in the back row (standing left to right) are Bill Plomer, Christopher Mendez, Robin Garton, Lesley Hill, Hilary Gerrish, Alan Stone, Libby Howie, Paul McCarron, Nick Lott, Christopher Drake; (centre row) Fred Mulder, William Weston, Stefan Lennert, Gordon Samuel; (front row) Andrew Edmunds, Catherine Burns, Gordon Cooke, David Landau and Annie Lyles (both for *Print Quarterly*).

very gradually. It was nothing for Colnaghi to keep material for ten or fifteen years for a forthcoming exhibition. We also had a large stock of English prints going back to the 1920s. When the financial crash of 1929 happened, much of this material was simply put away and had not seen the light of day for over forty years. This stock needed to be supplemented to cover the full range of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European printmaking, and to do it properly Colnaghi would need to go into the open market and purchase material. This we did with a vengeance, purchasing in London and New York, as well as at the major European auctions in Paris, Berlin, Hamburg and Bern.

Colnaghi had their first modern print exhibition, 'Millais to Miro, European Prints 1855–1955', in May 1973, accompanied by a wonderful catalogue, and the second such exhibition, 'A Survey of European Prints 1855–1965' in April and May 1974. The latter catalogue had 350 items for sale, and one of our clients called up to say he would like to buy the entire show, my first and only experience of such a request! As we already had several things on reserve, and as Arthur wanted there to be some prints for sale on the opening night, we were unable to accede to this request, but we did allow this client to purchase over 200 of the items. Colnaghi still trades today, but the Print Department has sadly been inactive since the late 1990s.

I left Colnaghi in November 1975 and went back into private dealing, which I did, first from a flat in Highbury, and from 1977 from a house in Belsize Park, a house which I still occupy today, though we moved the offices to another flat nearby in 2013.

In 1976 I had the good fortune to meet Henri

Petiet, a collector/dealer who had purchased the entire estate of the famous publisher/dealer Ambroise Vollard. Petiet's apartment at the top of rue de Seine was a treasure trove of amazing material; I remember once having to make my way gingerly round a huge Redon screen to get to the loo. Petiet's material was always highly priced, but it was always in perfect (or near perfect) condition, and it seemed to be in endless supply. After Petiet's death in 1980, it took a number of years to agree the heirs as there were two contesting wills, and there were then 50 (!) auction sales in Paris, from 1991 to 2017, all of Vollard material from the Petiet estate. There was so much, particularly by the post-impressionists, Bonnard, Vuillard, Denis, among others, formerly rare but now appearing frequently, that the prices for those artists fell and have never fully recovered.

My final transaction with Petiet was also the most memorable. James Mollison, the Director of the National Gallery of Australia, asked if I could help the gallery buy a specific group of colour prints by Vuillard from Petiet, and of course I agreed. As Petiet had aged, he had the help of a much younger man, Monsieur Castera, to help him, and on this occasion M. Castera was kind enough to let me look through the drawers and to pick out the best impressions. At the end of the visit we wrapped the prints up, tied the parcel with string, and left it in the drawer while I went back to London to let the National Gallery of Australia know the prices of what I had found. Within a couple of weeks I had their agreement to purchase the group, and I went back to Paris to complete the transaction. M. Castera took me into the room where the prints were held, and we opened the parcel together. To my surprise, all the subjects were there, but the impressions had been swapped, with very inferior impressions substituted for the ones I had chosen. I told M. Castera that I could not possibly complete the transaction with those impressions, and asked what we were to do. We peeked next door, to find M. Petiet asleep in his chair, and M. Castera took me back to the drawers, where I quickly found the original impressions I had chosen, put them into the parcel and wrapped it up. We then went back to M. Petiet; M. Castera nudged him to wake up and said, 'M. Mulder va maintenant'. We pointed to the wrapped parcel, M. Petiet nodded, and I found my way out. A couple of weeks later M. Petiet died. I never did find out his reaction to finding out that his swap had been spotted and reversed, but my guess is that he had a good chuckle.

I published my first catalogue in 1971, shortly before joining Colnaghi, my second in 1976 for an exhibition at the Fine Art Society, and my eleventh and final catalogue in 1989, at which point print fairs were beginning to be a major source of sales to clients and catalogues were not so important. My first catalogue was old master prints only; two others were devoted to individual artists (Picasso and James Tissot), another to portfolios and illustrated books, the others normally covering both old master and modern prints, but with an increasing emphasis on the latter. I also did two exhibitions at Isetan Department Store in Tokyo, one on Edvard Munch in 1986, the other on Dürer and Rembrandt in 1988, both of which were very successful. During the Rembrandt show Isetan showed me a wonderful Erich Heckel colour woodcut which the store had bought from an earlier exhibition there several years before and had been unable to sell. I purchased it and its eventual sale turned out to be the best transaction of the entire endeavour.

1989, the year of my final catalogue, also marked what turned out to be one of the more important meetings of my life, with Brigitte Baer. Brigitte was one of the three people who had catalogued the Picasso estate and was in the course of publishing what turned out to be the definitive seven-volume work on Picasso's intaglio printmaking. We met through mutual friends at the most extraordinary place, a garment factory that had a restaurant tucked at the back. To get to the restaurant, you had to push your way through the garments like the children entering Narnia. Brigitte became a wonderful friend who knew everyone in the Picasso world; she introduced me to a number of members of the Picasso family and to two of Picasso's printers, one of whom, Hidalgo Arnera, became an important source of prints for many years.

I bought my first Picasso from Arnera in 1989, and went to see him regularly until his death in 2006. During that time I bought a number of great things from him, including a collection of 92 linocuts that had been exhibited for the 40th anniversary of the Musée Picasso in Antibes, and which then travelled extensively to nineteen museums in ten countries from 1988 to 1995.

In 2008 the Arnera heirs invited me to Vallauris to see some of the private collection of the printer and the archive of the Imprimerie, and I, with the help of Anne-Françoise Gavanon, my colleague and fellow Director, began to purchase the material. We would be invited regularly to come to see new material, and within a year we realised that if this went on (for we never knew what was left) we were likely to have one of the great collections of Picasso linocuts. So I made

260. Frederick Mulder with the Rembrandt purchased at the Chatsworth sale, 1985.

certain to put aside at least one impression of every subject that we were acquiring. By 2011, when we made our last purchase from the collection, we had acquired 193 of the 197 linocut subjects that Picasso had made, plus a considerable number of working proofs of many of those subjects. We decided to make a single collection of the 193 prints, to which we added just over 200 working proofs, to make it the largest collection of Picasso linocuts in the world, and, since Picasso's own linocuts had been divided among various beneficiaries of his estate, one that would always retain that status. This collection is now in the Remai Modern, the gift in 2012 of Ellen Remai, a Saskatoon property developer who had recently given $30 million towards the cost of a new museum building. So not only did the Picassos go to the city where I had done my first degree, 120 miles from the small prairie town where I had grown up, a place I loved, but I was also certain that they would be seen there and not simply buried away. I have sold other parts of this remarkable archive to museums and collectors around the world, the institutions including, among others, the British Museum, National Gallery of Art Washington, MoMA, Art Institute of Chicago, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, National Gallery of Australia, Musée Picasso in Paris, and the Kunstmuseum Pablo Picasso Münster.

My other concentration has been the great Norwegian artist, Edvard Munch. My involvement with Munch began in 1973 when I flew to Oslo to see the world's then primary dealer in Munch, Kaare Berntsen, and purchased a group of Munch prints for our second show at Colnaghi. Over the years I have been fortunate enough to have all the great Munch subjects go through my hands, and to have helped a number of serious Munch collectors, among

them Sally and Lionel Epstein, Philip Straus, David Thomson and Nelson Blitz. As late as 1986, when I did my Munch show in Tokyo, one could simply go to Oslo and purchase a handful of great subjects, but those days are long gone. Most of the recent activity in Munch has come from a group of Norwegian and US collectors, though since 2016 even that market has cooled somewhat, though remarkable impressions of the important subjects can still command extraordinary prices.

I am still actively dealing, exactly 50 years after I began, though my fellow Director, Anne-Françoise, does much of the work now. These days I spend a good deal of my time on a philanthropic foundation I set up in 1986, into which I have long put part of my profits, and which gives to causes in a number of fields, but particularly to the issue of climate change. I also continue to work with The Funding Network, an organisation I set up in 2002 which does live crowdfunding for social change projects, and which is now active in 21 countries.

The world has changed much in these 50 years, and the world of prints with it. Two aspects of these changes stand out. First, the market for old master prints has gradually shrunk due to lack of good material, while the market for contemporary prints has exploded out of all recognition. Whereas in 1971 there was virtually no secondary market in contemporary prints and certainly no section in Sotheby's and Christie's catalogues devoted to them, this material now occupies pride of place in auction catalogues, while the auction houses struggle to have good old master print sales. Secondly, the increased importance of the digital world has meant that printed catalogues have a much less important place to play, and that information about auction results and the availability of material is much more accessible. The importance of the internet has been particularly noticeable this past year with the pandemic, and the requirement to have a virtual presence has changed the market. Although the easy access to information and images has many advantages, I confess I do not personally find visiting virtual rooms that satisfying, and I long for the days when, as in past years, I can visit a print fair, see material in the flesh and, best of all, talk to my colleagues and clients!

Hubert Prouté

It was on 1 October 1940, at the end of the summer holiday and with France under German occupation, that our father Paul Prouté expressed the wish that I and my brother Guy (who later left in 1963 to found the Galerie Antarès dedicated to contemporary art) should come to help him in his business dealing in prints and drawings. We both accepted and became the third generation of the family business, following Victor, who began around 1876/78, and Paul in 1900. Between the two World Wars from 1921 to 1935 my father had published 35 catalogues. The economic crash of 1929 and the following Depression interrupted their publication, and the series was only started again in 1961.

Even before I joined the business, several people in the world of art had made an impression on me. Among them were Atherton Curtis, an American living in Paris and donor to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; my father was his executor and looked after the bequest of his collection. Others were Henri Thomas, the lawyer Maître Loncle, both great collectors, and of course Henri Marie Petiet whom I came across almost every day. But my real mentor was my father, Paul Prouté.

In the 1940s, the Maison Prouté was already well known, but the clientele was almost entirely French, and was made up of collectors, art lovers and passing clients. Now and then there were museum curators, but they were rare visitors and some we never saw. It was only later that Jean Adhémar established closer connections with the trade. At that time the stock was composed of city views, maps, documentary portraits, decorative prints (especially of the eighteenth century which was then very much in fashion) and early French and foreign masters (with a marked interest in Piranesi). Another part of the stock was a group of folders kept aside for collectors on the most varied subjects such as clocks, organs, dance, hunting or

261. Paul, Hubert and Guy Prouté (left to right) in the gallery in Paris in the early 1950s.

fishing. There were also vignettes, book illustrations and ornament prints. To these were added artists who were then celebrated, such as Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, Hippolyte Bellangé, Charles Jacque, and then, gradually, contemporaries such as Jean-Émile Laboureur, Jean Frélaut and André Dunoyer de Segonzac. And we must not forget the masters of the nineteenth century: Delacroix, Géricault, Goya, Toulouse-Lautrec, Corot and Manet. In addition the names of Matisse, Picasso and Chagall began to emerge tentatively.

So far as concerns the earlier masters, I must

record that it was my father who revived interest in Piranesi by organising after the financial crisis an exhibition devoted to this artist who was at that point almost totally ignored by the public in France. Jean Prinet, who later became a curator at the Bibliothèque Nationale, remembered the impact that this exhibition had made on him when he was a youth.

After an interruption of two years when I was sent to Germany as a *Zwangsarbeiter* (forced worker), I returned to the business in the autumn of 1945. After the end of the War the market sprang back into life, both in the shop and in the auction rooms at the Hôtel Drouot. Taste had hardly moved on yet, and collectors remained attached to the traditional values of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in other words to the period between Charlet and Toulouse-Lautrec. In the case of Charlet the memory of the Napoleonic era was still strong in the collective consciousness.

Beginning in 1950 there followed a period of 30 glorious years when there was an abundance of good material. It was possible to put together a collection at moderate prices. My father never stopped saying that everything was being sold for nothing. Not a day passed without our buying prints either from individuals or from runners. These purchases, alongside those at the Hôtel Drouot, were the main source of our stock. This situation lasted at least until the 1980s, when the role of the auction houses became more and more influential. Another source of stock after the War was the estate of Ambroise Vollard. We knew an agent who was linked with Lucien, the brother and heir of Ambroise. Several times a month he brought us works by Renoir, Bonnard, Vuillard, Denis and other artists whose prints Vollard had published.

In the post-War years we began to be visited by dealers, collectors and museum curators from abroad. This made me decide to travel abroad myself, which my father had never done apart from a few rare visits to his friend William S. Kundig in Geneva. Around 1950 I made contact with Roman Norbert Ketterer in Stuttgart, with Laube father and son in Zurich, and in Bern I attended the last sale of August Klipstein and the first of Ebi Kornfeld, who became a close friend. In London I made contact with Heinrich Eisemann, a specialist in Rembrandt, and with Osbert Barnard, with whom we soon developed friendly relations, and from whose large stock we were able to buy many old master prints. We also made many purchases at Colnaghi, where, apart from the early masters, we acquired collections of work by Wenceslaus Hollar, Seymour Haden, Whistler and the estate of Alphonse Legros. And the auctions at Sotheby's and Christie's were of course another abundant source of acquisitions. Finally in 1960 I went to New York for the first time. I already knew William Schab the elder, who wanted me to spend some time with him, though unfortunately this project never came to pass. As a result of all these contacts, our stock of old and modern masters increased considerably.

In 1961, as I said earlier, we decided to begin to publish our catalogues again. There were two a year in a smaller size and one in a larger size which was reserved for major works. Whenever one of the small catalogues was issued, a queue of collectors, curators and fellow dealers formed before we opened at 9am, stretching along the rue de Seine, each one of them hoping to be the first to see the folders. The launch of the larger-size catalogues took place in the evening, with admission by invitation, and was attended by a throng of curators and collectors. These catalogues played a fundamental role in the development of our gallery. They were and are still sent across the whole world (we have had for many years a client in Greenland), and today they are also available on the internet.

We also took the initiative to launch catalogues by subject. Among them were catalogues on Italy, popular imagery, the School of Pont-Aven, the French Revolution, Robert Nanteuil, Honoré Daumier, Marcellin Desboutin, and Louis XIV. They created a lot of interest, and this is still true as can be seen in the two most recent thematic catalogues published by my daughters, one *Portrait d'Artiste* in 2020, the other *L'Univers de l'Artiste* in 2021. These catalogues were published on the occasion of the centenary of Paul Prouté's opening his establishment at 74 rue de Seine on 20 January 1920.

The last of our new methods of selling was with the *Nouveautés* (new arrivals). This involved offering every fortnight a dozen folders with extremely varied contents. These were later reduced to once a month and were finally abandoned in the 1990s, partly because of the falling-off of stock to offer, and partly because of the noticeable decline in interest among our clients for prints of topographical and documentary interest.

Our stock was large, and was derived, as I noted above, from auctions, purchases from within the trade, from collectors and from the estates of artists. It reflected our tendency to accumulate. As Henri Marie Petiet used to say: 'We are the last hoarders of paper'. Our stock of Daumier was impressive, as were our prints by Piranesi which we never stopped buying, without counting the works by more recent

262. Hubert Prouté in 2012 (Photo Julien Martinez Leclerc).

French artists such as Maxime Lalanne, Emile Bernard, Paul Huet, Henri Guérard, Félix Buhot, Eugène Béjot, Auguste Brouet, Charles Jacque, Louis Adolphe Hervier, Alexandre Lunois, Joseph Hecht, Jean Frélaut and others. But today the demand for the works of Daumier has greatly slowed, as well as that for Piranesi. As for the works by French artists of the nineteenth century, they are still bought by knowledgeable collectors.

Many of our relationships with collectors and curators developed into friendships. I might recall a few of those who are no longer with us. They were Maître Loncle, who collected Toulouse-Lautrec and many other artists; François Heugel, who began visiting the gallery at the age of sixteen and accumulated a collection of more than 2,000 prints centred on original etchings of the eighteenth century; Roger Passeron, son of a dealer who dealt in prints of every era; Sam Josefowitz; Madame Dominique de Ménil; Fred Grunwald, an émigré collector who had settled in California, and whose collection is now in Los Angeles; George Longstreet, a fanatical collector of Daumier to whom we sent every month a hundred lithographs until the day when, finding that he had too many duplicates, he begged us to list the Delteil numbers first; Roland de Perthuis, a portrait collector; Louis Ferrand and Edmond Bomsel, specialists in popular imagery which was much sought after at that time, along with Georges Henri Rivière who was accumulating these prints for the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires; and Jean Adhémar, the conservateur (curator) at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, whose range of interest extended from the School of Fontainebleau to photography, and who, every month, organised a lunch which brought together students, curators and one or two dealers.

The Maison Prouté has developed from a stall, to a shop, to a store, and now to an art gallery. Today it is run by the fourth generation of the family, Annie Martinez Prouté and Sylvie Tocci Prouté,

who have been involved with the gallery since the 1980s, when their grandfather Paul Prouté was still available to consult. They continue the tradition, but with innovations and new ideas, especially moving towards contemporary art where they are developing relationships with artists. Around 1990 my daughters encouraged us to participate in various salons, such as the Biennaire des Antiquaires, the Salon du Dessin, the Salon International de l'Estampe et du Dessin, and the Print Fair operated by the IFPDA in New York.

In the years from the 1960s to the 1980s the gallery welcomed, especially on Saturday, a large number of clients, and the number of buyers a week reached a hundred. Today the number of visitors has thinned, and in general the buyer is more focused, guided by what he or she has found beforehand by looking at our website. Our print lovers and collectors are still very attached to the publication of our catalogues and to the Salons. The attraction for earlier prints has remained undiminished, and we have seen a lively interest for some years in contemporary works.

Taking a longer perspective on how the print market has changed since my beginning in the business, one can see a real decline in interest in decorative and 'galant' prints from the eighteenth century, for topography, for popular imagery (although it was supported for many years by a group of fervent admirers, among them Rivière and Adhémar as well as by André Breton), and for documentary portraits. There was a time when the learned societies of each province of France maintained a lively interest in their local history, and this led local antique dealers to search for anything that was connected with their region; this has completely disappeared today. On the other hand, fine portraits, especially those by Robert Nanteuil, are still sought after by a cultivated clientele.

Unlike in the American and British markets, there used to be little demand in France for German artists such as Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Max Beckmann, Erich Heckel, Wassily Kandinsky, George Grosz and others, with the exception always of Käthe Kollwitz. The French public considered as pre-eminent the 'glorious' years of French art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and tended to ignore the modern art of other countries. The interest in these areas is now real, but the very high price of these prints puts brakes on their purchase as well as on their sale.

In conclusion one can see two major developments. On the one hand it is undeniable that the supply of earlier prints has diminished: time, accidents and wars have gradually led to their disappearance from the market, as well as the innumerable works that have entered museums. On the other hand, the worldwide web has allowed an extended clientele to take advantage of offers from all over the world. These two phenomena have made the task of the dealer more difficult when he is confronted simultaneously with a lack of supply, a market for works that is now international, and prices which have risen. Nevertheless, despite these obstacles, it is still true that the trade of the print dealer can be conducted in a traditional way, but using the aid of new technologies which make it possible to reach a younger public.

Mary Ryan

In 1981 I opened Mary Ryan Gallery in New York City with the intent of championing and rediscovering twentieth-century American artists whose important contributions to the history of printmaking might have been overlooked or forgotten. My interest in these prints was driven by a profound belief in the artwork's relevance to art history rather than by market trends; the two did not systematically align. As my career evolved, so did my interests: I became taken by contemporary art and artists as well.

My passion for prints and art history began, as it did for many, at university. I started out as a chemistry major who chanced upon a random art elective and went on to study with Anne Mochon at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst in 1977. She introduced me to the New York Soho scene and the feminist art movement as well as to the writings of Linda Nochlin and her seminal article 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?'. The works of staunchly feminist writers and artists would remain relevant throughout my entire career. I discovered prints via Fred Becker, a marvellous and quirky

263. Mary Ryan in her 24 West 57th Street gallery during the comprehensive Lucian Freud print retrospective exhibition of 1992 – the artist's first in the United States.

Works Progress Administration (WPA) artist who had worked at Atelier 17 and was on the art faculty. I was captivated by the diversely political and personal subject matter of the WPA prints.

My career began in 1979 at Wenniger Graphics, a Boston gallery focused on decorative, handmade prints that relied upon a walk-in clientele. It is there that I learned the primary market print trade. Boston galleries at that time were located mostly on Newbury Street, and other galleries that sold prints there included Impressions Gallery, Harcus Krakow Gallery, Childs Gallery, Pucker Safrai Gallery and Alpha Gallery. Boston Printmakers was an active association of artists and held exhibitions for the community. There were also many independent antiquarian bookstores in Boston and Cambridge, and a number of them sold historic prints. Several 'runner' dealers or antique 'pickers' would unearth prints in various places and resell to print dealers. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Public Library and Fogg Art Museum all had print departments with accessible print study rooms and formidable chief curators. I made appointments in museum print study rooms to look at prints and compare impressions; understanding techniques and developing connoisseurship was important for a print dealer at that time. As a young art professional I was welcomed and encouraged by most of my fellow print dealers, and I felt a shared camaraderie with junior curatorial staff. I was especially appreciative and encouraged when museums purchased prints that I offered.

This commitment to research and connoisseurship followed me to New York, where I was able to rediscover and find new artists and estates in the phenomenal print study rooms there. At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, I looked at most of the solander boxes of American prints with curator David Kiehl and noted any artists I might discover that were of special interest. The New York Public Library had an extensive archival file of reviews, articles, exhibition announcements and catalogues on artists cut from magazines, newspapers and other such material. I would look through the clippings files to learn more about artists, and reading about group shows would lead me from one artist to another. Outside of prints published by Associated American Artists (by artists such as Grant Wood, Thomas Hart Benton and others) and prints by Edward Hopper and George Bellows, auctions were not the best source for most of the early American twentieth-century prints that I was interested in. The values at that time were not high enough to attract the interest of auction houses, and most of the prints were still with the artist owners or with their estates. So I would look through old phone books from each state across the United States to try to locate them or their family members, or I would write to postal offices near an artist's last known address and ask that my mail be forwarded. Sometimes that worked.

The first auction I attended in New York City was at Sotheby's Parke Bernet (as it then was) on Madison Avenue. Auction houses in the early 1980s were not glamorous venues for viewing art. At that time most of the lots were bought by dealers. One had to attend auctions to view the prints and either bid in person or leave a bid, as there were no phone or online bidding options. The hammer price was then what the buyer paid. Over the past four decades, auction houses have added a buyer's premium, which has steadily crept up throughout the years. At the time of this writing, the buyer's premium is typically between 25 to 30 percent for most lots under $500,000 in value. In addition, auction houses charge a seller's fee ranging typically from six to ten percent.

Starting out in 1981, I rented a gallery space with an inventory consigned from artists and estates. I initially financed this new business venture with six months' worth of funds via personal investment. Eventually I had a credit line with banks and took out loans when I later built out new gallery spaces. I never had a backer. As time went on and I became more successful, I was able to buy prints directly from print publishers, and I made arrangements with several to make sure I had access to works by specific artists when their new prints came out. I bought particular artists in depth and sold many of these works to collectors and museums throughout the United States. I frequently exhibited artists of the WPA generation, most of whom were in their seventies and eighties when I opened my gallery. By 1983 I expanded my interests to include British prints starting with Sybil Andrews and Lill Tschudi, both prominent Grosvenor school artists, David Hockney, Howard Hodgkin and Lucian Freud. I also became interested in contemporary artists such as Andrew Raftery, May Stevens, Deborah Kass, Richard Diebenkorn, Donald Judd, Michael Mazur, Kiki Smith and Emma Amos.

Although I continued to work primarily as a dealer, I also began to publish prints in the early 1990s with artists such as Eric Fischl, Michael Mazur, Donald Sultan, Laurent de Brunhoff and Yvonne Jacquette. The gallery discussed each project with the artist and paired them with a printer; it also covered the cost of the entire publishing process. Once the initial costs

of publishing had been recouped, the gallery split the sales proceeds of the work with the artist. Few print publishers were also art dealers. Every publisher had their own specialities, and artists sometimes worked with more than one print publisher. Some of the publishers were printers themselves, among them Tyler Graphics, Crown Point Press, ULAE, Gemini and Solo Press. Others, such as Brooke Alexander, Pace Editions, Peter Blum, Parasol Press and Diane Villani, worked with various different printers.

At the start of my career, I realized that there were very few print catalogue raisonnés on American artists. In an effort to help rectify this, I published small catalogues on a number of artists of the 1920s through the 1940s, including Hugo Gellert, Louis Lozowick and the trailblazing women printmakers of Provincetown: Edna Boies Hopkins, Ada Gilmore, Maud Hunt Squire and Ethel Mars. Publishing catalogues was an expensive and time-consuming process. Typically, we had professional slides taken of the prints we carried and then ordered multiple duplicate slides from a photo processor by mail. We used these as a sales tool and as a record for documentation. The cost of printing exhibition catalogues and announcements was based on how many colour reproductions were included as well as on the paper type and size of the catalogue and the quantity ordered in addition to design fees. The cost of a colour reproduction was about $300 to $500 per image versus $100 to $200 per black and white reproduction.

There were no computers or fax machines at the gallery in the early 1980s. Correspondence was hand-written or typed with a carbon copy for a duplicate. Our mailing list was hand-typed on a template and xeroxed onto peel-off labels that we would individually affix to an invitation or catalogue. Eventually, we bought a xerox machine to keep at the gallery. I placed advertisements in the New York Times to attract collectors. At that time a one-by-one inch column in a one-day ad cost about $800 for a Friday placement and $1,000 on Sunday. All of our sales offers to collectors and curators were made by landline phone calls and written mail correspondence. Over time, the computer, which started as a word-processor, became a terrific tool as a database and way of connecting to a global audience via the internet. The budget for print advertising has morphed into the budget for online marketing and seemingly endless subscriptions to digital business services. We continually expand the biographical content on our website. From our Google analytics reporting, we see that the most actively viewed portions of our website are the scholarly content that we share.

My gallery in 1981 was on Columbus Avenue, on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, in a ground floor space that was open to the public. My base rent at that time was about $3,000 a month and it escalated each year, doubling by my tenth year. I moved to 57th Street in 1991 and paid approximately $7,000 a month and by the time I moved out fifteen years later the rent had again almost doubled. In addition to the annual rent, each gallery move included a build out cost of up to $500,000. In 2006 I moved to a ground level space in Chelsea. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, print galleries such as Susan Sheehan Gallery and Pace Editions that had once been on 57th Street had migrated to Chelsea. After Hurricane Sandy flooded many street-level galleries in New York City in 2012, I decided I no longer wanted to be on the street level, so in 2015 I moved the gallery upstairs to a second-floor location. But in the 1980s, I wanted a ground floor location as I thought that it would be an effective way to meet new collectors – and it was.

When I moved to my 57th Street and later Chelsea locations, I greatly enjoyed the proximity and camaraderie of other dealers. Most of the print galleries open to the public in the 1980s were on 57th Street or on the Upper East side. These included Brooke Alexander, Multiples, Galerie St Etienne, Associated American Artists, Paul McCarron, Kennedy Galleries, Dorothy Schneiderman, Martin Gordon and Pace Editions, and most of them rented space on the upper floors of office buildings. It was common to have as neighbours other small businesses, such as designers, dentists, architects, doctors, beauty salons, jewellers and antique book dealers. Very few print dealers owned their own premises, with the exception of Weyhe Gallery and the Old Print Shop, which was the authority on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American prints when I first moved to New York City and still is to this day. In the same years print publishers such as Crown Point Press, Diane Villani, Experimental Workshop, Gemini G.E.L. and later Two Palms Press all had spaces on the upper floors of buildings in Soho.

If the 1930s and 1940s can be seen as a golden era of American printmaking, then the 1980s and 1990s were a similar boom time for contemporary artists and print publishers in the United States. In the 1980s there were many more print dealers with public galleries in cities throughout the USA for the public to visit and buy twentieth-century and contemporary prints than there are today, and there was a huge appetite and opportunity in selling contemporary prints to museums

and collectors, both private and corporate. The scale of contemporary prints increased dramatically and so did their frames and storage needs. Most collectors of early twentieth-century American prints collected particular artists in great depth, and were able to store their prints in solander boxes, whereas the increasingly large works of the 1980s could no longer be safely stored in boxes or drawers. Today, Mary Ryan Gallery's business continues to be split between private collectors and museums, though corporate buying has declined. Many of the private collectors, dealers and curators I work with to this day are people I started doing business with in the 1980s and 1990s, and count as friends.

Though American prints from the nineteenth century through the 1950s have primarily been collected within the United States, American pop era through contemporary prints boast a more international market. Through dedicated and deliberate collecting over 40 years, the British Museum has built the single most important museum collection of American twentieth-century prints outside of the United States, and their exhibitions and accompanying catalogues constitute the most important museum survey exhibitions and publications on American printmaking achieved by any museum.

In 1987 Sylvan Cole started the International Fine Print Dealers Association (IFPDA) and invited me to join as one of the five original founding members; the others were Martin Gordon, Dorothy Schneiderman and Paul McCarron. Cole was the most important print dealer in the United States throughout his 40-year career in New York. During his tenure at Associated American Artists, he published hundreds of prints by American artists and invented new ways of marketing prints after World War II through mail order, advertising and gallery exhibitions. In the 1980s he opened his own gallery. He was dedicated to raising the profile of prints and was successful as a dealer, scholar/author and expert marketer. His legacy lives on through the longtime relationships and collections he built with artists, curators, collectors and fellow dealers such as Susan Teller. Cole's idea for the IFPDA was to start an exclusive organization that championed the best dealers in original prints. When we began, membership requirements for the dealers were to have a gallery space open to the public with a primary expertise in prints, a good business reputation and to have contributed to the scholarship of prints. During the first years print publishers and private dealers were not invited to join the organization, as it was initially considered a conflict of interest for print publishers to belong to a print dealers' organization.

Considering the dwindled number of public-facing print galleries today, the IFPDA Fine Art Print Fair – which has undergone several name changes since its foundation – provides an important annual international marketplace for dealers and collectors alike. There are a number of smaller regional US print fairs that champion prints. Some are sponsored as invitational fairs by museums such as the Minneapolis Institute of Art, the McNay Art Museum, or the Cleveland Museum of Art. Large contemporary art fairs such as the ADAA Art Show, Art Chicago, and Art Basel Miami also feature prints, though these are primarily limited to modern and contemporary artists who have strong secondary markets. As the prices of prints by some of the most important modern and contemporary American artists including Andy Warhol and Jasper Johns have increased (it is now possible for works to fetch more than $100,000 and some even in the low millions) such prints have been incorporated into the more general modern art market. But the rise in art fairs has been accompanied by the decline in American print galleries that are open to the public. Fairs give dealers an opportunity to exhibit with a wide audience without anywhere near the expensive overheads of a public gallery.

There have been some enormous changes since I started in the field and some things have stayed the same. A gallery is still very much a business based on personal relationships with artists, curators, collectors, fellow print dealers, framers, paper conservators and staff members; it is thrilling to share print discoveries and discussions with like-minded people. The staff contributions in art, technology, communication, scholarship, research and sales are the key that has allowed my gallery to develop, expand and stay relevant, and no-one has been more important in my career than Jeffrey Lee, whom I first met in 1998 and who became my gallery partner in 2013 through RYAN LEE Gallery.

The overhead expenses are still the same as when I started my first gallery, but they have expanded exponentially. They include rent, the costs of purchased print inventory, the build-out cost of a gallery, paying salaries and benefits to staff, paying for fine art insurance, liability insurance, health insurance, accounting and legal fees, marketing and advertising costs, professional photography and design, online subscription services, marketing sales platforms and shipping costs, as well as the costs of museum-quality frames and paper conservation.

The principal differences in the art market today

are that art fairs and the astronomical rise of the internet now play prominent roles. There is now vastly more information easily accessible online – but since so much is unchecked and unfiltered, the role of the expert dealer has become all the more necessary to help buyers navigate the field. As opportunities to look at prints in person become rarer, the ability to assess the quality of an impression seems to be in decline.

Nevertheless, the American print art market has come a long way. Over the past ten years or so, American galleries, museums and collectors have begun significantly to broaden the canon of printmaking by exhibiting and collecting art by women artists and artists from previously under-represented groups. In the United States, we have finally seen an explosion of interest in collecting African American art as well as a nascent interest in art by Asian American, Native American and Latin American artists. The overall urgency to expand the canon of twentieth-century artists represented in museum collections is particularly pressing in the print market. Many of the artists who have been overlooked made prints, but they rarely had publishers for their work and the edition sizes tended to be small and more hand-made resulting in a very limited supply of these prints today. Some of these now sought-after artists produced their prints at Bob Blackburn's workshop in downtown Manhattan, where artists could print and self-publish their prints.

Finally, I am glad to see that museums are sometimes exhibiting prints in a larger context so that one can see prints as an integral part of an artist's practice. To view a Mary Cassatt print installed alongside impressionist paintings in the MoMA's recent exhibition titled '19th Century Innovators' provides a fuller and important view of her genius. I was sorry that the Tate did not include any prints in David Hockney's 2017 retrospective as he is such a fantastic printmaker. Not every artist is a superb printmaker but for those who are and excel at it – such as Rembrandt or Kiki Smith for example – omitting prints from their major exhibitions prevents the public from fully understanding their work and important contributions to art history.

David Tunick

I bought my first print for $40 in 1963 when I was in my second year as a pre-medical student at Williams College. It was a nude by Aristide Maillol, and it turned out to be a fake – a lithograph after Maillol, not by him. The vendor was Roten Galleries, a Baltimore company that fanned out a handful of travelling salesmen to colleges and universities all over the country, introducing a generation of future collectors to prints. I looked forward to Roten's annual visit to Williamstown and bought prints from them for between $8 and $100, except for a big Picasso lithograph in my junior year that cost me $400, a princely sum that I had to borrow since I was buying a BMW motorcycle for the same amount at the same time.

By my senior year in college, having made a switch from the sciences to art history, I was taught in classes where prints were passed round as teaching tools, and the idea of actually touching something that Rembrandt himself had handled thrilled me to the core. As I slowly began to understand what quality in prints meant, I thought maybe, possibly, that I might be able to obtain and offer better prints than Roten. That was my first notion of becoming an art dealer specializing in prints.

After graduating from Williams, I moved to Boston and was given free space in a Newbury Street gallery called Tragos, where I worked for myself. I used the gallery as an address for arranging tabletop, one-day print shows with everything for sale at schools mostly east of the Mississippi. I had zero capital and depended primarily on Boston dealers who were friendly and supportive in consigning prints to me.

For the interim period prior to graduate school, Professor Lane Faison, my mentor at Williams, wrote to Hyatt Mayor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and he immediately invited me to work as

a volunteer in the print department. The interim period became two years and I decided that the enviable Met print collection of two million prints was the only graduate school I needed or could ever want. The wild and generous John McKendry, who had taken over from Mr Mayor as head of the print department, assigned me to work on the Dürer collection my first year and the Rembrandt collection my second year. It was pretty heady stuff for a 22-year-old to have the Metropolitan Director Thomas Hoving or a curator like Phillipe de Montebello asking me if such-and-such Dürer should be lent to the Uffizi or the Louvre.

While at the Met I still had to support myself, and I continued my print road shows through people I hired. One was Bob Johnson, who went on to become head of prints and drawings in San Francisco. After a couple of years, however, instead of concentrating on college students and faculty with middling contemporary material, much of it by little known artists, I myself started travelling with old master prints and classic nineteenth-century and modern to museums, accompanied by my St Bernard. I had traded a print by (Paul-Albert) Besnard, the French printmaker, for the dog on a visit to the Bowdoin College Museum in Maine, and so that was what I named him. Besnard (the dog) travelled with me in my Volvo station wagon around the country thereafter and became familiar enough to some curators that he was the only canine allowed into certain museums.

The curators I met often invited local collectors to view what I had, and there were a fair number, especially due to active print clubs at the time, for example in Cleveland under the direction of Louise Richards and Los Angeles under Ebria Feinblatt. That early networking was fundamental to the growth of the business and became the basis for the address list I put together for our first catalogue, issued in 1971. We published catalogues more or less annually, some general and some focused on single artists like Whistler and Rembrandt or a period and nationality like seventeenth-century Dutch and eighteenth-century French. Getting those first catalogues out was a daunting prospect for me. Older firms like Schab in New York and C.G. Boerner in Düsseldorf had been publishing catalogues for decades that were thick with lavish illustrations and bounteous text, but we found our own niche, and the catalogues worked for us.

Bob Light, whom I visited in my first year as a dealer in Boston, operated privately out of an elegant townhouse on Marlborough Street in Back Bay, and I immediately aspired to his style of conducting business while all the while wondering how on earth I could ever get there. Within five or six years, however, Bob and I and the estimable, wonderful August Laube from Zurich became a strong three-way partnership and bought together nearly everything that we considered of any real significance that came on the market. That went on until Gusti died all too early in 1989.

In Paris the Prouté family had an enormous stock of old master material. We became close personal friends, and it was stunning to me to meet Hubert Prouté's father, because among many famous art personalities he had known in his lifetime was Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. That connection from me to Paul Prouté to Lautrec amazed me then, as it still does now. (I later had a Norwegian friend who had known Edvard Munch.) Other important Paris figures I dealt with were the charming Michel Romand, the fourth-generation owner of Galerie Sagot-Le Garrec, from whom I bought a great deal 'out of the basement', including hundreds of Tissot prints at $40 each, and Marcel Lecomte, who was as expert in nineteenth- and twentieth-century prints as he was irascible. I dealt in posters, too, from time to time and occasionally did business with Galerie Documents on the rue de Seine.

In London the major firm in prints was Colnaghi's, founded in the eighteenth century, which had a strong print department upstairs run by Arthur Driver and Katharina Mayer Haunton. They mounted the best and most exhaustive exhibitions of old master prints of anyone in the business in the 1970s. Arthur was raised in a company flat across from the Colnaghi building on Bond Street. His father was the doorman at Colnaghi's, and Arthur himself started out as a boy carrying the bags of the directors, and then, while still a youngster, he chauffeured them. Eventually he was put to work in the print department, but the real change came when he returned from the war. Having come back as an officer and a decorated veteran who had crashed twice while serving as a navigator on aircraft in combat, he was accepted as a gentleman at the gallery in the context of that socially stratified English culture. Arthur eventually rose not only to become the head of the print department, but also chairman of the company. After Jacob Rothschild acquired Colnaghi's and when Arthur had just qualified for his pension in the late 1970s, he came to work with me based out of London, a highly genial and productive arrangement for both of us until he died fourteen years later.

I have enjoyed a time of opportunity in the business, with several important properties coming onto the print market at auction *en bloc*, beginning in 1967 with

264. David Tunick in his gallery library in New York in 1989.

the Nowell-Usticke collection of Rembrandt etchings, a two-part sale at Parke-Bernet in New York, where I as a beginner could only be an awed spectator. By the time of the Viscount Downe two-part sale of Rembrandt prints at Sotheby's in New York in 1970 and 1972, I had enough resources to make a major investment, buying more lots than anyone else. Another high point was the Chatsworth sale of 1985 which brought to market the finest group of old master prints in any single auction in my 55 years in the business. Again, I bought more than anyone else in number of lots and amount spent.

Over the years we have had the good luck to acquire several private collections. The first was that of Donald Karshan, who cut a wide swath in the print world in the 1960s and early 1970s, founding the short-lived Museum of Graphic Art in New York in 1964. Other collections that we purchased included Harris Whittemore's nearly complete collection of Whistler lithographs, which went to the Art Institute of Chicago and formed the basis of the 1998 catalogue raisonné edited by Martha Tedeschi. Another was the collection of Alan and Dorothy Press of prints by Munch and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, both of which I acquired

in their totality – 47 Munchs and 57 Kirchners. The John Nicholas Brown Collection of drawings, formed mostly between 1922 and 1928, which we bought as a whole, was a sensation at the time, and the consequent press coverage and commercial success of the venture had a significant positive impact on our business. It underlined for me the importance of continuing with both prints and drawings.

Other highlights have been the Phillips Family Collection from which we have sold 102 works of art on paper, including early impressions of important Dürer engravings and complete woodcut sets. This Canadian family started collecting c. 1950, and we met originally in the 1970s through Arthur Driver, whose longtime clients the Phillips had been when he was at Colnaghi's. More recently we handled a significant portion of prints and drawings from the estate of my client and friend of over 40 years, Julian Edison in St. Louis, who suddenly passed away in 2017, far too early. His collection of more than 400 prints, drawings, paintings and sculpture ranged from Martin Schongauer, Pieter Bruegel and Hieronymus Bosch to Munch, Paul Klee, Jean Dubuffet, Pablo Picasso and Andy Warhol. The majority of the graphic work had originally come from us.

If there is one thing that we may have done differently from any print dealer before us, it was in presenting prints like paintings, that is, in a plusher setting than the norm and shown on the walls in silk mounts and in carved, often period frames that befitted the artwork. I did it that way for two reasons. Firstly, prints had long been exhibited in simple, thin moldings and rag paper mats, and I believed they deserved to be considered on an equal basis with paintings and therefore deserved a similar exhibition style. Secondly, I wanted to reach collectors who might not have considered prints a worthy enough art form, as mere multiples (a term I eschewed). What better way than making them feel comfortable as if at home in their Park and Fifth Avenue apartments or their own townhouses? That is what led me to a series of townhouse gallery premises on the Upper East Side off Madison Avenue going back to 1972.

There have of course been profound changes in the print business in my half century plus as a print dealer. Among them are:

1. Auctions: When I started, the salesroom was almost exclusively the domain of dealers, the most active of which were invited to sit at tables in a rectangle right in front of the auctioneers in London and at Kornfeld in Bern. Peter Wilson, the chairman of Sotheby's, affected a cataclysmic change in reaching out to a wider public, ending the old boys' network that had dominated salesrooms. He made an entertaining show of auction, and brought in innovations like pre-sale estimates, currency boards and satellite links.
2. The annual buying trip: In my earliest years American dealers made a yearly pilgrimage in June to print auctions at Hauswedell & Nolte in Hamburg, Karl und Faber in Munich, and Kornfeld. You made a separate trip to visit and buy in Paris at the galleries and occasionally at Hôtel Drouot, the auction house. For most of us, those one or two shopping trips provided the lion's share of inventory for the entire year. Later, I and presumably other American dealers were travelling to Europe much more frequently, for me every six to eight weeks. That changed yet again when the currencies flipped and the Dollar sank in value against the newly denominated Euro. European dealers started coming to America to buy. The USA was rich in prints in private collections that had been formed in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, and these became our primary source for new inventory.
3. Availability of inventory: Every generation has seemed to bemoan that things aren't the way they used to be, that there's very little left to buy and sell. The first part, that things change, is a given; needless to say, if you don't adapt, your business withers. My own experience makes me reject the second premise, that there is nothing left, but I will say that in the 1970s we always had at least one or two solander boxes full of Dürer woodcuts and another box or two of Dürer engravings, often including complete sets; and ditto for Rembrandt – always a full box or two. All were early, lifetime, museum-quality impressions, which remains our standard, but we no longer can offer Dürer or Rembrandt in quantity.
4. Taste: Who could have foreseen the boom in contemporary art? It is the bubble that actually has never burst, though it can be treacherous and subject to dramatic rises and falls. By the same token, the near collapse of interest in other areas that were considered iconic has been surprising. Think, for example, of the current diminished market for Toulouse-Lautrec, Pierre Bonnard and Édouard Vuillard.
5. Art fairs: There were book and print fairs in the sixteenth century, but the coming of the modern art fair has transformed the way we print dealers do business. Visitors to galleries have decreased.

THE CONNOISSEUR

Tunick relaxes in his Manhattan gallery amid works by Degas, Pissaro, Boucher, Barocci and others.

THE PRINCE OF PRINTS

And the duke of drawings—David Tunick.

BY ANTHONY BRANDT

Over the past few years, the market for Impressionist, Post-Impressionist and contemporary paintings has resembled nothing so much as a yo-yo, rising to well-publicized heights and sinking to unreported lows. But one prominent market in the arts has largely avoided both boom and bust: the market for drawings and prints. Though increasingly active in the last fifteen or twenty years, this market has remained remarkably stable. "What's wonderful about the drawings field," says George Goldner, curator of paintings and drawings at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California, "is that the vast majority of people who buy drawings are in it because they like drawings, not because they are trying to push up the value of Guercino drawings, for example, or Barocci drawings. It's a much more honest market."

But it's a tricky market. No area of art collecting (except perhaps Chinese art) requires more connoisseurship, more scholarship and a better eye. It usually takes dealers decades to acquire the broad, detailed knowledge and experience necessary to navigate the many reefs and shoals of the drawings and prints field, with its fakes, its forgeries, its many mysteries of attribution.

To get through it without doing major damage to your pocketbook, not to mention your *amour-propre*, you need a pilot, and probably the best in America is New York dealer David Tunick. Urbane, modest and authoritative, Tunick, 49, combines the scholarship of a Bernard Berenson with the discretion of a Joseph Duveen—with a bit of Duveen's showmanship thrown in for good measure.

He is bullish on the drawings and prints market. "We don't have people with the short view," he says, meaning the horde of speculators (many of them Japanese) who bought paintings in the 1980s as if they were some sort of exotic financial instrument. "You don't have the kind of collector who bought, oh, let's say, an Andy Warhol five years ago, who has a five-year view, for whom the sky is now falling. People in this field have a twenty-five-, fifty-year view. They're not in it for economic gain."

Tunick should know. In the business for

265. Cutting from *Town and Country*, early 1990s.

The days of collectors and curators coming in periodically to see what's new, and often spending hours hunched over box after box of inventory, are with the rare exception long gone. Instead, art fairs pull in the crowds. An art fair represents one-stop shopping, and the highlights can be quickly taken in because they tend to be on the walls. The IFPDA Fine Art Print Fair in New York is the key fair in the print world, drawing a large audience of collectors and curators literally from all over the world. In fact, in what has become an overly crowded fair landscape, the IFPDA fair is one of the only must-see fairs remaining for those in the field.

6. Internet: Websites, online fairs, databases and more – it has been a sea change, and in my view has improved the business. For one thing, the internet – the use of websites and online fairs – extends our outreach exponentially. The art price databases make for greater transparency and care in pricing, while at the same time making it simpler to explain a price to a prospective client. Googling can make basic, rudimentary comparison of impressions possible, which has been particularly helpful during the pandemic. The sea change, however, has become a tsunami, and we are in danger of flooding and drowning our clients in 24/7 art news blogs, panel discussions, 'openings', viewing rooms and other online offerings.
7. Financing: In 'the old days' raising capital for buying inventory was relatively easy. Much of it was based on whom you knew, your general reputation and a handshake. Financing from banks, factors and other investors, though, grew too much too fast, to the extent that huge billboards were erected in New York that showed the happy banker and the happier client, the latter identified as an art dealer. Most of that kind of art lending without due diligence came to an unhappy end with the widely publicized Salander-O'Reilly debacle, resulting in a jail term for the perpetrator.
8. Gallerist: We were no longer art dealers; we suddenly became 'gallerists', a newly coined term that I suppose gave the profession a respectable sheen compared with our public image in movies and novels and the negative popular perception of what an art dealer was all about.
9. Publishers: There have always been print publishers, but now many go direct to their clientele from their own premises, art fairs and online rather than distributing through galleries.
10. Consultants: They are ubiquitous. Some are knowledgeable, professional and effective; others are not; and many are part-time amateurs.
11. Japan: It was a phenomenon for a period in the 1970s and 1980s that for a while transformed the business. The exhibitions in department stores and galleries with generous guarantees and the buying, including of prints, of all periods in price ranges up to the most expensive, was such a rage that it was commonplace to do mega deals by telex, sight unseen. (This was prior to the Internet.) The Japanese surge came on quickly, roared on for a few years, and then disappeared almost overnight with the collapse of the Japanese economy. Last we heard, a phenomenally fresh, complete set of the Toulouse-Lautrec *Elles* that we had sold to one major department store ended up in the hands of the police, having been seized as evidence in a money laundering scheme.
12. Print descriptions: The ethics in transparency of honest descriptions in my early years were essentially no ethics. A typical print at auction and with some dealers were invariably 'brilliant' or 'a very fine impression in perfect condition'. Most prints were anything but that. A few of us, however, wrote as honest descriptions as we could – R.E. Lewis led the way – meticulously noting condition defects with accurate judgments as to impression quality. Today most print dealers strive to be honest and accurate.
13. Restoration: The two most accomplished conservators in Europe were Drescher and Schweidler, both at least second-generation magicians in restoring prints. The goal was to make the repairs undetectable. At the time those in the know spoke of prints being Schweidlerized or Drescherized; and their fees were astronomic, being calculated according to the value of the print, not on the basis of time. In America the best paper conservator until her death in 2002 was the Dresden-born Christa Gaehde, also supremely accomplished. Nowadays, print dealers almost to the last are candid and straightforward in acknowledging when their prints have restoration.

I am often asked about the future of the print business. My response has been consistent: Look back. Prints have been collected for more than 600 years, art has been collected for more than 2,000 years. While there have been good times and bad, nothing is going to curb the basic impulse of the collector to collect. There will always be print collectors and a print market.

Notes

THE 'COLOUR-TONE PRINT': INNOVATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BODY. In the last ten years, print historians have begun to rediscover the role of colour in early modern prints. Pia Littmann asks specifically how colour printing was used to depict bodies. In her dissertation at the Freie Universität Berlin, published as *Der Farbtondruck: Innovation der Körperbildung um 1500*, she focuses on woodcuts produced in Augsburg around 1500 (Tübingen and Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2018, 206 pp., 45 ills., €35). She coined the title term '*Farbtondruck*' after rejecting '*helldunkel*' or 'chiaroscuro' for these prints, on the basis that some have a colour scheme that is 'tonally interwoven from a central midtone', rather than exploring contrasts of light and shade (p. 10).

266. Attributed to Hans Burgkmair, *Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and St John* in the *Missale Augustanum* (Augsburg, Erhard Ratdolt, 1496), letterpress and woodcut from five blocks, on vellum, 253 x 165 mm (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

267. Hans Burgkmair, *Lovers Surprised by Death*, 1510, state IIb (Littmann)/III (Dodgson), woodcut from three blocks, sheet 232 x 157 mm (Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museums).

The book aims to explore how printed colour has decorated and shaped images of human bodies despite lacking the colour range available in paint, based on selected impressions of certain prints as they appear today, according to a modern art historical framework. In that sense, it is successful; one of Lippmann's conclusions, for example, is that she believes the limitations of colour prints gives them 'credibility' as they 'appear to be more objective than drawings or paintings' (p. 178). Unfortunately, this study of colour printing pays little attention to the printing or the printed colours themselves.

The study begins by exploring woodcut production in Augsburg before 1500, including saints and patrons depicted in the frontispieces of books that Erhard Ratdolt printed in the late 1400s. The main thrust is the second chapter, a catalogue reproducing fifteen individual impressions of seven single-sheet woodcuts that Hans Burgkmair designed c. 1510–13; Jost de Negker (1485–1548) might have printed some, even if in later states.

Only twelve are of woodcuts issued in colours; three are of a 'normal' woodcut that Walter Strauss included as no. 10 in his problematic initial catalogue of early modern German colour prints, *Chiaroscuro: The Clair-Obscur Woodcuts by the German and Netherlandish Masters of the XVI and XVII Centuries* (London, 1973). The final chapter sweeps across history and geography, spanning Italy (Ugo da Carpi), the eighteenth-century (Jacob Christoph (sic) Le Blon, for whom see pp. 469–72 in this issue), and beyond (Andy Warhol) in twenty pages.

Littmann raises fascinating questions, but her detailed analyses seem based on the assumptions that the designers controlled each impression's appearance and that the impressions present today as their designers intended. For example, gaps between printed colours are described as the intentional depiction of 'light breaking on the inside of the hem' of garments, but this is simply a common accident of imprecise cutting, misregistered printing, or both (fig. 266; p. 50). Dark brown blobs on a bishop's mitre were surely once vibrant green emeralds (p. 45); the 'significant contrast' of now pale colours to black is surely not a design choice but a result of fugitive colourants (compare fig. 267). Cumulatively, these small details reveal misunderstandings about how colours were printed and what the printed colours are.

The author explains that she does not aim to provide a catalogue raisonné, although she suggests new ways of identifying the prints she includes. Unfortunately, her conclusions tend to derive from problematic print historical research. The states she offers for Burgkmair's *Lovers Surprised by Death* are representative (F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700*, v, Amsterdam, 1954, no. 724). Her 'new' classification consists of states I and II (in two variants, despite deliberate changes). It not only follows the groupings and order established by Campbell Dodgson (I, II, III) and Arthur Burkhart (I, II, IIIa), as set out in Hollstein, but also omits a final state to account for about a dozen later impressions (Hollstein: Dodgson IV and Burkhard IIIb) and discoveries made after Hollstein was published in 1954, such as the trial state identified by Nicholas Stogdon in *German and Netherlandish Woodcuts of the 15th and 16th Centuries*, Sales Catalogue 8 (London, 1991, no. 22).

The cover aptly sets the stage: the design features a detail of the Berlin impression of Burgkmair's *Portrait of Jacob Fugger*. It focuses on the green paint, not the brown or black printing inks. It cannot be assumed that the designer or printer intended for paint to be applied to complete the construction of Fugger's body. But it is the brightest colour, and Littmann assigns agency to it – not makers or painters of the print: 'Liberated, as it were, the hand-applied colour can act on the printed lines, absorbing and enhancing their intentions' (p. 136, reviewer's translation). ELIZABETH SAVAGE

ÉTIENNE DELAUNE (1518/19–83). The French goldsmith and printmaker Étienne Delaune was one of the most prolific and influential engravers of the French

268. Étienne Delaune, *A Goldsmith's Workshop*, 1576, engraving, 85 x 120 mm (Paris, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais).

269. Étienne Delaune, *Mirror with the Death of Julia*, 1561, engraving, 224 x 114 mm (London, Victoria and Albert Museum).

270. Baptiste Pellerin, *Mirror with the Death of Julia*, c. 1560–61, ink, black chalk and wash on vellum, 132 x 115 mm (London, Victoria and Albert Museum).

Renaissance, and yet his work remains relatively unknown to print scholars. Over 440 engravings can be attributed to him today, most of which are small in size and executed in series. The exhibition 'Graver la Renaissance. Étienne Delaune et les arts décoratifs', held at the Château of Écouen, provided the first comprehensive survey of Delaune's life and work (*Graver la Renaissance: Étienne Delaune et les arts décoratifs*, edited by Julie Rohou, contributions by Muriel Barbier, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, Thierry Crépin-Leblond, Guillaume Fonkenell, Aurélie Gerbier, Marianne Grivel, Guy-Michel Leproux, Guillaume Kazerouni and Stuart Pyhrr, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Musée national de la Renaissance – Château d'Écouen, 16 October 2019–3 February 2020, Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux–Grand Palais, 2019, 192 pp., 209 ills., €32; fig. 268). It gathered prints, drawings and objects from collections across Europe – from highly ornate pieces of goldsmithery to enamelware and arms and armour – with the aim of demonstrating the extent of the artist's influence on the decorative arts.

For the print specialist not familiar with Delaune, the accompanying catalogue will provide a useful overview of his work. Two essays, by Michèle Bimbenet-Privat and Marianne Grivel, give succinct summaries of Delaune's career as a goldsmith and printmaker. Delaune was born in Milan but trained in France, probably in a workshop outside Paris. This would explain, as Bimbenet-Privat writes, why Delaune never assumed the position of 'maistres orfevres', a title reserved for those who trained in the capital. The first significant moment of Delaune's

271. Roger Flynt, after Étienne Delaune, *Banquet in Honour of the Prodigal Son*, from the *Series of the Prodigal Son*, 1568–69, silver, partially gilded, diameter 180 mm (Selkirk, Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch).

career came in 1552 when he was appointed engraver at the Paris Mint (the *Monnaie des Etuves* or *Du Moulin*) to produce steel punches to strike medals and jetons. While he only occupied the position for six months, this prestigious appointment nevertheless testifies to his reputation as a great technician. Delaune had already started making prints by this point, his first efforts in engraving dating to the 1540s.

No signed pieces of metalwork by Delaune are known, but two engraved designs for mirrors executed in 1561 give an indication of the kind of goldsmithery he may have executed (Nos. 3 and 26b; fig. 269). Bimbenet-Privat links these prints to a reliquary today in the Pitti Palace that she attributes tentatively to the famous goldsmith and friend of Delaune's, Mathurin Lussault (No. 2). In the catalogue, Bimbenet-Privat

assembles a few other pieces around Lussault's name to give an idea of the types of objects Delaune may have produced, since the two men undoubtedly collaborated. These objects include a silver-gilt cup with rock crystal, emeralds, rubies and other precious stones, now in the Vatican (No. 4), and cameos mounted in enameled gold.

Delaune's career as a printmaker is easier to trace from the 1560s onwards, when he began dating his engravings (177 are dated between 1561 and 1582; fig. 268). His diminutive prints, which are often signed *STEPHANUS* or simply *S.*, show a wide range of mythological, religious and allegorical subjects as well as a rich array of ornament designs – predominantly variations on the theme of the grotesque. His predilection for ornament reflects his training as a goldsmith, as does the meticulousness of his engraving technique. That he was a printer as well as an engraver is revealed by a document dated 1566, which records that he was consulted – along with the engraver René Boyvin and the 'maistre orfèvre et graveur' Nicolas de Villiers – by a certain Cribel on the quality of a batch of printing ink (see Bimbenet-Privat and Fabienne le Bars in *Print Quarterly*, XI, 1994, 2, pp. 151–55). Interestingly, Grivel notes that Delaune may have travelled to Rome towards the end of the 1560s, suggested not only by the inscription *ROMAE INCISVS AB ANTIQVO 1570* that appears on one of his engravings (A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, Paris, 1835–71, IX, p. 35, no. 66) but also by Emmanuel Lurin's discovery of an archival document recording a deposition made in Rome in 1568 by 'Etienne graveur francais'. Delaune, a Huguenot, is next recorded in 1573 in the free city of Strasburg, to where he fled following the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. An itinerant period of Delaune's career ensued during which he moved to Augsburg and perhaps Nuremberg, before returning to Strasburg and eventually settling back in Paris shortly before his death in 1583.

A third essay in the catalogue, by Guy Michel Leproux, focuses on the recent revelation that the little-known artist Baptiste Pellerin was the principal designer of Delaune's prints before his years in exile. This discovery, put forward by Leproux and other scholars in the 2014 publication *Baptiste Pellerin et l'art Parisien de la Renaissance*, has led to a dramatic reevaluation of Delaune's oeuvre. The numerous drawings once given to him on the basis of their close relationship to his engravings, including the beautiful designs for arms and armour, jetons and prints, are now all attributed to Pellerin, known as 'maistre baptiste' to his contemporaries. Delaune has thus been relegated to the role of mere engraver rather than *inventor* extraordinaire. Indeed, as Leproux and others note in the exhibition catalogue, the compositions Delaune executed during his years in exile, when he was separated from Pellerin, display an awkwardness not visible in his earlier work.

It is stated in the catalogue that certain drawings by Pellerin served as 'direct models' for the prints, including a drawing of a mirror in the Victoria and Albert Museum showing the Death of Julia (figs. 269 and 270). The fact that this and other drawings are in the same direction as the engravings, and – unusually for a model for a print – on the expensive support of vellum, raises the question of whether they did indeed serve as preparatory drawings or may instead have been executed as collectors' items. Or it is conceivable that they served both purposes? At the very least, there must have been a further step in the preparatory process in the form of a disposable model that was used to transfer the image to the plate. There remains much to clarify on Delaune's workshop practices, his methods of design transfer and the types of collaboration he may have established with his designers. This is not a study that attempts to answer these questions by delving into technical analysis of the engravings and related drawings, nor is paper taken into consideration. It is primarily as purveyors of visual information and models for the decorative arts that the prints are discussed in the book (fig. 271). The remaining essays focus on their use by metalworkers (by Julie Rohou), by producers of arms and armour (by Stuart Pyhrr), and enamellers (by Thierry Crépin-Leblond). An impressive group of objects are gathered from collections across Europe to demonstrate the popularity of Delaune's prints among craftsmen of all kinds. This success, Crépin-Leblond notes, was largely due to the adaptability of his designs, allowing 'a figure or a detail to be isolated' while also permitting the iconography to remain intact. A gold and enamel pendant showing Cain killing Abel after a design by Delaune (No. 82), long thought to be a masterpiece of the Renaissance but in fact created in the nineteenth-century by the famous forger Reinhold Vasters, is testimony to the enduring appeal of the 'Delaunian aesthetic'. CATHERINE JENKINS

PRINTS AFTER RAPHAEL FROM MARC-ANTONIO RAIMONDI TO GIULIO BONASONE. The fifth centenary in 2020 of the death of Raphael (1483–1520) was commemorated in many countries. Yet it was greatly overshadowed by the covid-19 pandemic, which prevented travel to the numerous exhibitions and elevated the importance of their catalogues. With *Un dialogo tra le Arti a Bologna nel Segno di Raffaello: la Fortuna visiva di Raffaello nella Grafica del XVI Secolo da Marcantonio Raimondi a Giulio Bonasone*, edited by Elena Rossoni, with contributions by Laura Aldovini, Silvia Urbini, Elisabetta Polidori, Mirella Cavalli and Chiara Forconi, the immense success of the inventions in prints that Raphael himself initiated in the sixteenth century is brought into focus (exhibition catalogue, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, 4 March–extended to 31 August 2020, Rimini, NFC edizioni, 2020, 200 pp., 140 ills., €40). Since the

272. Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *Descent from the Cross*, early 1520s, engraving, 406 x 284 mm (London, British Museum).

273. Ugo da Carpi, *Descent from the Cross*, early 1520s, chiaroscuro woodcut from three blocks, 360 x 283 mm (Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

comprehensive exhibition and catalogue *Raphael invenit* of 1984, there has not been a show in Italy exclusively dedicated to prints after Raphael. The present publication, following up on the ground-breaking exhibition catalogue *Bologna e l'Umanesimo 1490–1510* by Marzia Faietti and Konrad Oberhuber of 1988, which drew attention to Bologna as a centre of print production and to Raimondi's early career, highlights the city's importance both for the careers of the individual artists and the development of Italian printmaking in the sixteenth century.

In her introductory essay, Rossoni considers the significance of Marcantonio Raimondi's (before 1479–c.

1534) experience in the workshop of Francesco Francia (1447–1517) in Bologna for his collaboration with Raphael in Rome and also for Raphael's workshop practice. She hypothesizes that Raphael's engagement with printmaking in 1510–11 was triggered by Raimondi, who brought the 'Bolognese model' from his collaboration with Francia to Rome, a city that had yet to emerge as a printmaking hub. The basis of Raphael's workshop practice – the exchange of ideas via drawings – was inaugurated by his first projects with Raimondi. Their collaboration is carefully discussed by Rossoni on the basis of the latest research (except for Gramaccini/Meier, *Die Kunst der Interpretation. Italienische Reproduktionsgraphik* 1485–1600, Berlin/Munich, 2009, which would have especially enriched her arguments on the beginnings of the collaboration, and Bloemacher, *Raffael und Raimondi, Produktion und Intention der frühen Druckgraphik nach Raffael*, Berlin/Munich, 2016, for the translation of not yet fully formed designs or ideas into print).

Rossoni's essay has to be read in conjunction with the second part of the catalogue, which has no individual catalogue entries but gathers several catalogue numbers into a single section. The early years of collaborative print production in Raphael's circle are discussed, followed by Cavalli's and Forconi's analyses of selections of prints by Agostino Veneziano (active 1514–36) and Marco Dente da Ravenna (active 1515–27), well chosen to present the full array of the two printmaker's oeuvres after Raphael. Forconi's section on Dente's *Venus and Cupid Riding on Sea Monsters* and *Pan and Syrinx* after Raphael's inventions for Cardinal Bibbiena's *stufetta* (bathroom) in his Vatican apartments, should, however, have included a discussion of the latter's subject matter, which Nancy Edwards corrected in 1978 to *Pan and Venus*. Also, the attribution of this print to Dente, which is still debated, could have been strengthened by some stylistic arguments for this engraver. Cavalli underlines Agostino Veneziano's penchant for Giulio Romano's inventions and examines his capacity for stylistic variance throughout his career (including Venetian models, Dürer, Raimondi, or just idiosyncratic), which often makes it very difficult to date his prints.

Urbini gives an account of the chiaroscuro prints after Raphael, emphasizing that this technique was further developed and perfected by Ugo da Carpi (which is well known), and hypothesizing that this development took place by working on Raphael's drawings. Regarding Ugo's *Descent from the Cross*, she agrees with the view that Ugo and Raimondi, who engraved the same subject, worked independently from a drawing by Raphael. Yet Ugo's – for him unusual – inclusion of a tablet with his name at exactly the same spot in the lower right-hand corner where Raimondi inserts the empty tablet in his engraving and in the same perspectival rendering, would in my opinion suggest that Ugo based his chiaroscuro woodcut on Raimondi's print (figs. 272 and 273). Urbini makes the important observation that although Ugo pulled the first impressions of his *David and Goliath* while still in Rome, other impressions are close in palette and printing technique to his *Diogenes* and to Antonio da Trento's *Martyrdom of Two Saints* after Parmigianino, made after 1527 in Bologna, when the city, after the Sack of Rome, had in Urbini's words become a 'laboratory of the avant-garde'. Whereas Raphael's life-long collaboration with the engravers and with the woodcutter Ugo da Carpi is the main focus of the essays – with the sole exception of Sonia Cavicchioli's discussion of the Maestro del Dado treating a printmaker working after Raphael after the latter's death – the second part of the catalogue comprehensively presents prints by Enea Vico, Jacopo Caraglio, Nicolas Beatrizet and Giulio Bonasone.

A great asset of this publication is the technical analysis and conservation of the prints, all of which belong to the Pinacoteca Nazionale, prior to their display. In a short essay, the conservator Elisabetta Polidori reveals new insights especially into the still understudied area of watermarks. Also, the quality of the illustrations, which renders visible the finer lines and even the structure of the paper, is remarkable. The prints can thus be appreciated as works of art, even by readers unable to see the originals in the exhibition or who are not print room aficionados – audiences still neglected by a lot of publications on prints. ANNE BLOEMACHER

PRINTS AFTER DESIGNS BY ANTOINE CARON. The book under review on the French Renaissance artist Antoine Caron (1521–99) is the publication of Frédéric Hueber's doctoral thesis, *Antoine Caron: Peintre de ville, peintre de cour 1521–1599* (Rennes and Tours, Presses universitaires de Rennes and Presses universitaires François-Rabelais de Tours, 2018, pp. 384, 340 ills., €45). The ambitious dissertation aimed at reconstructing the life and work of Caron, from his early possible training in Beauvais, to his work at Fontainebleau and Anet (1541–47), and the royal commissions after he settled in Paris around 1561. It includes a catalogue raisonné of his paintings and drawings, some of which were used as designs for prints, costumes and tapestries. It also lists rejected works and suggests possible attributions for some of them. This review focuses on Caron's association with the printmaking world.

An artist who still today is predominantly known only within the scholarly community, Antoine Caron had a long life and worked during the prosperous years of the reign of King Henri II (1547–59), and the more troubled times of religious wars between Catholics and Huguenots after the king's death. In Paris, he received royal commissions and worked for private and religious patrons. He became acquainted with the printmaker's milieu gravitating around rue Montorgueil, which

274. Denis de Mathonière, after Antoine Caron, *The Execution of Haman and his Sons and Other Enemies of the Jews,* from the *History of Esther and Ahasuerus*, 1570s, woodcut, ornamental frame trimmed 258 x 366 mm (London, British Museum).

Séverine Lepape has brilliantly unveiled in her book *Gravures de la rue Montorgueil* (Paris, 2015).

Chapter VII of IX of Hueber's publication examines Caron's involvement with this milieu, which extended to three of his daughters marrying printmakers active in Paris. The chapter focuses on two printed series, the *History of Esther and Ahasuerus* (fig. 274) engraved by Denis de Mathonière (around 1545–96), and the first illustrated French edition of Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines* (Paris, 1614). The first comprises six woodcuts with elaborate borders, the last of which bears the name of the printmaker. Caron's name as designer for the series was first suggested in 1962 when three drawings were published for the first time by Jean Ehrmann. The compositions are highly characteristic of Caron's style with a dominant architecture in the background, reminiscent of the works by Philibert Delorme (1514–70), and elongated figures with tiny heads in the foreground. Only one of the three drawings is in reverse, and none shows sign of indentation, indicating that the woodcutter cut the design directly on the wood or used an intermediary design in reverse. According to Hueber, the designs could date as early as 1561 on the basis of the numerous details making reference to Diane de Poitiers, Henri II's favourite, and the castle of Anet (p. 140); this would serve his argument that the series was part of the 1561 Calviniste offensive. It would imply that the woodcuts would have been executed by de Mathonière when he was barely sixteen or seventeen years old. It is worth remembering, however, that Caron often quoted his own inventions. For example, the castle of Anet appears also in the background of a drawing of the Valois series (No. 18.3), which can be dated to the 1570s.

Caron's second major involvement with printmaking came later in his life, and is embodied by at least ten designs he executed for the illustrated edition of the *Imagines* by Philostratus the Elder (fig. 275). The complex history of this publication is too long to be summarized here. Caron's participation most likely came through his son-in-law, Thomas de Leu (1560–1612), author also of an engraved portrait of the artist, who worked with the publisher of the *Imagines*, Abel l'Angelier. The long

275. Thomas de Leu, after Antoine Caron, *Ino Throwing Herself into the Sea from a High Cliff, and her Son Melicertes Lying Unconscious on the Back of a Dolphin* from *Les images ou tableaux de platte peinture des deux Philostrates* (Paris, 1617), engraving, 242 x 189 mm (London, British Museum).

elaboration of the publication meant that Caron died before seeing it in print. If only ten of the engravings indicate him as the designer, many others reveal the influence of his style, and imply that engravers such as Jaspar Isaac (1583/5–1654) may have had access to Caron's original designs. Probably executed when the artist was already 70 years old, the compositions expose a subtle stylistic change, whereby the figures have become rounder and more imposing than in his earlier works. Only two drawings have survived (Nos. 25.2a, and 25.11a), which are fully incised and in the same direction as the prints. Caron's extensive involvement in this publication may suggest that perhaps some of the previous series of drawings, such as the *History of Queen Artemisia* and the *History of the kings of France*, may have also been intended as designs for prints.

The book would have benefited from some revisions, as its structure and language appear to be those of a PhD dissertation. With an eye to the production cost, the images are mainly black and white (some quite illegible), offering, however, for the first time the opportunity to have all the known works by Caron brought together. Updating and correcting Jean Ehrmann's monograph (Paris, 1986), the book also includes relevant archival material, some of which is unpublished, such as the wedding contracts of the artist's daughters. KETTY GOTTARDO

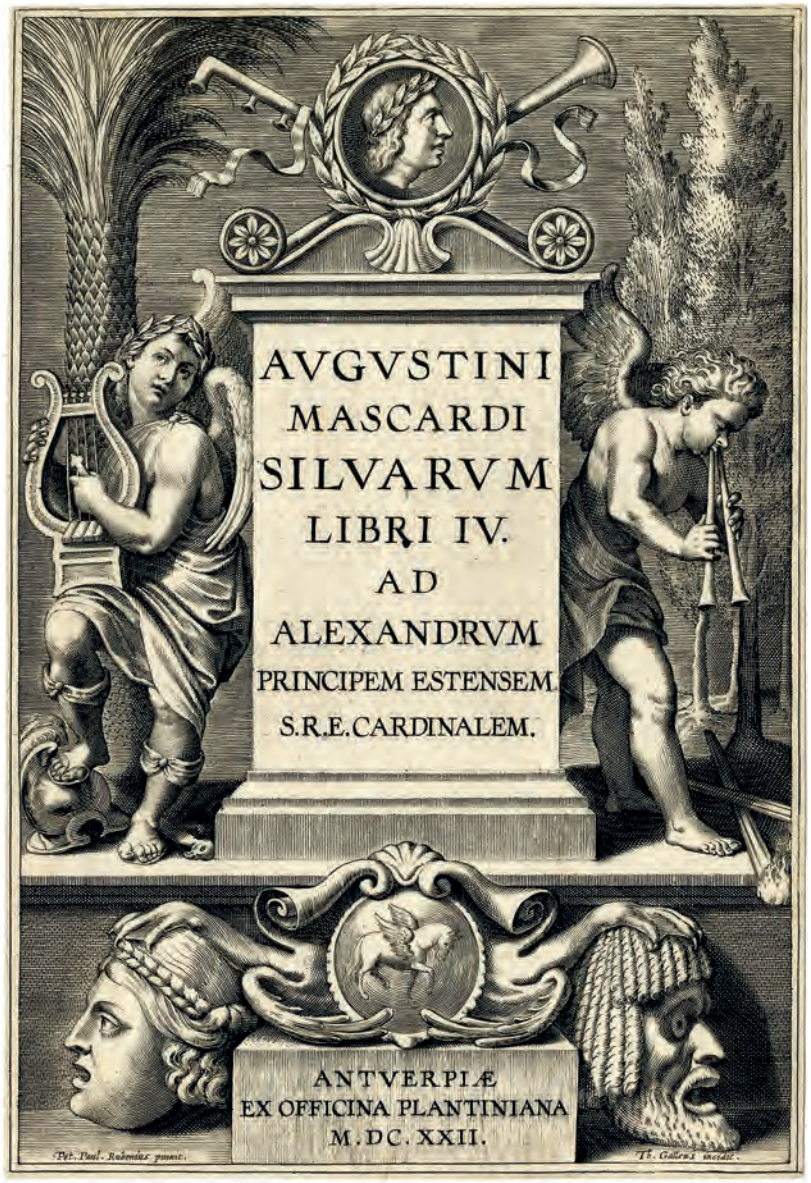
RUBENS AS DESIGNER OF TITLE-PAGES. Gitta Bertram's dissertation publication *Peter Paul Rubens as a Designer of Title Pages: Title Page Production and Design in the Seventeenth Century* is an innovative study on Rubens (1577–1640) which follows a line of publications on this subject (Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Library, arthistoricum.net, 2018, 295 pp., 74 ills., €49.90). Two predecessors set the stage for Bertram's study: the Corpus Rubenianum volume *Rubens: Book Illustration and Title Pages* by Judson and Van de Velde (London, 1977) and the equally substantial Williams College exhibition catalogue *Rubens and the Book: Title Pages by Peter Paul Rubens*, edited by Julius S. Held (Williamstown, MA, 1977). Unlike these two authors, Bertram evaluates Rubens' contribution to the art of title-page design in the context of book production as cultivated prominently by the Flemish publisher Balthasar Moretus (1574–1641) in Antwerp, who published on theology, mathematics, jurisprudence, numismatics, history and contemporary neoclassical poetry (fig. 276).

Besides major liturgical works of the Counter-Reformation, Bertram focuses on leading, mostly Jesuit authors and the title-pages created by Rubens for their books. The author then places these publications in various contexts: the technical and financial conditions of book production; the format and title-page traditions associated with specific subject matter; the hierarchy of a book's topic within the knowledge system valid in libraries of the time. She also considers the correspondence between Moretus and his authors, thereby attempting to bridge the gap left by the loss of all letters between Moretus and Rubens.

Bertram argues that Rubens' preoccupation with books and his designing of title-pages had much to do with the artist's self-definition as a *Pictor doctus* and *gentil'huomo*, and that therefore his title-pages should be placed on an almost equal footing with his paintings. There are two aspects to this argument. One, Bertram reassesses a well-known letter from 1630, in which Moretus cautions the Jesuit publisher Balthasar Cordier (1592–1650), who wished Rubens to correct the designs of certain thesis prints, saying that Rubens was difficult to reach and only took time on Sundays to work on title-pages. Previous research had concluded from this statement that Rubens regarded title-page design as a pastime and of lower significance than his painting. Bertram disagrees. She interprets Moretus' words in the light of the rhetoric prevalent in seventeenth-century Latin letter writing and suggests that Moretus was trying to elegantly dispose of a prominent client whom he could not offend – resorting to a rhetorical formula that is, seen in the context of classically trained letter writing of the time, basically not to be taken literally and thus does not reflect the artist's actual working habits. Bertram's reading of the text provides a valid new interpretation likely to stimulate discussion.

Second, Bertram looks at the social significance of books and private libraries in aristocratic circles in the seventeenth century. She interprets Rubens' own library as the highly significant status symbol of an upper class *gentil'huomo*, European humanist and respected connoisseur of numismatics and ancient literature. Against this background, Bertram convincingly reconstructs the process by which title-page designs requested by Moretus from Rubens came into being. She elucidates how communication between the authors, Rubens and the publisher intensified towards the printing dates. Some authors insisted on changes to the pictorial concept and Moretus also expressed preferences. For example, large, prominent books had to feature engraved, not etched title-pages, since engraving was considered the more dignified technique. For the republication of a prominent book, an old-fashioned title-page could be preferred as a visually familiar constant in order to avoid uncertainty among the readership. Bertram also shows how publishers repurposed Rubens' title-pages by changing their size or rearranging or eliminating motifs.

Bertram convincingly argues for the high artistic, humanist and even partly patriotic significance of the title-pages to the artist. She includes a detailed iconographic analysis of selected Rubens' title-page allegories, which always signified an ambitious intellectual perspective honed on the books they covered. An index to this study



276. Theodoor Galle, after Rubens, published by Moretus, Title-Page to A. Mascardi, *Silvarum Libri IV* (Antwerp, 1622) engraving, 190 x 130 mm (London, British Museum).

would have been welcome; useful to scholars will be the list of all 47 of the books that feature Rubens' title-pages. Overall, it is a book well worth reading that illuminates how enmeshed Rubens was in the Antwerp publishing network. HANS JAKOB MEIER

THOMAS HOBBES'S *LEVIATHAN* (1651). The etched title-page prefixed to *Leviathan* (London, 1651), Thomas Hobbes's infamous analysis of man, society and politics, is one of the most famous images of its kind (fig. 277). It is memorably dominated by a crowned man wielding a sword in one hand and a crozier in the other, his body being made up of innumerable tiny human figures, while below are two sets of vignettes contrasting the elements of civil and ecclesiastical power. Horst Bredekamp's *Leviathan: Body Politic as Visual Strategy in the Work of Thomas Hobbes* (Berlin and Boston, De Gruyter, 2020, 293 pp., 221 ills, €33.95), presents an English

translation of a work that has already appeared five times in German since its original publication in 1999, and of which a summary version in English has been available since 2007 under the title 'Thomas Hobbes's Visual Strategies', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes's Leviathan*, edited by P. Springborg (Cambridge, UK, 2007, pp. 29–60). As well as offering a detailed reading of the famous image, it also assesses the evidence concerning the identity of the artist responsible for it. On this point, Bredekamp comes down decisively in favour of the French artist Abraham Bosse (1604–76), although acknowledging that a tangential role might

277. Attributed to Abraham Bosse, Title-Page of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (London, 1651), etching, 241 x 155 mm (London, British Museum).

have been played by the Bohemian exile Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77; p. 41).

The meaning of the image is then dealt with in immense and slightly abstruse detail, drawing on a vast literature on the topic in many European languages, especially German: indeed, the sheer quantity of such literature is a remarkable tribute to Hobbes's power and influence as a thinker. It is unfortunate, on the other hand, that Bredekamp's otherwise exhaustive coverage does not include the perceptive study by the late Justin Champion, 'Decoding the *Leviathan*: Doing the History of Ideas through Images, 1651–1714' (*Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, edited by M. Hunter, Farnham, 2010, pp. 255–75). In successive chapters Bredekamp deals with different aspects of the image – its view of man as a kind of automaton, its play with illusion, not least through the role of perspective, and the significance of memorialization. The detail that Bredekamp provides on different aspects of the image and its lineage is in fact so profuse that at times it becomes slightly baffling. For the uninformed reader, a more helpful introduction to the meaning of the image is provided by the older work of Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (London, 1979).

In the current volume, the account of the title-page occupies its first half, whereas the second half comprises a catalogue of images in other works by Hobbes and a catalogue of portraits of the philosopher, which appeared in the original German edition of 1999 but had subsequently been omitted. These are useful but could have been improved. Thus, it would have been helpful if cross-references had throughout been given to Hugh MacDonald and Mary Hargreaves's *Thomas Hobbes: A Bibliography,* of 1952. In addition, the inclusion of reproductions of all of the relevant images, even when they are wholly repetitious of ones already published, means that these have to be so tiny that their value is limited. As for the portraits, numbering 50, although with a lot of repetition, the majority of these are engravings, of which Bredekamp gives a fairly full account, although he does not detail the re-uses of Hollar's powerful etched image of 1665, of which he is disappointingly disdainful. For these, see no. 1843 in Simon Turner, *The New Hollstein: German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700: Wenceslaus Hollar,* part 6 (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2011, pp. 241–42). Bredekamp's treatment of the numerous paintings and drawings of Hobbes is also unduly brief for an iconographic study of this kind. In short, this book is informative but does not represent the final word on its chosen subject. MICHAEL HUNTER

HISTORY OF THE WIG. Luigi Amara's musings on the history of wigs, over the course of 33 short chapters, aims for entertaining romp rather than academic rigour (Luigi Amara, *The Wig: A Hairbrained History*, London, Reaktion Books, 2020, 252 pp., 73 ills., £15). Enjoyable to read in this edition translated from Spanish into English by Christina MacSweeney, the book is best suited as gift material for enthusiasts of European and US social history. Scholars attracted by the cover image of a French coloured engraving *Coiffure of Independence,* of c. 1778, depicting a woman with a flag-emblazoned sailboat atop her powdered wig, and looking for serious analysis of eighteenth-century prints on the topic will come up short. The well-chosen images include Matthew Darly's exquisitely satirical etching and engraving with watercolour *The Flower Garden*, of 1777, with a voluminous, padded coiffure outfitted with a miniature garden (fig. 278). The caption simply explains that hair was an ancient symbol of fertility, and the discussion in the text does not delve much further. Here is where we could use at least a short commentary on Matthew and Mary Darly's series of prints on the excesses of contemporary fashion in late eighteenth-century Britain. A man tending a cultivated, fairly austere garden atop a woman's overgrown hairdo speaks to the ability of luxury to debase attempts to live a moral life. In the chapter 'Towering Hairdos', after keenly stating that there was an 'avalanche of satirical prints' about these expensive and impractical hairstyles in the years directly before the French Revolution, the reader is sent out on their own to scout further examples in the Musée Carnavelet and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Indeed those collections in addition to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Harvard Library, Cambridge, MA, to name just a few, which contain both earnest fashion pages and satirical prints, would serve well the researcher seeking to trace artistic approaches to depicting shifts in taste in wigs and hairstyles over a specific timeframe. The present book, by the author's admission, is purposefully not chronologically ordered.

In the chapter titled 'Dressing Up Justice', William Hogarth's *The Bench,* of 1758–64, an etching and engraving showing bewigged (and drowsy) magistrates, is wonderfully juxtaposed to a photograph from about 1937 of four men in legal wigs. The images serve as illustrations to the free-flowing essays rather than being considered as art historical subjects in themselves. That treatment is saved for works such as Cindy Sherman's *Untitled Film Stills* of the 1970s in which the photographer employs wigs to challenge stereotypical depictions of women. Furthermore, although the essays are well-informed, the book is not intended to be cited in scholarly literature, as there are only a few breezy footnotes, an abbreviated bibliography titled 'Bedside Reading', and no Index.

Readers searching for a more scholarly treatment of the subject would do well to supplement *The Wig: A Hairbrained History* by consulting the exhibition catalogue

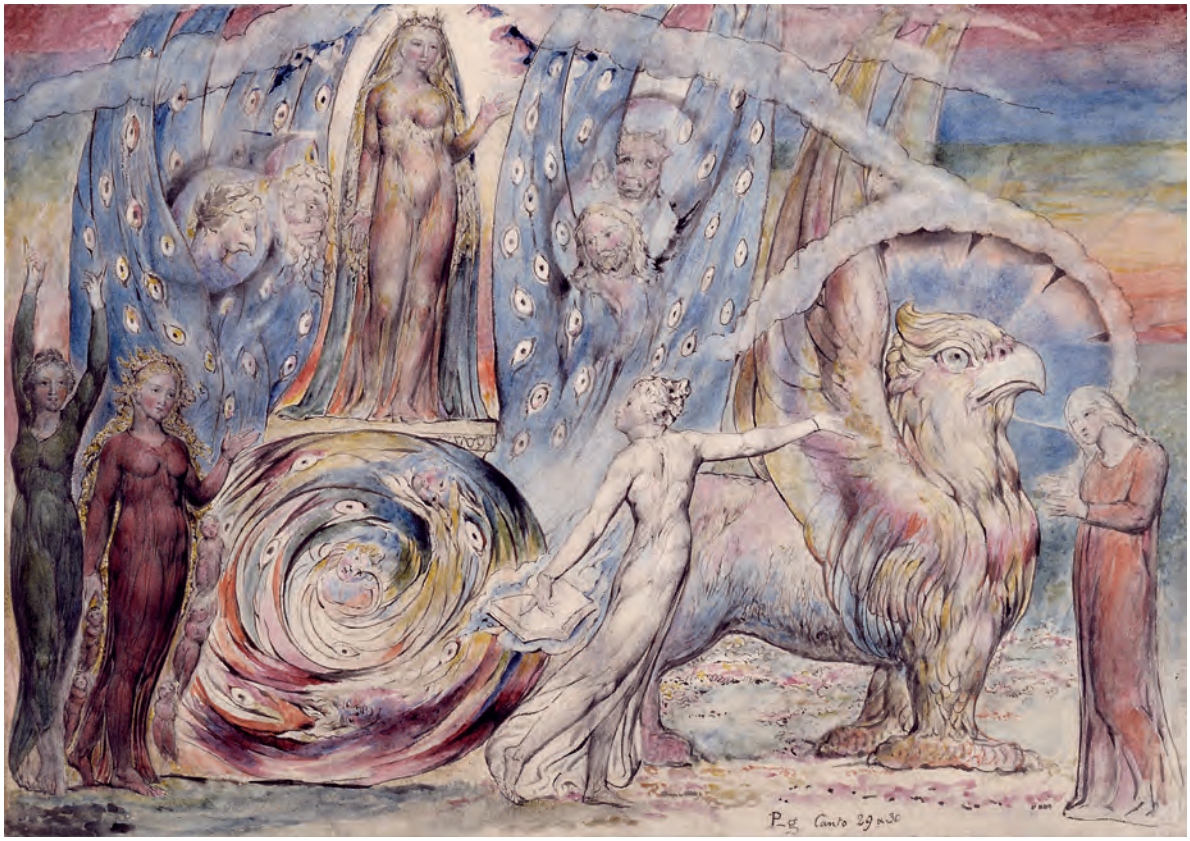
278. Matthew Darly, *The Flower Garden*, 1777, etching and engraving with watercolour, 350 x 246 mm (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

High Heads: Hair Fashions Depicted in Eighteenth-Century Satirical Prints Published by Matthew and Mary Darly by Harriet Stroomberg (Twente, 1999). For critical investigations into wigs, hair, satirical prints and caricature in the eighteenth century, see the articles in the themed volume of *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* edited by Angela Rosenthal (XXXVIII, no. 1, 2004), especially Amelia Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni'; and Louisa Cross, 'Fashionable Hair in the Eighteenth Century: Theatricality and Display', in *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion,* edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang (Oxford, 2008). ELIZABETH L. BLOCK

WILLIAM BLAKE AT TATE BRITAIN. William Blake (1757–1827) is an artist who, in his own lifetime, appeared in many guises, and who ever since has served as a proxy for a particularly diverse range of political and aesthetic aspirations. The catalogue for Tate Britain's latest exhibition of his work, by Martin Myrone and Amy Concannon, returns us to this protean creator who has, as its authors note, 'come to symbolise the very idea of authenticity, in art, life and politics' (*William Blake*, London, Tate Britain, 11 September 2019–2 February 2020, London, Tate Publishing, 2019, 224 pp., 169 ills., £25). The catalogue follows the structure of the exhibition, its five chapters mapping the broad parabola of Blake's artistic career. The path followed here is largely monographic and it reiterates the case for Blake as an artist more than a poet, within an art history that has often found him difficult to place. Much emphasis is placed on Blake's itinerary through physical space; his various relocations in a changing London (aside from a brief, unhappy sojourn in Sussex) offer insights into the transforming status of the artist in the wake of industrial and political revolution.

The authors are at pains to acknowledge the depth of existing scholarship on Blake, although their introduction

279. William Blake, Frontispiece to *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, c. 1795, relief etching, ink and watercolour on paper, 170 x 120 mm (London, Tate).



280. William Blake, *Beatrice Addressing Dante from the Car,* 1824–27, ink and watercolour on paper, 372 x 527 mm (London, Tate).

also draws out, with pleasing clarity, the varied ways in which his art – and perhaps just as importantly, his status as an artistic personality – has accrued meaning through reproduction. Blake has become an archetype for a very modern idea of artistic self-transformation, obdurate creativity and spiritual autonomy. This exaggerated artistic personality functions separately from the intricate relationship between text and images in his work and requires no knowledge of his images' technical complexity (notably, his idiosyncratic relief etchings; fig. 279). Myrone and Concannon attempt to steer a path between this more 'democratic' understanding of Blake and the abundant academic research on the artist. Describing their approach as 'determinedly historicist and materialist', the ambition is to demythologise Blake, thereby producing a 'Blake for all' that will satisfy both popular and specialist audiences. Assuming that such a creature in fact exists, the challenge here is to ensure that 'Blake for all' does not end up being Blake for no one. Yet it is by emphasizing Blake's inherent multiplicity as a matter of historical fact, not just interpretation, that the Tate catalogue succeeds.

The first chapter, 'Blake, be an Artist!' places Blake carefully in his early artistic milieu in and around the artistic and artisanal community of Broad Street, Soho, where Blake was born and where on several occasions he returned to live and work. In this mixed and multicultural environment, Blake's career developed in close proximity to the worlds of both commerce and art. The tension between these spheres was never fully resolved in Blake's practice, and is a theme that runs through this catalogue. Chapter two focuses more explicitly on Blake's work as a printmaker, and particularly the technical labour involved. The intensity of Blake's working day as a reproductive engraver meant that he had to write and make his own images in the limited openings that remained after paid work ended. Myrone and Concannon remind us of the everyday reality that seemingly 'free' artistic choices are so often a matter of available time. Blake's creative work was anathema to industry as well as leisure, and even at this early point the image of his resistance to both of them begins to take shape. Carefully outlining the radical intellectual circles within which Blake moved at this time, the authors situate Blake as a participant in a then-flourishing printmaking trade. At

the same time, in line with the catalogue's opening gambit regarding Blake's enduring relevance, he is proposed as a prophet of contemporary 'slasher culture', inhabiting multiple roles as artist/engraver/poet/visionary. Despite the authors' concern to draw parallels between the 1790s and now, it is the strangeness of his illuminated books – for contemporary viewers as much as for us now – that alienates him from his time, as well as his sidestepping of conventional methods for his prints' production and distribution.

The next two chapters deal with Blake's complicated relationship to patronage and display. That several of Blake's patrons profited from slavery is mentioned, and although the artist's oppositional stance toward empire is invoked in the introduction, this is not developed much further. The price of Blake's creative freedom was, for much of his career, dependence on private patronage, as his art failed to receive state support or reach the broader audience he desired. His 1809 exhibition at 28, Broad Street was met with incomprehension and apathy, if not active hostility, while his participation in the Associated Artists in Water Colours exhibition of 1812 ended badly. Even as illustrations for an edition of Robert Blair's *The Grave* reached further afield, being intended for a South American clientele, a row with the publisher Robert Hartley Cromek forced him into further obscurity, as Cromek gave the task of engraving the series to Luigi Schiavonetti, rather than Blake himself. Stymied as an artist, but increasingly acclaimed for his eccentricity and originality, Blake declared himself 'hid'.

The final chapter ends on a more positive note, with Blake's reclamation by a younger generation of artists such as John Linnell (1792–1882) and John Varley (1778–1842). The conflict that Blake faced between commerce and creativity, marginality and inspiration, and between his often-parlous financial straits and the status of his illustrated books as luxury products, never fully abated. It is at this last stage that Blake's wife Catherine's role in colouring his final watercolours of the *Divine Comedy* (fig. 280) and in collaborating in his prints' production is acknowledged fully. The specificity of place remains vital: Blake's own London, and the one in which his work is seen again now. In a short afterword, graphic novelist Alan Moore wonders whether 'some places have an embedded future as well as an embedded past', reminding us that what he terms the 'imaginal biodiversity' of Blake's lived environment contained the material origins of his art, as much as the originality of his vision. RICHARD TAWS

MAINE'S LITHOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPES. When Maine was granted statehood in 1820, artists and print publishers turned to the newly imported medium of lithography to record its growing cities and towns and flourishing industries. From the early decades of the nineteenth century until the American Civil War (1861–65) these prints celebrated the prosperity of Maine and served to encourage both visitors and new residents to the state. To commemorate Maine's 200th anniversary, state historian Earle G. Shettleworth Jr. and Bowdoin College mounted an exhibition of 50 of these lithographs. The richly illustrated catalogue accompanying the exhibition is a fitting tribute to both Maine's statehood and the 225th anniversary of the founding of Bowdoin College (Earle G. Shettleworth Jr., *Maine's Lithographic Landscapes: Town & City Views, 1830–1870*, exhibition catalogue, Brunswick, ME, Bowdoin College Museum of Art in association with Brandeis University Press, 2020, 144 pp., 50 ills., $50; also online at the museum's website).

The lithographic process, invented in Germany, was brought to America in 1819. In 1825 John Pendleton founded a lithographic workshop in Boston which was soon followed by numerous others whose prints fill the pages of *Maine's Lithographic Landscapes*. As Shettleworth notes, lithography was a democratic art form and these lithographs, available by subscription, were accessible to a relatively large audience. Artists would begin the process by drawing a specific view, which would then be displayed locally and advertised for subscription in the local newspaper. Shettleworth does not specify the subscription fee, but notes that one print required 100 subscribers, another 250 subscribers. Once the necessary funds were raised, averaging between one and five dollars per person, a lithograph would be created, printed and distributed.

The catalogue is divided between an introductory essay and catalogue entries of lithographs, in addition to a scattering of paintings and drawings. Views of Maine's towns and cities fill the first section, grouped together by location and often showing similar views. Coastal towns known for shipbuilding were portrayed and include Bath, Belfast, Bucksport, Castine and Rockland, as well as Portland, Maine's largest port. The lumbering, manufacturing and textile towns of Bangor, Lewiston and Saco-Biddeford were also represented, as was Maine's capital Augusta. Taken together they illustrate a thriving economy of the young state and the notion of industrial progress that informed the Antebellum period in the United States.

As Maine prospered, so too did Bowdoin College, and the second half of the catalogue includes lithographs of Maine's first institution of higher learning. The images reveal the expanding campus and show the successive building of Massachusetts Hall (1802), Maine Hall (1808), Winthrop Hall (1822), Appleton Hall (1843), Richard Upjohn's Romanesque chapel (1855) and Adams Hall (1861). Additional images include town plans, bird's-eye views, and even a Brunswick Bank ten-dollar note. Like the other images in the book, these are rendered with exacting architectural detail in an expansive format.

The most noteworthy artist in the catalogue is Fitz

281. Fitz Henry Lane, *Castine, from Hospital Island,* 1855, lithograph, 500 x 830 mm (Augusta, ME, Maine Historic Preservation Commission. Image Luc Demers).

Henry Lane (1804–65) who was invited to draw Castine by the publisher Joseph L. Stevens, Jr. (fig. 281). Lane's print is exceptional among the views of Maine, and yet, at the same time it typifies the format, style and feeling of the majority of the works in the catalogue. The composition is open ended with elements of the foreground, middle ground and distance parallel to the picture plane. The precise details include the distinctive riggings of the schooners, sloops and fully rigged ships in the harbour, as well as the houses, businesses and churches on the far shore. A genre scene of a man about to set sail in the foreground completes the work.

Viewed as a group these nineteenth-century lithographs are notable for what they highlight – finely dressed men, women and children enjoying the prosperity of Maine's cities and towns and the industries that created economic stability for a leisure class. They are also noteworthy for what they omit – agriculture, the working poor and indigenous peoples. The prints capture the hope and dreams of the Anglo-American settlers in a new state and a young country before the Civil War transformed the nation. As such, *Maine's Lithographic Landscapes* contributes to our understanding of how Maine was imaged, promoted and marketed during the mid-nineteenth century in a time of optimism for the intended audiences of these prints. LINDSAY LEARD-COOLIDGE

FROM AUSTRALASIA TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM. The Harold Wright and Sarah and William Holmes scholarships have made it possible for scholars from Australia and New Zealand to spend time with the print collection in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. The first scholarship was awarded in 1969 and to date, 71 individuals have enjoyed this remarkable and possibly unique privilege of unfettered access to the collection, where the only directive is to look at whatever you like (*Horizon Lines: Marking 50 Years of Print Scholarship*, published to accompany the exhibition 'Horizon Lines: The Ambitions of a Print Collection', Noel Shaw Gallery, University of Melbourne, 31 July–8 December 2019; and a selection of prints chosen by recipients of the Harold Wright Scholarship and the Sarah and William Holmes Scholarship, Gallery 90A, British Museum, November 2019–January 2020, edited by Kerrianne Stone, contributions by Duncan Maskell, Hartwig Fischer, David Maskill, Louise Voll Box, Petra Kayser, Charlotte Colding Smith, Luke Morgan, Marguerite Brown, Ted Gott, Anne Ryan, Julie Robinson, Geoff Gibbons, Anne Gray, Stephen Coppel and Caroline Field, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Library, 2019, 255 pp., 99 ills., AU$ 49.95).

The scholarships were established by Harold Wright,

282. Installation view of the exhibition 'Horizon Lines: The Ambitions of a Print Collection', in the Noel Shaw Gallery, Baillieu Library of the University of Melbourne in 2019, showing a photograph of Harold Wright in Glasgow University Honorary MA robes.

a print specialist and Director of P. & D. Colnaghi and Co. in London, and his wife Isobel, who named the other award in memory of her parents. They were not able to see their generosity bear fruit, since Harold died in 1961 and Isobel in 1965. As a recipient of an award myself, the experience was instrumental in shaping my interests through first-hand study of prints and by benefiting from the invaluable guidance and unfailingly generosity of the curators, in particular Antony Griffiths and Frances Carey.

Horizon Lines celebrates the 50th anniversary of the scholarships through a collection of 13 essays by former recipients and doubles as an exhibition catalogue. A brief biography of Harold Wright by David Maskill, based on his larger article in this journal (*Print Quarterly*, XXXV, 2018, pp. 270–79), opens the volume. This is followed by Kerrianne Stone's essay on the development of the print collection at the Baillieu Library of the University of Melbourne, the context for print collecting in late 1950s Melbourne, the many connections with the wider print world, and ends with a description of the exhibition at the Baillieu that celebrated the anniversary of the scholarships (fig. 282). Louise Voll Box examines the cultural commerce and Colnaghi in the early 1960s, basing her discussion on the print albums formerly in the collection of Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716–76). Her essay is fittingly dedicated to Associate Professor Alison Inglis from the University of Melbourne, a much loved teacher and devoted mentor to many students across decades. Petra Kayser contributes a fascinating essay on early German woodcuts from the British Museum depicting the wounds of Christ and explains their origins and efficacy. Charlotte Colding Smith continues her work on images of Islam and examines the Ottoman court in sixteenth-century northern European prints. Luke Morgan discusses Hendrick Goltzius's 1588 engraving of his own deformed right hand and its relation to self-identity, while Marguerite Brown delves into the mysteries of Giambattista Tiepolo's etchings. Ted Gott returns to Odilon Redon, the subject of his earlier outstanding publications, and discusses the significance of an article written in 1890 by the English poet Arthur Symons based on his experiences of visiting Redon.

Beginning with a description of her time at the British Museum, the wonderful essay by Anne Ryan discusses

Camille Pissaro's drypoint aquatint of the Place de la République in Rouen, of 1886. Julie Robinson looks at the drypoints and the career of Adelaide-born Mortimer Menpes, while Geoff Gibbons discusses the etchings of Samuel Palmer that he produced towards the end of his life, both engaging contributions. Expanding on her work on British Futurist and Vorticist prints, Anne Gray thoughtfully examines the war prints of C. R. W. Nevinson, Paul Nash and Edward Wadsworth, which is followed by a lyrical essay by Stephen Coppel, reflecting both on his time as an award recipient and the development of his interest in Claude Flight and the Grosvenor School of Modern Art between the wars. The final contribution is a poised note by Caroline Field on the subject of Rembrandt and his empathy for the subjects he represented in his work.

The back matter identifies all recipients of the awards (until 2018), a checklist of 28 prints for the display held at the British Museum chosen by former scholarship recipients and another list of 62 prints for the exhibition at the Baillieu Library. There can be no doubt that given their connections with both Australia and London, Harold and Isobel Wright would have delighted in this international collaboration. The handsomely produced and well-edited volume with superb illustrations stands as testimony to their generosity while revealing a glimpse of the stellar careers of many of the recipients and their ongoing commitment to print scholarship. MARK MCDONALD

MAX SULZBACHNER (1904–85). Only a few outstanding individuals receive full attention in the canon of art history while many lesser-known artists fall through the cracks of scholarship. This is all too often taken as a sign of inferior quality or insignificance in a local or national context. The twentieth century is full of these gaps and the Basel painter and draughtsman Max Sulzbachner is one such typical example. Fortunately, the Kunstmuseum Basel recently dedicated a small

283. Max Sulzbachner, *Hohe Schule* (High Art of Riding Dressage, Circus), 1925, woodcut on green paper, 476 x 600 mm (Kunstmuseum Basel. Image Martin P. Bühler).

284. Max Sulzbachner, *Figurine of a Wild Man from Kleinbasel*, 1967, wool, various fabrics, papier maché and metal, height 980 mm (Basel, Museum der Kulturen, Basel. Image Martin P. Bühler).

catalogue to him, thus rescuing him from supra-regional oblivion and showing his work in a broader context (Géraldine Meyer, *Max Sulzbachner: Mondnächte und Basler Tamtam,* exhibition catalogue, Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26 October 2019–9 February 2020, Zurich, Scheidegger & Spiess, 2019, 80 pp., 85 ills., CHF 29).

Sulzbachner fell into a generation gap. He was slightly younger than some of his fellow artists – his older brother Ernst (who died when Max was only eleven years old), Niklaus Stoecklin, Alexander Zschokke, Hermann Scherer or Albert Müller. Sulzbachner received formal training at the Académie Colarossi in Paris while earning his living as a factory worker at the carmaker Citroën. In 1924 he returned to Basel and worked in woodcut using an artistic language that was close to that of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and German Expressionism (figs. 283 and 284).

When both Scherer and Müller died, in 1926 and 1927, respectively, Sulzbachner co-founded the group Rot-Blau II in 1928. After its dissolution in 1932, he founded Group 33 in 1933. The primary aim of these groups was to increase their members' visibility and find a way to anchor an avant-garde attitude that was at odds with conservative municipal art policies. There was never a binding political or artistic postulate, even though an essentially socialist perspective seems undeniable. Ultimately, these Basel groups wanted to prevent art from being appropriated for political means.

Although most of them adhered to German Expressionist ideas and saw Kirchner as a key inspiration, their formal language and approach to subject matter were entirely their own. With some 200 passive members supporting artists and delivering eleven shows within a few years, the group largely achieved its goal, in some cases even abroad, such as in Paris at the Salon des Surindépendants in 1929 or in Berlin at the Freie Kunstschau of 1930. Sulzbachner did not stop at Expressionist ideas but developed new surreal themes or dream-like representations that opened up new possibilities for the conception of space. These are reflected in some of his stage designs from 1933 onwards, which enabled him to use different approaches, depending on the play's mood and atmosphere.

As a result, Sulzbachner was less restricted in his formal language, showing no fear when crossing boundaries or breaking new ground. He treated all his commissions with equal interest, whether they be the designs for the façade of the Swiss Pavilion at the 1937 World Trade Exhibition in Paris, a ship's bar on Lake Zurich, the founding of a cabaret or the publication of a satirical magazine. It was his satirical approach that, in the end, made him famous on a local level. He was deeply involved in the Basel carnival, producing many of the famous lanterns for three societies, thus leaving his mark on the cultural sphere in a different way.

Sulzbachner was not an artist who forged a style or a movement, but he was also not a mere follower. Upon his return to Basel from Paris, there was a lively discussion about the contemporary avant-garde, in which he probably also took part. Most likely as a result of these stimuli, he turned to woodcuts, which remained his preferred medium, at least as a printmaking technique. He produced the astonishing portfolio *Mondnächte,* comprising twelve woodcuts, as well as creating single-sheet woodcuts and some intaglio prints. All in all, it is evident from his prints that he assimilated various stimuli into his own formal language, thus creating something genuinely new. He was a prominent figure early in his lifetime but later fell somewhat into oblivion, despite continuing to produce compelling work. To the credit of Meyer, the author of the catalogue, she inscribes Sulzbachner into a broader context, showing why he deserves wider attention, especially for his prints.

CHRISTIAN RÜMELIN

THE WOODCUT IN ITALY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Gianfranco Schialvino's *Storia della Xilografia in Italia nel Secolo XX* is written by a painter and printmaker from Pont Canavese near Turin, who was co-founder in 1987 with Gianni Verna of the association Nuova Xilografia, and in 1997 of the journal *Smens* (edited by Marco Fiori, contribution by Marzio Dall'Acqua, Bologna, Edizioni Pendragon, 2020, 512 pp., 456 ills., €65). Schialvino has published many *livres d'artiste* since 1982. This book is published by ALI, the Associazione Liberi Incisori in Bologna, which began publishing *Quaderni* in 2014, the most interesting of which for readers of *Print Quarterly* is probably no. 4, *Andrea Emiliani – scritti sull'incisione et altro.* Its 50 artists, mainly based north of the Apennines, have issued, in addition to six *Quaderni*, 24 other publications since 2009. *Smens,* for whom Federico Zeri was a contributor, through Schialvino Editore has regularly published *livres d'artiste.*

Despite its title this *Quaderno* does not provide a conventional history, instead giving brief summaries of the art of Italian woodcut artists, some very well known, others less so such as Emilio Mantelli (1884–1918; fig. 285). There are ten chapters devoted to individual Italian regions and a very useful nine-page bibliography confined to Italian publications. The illustrations are very welcome, particularly in the case of artists whose work is little known outside Italy. Rather little reference is made to links with printmaking outside the country. This reviewer was introduced to high-quality work by Mauro Reggiani (1897–1980), unfamiliar early woodcuts by Fortunato Depero (1892–1960), Luigi Veronesi (1908–98), the musically inspired Turin artist Mario Giansone (1915–97) and Giulia Napoleone (b. 1936) from Pescara and Lojze Spacal (1907–2000) from Trieste. Short texts are included on ALI's woodcuts for Franco Maria Ricci

285. Emilio Mantelli, *Salto alla Corda* (Skipping Rope), published in *L'Eroica* (1936), woodcut, c. 280 x c. 230 mm (Private collection).

(FMR)'s *Labirinto della Masone*, and on the illustrated book. Mimmo Paladino (b. 1948) is included, but more avant-garde artists post 1970 are mostly ignored. One is left, however, with a strong impression of how many high-quality woodcuts were made in Italy in the last century. MARTIN HOPKINSON

LE LIVRE FUTURISTE ITALIEN. The literature on Italian futurist books is now extensive and is surveyed by Alessandro Del Puppo in his contribution *Le Livre futuriste italien: Écritures et images* to the Bibliothèque Nationale's series Conférences Léopold Delisle (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2020, 112 pp., 62 ills., €26). Italian Futurists produced many books and periodicals, but not all were Futurist in design or appearance. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's *Poesia*, of 1905–09, looked like many other Symbolist or Art Nouveau poetry magazines of that period, but it compensated for this by embracing modern marketing methods, anticipating the reader enquiries of Surrealist magazines; valued contributors too would be sent the Milanese speciality, *panettone*, wrapped in a *Poesia* cover. It was only after Marinetti's manifesto *Distruzione della sintassi – Immaginazione senza fili – Parole in libertà* (Destruction of syntax – wire-less imagination – words in freedom) of 11 May 1913 that a distinctive format for printed text emerged. Marinetti's *Zang Tumb Tumb* or, according to its title-page, *Zang Tumb Tuuum*, typeset by the Milanese typographer Cesare Cavanna, appeared in February 1914 and exploited not only *parole in libertà / parolibere* (words-in-freedom), but broke conventions by using different typefaces, weights and sizes as well as non-alpha-numeric signs.

There is some continuity – words-in-liberty, manifestos – with the next landmark Italian Futurist book, *Depero Futurista 1913–1927* (Milan, 1927), known, from the two industrial aluminum bolts holding it together, as *The Bolted Book*. Fortunato Depero's overall design, typeset

286. Front cover of F. T. Marinetti and T. D'Albisola, *Parole in libertà: futuriste olfattive tattili-termiche* (Rome, 1932), lithograph on tin and metal stand for display, 260 x 260 mm (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library).

by Enrico Andreatta and Lionello Buffato of the anti-fascist Mercurio print shop in Rovereto, gives this more coherence than *Zang Tumb Tumb*, thirteen years earlier. It also experimented with different coloured and textured papers, as well as inks, including metallic silver on the cover: all of which made this very difficult to print. And as an advertisement for Depero's skills, it would have also appealed to Marinetti's marketing instinct. *The Bolted Book*, apart from its binding apparatus, was also influential on Kurt Schwitters and Jan Tschichold.

The next pioneering book – Del Puppo and others have equated this with an incunable – was Marinetti and Tullio D'Albisola's (Tullio Mazzotti) *Parole in libertà futuriste: tattili-termiche olfattive* (Futurist words in freedom: olfactory, tactile, thermal), published on 4 November 1932 by Edizioni futuriste di Poesia and Lito-Latta Savona in an edition of 101 copies (fig. 286). It is known as *The Tin Book*. While its use of metal, symbolic of modernization for the Futurists, could have been influenced by *The Bolted Book*, Marinetti's *Scatole d'amore in conserva* (Rome, 1927) and its prominent opened tin can on the cover by Ivo Pannaggi might also reflect a continuing obsession with tin. There are fifteen metal leaves in *Parole in libertà futuriste*, roughly 240 by 240 mm, attached to rods articulated in an aluminum cylinder, the 'spine'. The book (without the slipcase) weighs 852 grammes. The publisher, Lito-Latta, run by Vicenzo Nosenzo (who was responsible for *The Tin Book*'s binding mechanism), had developed a process for colour lithography on tin. Although its subtitle refers to touch, warmth and smell, it also generates other sense data such as hearing and sight. There is a disjuncture between recto and verso, with text on a recto being followed by a related image on its verso, rather than appearing together as a single spread. And again, the arrangement of text and image, influenced by the Bulgarian ex-Bauhaus student Nikolay Diulgheroff, who designed the type for the cover in paquebot or liner style as well as the following Lito-Latta advertisement, has constructivist as much as Futurist roots.

Del Puppo has produced an accessible discussion and analysis of books published under the aegis of Italian Futurism and a useful supplement to Claudia Salaris's *Marinetti editore* (Bologna, 1990). STEPHEN J. BURY

SIEMEN DIJKSTRA – A BOIS PERDU. For almost three decades, the Dutch artist Siemen Dijkstra (b. 1968) has been making colour reduction woodcuts, a process the French call à *bois perdu*, or lost wood, and that he learned while a student at the Minerva Art Academy in Groningen. In 2020 the Fondation Custodia in Paris showed a selection of Dijkstra's woodcuts, along with numerous of his watercolours and drawings. The Fondation also published a handsome catalogue, written by Gijsbert van der Wal and featuring high-quality reproductions and multiple foldouts (*Siemen Dijkstra – À Bois Perdu* (in Dutch and French), exhibition catalogue, Paris, Fondation Custodia, originally 15 February–10 May 2020, but rescheduled 15 February–15 March and 7 July–6 September 2020, Paris, Fondation Custodia, 2020, 196 pp., 164 ills., €29).

Van der Wal gives a full account of Dijkstra's career, enlivening the text with numerous quotations from the artist. He notes some of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century Scandinavian painters who inspired Dijkstra – the most widely known of them being Laurits Andersen Ring (1854–1933) – and some of the contemporary artists whose work Dijkstra admires, including David Hockney (b. 1937) and Andy Goldsworthy (b. 1956). Of greatest interest, though, is what Van der Wal has to say about Dijkstra's works that emanate from Drenthe, the Netherlandish province the artist calls home.

Located in the northeastern region of the Netherlands, sparsely populated Drenthe is rich with forests and peat bogs, heather-covered moors and streams and has been a key source of inspiration for Dijkstra going back to his childhood. While he has made landscapes and seascapes elsewhere in the Dutch provinces, Scandinavia and even the Arctic, Drenthe is the place to which he is most closely bound. He confides that when studying the work of other landscapists, he often wonders if the sites depicted were chosen solely for their beauty or because of some more intense knowledge of them. The point is not that Dijkstra's landscapes aren't beautiful – virtually all of them are – but that at their best, they have as much to say about the history of the land, even its soil, as about the land's visual appeal.

Dijkstra delves deep in a colour woodcut from the series *Earthly Paradise no. 2*, a landscape from 2009 (fig. 287). A view originating from a nature reserve in northern Drenthe, it shows a meadow thick with grassy vegetation, punctuated with copses of trees and intersected by a stream. The landscape stops, however, about two-thirds down the sheet, where the perspective shifts to reveal a cross section of soil. This is not an idle exercise for Dijkstra; the cross section is a true-to-life profile of the soil type (called podzol) common to that site.

Twice as wide as it is tall, a work titled *1999 – 2017 De Bork* portrays a wooded tract veiled in ashy mist (fig. 288). Moss-covered limbs and branches lay scattered on the ground; dead leaves form an overlying carpet. The scene has a dreamy, elegiac quality. Save for signs like the muddy tire tracks at right and the observation platform on the tree nearby, there is no human presence. Like other of Dijkstra's landscapes, this apparently coherent scene reflects not a single, fixed moment in time but rather the passage of time. As Van der Wal explains, here Dijkstra references two of his earlier woodcuts: one, from 1999, corresponds to the trees and fallen debris that occupy the left third of the sheet; the other, from 2004, corresponds

287. Siemen Dijkstra, *Looner Diep* (Detail), from the series *Earthly Paradise no. 2*, 2009, colour reduction woodcut, 320 x 700 mm (Photo courtesy of the artist).

to the tire tracks and viewing platform occupying the right third of the sheet. Seamlessly joining the two, the remaining central section is a product of memory and invention. Dijkstra frequently looks to earlier sketches and photographs for a fuller understanding of a site, but this one he knows intimately, for it neighbours his home. An eco-conscious artist, he states that over the past decade he has 'felt more and more like a landscape archivist', racing against the clock, anxiously recording the quickly changing state of his surroundings.

To produce a multicolour woodcut typically means printing multiple matrices – one matrix per colour. In the reduction method, though, only one matrix is required. Ostensibly simpler, the process can be quite complicated in the case of such highly detailed woodcuts as Dijkstra's. He uses a single plank of plywood about three millimeters thick, alternately cutting into the surface and then printing each colour, repeating this cycle on average between thirteen and eighteen times. The production of an edition starts once he makes the first cuts in the wood, even before then if printing a uniform field of colour. (A video of Dijkstra explaining the process, and with French subtitles, is available on the Fondation Custodia's website).

288. Siemen Dijkstra, *1999 – 2017 – De Bork*, 2017, colour reduction woodcut, 380 x 820 mm (Photo courtesy of the artist).

The history of reduction relief prints, whether woodcuts or linocuts, is a contested one. A common narrative is that Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) invented the process in the late 1950s, but Alisa Bunbury, curator at the University of Melbourne, and others have given lie to that myth (A. Bunbury, 'Not Picasso's Invention – a Foray into the History of Reductive Linoprinting' Australian Print Symposium, 2001, printsandprintmaking.gov.au/references/5333/, accessed 1 January 2021). While Picasso undoubtedly raised the bar, Bunbury reveals that the method was being taught in classrooms as early as the 1940s, and that the Melbourne-based artist Murray Griffin (1903–92) was practicing it in 1932. It is lamentable that no one seems to have taken this research further, for there are many remaining gaps. In the meantime, the process itself has a secure future in the work of Siemen Dijkstra. JUDITH BRODIE

CONTEMPORARY PRINTS FROM MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM. *Reflections* features selections from the recently expanded collection of contemporary art of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) at the British Museum (fig. 289). The collection focuses on works on paper and includes many prints, ranging from linocuts and etchings to silkscreen and digital. The catalogue and the prints in it showcase the immense scope, variety and diversity of art production in the MENA region. The accompanying catalogue presents two contextual essays, seven overarching thematic divisions, and full colour reproductions of all exhibits accompanied by short explanations (Venetia Porter, *Reflections: Contemporary Art of the Middle East and North Africa,* contributions by Charles Tripp and Natasha Morris, exhibition catalogue, London, The British Museum, 17 May–15 August 2021, London, British Museum Press, 2020, 256 pp., ills., £25).

The sheer number of works of art included index the rapid growth of the British Museum's collection, fueled by the Contemporary and Modern Middle Eastern Art collecting group (CaMMEA) that supports the museum's acquisitions. The catalogue encompasses a wide variety of artists, from modernists such as the Syrians Louay Kayali (1934–78) and Marwan (1934–2016) and Iranians Bahman Mohassess (1931–2010) and Parviz Tanavoli (b. 1937), to younger contemporaries such as the Egyptians Khaled Hafez (b. 1963) and Youssef Nabil (b. 1972), Saudi Arabian Ahmed Mater al-Ziad (b. 1979), and Algerian Lydia Ourahmane (b. 1992). There is religious diversity too, with Jewish, Christian and Muslim artists. While there are a fair number of female artists, the majority are male.

The prints range from the 1950s until today. On the earlier end, there are expressionistic figural etchings depicting Lebanese folk tales from *Le Bouna*, of 1953–54, an artist book by Shafic Abboud (1926–2004). Abboud, from Lebanon himself, spent much of his career in Paris, and the book was produced there in the printmaking studio of Edouard Goerg (1893–1969). A coloured lithograph of a young man with blue hair, holding a flower in front of a Christian town north of Damascus, was made by Syrian painter Louay Kayali (1934–78) while studying in Rome in 1965. A more recent, abstract silkscreen print in stark black, red and yellow, *A Library Set on Fire*, of 2008, by Iraqi artist Rafa Nasiri (1940–2013), references the burning of the National Library of Baghdad during the Iraq War of

2003 and includes Arabic text by the tenth-century poet al-Mutanabbi. Nasiri was exiled from Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War and studied printmaking in China. Also included are revolutionary silkscreen posters from popular uprisings in Iran in 1979 and Syria in 2011. The variety of techniques, styles and content illustrate the equally diverse ways in which MENA artists employed traditional and new modes of printmaking to address heritage, religion, art history and politics. Even a brief glance reveals the distinctly transnational nature of the production of these prints.

Reflections can be viewed as an expansion and

289. Fathi Hassan (b. 1957), *Glance towards the Unknown*, 1985, photographic print, 400 x 300 mm (London, British Museum © the artist).

amelioration of the 2006 British Museum exhibition and catalogue *Word into Art: Artists of the Modern Middle East* (London, 2006), also by Porter. This groundbreaking show – one of the first in a major European or American city to bring together modern and contemporary art of the MENA region – focused on the role of calligraphy as the unifying trait. While this premise was rather reductive, the exhibition's recognition of contemporary MENA art was a crucial step in establishing a new field in academia and museums. *Reflections* showcases how the field has progressed and expanded, with the catalogue presenting the art along seven themes: figuration, abstraction, tradition, religion, gender, politics and migration. Here, the categories reveal how MENA

290. Huda Lutfi, *Al-Sitt and her Sunglasses*, 2008, collage and acrylic paint, 480 x 400 mm (London, British Museum © the artist).

artists were not solely bound to singular issues, such as the legacy of the Arabic script, but rather responded to a plethora of political, social and cultural situations. In this new context, when Arabic script does appear, it is not a simple signifier for identity. For example, in the collage, *Al-Sitt and her Sunglasses*, of 2008, Huda Lutfi (b. 1948) repeats the bust of the famous Egyptian singer Umm Kulthum (a.k.a. al-Sitt) four times in a pyramidal shape and surrounds her with eight disembodied female arms and sprawling Arabic poetry in red and white (fig. 290). Visually, the words recall both a manuscript page and a chalkboard, but aurally, they evoke Umm Kulthum's performance of these words in the 1960s. In this work, Lutfi calls the viewer to critically consider the leading role of women's voices in twentieth-century Egyptian popular culture.

The diversity signals a shift in the field towards a less stereotypical understanding of art from the MENA region as solely about religion, politics, or women's bodies. The broad scope of its thematic categories results in a presentation that lacks a central thesis in favour of an assortment of poignant examples. The deep engagement with each work of art and the focus on works on paper, including many provocative uses of new and old print technologies, opens the door for further work in the thriving field of modern and contemporary art from the MENA region. ALEX DIKA SEGGERMAN

CORRECTIONS. Following the report of entomologist Dr Robert Hoare, Landcare Research, Lincoln, New Zealand, authors Mark Stocker, Julia Kasper and Phil Sirvid wish to make the following corrections to their article 'Wenceslaus Hollar's *Muscarum scarabeorum vermiumque varie figure* Anatomized and Identified', *Print Quarterly*, XXXVI, 2019, pp. 390–403:

Fig. 281: Middle left is not a moth *Dioryctria abietella* but possibly a small magpie moth, *Anania hortulata,* family Crambidae.

Fig. 283: Second row, right, is not an oak eggar caterpillar, *Lassiocampa quercus* but a tiger moth caterpillar, subfamily Arctiinae, family Erebidae.

Fig. 289: 5 is not a gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae, genus *Polyommatus* but probably an argus butterfly, genus *Erebia,* family Nymphalidae.

6, faint, between the two volutes, is not a garden tiger moth, *Arctia caja*, family Erebidae but a small tortoiseshell butterfly, *Aglais urticae,* family Nymphalidae.

12, resting on the volute, at far right, is not a painted lady butterfly, *Vanessa cardui*, family Nymphalidae but a wall brown butterfly, *Lasiommata megera.*

14, near lower margin, at centre are not two dragonflies flanking a marbled white butterfly, possibly *Melanargia titea* or *Melanargia Lachesis*, family Nymphalidae, but two dragonflies, or a dragonfly (left) and damselfly (right), flanking a moth that may belong to the subfamily Larentiinae.

Fig. 292: Bottom left is not a mottled tortoise moth, *Euplagia quadripunctaria*, but a Jersey tiger moth, *Euplagia quadripunctaria*, family Erebidae.

Fig. 294: Middle right is not a gossamer-winged butterfly, family Lycaenidae, but possibly a stylized depiction of the speckled yellow moth, *Pseudopanthera macularia*, family Geometridae.

MICHAEL BURY (1947–2021). As a young student, Michael attended King's College School, Wimbledon, where he learnt by heart John Donne's metaphysical poem 'A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning' (1633). Shortly before his death in July this year the poem was very much on his mind, and he quoted passages that came to him. Michael's trust in poetry as a mechanism for reflection encapsulates his existential allegiances, in which culture in its broadest sense played a defining role in his life. The first of two sons to Anne and John Bury, Michael was raised in Putney, London. His father, a respected art historian and bibliophile, specialized mainly in the sixteenth-century Spanish world. As a child, Michael's character was marked by curiosity and ingenuity, which at school translated into academic success. During his early years, fuelled by visits to museums, archaeological sites and buildings in the UK and abroad, Michael developed an interest in culture that remained with him throughout his life. In 1964, on a trip to Germany with his lifelong friend Guy Billington, Michael meticulously planned an itinerary that enabled them to see as many works as possible by the late Gothic sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider. A precocious start no doubt, but one that his peers appreciated and equipped him for scholarly life.

The following year, Michael began studying History at King's College Cambridge. It was there that he met his first wife, Judy Yudkin. Graduating from Cambridge in 1968 (MA), Michael continued his studies at the Courtauld Institute of Art until 1970 (MA), when he embarked on his professional career as an Assistant Keeper of Foreign Art at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. The period at the Walker brought valuable insights into museum practice and exhibition priorities, but also the realization that he was better suited to an academic career. Two years later, in 1972, Michael joined the University of Edinburgh as a Lecturer in History of Art where he remained for the rest of his career, retiring as Reader in 2008. In the course of his teaching, Michael challenged the hierarchies of art history and championed the lesser known arts, prints in particular. His casual kindness and generous wisdom enabled generations of art historians to develop and establish their own stellar careers. At the University, Michael met his second wife Elizabeth Cowling, renowned authority on Picasso, and they happily married in 2008.

291. Michael Bury at home in Edinburgh, c. 1993.

Michael joined the board of *Print Quarterly* in 1999, contributing a range of scholarly articles, reviews and notes, and was exemplary in his willingness to read submissions. His last article for the journal (2021) on Francesco de Nanto's activity in Rome, is distinguished by its clarity and commitment to resolving a proposition through careful examination of archival documents, revealing also his facility with paleography and languages. Reading manuscripts and texts as closely as he looked at images led him to challenge often repeated, but mistaken assumptions about the material he was working on.

Among Michael's many publications, *The Print in Italy 1550–1620* – which he wrote to accompany an exhibition at the British Museum (2001) – stands out for its prescient insight and originality and won the Mitchell Prize for the best museum catalogue of the year. The catalogue succeeds in clarifying a confused and disparate subject, and is written in a way that demonstrates Michael's acute powers of analysis and elegant prose. Since it appeared, it has served as an indispensable resource for those interested in this period of Italian printmaking. Michael's positive experience working on this project in the Department of Prints and Drawings led him to observe that in another life he would like to have been a curator of prints at the British Museum. His last book – written in collaboration with Carol Richardson and Lucinda Byatt – the *Dialogue on the Errors and Painters by Giovanni Andrea Gilio* (2018), manifests his long-standing interest in the reform of art at the time of the Council of Trent and the Catholic Reformation. It demonstrates his skill as a translator sensitive to the challenges of interpreting the nuances of language within the context of his immense knowledge of art history.

Michael's ability to listen to both sides of an argument without prejudice went hand in hand with his acumen as a scholar and made him the perfect interlocutor and critic. He was always willing to discuss ideas, and his comments invariably improved or inflected an argument. I have been the recipient of this generosity, when Michael agreed to the thankless task of serving as external reader for the publication of the print collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo. He went above and beyond what any normal reader would have done, providing extensive commentary and corrections. Without his surgical interventions, the volumes would never have seen the light of day. I regard this a great act of friendship, while demonstrating his commitment to, and peerless knowledge of, Italian printmaking.

Despite Michael's broad culture and erudition, he was never unduly serious and would counter pretence with a pithy and humorous observation reminding us never to take ourselves too seriously. Many of those who knew Michael will also remember him as a wonderful cook and the nights spent around the kitchen table in Edinburgh. Conversation and laughter ensued while he presented a seemingly endless array of delicious dishes. The topics discussed were wide ranging, revealing Michael's engagement with subjects well beyond the confines of his specialisms, but most of all his curiosity and interest in people. Not surprisingly, he was very knowledgeable about music and contemporary art.

In early 2012, Michael was diagnosed with myeloma after which he underwent prolonged and demanding treatment. He was stoical in facing death, and in the final months he refused certain medications so he could maintain a clear mind and concentrate on reading some of the great classics of European literature, listening to choral music and opera, and thinking. He was also working on prints with complex iconography that he had never studied before and answering queries from colleagues. These final acts characterize the purpose with which Michael conducted his life, with curiosity, sincerity, and dignity. Michael is greatly missed by his family, his former students, colleagues and friends, for his gentle character, wry sense of humour, the heft of his unassuming intellect, and his capacity for friendship. He is survived by his wife Lizzy, brother Peter, daughters Catherine and Clare, and grandsons, Joe, Nicky and Jacob.

'Thy firmness draws my circle just,
And makes me end, where I begunne.'

MARK MCDONALD

Catalogue and Book Reviews

Early Assemblage of Manuscript and Print

David S. Areford

Kathryn M. Rudy, *Image, Knife, and Gluepot: Early Assemblage in Manuscript and Print*, Cambridge, UK, OpenBook Publishers, 2019, 356 pp. 253 ills., £22.95.

In her fifth single-authored book, the well-known manuscript and early print specialist Kathryn Rudy has crafted two intertwined narratives. The dominant one reads like an art historical detective story complete with twists and turns and transpiring over a decade, while a lesser storyline shifts from personal revelations and humorous asides to pointed institutional and disciplinary critiques. These plotlines are meant to challenge the traditional ways in which art history is constructed and art historical research is pursued, which are certainly laudable goals. Although the secondary narrative will not be to every reader's taste, the main tale is rich with perceptive observations and rigorous research, presenting a pair of fascinating case studies of the complex and somewhat messy transition from manuscript to print culture in the Netherlands.

The book explores two Middle Dutch books of hours now in London's British Library: Add. Ms. 24332 and Add. Ms. 31002. As Rudy persuasively argues, both manuscripts were compiled by a community of Franciscan beghards (semi-monastic lay brothers) in Maastricht, the first around 1500 and the second about 25 years later. Significantly, these were originally 'hybrid books', combining manuscript texts with mainly printed images: over 150 and 231 single-leaf woodcuts and engravings, respectively. Unfortunately, in the nineteenth century the images were stripped from their book contexts by British Museum curators eager to categorize and catalogue rare specimens of early printmaking. Thus, Rudy's main goal – and daunting task – is the virtual reconstruction of the texts and images now divided between two institutions. In the process, she emphasizes the multiple stages in the lives of these objects: assembly, disassembly and reassembly, each with its own set of historical motivations and challenges.

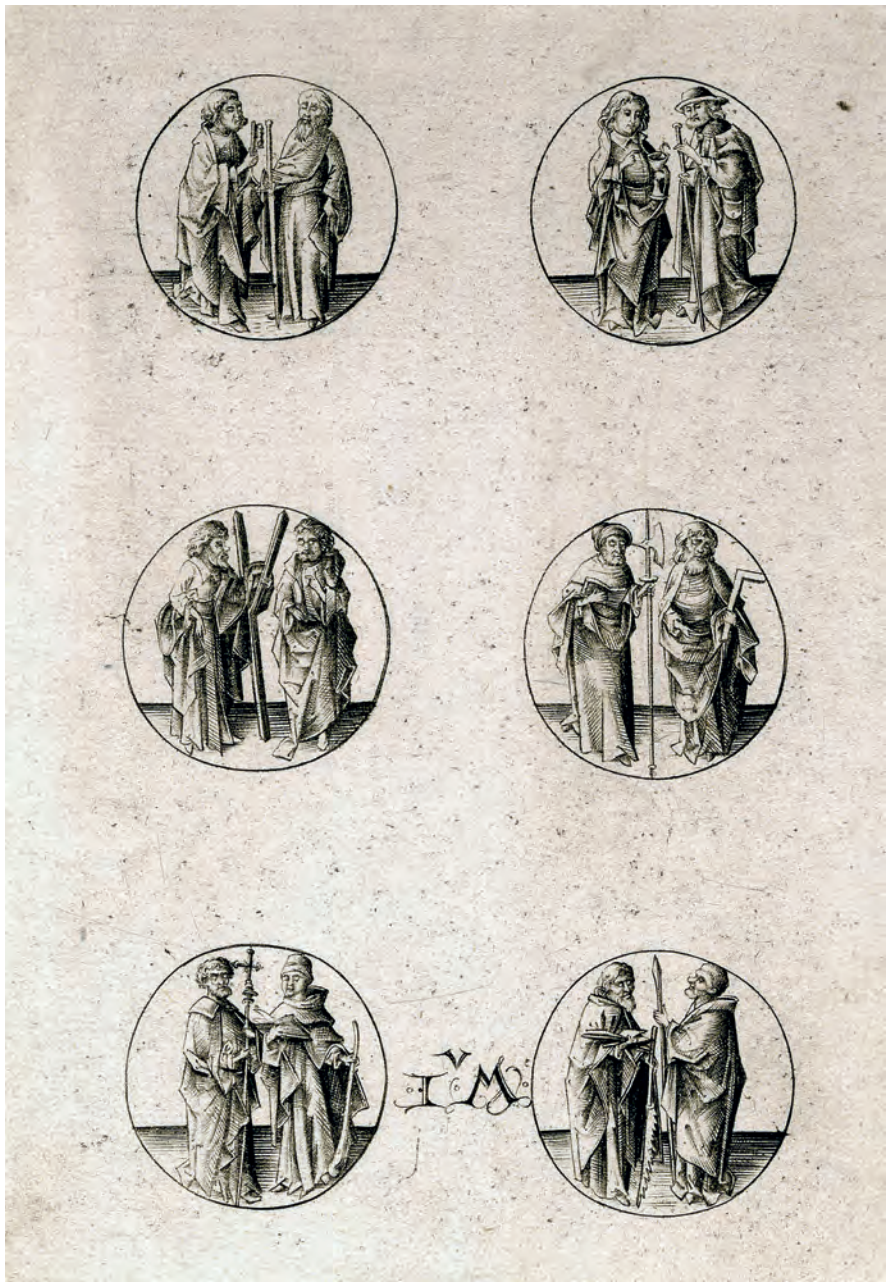
Since the production of the manuscripts was a generation apart, Rudy is able to trace the changing impact of printed images over the course of the early sixteenth century. She is especially interested in the different ways in which prints were integrated into books. The earlier volume reveals a procedure that runs counter to how illustrated manuscripts were normally produced. Instead of prioritizing the texts and reserving blank spaces for the images, the addition of prints was simultaneous with the scribal work. In some cases, the print was placed on the page first and thus dictated the overall layout. By the time the later manuscript was compiled, the selection of prints reflected changes in devotional practices, with several rosary-related images of the Virgin Mary, for instance. And the hand painting of prints becomes more prominent, as the beghards used colour as a way of unifying disparate styles, shapes and sizes. In addition, engraving clearly dominates over woodcuts and metalcuts, as do prints with Italianate and secular border designs.

More broadly, Rudy's book is sprinkled with interesting revelations about printmakers, viewers and the dynamics of supply and demand. For example, both British Library manuscripts include small engravings by Israhel van Meckenem (active c. 1465–1503), each cut from larger sheets sold in thematic sets of six roundels featuring saints, scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin, and motifs related to death or indulgences (figs. 292 and 293). The evidence reveals a savvy artist who anticipated the market for inexpensive readymade images. He produced prints of popular subjects linked to specific texts and in sizes easy to cut apart and insert into books (using Rudy's titular 'knife' and 'gluepot').

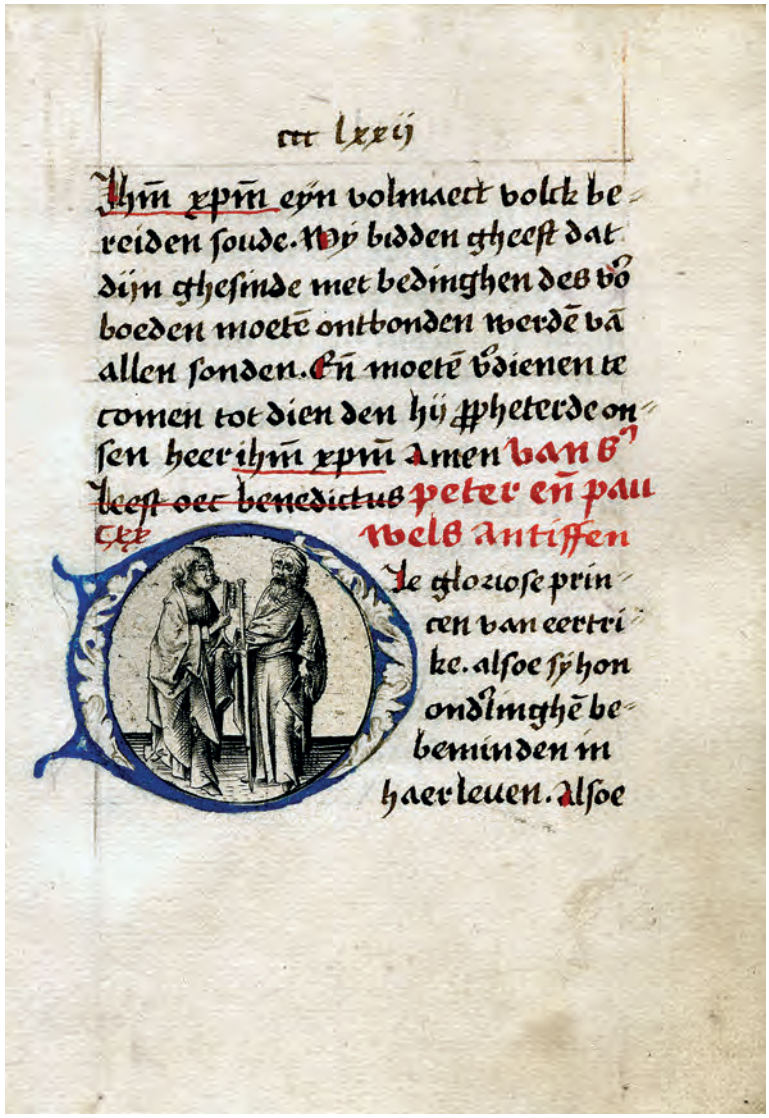
In terms of viewer reception, the manuscripts also provide fascinating examples of the adaptability of prints (an important focus of scholarship over the last twenty years). When an image of a particular saint was unavailable, a print of another saint could substitute, taking on a new identity. Wolfgang became Servatius by scratching out an axe and adding a serpent (fig. 294), and Paul became James by replacing a sword with a shell. Through a similar manipulation of attributes, the same engraving of Lawrence was used three times, representing

the intended saint, as well as Vincent and Stephen with the addition of a rake and three rocks, respectively.

One of Rudy's goals is to work against the traditional authoritative and seamless third-person scholarly text. Instead, she writes in the first person and foregrounds the 'process of research', producing a 'methodological self-portrait' (p. 7). She aims to be as transparent as possible by revealing how the research and writing of art history is done, including the false starts, the dead ends, the tangents and the happy accidents (material usually relegated to footnotes or appendices). By design, this approach results in a somewhat fragmented and



292. Israhel van Meckenem, *The Twelve Apostles*, 1480–90, engraving, 167 x 118 mm (London, British Museum).



293. Detached page from a manuscript with Dutch text and a fragment of an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem of 1480–90 showing *St Peter and St Paul*, 144 x 103 mm (London, British Museum).

redundant text with seemingly unnecessary (although interesting!) chapters, one on an unusual calendar and another that gathers leftover material. Rudy's transparency is linked to her desire for accessibility. Her book is available in multiple formats: a free PDF, an inexpensive e-book and paperback, as well as a deluxe hardback (with the best possible reproductions). In order to increase the number of illustrations, 137 colour figures are joined by 108 'e-figures' with scannable QR codes that link directly to the host collection's website. In addition, Rudy provides an online appendix in the form of an Excel spreadsheet that charts one manuscript's reconstruction.

Woven into Rudy's solid scholarly investigation is a litany of legitimate grievances related to conducting archival art history or 'slow research' as Rudy dubs it (p. 52). These include the personal financial burden of multiple research trips; the overly restrictive gate-keeping characteristic of certain institutions; and the uncredited use of a scholar's research by museums and libraries. But chief amongst these are rules that forbid photography in library reading rooms, as well as exorbitant fees for

294. Enlarged detail of a manuscript with Dutch text and a fragment of an engraving of *St Wolfgang* by Israhel van Meckenem of 1480–90, transformed into *St Servatius*, 144 x 104 mm (London, British Museum).

ordering and publishing photographs. All of this will be familiar to scholars of manuscripts and early prints and printed books, who (like Rudy) have spent countless hours in libraries and museums tirelessly examining objects during multiple visits over multiple years.

Of course, such complaints usually remain private or at the most shared as informal shoptalk between academic friends. Rudy's daring decision to include this material (and to name names) is definitely in line with her confessional, first person narrative. These details will appeal mainly to an insider audience of scholars or PhD students eager for a candid account of the challenges they will face. In this way, Rudy's book approximates the best kind of graduate seminar – intellectually stimulating but also entertaining, practical and personal.

Jacob Cornelisz 'Van Oostsanen'

Daantje Meuwissen

Yvonne Bleyerveld, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700: Jacob Cornelisz*, edited by Huigen Leeflang, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, Sound & Vision Publishers, 2019, 384 pp., 401 b. & w. ills., €465.

Sound and Vision Publishers can be warmly congratulated on a wonderful new addition to the long-standing and proven New Hollstein formula: a volume devoted to the woodcuts of the prolific Amsterdam painter and printmaker Jacob Cornelisz (c. 1460/65–1533). This artist headed a productive workshop in the centre of Amsterdam, where at least from 1507 onwards altarpieces, devotional scenes and portraits were created for well-to-do citizens and clergy in the county of Holland. In addition to his c. 260 woodcuts included in this publication, Cornelisz designed painted glass roundels and embroidery, and painted vaults in several churches for his patrons.[1] Author and compiler Bleyerveld is curator at the RKD in The Hague and professor at Leiden University.

The extensive introduction of some 30 pages – a welcome feature of the more recent *New Hollstein* volumes, such as those on Frans Floris, Hendrick Goltzius, Hans Bol and the De Jode dynasty – starts with a useful synthesis of the literature on the life and name of Jacob Cornelisz, who was born in the village of Oostzaan, north of Amsterdam, and therefore was called 'Van Oostsanen'. Recent controversies among art historians about his personal mark – which appears on virtually all the woodcuts and some of Jacob's paintings – are summarized and some tackled. Bleyerveld was able to cleverly trace the toponym 'Van Oostsanen' as far back as 1614, which, however, is some 80 years after the artist's death. For the sake of historical accuracy, she refers to the artist as Jacob Cornelisz.[2]

In the early sixteenth century Amsterdam was still a small city of some 10,000 inhabitants with no tradition whatsoever in printmaking. It is therefore all the more remarkable that Cornelisz' earliest known print series immediately sets an unprecedented high standard: the monumental series of the *Life of the Virgin,* of 1507, is an impressive suite of seven sheets comprising a total of 27 scenes (fig. 295; nos. 1–7). The series was made to be mounted together as a decorative frieze c. 2,000 mm long. Cornelisz signed it twice and embellished it with two coats of arms of Amsterdam in an early form of city marketing. The series must have been so successful that in 1513 the artist published *The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin*, combining five reused woodblocks from the *Life of the Virgin* with two newly designed ones and a new ornamental frame (fig. 296; nos. 40–46). Such large print series, known as giant woodcuts or *Riesenholzschnitte*, would become Cornelisz' trademark and the consistent reuse of successful woodblocks in new iconographical ensembles was characteristic of his printed oeuvre. The reworking and republishing of popular series would become typical for him as well, undoubtedly through the aid of the Amsterdam printer Doen Pietersz (c. 1478/80–after 1536).

Bleyerveld suggests, in fact, that the republishing of Cornelisz' existing woodcuts with varying texts in languages other than the vernacular must have been initiated by Pietersz. Their collaboration started in 1510 and Pietersz became Cornelisz' established business partner. A good five pages in the introduction are devoted to what must have been their most ambitious product: *The Large Round Passion*, a suite of twelve sheets offered in several forms. All three surviving editions published in different combinations and with different ornamental frames are carefully listed and extensively described (nos. 22–33). On the basis of clever visual puzzling with fragments Bleyerveld even presents evidence for a fourth edition of the famous series (pp. XXXIV–XXXV).

Exactly because of this frequent reuse of woodblocks and reprinting of series such as occurred with the *Large Round Passion*, and because so many of the woodcuts only survive in unique impressions or as fragments due to intensive use, it is difficult to grasp Cornelisz' print oeuvre in its entirety. It was first catalogued by Kurt Steinbart in 1937, followed by one of the first *Hollstein Dutch and Flemish* volumes in 1951. The 1951 Hollstein catalogue was largely based on Steinbart's publication and provided no introduction, biography or descriptions and consequently presented a scattered oeuvre of woodcuts. The new edition is completely different. Through careful research into various impressions

1. See also the exhibition catalogue *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (ca. 1475–1533): De Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar,* edited by D. Meuwissen, Zwolle, 2014.
2. Bleyerveld, op. cit., p. xxv.

295. Jacob Cornelisz, *The Life of the Virgin*, third print from the series, with: *The Presentation of the Virgin*, *The Marriage of the Virgin*, *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *The Crucifixion*, 1507, woodcut, 385 x 285 mm (London, British Museum).

296. Jacob Cornelisz, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, from the series of *The Seven Sorrows of the the Virgin*, 1513, woodcut, 370 x 245 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet).

kept in a wide range of European and American print rooms, Bleyerveld offers a convincing reconstruction of Cornelisz' fragmentarily surviving oeuvre, presenting the woodcuts in chronological groupings that also include lost prints known only from written sources.

One of the most important outcomes of Bleyerveld's thorough, object-based research is that we gain clear insight into the way in which the inventive ensembles

297. Jacob Cornelisz, *St Michael Vanquishing the Devil*, 1510, woodcut, 386 x 260 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet).

of *Riesenholzschnitte* were composed and their original function. Many of these woodcuts were intended to be hung in monasteries, chapels and public buildings such as schools, or were attached to the walls of the houses of prosperous citizens, either directly or mounted. This practice immediately explains why some impressions appear damaged and worn: they are tangible evidence of the popularity and intensive usage of Cornelisz' prints in his own time – and long thereafter, since there is evidence that many of the woodblocks were reprinted at least until the middle of the seventeenth century. It was a bold decision by Bleyerveld also to illustrate some of these later impressions printed from timeworn woodblocks.

Furthermore, the New Hollstein volume gives a much better idea of the scope of Cornelisz' print production and enables us to judge it on its own merit. This last aspect is particularly important, because the Amsterdam artist suffered too long from unfair comparison with the better known and more refined engravings and woodcuts of his contemporary Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533), who was a pioneer in printmaking in Leiden. Lucas' elegant prints were mainly collector's items for art lovers and humanists, whereas Cornelisz' *Riesenholzschnitte* served a devotional purpose as visual aids to prayer for a variety of social groups, including monks, nuns, pious lay people, clerks, lawyers and schoolmasters. By combining attractive images with short texts and prayers – in Dutch, French or Latin, indicating that the artist clearly aimed for an international audience – viewers were encouraged to meditate on the subjects depicted.

The international reach of these innovative prints is proven by the collection of the Spanish diplomat Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539) of Seville, son of the famous explorer. This impressive collection of some 3,200 prints is unfortunately lost, but the inventory was extensively studied by Mark McDonald and published in 2004. The detailed descriptions made by Columbus's clerks show that the collector owned many prints by Cornelisz.[3] Bleyerveld analyses those mentioned in the inventory and incorporates them in her chronologically arranged catalogue, even though in some cases images cannot be included because the woodcuts are only known thanks to the inventory. One of the most fascinating works is *Death Taking People from all Professions*, an otherwise completely unknown series from 1509 of which Columbus kept impressions (no. 8). It consisted of nine prints mounted on a roll (*rótulo*) depicting a *Dance Macabre* with, according to the meticulous description, 32 human beings from different professions and 32 figures of Death. We can imagine what a spectacular suite this must have been if we compare it with one of Cornelisz' most dynamic woodcuts from around the same time: *St Michael Vanquishing the Devil*, from the series *Holy Knights on Horseback*, dated 1510 (nos. 13–19; fig. 297).

298. Jacob Cornelisz, *Two Prophets*, c. 1514–17, woodcut, 95 x 82 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

For researchers interested in the early days of printmaking in Northern Europe, many of Bleyerveld's passages read like sleuthing detective stories. Her *New Hollstein* is a thorough and beautiful publication with many new insights and additions to the existing oeuvre, such as the two prophets deep in conversation (fig. 298, no. 39), previously unnoticed book illustrations such as no. 47, and convincingly rejected woodcuts (nos. R1–R15). It even presents new visual evidence for the involvement of Jacob Cornelisz' grandson Cornelis Anthonisz (c. 1505–53) in some of the later woodcuts (p. LI). Art history can now profit from an elaborate catalogue and impressive study into the function, usage and highly inventive arrangements of Jacob Cornelisz' woodcuts.

3. M. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539). A Renaissance Collector in Seville*, London, 2004.

Bruegel: The Complete Graphic Works

Nadine M. Orenstein

Maarten Bassens and Joris van Grieken, *Bruegel: The Complete Graphic Works*, contributions by Jan van der Stock and Lieve Watteeuw, published on the occasion of the exhibition: 'The World of Bruegel in Black and White', Brussels, The Royal Library of Belgium (KBR), 15 October 2019–16 February 2020, London, Thames & Hudson, 2019, 288 pp., 205 ills., £49.95.

On the occasion of the 450th anniversary of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's death in 2019, the large exhibition held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna received most of the attention. It presented almost half of the artist's surviving work in painting, drawing and print. Later that year, and with much less fanfare, the Royal Library in Brussels inaugurated a new exhibition space with a smaller show focused on the artist's prints, 'The World of Bruegel in Black and White', accompanied by the book *Bruegel: The Complete Graphic Works*. While 'graphic work' sometimes denotes drawings as well as prints, in this case the focus is on the prints by and after Bruegel (c. 1526/27–69).

The Royal Library's collection has long been home to Bruegel print scholarship. René van Bastelaer and Louis Lebeer, compilers of the foundational catalogues

299. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Peasant Wedding*, 1568, oil on oak panel, 1,130 x 1,640 mm (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).

300. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Everyman*, c. 1558, state I/II, engraving, 232 x 300 mm (Brussels, The Royal Library of Belgium (KBR)).

of the artist's prints, both headed the institution's print room.[1] The present catalogue is the result of a recent collaboration between the Royal Library's print room and Leuven University called the FINGERPRINT project, which has undertaken a thorough investigation of Bruegel's drawings and prints after his designs using all available technical means.[2] The scholarly, very readable and well-translated English version of the catalogue begins with Jan van der Stock's long awaited biography on Bruegel. The artist's early life is famously bereft of details including his date and place of birth. Van der Stock connects Bruegel with Pieter van Breda, who disappears from the Antwerp archives in 1551, about the same time that Bruegel makes an appearance. In view of this, Van der Stock situates the artist's birth in Breugel (sic) in North Brabant around 1526/27. His archival research has led to further interesting propositions. He concludes that Bruegel's friend Hans Franckaert (c. 1520–after 1584), with whom, according to Karel Van Mander, the artist attended peasant fairs and weddings, not only commissioned the painting *The Peasant Wedding* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) but also co-owned the space in which it is shown taking place (fig. 299). He also suggests that a large space in

1. R. van Bastelaer, *Peter Bruegel l'ancien, son œuvre et son temps; étude historique, suivie des catalogues raisonnés de son œuvre dessiné et grave*, Brussels, 1907, *Les estampes de Peter Bruegel l'ancien*, Brussels, 1908 and L. Lebeer, *Catalogue raisonné des estampes de Bruegel l'Ancien*, Brussels, 1969.
2. See also J. van Grieken et al., 'Fingerprint onderzoekt Pieter Bruegel', *Science Connection*, LIV, 2017, pp. 32–36.

301. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Dirty Bride or The Wedding of Mopsus and Nisa*, c. 1566, pen and black-brown ink on a white-prepared, partially carved block of applewood, 264 x 416 x 29 mm (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

the back of Franckaert's house in Antwerp may have functioned at least temporarily as a studio for the artist.

Joris van Grieken's essay focuses on Bruegel's collaboration with his publisher Hieronymus Cock (1518–70) and potentially with Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–86), chancellor to Charles V. Van Grieken proposes that the young Bruegel's trip to Italy, which took place around 1552–55, may not have been solely for personal artistic reasons. He hypothesizes that Cock might have sent Bruegel there to bring back drawings on which to base future prints. He also theorizes that Bruegel might have followed in the footsteps of such artists as Leonardo da Vinci and Jan van Eyck, who were sent on secret missions to record topographical information for military purposes. He proposes that Granvelle, who seems to have been a supporter of Cock's business from the beginning, may have commissioned Bruegel to make topographical drawings of strategically important locations in Italy. Among the pieces of circumstantial evidence for this idea is the fact that very few drawings from Bruegel's trip to Italy survive, the theory being that he would have handed over the classified topographical sheets upon his return. This hypothesis might be more convincing if a large body of drawn work from other moments of the artist's career, besides his drawings for prints and some early landscapes, had come down to us. Van Grieken also suggests that a large city view of Florence with a mountainous background, etched by the Van Doetecum brothers in 1557 after an unknown artist, could have been based on a design by Bruegel, citing its impressive clouds and spatial grandeur. This would have been the material that Bruegel brought back to Cock following his trip. An interesting idea but, by 1557, Bruegel's name appeared regularly on prints, so it seems strange that his name would not have been included on such an impressively sized piece.

Bassens takes on the nuts and bolts of Bruegel's prints, examining the states and their various publishers, counterproofs, inscriptions and other aspects of their making. With the help of search engines, he was able to trace most of the source texts for the Latin inscriptions found at the bottom of the prints. He also takes a close look at the typeface employed for the letterpress texts that were appended to several of the prints. In the case of *Everyman*, for which I identified two variations of type

302. Sketch Filter, from Photometric Stereo Imaging, of Upper Left Corner of Bruegel's Woodblock in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *The Dirty Bride or The Wedding of Mopsus and Nisa* (FINGERPRINT Project, Brussels).

for *The New Hollstein*, he has been able to identify an additional two and, more significantly, to connect the type that was used directly to the Plantin press (fig. 300).[3] It is hardly surprising that Cock would have turned to Plantin, then the most important book publisher in Antwerp, to print these texts appended to the prints, but now it is confirmed and this expands our view of the interactions among publishers in the city at the time.

One benefit of this project having been based in the Royal Library's print room is that the authors were able to fully access the print collection. As Bassens describes in the final essay about the history of Bruegel research in the Brussels print room, over time the collection has been organized in a complicated way and poorly catalogued. As a result, researchers have been reliant on the staff to make sure that they see all the holdings by a particular artist, but even the staff have not always been aware of the collection's extent. As a result, not all of the prints by an artist have always surfaced. Even Van Bastelaer and Lebeer were unable to identify all of the states represented in their collection. The *New Hollstein* volume on Bruegel missed a few, mostly late states that have been identified in an essay by Bassens on Bruegel's prints and in the catalogue at the end. The catalogue eliminates states that were described by predecessors but could not be located. Given the opaque organization of the collection in Brussels, one might have given them the benefit of the doubt and kept those in as possible states. Bassens rightly notes the mistaken identification in the *New Hollstein* of new second states of *Prudence, Temperance* and *Fortitude* from the series of Virtues. The additions to the inscriptions described were actually added in pen and ink on the impressions in Brussels, something I took note of when I first examined the prints but later misread my handwritten comments, incorrectly inserting them as new states. *Mea culpa!* Among the new states identified here is a second state of *The Temptation of St Anthony*, whose distinguishing features are described as 'minimal reworkings in the plate such as the addition of an extra coin above the money bag in lower right, several feathers on the head of the bird at the top and a flight of birds on the far left; extra hatching beneath the jug-man, in the eye of the big fish and in the neckerchief worn by the smooching angler'. These relatively minor adjustments to the plate have eluded cataloguers until now. Closer inspection of the image of the new state reveals that the print has been much more extensively reworked; additional hatching has been added, for instance, on the face of the large head in the centre, in the sky in the upper right and all around the jug that hangs from the branch along the right edge, to name but a few areas. The plate seems to have been wearing down when Cock or a later publisher reworked it extensively.

An essay by Watteeuw presents the work of the FINGERPRINT project in a case study of a unique object in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York – the partially carved woodblock with a drawing of *The Dirty Bride* by Bruegel on the surface (fig. 301). The cutting of the woodblock came to a halt after only a corner was finished. As a result, Bruegel's drawing was preserved for us today. Imaging of the carved part of the block carried out at the Met using the photometric stereo technique captures the relief of the surface and renders it three-dimensionally. Once an image is processed, different filters can be applied, showing the intricacy of the lightly bowed lines, which is difficult to make out on the woodblock (fig. 302). The curved lines seem to be different in character from the parallel hatching found in the woodcut's pendant, *The Wild Man or the Masquerade of Orson and Valentine*. One wonders if this shows the work of different cutters. While the photometric stereo imaging did not reveal any hidden secrets, some useful information was revealed by a close examination in particular of the block's verso, the side that admittedly is rarely looked at due to the extraordinary care necessary in handling this fragile piece. Watteuw explains that a large black burn mark in the centre of the block is a remnant of when the block was fixed to the woodcutter's table with bone glue that was later burned off. She also identifies some of the marks among the many scratches and holes on the verso as trial cuts of gouges and chisels, presumably carried out before the block was glued to the table. A barely visible, early two-line inscription in the upper right corner, will, one hopes, become more legible with future imaging processes.

The final section of the book consists of a catalogue of the prints with thematically organized entries. Much information about each work can be found here, including a good deal of research on the influence of the prints. The authors of *Bruegel: The Complete Graphic Works* give us a deep dive into the artist's prints and attempt to push various aspects of the scholarship further than before. While one may not agree with all of their propositions, this effort, especially coming from a collection with a distinguished history of leading research on the artist's prints, is a welcome addition to the bibliography on Pieter Bruegel the Elder.

3. N. M. Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450–1700*, edited by M. Sellink, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2006, pp. 78–81, no. 35.

Jacob Christoff Le Blon and Trichromatic Printing

Hans Jakob Meier

Ad Stijnman, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700: Jacob Christoff Le Blon and Trichromatic Printing, Parts I–II*, edited by Simon Turner, contributions by Helen Wyld, Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel, Sound & Vision Publishers in co-operation with Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 2020, Part I, 217 pp., 145 ills., Part II, 245 pp., 220 ills., €960.

With only about 150 impressions, the surviving print oeuvre of Christoff Le Blon (1667–1741) is small, but its

303. Jacob Christoff Le Blon, after a copy in the Royal Collection, UK, of a painting by Parmigianino, *Cupid Carving a Bow*, 1722–25, first plate mezzotint in blue, second plate mezzotint with engraving and dotting in yellow, third plate engraving and dotting in red, 560 x 420 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

outstanding significance for the technical development of modern printing is beyond question: Le Blon invented trichromatic printing. He successfully created the illusion of light in his prints (fig. 303) and their colour brilliance is as masterful as it was hotly debated among his contemporaries. Le Blon's legacy also encompasses lesser known textile weaving experiments. Various studies on this extraordinary artist-entrepreneur have appeared in the last decades, either as part of print-historical surveys or as monographs.[1] With the two-volume *New Hollstein* publication, however, print historian Ad Stijnman presents the first complete catalogue of Le Blon's print oeuvre. The volumes include essays by Stijnman and textile historian Helen Wyld, of National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh. Also included are manuscript and printed sources, by Le Blon as well as by his contemporaries who visited or had business relations with him during his London period of 1719 to 1735/36.

Stijnman's first essay focuses on Le Blon's mezzotints, highlighting how he achieved painterly effects by superimposing three monochrome design matrices in three semi-transparent primary colours, often supplemented by black, grey or white. High-quality photographs taken with a microscope illustrate with minute precision the granular copperplate surfaces and exact plate registration, as well as the etched, engraved and hand-coloured enhancements. Visual analysis allows Stijnman to conclude that no more than 300 impressions with good contrast could be pulled from these vulnerable plates. The author convincingly refutes the often repeated idea in the scholarly literature that Le Blon simply followed Isaac Newton's observations, as described in *Opticks: or, a Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions and Colours of Light*, first published in 1704. Newton assumed that light is composed of seven primary colours; Le Blon, however, recognized that light could be divided into as few as three primary colours: blue, yellow and red and based his colour printing on this observation, using these primaries to create all secondary colours.

Wyld discusses Le Blon's failed, but remarkable project of tapestry weaving, which anticipated the fully automatic loom by Joseph-Marie Jacquard (1752–1834). Surprisingly, this project had already been envisaged with the founding of the *Picture Office* – the company led by several English investors, which financed and controlled the costly production of Le Blon's colour prints. It did not lift off, however, until 1727, when Le Blon received a royal privilege for his weaving technique, 'a secret never known or practiced before'.[2] Here, Le Blon had to abandon trichromatic procedures for technical reasons to ensure the necessary colour transitions. Wyld notes that the artist tried to reduce the cost of classical tapestry manufacturing, while retaining its quality, but realized only a few small samples. The recto of a woven *Head of Christ*, for example, indeed looks like classical tapestry, but the floating weft threads of the verso reveal that it was made on a semi-automatic draw loom (fig. 304). Wyld offers a detailed discussion of production challenges associated with Le Blon's ambitious plans for large, even monumental tapestry copies of celebrated masterpieces like Raphael's cartoon of *The Miracolous Draught*, measuring 3,200 by 3,800 mm, which was never realized and probably would have failed for technical reasons had the artist not gone bankrupt first.

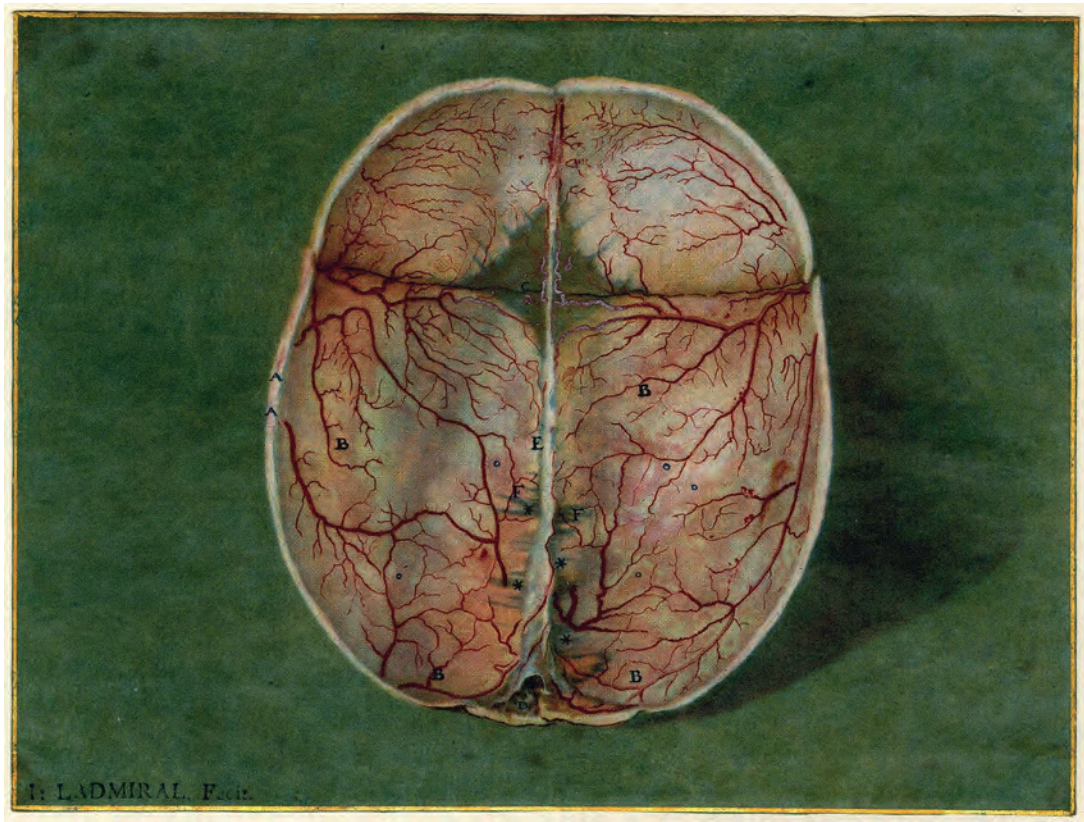
The catalogue forms the main body of the publication. Apart from unfinished projects for an anatomical atlas, the majority of Le Blon's prints reproduce old master paintings that rival costly painted copies – he further enhanced the illusion of painting by varnishing and framing his often large-sized prints such as *Le Grand Aigle* (the large eagle). Nos. 1–29, in volume I, unite Le Blon's prints after history paintings as well as devotional and mythological subjects featuring some of his own designs. With one exception, these prints were created during his time as general manager of the *Picture Office* in London, 1719–25. Nos. 30–48, in volume II, comprise prints after portraits, Le Blon's few realized anatomical illustrations and the suite of colour plates illustrating his *Coloritto; or the Harmony of Colouring in Painting: Reduced to Mechanical Practice, Under Easy Precepts, and Infallible Rules*, published in 1725, shortly before the *Picture Office* collapsed. Most of these works were produced in London and Paris. Several prints are illustrated in different states, offering excellent opportunity for visual comparison alongside the detailed descriptions. Of key significance are the many references, which include numerous historical sources. The catalogue is organized by genres – history paintings, devotional and mythological subjects and portraits – so that the chronologies inevitably overlap in the two volumes. The criteria for grouping within the chronology are sometimes not clear: Le Blon's famous late portrait of King Louis XV is not considered in the Paris section, but in the period when the artist was in London; the early portrait of Ernst Wilhelm von Salisch, of 1710, is inserted between Rubens' self-portrait and a portrait of the Elizabethan poet Edmund Spenser, both of which were produced around 1721/22. Some of the illustrations in the introduction reappear in the catalogue section.

The publication includes two shorter catalogues that consider the prints of Le Blon's first pupils, the brothers

1 O. M. Lilien, *Jacob Christoph le Blon, Inventor of of Three- and Four-Colour Printing*, Stuttgart, 1985, and the exhibition catalogue by M. M. Grasselli, *Colourful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, Washington, DC, 2003.

2. From the *Royal Letters Patent*, granted to Le Blon on 29 March 1727 by the King of England; Wyld, p. CV, cl.1.

304. Jacob Christoff Le Blon, *Head of Christ,* c. 1727–32, wool and silk, 735 x 530 mm (Spalding, Lincolnshire, Spalding Gentlemen's Society).



305. Jan L'Admiral, *Meninges on the Inside of the Skull of a Human Foetus*, 1738, first plate mezzotint with etching for lettering in blue, second plate mezzotint in yellow, third plate mezzotint with etching in red, 127 x 171 mm (London, British Museum).

Jan (1699–1773) and Jacob L'Admiral (1700–70), natives of Amsterdam. The anatomical illustrations produced by Jan in trichromatic technique in collaboration with the anatomists Frederik Ruysch and Bernhard Siegfried Albinus (Amsterdam, 1738; fig. 305) are highlighted, as are the prints the brothers produced in traditional etching, namely the large suite of portraits etched by Jan for the first illustrated edition of Van Mander's *Schilderboeck* (Amsterdam, 1764). The work of Jacob L'Admiral is catalogued by Stijnman for the first time, recording his zoological etchings published around 1740, some of which are hand-coloured. These prints recall the pioneering art of Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717). They are feats of illustration which, under the leitmotif of metamorphosis, are meticulous observations of larvae, caterpillars and butterflies. The reader might be surprised to encounter Jan and Jacob L'Admiral's etchings here. However, the inclusion especially of Jan's hand-coloured illustrations contextualizes Le Blon by highlighting that traditional colouring methods continued to outstrip his trichromatic printing until Godefroy Engelmann's breakthrough with chromolithography in 1837.

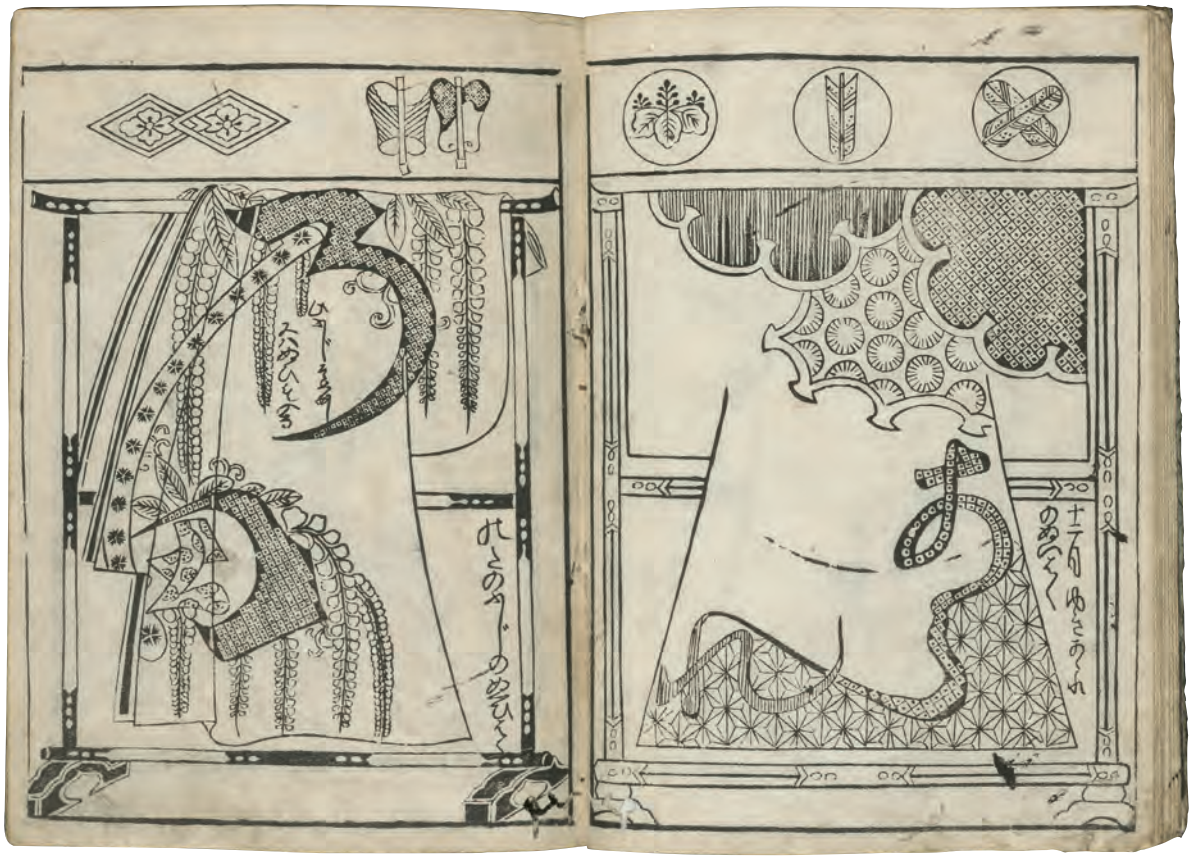
Apart from these few organizational objections, this highly informative study constitutes a new standard for any future research on Le Blon and trichromatic printmaking, including his textile projects. The publication benefitted from the editorial support of Simon Turner. Stijnman's and Wyld's richly detailed contributions allow us to understand the pre-industrial context in which traditional techniques were superseded with the help of groundbreaking scientific observations on the nature of light. This led to technical innovations closely interwoven with a strong mercantile interest. The quoted sources illustrate impressively how shareholders' expectations of profit were decisive first for the financing and finally the collapse of Le Blon's projects, reflecting an economically overheated climate that generated other, larger financial collapses, such as the South Sea Bubble or the Mississipi Bubble in London's volatile business world.

The Kimono in Print

Anna Jackson

The Kimono in Print: 300 Years of Japanese Design, edited by Vivian Li, contributions by Nagasaki Iwao, Ellis Tinios, Matsuba Ryōko, Fujita Kayoko and Stephanie Su, exhibition catalogue, Worcester, MA, Worcester Art Museum, originally planned for 28 March–28 June 2020, rescheduled to 6 February–2 May 2021, Worcester Art Museum and Leiden, Hotei / BRILL, 2020, 176 pp., 123 ills., €45.

The Edo period (1603–1868) was a time of unprecedented peace, prosperity and urban growth in Japan. In the country's bustling cities, notably the capital Edo (modern-day Tokyo), a vibrant popular culture emerged which saw its greatest expression and reflection in the art of woodblock prints. First available in black and white, with occasional hand-colouring, full-colour printing, known as *nishiki-e* (brocade pictures), became available by the 1760s. Produced rapidly in large numbers, such prints cost little more than a double helping of noodles and were thus available to all. Often called ukiyo-e, 'pictures of the floating world', they captured the excitement, escapism and glamour of the



306. Attributed to Hishikawa Moronobu, *Designs for Kimono. Left: A Kimono Folded on its Side and Draped over a Stand. Right: Back of a Kimono Hanging on a Stand*, from *Mirror of Patterns of the Four Seasons for Various Activities* (*Shiki moyō shorei e-kagami*), early 1680s, woodblock-printed book with black-line printing (*sumizuri*), two-page opening 184 x c. 280 mm (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

entertainment and pleasure districts and the fleeting pleasures of city life. Fashion played an important role in this world, evidenced by the great attention print artists gave to the depiction of dress. Yet such works were more than mere illustrations. They played a vital role in the circulation of fashion information and acted as advertisements for the makers and sellers of kimonos, dress accessories and cosmetics as well as for the owners of theatres and brothels.

Despite the symbiotic artistic and commercial relationship between fashion and print production in Japan, *The Kimono in Print: 300 Years of Japanese Design* is, perhaps surprisingly, the first publication to focus on the dialogue between the two. It explores the kimono as a source of artistic inspiration, but also seeks to show how print and book artists helped shape fashion trends. The publication accompanied an exhibition at Worcester Art Museum in Massachusetts which featured about 70 prints, as well as a selection of paintings and woodblock-printed books, primarily drawn from the collection gifted to the museum by John Chandler Bancroft (1822–1907) in 1901. The majority of works date from the Edo period, with a smaller selection from the Meiji period (1868–1912), when the boundaries between kimono and print design became yet more porous.

In 'Kimono Through the Looking Glass', the exhibition curator and book editor Vivian Li offers a short but useful introduction to kimono fashion and print culture and to the themes of the subsequent essays which are contributed by an impressive group of scholars. Nagasaki Iwao examines the most explicit intersection between commercial publishing and kimono design in 'Pattern Books and Fashion in Edo-Period Japan'. These books, known as *hinagatabon*, served the growing market for fashionable dress and were read and enjoyed in much the same way as fashion magazines are today (fig. 306). They guided choice and provided a means of communication between kimono retailers and customers. Nagasaki describes the evolution and importance of the pattern books, and the changing and standardization of kimono styles that led to their decline. With a very engaging turn of phrase, Ellis Tinios then reveals 'The Splendours of *Shunpon*', the erotic books which formed an important genre of production in the Edo period. He highlights the materiality of these luxury publications which, with their artistic virtuosity, high-quality printing and rich pigments, provide detailed portrayals of clothing, bedding and furnishing. Tinios questions to what extent these images offer a reliable record of colours, patterns and textures or whether the textile elements are just part of a fantasy designed to arouse and entertain the reader.

Shunpon illustrate amorous couples of all kinds and at all levels of society, but it was actors and courtesans who provided the main subject matter for woodblock prints. Their role as 'Fashion Influencers in the Edo Period' is the theme of Matsuba Ryōko's essay. She demonstrates how the kabuki theatre and the Yoshiwara pleasure district operated in unison with the publishing industry to produce and disseminate the latest kimono styles (fig. 307). Matsuba considers how the purveyors of pleasures, publications and fashions had to navigate the challenges of changing patronage and sumptuary rules to serve and exploit an eager public. Fujita Kayoko expands the narrative beyond Japan's shores in 'Textile Imports, Consumer Culture, and the Domestication of Exotics'. Exploring the excitement provoked by the textiles brought to Japan by European traders, she shows how the stripes and checks of South Asian fabrics were assimilated into the clothing of commoners and became a staple of Edo-period fashionable dress. The final essay by Stephanie Su takes the discussion into the Meiji period. In 'Weaving, Art, Science and Modern Design' she focuses on the lavishly printed painting manual commissioned by leading Kyoto textile company Chiso from the artist Imao Keinen (1845–1924) and first published in 1891. Created to inspire kimono makers and industrial designers, the publication signalled a desire to balance native painting traditions with scientific accuracy and western colour theory at a time when Japan was emerging onto the world stage.

A number of these essays are born of papers presented at the symposium 'Fashioning Colours: New Perspectives on Japanese Woodblock Prints' held at the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures in July 2018. One does get a sense on reading *Kimono in Print* that much of it is born of research that evolved quite separately from the exhibition. Although links are made where possible between the essays and the catalogue, and the latter is ordered to echo the essay subjects, it does feel like a book of two distinct halves. The catalogue section presents works by a great variety of artists – ranging from ukiyo-e pioneer Hishikawa Moronubu (1618–94), through masters such as Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806), to early twentieth-century designers such as Kamisaka Sekka (1866–1942) – with texts that note their significance and provide an explanation of the subject. These are included for only just over half the plates, which is something of a shame as it leaves one wanting to know more about what is happening in many of the images and particularly to have an explanation of the fashions being worn.

My criticisms are minor ones, however, given that all the essays and catalogue texts are fascinating. The book also provides an interesting introduction to a lesser-known woodblock print collection. *The Kimono in Print: 300 Years of Japanese Design* is an important contribution to our understanding of print and fashion culture in Edo and Meiji-period Japan and the commercial ties that bound and supported them.

307. Kikugawa Eizan, *The Courtesan Yoyoyama of the Matsubaya (Matsubaya uchi Yokoyama) with Her Two Young Female Attendants Standing Under Branches of Cherry Blossoms*, c. 1830, woodblock print with blind-printing (*karazuri*) and graduated colours (*bokashi*), 384 x 259 mm (Worcester Art Museum, John Chandler Bancroft Collection).

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

David S. Areford is Professor of Art History at the University of Massachusetts Boston. He is the author of *Strict Beauty: Sol LeWitt Prints* (2020), *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (2010), and co-author of *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Viewers and Their Public* (2005).

Elizabeth L. Block is senior book editor at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Her articles have appeared in *American Art, West 86th*, *Journal of Dress History*, and *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*. Her forthcoming book, *Dressing Up: The Women who Influenced French Fashion*, is forthcoming with MIT Press.

Anne Bloemacher is Assistant Professor at the University of Münster, author of *Raffael und Raimondi: Produktion und Intention der frühen Druckgraphik nach Raffael* (2016) and co-editor, with Mandy Richter and Marzia Faietti, and author of *Sculpture in Print, 1480–1600* (2021).

Judith Brodie is retired Curator of American and Modern Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, and an artist. Her exhibition catalogues include *Three Centuries of American Prints*; *Yes, No, Maybe: Artists Working at Crown Point Press* and *Shock of the News*.

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

Gordon Cooke is chairman of the London Original Print Fair and an art consultant. He was a partner in Garton & Cooke, a private dealer and then a director of The Fine Art Society. He represents the estates of John Copley and Ethel Gabain.

Alan Cristea, gallerist, print publisher and dealer, founded his eponymous gallery in 1995, which became the Cristea Roberts Gallery in 2019. Over 50 years, Alan has commissioned thousands of editions of prints by leading international artists and is also a premier dealer for master graphics.

Adrian Eeles was employed at Sotheby's from 1963 to 1975, was director of prints at P & D Colnaghi 1976 to 1980, and then director of Artemis Fine Arts. Although now retired, he is sometimes consulted. Privately, he collects prints after Rubens, engravings by Nanteuil and French etchings.

Ketty Gottardo is Martin Halusa Curator of Drawings at The Courtauld. Her PhD research focused on the prints collected by and dedicated to the Barberini family. She curated the exhibition of the drawings by Antoine Caron related to Catherine de' Medici's Valois tapestries.

Antony Griffiths is former Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum and Chairman of this Journal. His recent publication *The Print Before Photography* received the Apollo Magazine 2016 Book of the Year award, the IFPDA book prize and a British Academy Medal (2017).

D. Lesley Hill and Alan N. Stone, the principals of Hill-Stone, Inc., started in trade in 1979. Their interests are eclectic; they are antiquarians by inclination especially as they admire the craftsmanship of acknowledged masters and the curious and intricate products of anonymous makers.

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

Michael Hunter is Emeritus Professor of History at Birkbeck, University of London and author of *Boyle: Between God and Science* (2009) and *Workdiaries* (www.livesandletters.ac.uk/wd) of Robert Boyle. His publications include the edited volume *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (2010).

Anna Jackson is Keeper of the Asia Department at the Victoria and Albert Museum. A specialist in Japanese textiles and dress, she is the curator of the major exhibition 'Kimono: Kyoto to Catwalk' and editor of the accompanying publication (2020).

Catherine Jenkins, former curator of prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is an independent art historian. Her research focuses on early etching in Italy and France. She is the author of *Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau* (2017) and author and co-editor of *The Renaissance of Etching* (2019).

Armin Kunz is the owner of the art dealership C. G. Boerner; founded in Leipzig in 1826 it maintains offices in Düsseldorf and New York. His MA thesis was on Cranach prints; he regularly writes reviews of exhibitions and publications on the art of the Dürer period and German Romanticism.

Lindsay Leard-Coolidge is an independent scholar, lecturer and curator specializing in nineteenth and twentieth-century printmaking. She has written and lectured extensively on American printmaking and is the author of *Prints and Printmakers of the Grand Canyon* (2019).

Mark McDonald is the curator responsible for Italian, Spanish, Mexican and early French prints and illustrated books at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. He is the author of a six-volume publication of the print collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo.

Hans Jakob Meier published numerous books and articles on printmaking, ranging from the Italian Renaissance to the Flemish seventeenth century, French baroque and German eighteenth century. He worked as guest curator at the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.

Christopher Mendez is a printseller based in London, specializing in Old Master Prints, 1500 to 1850, with a particular emphasis on unfamiliar printmakers as well as ornament prints, memento mori and other unusual subjects. He has published 87 catalogues.

Daantje Meuwissen is Assistant Professor of Art History of the early modern period at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. She has published widely on the work of Jacob Cornelisz and curated an exhibition on the artist in the Amsterdam Museum and Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar in 2014.

Frederick Mulder, PhD, began as a print dealer in 1971 collecting *peintre-graveurs* from 1470 to 1970. He worked at Colnaghi from 1972 to 1975 and has continued as a private dealer since then. These days, most of his material is by Picasso, but he looks back fondly to wider dealings.

Nadine M. Orenstein is Drue Heinz Curator in Charge of the Department of Drawings and Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. She specializes in Netherlandish prints before 1800 and compiled the *New Hollstein* volume on Pieter Bruegel the Elder (2006).

Hubert Prouté joined his father's gallery Paul Prouté in 1940, becoming the third generation of the family business. Today the gallery is run by the fourth generation, Anne Martinez Prouté and Sylvie Tocci Prouté. It has published more than 160 catalogues.

Mary Ryan, founder of Mary Ryan Gallery, specializes in modern, post-war and contemporary works on paper. Known for its expertise and original scholarship, the gallery prides itself on being a place of discovery, as it is constantly striving to expand knowledge and support of new artists and fields.

Christian Rümelin is Keeper of Prints and Drawings of the Cabinet d'Arts graphiques in Geneva, and a member of the Editorial Board of this Journal. His research interests span the eighteenth to twenty-first centuries. He has published on Tiepolo, Paul Klee and Christiane Baumgartner.

Elizabeth Savage is Senior Lecturer in Book History and Communications, Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London. Her latest book is *Early Colour Printing: German Renaissance Woodcuts at the British Museum* (2021).

Alex Dika Seggerman is Assistant Professor of Islamic Art History at Rutgers University-Newark in New Jersey, USA. She is author of *Modernism on the Nile: Art in Egypt between the Islamic and the Contemporary* (2019) and co-editor of *Making Modernity in the Islamic Mediterranean*, forthcoming.

Richard Taws is Reader in History of Art at University College London. His research interests span eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French and British print culture and histories of media and technology. He is the author of *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (2013).

David Tunick is an art dealer in New York specializing in works on paper from the fifteenth century to classic twentieth century. Established in 1966, his gallery is in a townhouse on the Upper East Side of New York. He is President of the International Fine Print Dealers Association (IFPDA).

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