

# PRINT QUARTERLY

JUNE 2020



VOLUME XXXVII

NUMBER 2



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WORKS OF ART ON PAPER



Pablo Picasso, *Les Deux Saltimbanques*, 1905, drypoint before steel facing, 122 x 91 mm. 4 3/4 x 3 2/3 in.

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# From Savoy to Rome: Francesco de Nanto, a Neglected Printmaker of the Early Sixteenth Century

Thierry Depaulis

A woodcut of a half-length figure of St John the Baptist in a circle, his right hand raised, by Francesco de Nanto (fl. c. 1520–32) has recently been located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in the course of research for the Census of Italian Renaissance Woodcuts.<sup>1</sup> It is a superb, dramatic representation of the saint, with a long text entirely cut in wood that reproduces the antiphon of St John the Baptist, read on the eve of the saint's feast day but also a pilgrims' prayer, beginning with verses from the Gospels of Matthew 11, 11 and John 1, 6 (fig. 86).<sup>2</sup> First mentioned by Paul Kristeller in 1905, who suggested it was made after a design by Francesco Raibolini known as Francesco Francia (c. 1447/49–1517), the print had hitherto only been known through a facsimile-like photographic reproduction donated by Friedrich Lippmann to the British Museum in 1897 and preserved there among the unmounted prints by the artist.<sup>3</sup> The image was published by Mark McDonald in *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus 1488–1539: A Renaissance Collector in Seville* in 2004.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, an impression of *The Beheading of St John the Baptist*, a print attributed to De Nanto possibly after Girolamo da Treviso the Younger (1498–1544) first published by Georg Kasper Nagler

in 1841, surfaced at auction in New York in January 2019 (fig. 87).<sup>5</sup> These fortuitous events present a welcome opportunity to reconsider the prints and key biographical information of this little-known figure of the Italian Renaissance. The accompanying Appendix presents a current overview of De Nanto's graphic oeuvre, numbering 44 prints.

Hitherto the extant production of Francesco de Nanto was limited to a dozen woodcuts of religious subjects usually dated to the mid-1520s. Drawing on the earliest catalogue of De Nanto's oeuvre by Johann David Passavant of 1864, Franca Zava Boccazzi in 1958 suggested that most of De Nanto's prints form a series devoted to the Life of Christ.<sup>6</sup> Of the eleven that Passavant had determined for that series she eliminated *The Holy Family with St Sebastian and St Roch* as irrelevant to the series, and added three more prints, thus arriving at a total of thirteen prints, namely *The Annunciation*, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, *The Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 88), *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, *Christ Healing the Paralytic* (fig. 89), *Christ Entering Jerusalem*, *The Washing of the Feet*, *The Last Supper*, *Christ on the Cross*, *The Burial of Christ*, *The Resurrection*, *The Ascension of Christ* and *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene* (fig. 90).<sup>7</sup> Two of the prints, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* and *The*

My thanks go to Martina Pichler and David King, Albertina Museum; Vanessa Selbach, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Damià Roure, Biblioteca de Montserrat; Silvia Urbini; Ludovica Piazzini; Marco Mozzo, Polo museale regionale della Toscana; Tim Schmelcher, Christie's; and Domenico Pino.

1. Silvia Urbini, who visited the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in 2018, kindly alerted me to this print.
2. *Inter natos mulierum non surrexit maior Johanne Batista .v. | fuit homo missus a deo R/ Cui nome(n) erat Johannes. Or(at)io | presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut familia tua per viam | salutis incedat ut (? et?) beati Johannis precursoris Christi hortame(n)ta | sectando ad eum quem predixit secuta perveniat Dominum | nostrum Jesum Xp(istu)m filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat | deus per omnia secula seculor(um). Amen. franciscus denanto.*
3. P. Kristeller, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 296–97.
4. British Museum, 1897.0301.1, with a handwritten note on the verso 'Not an original. Reproduction of woodcut in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see register)'; M. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus 1488–1539: A Renaissance Collector in Seville*, London, 2004, I, fig. 193, II, no. 1649. Despite hav-

ing a facsimile, Lippmann does not seem to have included the print in his publications; it is not in F. Lippmann, *Kupferstiche und Holzschnitte alter Meister in Nachbildungen*, Mappe VII to X (all 1897 and later), nor in the English edition *Engravings and Woodcuts by Old Masters Reproduced in Facsimile by the Imperial Press at Berlin and Published under the Direction of Dr. Friedrich Lippmann*, 10 vols, London, 1889–1900.

5. G. K. Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, x, Munich, 1841, p. 130, no. 2, as De Nanto; G. K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, II, Munich, 1860, no. 2; J. D. Passavant, *Le Peintre-graveur*, Leipzig, 1864, 'Francesco De Nanto', VI, no. 25, citing Nagler; sale, Christie's, New York, 29 January 2019, lot 85, as attributed to Francesco Denanto. Appendix 21.
6. Passavant, op. cit., pp. 213–14 and F. Zava Boccazzi, 'Tracce per Girolamo da Treviso il Giovane in alcune xilografie di Francesco de Nanto', *Arte Veneta*, XII, 1958, pp. 70–78; P. Ervas, *Girolamo da Treviso*, Padua, 2014, pp. 90–91, no. 16.
7. Eliminating *The Holy Family with St Sebastian and St Roch*, Passavant no. 23, leaves eleven: Passavant nos. 13–22, 27. *The Entombment* ('La Mise au tombeau'), Passavant no. 19, was described by Zava Boccazzi as the *Deposition of Christ*.



86. Francesco de Nanto, possibly after Francesco Francia, *St John the Baptist*, 1520–32, woodcut, 354 x 240 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

*Ascension of Christ*, are clearly identified as being after Girolamo da Treviso by their inscriptions *HIERONIM. TERVISIVS PINXIT* (*Hieronimus Tarvisius* or *Trevisus pinxit*). Furthermore noting similarities between the prints and paintings by Girolamo, comparing for instance the arrangement of the figures in *The Adoration of the*

*Magi* with a painting by Girolamo in the Museo Civico at Treviso, Zava Boccazzi attributed the design of the whole series to him. Whereas many of De Nanto's woodcuts seem indeed to be based on Girolamo's designs, not all have known counterparts in Girolamo's work, and both *St John the Baptist Preaching* and *The*



*Circumcision* are now thought to be after designs by Amico Aspertini (1474/5–1552).<sup>8</sup>

The differing formats of De Nanto's prints suggest that they represent two separate series: a smaller one illustrating the life of Christ in ten blocks, from *St John the Baptist Preaching to Christ Appearing to the Magdalene*, but omitting the Passion of Christ, and a larger one devoted exclusively to the Passion of Christ, in five blocks, comprising *The Washing of the Feet*, *The Last Supper*, *Christ on the Cross*, *The Entombment* and *The Ascension*.<sup>9</sup> It is remarkable that with two exceptions

the smaller format prints are pulls from woodblocks now kept in the Galleria Estense, Modena, while only one larger print, *The Last Supper*, which may not be part of a series, has its woodblock in Modena. The two series seem to be contemporary and their designs may have originated in Bologna. Girolamo da Treviso is thought to have been in Bologna from at least 1519 to 1527, and it is most certainly at that time that he drew or painted the scenes for the Life of Christ which were then cut by De Nanto.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, all the painters who have been associated with De Nanto's

8. Appendix 1 and 5; M. Faietti and D. Scaglietti Kelesian, *Amico Aspertini*, Modena, 1995, iv, no. 5, pp. 333–35. See also S. Urbini, 'Cocci e gioielli: Aspertini e l'incisione', in *Amico Aspertini, 1474–1552: artista bizzarro nell'età di Dürer e Raffaello*, edited by A. Emiliani and D. Scaglietti Kelesian, Milan, 2008, pp. 316–

18, commenting on nos. 133a–c.

9. Appendix 1–10, smaller scenes, approximately 300 by 430 mm; Appendix 11–15, larger ones, approximately 360 by 530 mm.

10. A. Serafini, 'Girolamo da Treviso, il Giovane' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LVI, 2001, online, accessed 7 June 2019.



87. Francesco de Nanto, possibly after Girolamo da Treviso, *The Beheading of St John the Baptist*, 1520–32, woodcut, 383 x 482 mm (Image Christie's Images Limited).





88. Francesco de Nanto, after Girolamo da Treviso, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1520–32, woodcut, 430 x c. 300 mm (London, British Museum).





89. Francesco de Nanto, after Girolamo da Treviso, *Christ Healing the Paralytic*, 1520–32, woodcut, 435 x c. 320 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

woodcuts – Girolamo da Treviso, Aspertini, Francia – can be related to a Bolognese environment.<sup>11</sup>

It seems however that the woodcuts were carved in Rome, where De Nanto signed a much cited notarized contract, undated, but appearing right after documents from late 1524 and before ones dated 1525 in a volume now in the State Archive in Rome.<sup>12</sup> The complete text reads:

Honourable man master (*providus vir magister*) Franciscus de Nempto from [the diocese of] Geneva, Savoyard, printer of paper images (*stampator cartarum pictarum*) in Rome is the debtor of the honourable man Alessio Chiappino, Roman merchant, for 50 ducats; for which, master Antonio Mottino, Genoese, said that he would be obliged to Alessio to hold these 50 ducats in deposit; master Franciscus left as security between the hands of master Antonio 50 woodblocks for printing images, and promised to master Antonio here present etc., for two consecutive years starting from the conclusion of the present contract, for himself and his collaborators (*suis laboratoribus*), to receive from master Antonio any print on paper at the same price as master Franciscus used to take from Alessio; and reciprocally master Antonio promised and agreed with master Franciscus to sell any print [on paper] at the same price and of the same quality during the said time of the two foreseen years.<sup>13</sup>

This unique record – the only one we have for De Nanto – identifies him as the owner (and perhaps the cutter) of some 50 woodblocks that he was ready to provisionally part with for a loan of 50 ducats. He appears as the head of a printshop, has collaborators and must have had a considerable output since he can afford to pawn 50 woodblocks and yet continue to print in order to reimburse his moneylenders.

One also gets the impression that De Nanto is not a newcomer to Rome: his situation is that of a printmaker and probably a publisher, certainly more than just a cutter. All of this leads me to suggest that the *Life of Christ* and *Passion* series were initiated and organized by him, with the collaboration of Girolamo da Treviso and Aspertini. Questions as to what happened to those 50 woodblocks and the identity of the other artists working with or for De Nanto must remain unanswered at this time. From this notarized act and his artistic contacts one may infer that De Nanto was working in Rome and perhaps also in Emilia-Romagna in the 1520s. On the other hand, there is nothing to confirm De Nanto's presence in Venice which has been assumed by several authors, including recent ones.<sup>14</sup>

Like the document in Rome, the inventory of Ferdinand Columbus's print collection, published in 2004, also reveals that the printed output of De Nanto must have been much greater than previously known.<sup>15</sup> Son of Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand (1488–1539) spent his life travelling as a diplomat, purchasing books and prints in the main centres of Europe. Although the print collection was probably sold either by Ferdinand himself at the end of his life, or by his heirs who faced large debts, the surviving inventory offers a wealth of detail on each of the 3,204 prints Columbus owned. All items are carefully described in Spanish with an indication of *pliego* (folio) or *marca* (plano) format, number and nature of figures (male or female, saints or lay people), description of the scene, main captions and signatures. The inventory records 22 prints by De Nanto, not one of which corresponds to the oeuvre assembled by Zava Boccazzi and only one of which is known today.

McDonald identified the print described in the inventory as:

11. *St John the Baptist, in a Circle*, Appendix 18, and *The Holy Family with St Sebastian and St Roch*, Appendix 16, are thought to be after Francia.

12. With partial transcriptions, A. Bertolotti, *Artisti subalpini in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII*, Rome, 1884, pp. 140–41; F. Neri, 'Un nome ignoto nel Pantagruel', in *Letteratura e Leggende*, Turin, 1951, pp. 222–23; Zava Boccazzi, op. cit., p. 71.

13. Archivio di Stato di Roma, Collegio dei Notai Capitolini, notaio Pietro Rutilio (Petrus de Rutiliis), vol. 1504, c. 282. I thank Ludovica Piazzzi of the Census of Italian Renaissance Woodcuts for having located and checked the document so that it can here be transcribed in full. From a photograph provided by Piazzzi, we read: '*Providus vir magister Franciscus de Nempto de Geneva, savoinus, stampator cartarum pictarum in Urbe cum fuerit & sit quod dictus magister Franciscus fuerit debitor provido viro Alexio de Chiappinis mercatori romano in ducatis quinquaginta, pro quibus quin-*

*quaginta ducatis magister Antonius Mottinus Januensis [...] confessus fuit & se obligavit eidem Alexio illas quinquaginta ducatis in depositio- ne tenere [and] dictus magister Franciscus dedit in pignus penes dictum magistrum Antonium formas quinquaginta stamparum ad stampandum cartas & promisit eidem magistro Antonio presenti etc. per duos annos subsequentes incipiendo a die presentis celebrati contractus pro se ipso & suis laboratoribus emere ab ipso magistro Antonio cartam stampandam pro eodem pretio quo capiebat ipse magister Franciscus a dicto Alexio; & vice versa idem magister Antonius promisit & convenit eidem magistro Francisco vendere cartam pro eodem pretio & eiusdem bonitatis durante dicto tempore duorum annorum predictorum*'.

14. F. Benvenuti, 'Nanto, Francesco de [da]', in *Oxford Art Online*, accessed 6 March 2019, first published in *The Dictionary of Art*, London, 1996, p. 466.

15. McDonald gives the complete transcription and English translation of the inventory, op. cit., pp. 37–54.





90. Francesco de Nanto, after Girolamo da Treviso, *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene*, 1520–32, woodcut, 440 x 330 mm (London, British Museum).





91. Francesco de Nanto, after Girolamo da Treviso, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1520–32, woodcut, 430 x c. 300 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).





92. Francesco de Nanto, after Girolamo da Treviso, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1520–32, woodblock, 450 x 305 x 24 mm (Modena, Galleria Estense, Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali).





93. Francesco de Nanto, after Girolamo da Treviso, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, 1520–32, woodcut, 428 x 296 mm (London, British Museum).





94. Francesco de Nanto, after Girolamo da Treviso, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, 1520–32, woodblock, 450 x 305 x 24 mm (Modena, Galleria Estense, Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali).

St John the Baptist half-length in a circle, the right index finger is outstretched and blessing, three fingers are withdrawn, in the left he has a cross and a phylactery that reads *ecce agnus dei*, we cannot see that thumb, below is a verse, surrounded by worked motifs, the letters are French, no background, encircling the circle are white Latin letters with the woodcut of *St John the Baptist* in Paris, although at the time, it had not been possible to locate the print (fig. 86).<sup>16</sup> In the Bibliothèque Nationale de France it appears as part of a double-page spread opposite the woodcut of *Christ on the Cross Above the Mouth of Hell* in an album of German prints ('Vieux Maistres allemands') from the collection of Michel de Marolles (1600–81), where it is pasted down onto one of the last pages of the album.<sup>17</sup> Marolles mentions the artist Franciscus de Nanto but does not refer to any specific prints in his *Catalogue de livres d'estampes et de figures en taille douce* of 1666.<sup>18</sup> Another print in the Columbus collection, *The Nine Worthies*, described in the inventory as 'Rotulo de 9 anchos de pliego en largo (roll of nine figures in pliego size)', of which the one representing *Julius Caesar* is inscribed *OPUS FRAN. DE MNTTO* (sic) on a banderole, was connected by McDonald with fragments in the Royal Library in Brussels.<sup>19</sup> I have strong reservations about this identification because the titles and text of the Brussels fragments are written in Dutch 'Fraktur' script and the style of the print is unusually Germanic for De Nanto. The description in the Columbus inventory could apply to any number of representations of the Nine Worthies, a theme that was popular in graphic art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup> According to McDonald, Columbus probably made his purchases – which do not include the Life of Christ and the Passion series – in the years 1512 to 1517 and 1520 to 1522, suggesting a pre-1523 date for at least some of De Nanto's oeuvre.<sup>21</sup>

The 1524 document in Rome names '*Franciscus de Nemptio de Genevra, savoinus*', which should be understood as a reference to the diocese of Geneva. The woodcuts also provide useful information about the artist's name and place of origin. Latin inscriptions read *Franciscus de Nanto* or, in the genitive, *Francisci de Nanto*, with Nanto sometimes elided as *Nāto*. Variant spellings or possible mistakes occur often, as in *Bacchanal with Silenus*, where the signature reads *Opus francisci denanto* (fig. 96). Two signatures – on *Christ Healing the Paralytic* and *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene* – bear a reference to Savoy (*de Sabaudia*), then an independent duchy that comprised Piedmont, Val d'Aosta, the county of Nice and large parts of French-speaking Switzerland, including Geneva. The surname Dunant, which is rendered in Latin as *De Nanto*, occurs regularly in archival records in Geneva as well as in other areas of northern Savoy, and the artist's original name may have been François Dunant. Furthermore, the inscription *FRANCISCVS DENANTO DE SABAVDIA P<sup>r</sup> MIVCIASCI ME INSCIDIT* on the only known impression of *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene* (fig. 90) may suggest that he originated in the village of Mieussy in Haute-Savoie. Being followed by a genitive connoting a place-name, 'P' might stand for *parochiae*, 'from the parish of', and as shown by Hippolyte Tavernier the Latin name '*Miociacum*' was also in use for Mieussy.<sup>22</sup> From *Miociacum* to *Miuciascum* is not a great leap, especially given that De Nanto often varied his Latin spelling, with *pinscit* standing for *pinxit*, or *inscidit* for *incidit*.<sup>23</sup> The fact that Mieussy was a parish, *parrochia Miociaci*, belonging to the diocese of Geneva further supports this theory. From the early fifteenth century Mieussy sheltered a respectable Dunant family, at least one of whom was a painter – Antoine Dunant's widow was paid for drawings her husband had delivered for a mystery play in Chambéry on the feast day of the

16. Ibid., II, p. 296.

17. For the *Christ on the Cross Above the Mouth of Hell* see the section below, 'Work of uncertain attribution'.

18. M. de Marolles, *Catalogue de livres d'estampes et de figures en taille douce: avec un dénombrement des pièces qui y sont contenues, fait à Paris en l'année 1666*, Paris, 1666, pp. 33–34, section XVI & XVII for prints after Titian and p. 152, section CCCLXXX for woodcuts.

19. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, inv. S.I 23361–64, together 283 x 195 mm, McDonald, op. cit., I, figs. 394a–d, II, no. 2685. See also W. Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche houtsneden 1500–1550*, The Hague, 1932–39, nos. 387–89; J. van der Stock, *Early Prints: The Print Collection of the Royal Library of Belgium*, London and Turnhout, 2002, nos. 122–25.

20. For other prints of the *Nine Worthies*, see H. Schroeder, *Der To-*

*pos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst*, Göttingen, 1971.

21. McDonald, op. cit., I, p. 153.

22. H. Tavernier, *Mieussy: mémoire descriptif et historique, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie*, XXIX, 1890, series 2, no. 4, pp. 1–121, especially p. 8 and fig. 2.

23. Some of these spellings, like *inscidit*, are also to be found in medieval texts.

24. Archives départementales de la Haute-Savoie, 43.J 1–1151, Archives de la famille de Gerbais de Sonnaz d'Habères, Généalogies simplifiées des principales familles alliées, II. DUNANT, DE MIEUSSY. For Antoine: 'Margareta, relicta providi Anthonii de Nanto, pictoris (Margaret, widow of honourable man Antoine Dunant, painter)', P. Duparc, *La formation d'une ville: Annecy jusqu'au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Annecy, 1973, p. 206.



Holy Innocents in 1471–72.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately no parish registers are preserved for this early period, and it thus remains impossible to verify any birth or marriage.

Until further discoveries are made, we might just presume that Francesco de Nanto / François Dunant was born in Mieussy around 1470–75.



95. Francesco de Nanto, after Girolamo da Treviso, *The Entombment*, 1520–32, woodcut, 538 x 364 mm (London, British Museum).





96. Francesco de Nanto, after Andrea Mantegna, *Bacchanal with Silenus*, 1520–32, woodcut, 275 x 404 mm (Vienna, Albertina).

## Appendix

### Woodcuts by Francesco De Nanto

A. The Life of Christ, after Girolamo da Treviso and Amico Aspertini, 1520–25

1. *St John the Baptist Preaching*, after Amico Aspertini. Signed F | DE | NAN | TO | .F. In centre, banderole with caption *PARATE. VIAM. DOMINI*. 440 x 310 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1881,0611.6; Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, FC 86572. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4315 verso, 467 x 325 mm.

Literature: G. Benassati, 'Le silografie di Francesco de Nanto', in *I legni incisi della Galleria Estense: quattro secoli di stampa nell'Italia settentrionale*, Modena, 1986, p. 136, no. 114 (C.202a); A. E. Popham, *Emilian Drawings at the British Museum*, London, 1951, p. 38; A. Baudi di Vesme, *Schede Vesme. L'arte in Piemonte dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, IV,

Turin, 1982, NANTO Francesco (de), no. 6; P. Venturoli, 'Introduzione ad Amico Aspertini incisore', *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, XVII, 1982, pp. 77–79; Faietti and Scaglietti, op. cit., IV, no. 4, pp. 333–35.

2. *The Annunciation*, after Girolamo da Treviso.

Signed: FRANCISCVS. DENANTO. F. 430 x c. 310 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,0609.44 and 1881,0611.1; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1950.1.53; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 43.56.2. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4314 recto, 438 x 314 mm

Literature: Benassati, op. cit., no. 120 (C.201b); Passavant, no. 13; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 1.

3. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, after Girolamo da Treviso (fig. 91).

Signed lower right on a tablet: FRANCISCVS | DE NANTO. 430 x c. 300 mm.



Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1881,0611.9 and 1895,0122.1229; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Est., RESERVE BC-5-BOITE FOL, H105236; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1950.1.60; Montserrat, Biblioteca de Montserrat, Grab. V. Y. 32.; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 49.46.54. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4486 recto, 450 x 305 mm (fig. 92). Literature: Benassati, op. cit., no. 118 (C.200a); Zava Boccazzi, op. cit.; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 2.

4. *The Adoration of the Magi*, after Girolamo da Treviso (fig. 88).

Signed lower left: *F. DE NANTO*. 430 x c. 300 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,0609.45 (fig. 88) and 1881,0611.2; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1950.1.57 (cracked block); Montserrat, Biblioteca de Montserrat, Grab. V. Y. 31; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 49.46.51; Vienna, Albertina, DG886 and DG1909/80. Copies: British Museum, 2006, U.201, as anonymous. Woodblock in Modena, inv. 4314 verso, 438 x 314 mm.

Literature: Benassati, op. cit., no. 119 (C.201a), fig. 68; Nagler, op. cit., 1860, no. 3; Passavant, no. 14; Zava Boccazzi, op. cit., fig. 75; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 4.

5. *The Circumcision*, after Amico Aspertini.

Unsigned. 433 x 330 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1881,0611.10; Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, FC 85921; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 49.46.53. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4315 recto.

Literature: Benassati, op. cit., p. 135 (C.202b); Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 3; Venturoli, op. cit.; Faietti and Scaglietti, op. cit., no. 5, pp. 333–35.

6. *Christ Healing the Paralytic*, after Girolamo da Treviso (fig. 89).

Signed: *FRANCISCVS. | DENANTO. DE | SABAVDIA ÷*. 435 x c. 320 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,0609.47; 1881,0611.3; 1895,0122.1230; E.6.28; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Est., BA-1 (16e siècle) Denanto (Francesco)-FOL, p. 1 (fig. 89); Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1950.1.58; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 49.95.2537; Vienna, Albertina, DG883. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4487 recto, 470 x 325 mm.

Literature: Benassati, op. cit., no. 116 (C.240a); Nagler, 1841, no. 5; Nagler, 1860, no. 6; Passavant, op. cit., no. 15; Zava Boccazzi, op. cit., fig. 70; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 9.

7. *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, after Girolamo da Treviso (fig. 93).

Signed lower right: *HIERONIM<sup>o</sup>. TERVISIVS PLNCSCIT*; left: *.F.*

*DE NANTO .SINSIT*. 425 x 295 mm

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1881,0611.7; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Est., BA-1 (16e siècle) Denanto (Francesco)-FOL, p. 2; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1950.1.54. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4486 verso, 450 x 300 mm (fig. 94).

Literature: Benassati, op. cit., no. 115 (C.200b); Nagler, 1860, no. 5; Passavant, op. cit., no. 27; Zava Boccazzi, op. cit., fig. 71; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 8.

8. *Christ Entering Jerusalem*, after Girolamo da Treviso.

Signed: *FRANCI | SCVS. DE. | NANTO. | SINDIT*. 440 x c. 320 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,0609.46; 1881,0611.4 and 1895,0122.1231; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1950.1.59; Vienna, Albertina, DG1909/81; Montserrat, Biblioteca de Montserrat, Grab. II. S. 24.; New York, Metropolitan Museum, 49.46.52. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4487 verso, 470 x 325 mm.

Literature: Benassati, op. cit., no. 117 (C.240b); Nagler, 1860, no. 7; Passavant, op. cit., no. 16; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 10.

9. *The Resurrection of Christ*, after Girolamo da Treviso.

Signed lower right: *F. DENANTO*. 440 x 330 mm.

Known impression: London, British Museum, 1849,0609.48.

Literature: Passavant, op. cit., no. 20; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 14.

10. *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene*, after Girolamo da Treviso (fig. 90).

Signed lower right: *FRANCISCVS DENANTO DE SABAVDIA P<sup>r</sup> MIVCIASCI ME INSCIDIT*. 440 x 330 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,0609.50.

Literature: Passavant, op. cit., no. 21; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 15.

B. The Passion of Christ, after Girolamo da Treviso

11. *The Washing of the Feet*, after Girolamo da Treviso.

Signed: *FRANCISCVS DENANTO*. 538 x 379 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,1109.53; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Est., RESERVE BC-6-BOITE FOL, H105308 (trimmed); Vienna, Albertina, DG884

Literature: Passavant, op. cit., no. 17; Zava Boccazzi, op. cit., fig. 74; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 11; C. Stella, 'Francesco de Nanto', *Grafica d'Arte*, XII, no. 3, 1992, pp. 6–9.

12. *The Last Supper*, after Girolamo da Treviso.

Signed lower right, in a cartouche: *FRANCISCVS IACOBI | DE NANTO. SINDIT*. 358 x 530 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1881,0611.8; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1950.1.56; Vienna, Albertina, DG1905/155; Montserrat, Biblioteca de Montserrat, Grab. I. F. 48. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4489 verso, 375 x 556 mm (paired with *The Holy Family* no. 16). Literature: Benassati, op. cit., no. 113 (C.197b) and fig. 67 (much worn woodblock).

13. *Christ on the Cross*, after Girolamo da Treviso.

Signed: *F. DENANTO*. 538 x 376 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,1109.52

Literature: Passavant, op. cit., no. 18; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 12.

14. *The Entombment*, after Girolamo da Treviso (fig. 95).

On a stone, caption: *ASPISE* (sic) *QVI TRANSIS QVIA MORTEM TV AN. MORIENDO | DESTRVSI*. Signed: *F. DE NANTO*. 530 x 360 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,0609.51 (fig. 95); Vienna, Albertina, DG885

Literature: Passavant, op. cit., no. 19; Zava Boccazzi, op. cit., fig. 73; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 13; Stella, op. cit., pp. 6–9.

15. *The Ascension of Christ*, after Girolamo da Treviso.

Signed lower left, in a cartouche: *F. DE NANTO | SIN D IT; right HIERONIMV | S TERVISVS | PINGSCIT*. 530 x 370 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,1109.49 and 1917,0714.14 (early impression).

Literature: Nagler, 1860, no. 8; Passavant, op. cit., no. 22; Zava Boccazzi, op. cit., fig. 72; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., nos. 16–17.

### C. Other works

16. *The Holy Family with St Sebastian and St Roch*, possibly after Francesco Francia, as suggested by Benassati, op. cit., p. 135.

Signed lower left: *FRANCISCVS. DE NANTO*. 538 x 364 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, 1849,0609.54 and 1881,0611.5; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1950.1.55. Woodblock: Modena, inv. 4489 recto, 556 x 375 mm (paired with *The Last Supper*, Appendix 12).

Literature: Passavant, op. cit., p. 227, no. 23; P. Kristeller, 'Denanto, Francesco', in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, IX, Leipzig, 1913, p. 63, as probably not by De Nanto; Benassati, op. cit., no. 112 (C.197a) and fig. 66 (damaged woodblock); Nagler, 1860, no. 4; Passavant, op. cit., no. 23; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 18.

17. *The Life of the Anchorites in the Desert*, after Buffalmacco.

After the fresco of the *Thebaid* by Buonamico Buffalmacco, of 1336–41, in the Camposanto in Pisa. Signed lower left *FRANCISCVS DENANTO*. 390 x 553 mm.

Known impressions: London, British Museum, E,9.160 (fragment) and 1895,0617.92.

Literature: Nagler, 1841, no. 3; Nagler, 1860, no. 9; Passavant, op. cit., no. 26; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 19.

18. *St John the Baptist, in a Circle*, possibly after Francesco Francia (fig. 86).

Signed, at the end of the text, *franciscus denanto*. 350 x 238 mm.

Known impressions: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, RESERVE EA-25 (D)-FOL, p. 109.

Literature: Kristeller, 1905, op. cit., pp. 296–97, as after Francia; Kristeller, 1913, op. cit., p. 63; McDonald, op. cit., II, no. 1649.

An impression of this print was in the collection of Ferdinand Columbus.

19. *Bacchanal with Silenus*, after engraving by Andrea Mantegna (fig. 96).

Signed lower in center, *OPUS FRANCICI* (sic) | *DENANTO*. 275 x 404 mm.

Known impressions: Vienna, Albertina, DG2002/409.

Literature: Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 21 (without giving a location).

20. Four engraved parts of a frame surrounding the title-page of *Orlando Furioso di Messer Ludovico Ariosto nobile ferrarese nuovamente da lui proprio corretto e d'altri canti nuovi ampliato con gratie e privilegi* (Ferrara, Francesco Rossi da Valenza, 1532).

Signed, in white on black, in the lower piece, *F. DE NANTO*. 181 x 122 mm.

Literature: *Orlando Furioso di Ariosto, With Memoirs and Notes by Antonio Panizzi*, I, London, 1834, pp. 16–19; M. Muraro and D. Rosand, *Tiziano e la Silografia Veneziana del Cinquecento*, Vicenza, 1976, no. 50; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 20.

The same frame is used for the *Portrait of Ariosto*, after Titian, at the end of the book. The same blocks were later re-used for framing the title-page of *Bessarionis Niceni Cardinali orationes de gravissimis periculis, quae reipublicae christianae à Turca iam tum impendere providebat* (Rome, Francesco Priscianese, 1543).

21. *The Beheading of St John the Baptist*, possibly after Girolamo da Treviso (fig. 87).

Unsigned; at lower left: *DECOLA | TIO SAN | CTI.IOH | ANIS.BA | PTISTE ~*. 383 x 482 mm (trimmed).

Known impressions: Sale, Christie's, New York, 29 January 2019, lot 85 (fig. 87); possibly identical to *Beheading of St John* from Josef Wunsch collection, C. G. Boerner, sale CLIV, Leipzig, 1927, lot 1038b, as 'Enthauptung Johannis d. T., Gr.-Qu.-Fol.'

Literature: Nagler, 1841, no. 2, who notes a signature



*F Denato*, presumably incorrectly; Nagler, 1860, no. 2; Passavant, op. cit., no. 25, after Nagler; possibly auction catalogue, *Josef Wünsch Collection*, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 1927, lot 1038b; Baudi di Vesme, op. cit., no. 7.

#### D. Lost Works Not in Ferdinand Columbus's Inventory

##### 22. *St John the Baptist Preaching*.

Signed *Franciscus de Nanto de Savadiae* OR *FRANCISCVS DE NANTO DE SABAVIDIA*. 'folio' size, maybe c. 320 x 440 mm.

Literature: Nagler, 1841, no. 4, described as 'Die Predigt des Täufers Johannes. Franciscus de Nanto de Savadiae, fol.'; Nagler, 1860, no. 1, with slight variation of signature, *FRANCISCVS DE NANTO DE SABAVIDIA*; Passavant, op. cit., no. 24, after Nagler.

This is unlikely to be Appendix 1 which is signed differently.

#### E. Lost Works Described in Ferdinand Columbus's Inventory

##### 23. *Three Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope and Charity*.

Not signed but makes a pendant with the following. 'pliego' size (probably c. 435 x 320 mm).

Literature: McDonald, op. cit., II, no. 2119.

##### 24. *Three Cardinal Virtues: Fortitude, Temperance and Prudence*.

Signed *OPUS FRANCISCO DENATO* (sic). 'pliego' size (probably c. 435 x 320 mm).

Literature: McDonald, op. cit., II, no. 2120.

##### 25. *The Last Supper*.

Signed *FRANCISCUS DE NANTO*. 'pliego' size (probably c. 435 x 320 mm).

Literature: McDonald, op. cit., II, no. 2262.

26 – 39. *Christ with the Twelve Apostles: Christ the Saviour, St Peter, St Andrew, St John the Evangelist, St James the Greater, St Thomas, St James the Less, St Philip, St Bartholomew, St Matthew, St Paul, St Simon, St Jude*.

*St Simon* is signed *FRANCISCUS DE NANTO*. 'marca' size (probably c. 540 x 375 mm)

Literature: McDonald, op. cit., II, nos. 2490–2502.

##### 40. *St Francis, St Anthony and St Bernard*.

Signed *FRANCISCO DE MANTO* (sic). 'marca' size (probably c. 540 x 375 mm).

Literature: McDonald, op. cit., II, no. 2542.

##### 41. *The Birth of Christ*.

Signed *FRANCISCO DE NANTO*. 'marca' size (probably c. 540 x 375 mm).

Literature: McDonald, op. cit., II, no. 2565.

##### 42. *The Virgin of Loreto*.

Signed *F DE NANTO*. 'marca' size (probably c. 540 x 375 mm).

Literature: McDonald, op. cit., II, no. 2591.

##### 43. *Christ on the Cross*.

Signed *OPUS FRANCISCO DE NANTO*. 'marca' size (probably c. 540 x 375 mm).

Literature: McDonald, op. cit., II, no. 2594.

##### 44. *The Nine Worthies*.

*Rotulo de 9 anchos de pliego en largo* (roll of nine figures in pliego size), probably c. 435 x 320 mm for each figure. Literature: McDonald, op. cit., no. 2685, who identifies this with fragments of prints in Brussels, for a discussion of which see the main body of article.

Furthermore, Mark McDonald offers 21 prints, almost all of saints and all unsigned, that he thinks can be attributed to De Nanto, though without certainty; McDonald, op. cit., II, pp. 294–97, nos. 1642–46, 1648, 1650–57, 1910, 2153, 2216, 2296, 2316, 2322, 2336.

#### F. Work of uncertain attribution

*Christ on the Cross Above the Mouth of Hell*.

Woodcut; unsigned, 370 x 262 mm.

Impression: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, RESERVE EA-25 (D)-FOL, p. 108.

Literature: Kristeller, 1913, op. cit., p. 63, as Francesco de Nanto.

The print is mounted in the same volume as fig. 86 and precedes it. Kristeller attributed it to De Nanto in part because of the similarity in style of the frame to fig. 86. Yet similar complex frames occur elsewhere, see for example Caterina de' Vigri, *Libro deuoto de la beata Chaterina bolognese*, Bologna: Zoa. Antonio de li Benedicti, 1500 (S. Urbini, 'Breve storia dell'illustrazione bolognese del Rinascimento', in *Dal libro di natura al teatro del mondo: Studi in onore di Adalgisa Lugli*, edited by V. Fortunati and P. Granata, Bologna, 2011, fig. 4, though wrongly dated to 1502, an edition which has no illustration). Not only is the woodcut unsigned – which would be a rare occurrence in De Nanto's oeuvre – but most of the captions are in correct Latin and their sources can easily be identified, whereas usually De Nanto's Latin is awkward and from unidentified sources. The strange composition and authorship of the print needs further investigations, which this author plans to undertake and publish.



# Sketched, Not Etched: *Jan Six* and the Mariettes' Rembrandt *Oeuvre* for Prince Eugene of Savoy

Antoinette Friedenthal

Much of the extraordinary collection of prints that Jean Mariette (1660–1742) and his son Pierre Jean (1694–1774) assembled for Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736) survives in the Albertina in Vienna.<sup>1</sup> It consists of hundreds of albums, most of them ordered monographically, each uniting the prints by one (or several) artist(s) and / or prints after his works. As such, these albums embody the definition of the word '*oeuvre*' given in contemporary dictionaries: 'With respect to painters and printmakers one calls the *oeuvre* of a master the collection of all the printed pieces that one can find thereof.'<sup>2</sup> Most extant albums of this collection still include their original manuscript catalogues which detail each volume's contents. Final drafts for these catalogues are today preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Although they are in the handwriting of Pierre Jean Mariette, the responsibility for the entries was shared between father and son and the division of labour differed from one *oeuvre* to the other.

As one might expect from such a vast collection surveying significant branches of the history of art since the invention of printmaking, one of these albums was dedicated to the – now dismembered – *oeuvre* of Rembrandt. Its catalogue seems to have been primarily compiled by the son, but it also comprises notes based on the father's observations, specially

marked in the draft with an 'M'. This catalogue shows that Eugene owned a respectable number of Rembrandt's prints, yet they were far from complete. One of the missing etchings was the *Portrait of Jan Six* (fig. 97).<sup>3</sup> In its place the Mariettes had inserted a drawing. The draft catalogue (fig. 98), which was no doubt copied verbatim in the now lost clean copy of this text, describes it as:

A standing man leaning against a window, holding in his hands a book in which he reads. This is the portrait of N... Ziks, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, it is drawn in Chinese ink with much exactitude and neatness after the original print by Rembrandt, which is of extraordinary rarity.<sup>4</sup>

In a subsequent insertion, Pierre Jean Mariette, returning to his ellipsis of the sitter's name, corrected it to 'Jean Six'.

Thus the Mariettes openly declared this imperfection in the Rembrandt collection which they had delivered to Eugene and they also specified the nature of the substitute. A passage in the exchange of letters between Jean Mariette and his son Pierre Jean – a correspondence spanning the years 1717 to 1719 occasioned by the son's travels and sojourn in Prince Eugene's household in Vienna and now kept in the Louvre – indicates, however, that the drawing in question had originally entered the possession of

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1. Prince Eugene's print collection also included a vast section with thousands of portrait prints today kept in the Austrian National Library.
2. A. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant generalement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, & les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*, Den Haag and Rotterdam 1690, II [n. p.], 'Oeuvres': 'A l'esgard des Peintres & graveurs, on appelle l'*oeuvre* d'un Maistre, le recueil de toutes les pieces gravées qu'on en trouve.' See also the definition given in *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*, Paris, 1694, II, p. 144.
3. E. Hinterding and J. Rutgers, *The New Hollstein: Rembrandt*, ed-

ited by G. Luijten, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2013, II, no. 238; the authors do not cite P. Yver, *Supplement au catalogue raisonné de M. M. Gersaint, Helle & Glomy, de toutes les pieces, qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt*, Amsterdam, 1756, pp. 86–87, who already described the first state, an impression of which was then in the collection of Pieter Cornelis Baron van Leyden.

4. P. J. Mariette et al., [*Notes manuscrites sur les peintres et les graveurs*], Bibliothèque Nationale, RES., YA2–4 (1–10)–PET FOL, VII, fol. 38 (catalogue entry for fol. 64): 'Un homme debout appuyé contre une fenestre, tenant dans ses mains un livre dans lequel il lit. C'est le portrait de N....Ziks Bourgemesre d'Amsterdam, il est dessiné a l'encre de la chine avec beaucoup d'exactitude et de propreté d'après l'estampe originale de Rembrandt qui est d'une rareté extraordinaire.' P. J. Mariette, *Abecedario*, edited by Ph. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, Paris, 1851–60, IV, p. 357.





97. Rembrandt, *Portrait of Jan Six*, 1647, first state, etching, engraving and drypoint, 244 x 191 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinett).

the Mariettes under quite different circumstances.<sup>5</sup> When he studied the market during his stay in Amsterdam in September 1717, Pierre Jean was hoping to view the print collection of Jan Six the Younger. In a letter to his father of 17 September 1717, he described the encounter with Six and particularly mentioned the etched *Portrait of Jan Six*:

On the subject of this portrait I will tell you its story which you will not be displeased to hear. You will surely remember that you saw in the *oeuvre* of the prince a certain piece which Mr Du Laurent wanted to make you believe was etched and which you recognized as a mere drawing, it is precisely the portrait in question; this drawing is copied after the print, it once went through the hands of Mr Pool and I do not doubt that Mr Du Laurent had it from Mr Vermeulen to whom Mr Pool had sent it. Be that as it may, the print by Rembrandt is so rare that one does not hesitate to pay here 100 florins for it if one finds it – but where can it be found, the descendants of this burgomaster who own its plate have bought at high prices all the prints which they could discover and they buy them even presently at whatever price one asks for them.<sup>6</sup>

The passage not only highlights the rarity of the *Portrait of Jan Six* – an aspect to which we shall return – it also suggests that Jean Mariette had opted to buy the prints by Rembrandt for Eugene – or a substantial number thereof – from a colleague instead of

sacrificing the precious *oeuvre* which must have come down to him from his father Pierre II Mariette (1634–1716). The latter's prominent position as dealer and collector of Rembrandt's prints is indeed evident from the characteristic inscriptions – usually consisting of the name 'P. Mariette' and a year – found today on many sheets in collections all over the world.<sup>7</sup> The importance of his holdings is also apparent from contemporary sources, among them an entry of 19 November 1715 in the diary of the German grand tourist Johann Friedrich von Uffenbach (1687–1769):

... so I went to the book dealer Mariette who – amongst other beautiful *oeuvres* – [showed] me a whole complete collection of Rembrandt's engravings (sic) in an exquisite volume which he had assembled during more than 40 years, frequently choosing and inserting the best of 20 impressions. This collection was, as can easily be imagined, incomparable and I could not turn my eyes from it.<sup>8</sup>

Given all this, it is perhaps not surprising that Jean Mariette apparently approached his Parisian colleague Du Laurent when looking to assemble a collection of Rembrandt's prints for Prince Eugene of Savoy – and even his recognition that the group offered by Du Laurent only featured a drawn copy of the missing *Portrait of Jan Six* does not seem to have swayed him in this course.<sup>9</sup> Soon after, when staying in Amsterdam before moving on to Vienna, Pierre Jean Mariette realized that the drawing in question originally came from Mathys Pool (1676–1740), a

5. The letters are in the Département des Arts Graphiques; V. de Chillaz, *Inventaire général des autographes*, Paris, 1997, Aut. 1566–1652. An annotated edition of these letters will soon be published by the author of the present contribution.

6. Pierre Jean Mariette to Jean Mariette, Amsterdam, 17 September 1717 (Louvre, Aut. 1604): 'A propos de ce portrait je vais vous en faire l'histoire que vous ne serez pas fâché d'apprendre. Vous vous souvenez bien d'avoir vu dans l'œuvre du Prince une certaine piece que M.<sup>r</sup> Du Laurent vouloit faire passer pour estre gravé et que vous avez reconnu pour n'estre que dessiné, c'est justement le portrait en question; ce dessein est copié sur l'estampe, il a passé autrefois entre les mains de M.<sup>r</sup> Pool et je ne doute pas que M.<sup>r</sup> Du Laurent ne l'ait eu de M.<sup>r</sup> Vermeulen a qui M.<sup>r</sup> Pool l'avoit envoyé. Quoy qu'il en soit l'estampe de Rimbrandt est si rare qu'on ne fait pas difficulté de la payer icy 100 florins lorsqu'on la trouve, mais où la trouver, les descendants de ce bourgmestre qui en ont la planche ont achepté [acheté] à haut prix toutes les epreuves qu'ils ont pu decouvrir, et les achètent encor presentement a quelle que prix qu'on les mette.' The last two sentences were also cited by S. Alsteens, 'Portrait de Jan Six, 1647', in *Regards sur l'art hollandais du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Frits Lugt et les Frères Dutuit, collectionneurs*, edited by S. Alsteens et al., Paris, 2004, p. 256.

7. The prints carrying ownership marks of Pierre II Mariette are

noted in Hinterding and Rutgers, op. cit. On Pierre II Mariette as a collector of prints by Rembrandt see also S. S. Dickey, 'Thoughts on the Market for Rembrandt's Portrait Etchings', in *In His Milieu. Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, edited by A. Golahny, M. M. Mochizuki and L. Vergara, Amsterdam, 2006, pp. 151–52.

8. Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 8<sup>o</sup> Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29 IV, pp. 304–05, '... ginge also zu dem buchführer Mariette der mir unter anderen schönen wercken auch eine ganze complete collection von rembrands kupferstichen [zeigte,] in einem fůrtrefflichen band daran er über 40 jahr gesammelt und vielmahls aus 20 exemplaren das beste heraus gewehlt und hierzu destiniert. Diese collection war wie leicht zu dencken incomparabel, und kunte ich mich daran nicht satt sehen'. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dietrich Meyerhöfer who is currently preparing a publication on Uffenbach and who very generously brought this passage to my attention. It may well be that the Rembrandt collection seen by Uffenbach ended up as part of Pierre Jean Mariette's estate: F. Basan, *Catalogue raisonné des différents objets de curiosités dans les sciences et arts, qui composoient le cabinet de feu M<sup>r</sup> Mariette*, Paris, 1775, pp. 278–85.

9. The colleague in question may have been Charles Du Laurent, see M. Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*, s. l., 1987, p. 195.





printmaker, publisher and art dealer who had known the Mariettes for a long time and who looked after Pierre Jean Mariette most kindly while he was in the city. At the same time the young Mariette also learned that the original plate was still in the possession of the Six family; later he further specified this information in a note to the above-mentioned catalogue observing that the plate was owned by the sitter's son.<sup>10</sup> Simultaneously Mariette commented on the latter's interventions on the art market: 'He put it in his mind to take out of circulation all specimens which were dispersed among the public in order to rarify it, and there were some impressions which he bought for up to 70 livres and more in public auctions'.<sup>11</sup> In the letter to his father of 17 September 1717, Pierre Jean Mariette had sketched a similar portrait of the younger Jan Six:

You had also recommended that I should find out about connoisseurs of prints and that I should try to make myself acquainted with them, but good Lord what connoisseurs they are! I went to see one with Mr Pool, he would never have permitted us to enter unless we promised that it was not in order to see his prints, he made a vow to never show them to anybody except to himself; this original of a connoisseur owns good ones, however, and he is the only one in Amsterdam who has a portrait by Rembrandt which one calls the *Burgomaster*.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, Pierre Jean Mariette's first encounter with an original of this print occurred only later as other annotations to the draft catalogue of Prince Eugene's Rembrandt etchings show. In one of these he had written that 'those who have seen this portrait of J. Six have assured me that it was very bad, and I can easily believe it' – a passage to which he later added the following observation: 'Since I have seen an impression in the hands of Mons.<sup>13</sup> Sevin I have a

completely different opinion of it'.<sup>13</sup>

An exceptional, hitherto unnoticed and previously uninventorized drawing in an album in the Albertina, Vienna, exhibits a number of qualities which suggest that this is the work referred to in the catalogue for Prince Eugene and in Pierre Jean Mariette's letter (fig. 99). An initial clue for this assumption is the drawing's location – the Albertina holds most of Eugene's collection of artists' prints.<sup>14</sup> While a rapid inspection may convey the impression that the work in question is a print, a closer look reveals that it was actually drawn, probably with pen and brush, using Chinese ink.<sup>15</sup> The drawing's dimensions are just a little smaller than those of Rembrandt's etching. The difference of six to seven millimetres in height and four to five in width can be accounted for by the platemark, which is obviously missing in the drawing, and by a presumably later trimming, which would also explain the sheet's somewhat irregular format. The drawing reproduces the print's extremely rare first state, today known in only two impressions, where the window ledge behind the sitter ends at the middle of his upper arm, the small profile of the embrasure above his head is not shaded, and the right half of the upper window is darkened with fine verticals. It was probably traced from the etched *Portrait of Jan Six*, as suggested by an overlay of the two images, and provides a very precise, if not deceitful, rendering of the print in another medium (fig. 97). This, combined with the evidence on provenance and the apparent rarity of such copies, indicates that it was this very sheet which served as the substitute for a print that the Mariettes could not procure for Prince Eugene as they had failed to find it on the market. Leaving open the question of authorship, Pierre Jean Mariette only states in the previously cited letter that the drawing had passed through the hands of Pool – information

10. For the plate see Hinterding and Rutgers, op. cit.; *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, edited by E. Hinterding, G. Luijten and M. Royalton-Kisch, London, 2000, p. 242, no. 57, with entry by Royalton-Kisch.

11. Mariette, *Notes manuscrites*, op. cit., VII, fol. 38: 'Il s'est mis dans l'idée d'en retirer tous les exemplaires qui étoient dispersés dans le public, pour le rendre rare, et il y en a telle épreuve qu'il a achetée jusqu'à 70 livres et davantage dans des ventes publiques.' Pierre Jean Mariette further comments on the development of prices for this print, transcribed in Mariette, *Abeceario*, op. cit., IV, p. 357–58; see A. Griffiths, *The Print before Photography. An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820*, London, 2016, pp. 433–35.

12. Pierre Jean Mariette to Jean Mariette, Amsterdam, 17 September 1717 (Louvre, Aut. 1604): 'Vous m'aviez aussi recommandé de m'informer des curieux d'Estampes et de tâcher de faire quelque connoissance avec eux, mais bon Dieu quels cu-

rieux! J'en ay été voir un avec M.<sup>r</sup> Pool, jamais il n'a voulu nous permettre d'entrer, que nous ne luy eussions promis que ce ne seroit point pour voir ses estampes, il a fait vœu de ne les montrer jamais qu'à luy seul, cet original de curieux en a pourtant de bonnes, et il est le seul à Amsterdam qui ait un portrait de Rimbrant que l'on nomme le *Bourgmastre*' (my italics). See also Alsteens, op. cit., p. 256.

13. Mariette, *Notes manuscrites*, op. cit., VII, fol. 38: 'Des gens qui ont veu ce portrait de J. Six m'ont assuré qu'il estoit extre[me]ment mauvais, et je n'ay pas de peine à le croire. / Depuis que j'en ay veu une epreuve entre les mains de Mons.<sup>r</sup> Sevin j'en ay toute une autre idée.'

14. Albertina, HB69.5, fol. 29, no. 31. Following my investigation of this sheet, it has now been inventorized as inv. 47779.

15. With special thanks to Kristina Liedtke, chief conservator of the Albertina, for her advice on the drawing's technique; oral communication of 7 January 2020.





99. Anonymous artist, possibly Mathys Pool, *Copy of Rembrandt's 'Jan Six'*, probably pen, brush and brown ink, 238 x 187 mm (Vienna, Albertina).

to which one might add that Pool is known to have produced several very convincing etched copies of drawings by Rembrandt.<sup>16</sup>

Significantly, Jacques-Louis Marquis de Beringhen (1651–1723), another of the Mariettes' prominent clients, also had to content himself with a drawn substitute of this etching. This was particularly commented on by Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Helle and Jean-Baptiste Glomy, the editors of the first printed *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'œuvre de Rembrandt* (Paris, 1751) published posthumously from Edme-François Gersaint's manuscript. In doing so, Helle and Glomy actually contradicted Gersaint who had assumed that the *Portrait of Jan Six* had become extremely rare only shortly before 1750. According to Helle and Glomy,

The portrait of the Burgomaster Six must already have been very rare at the time that Mr de Beringhen put together his collection, for although this collector spared no expenses to satisfy his desires, he did not succeed in making this acquisition; and in order to solace himself he had it copied with the pen, combined with wash of Chinese ink. This imitation was so sophisticated that it often deceived those who had not been warned. One can see this copy in the Beringhen *oeuvre* at the king's library.<sup>17</sup>

This information is confirmed by an earlier manuscript inventory of the Cabinet du Roi by Pierre

Jean Mariette (1735–36) and by the entry on *Jan Six* in a somewhat later manuscript here attributed to the keeper of the king's print collection, Hugues-Adrien Joly (1718–1800).<sup>18</sup> The latter catalogues the then most complete set of Rembrandt etchings in the Cabinet du Roi, the one assembled from Beringhen's *oeuvre* bought in 1731. The entry in question, no. 467, describes the print acquired for the king in 1755 and goes on to state that the deceptively well-drawn copy of an impression of this etching had been 'placed' at that point in the 'Recueil du Roy'.<sup>19</sup> There can be little doubt that this was the drawing that had once belonged to Beringhen. Sadly, it can no longer be traced.<sup>20</sup>

The drawing in the Albertina is today kept in an album which was assembled from various parts (fig. 100).<sup>21</sup> While the covers of red morocco leather – both exhibiting Eugene's supralibro – undoubtedly stem from the prince's collection, the pages and the spine in fawn-coloured leather with the imperial eagle probably date from the nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> The latter carries the designation 'Rembrandt / van / Rhyn. / 1.' embossed with gilded letters, features which are again found in the next volume, similarly embossed with 'Rembrandt / van / Rhyn. / 2.'<sup>23</sup> Trusting the evidence of the shelfmarks, HB69.5 and HB69.6, though not that of the designations on the spine, these volumes conclude a series of five, formerly perhaps even six, albums from the imperial library.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, it is not clear which prints were originally preserved

16. P. Schatborn, 'Van Rembrandt tot Crozat: Vroege verzamelingen met tekeningen van Rembrandt', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, xxxii, 1981, pp. 13–14.

17. P.-C.-A. Helle and J.-B. Glomy in E.-F. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'œuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1751, no. 265, pp. 217–18: 'Il falloit que le Portrait du Bourguemestre Six fut déjà bien rare dans le tems que M. de Beringhen forma son Cabinet; car quoique ce Curieux n'épargna rien pour se satisfaire, il ne pût venir à bout d'en faire l'acquisition; & pour se consoler, il en fit faire une copie à la plume, accompagnée d'un lavis d'encre de la Chine, si bien imitée, qu'elle a souvent trompé les personnes qui n'étoient point prévenues: on voit cette copie dans l'Œuvre de Beringhen, à la Bibliothèque du Roi.' The passage is also discussed by Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

18. P. J. Mariette, *Bref état des estampes de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Bibliothèque Nationale, YE-15 (A)-PET FOL, p. 72, listing the Rembrandt *oeuvre* from the Beringhen collection as volume no. 27 and mentioning 'que le Portrait d'un homme debout appuyé contre une fenestre, qui est à la page 100 n'est que dessiné'; *Catalogue de l'œuvre de Rembrandt, tel que les pièces se trouvent rangées dans le Recueil provenant du Cabinet de M. de Beringhen N° 624*, unpaginated Bibliothèque Nationale, RES., YE-22-4. Vanessa Selbach, Bibliothèque Nationale, very kindly verified my attribution of this catalogue to Joly, an attribution with which she concurs in an email of 9 April 2019. After submitting the present contribution it has come to my attention that A. Prigot, *La réception de Rembrandt à travers les estampes en France au XVIIIe siècle*, Rennes, 2018,

p. 70, note 255, also attributes this list to Joly. Prigot studies some of the material discussed here, but she is not aware of the drawing in Vienna nor does she consider the fate of Eugene's Rembrandt *oeuvre*.

19. In his *Registre Journal*, Bibliothèque Nationale, RES., YE-5-4, p. 37, Joly had noted: 'Le 15. mai 1755. j'ai fait acquisition par ordre de M. Bignon de deux Epreuves avec Lettre et sans Lettre du rare portrait du Bourguemestre Jean Six, dont le Roi n'avoit qu'une copie assez fidele faite à l'encre de la chine; ces deux epreuves ont été achetées publiquement à la vente du Cab. de M. Le Comte de Chabannes. La somme de 1 110 – 1 [livres]'; see also F. Courboin, *Exposition d'œuvres de Rembrandt: Dessins et gravures*, Paris, 1908, no. 222; G. Lambert, in *Rembrandt: La Figure Humaine*, edited by J. and M. Guillaud, Paris and New York, 1986, no. 258, p. 195.

20. I am grateful to Vanessa Selbach for her confirmation, email of 20 March 2019.

21. Shelfmark HB69.5.

22. I am grateful to Regina Doppelbauer, Albertina, for her observations on the dating of the volume's binding, email of 26 March 2019.

23. Shelfmark HB69.6.

24. Unlike the volumes HB69.5 and HB69.6, the bindings of the three volumes with shelfmarks HB69.2–4 are evidently from a later period as they feature different covers; their spines, marked with the imperial eagle, are labelled 'Rembrandt' and carry the Roman numerals II to IV.





100. *Front Cover of Album with Prince Eugene's Coat of Arms, with later Spine, 1717–36, embossed leather, 572 x 424 mm (Vienna, Albertina).*

in these two volumes and whether the Rembrandt *oeuvre* was among them. It is certain, however, that the prints by Rembrandt were assembled in only one volume during Eugene's time, a fact not only evident from a letter by Jean Mariette to his son, but also from an entry in the manuscript catalogue of Eugene's library written during his lifetime.<sup>25</sup> Such a volume cannot be found in the Albertina today and the manuscript catalogue compiled by the Mariettes which it must have contained is similarly untraceable – although its above-mentioned draft, complete with later annotations by Pierre Jean Mariette, survives in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Several efforts were made during the last quarter of the eighteenth century to enlarge the collection of Rembrandt prints at the imperial library. In 1783/84 the 'Scriptor' (perhaps best translated as 'curator') Adam Bartsch (1757–1821) was sent to Paris primarily

in order to acquire the Rembrandt *oeuvre* belonging to Johann Anton de Peters (1725–95) then offered for sale. Although that acquisition ultimately failed – the successful bidder for the de Peters *oeuvre* was the Cabinet du Roi – Bartsch was able to buy other prints by Rembrandt on that and additional occasions.<sup>26</sup> The significance then attached to the artist is further documented by a new two-volume edition of Gersaint's *Catalogue raisonné* published by Bartsch in 1797.<sup>27</sup> It was probably in view of the much enlarged holdings and improved knowledge that it was decided to reorganize the Rembrandt etchings in Vienna. Initially, the latter seem to have been rearranged in albums from which most etchings were later transferred to separate mounts. Our drawing remained in an album but was not associated with a group of reproductions after *Jan Six* found at another position.<sup>28</sup> Thus the knowledge of its original context was lost.

25. Jean Mariette to Pierre Jean Mariette, Paris, 16 January 1718 (Louvre, Aut. 1574); Austrian National Library, *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Ser.<sup>m</sup> Principis Eugenii Æ Sabaudia*, III, p. 1559.

26. A. Stix, 'Pariser Briefe des Adam Bartsch aus dem Jahre 1784', in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstage*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 312–51; also see H.-A. Joly, 'Notice succincte' in idem, *Catalogue de l'oeuvre de Rembrandt provenant du Cabinet Peters*, 1784, Bibliothèque Nationale, RES., YE-32-PET FOL, unpaginated, who mentions that Peters had been in very advanced negotiations for a sale to the emperor but then gave preference to the French king.

27. A. Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes, qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt et ceux de ses principaux imitateurs. Composé par les*

*sieurs Gersaint, Helle, Glomy et P. Yver. Nouvelle édition. Entièrement refondue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée*, Vienna, 1797.

28. The printed copies after *Jan Six* are found in HB69.3, fols. 49–63; see Hinterding and Rutgers, op. cit. For some of the printed or painted copies and variants made in the eighteenth century and later, but not the drawings from the collections of Prince Eugene and Marquis de Beringhen discussed here, see R. van Leeuwen and L. Ruhe, 'De receptie en reproductie van Rembrandts geëtste portret van Jan Six', in *Rembrandt en Jan Six, de ets, de vriendschap*, edited by M. Jonker, Amsterdam, 2017, pp. 37–46.

The current state of research on the Rembrandt collection for Prince Eugene is obfuscated by a hypothesis advanced first in 1969 and further expounded in 1971 by Christian Dittrich, then curator of the Dresden Print Room, who was probably unable to conduct research outside the iron curtain.<sup>29</sup> Dittrich published a report of 10 January 1744, written by Johann Heinrich von Heucher (1677–1746), the print cabinet's first director from 1720 to 1746, and preserved in the archive of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. In this report Heucher described the circumstances of the acquisition of a Rembrandt *oeuvre* bought by King August III of Poland and Elector of Saxony (1696–1763) at the end of 1743 from the Dutch print dealer Schenck, tentatively identified by Dittrich as Pieter Schenck the Younger (1693–1775).<sup>30</sup> Heucher states that he had been informed that this collection 'once belonged to Prince Eugene, but that one had found a means to obtain it from the Princess Hildburgshausen, his sister, and that more and more had been added since, etc. etc.'<sup>31</sup>

It is noteworthy that Eugene did not have a sister 'Princess Hildburgshausen', something which Heucher, given Eugene's extraordinary celebrity, almost certainly knew. Instead, as already pointed out by Dittrich in 1971, Schenck probably meant Maria Anna Victoria of Savoy, Eugene's niece and heiress who in 1738 had married Prince Joseph Friedrich von Sachsen-Hildburgshausen.<sup>32</sup> By citing Schenck's erroneous identification of Anna Victoria as Prince Eugene's 'sister' and by concluding the passage with a strangely indifferent 'etc. etc.', Heucher may well have wanted to discreetly signal a problem in the information supplied by the dealer while simultaneously avoiding to state his doubts more openly.

Altogether, Heucher's report testifies to an awkward situation: The king, who had evidently assumed that Schenck's *oeuvre* was complete, had

charged Heucher to evaluate this convolute, a task which he accomplished by careful comparison between Schenck's offering and the Rembrandt etchings already in the king's possession. Having done so, Heucher recognized the high quality of the newly offered prints but also found that Schenck's collection, though containing about 120 prints that were new to Dresden, lacked no less than 63 of the Rembrandt prints already owned by the king. Heucher also felt that the prices asked for some sheets were very high. When reporting these observations, however, he learned that the king had already acquired the volume. Hence, one of Heucher's reasons to draft this very unusual, prudently worded memorandum may have been to document that he had not been directly involved in the transaction.<sup>33</sup>

While August III and later also Dittrich obviously believed the information given by the vendor, a thorough reading of Heucher's text reveals the latter's hesitation. Indeed, the imprecision in the vendor's report on provenance does not constitute the only problem. Heucher described the (now lost) album as bound 'in red and gilt morocco leather' ('en Maroquin rouge doré'), for instance, but does not mention Eugene's arms which adorn the many still extant volumes of his collection. Moreover, the rudimentary, even crude list of the prints, written in a strange mixture of Dutch and German (fig. 101), which accompanied this *oeuvre* and which – preserved together with Heucher's report – was also published by Dittrich, neither tallies in content nor in its order with Mariette's draft for the catalogue of Eugene's Rembrandt *oeuvre*.<sup>34</sup> If such a catalogue in French, invariably an ingredient of the Mariette albums of Eugene's print collection, had been present in the Schenck volume, Heucher would surely have referred to it – all the more so as he himself compiled a list in French of the Rembrandt etchings kept in Dresden.

29. *Rembrandt: Die Radierungen im Dresdener Kupferstich-Kabinett*, edited by C. Dittrich, with contributions by W. Schmidt and J. Jahn, Dresden, 1969, pp. 5, 19, 69 and 70; C. Dittrich, 'Der "Rembrandt Graveur" des Johann Heinrich von Heucher. Eine wiederaufgefundene Specification aus dem Jahre 1744 im Dresdener Kupferstich-Kabinett', *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, xxv, 1971, pp. 53–73; reprinted in C. Dittrich, *Johann Heinrich von Heucher und Carl Heinrich von Heineken. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dresdener Kupferstich-Kabinetts im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by M. Schuster and T. Ketelsen, Dresden, 2010, pp. 63–75.

30. Dittrich, 1971, op. cit., p. 54, whereas C. Dittrich, 'Zur Provenienz der Rembrandt-Radierungen in Dresden', *Dresdener Kunstblätter*, xiv, 1970, p. 54, gives the identification as certain; Dittrich, 1969, op. cit., p. 70, and C. Dittrich, 'Rembrandt und die Seinen. Sammlung, Forschung und Wirkung in Dresden', in

*Rembrandt: Die Dresdener Zeichnungen 2004*, edited by T. Ketelsen, Cologne, 2004, p. 31, gives the identification as certain without specifying that it was the younger Schenck.

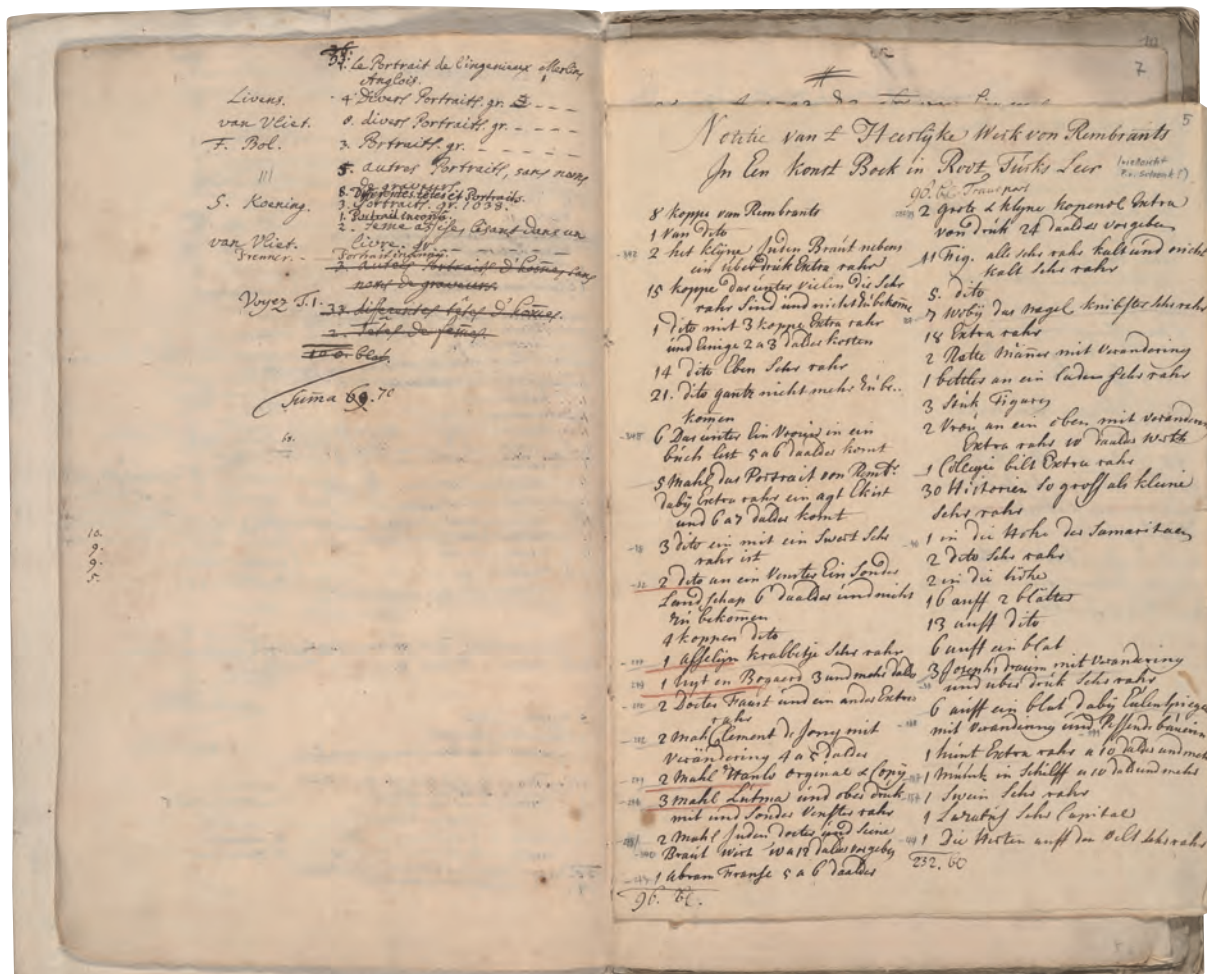
31. 'die Sammlung hätte ehedessen dem Prince Eugene zugehört, man hätte aber ein Mittel gefunden, selbige von der Fürstin von Hildburgshausen, seiner Schwester, zu erhalten, und nach der Zeit wäre immer mehr und mehr dazu gesammelt worden etc. etc.'; cited in Dittrich, 1969, op. cit., p. 19.

32. Dittrich, 1971, op. cit., p. 59, note 4. Previously Dittrich, 1970, op. cit., p. 57, note 4, had unhesitatingly identified her as the sister of Prince Eugene.

33. W. Schmidt, in *Rembrandt*, 1969, op. cit., p. 5, emphasizes the singularity of Heucher's memorandum.

34. Dittrich, 1971, op. cit., pp. 68–69; Mariette, *Notes manuscrites*, op. cit., vii, fols. 30–43.





101. Anonymous author, possibly Pieter Schenck the Younger, *List of a Magnificent Oeuvre by Rembrandt in an Album in Red Turkish Leather*, 1743 or earlier, pen and ink on paper, 370 x 460 mm (Dresden, Archiv der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett).

That such a catalogue would have been removed and that the order of the prints in the volume would have been changed by Schenck is highly improbable in view of the dealer's emphasis on the album's provenance from Eugene's collection. Finally – as Dittrich already noted – Heucher's report was strangely left unmentioned by Woldemar von Seidlitz and Hans Wolfgang Singer in their respective catalogues of Rembrandt's etchings, even though both were working in Dresden.<sup>35</sup>

The combined evidence thus suggests that those who acquired the volume for Dresden in 1743 had given credence to a glamorous but misleading provenance. If August III had indeed bought the Rembrandt etchings previously owned by Eugene, the drawing of *Jan Six* here published would probably also be in Dresden today. To be sure, the sheet's presence in the Albertina and the apparent absence of such a drawing in the Dresden Print Room alone do not constitute sufficient grounds to reject the

35. Dittrich, 1971, op. cit. p. 53; W. v. Seidlitz, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Radierungen Rembrandts: Zugleich eine Anleitung zu deren Studium*,

Leipzig, 1895; H. W. Singer, *Rembrandt: Des Meisters Radierungen in 402 Abbildungen*, Stuttgart, 1906.

supposed provenance of the Schenck volume, yet the additional incongruencies make it hard to sustain the Viennese origin of that volume, all the more so as there are no indications whatever that individual volumes were separated from Eugene's comprehensive print collection after his death in April 1736.<sup>36</sup> The span of time available for such an intervention would indeed have been quite short as Eugene's collection was acquired *en bloc* for the imperial library and had entered the latter already in 1738.<sup>37</sup> More than half a century later, Adam Bartsch published his Rembrandt catalogue where – far from lamenting the absence of a Rembrandt volume at the imperial library – he singled out 'this truly magnificent *oeuvre* ... whose richness in numbers is equalled by the beauty of the impressions'.<sup>38</sup>

In this context, it is worth pointing to one particular print, the extremely rare first state of the *Angel Appearing to the Shepherds* in Dresden, which – according to Dittrich – had once belonged to Eugene (fig. 102).<sup>39</sup> Mariette's draft for the prince's catalogue shows, however, that this etching did not form part of the Rembrandt *oeuvre* of Eugene who instead owned the print in its second or third state. Remarkably, it seems to have gone unnoticed in the literature that Mariette read the almost illegible date on this etching as '1655' rather than '1634' – the date commonly given today – while Heucher assumed that this work was made in 1645.<sup>40</sup> The fact that Heucher's list gives a date for this etching seems difficult to reconcile with Dittrich's idea that it describes the first undated state of the print and thus additionally weakens the latter's argument. For his part, Mariette learned of the existence of the first, unfinished state of this etching only at a later date, as one gathers from another annotation to the draft catalogue for

Eugene: 'There are first impressions where only the background is finished, all the figures and animals are merely outlined'.<sup>41</sup>

The drawn copy of Rembrandt's etched *Portrait of Jan Six* in the Albertina provides one – but not the only – indication that Prince Eugene's collection of Rembrandt etchings passed to the imperial library in Vienna (and thence to the Albertina) and was not sold to Dresden in 1743. The fact that the volume in question is no longer traceable today does not speak against the present reconstruction of the events, as some other volumes – especially those with prints of particular interest – were also dissolved when parts of Eugene's collection were later reorganized. In the context of the prince's Rembrandt collection, our drawing is a singularity which exemplifies how the art market and its participants reacted to the shortage of this etching.

Significantly, Pierre Jean Mariette's comments in his letter of 17 September 1717 and in annotations to his Rembrandt catalogue also highlight the character of Jan Six the Younger as the latter evidently sought to rarefy the print. Mariette's observations tally with those of the collector Valerius Röver of 1731 (1686–1739) who held the Six family in general responsible for the rarity of this etching on the market.<sup>42</sup> Soon after, an auction in Amsterdam attended by Gersaint – almost certainly the sale of the 'Cabinet' of Willem Six in 1734 – suddenly made about 25 impressions of this print available.<sup>43</sup> The prices tumbled on this occasion – the prints cost fifteen, sixteen and eighteen florins apiece according to Gersaint – but they later began to recover.<sup>44</sup> Clearly, the *Jan Six* etching was not always a rarity in the first half of the eighteenth century, even if the drawing and its catalogue entry

36. Gudula Metze, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, very kindly informed me that, as far as she could ascertain, no such drawing can be traced there, email of 18 March 2019.

37. L. Strebl, 'Die barocke Bibliothek (1663–1739)', in *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Erster Teil: Die Hofbibliothek (1368–1922)*, edited by J. Stummvoll, Vienna, 1968, p. 210. Walter Koschatzky, then Director of the Albertina, was evidently convinced that Prince Eugene's Rembrandt *oeuvre* had not gone to Dresden but instead entered the imperial library in 1738 even though he clearly knew Heucher's report as published by Dittrich in 1969; W. Koschatzky, 'Zum Geleit', in *Rembrandt: Radierungen aus dem Besitz der Albertina*, edited by E. Mitsch, Vienna, 1970, p. 6 (Dittrich, 1969, op. cit., is cited in the catalogue's bibliography).

38. Bartsch, op. cit., I, p. IX: 'Cet oeuvre véritablement magnifique, et dont la richesse du nombre égale la beauté des épreuves'.

39. Dittrich, 1969, op. cit., no. 106; Dittrich, 1971, op. cit., p. 55, and Dittrich, 2010, op. cit., pp. 66–67; Hinterding and Rutgers,

op. cit., I, no. 125.

40. Mariette, *Notes manuscrites*, VII, op. cit., fol. 32, entry for fol. 14; see Dittrich, 1971, op. cit., pp. 55 and 61.

41. Mariette, *Notes manuscrites*, VII, op. cit., fol. 32, annotation on the catalogue entry for fol. 14: 'Il y en a de 1.<sup>eres</sup> épreuves où il n'y a que le fonds de terminé, tout ce qui est de figures et d'animaux, n'est qu'au trait'.

42. J. G. van Gelder and N. F. van Gelder-Schrijver, 'De *Memorie* van Rembrandt's prenten in het bezit van Valerius Röver', *Oud Holland*, LV, 1938, pp. 4, 11; Dickey, op. cit., p. 156.

43. Gersaint, op. cit., p. 216, and K. G. Boon, 'De herkomst van Rembrandts prenten in het Rijksprentenkabinet', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, IV, 1956, p. 50.

44. See Gersaint, op. cit., pp. 216–17; on the later pricing of this etching see also van Gelder and van Gelder-Schrijver, op. cit., p. 4, who, however, wrongly assume that Gersaint had bought at the auction of Jan Six in 1702, as also noted by Dickey, op. cit., p. 163, note 34.





102. Rembrandt, *The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds*, 1634, first state, etching, engraving and drypoint, 260 x 220 mm (Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett).

published here indicate that the print was very hard to find during some stretches of this period. Pierre Jean Mariette's letter corroborates these discoveries – which in turn help to fully understand

his statements there. Altogether, a more systematic research of drawn copies after prints might yield interesting insights into the history of collecting and the art market.<sup>45</sup>

45. This *desideratum* was already noted by Griffiths, op. cit., p. 516,

note 50.

# ‘Which Etching Only Can Interpret’ Process and Privacy in Albert Besnard’s *La Femme*

Britany Salsbury

Around 1886 the artist Albert Besnard (1849–1934) completed his first print portfolio, *La Femme* (Woman), which he described as ‘the most important part of my [etching practice]’.<sup>1</sup> The twelve etchings outline the tragic events that befall a young bourgeois woman in fin-de-siècle Paris, from seduction by an unsavoury suitor to her eventual suicide. Besnard was one of several artists of his time, including Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864–1901) and Félix Vallotton (1865–1925), who produced print series on a single theme or narrative. These encouraged deliberate and sequential viewing and reflected the popularity of prints as objects for private study and attentive contemplation by serious collectors.<sup>2</sup> Besnard and others emphasized etching’s visual language, which was especially significant at a time when photography had overtaken printmaking’s replicative function. *La Femme* is characterized by an unfinished and purposefully careless aesthetic, including sketchy, erratic lines and technical effects that most printmakers would describe as mistakes. It is argued here that Besnard’s distinctive etching style was a deliberate means to emphasize the intimate tone of the portfolio’s subject. The private conditions surrounding the technique also allowed him to appeal directly to interested collectors. These typically consisted of upper middle-class Parisian men, as revealed, for example, by the *fiches sur la clientèle* and *livres de caisse* of the influential print dealer Edmond Sagot that include almost no women.<sup>3</sup>

Besnard’s talent had been encouraged by his mother, also an artist. He was raised in Paris, where he studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, winning the

Prix de Rome in 1874. He produced his first etching, *Muse*, in 1872 and continued to work in the medium while abroad. Besnard returned to Paris in 1879 and moved to London a year later so that his wife, the sculptor Charlotte Dubray (1854–1931), could pursue commissions from the British upper classes. There, he met and worked with printmakers deeply involved in the etching community such as Alphonse Legros (1837–1911) and Félix Bracquemond (1833–1914). In 1883 Besnard and Dubray returned to Paris, where Besnard began his most prolific period of printmaking.

From early on, Besnard produced etchings with dark, sometimes morbid subjects, revolving around poverty, the alienation of modern urban life and the inequitable treatment of women in his time. He often focused on views of female figures in evocative interiors, such as *Morphinomanes* (Morphine addicts), of 1887, which shows a pair of fashionable young women surrounded by drug paraphernalia (fig. 103). Their shared blank gaze combines with the hazy tonality of particularly grainy and mottled aquatint to give the composition an unsettling tone. Its dark subject matter probably contributed to the public’s lack of knowledge of his etchings. Writing in 1920, Charles Coppier, author of the first catalogue raisonné of Besnard’s prints, commented that the etchings were ‘a vast field of his artistic activity which has remained unknown to the public . . . [due to] a very different aesthetic and philosophical conception from his painted works’.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Jean Vallery-Radot, print curator at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, wrote in 1949 that ‘the artist

I am grateful to Jay Clarke, Emily J. Peters and Christina Weyl for their comments on various drafts of this essay, and to Nancy Friese and Brian Shure for technical advice.

1. *Etchings by A. Besnard, With a Note on Etching by the Artist*, London, 1898, p. 4.
2. On the importance of privacy in the consumption of prints, see *The Darker Side of Light: Arts of Privacy, 1850–1900*, edited

by P. Parshall, Washington, DC, 2009; and F. Roos Rosa de Carvalho, *Prints in Paris: From Elite to the Street*, Brussels, 2017, pp. 23–59.

3. Archives Sagot-Le Garrec, Institut national d’histoire de l’art, Paris. See also Roos Rosa de Carvalho, op. cit., p. 32.
4. C. Coppier, *Les Eaux-fortes de Besnard*, Paris, 1920, pp. 2–3; this and other quotations in French translated by the present author.





103. Albert Besnard, *Morphinomanes* (Morphine addicts), 1887, etching, 237 x 370 mm (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art).

had achieved all the great distinctions of his career as a famous painter . . . But his etched oeuvre remained in the shadows'.<sup>5</sup> Besnard's prints were strikingly different from his public presence as an artist – especially from the commissions that established his reputation in France during the Third Republic. Scholarship has largely focused on his decorative paintings for official institutions including the Hôtel de Ville and the Sorbonne, which featured a tempered synthesis of vanguard aesthetics and popular taste that government administrators saw as aligned with Republicanism's liberalism and tolerance. He was also well known for Parisian society portraits, praised by critics for their emphasis on his sitters' interiority, and for his combination of the dramatic colouration and vivid brushstrokes that characterized artistic experimentation at the time.

Likely influenced by Legros and Bracquemond,

Besnard began to conceive his first print portfolio around 1885. He printed *La Femme* himself in an edition of 100, inscribing some sheets as 'printed by me, Albert Besnard' to emphasize this fact. The series opens with a frontispiece of a nude figure symbolizing womanhood (fig. 104). She is enveloped by a long, dark cloth shown against a heavily incised background. Besnard wiped ink on the plate selectively while printing, creating wide variation among impressions, particularly in the density of the black background and the woman's facial features. The uniqueness of each impression – and therefore each edition – is sometimes emphasized by handwritten inscriptions addressed to specific collectors. For example, a set owned by an anonymous collector, and now housed at the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett, is inscribed on the frontispiece "*La Femme*", *Rich or Poor: Joys, Mistakes, and Sadness, A Vision of Woman*'; and the frontispiece

5. J. Vallery-Radot, *Albert Besnard, l'œuvre gravé*, Paris, 1949,

unpaginated.

of another is inscribed for Besnard's long-time friend and associate, the art critic Roger Marx, '*The Life of a Woman*'.<sup>6</sup>

Taken together, the prints in *La Femme* form a loose narrative: the young woman falls in love and is married, has a child, and enjoys motherhood and a prominent social position alongside her husband. After these 'joys' of womanhood, she experiences a grim sequence of misfortunes that include the death of her spouse, seduction and rape by an unsavoury suitor, descent into poverty, the death of her child, the financial necessity of working as a prostitute, and, ultimately, suicide. Although few of the prints feature gratuitous sexuality, they are characterized by their appeal to a male audience throughout. For example, in *La Misère* (Misery), a sombre print that depicts the woman grieving her child's death, she appears unclothed, with the mirrored shape of smoke tendrils from the fireplace enhancing the white curves of her skin (fig. 105). The series concludes with an 'apotheosis' that forms a visual inversion of the frontispiece: the woman's body – sexualized in the first print – appears emaciated and collapsed at the series' end, visually translating the injustices done to her physical form (fig. 106). Of this image, Besnard commented that 'I show a semblance of the woman, aged, repentant, still sobbing, lifting . . . her poor heart so bruised in this life, its wounds attesting to the struggles gone through, and entreating forgiveness of her sins'.<sup>7</sup> The artist's compassionate description is challenged by the fact that the image was primarily produced for consumption by privileged upper middle class male collectors and for their delectation in the privacy of their *cabinets*. From the perspective of a viewer today, the portfolio's presentation of a disenfranchised female subject by a male artist is problematic and the images voyeuristic.

Interpreting *La Femme* and Besnard's claims for his own sympathy is further complicated by the artist's curious and repeated description of himself as 'a feminist'. In an article of 1903 on his wife's art, he wrote: 'Having felt [from my wife and mother] the true toll taken on the hearts of women, I have

become the most incorrigible of feminists'.<sup>8</sup> And in a letter to a friend explaining *La Femme*, Besnard asserted that 'You see that I am very feminist'.<sup>9</sup> In these statements the artist might have seen his own work in comparison to that of other printmakers; his close friend, the Swedish printmaker Anders Zorn (1860–1920), used a similar style to depict women but emphasized sexual innuendo, and his contemporary Félicien Rops's (1833–98) etchings present sinister *femmes fatales*, often pornographically. Perhaps Besnard perceived himself as distinct from the libertine imagery recurrent in prints of this period because of his emphasis on misfortune and injustice throughout *La Femme* and its comparative lack of overt titillation.

Besnard's portfolio does not appear to reference any specific text, even though the subject of fallen women and prostitution was common in European literature and visual culture at the time. The closest textual reference to *La Femme* appears in *faits divers*, brief news items that proliferated in Parisian mass circulation dailies such as *Le Petit Journal* in the second half of the nineteenth century. They often focused on unusual and sensational events, especially crimes, accidents, suicides, or rescues. One example, published in 1894 in *La Justice*, almost exactly mirrors the portfolio's narrative in its description of a woman who tragically threw herself into the Seine because she was unable to care for her children after her husband's death.<sup>10</sup> Given the ubiquity of such stories in widely available publications in Paris, Besnard must have been aware of some of them. They likely influenced *La Femme* not only in subject matter, but also in appearance, their speed of execution, brevity and lack of polish echoed in Besnard's rapidly drawn lines and forms.

Besnard also used formal and technical means to suggest drama and its resolution as the portfolio's tragic narrative unfolds. In *Le Déjeuner* (The lunch), the series' subject sits comfortably in bed with her children, breastfeeding as a nurse looks on (fig. 107). The scene is composed of incised lines building from light to dark in a tonal reversal of the preceding print, which also takes place in a

6. According to L. Godefroy, *Besnard* [1926], *Le Peintre-Graveur illustré*, xxx, edited by L. Delteil, reprint, New York, 1968, no. 47; and *Catalogue des estampes modernes composant la collection Roger Marx*, Paris, 1914, no. 63.

7. *Etchings by A. Besnard*, op. cit., p. 4.

8. A. Besnard, 'Madame Besnard. La femme artiste, ce qu'en

pensent le monde et les hommes', *L'Art décoratif*, LIII, 1903, p. 42.

9. Letter from Albert Besnard to Hector Giacomelli, 26 December 1899, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

10. Anonymous, 'Un drame de la misère', *La Justice*, 17 January 1894, unpaginated.





104. Albert Besnard, Frontispiece for *La Femme*, c. 1886, etching, 314 x 246 mm (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art).

bedroom but emphasizes the pain of childbirth (fig. 108). Like most of the prints in the series, *Le Déjeuner* is starkly spotlit, casting shadowy illumination throughout the room as if it were a stage. This

quality is enhanced by the viewer’s proximity to the images, consistently placed at the distance of a participant in or witness to the events. Dramatic diagonals cut each scene – whether the angle of





105. Albert Besnard, *La Misère*, from *La Femme*, c. 1886, etching and aquatint, 515 x 322 mm (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art).





106. Albert Besnard, *L'Apothéose*, from *La Femme*, c. 1886. etching, 510 x 325 mm (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art).

a cape, a couple's embrace, a woman falling into a man's arms, or the bridge from which a figure finally jumps – propelling the series forward, from plate to plate.

Similar techniques are used to play up the combination of sexuality and violence in some of the prints: the same acid-resistant ground used for the decorative pattern on the curtain draped behind the woman in *Le Déjeuner* is found in a later print, *Suicide*, suggesting the choppy waves of the Seine into which the woman dives, covering her head with her hands (fig. 109). Her huddled mass is defined against the watery darkness by crosshatching so dense and overly bitten by acid that it appears almost as solid tone. The Parisian cityscape fades in the distance, obscured by ink left on the copperplate before printing. The jagged, insistently repetitive lines used in prints like *Le Viol* (Rape) suggest an almost aggressive force in their making, as well as violence against the woman depicted (fig. 110).

Through technical decisions made while printing, Besnard deliberately gave *La Femme* a rough, unpolished aesthetic and embraced the randomness and coincidence of the medium. Although some etchers used overall plate tone for formal effects, Besnard wiped his cleanly in some places and unevenly in others. The result was deliberately artless, as areas of ink adhered to the borders of his plates and printed as marginal blotches (fig. 104). Some of the prints include areas in which Besnard let acid eat into the plate too deeply, creating areas of speckled, mottled tone. He appears to have frequently left remnants of ground on the plate, allowing it to be etched in irregular patches along with the line, as seen for example near the woman's hand at the upper left of the door in fig. 110. In one instance, a fingerprint left in the ground is evident although it would have been easy to remove from the plate (fig. 109). Although many artists used aquatint to render middle tone, Besnard often applied it irregularly in his prints so that it seems accidental, as seen in much of the background of fig. 105, especially in the top third of the image. Many of these were mistakes that an inexperienced etch-

er would have made. In his influential guide on etching, of 1880, Maxime Lalanne devoted an entire chapter to such common amateur errors, including, for instance, letting acid bite the plate too heavily and removing ground before printing, and suggested how to avoid them.<sup>11</sup> Besnard had been working in the medium for almost two decades by the time he made *La Femme*, however, and in fact was known for his skilful manipulation of the etching technique.<sup>12</sup> His earlier prints indicate that he was fully capable of printing and sketching cleanly and suggest that his choices in *La Femme* were intentional.

*La Femme* is notable for a perceived affinity between its technique and subject remarked upon by both the artist and his collectors. Besnard himself observed that his prints were 'conceived for the process' and that 'no other process could have expressed as well' his artistic intentions. Just 'as there are some ideas specifically suited for water-colour, oils or pastel, so there are others which etching only can interpret', he wrote.<sup>13</sup> Contemporary critics echoed this sentiment, with Camille Mauclair noting that 'his line is tumultuous, tense, disagreeable, and tragic, just like the spirit of the subject'.<sup>14</sup> Critics identified an intentionally raw style as the portfolio's defining characteristic during its only public exhibition, at the 1892 Exposition des Peintres-Graveurs at the Galeries Durand-Ruel. Many of the prints on view there had been completed that same year, but Besnard showed his portfolio about six years after its publication, suggesting its importance to him. He also decided to exhibit the first or second rather than the final states of the prints and, as a result, the works on view were those in which technical issues had sometimes not yet been resolved. Critics commented widely on this unusual decision and on the prints' appearance, in both praise and critique. *Le XIXe Siècle* wrote that 'M. Besnard seems more daring than successful in his series of etchings . . . Several of these prints are ruined by their confusing reduction of line'.<sup>15</sup> The *Journal des Artistes* similarly lamented that 'Perhaps the message of the series would have been revealed more clearly if the artist

11. M. Lalanne, *A Treatise on Etching*, translated by S. R. Koehler, Boston, 1880, pp. 37–42.

12. M. Grivel, 'La part d'ombre d'Albert Besnard: l'œuvre gravé', in *Albert Besnard (1849–1934), modernités Belle Époque*, Paris, 2016, pp. 49–52.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

14. C. Mauclair, *Albert Besnard: l'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, 1914, p. 134.

15. M. Fouquier, 'Les peintres-graveurs, essais intéressants', *Le XIXe Siècle*, 16 April 1892, unpaginated.





107. Albert Besnard, *Le Déjeuner*, from *La Femme*, c. 1886, etching, 396 x 308 mm (Art Institute of Chicago).





108. Albert Besnard, *L'Accouchement*, from *La Femme*, c. 1886, etching, 394 x 312 mm (Art Institute of Chicago).





109. Albert Besnard, *Le Suicide*, from *La Femme*, c. 1886, etching, 396 x 308 mm (Art Institute of Chicago).

would have sent the final states of the prints'.<sup>16</sup> And the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* described *La Femme* as displaying 'none of [Besnard's] usual skill. It is true that most are [unfinished]. We will wait for the definitive states'.<sup>17</sup> Others were positive, like Marx, who wrote in *Le Voltaire* that 'As for facture, it is easy to see, by the diversity of lines, means of lighting, by the contrast between the chosen moods, that M. Besnard knows how to force the copper to conform directly to his thoughts, to make it his accomplice, serving his moral and psychological intentions'.<sup>18</sup>

Besnard's biographical accounts present him as working alone, according to inspiration and chance, by emphasizing his self-taught status as an etcher. In an 1888 monograph, the vanguard critic Frantz Jourdain wrote that 'As an etcher Besnard is self-taught. Without lessons or advice, almost in fact, by chance, he has taught himself . . . His technical methods, like his theories, are essentially his own'.<sup>19</sup> Godefroy's catalogue raisonné of the etchings likewise repeats a dramatic story recounted by the artist, in which a young Besnard experimented independently with copper and acid, making a dangerous misstep that led his studio to be enveloped in a thick red fog.<sup>20</sup> Although his throat was badly burned, the formal effects he achieved using this process were so striking that he continued to work through physical pain and produced his first intaglio works during the early 1870s. Besnard cultivated this image throughout his career, appearing in a 1929 press photo while etching in the darkened interior of his studio (fig. 111). His sombre, introspective expression and attentive pose clearly suggest his concept of etching as a private and absorptive practice.

*La Femme* followed a revival of etching during the 1860s and '70s initiated by the printer Auguste Delâtre and publisher Alfred Cadart, but artists could also learn how to etch independently due to newly available tools and guides. Lalanne's popular *Traité de la gravure à l'eau-forte* explained the process on a novice level, in accessible language,

and Cadart sold a *boîte complète pour la gravure à l'eau-forte* (etching kit) as well as a small portable press from his Parisian shop. All allowed artists to work independently in the privacy of their own studios rather than with a master printer in a shop, encouraging experimentation. By the mid-1880s, when Besnard began work on *La Femme*, he was surely aware of the numerous other artists such as Rops, James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), Edgar Degas (1834–1917) and Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) who produced virtually unique prints kept in their studios or exchanged with friends as an expression of private experimentation.

In addition to initially working through his compositions on paper, Besnard sometimes executed prints that he marketed as preparatory drawings on copper. This was the case for a series of five prints of 1899, which were given titles like *Quatre têtes de femmes (Etude pour l'Île heureuse)* (*Four heads of women, study for the Happy Island*), indicating that they were conceived as studies for the mural *L'Île heureuse* created for the 1900 Universal Exhibition.<sup>21</sup> Although such works were likely made primarily for collectors, their existence suggests the popularity of an aesthetic of spontaneity in etching at the time. During and following the etching revival, artists began to experiment with sketching directly on copperplates as they might have otherwise done on paper. As early as the 1860s, Adolphe Martial Potémont's instructional manual on etching encouraged practitioners to 'draw with a needle on a plate . . . [just] as you would with a pen on paper', and Charles Blanc wrote in his *Grammaire des arts du dessin* (*Grammar of the arts of drawing*), published in 1867, that an artist should 'write upon [the plate] his thoughts and his memories... [using] strokes as free as those of the pen'.<sup>22</sup>

Compared to his peers, Besnard fostered a unique relationship of accessibility and intellectual exchange with collectors. *La Femme* was sold on his incentive from his studio rather than delegated to a dealer as most artists at the time did, removing the

16. R. Sertat, 'Exposition des Peintres-Graveurs', *Journal des Artistes*, 24 April 1892, pp. 113–14.

17. A. de Lostalot, 'Exposition des Peintres-Graveurs', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1 May 1892, p. 420.

18. R. Marx, 'Les peintres graveurs', *Le Voltaire*, 16 April 1892, unpaginated.

19. F. Jourdain, 'Albert Besnard and His Work', *Art and Letters*, 1888–89, p. 169.

20. Godefroy, op. cit., unpaginated. Besnard himself tells this story in *Etchings by A. Besnard*, op. cit., p. 2.

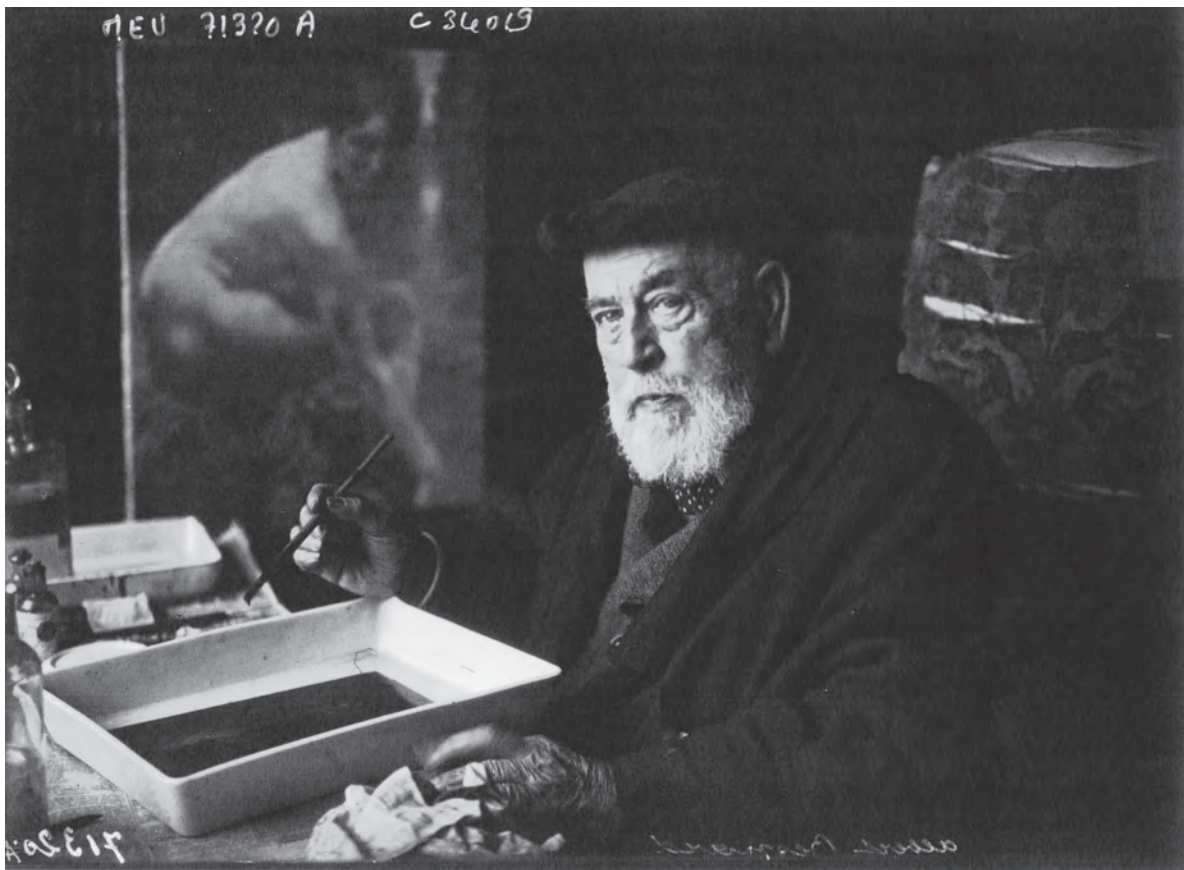
21. Ibid., nos. 118–22.

22. C. Blanc, quoted in J. Clarke, 'The Impressionist Line', in *The Impressionist Line from Degas to Toulouse-Lautrec: Drawings and Prints from the Clark*, New Haven, 2013, p. 19. A. Potémont, *Lettre sur les éléments de la gravure à l'eau-forte*, Paris, 1864, p. 1.





110. Albert Besnard, *Le Viol*, from *La Femme*, c. 1886, etching and graphite, 458 x 316 mm (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art).



111. Albert Besnard at work on an etching, photograph, c. 1929 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

series almost entirely from the market. Besnard's correspondence reveals that he was open and available to discuss the portfolio directly with collectors and encouraged them to visit his studio to view prints. The artist and collector Hector Giacomelli (1822–1904), for instance, acquired *La Femme* directly from Besnard by the 1890s and wrote to initiate further dialogue on their subject.<sup>23</sup> In response, Besnard enthusiastically explained the prints, beginning by affirming the meaning of the final apotheosis image (fig. 106):

It is, in fact, her own heart that the old woman raises toward the sky . . . She says: here it is . . . destroyed by contact with life, still I offer it to you as it is, destroyed as it is, it can still suffer.

Forgive it its mistakes in favour of its suffering born of devotion. It is the heart of a woman made for love, for mistakes, for motherhood, for release . . . Your charming memory brought me great pleasure, coming from [someone who] truly appreciates my work, this is precious.<sup>24</sup>

In a letter dating to the year of *La Femme*'s creation, Besnard wrote to an unknown collector inviting him to visit and discuss etchings, saying 'Do I need to remind you that my studio is open to you – just as my print portfolios are?'<sup>25</sup> Dialogue would have been important for collectors, with the lack of public information about *La Femme* and Besnard's prints in general. In a 1914 monograph, the critic Camille Mauclair affirmed that 'this collection . . . has

23. The prints were included in the posthumous sale of Giacomelli's print collection; *Catalogue des lithographies, eaux-fortes originales, gravures sur bois, fumes, vignettes, dessins, composant l'importante collection de feu Hector Giacomelli, artiste-peintre*, Paris, 1905, no. 7.

24. Author's translation from French of letter from Besnard to Giacomelli, op. cit.

25. Letter from Albert Besnard to anonymous recipient, 1886, Fondation Custodia, Paris.



circulated very little . . . especially the quite grand prints of *La Femme*.<sup>26</sup> Until Delteil and Godefroy's catalogue raisonné, titles for the prints were not standardized. They were often simply written in the margins of the prints and collectors viewed and purchased the prints without the benefit of a dealer's inventory or exhibition checklist. This exclusivity figured prominently in contemporaneous discussions of *La Femme*. Marx wrote in an 1893 monograph that 'Besnard is . . . most prized by . . . men of letters [who] are attracted by the intellectual character of his work'.<sup>27</sup> In his monograph on psychology and contemporary art, published in 1900, the vanguard critic Etienne Bricon similarly asserted that Besnard's work appealed to 'the domain of our intellect . . . the sign of an age of transition'.<sup>28</sup>

The concept of privacy is emphasized in Besnard's *La Femme* on multiple levels of its creation, beginning with the distinct unpolished facture and encompassing its subject matter, the studio context of its making, and the viewing experience it invites. As cities like Paris expanded over the course of the late nineteenth century and mass culture presented a seemingly endless range of entertainment, portfolios like *La Femme* facilitated sustained attention in a way that many feared was diminishing. *La Femme* offered private, voyeuristic access to aspects of modern urban life that were thought to be dangerous. In this way, the portfolio affirmed the creative status of etching and expanded the medium's technical and formal language beyond what was known to its practitioners at that time.

26. C. Mauclair, *Albert Besnard: l'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, 1914, p. 134.

27. R. Marx, *The Painter Albert Besnard: A Biography*, Paris, 1893, pp. 12–13.

28. E. Bricon, *Psychologie d'art, les maîtres de la fin du XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1900, pp. 188–89.

## Shorter Notice

### A Design Attributed to Lambert Sustris for Cardinal Truchsess von Waldburg's *Missale*

Marco Simone Bolzoni

The traditional attribution to Federico Zuccaro (c. 1540–1609) of the *Design for an Altar with the Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, now at the Albertina, has been rightly questioned (fig. 112). It was first challenged by Konrad Oberhuber, who proposed the Veronese painter Battista Angolo del Moro (1514–74) as the author of the drawing, and more recently by James Mundy, who expunged the drawing from Zuccaro's oeuvre.<sup>1</sup> The panels on the pedestals of the columns framing the aedicule help to support a new proposal

for the drawing's authorship. On the pedestal at right it is possible to recognize the coat of arms of Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514–73), consisting of vertical bands in the upper left quadrant, a bishop's mitre in the upper right quadrant and three rampant lions below. It appears again, but on a larger scale and within an oval, at the centre of the altar's *basamento*. The pedestal of the column at the left bears the cardinal's personal emblem, a pelican piercing her breast to feed her young, combined with the Latin

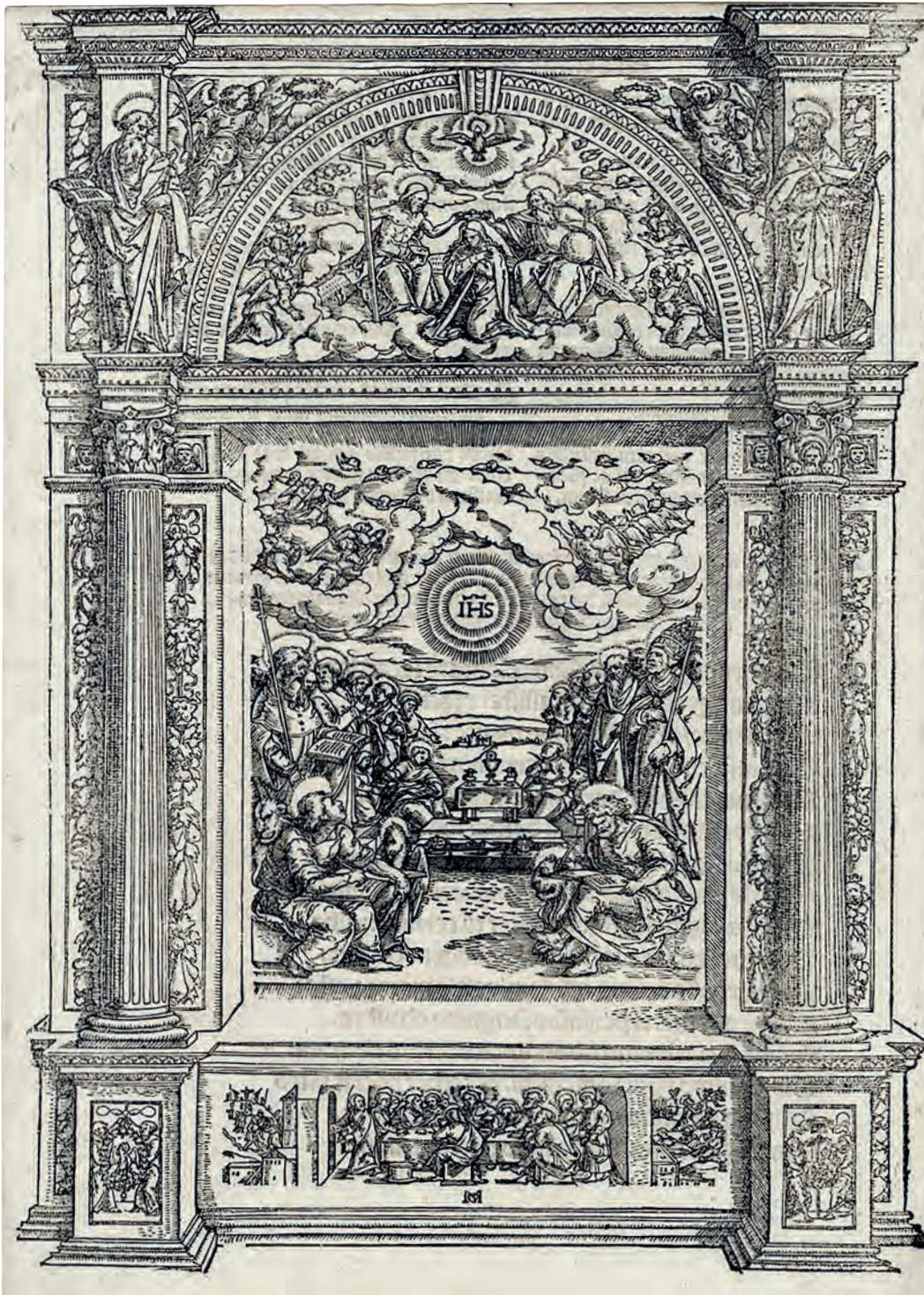
1. Inv. 639; V. Birke and J. Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina: Generalverzeichnis*, Vienna and Berlin, 1992–97, 1, p.

346, as Federico Zuccaro, with mention of Oberhuber's and Mundy's opinions.



112. Here attributed to Lambert Sustris, *Design for an Altar with the Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, 1555, pen and brown wash, with white heightening, 335 x 235 mm (Vienna, Albertina).





113. Matthias Gerung after Lambert Sustris, *An Altar with the Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, from *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie* (Dillingen, 1555), woodcut, 333 x 240 mm (London, British Museum).





114. Matthias Gerung, *Virgin and Child with Saints Ulrich and Afra*, from *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie* (Dillingen, 1555), woodcut, 333 x 240 mm (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana).





115. Matthias Gerung, *The Whore of Babylon*, 1546–48, pen and black ink, 205 x 165 mm (London, British Museum).

motto 'Sic his qui diligunt' (thus to those who love). The cardinal began using the emblem from the 1530s, as noted by Michele Nicolaci, and it also appears in the *Baptism of Christ* by Lambert Sustris (c. 1515–84),

now at the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Caen, and in the drawing of *Solomon Building the Temple* at the Uffizi by Livio Agresti da Forlì (c. 1505–79).<sup>2</sup>

Heir to one of the most illustrious noble houses

2. M. Nicolaci, 'Il cardinale d'Augusta Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514–73) mecenate della Controriforma', in *Principi di Santa Romana Chiesa*, edited by M. Gallo, Rome, 2013, p. 35, note 23; Musée des Beaux-Arts of Caen, inv. 40. For

Sustris' painting see E. Delapierre, *Lambert Sustris: un artiste de la Renaissance entre Venise et l'Allemagne*, Deauville, 2017, pp. 59–68. Livio Agresti, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, inv. 756 E.

of southern Germany, Waldburg studied at the universities of Tübingen, Dole, Padua and Bologna, where, in 1534, he received a doctorate of theology. Appointed an imperial councillor in 1541 by Emperor Charles V, he was ordained cardinal by Pope Paul III (1534–49) in 1544. Well known for his Catholic fervour during the Reformation years and for his support of the newly formed Compagnia del Gesù, Waldburg was also a celebrated collector and patron of the arts.<sup>3</sup> He owned an extraordinary collection of relics and commissioned paintings from some of the leading artists active in Italy in the 1550s, including Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1557), Paris Bordone (1500–71), Sustris, Agresti, Taddeo Zuccaro (1529–66) and Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–96); the latter also painted the decoration of Waldburg's chapel in the Basilica della Santa Casa in Loreto. Intent on fighting the spread of Protestantism throughout the upper Danube area, from the beginning of the 1540s the cardinal concentrated his financial efforts on the town of Dillingen, near Augsburg. He restored his own residence and, around 1549, established a Catholic school and a printing press, directed by the celebrated printer Sebald Mayer (1500–76). The

press immediately became an important vehicle of Catholic propaganda, printing literature favouring the religious ideals of Roman Catholicism.

In 1555 the Dillingen press issued the *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie* (missal for Augsburg use), an opulent volume today known in just a handful of exemplars, which Cardinal Truchsess had commissioned to commemorate the Peace of Augsburg signed in September 1555.<sup>4</sup> Large in format, measuring 355 by 245 mm, the missal was printed in red and black ink and adorned with a set of superb woodcuts. Their number varies in the surviving copies, reaching thirteen illustrations in the exemplar conserved at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome.<sup>5</sup> The title-page includes a decorative frame incorporating the cardinal's emblem and coat of arms and, along the lower border of the page, the busts of five saints: Afra, Dionysius, Hilaria, Narcissus and Digna. On the verso of the title-page is a full-page woodcut depicting the *Virgin and Child with Saints Ulrich and Afra*, embellished with the cardinal's coat of arms, and on the next page is the *Crucifixion of Christ* prefacing the canon. A woodcut representing the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* made after the Albertina

3. Nicolaci, op. cit., pp. 31–42; T. Groll, *Kardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg (1514–1573)*, Lindenberg, 2015.

4. K. Baumann, review 'Augsburger Missale von Kardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg – gedruckt zu Dillingen im Jahre

1555', *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen an der Donau*, CI, 2000, pp. 263–66.

5. Inv. S. Borr. E.VIII.28.



116. Lambert Sustris, *Baptism of Christ*, 1553, oil on canvas, 1,290 x 2,360 mm (Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts).





117. Lambert Sustris, *Allegory of Venice*, c. 1540, pen, brown ink, with brown wash on blue paper, 132 x 262 mm (Hamburg Kunsthalle).

drawing introduces the 'Dominica prima in adventu' (first Sunday of Advent; fig. 113).<sup>6</sup> Several differences distinguish the Viennese design from the print, the most important being the inverted position of Saints Peter and Paul in the upper section of the altar and the inclusion of scenes of the *Last Supper*, *Christ on Way to Calvary* and *Christ on the Mount of Olives* on the *basamento*. Alternatives for the decoration of the arch and the columns were also provided for the patron.

In the print, surrounded by the rays of the sun, the name of Jesus, symbol of the Compagnia del Gesù, triumphs at the centre of the composition. Just below it is an altar, at the sides of which are seated the four evangelists, with John and Mark at the front, Luke at the back on the right, and Matthew with the kneeling angel at the back on the left. The standing saints at front are probably Saint Jerome at left, identified by the lion, and Saint Gregory the Great at right, depicted in papal robes. The same architecture that surrounds the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* is used as a decorative device to frame text on ten other pages of the volume. Several of the woodcuts, including fig. 113, bear the monogram of the German printmaker Matthias Gerung (c. 1500–70), previously believed to

be both the inventor and cutter of all the illustrations. While the title-page, as well as the *Virgin and Child with Saints Ulrich and Afra* (fig. 114) and the *Crucifixion of Christ*, correspond closely in graphic style to Gerung's drawing for his woodcut of the *Whore of Babylon* (fig. 115), the Abertina's *An Altar with the Triumph of the Name of Jesus* presents a different visual idiom.<sup>7</sup>

Considering that the missal was commissioned and published in 1555, the traditional attribution of the drawing in Vienna to Federico Zuccaro, who would have been only fifteen years old at the time, should be dismissed. Furthermore, noticeable stylistic differences rule out the possibility that the drawing is an early study by Federico or his brother Taddeo: the rather nervous contour lines, the sketchy movement of the pen and the extremely pictorial use of the wash find no parallels with any of the drawings undoubtedly attributed to the two artists. The distinctive Venetian and North Italian elements of the Albertina sheet, however, could serve as a starting point to identify the author of the drawing. Of the many artists active between the Veneto and southern Germany during 1550s, Sustris, one of Cardinal Truchsess's protégés, seems the most likely author of the missal's design.

6. Inv. 1909,0729.19, as Matthias Gerung; F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts c. 1400–1700*, Amsterdam, 1954, no. 77.

7. British Museum, inv. 1949,0411.112; J. Byam Shaw, 'Matthias Gerung (c. 1500–68/70), *The Whore of Babylon*: collection of Mr Campbell Dodgson', *Old Master Drawings*, xii, 1938, pp. 61–63.



118. Lambert Sustris, *Group of Soldiers*, c. 1545, pen, brown ink, with brown wash on blue paper, 196 x 120 mm (Paris, Musée du Louvre).

Born in the Netherlands, Sustris spent most of his life in Italy and especially in the Veneto, so much so that scholars have almost unanimously grouped him with Venetian artists.<sup>8</sup> After receiving his first artistic education in Amsterdam – probably in the circles of Jan van Scorel (1595–62) and Maarten

van Heemskerck (1498–1574) – Sustris sojourned in Rome in around 1535–36, documenting his presence by inscribing his name on a vault of the Domus Aurea.<sup>9</sup> He then travelled to the Veneto, working first in Venice and then in Padua, where from around 1540 he was involved, alongside other artists such as Giuseppe Porta (1520–75), in the decoration of major public sites such as the Salone of the Palazzo del Capitano.<sup>10</sup> Sustris' stay in Padua lasted until 1548, when he visited Augsburg, equipped with a letter of introduction to Cardinal Truchsess from the jurist and art collector Marco Mantova Benavides (1489–1582). The latter knew the prelate since his early years of 1531–33 in Padua, where he was revered as one of the most influential professors at the university. Benavides praised Sustris for his artistic talents, as well as for his human qualities:

Reverend Monsignor, I could not be more pleased for both Your Excellency and Germany that you will receive such an excellent painter ... whom I recommend to you with all my heart, as not only his infinite virtue makes him worthy of being recommended, but also his kindness and modesty, which could not be greater in any other man.<sup>11</sup>

The introduction to the cardinal and consequently to the pre-eminent families of the Bavarian nobility paved the way to fame for Sustris. Indeed, his sojourn in southern Germany marked a turning point in his career, which saw him working in the Veneto and Bavaria from the late 1540s and throughout the 1550s. In Augsburg Sustris painted a portrait of Wilhelm Truchsess von Waldburg, the cardinal's father, and completed several devotional paintings for the Fugger family, including the well-known *Noli me tangere* now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille.<sup>12</sup> After a brief return to Padua, he was in southern Germany again in 1550 on the occasion of the second Diet of Augsburg. This brought to the Bavarian city numerous high prelates and scholars of Emperor Charles V's court and was a crucial opportunity for Sustris to obtain new commissions. During this second stay in Augsburg

8. V. Mancini, *Lambert Sustris a Padova: la Villa Bigolin a Selvazzano*, Selvazzano Dentro, 1993; B. W. Meijer, 'A propos de quelques dessins de Lambert Sustris', in *Francesco Salviati et la Bella Maniera. Actes des colloques de Rome et de Paris*, edited by P. Costamagna, M. Hochmann and C. Monbeig-Goguel, Rome, 2001, pp. 645–65; V. Mancini, 'Per Lambert Sustris disegnatore', *Arte veneta*, LX, 2003[2005], pp. 152–55.

9. On Sustris' move to Rome and his activity between Rome and the Veneto see B. Couilleaux, *Lambert Sustris – un artiste de la Renaissance entre Venise et l'Allemagne*, Deauville, 2017, pp. 15–20. N. Dacos, 'Hermannus Posthumus: Rome, Mantua, Landshut', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXVII, 1985, pp. 433–38; N. Dacos, *Roma*

*quanta fuit: tre pittori fiamminghi nella Domus Aurea*, Roma, 2001, pp. 15–17.

10. Mancini, 1993, op. cit., p. 23.

11. 'Io non posso Reverendissimo Monsignore non gràdamente rallegrarmi, con V.S. Illustrissima et con la Germania insieme che habbia tanto et così Eccellente pittore ... per il che lo raccomando a quella con tutto il core, oltre che la virtù sua infinita il fà raccomandatissimo a tutti, et tanto più che non solamente Eccellentissimo ne è ... ma di tanta bontà anchora et di tanta modestia, che in huomo non potria esser maggior.' Mancini, 1993, op. cit., pp. 99–101, 147.

12. Inv. P 232; *Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock*, Augsburg, 1980, pp. 138–39, no. 485.



— where he is still documented as residing in 1552 — Sustris continued to work for the cardinal, painting in 1553 his portrait and the large *Baptism of Christ*, now in Caen (fig. 116).<sup>13</sup> In late 1553 Sustris is documented again in Venice, but he is likely to have kept in contact with, and continued to work for, his German protectors until at least the end of the decade.<sup>14</sup>

Sustris was a talented draughtsman and it is likely that the cardinal was also aware of his skills as a book illustrator. Sustris is thought to have supplied preparatory studies for the series of 50 allegorical illustrations in *Le Sorti di Francesco Marcolini da Forlì intitolate Giardino di Pensieri* (Venice, 1540), of which a pen and ink drawing in the Louvre for the *Allegory of Fame* survives.<sup>15</sup> The generally accepted drawn oeuvre by Sustris, mostly assembled on the basis of stylistic coherence, amounts to little more than half a dozen sheets, of which the *Allegory of Venice* in the Hamburg Kunsthalle (fig. 117) and the *Group of Soldiers* in the Louvre (fig. 118) may here serve as valuable comparisons for the Albertina sheet.<sup>16</sup> The

rather sketchy movement of the pen that constitutes an intricate system of curved lines in the Viennese drawing closely recalls the Hamburg *Allegory of Venice*, while the abbreviated forms of the figures' bodies, their willowy silhouettes and their tiny oval heads find convincing comparison with the Louvre *Group of Soldiers*. Moreover, a comparison with Sustris' *Circle of the False Education from the Tabula Cebetis*, painted around the 1540s and now at the Frances Lehman Loeb Art Centre in Poughkeepsie (fig. 119), reveals stylistic similarities with the drawing, such as in the characters' facial types with their sharp, crinkled chins.<sup>17</sup>

Considering that the missal commemorated an event of 1555 and was published that same year, we can suppose that the Albertina drawing also dates from that period, making it the latest known work on paper by Sustris. It is hoped that it will serve as a basis for future attributions, increase awareness of the painter's involvement in the print industry, and help to define his network of professional connections during the years of the Catholic Reform.

13. The portrait of the cardinal is today in Zeil castle, Leutkirch, Germany; Mancini, 1993, op. cit., p. 107, fig. 90.

14. *Mars and Venus*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1978, was painted for the Fuggers and the *Queen of Sheba before King Solomon*, London, National Gallery, inv. NG 3107, was also destined for a collector in Augsburg; Mancini, 1993, op. cit., pp. 109, 146, note 42.

15. Inv. 10482; pen and brown ink, brown and yellow wash,

heightened with white on paper washed yellow-brown, 183 x 130 mm; B. Meijer, *Rondom Rembrandt en Titiaan*, 's-Gravenhage, 1991, pp. 50–53, no. 20; Mancini, 1993, op. cit., pp. 4–5.

16. Hamburg, Kunsthalle, inv. 21282; Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 10619; New York, Morgan Library and Museum, inv. IV, 25; Meijer, 2001, op. cit. and Mancini 2003[2005], op. cit., pp. 152–53, figs. 1 and 2.

17. Inv. 1917.1.11; Mancini, 1993, pp. 10–13.



119. Lambert Sustris, *Circle of the False Education from the Tabula Cebetis*, c. 1545, oil on canvas, 1,660 x 3,480 mm (Poughkeepsie, NY, Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center).

# Notes

*WORLDS OF LEARNING: THE LIBRARY AND WORLD CHRONICLE OF THE NUREMBERG PHYSICIAN HARTMANN SCHEDEL (1440–1514)*. This fascinating and beautifully produced book marked the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Schedel, who is best known for the *Weltchronik* (World Chronicle) published in 1493 in Nuremberg, and thus known colloquially as the Nuremberg Chronicle (edited by Bettina Wagner, exhibition catalogue, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 19 November 2014–1 March 2015, Munich, Allitera Verlag, 2015, 168 pp., 100 ills., €22.90). An elaborate and richly illustrated encyclopedia, the Nuremberg Chronicle was an ambitious, collaborative production, involving a large number of partners. Initiated by Sebald Schreyer of Nuremberg, it was composed by a group of scholars including Schedel, Sigismund Meisterlin and Conrad Celtis. It was illustrated by the artists Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519) and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff (1460–94), whose workshops were responsible for the numerous woodcut illustrations and possibly, though much debated, included the young Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). Schreyer and his brother-in-law, Sebastian Kammermeister, provided the necessary funds for this high-cost production: an astonishing 1,000 guilders. The renowned printer Anton Koberger was contracted to print the book, which appeared in Latin and German versions. Its enormous success – due in no small measure to the volume and quality of its illustrations, which included maps and city views – is attested by the reprints made in Augsburg by Johann Schönsperger the Elder in 1496, 1497 and 1500 (no. 7.1).

Schedel's role in the book's production is outlined briefly in the colophon of the first, Latin edition, which states that the Chronicle was 'collected in a short time by Dr Hartmann Schedel'. He was well-suited to this task, having amassed the largest private library in Germany at the time. A well-travelled scholar, who had studied medicine in Italy, Schedel came from a distinguished Nuremberg family of merchants and doctors. A witness to the birth of printing, he avidly collected both manuscripts and printed books which he recorded in a hand-written inventory (no. 5.7). This rare survival, which lists 623 works in 645 volumes, enables the reconstruction of Schedel's library with remarkable precision. What is more, the acquisition from Schedel's heirs of the library by Johann Jakob Fugger and its subsequent sale to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria means

that a significant number of Schedel's books and papers survive in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

The catalogue presents highlights from the collection, which reveal not only the breadth of Schedel's learning – he was a polymath, conversant with all branches of the liberal arts – but also his attentiveness to the visual. Schedel owned a large number of beautifully illuminated manuscripts and incunables, including a sumptuously decorated edition of Petrus de Abano's *Conciliator* (1472; no. 1.6), inherited from his cousin Hermann, town physician of Augsburg, who guided Hartmann's professional and intellectual interests. Hartmann Schedel acquired numerous books illustrated with woodcuts, many of them hand-coloured, such as a fine edition of 1497 of Dante's *Commedia* (no. 3.2; fig. 120), but he also sought out single-sheet prints. Sometimes he would bind these into his books, as he did with Israhel van Meckenem's engraving *The Marriage of Mary and Joseph*, bound into a miscellany that includes humanist texts, for instance by Poggio Bracciolini, about marriage between the old and young (no. 3.6). Schedel's first marriage, to Anna Heugel (d. 1485), is recorded in portraits of him and his wife in a copy of the Heugel *Familienbuch* of c. 1552 (no. 4.2), while he is depicted, possibly in a self-portrait, in a manuscript *Pandecta* of c. 1475 by Mattheus Silvaticus from Salerno (no. 4.1). Indeed, one of the delights of the catalogue under review is the way in which it weaves Schedel and his family's biographies into his library. Thus, the book is a superb guide not only to the learned interests and practices of a German bibliophile c. 1500, but also to the ways in which familial and social ties informed the production and consumption of print. Perhaps most interestingly, it indicates the importance of visual discrimination for Schedel and his ilk. Notably, Schedel not only admired illustrations and illumination, he was a graphic practitioner himself. His manuscript *Liber antiquitatum* of 1502–05, with additions up to 1512 (no. 3.4) includes his own drawn copies of Greek monuments, with epitaphs and inscriptions, after Ciriaco d'Ancona. Bettina Wagner, the exhibition's curator, and her team of contributors are to be warmly congratulated for having produced a highly scholarly yet accessible account of Schedel's life, work and library. It should be essential reading for anybody interested in print, scholarship and social life in Europe in the early years of printing. ALEXANDER MARR





120. Anonymous artist, *Dante, Virgil and the Three Wild Beasts*, from Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia* (Venice: Petrus de Quarengiis, 1497), hand-coloured woodcut, c. 280 x 185 mm (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).



# PRINTMAKING IN RENAISSANCE BOLOGNA.

The catalogue *Il genio di Francesco Francia: Un oraf pittore nella Bologna del Rinascimento* examines aspects of the multifaceted activities of Francesco Raibolini, called Francia (c. 1447–1517; edited by Mario Scalini and Elena Rossoni, contributions by Mark Gregory D'Apuzzo, Massimo Medica and Daniele Benati, exhibition catalogue, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, 24 March–24 June 2018, Venice, Marsilio, 2018, 158 pp., 107 ills., €30). Print production in the Francia workshop, however, gets only a few pages in the final section of Elena Rossoni's essay on his drawings (pp. 69–75). Francia is not documented as having engraved himself, yet numerous prints attributed to artists such as Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–before 1534) and Francia's son, Jacopo (1484–1557; fig. 121), are associated with his workshop. Nevertheless, Francia

was the undisputed head of the Bolognese school of art in the late Quattrocento, even though he lived long enough to encounter a new generation of artists destined to surpass him, most notably Raphael (1483–1520). In his biography of Francia, Giorgio Vasari supports this narrative with an anecdote stating that the master died overcome by 'dolore e malinconia' (pain and melancholy) following the arrival of Raphael's *Ecstasy of St Cecilia* in Bologna for the church of San Giovanni in Monte. On the other hand, in the Proemio (foreword) of his *Lives*, Vasari highlights the importance of Francia, together with Perugino (c. 1446/52–1523), for the transition to the 'maniera moderna' initiated by Leonardo and carried further by Raphael and Michelangelo.

A strong similarity between Francia and Raphael that needs further exploration is the diversity of artistic practice in their vast and varied workshops, with Francia



121. Jacopo Francia, *Bacchus with his Retinue of Three Satyrs and a Maenad*, c. 1506, engraving, 251 x 304 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).





122. Marcantonio Raimondi, probably after Francesco Francia, *Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Lucy*, 1502–04, engraving, 284 x 214 mm (London, British Museum).

seemingly anticipating the entrepreneurial inclinations and interest in prints developed by Raphael in Rome. It is probably not a coincidence that Marcantonio Raimondi first worked with Francia before embarking on a collaboration with Raphael.

Rossoni mentions several prints by Raimondi, all of which have traditionally been assigned to the artist's early years, but only two of them derive from Francia's drawings and relate to his work as a painter – *The Baptism*

*of Christ* (p. 140, fig. 35) and *Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Lucy* (fig. 122). Rossoni has rightly remarked on the difficulty of precisely identifying Francia's role in the sophisticated inventions of the young Raimondi. Indeed, as has been noted on several occasions, Raimondi's compositions often contain a complex montage of citations, where antique elements (copied, reimagined or imitated) mingle with naturalistic quotations from the oeuvre of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) and references

to Francia as well as to Lorenzo Costa (1460–1535). Furthermore, and perhaps most relevant, a common cultural idiom dominated in Bologna during the later years of Giovanni II Bentivoglio's rule (1443–1508), years that were more or less contemporaneous with Marcantonio's birth and early training. This idiom manifested in large, stylistically consistent commissions encompassing frescoes, paintings, intarsia, maiolica pavements and stained glass windows, such as the Chapel of St Sebastian in San Petronio commissioned by the canon Donato Vaselli and completed c. 1497, as well as in small-scale objects with diverse functions, ranging from armour, to medals, plaques and jewellery. It may have been pervasive resonances of Francia's work that lent stylistic homogeneity to the engravings and *niello* prints created in Bologna at the beginning of the Cinquecento. We know that a number of specialist workshops were involved with the applied arts such as arms manufacture, saddle-making and goldsmithing, as Mario Scalini observes (p. 24), and it should be remembered that Francia matriculated on 23 December 1503 in the Compagnia delle Quattro Arti, which included 'guainai, scudai e pittori, sellai e spadai' (case-makers, shield-makers and painters, saddle-makers and swordsmiths). In this context, few individuals signed their works and Raimondi likewise did not consistently sign his engravings.

Raimondi must have developed a precocious technical virtuosity with the burin, distinguishing him from Francia's other pupils and allowing him to become Francia's prime engraver. This is supported by Angelo Michele Salimbeni's *Ephitalamium*, published in 1487, which seems to speak of Francia's activity as a painter, goldsmith and sculptor but not as an engraver; no sources have emerged to suggest he made prints before this date. Some reflection on Raimondi's 'copies' after Dürer in light of the Italian's technical originality would be of interest as a further line of enquiry, as this could not be pursued adequately in the space allocated in the catalogue.

Even within the spatial limitations, it would have been fruitful to investigate the difference between Francia's drawings, those of his eldest son Jacopo – a competent draughtsman in his own right and a not insignificant printmaker, whose artistic tendencies were very much in line with those of his father (fig. 121) – and those attributed to Raimondi. In this context at least three drawings by Raimondi connected to printmaking should be considered. One, in the Musée Bonnat in Bayonne, from the artist's Bolognese period, is a sheet of studies with two standing figures and a seated one, preparatory for *A Young Man Protected by Venus* (inv. 1346 and Bartsch, XIV, p. 286, no. 377). The second one, in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, of c. 1509, from the artist's early Roman years, depicts a *Female Satyr before a Terminus*, which corresponds to the figure on the far right

of *The Bacchanal* (inv. 14798 and Bartsch, XVI, p. 202, no. 249). The third sheet, *Crouching Venus Turning toward Cupid*, in the Louvre, is related to the engraving of the same subject, also from Raimondi's early Roman period (M. Faietti, *Print Quarterly*, VI, 1989, no. 3, pp. 308–11).

Another aspect worthy of further study would be the relationship of prints to Francia's highly finished drawings, sometimes executed on vellum, which are among the earliest examples of independent drawings in Italy. This would enable a better understanding of why, towards the end of the first decade of the Cinquecento, the taste for independent drawings in Bologna declined in favour of engravings. The latter could satisfy the needs of a wider circle and were perhaps gaining new followers among Francia's existing patrons such as Bartolomeo Bianchini (1475/80–before 1528). It certainly seems that engraving in Bologna at the beginning of the Cinquecento became the favoured medium for mythological allegories to which moral and political messages might be attached, marking the end of the era of these independent drawings, as well as of the production of *niello* prints.

In conclusion, both the pages dedicated to Raimondi and the brief mention of Jacopo Francia attest to and raise further questions about the centrality of printmaking in the artistic context of Renaissance Bologna. MARZIA FAIETTI

**CALL FOR JUSTICE.** The catalogue *Call for Justice: Art and Law in the Low Countries (1450–1650)*, which accompanied an exhibition in the refurbished Museum Hof van Busleyden in Mechelen, now devoted to the Burgundian and early Habsburg culture in the Netherlands, focused on law and justice in the Low Countries from 1450 to 1650 (edited by Samuel Mareel, contributions by An Verscuren, Valérie Hayaert, Georges Martyn, Carolin Behrmann, Vanessa Paumen, Matthias Desmet, Sophie Suykens, Maja Neerman, Manfred Sellink, Stefan Huygebaert, Nico van Hout, Elizabeth Vandeweghe, Astrid Harth, Jessica Buskirk, Paul de Win, Astrid Harth, Jeroen Dewulf, Diva Zumaya, Stijn Bussels, Emile van Binnebeke and Suzanne van de Meerendonk, exhibition catalogue, Mechelen, Museum Hof van Busleyden, 23 March–24 June 2018, Veurne, Hannibal Publishing in collaboration with Museum Hof van Busleyden and the Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, 2018, 240 pp., 135 ills., €39.50). Introduced by five essays, it covers numerous works of art of which some are related to Margaret of Austria (Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands 1507–30) and her court at Mechelen, and others to the Parliament of Burgundy, later the Great Council, which also sieged there. The catalogue is divided into three sections focusing on representations of Justice, Injustice and Jurisdiction by artists like Jan Provoost (1465–1529), Quentin Massys (1466–1530), Bernard van Orley (1487–1541), Maarten





123. Philips Galle, after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Justice*, from the series of the *Seven Virtues*, c. 1559, engraving, 225 x 292 mm (Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).

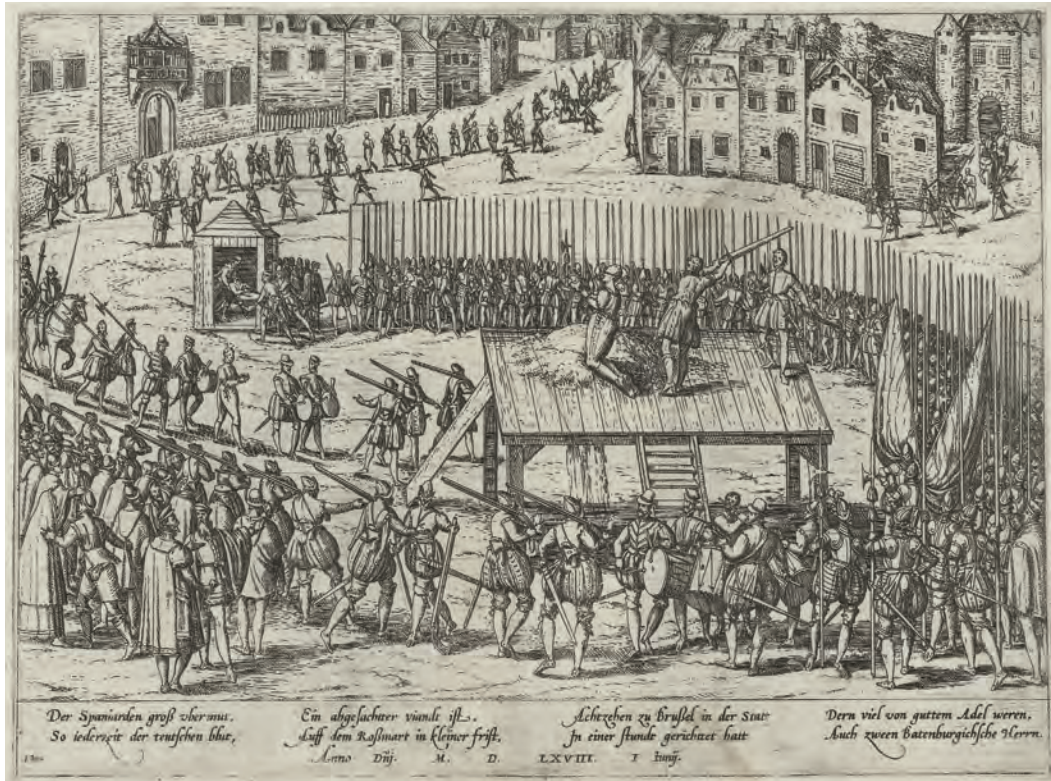
van Heemskerck (1498–1574), Maarten de Vos (1532–1603), Rubens (1577–1640) and Rembrandt (1606–69).

A key example of how these themes were presented in print is certainly Philips Galle's (1537–1612) *Justice* after a design by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525–1569), an engraving juxtaposing the assembly of debating and judging men of the law in the left foreground with the violence of the tortures and executions shown in gruelling detail (fig. 123). The inscription, without concessions, states that 'The law aims to correct those it punishes, to improve the others through its punishments or to make life safer by the punishment of wrongdoers'. The personification of justice is the subject of an essay by Hayaert, focusing on its iconography, studying prints by the monogrammist HC and Jacob de Gheyn II (1565–1629), as well as bold book illustrations. Also included are the two frontispieces of Leonardus Lessius's *De iustitiae et iure* (Of justice and law, Antwerp, 1605 and 1617), a Jesuit compendium for theological training in

which he discussed, among other topics, the balance of Justice. Maarten de Vos's superb *Calumny of Apelles*, which was offered at auction by Christie's in 1993, is also featured. What the catalogue entry misses is the fact that I linked this painting as early as 1993 to an engraving of 1560 by Giorgio Ghisi (1520–82) after Luca Penni, which de Vos freely adapted and which Lambert Lombard also copied (J. M. Massing, in *Studies in Imagery*, 1, pp. 45, 51–52, figs. 8–9).

Most prints are found in the section on Injustice. Here Rembrandt's *Ecce Homo* of 1655 and representations of the Last Judgement stand for biblical precedents. In the sixteenth century, prints became the medium of political propaganda. This can be seen in Frans Hogenberg's (1535–90) etching of the *Execution of Egmont and Horn*, of 1568, that depicts the two noblemen who had rebelled against the policies of Philip II in the Netherlands and who were condemned by a special court established by Fernando Álvares de Toledo, Duke of Alba, who rati-





124. Frans Hogenberg, *The Execution of Counts Egmont and Horn*, 1610, etching, 141 x 164 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

fied the death sentence (fig. 124). The parallel with the Spanish conquest of Mexico is made by a book illustration by Theodor de Bry (1528–98) after Joos van Winge (1533–1603) of 1598 to illustrate the *Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima* (A Most True Account of the Indian Regions devastated by Certain Spaniards) published by Bartolomé de Las Casas in Antwerp in 1598; an earlier, 1579 edition was published in Amsterdam, 'Pour servir d'exemple & advertisement aux XVIII Provinces du pais bas'. The rule of Alba was the source of numerous broadsheets and led ultimately to the Eighty Years War (1568–1648) and the division of the Netherlands. Propaganda and ideological overtones are also found in Jan Luyken's (1649–1712) prints illustrating Tieleman Jansz. van Braght's *Het bloedig tooneel, of Martelaers spiegel der Doops-gesinde de weereelse christenen* (The bloody theatre, or martyrs' mirror of the baptism-minded or defenceless Christians; Amsterdam, 1685). This collection of images of martyrs who accepted their fate without protest, from biblical and classical precedents to Baptists, includes a rendering of the execution of Anneken Hendriks in 1571, who was tied to a ladder and pushed onto the burning fire, with her mouth full of gunpowder.

JEAN MICHEL MASSING

JOHANN ULRICH KRAUS (1655–1719). For the first time, five volumes of the New Hollstein series devoted to Kraus bring together the vast oeuvre of this engraver, etcher and publisher in a comprehensive and fully illustrated catalogue (Jörg Diefenbacher, *New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400–1700: Johann Ulrich Kraus, Parts I–V*, edited by Eckhard Leuschner, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, Sound & Vision Publishers, 2018/2019, Part I, 264 pp., 202 ill., Part II, 366 pp., 378 ill., Part III, 374 pp., 305 ill., Part IV, 369 pp., 379 ill., Part V, 268 pp., 219 ill., €2,400). Kraus began his artistic career as an apprentice to Melchior Küsel (1626–84) in Augsburg, and from c. 1673/74 as his assistant. Küsel had been a student in Frankfurt of Matthäus Merian the Elder (1593–1650), whose daughter he was to marry. Upon the death of his master, Küsel had returned to his native Augsburg, where he established an important print workshop and publishing house with his brother Mattheus (1629–81), his three daughters and his apprentice Kraus. This, together with the long-standing presence of the Custos-Kilians, an important, Protestant family of engravers and publishers, played a pivotal role in Augsburg's rapid rise to becoming the most important printmaking centre in the German-speaking



countries. After the death of her father, Kraus married Küsel's eldest daughter Johanna Sibylla (1650–1717) – a printmaker in her own right – thereby taking over the Küsel workshop and publishing house.

Kraus's earliest significant publication issued under his own name is a series of engravings and etchings

made for the Heidelberg court between 1683 and 1685. His father-in-law had worked for the courts at Vienna and Munich and Kraus continued this tradition with commissions from numerous courts of the Holy Roman Empire, including Heidelberg, Berlin, Celle, Gotha, Hanover, Stuttgart and Vienna. The free imperial city



125. Johann Ulrich Kraus, Frontispiece to *Les tapisseries du roy* (Augsburg, 1690), etching, 311 x 200 mm (Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute).

of Augsburg subsequently became the leading place for the illustration of books of aristocratic eulogies. In 1687 Kraus's first work as a publisher appeared: *Les tapisseries du roy*, a re-engraving of a splendid emblematic book glorifying the reign of Louis XIV, which proved a great success and was reprinted in numerous editions. The Hollstein catalogue includes only the frontispiece,

engraved by Kraus (no. 491; fig. 125) because Johanna Sibylla was responsible for copying all the other etchings. In order to satisfy the increasing interest in the new courtly art of Versailles, Kraus copied other French print series in the following years. His first self-designed ventures produced at his own cost were several religious and devotional books that comprise only biblical images,



126. Johann Ulrich Kraus, Page with *The Annunciation to the Virgin*, *The Nativity*, and *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, from *Biblisches Engel- und Kunstwerk* (Augsburg, 1694), etching, 275 x 163 mm (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek).





127. Johann Ulrich Kraus, *Arch of Honour for Ernst August, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg*, title-page to *Monumentum Glorae Ernesti Augusti Principis Electoris Brunsvicensis* (Hanover, 1698[1706]), etching and engraving, 408 x 315 mm (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum).

short texts and ornamental cartouches (fig. 126); they proved a financial success. These he mostly developed from French models which he combined with the work of German, Dutch and Italian artists. In doing so, Kraus was instrumental in introducing new artistic trends and ornamental models from France to a wider public.

From the early 1680s until his death, Kraus was one of the most productive, versatile and influential printmakers of his time. The impressive scope of his print production shows a great variety of subjects and genres, encompassing portraits, topographical views, maps, wall calendars, illustrations for funeral sermons (fig. 127), theatre scenes, fable books, ornamental designs, architectural treatises, manuals for artistic instruction, devotional images, series of Bible illustrations, lives of saints and panegyrics in addition to illustrations for works of history, classical and contemporary literature. In biconfessional Augsburg, the Protestant artist Kraus worked for both Protestant and Catholic publishers and authors, such as the Protestant Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–90) and the Catholic Laurentius von Schnüffis (1633–1702).

In Volume 19 of the earlier Hollstein German series published in 1976, Kraus was treated primarily as a reproductive printmaker and only 67 pages with 21 illustrations dealt with his work. Unfortunately, these illustrations – fifteen views of Nuremberg and some portraits – created a skewed impression of Kraus's oeuvre, whose fame in reality depended on his Bible illustrations and reproductions of French court art. The manner in which the work of Kraus was catalogued was in part the result of Albert Haemmerle's entry of four closely printed columns in the Thieme-Becker biographical dictionary and Otto Reichl's PhD dissertation, published in 1933, which examined Kraus's illustrated devotional books and picture bibles.

The five new volumes, with more than 1,500 pages and 1,440 images, illustrate enormous progress in the presentation of Kraus's work and now finally bring his corpus together. Diefenbacher consulted more than 100 museum collections, meticulously noting the various states of the prints, variations in the impressions, and copies. The descriptions of the single-sheet prints, series and book illustrations follow high standards and make judicious use of earlier, even remote literature. The introduction provides the first detailed biography of the artist, furthering our understanding of the development of Kraus's work on the basis of his publications, the literature on him and hitherto unused sources such as his letters from after 1700 to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716). Besides precious biographical information, this correspondence spanning more than six years provides insight into the preparation and printing of Kraus's engravings for the printed funeral sermon of Ernst August, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, first

Electeur of Hanover (1629–98). It took eight years from the ruler's death for the 2,400 impressions to be pulled.

The classification of the vast material is not, however, always entirely convincing. More than 1,000 items are simply arranged alphabetically according to their titles under the rubric 'books', with no regard to themes, motifs and genre nor any indication of whether Kraus's contribution to them was only a frontispiece or the whole series. The result is that the portraits he produced are dispersed over all five volumes. More than half of the entries in the category of 'books' are arranged under the heading 'Kraus'. This therefore encompasses both his original and re-engraved series, such as those of the labyrinth and gardens of Versailles or the biblical books. A detailed table of contents and a titles index would have been helpful. There is, however, an index of persons. This shows and confirms how closely Kraus's work was influenced by French art of his time; besides members of the Küsel and Kraus families, the names cited most often are Jean Le Pautre (1618–82), Nicolas Sanson (1600–67) and Sébastien Leclerc (1637–1714).

The profound and pioneering work of these five volumes is of very high quality and they should be present in every museum, collection, library and academic institution that contains prints and illustrated books of the early modern period. They are also a landmark in basic research in the art and culture of Central Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and lay indispensable groundwork for further studies. HELMUT GIER

CICOGNARA, CANOVA AND THE REPRODUCTION OF SCULPTURE IN PRINTS. The complex process of ideation and production of *Storia della Scultura* (History of sculpture), the ambitious publication by the art theorist and critic Francesco Leopoldo Cicognara (1767–1834), is the focus of Elisabetta G. Rizzoli's *L'Officina di Leopoldo Cicognara: La Creazione delle Immagini per la 'Storia della Scultura'* (Rovereto, Edizioni Osiride, 2016, 1004 pp., 40 ills., €90). One of the most far-sighted intellectuals of the nineteenth century, the Italian aristocrat Cicognara played a crucial role in the promotion of the arts from the Neoclassical period to the 1814–15 Congress of Vienna, relying on an international artistic community to which Antonio Canova (1757–1822) had introduced him. A patron of the arts, dealer and bibliophile, Cicognara's role in the cultural politics of his time was insightfully appraised in the 1978 catalogue *Venezia nell'età di Canova 1780–1830* by Francis Haskell, who defined him as 'one of the men in Europe able to assess the whole history of art with genuine sensitivity and thorough knowledge'. Cicognara was remarkable for his ability to reconcile scholarly research and close attention to the development of contemporary artistic trends with an active engagement in managing public art collections in Venice. In his view, a deep knowledge of artistic her-





128. Giuseppe Dala, after Rinaldo Rinaldi, *Sculptures Existing in Venice and Tuscany*, from F. L. Cicognara's *Storia della Scultura* (Venice, 1813–18), etching, 281 x 192 mm (Heidelberg University Library).

itage was the essential requisite to validate and preserve it for future generations. One of his projects was the formation of a museum that could inspire young artists to create masterpieces both for institutional commissions and the private market.

During his lifetime, however, Cicognara was internationally best known for his *Storia della Scultura*. To this day, it remains an unrivalled overview of the history of sculpture in Italy from late antiquity to the age of Canova, to whom a whole volume is dedicated. Extraordinary for its quantity of information, plates taken from the original monuments and innovative methodological approach, *Storia della Scultura* was first published in Venice between 1813 and 1818, and later revised and expanded into eight volumes, one of which comprised only plates, published in Prato between 1823 and 1825. The work soon became an essential reference for artists and historians alike, with its most remarkable contribution being the illustrations, the product of more than 60 draughtsmen and printmakers.

Cicognara himself oversaw every step of the illustrations' production, from selecting the artists for the drawings and prints, to ideating and approving every print. As is well known, Canova played an active role both in appointing the individual artists and carefully supervising the translation of the drawings onto the copperplates, often leaving precise instructions concerning the viewpoints from which the sculptures had to be drawn. Conceived as a companion to Luigi Lanzi's *Storia Pittorica* (History of painting) and declaredly following in the footsteps of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Jean Baptiste d'Agincourt, the *Storia della Scultura* became a landmark publication. At the same time, it deeply affected the life of its author – Cicognara went bankrupt in order to bring the book to completion and had to sell his entire library to the Vatican Library in order to pay his debts.

A few years ago, a volume entitled 'Collezione di Tutti i Disegni Originali che Hanno Servito per Intagliare le Tavole della Storia della Scultura di Leopoldo Cicognara (A Collection of all the original drawings that were used to engrave the plates of the History of Sculpture by Leopoldo Cicognara)' containing 686 drawings was discovered in the Vatican Library (Fondo Vaticano latino 13738). Organized chronologically, these drawings served both as models for the engravers of the plates to the two editions and as a source of inspiration for Cicognara's writings. Among the artists are Francesco Hayez (1791–1882), who contributed almost 70 preparatory drawings, Tommaso Minardi (1787–1871), Giuseppe Bossi (1777–1815), Giovanni Demin (1786–1859) and Rinaldo Rinaldi (1793–1873; fig. 128). Readers of this Journal will find it particularly interesting to note the decision to produce the illustrations as outline etchings. According to the aesthetic of the

period, this technique was believed to allow for a more objective and accurate reproduction of the originals and connoted the prints primarily as didactic tools. It was also a cheaper and faster technique, important factors for such a monumental project, although some documents reveal that Cicognara might have preferred more refined reproductions in a combination of etching and engraving such as the prints collected in the *Calcografia Canoviana*, the series of engravings after Canova's sculptures put together by the master himself starting from 1817.

Rizzioli's *L'Officina di Leopoldo Cicognara* is an impressive repository of information, texts and documents, brought together for the first time. The research for it originated from a monograph on Domenico Udine Nani (1784–1850), who was responsible for many of the preparatory studies of Cicognara's illustrations, and unsurprisingly an extended chapter of the present volume focuses on Nani as a case study of the production of illustrations. The other texts in this hefty tome include a catalogue of the prints in the *Storia della Scultura*, biographies of the artists involved, the accounts of the Cicognara family from 1808 to 1832, the prints presented by the Venetian provinces to Francis I, Emperor of Austria (1768–1835) on the occasion of his fourth marriage in 1817, and a catalogue of the Cicognara album in the Correr Museum in Venice.

The central and longest chapter – exceeding 300 pages – is devoted to the transcription and cataloguing of the Vatican Library album. Rizzioli also published this separately in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana's series *Studi e testi* 509 (Vatican City, 2016). Although the material is presented as largely previously unpublished, the contents of the album have in fact already been analysed at length in recent publications by Ilaria Miarelli Mariani (2012) and Barbara Steindl (2014): strangely, neither of these is cited in Rizzioli's general bibliography.

The assembly of material so different in nature makes the volume difficult to navigate. What is more, the obsession for encyclopaedic comprehensiveness does little to aid the reader, who often loses sight of the argument and almost always struggles to find the information he or she is searching for. The disproportionate quantity of information, further encumbered by an excessively dense system of footnotes, risks suffocating the truly original points put forward by the author. One particularly useful contribution, however, is the inclusion of biographies of the draughtsmen and printmakers who participated in the *Storia della Scultura*, most of whom have now been almost completely forgotten. Also interesting is the chapter on the criteria according to which the artists were recruited, a process that Cicognara almost completely delegated to the directors of various art academies whom he personally knew. Though such a hefty publication will unavoidably discourage a wider



readership, it will provide the more dedicated scholar with the necessary material to investigate the theoretical dimension behind the prints that accompanied Cicognara's magnum opus. GIORGIO MARINI

**THE GRAND CANYON.** The earliest printed images of the Grand Canyon are linked to Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives's and his party's first government-sponsored exploration of the area. Ives's *Report upon the Colorado River of the West, Explored in 1857 and 1858*, published by the Government Printing Office in Washington DC in 1861, was illustrated with lithographs and woodcuts by the two artists who had joined the exploration, Baron Frederick Wilhelm von Egloffstein (1824–1885) and Heinrich Baldwin Mollhausen (1825–1905). In Lindsay Leard-Coolidge's focused study *Sublime Impressions: Prints and Printmakers of the Grand Canyon* (Carlisle, MA, Benna Books, 2019, 112 pp., 86 ill., \$24.95) we are told that these prints are 'romanticized and imaginative views consistent with the unconquerable quality of the Canyon itself'. The second mandated expedition by John Wesley Powell included the artist Thomas Moran (1837–1926), who stayed for seven weeks in 1873, after he had already explored the Yellowstone region. Moran provided 24 wood-engravings – some of them based on

photographs taken by fellow travellers John 'Jack' Karl Hillers (1843–1925) and Elias Olcott Beaman (1837–76) – which appeared as illustrations in an article on 'The Cañons of the Colorado', published in *Scribner's Monthly* over three monthly issues in 1875. Moran showed the enormous walls of the canyons, the imposing and complex limestone ridges and the immensity of the scenery. One of the wood-engravings shows the *Chasm of the Colorado*, the same subject as one of his paintings which was described in an anonymous review as being 'so accurate that a geologist need not go to Arizona to study the formation. This is geology and topography'. Leard-Coolidge, however, mentions in her book that:

What the American public did not know was that Moran's painting and this print were composite views. They lack the imaginative nature of earlier printmakers but rather incorporate a sophisticated understanding of American landscape painting in which the awe-inspiring quality of the Canyon was emphasized over exact depiction of a specific view.

This changed with the next project, Clarence Dutton's monograph *Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District* published in 1882, with an *Atlas* including 23 sheets of illustrations and maps, the majority done by William Henry Holmes (1846–1933), although two were by



129. Thomas Moran, *The Transept, Kaibab Division, Grand Cañon*, in C. Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District* (Washington, DC, 1882), sheet XVII, wood-engraving, 456 x 725 mm (Washington, DC, Library of Congress).



130. Hiroshi Yoshida, *Grand Canyon*, 1924, woodblock print, 250 x 368 mm (Private collection).

Moran who also accompanied the survey. Moran's lithograph of *The Transept, Kaibab Division, Grand Cañon: An Amphitheater of the Second Order* of 1882 is in the tradition of the Sublime American landscape and one of the most successful renderings (fig. 129). Holmes' views were less dramatic, often focusing on the topographic aspects, the rock strata and the geology of the place in a more literal, and therefore scientific, way. Thomas Moran is one of the main artists who shifted printmaking from a reproductive to an independent genre, making original lithographs in 1860 and etchings in 1878. The first commercial lithographs of the Grand Canyon were done by Jules Baumann (1845–1929) in 1892; they could be 'Sent by mail on receipt of \$100' and were sold as souvenirs to the growing number of tourists.

In 1905 the Santa Fe Railroad reached Grand Canyon village and built the El Tovar Hotel there, in order to accommodate the increasing touristic interest. Joseph Pennell (1857–1926) stayed there in 1912 and produced a series of ten crayon drawings for transfer lithographs (for the technique see *Print Quarterly*, XXI, 2004, pp. 247–65). Another artist who produced lithographs of the great Canyon was the Swedish-born

Birger Sandzén (1871–1954). In his *Glimpse of the Grand Canyon*, 1918, we see modernity through forms reduced to simple shapes. A modernist approach is also shown by Louis Lozowick (1892–1973) in two lithographs. The first shows the Grand Canyon from above, thus capturing the awe of the place; the second shows a group of workers let down the walls of the canyon by a crane – the industrialized world harnessing the American wilderness. The New Yorker Albert Lorey Groll (1866–1952) may have been the first etcher to be interested in the scenery in 1910; then Wallace Leroy DeWolf (1854–1930) exploited the linearity of the formations; others followed, such as Cyrus Leroy Baldrige (1889–1977), George Elbert Burr (1859–1939), Clare Dooner Phillips (1887–1960), Carl Oscar Borg (1879–1947), Benjamin (1865–1942) and Howell Chambers Brown (1880–1954), as well as Ferdinand Burgdorff (1881–1975) whose views are studied in the book. Some of these are new and unexpected visions, such as Borg's undated drypoint *On the Rim, Grand Canyon Arizona* in 1927. Ferdinand Burgdorff's series of ten etchings shows various views in his idiosyncratic style with deeply etched and inked foregrounds contrasting with the areal, pale, dark



grounds of the far-away and quite abstract rocky landscapes. But it is woodcuts, we are told here, which are most closely associated with the Grand Canyon, especially the colour woodcuts by artists such as Gustave Baumann (1881–1971), Hiroshi Yoshida (1876–1950; fig. 130), Howard Norton Cook (1901–80) and Franz Geritz (1895–1945); Marvin Francis Thompson (1815–1955) also did a *Grand Canyon* linocut (c. 1930). On an impression of his *Grand Cañon* colour woodcut of 1934 in the Worcester Art Museum reproduced in the book, Baumann added ‘This is such as it is Five blocks used Seven discarded A boom in the lumber business’. The book finally deals with serigraphs, from *A Free Government Service. Grand Canyon National Park*, of c. 1938 commissioned through the Federal Art Project created by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to works by Louie H. Ewing (1908–83) and post-World War II avant-garde printmakers like Werner Drewes (1899–1985), who had been trained at the Bauhaus, and Misch Kohn (1916–2003), who introduced a degree of abstraction in his views.

This informative, well-illustrated study shows successive reactions to the great landscape of the Grand Canyon and the diversity of printing media used by the

artists. But how successful were they? Joseph Pennel, in April 1912, mentioned that the Grand Canyon was ‘too wonderful and suggestive and inspiring for words, and no one in painting and drawing has touched it’, while Baumann called it an ‘artist’s nightmare’: ‘You see a wonderful composition and when you look back, it’s gone... This is the reason no one can paint the Canyon’. This may explain why the printed views of the Grand Canyon have generated interesting prints of quality, but only a few of these convey the superb majesty, the geological complexity and the sheer immensity of the valley dug by the Colorado river, one of the greatest sights anywhere. JEAN MICHEL MASSING

*FROM THE ROOFTOPS: JOHN SLOAN AND THE ART OF A NEW URBAN SPACE*, by Adam M. Thomas, poses a novel question: ‘what role did rooftops play in the social and artistic fabric of the city?’ (University Park, Pennsylvania, Palmer Museum of Art, 3 February–12 May 2019; Glen Falls, New York, The Hyde Collection, 16 June–15 September 2019, University Park, Pennsylvania, Palmer Museum of Art in association with The Pennsylvania University Press, 2019, 96 pp., 91 ills., \$24.95). In the case of New York City in the first half



131. John Sloan, *Roofs, Summer Night*, 1906, etching, 131 x 175 mm (Palmer Museum of Art, transfer from The Pennsylvania State University Libraries Print Collection © Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York).





132. John Sloan, *Red Kimono on the Roof*, 1912, oil on canvas, 610 x 508 mm (Indianapolis Museum of Art at Newfields © Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York).



of the twentieth century, Thomas convincingly argues that it was a significant one. Basing his case principally on John Sloan (1871–1951), for whom rooftops were something of an obsession, Thomas explores 27 of the artist's works – prints, paintings, illustrations and one drawing – demonstrating both that Sloan was keenly drawn to the everyday doings and customs of New York's rooftops and that his works speak volumes about the urban conditions of the period.

Sloan was a central figure in the so-called Ashcan School, not a school per se but a loose-knit group of artists intent on portraying the commonplace experiences of daily life. The tenement dwellers depicted in *Roofs, Summer Night* have set up camp for the evening, seeking relief from the overcrowded, near-windowless conditions of their living quarters (fig. 131). One of Sloan's earliest rooftop scenes, the print brings into play for Thomas such issues as privacy, the unsafe conditions of tenements, and the immigrant population. The woman hanging her underthings out to dry in *Red Kimono on the Roof* wears a gaudy kimono and heels and holds a clothespin provocatively in her mouth (fig. 132). Thomas infers that she is a prostitute and follows up with a discussion of the sex trade at the time and the rampant business of prostitution in tenements. He reports how prostitution was not an all or nothing proposition, even implicating Sloan's first wife, Dolly, who may have supported her dependence on alcohol by resorting occasionally to prostitution.

As Thomas makes clear in his three-part essay, Sloan was not alone in his fascination with rooftops, and he enriches each section with the introduction of other voices and works by other artists. For instance, in Part One we hear from philosophers, social anthropologists, historians, critics and renowned figures like writer Stephen Crane and photographer Jacob Riis, and we encounter works by artists including William Glackens (1870–1938), William Zorach (1887–1966), Charles Demuth (1883–1935), and Edward Hopper (1882–1967). Covering the early decades of the century, Part One focuses mainly on tenement rooftops and the immigrant community, but it also devotes some seven pages to the subject of New York's roof gardens – open-air sites of popular entertainment that catered chiefly to the prosperous.

Part Two takes another tack, covering the years 1927 to 1942 and dealing with the 'city above the city', including a fantastic design, published in *Popular Science Monthly* in 1927, for the alleviation of traffic: a rooftop speedway that would have linked a sixteen-mile chain of twelve-story buildings from lower Manhattan to Yonkers. Thomas introduces a diversity of artists – Martin Lewis (1881–1962), Reginald Marsh (1898–1954), Weegee (1899–1968), and Jacob Lawrence (1917–2000), to name a few. Topics include how penthouse spaces changed from being servants' living quarters to

luxury apartments; the rise of modern skyscrapers like the Chrysler and RCA Buildings; and, tellingly, the vogue for sunbathing. 'The idea of deliberately altering skin color – most often white skin – through exposure to sunlight gradually shed its negative association with outdoor labor' in the 1930s. Why? Because 'lower-status jobs had largely moved indoors to factories'.

The essay's final section is comparatively brief, shifting attention to rooftop scenes of a surrealist nature by artists working in the 1940s and early 1950s. Here the essay falls short, not because Thomas fails to do justice to the works but because the works themselves feel oddly out of place. Perhaps this is owing to the more striking originality of the earlier works, or possibly to what seems a less compelling selection. Nonetheless, *From the Rooftops* is an intelligent, well-written and extensively researched catalogue, which happily closes with the author's sound advice: 'Sometimes in order to see differently we must ignore the sign that reads "No roof access"'. JUDITH BRODIE

MICHAEL ROTHENSTEIN (1908–93). Many an English artist would be keen to have the critic and writer Mel Gooding as their advocate. Gooding writes with the sensibility of a poet and a deep understanding of making art. Above all, he is willing to engage with the complexity of an artist's personality – ideal credentials for an examination, and indeed appreciation, of such an idiosyncratic artist as Rothenstein (Mel Gooding, *Michael Rothenstein: Artist Printmaker. Exploring the Boundaries*, Uppingham, Goldmark Gallery, 2019, 108 pp., 102 ills., £10).

Rothenstein was born into an artistic family; his father was the painter and engraver Sir William Rothenstein and his brother was Sir John Rothenstein, former head of the Tate Gallery. Michael was not only a painter but developed into one of the most innovative printmakers of his, and indeed any, generation. He did for relief printing what Stanley William Hayter (1901–88) did for intaglio, opening up the language of the indexical mark, extending the range of possibilities with a new approach in which a myriad of surfaces and textures could be used as the matrix. He was also willing and eager to combine techniques, noting that 'traditionally printmaking had been played on a single instrument, and I felt strongly that the instrument needn't always be played alone'. Furthermore, like Hayter, Rothenstein inspired a generation to reappraise and experiment with print media not only through his own works of art, but also through his writings, including *Frontiers of Printmaking* (1966) and *Relief Printing* (1970).

Gooding rightly notes that anything might serve as grist for Rothenstein's mill, including photographs of Hollywood starlets, newspaper headlines, assortments of tools, farmyard cockerels and the New York skyline. These, alongside abstract shapes, concentric circles



133. Michael Rothenstein, *Cockerel*, 1960, linocut, 720 x 500 mm (Courtesy Goldmarkart.com).



and endless textures printed directly from weathered or distressed surfaces, provide a veritable visual cacophony. It is clear that Rothenstein was also drawing from his contemporaries; the collision of photographic and gestural imagery of Robert Rauschenberg (1925–2008), the frontal deadpan aspect of Jim Dine (b. 1935), the bursts of colour of Adolph Gottlieb (1903–74) and Kenneth Noland (1924–2010), the surrealism of Eduardo Paolozzi (1924–2005) and the interrogation of the printed image of Richard Hamilton (1922–2011) can all be sensed in his exuberant prints. Gooding argues, however, that ‘it was only Rothenstein who saw how primitive modes of direct relief printmaking, from woodcut to linocut to found object, could combine with sophisticated techniques of etching, lithography and photo-screen, to become the means to an utterly modern image making’. Whereas the cutting-edge art from that period was played out in New York lofts and riverside warehouse studios, Rothenstein injects a sense of the countryside as a landscape just as charged and edgy. You would not want to meet one of Rothenstein’s cockerels on a dark night alone (fig. 133).

Gooding divides his study into an exploration of printmaking, experience and questions of reality, before focusing on three overriding themes, ‘Art and Nature’, ‘Sex and Violence’ and ‘Signals, Signs and Symbols’, which provide a broad spectrum from which to consider Rothenstein’s achievements. He makes a generous case for the artist’s overall legacy and the prints’ importance. The prints revel in the handmade and the spontaneous, varying in both quality and resolution, but continue to provide rich inspiration to artist printmakers. The publication could have been in a larger format: these prints need more space, and I would have preferred the captions, including date, dimensions and technique, to appear below each image rather than in a list at the back. That said, it is most welcome to have a substantial publication to bring this artist’s work to a new generation, and this is priced at a level that should ensure a wide circulation. PAUL COLDWELL

**RUDOLF SCHÖNWALD.** The Austrian painter, graphic artist, caricaturist, draughtsman and – as the publisher’s announcement notes – ‘state prize winner’ Rudolf Schönwald celebrated his 90th birthday in 2018. In spring 2019 *Rudolf Schönwald: Kunst im Kalten Krieg* (Art in the Cold War) was published to mark this anniversary (edited by Heidrun Rosenberg, contributions by Susanne Neuburger, Erich Hackl, Wolfgang Burgmair, Britta Schinzel and René Schober, Salzburg, Verlag Anton Pustet, 2019, 256 pp., 198 ills., €39).

Born in Hamburg in 1928, Schönwald spent his childhood in Salzburg, at boarding school in St. Blasien and then with his mother and her family in Vienna. In 1943 the Nuremberg Race Laws forced him to flee to

Budapest, where a Hungarian pastor hid him, saving him from deportation. After the war he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, sharing a studio with Alfred Hrdlicka (1928–2009).

The book’s preface and introduction are followed by four essays about the artist, his oeuvre and artistic context, of which the first two, written by editor Rosenberg and the Austrian author Hackl, are subsumed under the title ‘From the Figurative Underground’. Rosenberg offers a substantial contribution on ‘Art in the Cold War’ and the *König Ubu* (King Ubu) woodcut series, whereas Hackl discusses the artist’s drawings of industrial wasteland. The following section, ‘The World of Yesterday and Today’, considers aspects of the artist’s biography. The contribution about Schönwald’s grandparents, the historian Otto Pringsheim (1860–1923) and his wife Lilly, offers an engaging insight into bourgeois Jewish life around 1900, while Schober’s essay examines the German National and National Socialist connections that endured even after World War II at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. The catalogue proper is divided into ‘Early Drawings’, ‘Print Portfolios’ and ‘Late Drawings’. Although the focus is squarely on Schönwald’s graphic oeuvre and the illustrations are almost exclusively of his prints and drawings, the publication is not intended as a catalogue raisonné and does not include all the artist’s prints. Instead, it was conceived and is structured as a tribute to the life’s work of a living artist, with a collage of personal photographs filling the first double-page.

Schönwald’s so-called early work, including the Academy drawings of 1949–52, shows a promising beginning. His early independent surrealist drawings from 1950, made with collage, are impressive. They are followed by figurative large-format woodcuts, which among other things depict post-war Austria: *Rendezvous in the Beerhall* of 1953–54, for example, is a brave and caustic comment on Austria’s superficial denazification. This display of quality still holds with Schönwald’s etchings and lithographs created as a series of illustrations for Voltaire’s *Candide* in 1955, but the drypoint etchings *Captain Singleton’s Adventures*, a pastiche of Oskar Kokoschka’s late work, and some of the following works are somewhat less successful. The openbite etchings of the mid-1960s are, however, excellent, especially *Gargantua and the Egyptian Crocodile*. Also exceptional is the impressive, large-format portfolio *King Ubu* that Schönwald created in 1966–67 (fig. 134). This series, which remains unsurpassed in the artist’s oeuvre, highlights Schönwald’s role as a Viennese contemporary witness and as such equals the works of Kurt Moldovan (1918–77), another forgotten Austrian who produced a formidable, homogeneous oeuvre.

Apart from a few unfortunate layout decisions, the catalogue is well presented. The title, a reference to the exhibition ‘Art in the Cold War, 1945–1989’ of 2010 at



134. Rudolf Schönwald, *Very Large and Last Ubu*, from the *King Ubu* cycle, 1966/67, woodcut, sheet 1,195 x 755 mm (Vienna University, Institut für Kunstgeschichte © the artist).



the German Historical Museum in Berlin, is particularly well chosen. Should another exhibition be dedicated to this theme in future, Schönwald's *King Ubu* should not be missing. EMANUEL VON BAEYER

**GRAPHIC REVOLUTION: AMERICAN PRINTS 1960 TO NOW.** In 1986 Richard Oldenburg, Director of The Museum of Modern Art, wrote in the foreword to *American Prints 1960–1985 in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art* that the period under discussion was ‘a perpetually undernourished area of art studies’ (p. iii). His statement did not necessarily reflect the interest in the contemporary production of the graphic arts, which was healthy, as shown by both individuals and museums as well as by prominent exhibitions at MoMA in 1971 and at the US Pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 1970. Since then, however, there has been a noticeable rise in scholarly attention devoted to American printmaking during this particularly vibrant period, attested to by the exhibition catalogue *Graphic Revolution: American Prints 1960 to Now* (Elizabeth Wyckoff and Gretchen L. Wagner, contributions by Nichole N. Bridges, Leah Marie Chizek, Heather A. Hughes, Alexander Brier Marr, Deborah Spivak and Abigail Yoder, exhibition catalogue, Saint Louis, Saint Louis Art Museum, 11 November 2018–

3 February 2019, 278 pp., 300 ills., \$35). Increased emphasis has also been placed on printmaking methods, the role of the workshop, the function of publishers and collaborations between artists and printers.

Some authors have focused on the impact of Stanley William Hayter (1901–88) and his celebrated Atelier 17 – open in New York City between 1940 and 1955 – even after Hayter's return to Paris in 1950. Most studies have, however, begun slightly later, with the establishment of notable printshops such as Universal Limited Art Editions (ULAE) in 1957 in Long Island, Tamarind Lithography Workshop in 1960 in Los Angeles and, also in Los Angeles, Gemini G.E.L. in 1966. This period saw artists and printers incorporate new techniques and processes derived from photography and commercial production. The resultant creative experimentation had such profound effects on the field that Riva Castleman later described the moment as a veritable ‘renaissance in printmaking’. American post-war printmaking encompasses not only evolving ideas about the appropriate subject, forms and materials for art, but also innovations in processes and production due to technical advances and an increasingly fluid and non-hierarchical approach to mediums and technologies.

*Graphic Revolution: American Prints 1960 to Now* provides a



135. Rosa Lee Lovell, *Figure Group Series*, 1969, screenprint, sheet 630 x 745 mm (Saint Louis Art Museum © Rosa Lee Lovell).



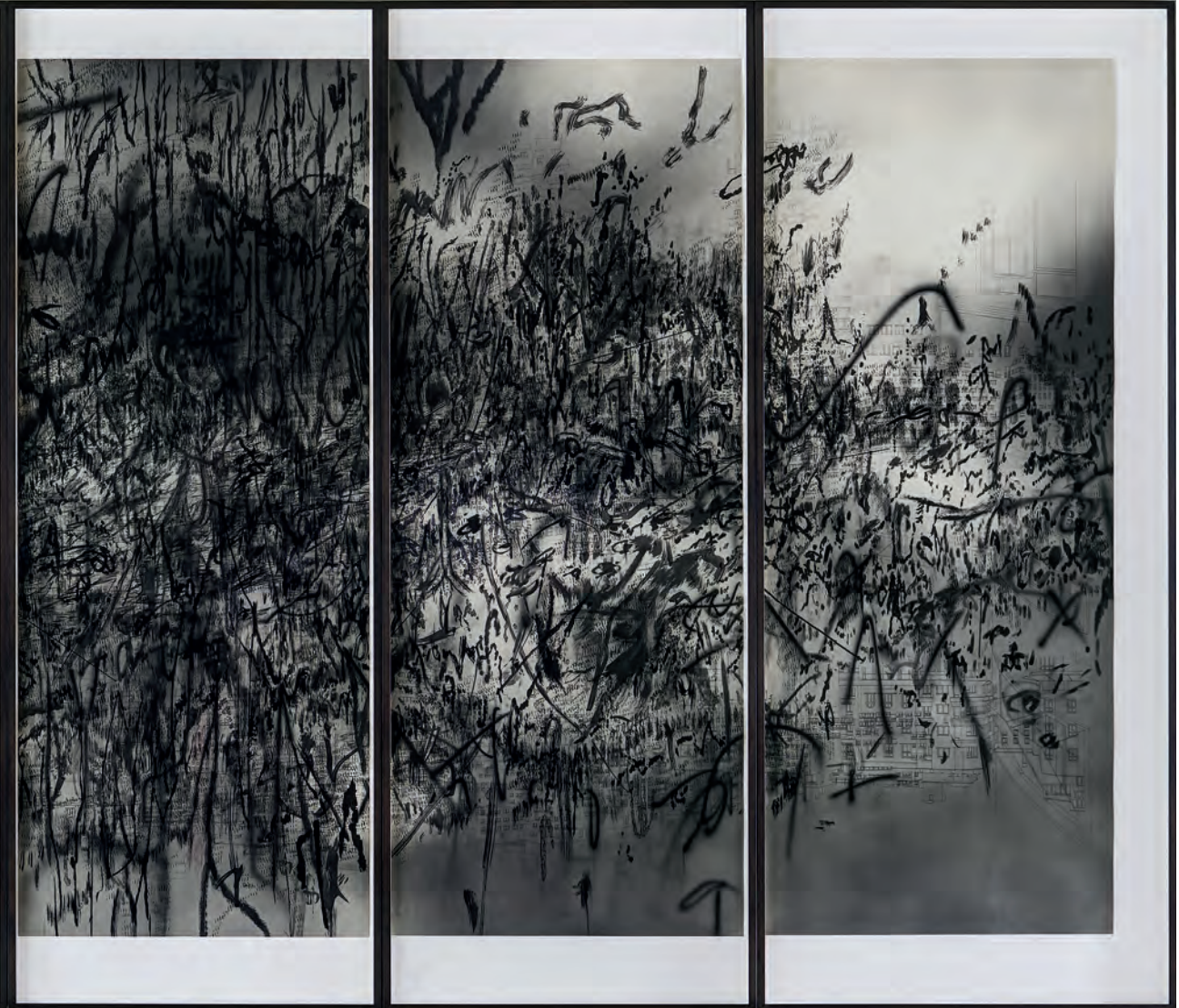
136. Julie Mehretu, *Epigraph, Damascus*, 2016, photogravure, sugar-lift aquatint, spit-bite aquatint and open bite, 2,170 x

welcome addition to the growing field of surveys devoted to modern and contemporary American printmaking. In contrast to *American Dream: Pop to the Present* (for which see *Print Quarterly*, xxxv, 2018, pp. 356–61), *Graphic Revolution* considers the position of contemporary art within the broader context of the encyclopedic Saint Louis Art Museum, with Wyckoff placing particular emphasis on contemporary American prints in her introductory essay. The book is divided into seven thematic sections – ‘The Graphic Boom’, ‘The Publishers’, ‘A Turn to Expression’, ‘Issues of the Times’, ‘Multimedia in the Printshop’, ‘Language’ and ‘Approaching Now’ – and

a ‘Prelude’ featuring seven artists: Robert Blackburn (1920–2003), Roy Lichtenstein (1923–97), Jasper Johns (b. 1930), Chuck Close (b. 1940), David Hammons (b. 1943), Louise Bourgeois (1911–2010) and Kara Walker (b. 1969). Numerous artists feature in several sections or in different places within the same section. A case in point is Andy Warhol (1928–87), whose prints *Jacqueline Kennedy I* (*Jackie I*) from *Eleven Pop Artists* of 1969, *Portraits of the Artists* from *Ten from Leo Castelli*, 1967, and *Campbell’s Soup II* of 1969 are found in ‘The Graphic Boom’; while *Flowers* of 1970 is under ‘Issues of the Times’.

The catalogue covers artists’ books, illustrated books,





5,220 mm (Saint Louis Art Museum. Image courtesy of the artist and BORCH Editions © Julie Mehretu).

multiples, boxed sets such as George Maciunas's (1931–78) *Fluxkit*, a vinyl-covered attaché case containing objects in various mediums, and sculptural works such as Annette Lemieux's editioned *Left Right Left Right* of 1995, comprising 30 photolithographs mounted on boards with wooden sticks. As Wyckoff aptly notes, such works are 'key elements' for a history of 'the most compelling accomplishments that have occurred within the field of printmaking.'

In addition to providing an overview of important works, developments, artists and workshops in America during this period, the authors focus on the social,

political and cultural issues addressed by artists in their work. Examples include Bruce Conner's *BOMBHEAD*, of 2002, Glenn Ligon's *Runaways*, of 1993, and Luis Jiménez's *Tan Lejos de Dios: Tan Cercas de los Estados Unidos* (So far from God, so close to the United States) of 2001. Works by Barbara Kruger (b. 1945) and Betye Saar (b. 1926), and *American Indian No. 4* of 1972 and *American Landscape (Second State)* of 1976 by Fritz Scholder (1937–2005), a member of the Luiseño tribe, are also featured (for Scholder see *Print Quarterly*, xxxvi, September 2019, pp. 275–86). In addition to canonical figures of post-war American printmaking and a diverse group of more



contemporary artists, it was especially exciting to see the inclusion of those perhaps less widely known, such as Scholder and Rosa Lee Lovell (1935–69; fig. 135), the latter represented by two works made in Saint Louis.

Stressed repeatedly in the catalogue is the fact that the exhibited works are drawn from various local collections – Saint Louis Art Museum (fig. 136), Washington University's Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, the Kranzberg Art and Architecture Library and the Washington University Libraries' Rare Book Collection as well as from collectors – and those with strong links to the area. This provides a wonderful snapshot of the rich collections of prints in the area. It would, however, have been of interest to have had more extensive coverage of the Saint Louis-based publishers. Three works made at Island Press are included in the catalogue: Lemieux's *Left Right Left Right*, Jaune Quick-to-See Smith's *Celebrate 40,000 Years of American Art*, of 1995, and Nick Cave's *MASS*, of 2000, a detail of which

was used for the front and back covers, but information on the press itself is lacking. The same could be said for other Saint Louis workshops, such as Wildwood Press and Lococo Fine Art Publishers.

The essays are well researched, informative and interesting, as are the catalogue entries, which number nearly 100. Also included is a helpful glossary of printmaking techniques written by Heather Hughes, with several survey books listed under 'Additional Resources'. In addition, the extensive bibliography provides many more references on post-war American printmaking, the artists and relevant exhibitions.

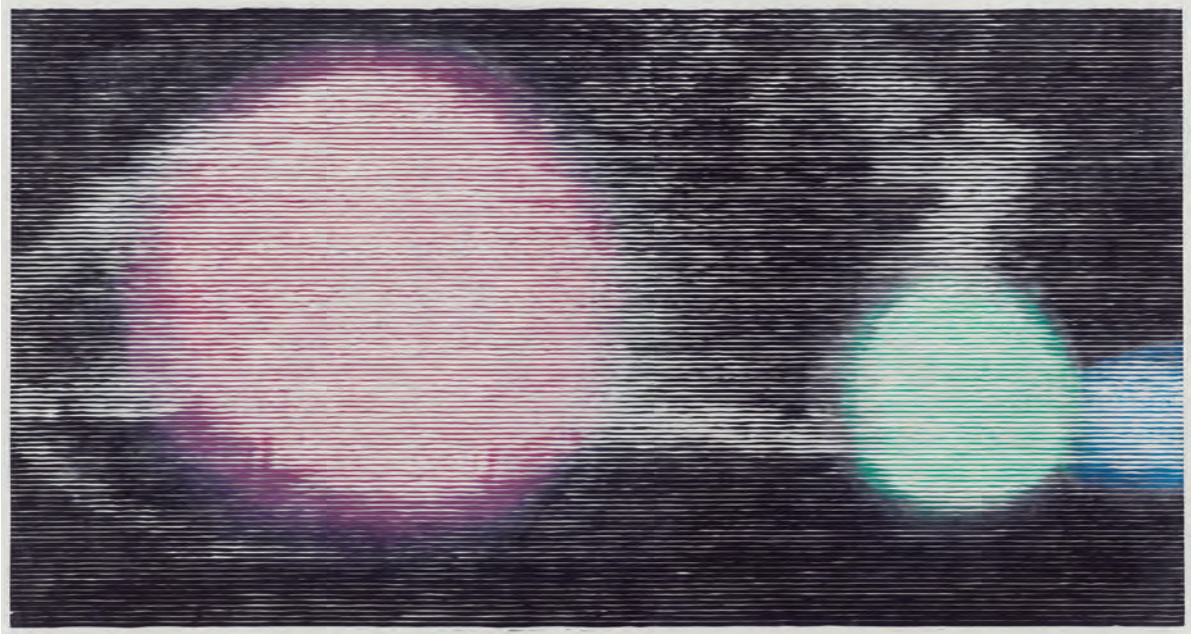
JENNIFER FARRELL

CHRISTIANE BAUMGARTNER (b. 1967). The prints of this artist have been featured in *Print Quarterly* on various occasions and she is well known especially in English-speaking countries. The most recent catalogue, *Christiane Baumgartner: Another Country*, is particularly



137. Christiane Baumgartner, *Another Country*, 2016, woodcut on Kozo paper, 1,200 x 1,600 mm (Wellesley, MA, Davis Museum at Wellesley College. Courtesy the artist and Cristea Roberts Gallery, London © VG Bild-Kunst Bonn 2018 / ARS, New York).





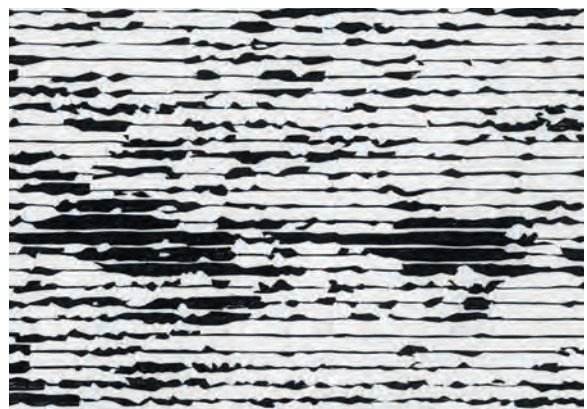
138. Christiane Baumgartner, *Cosmic Fruits – Kiwi*, 2016, woodcut on Kozo paper, 1,200 x 630 mm (Courtesy the artist and Cristea Roberts Gallery, London © VG Bild-Kunst Bonn 2018 / ARS, New York).

noteworthy for the numerous illustrations of her most recent work and for an inspiring essay by Richard S. Field on the woodcut that provided the title both for the show, 'Another Country', of 2016, and for the catalogue (edited by Lisa Fischman, contributions by Claire C. Whitner and Richard Field, exhibition catalogue, Wellesley, MA, Davis Museum at Wellesley College, 20 September–16 December 2018, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 2018, 142 pp., 112 ills., \$34.95; fig. 137).

Since 2013 Baumgartner has increasingly been working in colour, as can be seen for example in three aquatints from 2013: *Deep Water*, *Totentanz* or *With and Without Thinking*. Rather than cutting separate blocks, she inks a single block 'à la poupée', that is, different areas separately. Although this technique is particularly time-consuming, it allows for slight variations between impressions. It is precisely this artistic freedom that the artist has increasingly sought in recent years in order to develop further existing possibilities. Prints such as the numerous variants of the series *Cosmic Fruits*, of 2016 (fig. 138), *Happy Hour*, of 2018, or *Rosenthal (Park)*, of 2018, or the monumental and astonishing *Phoenix*, of 2018, are all based on the horizontal, linear structures she always uses, but she surpasses her dependency on the line to create more colourful, planar images.

Baumgartner's turn to colour may be understood as a consequence of her comprehensive preoccupation with the character of the lines and the legibility of her pictures. It is precisely this aspect that Field explores in his long

and detailed essay, which analyses Baumgartner's pictorial strategies and references to other artists. Field refers to giant woodcuts, such as *The Crossing of the Red Sea* by Titian, of 1514–15, and to representations by Gustave Doré (1832–83), Edvard Munch (1863–1944) or Emil Nolde (1867–1956). Yet he does not attempt to suggest an apparent causality between pre-existing phenomena or iconographies and Baumgartner's approach, describing instead parallelisms or kinships. Exact analysis allows him to examine the central question of the perception of the black and white lines (fig. 139). Hitherto scholars of Baumgartner's work have often overlooked the image-



139. Detail of fig. 137.

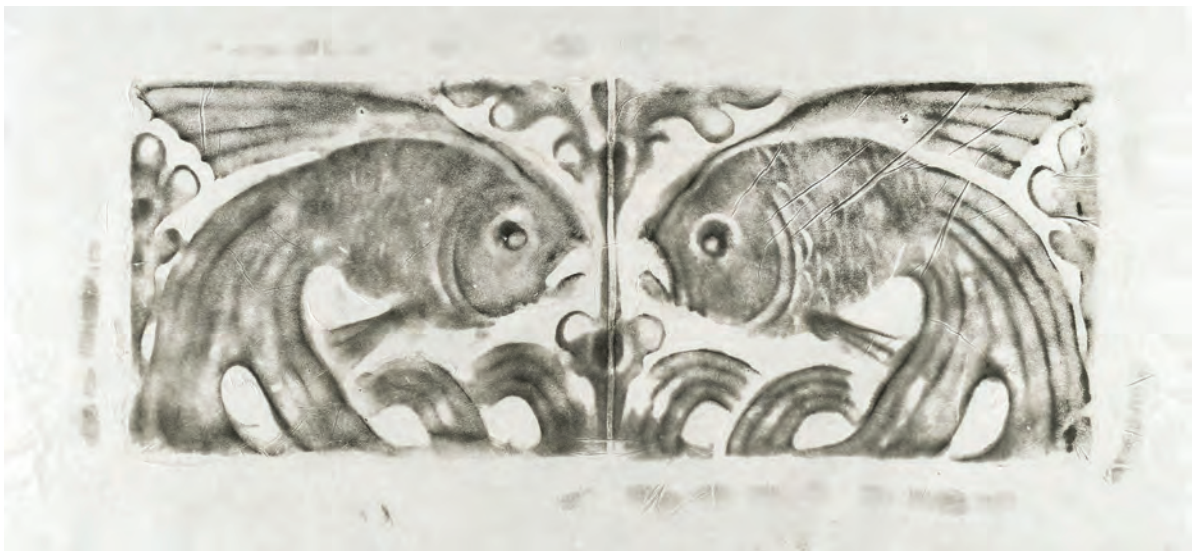
constituting white lines. Field discusses how cutting the block is an act reminiscent of drawing, where the information between the lines can be as important as the line itself and where forms are not just defined by lines, but also by the white spaces between them. It is precisely this procedure that creates the image, the structure of the waves and, ultimately, the particular fascination of *Another Country*, where lines seem to vibrate more strongly than in Baumgartner's earlier prints. In his essay Field is less concerned with explaining the iconography or apparent visual tradition than with a scrupulous observation into fathoming the smallest details of the connection between technology – the computer-altered images – and the pictorial object. This essay, with its stimulating insights, is the highlight of the catalogue. CHRISTIAN RÜMELIN

**INKY BYTES.** The Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg (MKG), which opened in 1877, holds over 500,000 objects documenting 4,000 years of human creativity worldwide. To highlight their Chinese collection, in 2018 the museum invited artists mostly from China, but also from Hamburg, to create works in dialogue with their historical Chinese collection, arranging them as site-specific interventions in the East Asian galleries. A concise introduction to some 35 works of art chosen from this much larger display, as well as brief explanatory essays, are featured in the slender, German and English publication *Inky Bytes: Tuschespuren im Digitalzeitalter/Traces of Ink in the Digital Era*, edited by Sabine Schulze and Wibke Schrape, that accompanied

the exhibition (with contributions by Carol Yinghua Lu and Uta Raphman-Steinert, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 2 September 2018–13 January 2019, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 2018, 72 pp., 81 ills., €8.90).

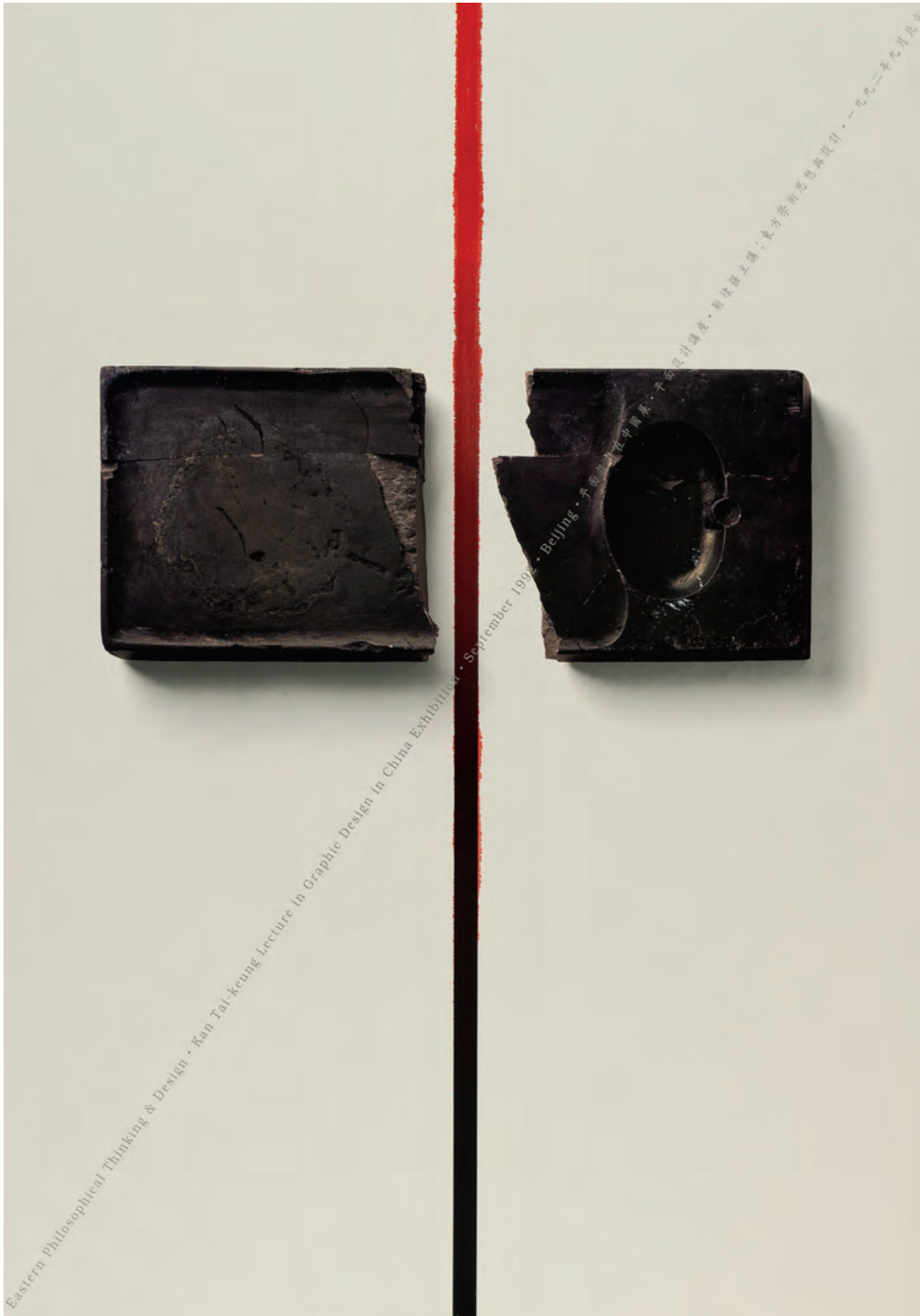
The title of the catalogue and the eponymous exhibition is intentionally homophonic. The artists have been asked to take small pieces, or imaginary 'bites', from works in the collection and use them as fodder to update China's traditional ink arts – brush painting, woodblock printing and ink stone rubbings – into 'inky bytes', where keyboards and touchscreens replace old-fashioned brush and ink. The authors trenchantly establish that in China the essential role of ink is much more than a technical medium, and it is actually a highly revered aesthetic.

First, the authors present a brief history of MKG's East Asian collection, including musings on its role as a 'place of encounter and [transcultural] negotiation', then move on to introduce various installations and projects that connect the Hamburg art scene with anchors in China, and lastly focus on some of the best known artists of the exhibition, including Shan Fan (b. 1959), Yang Yongliang (b. 1980), Kan Tai-keoung (b. 1942), Liu Ding (b. 1976) and Zhou Fei (b. 1971), as well as Dagmar Rauwald (b. 1965). Many of the artists compellingly engaged in their new 'inky' expressions with the ramifications of rapid digitization and urbanization, which are transforming modern societies. The artists' engagement with ink art also expanded in fresh ways to include new media, such as oils, offset printing, video and multi-object installations.



140. *Rubbing from the Wall Tiles of the St. Pauli Elbtunnel*, part of Print the Landscape Public Art Project, Hamburg 2018, rubbing, ink on paper, 390 x 840 mm (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe).





141. Kan Tai-keung, *Eastern Philosophical Thinking & Design*, 1992, offset print, 985 x 695 mm (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe © the artist).



142. Yang Yongliang, Still from the video *Rising Mist*, 2014, HD video (Shanghai, Shanghai Gallery of Art © the artist).



One of the art projects most thoroughly explained in the catalogue, and which was also part of the exhibition, is *Print the Landscape Public Art Project* (2017–18), which started in Zhejiang and moved to Hamburg (fig. 140). Its point of departure was the 1,500-year-old Chinese tradition of ink rubbings of carved stones. Such rubbings, fundamental to China's historical memory, also stand as one of, if not the first, environmental art, with its participants actively scaling mountain cliffs and climbing free-standing stelae carved with inscriptions in order to ink their stone surfaces, affix specially prepared paper, and rhythmically pound the sheets until vivid impressions of the incised writing appear white against an inky dark background. In modern China, the same method of rubbing has been used by artists to record the surfaces of buildings about to be razed by urban development, while in Hamburg they recorded plaques that document the fate of citizens under the Nazi regime, as well as other important local sites. In our computer-centred lives, the Public Art Project gives new relevance to traditional ink rubbings as a poignant means to engage with the places and nuances of our modern, daily lives.

Artists in the exhibition offer us many different ways to reflect on the contemporaneity of ink. Kan Tai-keung's droll 1992 offset print *Eastern Philosophical Thinking and Design* probes the potential of modern printing technologies to disrupt traditional art. He depicts an old-style solid inkstick (the type meant to be ground with a few drops of water on an inkstone to produce liquid ink), broken in two (fig. 141). A red-and-black vertical line pierces the empty space between the separated halves, making the image resemble the character that means China, and sparking rumination that for those Chinese artists who look to tradition for inspiration, the path is ruptured. A tiny line of diagonal type superimposed over the image reveals the title of the work of art, which was designed to advertise Kan's lecture of the same title in which he illuminated the power to join historical cultural legacies with new technologies. That the authors chose this image to end the book is a befitting way to frame the goal of the exhibition as a dialogue between past and present that includes digital technologies.

The opening, or cover image, of the catalogue also powerfully alludes to the timelessness of the ink aesthetic, but thrust disturbingly in a matrix dominated by the urgency of urbanisation run amok. The work is a still from Yang's video *Rising Mist*, which bewitchingly employs digital manipulations of photos to evoke Song dynasty (960–1279) ink landscape paintings (fig. 142). Under scrutiny, his 'ink brushstrokes' that describe craggy mountains populated by dwarfed trees reveal themselves to be miniaturized images of mega-skyscrapers and power pylons transformed into the texture of rocks

and vegetation. Piles of industrial waste replace the lush vegetation in the Song-dynasty art which he uses as models, and instead of mountain fog, belches of smog choke the mountain valleys. Yang's seamless transmutation of digital technology to resemble ancient paintings earned him his reputation, and the popularity of his works demonstrates the still vibrant appeal of traditional ink aesthetics. Yang, however, leaves the viewer wondering whether the world itself can survive the degradation of urbanization. We can only guess that the authors chose this work to begin the voyage into the exhibition because it perfectly encapsulates the twin themes of digitization and urbanization in ink art and, perhaps, also to alert us that we cannot afford to merely enjoy the aesthetic joys of 'inky bytes', but we need to be jolted into action to save the physical environment. JAN STUART

#### ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

In response to the article 'The *Portuguese Genealogy* of Wenceslaus Hollar and the Lost Lisbon Monuments by François Duquesnoy' by Joseph Connors (xxxvi,



143. Paulus Pontius, *Portrait of Manuel de Moura*, proof state, c. 1626, engraving and etching (Rotterdam, Boijmans van Beuningen Museum).

March 2019, p. 26, fig. 22), Simon Turner noted that in the course of research in relation to Rubens, he and Jaco Rutgers have identified five further impressions of Paulus Pontius's *Portrait of Manuel de Moura*, including a proof state in the Boijmans van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam (fig. 143).

The Stinehour Press no longer exists; it was closed in 2008. Apologies for incorrect information in the Note on Meriden Gravure (xxxvi, September 2019 issue, p. 337).

The article on Donald Judd (xxxvii, March 2020 issue, pp. 42–57) was missing these additional credit lines: Figs. 35, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44: © 2019 Judd Foundation / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Fig. 45: © 2019 The Barnett Newman Foundation / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Fig. 46: © 2019 Frank Stella / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Apologies for the omission.

Gérald Cramer was born in 1916 and died in 1991 – apologies for the incorrect dates (xxxvii, March 2020, p. 104).

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*Architecture and Performance: Prints from the Cabinet of Louis XIV in the MUO Holdings*, edited by Antonia Došen, Dubravka Botica, Anamarija Stepanić, Anđelika Galić and Petra Milovac, exhibition catalogue, Zagreb, Museum of Arts and Crafts, 3 October 2015–3 January 2016, Zagreb, Museum of Arts and Crafts, 235 pp., 86 ills.

With parallel Croatian and English texts, the well-illustrated *Architecture and Performance* is dedicated to three groups of prints that were part of the so-called Cabinet du Roi, a large assembly of etchings and engravings that was meant to show off the richness of Louis XIV's art collections, festivals, buildings and gardens, as well as King Louis XIV's military prowess. Published over many years by the French crown, the first volumes appeared in the early 1660s. Eventually numbering just over 950 images, the suites of prints were reorganized into 23 standardized volumes in 1727. The three volumes dedicated to the Louvre, the Tuileries, Versailles and the royal festivals are the focus of the catalogue produced by the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb. These impressions from the Cabinet du Roi made their way to Zagreb in 1878 via the Croatian envoy to France, Srećko Lay, whose collection was acquired by the government in 1882, that is two years after the founding of the museum. In addition to serving as a useful introduction to the subject, the volume includes preliminary observations on watermarks and the paper used by the royal printing enterprise.

Caroline Fowler, *The Art of Paper: From the Holy Land to the Americas*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2019, 184 pp., 113 ills., £35.

This short book, consisting of an introduction titled 'A New Kind of Route', five chapters: 'Tracking Paper Routes across the Early Modern World'; 'Forgetting Paper's Origins'; 'The Model of Loss in Late-Medieval Drawing'; 'Albrecht Dürer and the Geography of Paper'; 'Paper: Modernizing the Ancients' Wax Tablet' and the concluding chapter 'Rembrandt and a New Paper World', discusses the production, function and migration of paper in Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Mesoamerica. The subjects addressed are diverse

and include early modern literature on papermaking, most notably Jérôme de La Lande's *Art de faire le papier* (Paris, 1761); paper's transformative impact on trade, governance, notary and other administrative practices in late-medieval Europe and beyond; how the function of drawing evolved in the early Renaissance with the increasing ubiquity of paper; how Simone Martini (active by 1315–d. 1344) and Andrea Mantegna's (1430/31–1506) awareness of the non-Western origins of paper is reflected in their work; the adoption of the clean sheet paper as a metaphor for the untainted human mind by John Locke and other philosophers; Albrecht Dürer's drawings on Venetian blue paper; and Rembrandt's use of so-called oriental paper for his drawings after Mughal paintings and his etchings, both to create certain artistic effects and for its perceived connection to the culture he was emulating.

*Käthe Kollwitz in Dresden*, edited by Petra Kuhlmann-Hodick and Agnes Matthias, contributions by Hannelore Fischer and Alexandra von dem Kneesebeck, exhibition catalogue, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, 19 October 2017–14 January 2018, Dresden and London, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden and Paul Holberton Publishing, 2017, 176 pp., 138 ills., £30.

Frances Carey and Max Egremont, *Portrait of the Artist: Käthe Kollwitz*, edited by Jonathan Watkins, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, Ikon Gallery, 13 September–26 November 2017; Salisbury, Young Gallery, 15 December 2017–11 March 2018; Swansea, Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, 24 March–17 June 2018; Hull, Ferens Art Gallery, 30 June–30 September 2018; London, The British Museum, September 2019–January 2020, Birmingham and London, Ikon Gallery and The British Museum, 2017, 156 pp., 100 ills., £20.

Two publications celebrating the importance of Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945) as an artist and printmaker appeared in 2017, the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of her birth. The direct emotional appeal and the economy of means help to explain how remarkably contemporary her prints



appear and why they are held in such high esteem by today's printmakers. These are images stripped down to basics which speak of the resilience of the human spirit even when confronted by intense tragedy and suffering. Whether using etching, woodcut or lithography, strength of drawing and sensitivity to each process prevail. The Dresden catalogue presented 78 prints and drawings primarily from the Kupferstich-Kabinett's collection, while *Portrait of the Artist* focuses exclusively on 38 prints from the extensive holdings of the British Museum that formed the basis for a travelling exhibition in the UK.

Catherine de Braekeleer, Véronique Blondel and Jean Fremon, *Kiki Smith: Entre chien et loup*, exhibition catalogue, Louvière, Centre de la Gravure et de l'Image Imprimée, 5 October 2019–23 February 2020, Louvière, Centre de la Gravure et de l'Image Imprimée, 2019, 128 pp., 103 ills., €20.

This well-illustrated, smallish hardcover provides a useful introduction to the art of Kiki Smith (b. 1954). Five brief texts by de Braekeleer consider different aspects of the oeuvre, such as its relation to the human, especially female body, 'Le corps habité'; death, 'Entre la vie et la mort', as seen for instance in the *Mortal* series of wood-engravings, of 2007; and myth and enigma, 'Le monde enchanté'. The gallerist Frémon tells of the artist's exhibition in Paris in 2002 and notes parallels to the work of Nancy Spero (1926–2009). Blondel contributes two-page overviews of the artist's diverse technical experimentation and of her collaboration with printers and publishers. Blondel traces Smith's collaborative beginnings to work with the artist collective Colab in New York in the 1970s, also remarking on her work at ULAE, where Smith made her first editioned print, *Untitled (Hair)*, in 1990 (see this issue, p. 222), Pace Editions, and repeatedly at Harlan & Weaver, with whom she has created 115 print editions since 1997. A checklist of the 49 prints, portfolios and artist's books and 16 other drawings, paintings and sculptures exhibited is included.

*Nathalie Grall: l'air de rien*, edited by Laurence Paton, contributions by Virginie Caudron, Nathalie Grall and Olivier Koettlitz, exhibition catalogue, Gravelines, Musée du Dessin et de l'Estampe originale de Gravelines, 21 September 2019–1 March 2020, Gravelines, éditions musée de Gravelines and Aire-sur-la-Lys, ateliergaleriéditions, 2019, 80 pp., 159 ills., €19.

The catalogue of an exhibition of prints from the last 25 years by this artist (b. 1961) from Lille, cries out for a deeper exploration of her work, deservedly well-known in France, but surprisingly little seen beyond. She admires Callot and Goya, and pays visual tribute to Francis Bacon. The beaches and coast of Finistère and its inland ponds, lakes and river edges, in which insects and small

birds compete for attention, provides her subject matter. Grall is a mistress of the burin, sometimes supplemented by drypoint, diamond point, rockers and roulettes. She often works in series. The calligraphic use of her tools can be compared with the art of Georges Mathieu, Zao Wou Ki and Cy Twombly. Most of all Chinese scroll paintings have offered her images to surpass. Grall's approach, more surrealistic than naturalistic, also seems to display admiration of Max Ernst's *Histoire Naturelle*, as well as of the landscapes of Zoran Musić.

100/125: *Hundert Jahre Schweizerische Graphische Gesellschaft*, edited by Christian Rümelin, contributions by Carole Haensler Huguet, Stéphanie Guex, Katharina Holderegger, Karine Tissot, Marco Costantini, Roland Wäspé and Julie Enckell Julliard, published on the occasion of exhibitions, Zürich, Graphische Sammlung ETH Zürich, 7 February–8 April 2018; Le Locle, Musée des Beaux-Arts Le Locle, 16 June–14 October 2018; Grenchen, Kunsthaus Grenchen, 19 August–28 October 2018; Bellinzona, Museo Civico Villa dei Cedri, 22 September 2018–3 February 2019; Geneva, Cabinet d'Arts Graphiques, Musées d'Art et d'Histoire, 19 October 2018–3 February 2019, Zürich, Scheidegger & Spiess, 2018, 320 pp., 394 ills., CHF 65.

This celebrates the centenary of the Schweizerische Graphische Gesellschaft (SGG), founded in 1917 with the purpose of commissioning prints from Swiss artists, and distributing them annually to its members, both private and institutional. Among the latter is the Musées d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, whose impressions provide most of the illustrations to the 255 catalogue entries. Single entries include series such as the five large lithographs of anthropomorphic abstractions by Martin Disler (1949–96), *Ohne Titel*, of 1990, each in an edition of 25.

The SGG has not wavered in having no more than 125 subscribers and corresponding edition numbers. Artists were selected by technique – etching, woodcut or lithography – with the understanding they work plate, block or stone themselves. Subjects reflected Swiss concerns as seen in the first commission, *Paysanne s'habillant* of 1917, an etching by Edouard Vallet (1876–1929). Politics was avoided although the white-on-black etching on stone, *Fische im Netz IV* of 1944 by Hans Fischer (1909–58), suggests a country hemmed in by war. A resistance to modernism demonstrated by a subscriber's return of the etched *Rechnender Greis* of 1928–29 by Paul Klee (1879–1940) eventually ceded to pure abstraction in the two untitled screenprints by Max Bill (1908–94) of 1972. The SGG's present commissions encompass the widest possible range of artistic approaches and print techniques, and currently consists of three prints per year – two from Swiss artists and one from an international artist – although the prints are almost invariably made in Swiss ateliers.

# Catalogue and Book Reviews

## Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

Andrew Morrall

*Niklaus Manuel. Catalogue Raisonné*, edited by Michael Egli and Hans Christoph von Tavel, with contribution by Petra Barton Sigrist, Zurich, Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft and Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Basel, Schwabe Verlag, 2017, 2 vols., 248 & 440 pp., 244 & 404 ills., CHF 480.

Guido Messling, *The New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700: Niklaus Manuel Deutsch and Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch, Part I and Part II*, edited by Hans-Martin Kaulbach, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, Sound & Vision Publishers, 2016, Part I, 225 pp., 161 ills., Part II, 325 pp., 647 ills., €465.

Niklaus Manuel Deutsch's (1484–1530) reputation as one of the leading figures of Swiss art in the sixteenth century has rarely been in doubt. A panel and mural painter, designer in glass, printmaker and, like his contemporary in Basel, Urs Graf (1485–1529), an early exponent of the independent finished drawing, Niklaus Manuel was also poet, dramatist, religious polemicist, occasional mercenary soldier, and public official, who played an important part in instituting the Protestant Reformation in his home town. His documented career as an artist spanned a mere decade, from c. 1510 to c. 1520, after which he seems to have given himself over almost entirely to public office.

Paradoxically, the artist's very versatility as well as his truncated artistic career have contributed to a somewhat disjointed position in the history of early modern European art, aided by the fact that very few of his works exist outside Switzerland. A century and a half after his death, the sole works of his that Joachim von Sandrart was able to list in his 1675 edition of the *Teutsche Academie* were the (lost) fresco of the Dance of Death and the 1518 *Wise and Foolish Virgins* woodcut series – a medium in which, ironically, he only rarely practiced (fig. 144). Today, he is probably known best for his boldly original drawings, especially of soldiers and of women, both naked and dressed in eccentric finery, and his powerful allegories such as *Fortuna* and *Death and the Maiden* (fig. 145). With the publication of

the systematic scholarly catalogue of his *Gesamtwerk* edited by Michael Egli and Hans Christoph von Tavel, together with a new Hollstein edition by Guido Messling



144. Niklaus Manuel, *A Wise Virgin*, from a set of ten, 1518, woodcut, 185 x 106 mm (Middletown, CT, Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University).





145. Niklaus Manuel, *Frau Venus*, c. 1512, black pen and ink with white heightening on brown-orange prepared paper, 314 x 217 mm (Basel, Kunstmuseum).

of the artist's printed oeuvre and that of his son, Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch (1527–71), the disparate aspects of Niklaus Manuel's artistic achievements are brought into registration with each other and can be satisfyingly reassessed.

The *Catalogue Raisonné* is prefaced by a series of introductory essays: Egli offers a contextual overview of Niklaus Manuel's life and work within Bern; von Tavel traces the fascinating historiography and exhibition history of the artist; and Petra Barton Sigrist provides a useful biographical sketch. A technical examination by Markus Küffner of the panels of the so-called Dominican Retable gives useful insight into the artist's working processes. The catalogue that follows is organized by medium: panel, cloth and mural paintings, drawings and printed works. In a painstaking reassessment of all the works that have been associated with the artist, the authors allocate 140 firm attributions to Niklaus Manuel himself, from among the 300 or so entries included. The remainder are exhaustively discussed in a section on erroneous and disputed attributions.

Egli's essay gives a careful account of Niklaus Manuel's role in the civic politics of Bern of the 1520s and his abandonment of painting amid the intense critique of religious images and of the traditional Church, which he himself vociferously espoused. Other themes considered include the unresolved issue of the artist's name – in particular how to decode the last initial of his monogram, the 'D' of 'NMD' – as well as the suggestive positioning of the monogram's dagger in a number of his works that seemingly implicate the artist in his characters' dramas. The catalogue provides a useful pictorial record of all Manuel's monograms in chronological order.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that in their respective titles, the *Catalogue Raisonné* favours the local appellation 'Niklaus Manuel' that recurs almost exclusively in contemporary local documents, while Hollstein keeps the traditional 'Niklaus Manuel Deutsch'. The latter's author, Messling, argues reasonably that the name persisted through two factors. The first is the 'D' of his monogram, and it is worth noting that Basilius Amerbach, who collected a large number of the artist's drawings, listed a *Tuechlein* (small painting usually on linen) by 'Niklaus Manuel Deutsch' in a 1586 inventory of his collection in Basel. Second is the fact that his son, Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch, retained the 'D' in his own monogram.

The body of the *Catalogue Raisonné*, generously illustrated in colour and with ample comparative images, provides a meticulous overview of Niklaus Manuel's art over two hefty volumes. It should be here said that the high production values were made possible

by subventions from the city of Bern and supported by both the city Bürgerbibliothek and the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft. The first signed and dated paintings are two panels that in all likelihood once constituted the exterior wings of an altar retable dedicated to Saint Anne, completed in 1515 for the Dominican Church in Bern, that depict Saint Luke and Saint Egidius respectively.<sup>2</sup> These images of the patron saints of painters and goldsmiths, whose features are likely those of Manuel himself and Bernhard Tilmann, the prominent Bern goldsmith, allude to the professional body of artists and craftsmen responsible for the altarpiece's commission. Only a few years later, in 1528, in an ironic turn of history, Manuel and Tilmann were to oversee the confiscation and melting down of liturgical instruments from the Bern churches and monasteries. The catalogue usefully reconstructs from surviving fragments a number of other altarpieces that fell victim to the iconoclasm of the times.<sup>3</sup>

Between the initial works and later religious paintings such as the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*, *Crucifixion* and *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (nos. 11, 12 and 14.03), one can observe the emergence of a 'modern' sensibility from within traditional altarpiece formats and gold backgrounds. This is evident in factors such as the keen naturalism of details, the preoccupation with the depiction of space, and a vivid physical and psychological expressiveness of figure style, akin to the work of Matthias Grünewald (c. 1470–1528).

The catalogue also gives extensive space to the last great works of his painted oeuvre, now known only through seventeenth-century copies, and illustrated here in full. These include his wall painting of *Solomon's Idolatry* on a house in Münsterplatz in Bern dating from 1518 and his *Dance of Death* on the churchyard wall of the Dominican convent, which was completed between 1519–20 and measured over more than 100 metres in length. These monumental works were public expressions of the anti-clerical sentiment of Bern society, and, indeed, the artist's own, as evidenced by the procession of the estates carried off by Death that Manuel included in his own stage drama, *Totentanz*, preserved in copies.<sup>4</sup>

One of the catalogue's great benefits is that it allows one to measure the artist's paintings against his graphic oeuvre, which is here compiled in a second volume. Manuel's earliest drawings consist of designs for window paintings or drawings of similar character that suggest an early training in a glass workshop. Explicitly sanctioned by the leading Swiss reformers, Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger, glass painting flourished in secular

1. Egli and von Tavel, op. cit., pp. 586–87.

2. Ibid., nos. 3.01, 3.03.

3. Ibid., nos. 2–3, 6–7, 14.

4. Ibid., I, pp. 186–246, nos. 19.1–24.





146. Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch, Illustration of mining workings, from G. Agricola, *De re metallica libri XII* (Basel, 1556), woodcut, 222 x 143 mm (London, Wellcome Collection).

contexts during the Reformation period. The subjects of two of Manuel's late designs for stained glass panels, *Christ and the Adulterous Woman* and *King Josiah Destroying the Idols*, reflect themes popular with the reformed religion.<sup>5</sup>

In fact, Manuel's artistic individuality found its best expression in drawings and drawing-based media which were more open to innovation than the conservative idiom of religious panel painting. The catalogue makes clear his equal proficiency in the use of ink on prepared coloured grounds as with coloured chalks and charcoal. Like similar works by his contemporaries Hans Baldung Grien (c. 1484–1545) and Urs Graf, the informality and intimacy of many of Manuel's drawings suggest that they were intended as private, collector's items. A new kind of subjectivity reigns free in drawings of soldiers, witches, classical and biblical subjects and especially of women, nude and clothed, ranging from the lyrically naturalistic to the erotically charged and savagely allegorical.

Besides some small silverpoint studies on wood (nos. 55.01–12), only a few of his remaining drawings appear to have been made for the workshop or as preparatory designs for other media. These include a number of small drawings of the Estates that were the basis for woodcut illustrations even though not used until 1544, and a number of charcoal drawings of the Foolish Virgins dating to around 1513.<sup>6</sup> This latter series has the character of preliminary studies for an – apparently unrealized – woodcut series of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and not, as has been suggested, for the later 1518 woodcut series. Even so, the verso of one of these drawings (no. 42.04) shows a sketch of a Foolish Virgin, which is convincingly discussed as an initial idea for woodcut No. 8 of the later series (no. 81.08). Of all the artist's drawings, it is the only one that can be shown to have been a design for one of his prints.

In general, the attributions of Manuel's woodcuts in the *Catalogue Raisonné* accord with the woodcut oeuvre attributed to Manuel by Messling in his authoritative two volume Hollstein catalogue, with disagreements sometimes by shades of a degree. Among woodcuts made as book or pamphlet illustrations, for instance, Messling gives a 'tentative' attribution to a Fortuna figure surrounded by Hebrew verses from the Song of Songs, while Egli and colleagues in the *Catalogue Raisonné* attribute it to an anonymous master.<sup>7</sup> Both publications give similarly cautious attributions to 23 alphabet woodblocks of biblical and other subjects that appeared in a 1525 Zurich Bible and then two later Bibles published by Christoph Froschauer in 1540 and 1543. The paucity of prints in Niklaus Manuel's oeuvre

is presumed to be due to the fact that there was no book-printing workshop in Bern during the artist's lifetime. In turn, this makes the exceptional quality and production values of the Wise and Foolish Virgin woodcuts all the more of an enigma.

By contrast, and as Messling's Hollstein catalogue makes clear, Niklaus Manuel's son, Hans Rudolf Manuel, also called Deutsch (1525–71), was an industrious designer of single sheet woodcuts and book illustrations, working mainly for book publishers in Basel and Zurich, the latter city in which he lived from at least 1543 until 1560. Among his earliest works is a pair of single-sheet woodcuts of 1547 of a Swiss mercenary and an old German Landsknecht that adhere closely to two chalk drawings of 1529 by his father.<sup>8</sup> The catalogue's record of the numerous versions of text poems that were added to the prints, as well as changes in the prints' condition and printing ink, testifies to their enduring popularity.

Beyond a number of signed prints, however, the outlines of Hans Rudolf's output remains vague largely due to the uneven quality of the woodcutting of many of the prints. Numerous attributions are accordingly listed as 'tentative', a due caution that reflects the current incomplete state of knowledge about the artist. Messling's catalogue nonetheless demonstrates that Hans Rudolf was a major illustrator within the Basel and Zurich book trade, whose skills were used for large-scale publications. He executed the frontispiece and a series of signed townscapes for the prestigious 1555 edition of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, and possibly other illustrations as well, with his identity obscured by poor woodcarving. His largest and grandest commission was the illustrations for Georgius Agricola's monumental treatise on mining, published by Hieronymus Froben, initially in a Latin edition, *De re metallica libri XII*, in 1556, and then in German, *Vom Bergkwerck, XI Buecher*, the following year. The 262 woodcut illustrations, some full-page, were evidently designed by Hans Rudolf Manuel, even though only a few of them bear his monogram (fig. 146). Such works show an artist of considerable inventive powers and graphic imagination.

A complete monograph study of Hans Rudolf Manuel covering his full artistic activities in media other than woodcut remains to be written. What the two publications under review present, with exemplary scholarship, is the most complete and substantive picture of Niklaus Manuel and his son, and they will undoubtedly form the essential basis of all future study of both artists.

5. Ibid., nos. 78–79.

6. Ibid., nos. D601–69 and 42.01–05.

7. Hollstein, no. 11 and Egli and von Tavel, op. cit., no. D5.

8. Hollstein nos. 7 and 8; not 3 and 4 as stated in the Introduction.



# Bosch's Legacy in Print

Daan van Heesch

Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff, *Beyond Bosch: The Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print*, with an essay by Matthijs IJssink and a contribution by Peter Fuhring, exhibition catalogue, Saint Louis, MO, Saint Louis Art Museum, 17 April–19 July 2015; Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museums, 23 January–8 May 2016, Saint Louis Art Museum, 2015, 232 pp., 141 ills., \$45.

*Hieronymus Boschs Erbe*, edited by Tobias Pfeifer-Helke, exhibition catalogue, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 19 March–15 June 2015; Luxembourg, Villa Vauban – Musée d'Art de la Ville de Luxembourg, 25 February–28 May 2017, Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2015, 200 pp., 134 ills., €29.

The quincentenary of the death of Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450–1516) in 2016 spawned a plethora of

exhibitions in recent years, some of which emphasized the painter's legacy in print.<sup>1</sup> This choice of focus is not without reason: Bosch's rapid rise to international prominence was fuelled by and emerged alongside the new print medium – a medium, paradoxically, in which the painter probably never worked himself. Alart du Hameel (1449?–c. 1506), a master builder from 's-Hertogenbosch, was the first to make Bosch's visual language more widely available through intaglio printmaking. He issued three prints in the manner of his fellow townsman and marked them with both his own name and a reference to his hometown: 'bosche' (fig. 147). Later beholders of Hameel's prints understandably mistook the city mark as a reference to the famed painter himself, although the designs, however 'Boschian' in appearance, were probably creative evocations rather than straightforward reproductions of Bosch's art.

1. Compare M. A. Bass, 'Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Bruegel

the Elder', *Print Quarterly*, xxxv, 2018, pp. 349–52.



147. Alart du Hameel, *The Besieged Elephant*, c. 1480–1506, engraving, 203 x 336 mm (London, British Museum).





148. Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum after Alart du Hameel, *The Besieged Elephant*, c. 1563, published by Hieronymus Cock, engraving, 402 x 538 mm (Brussels, KBR – Royal Library of Belgium).

Around the middle of the sixteenth century, new print technologies and the professionalization of the publishing business allowed the Bosch brand to spread with unprecedented speed and scale. By the seventeenth century, in fact, Boschian prints were found as far afield as Latin America.<sup>2</sup> This was largely due to Hieronymus Cock's *Aux Quatre Vents* press, the leading print-publishing house of Antwerp, which issued a dozen engravings from the late 1550s onwards on which Bosch is often dubiously credited as 'inventor'. As with Hameel, scholars traditionally identified Cock's prints as reproductions after lost originals by Bosch, but it is now generally agreed that these images are, by and large, remakes and imitations (among them new-fashioned

renditions of Hameel's prints, fig. 148). Nevertheless, Cock's enterprise marked a true watershed in Bosch's expanding reception, and the majority of early modern viewers did, of course, take the label 'Hieronymus Bosch inventor' at face value.

The number of studies examining the nature and origin of Cock's Bosch prints has increased substantially in the last decade. New emphasis has also been placed on the impact of his Antwerp press on art entrepreneurship, local artistic discourse and print culture at large.<sup>3</sup> The exhibition catalogue *Beyond Bosch: The Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print* by Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff successfully weaves together these diverse threads of research into a coherent whole.

2. D. van Heesch, 'Imagining Hieronymus Bosch in Colonial Peru: Foreign Sources, Indigenous Responses', *Simiolus*, xxxix, 2017, pp. 351–69.

3. See especially the seminal catalogue *Hieronymus Cock. The Renaissance in Print*, edited by J. Van Grieken, G. Luijten and J. Van der Stock, Brussels, 2013.





149. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, 1557, engraving, 229 x 298 mm (Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen).

The book comprises three chapters and a catalogue made up almost exclusively of Bosch-inspired prints from a private collection with the addition of two strategic loans from the British Museum: Hameel's *Besieged Elephant* and *Last Judgement*.

In the first essay, focusing on Renaissance notions of invention, Bass argues that the act of designating Bosch the 'inventor' of designs produced by others must have been more than a mere marketing ploy. After all, Cock's contemporaries lived in a period that saw a renewed interest in the very concept of invention, and Bosch's earliest admirers conspicuously celebrated the master for his singular *ingenium* – his inexhaustible power to invent and create images in a completely new way. Wyckoff's chapter offers few new insights, but deftly synthesizes the history of the Antwerp print market and Cock's place in it for the non-specialist reader. The author also uses the Boschian print phenomenon to address more general issues such as the collaborative

nature of printmaking and the rise of encyclopedic print collections in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Matthijs Ilsink's essay reconsiders the creation of *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525/30–69) and revisits the main arguments made in the author's published dissertation.<sup>4</sup> It is well known that Bruegel signed the 1556 drawing for the print with his own name, but when Cock pulled the original design into an engraving, the invention was credited to Bosch instead (*'Hieronymus · Bos · inuenter'*, fig. 149). Earlier scholarship saw the remarkable omission of Bruegel's name as a mere commercial strategy, or worse, a falsification, but Ilsink convincingly argues that the attribution to Bosch was instead part of a broader interest in artistic tradition and competitive *aemulatio*. *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* was a response to market demand, but it was also intended to trigger playful conversations on art and imitation. Hopefully, a full English translation of Ilsink's thoughtful dissertation

4. M. Ilsink, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch: Kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel*

(c. 1528–1569) en *Jheronimus Bosch* (c. 1450–1516), Nijmegen, 2009.

will become available in the not too distant future. The chapters are followed by 33 thorough catalogue entries, one of which is written by Peter Fuhring, who describes a rare, expanded edition of Joannes Galle's *Speculum diversarum imaginum speculativarum*, of 1638, at the Saint Louis Art Museum. This album with letterpress table of contents contains an extra group of 26 engravings, several of which take up Bosch-inspired subjects.

*Hieronymus Boschs Erbe*, edited by Tobias Pfeifer-Helke, accompanied a similar exhibition first installed in Dresden at the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. This richly illustrated book brings together a comparable corpus of prints, selected from the city's Kupferstich-Kabinett, with the addition of grotesque ornamental designs and a handful of works in other media from the Dresden collections. The introductory essay by Pfeifer-Helke is followed by three chapters on a wide range of topics. The volume's most accomplished chapter, by Bertram Kaschek, reconsiders Bruegel's earliest known efforts

in the Bosch aesthetic: *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, of 1556, *Patientia*, of 1557, and *The Seven Deadly Sins with the Last Judgement*, of 1558. The author's main argument is that these prints sought to engage not only in competitive emulation and art-historical discourse, but also in the profound spiritual significance and theology behind Bosch's art. The subsequent chapters seem rather forced in relation to the whole: Friedrich Vollhardt surveys the imagination of hell in early modern literature from Dante to Klopstock, after which Bernhard Maaz explores the twentieth-century reception of Bosch in German literature. The exhibited works are framed in seven essays, each written by a different scholar on a different theme, including: 'Vision, Dream, Fantasy', 'End Time', 'The Last Judgement', 'The Monstrous and the Development of the Grotesque' and 'Fools and Dwarfs'. Though rich in iconographical analysis, the catalogue could have benefited from a more focused design and more particular attention to the medium of print itself.

## Clair-obscur: Chiaroscuro Prints in Italy and the North

Michael Bury

*Gravure en clair-obscur: Cranach, Raphaël, Rubens*, edited by Séverine Lepape, contributions by Dominique Cordellier, Victoria Fernandez Masaguer, Peter Fuhring, Catherine Jenkins, Kilian Laclavetine, Marjolein Leesberg, Ger Luijten, Rémi Mathis, Elizabeth Savage, Vanessa Selbach, Roberta Serra, Naoko Takahatake, Caroline Vrand and Edward Wouk, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 18 October 2018–14 January 2019, Paris, Musée du Louvre Éditions in association with LIENART, 2018, 224 pp., 159 ills, €29.

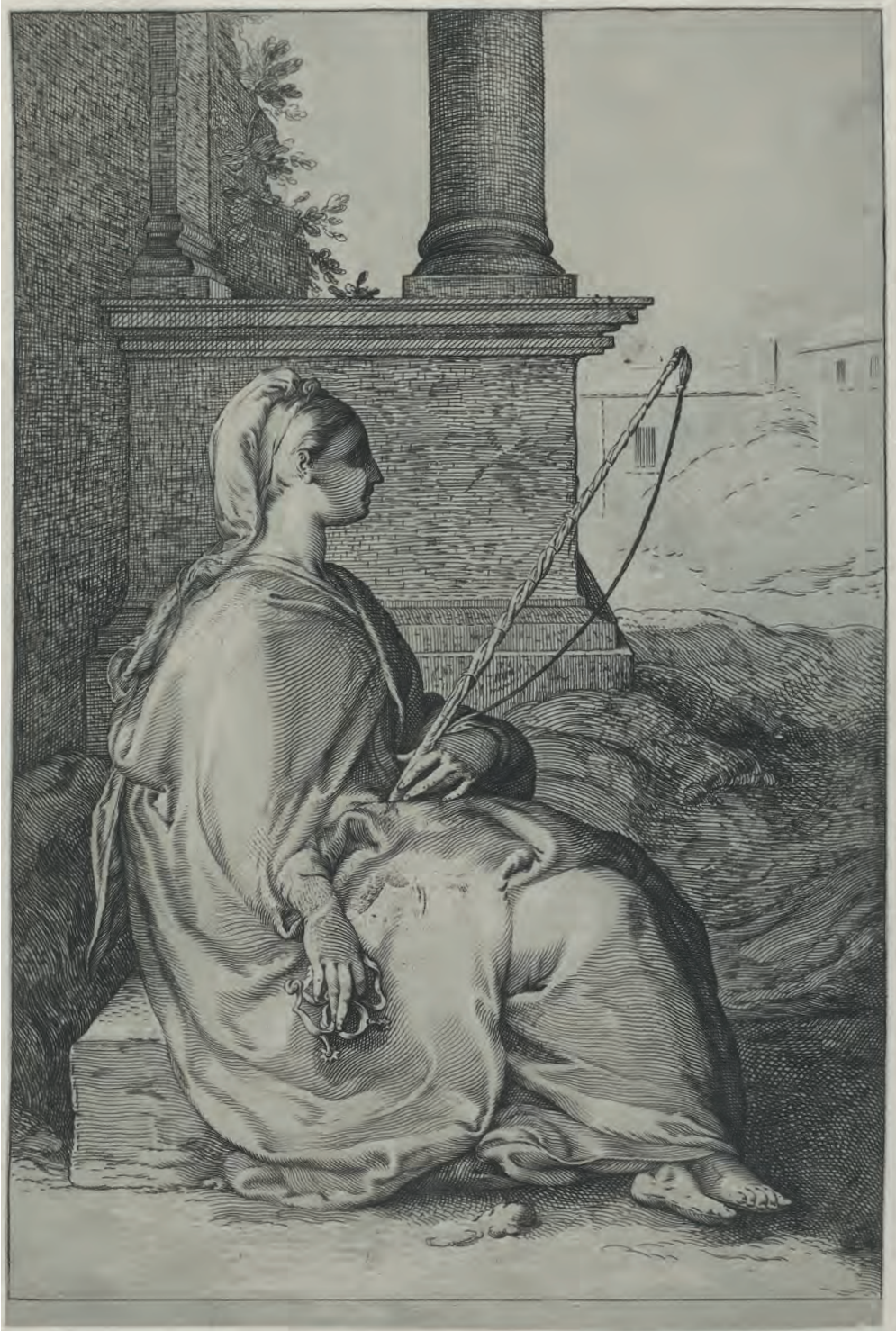
*Gravure en clair-obscur: Cranach, Raphaël, Rubens* is the catalogue of the very fine exhibition, held in Paris, of chiaroscuro prints drawn from the Collection Edmond de Rothschild of the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Fondation Custodia. A few additional items were borrowed from the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Rijksmuseum and from Besançon.

The European focus and the inclusion of many rare and unusual items, especially of the later sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries, make this catalogue a valuable addition to the literature. It allows us to appreciate the varied uses to which methods of 'printing light and dark', deploying two or more matrices, could be put.<sup>1</sup> Strikingly illustrated is the range of effects that could be achieved: from the linear precision of the work of Jan Saenredam (1565–1607) after Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), as in *Diligence* (fig. 150), to the looser pictorialism of Joos Gietleughen (fl. c. 1555) after Frans Floris (1517–70), as in *David Playing the Harp to Saul*, to the overlapping tones of Ugo da Carpi's (1480–1523) *Diogenes* after Francesco Parmigianino (1503–40). The choice of examples also reveals how creatively woodblocks might be combined with etched and engraved plates. One of the high points is the group of works – drawings and prints – by Domenico Beccafumi (1486–1551), bringing out the extraordinary imagination and technical skills

1. 'Instampare chiaro et scuro', the words of Ugo da Carpi's privilege application to the Venetian Senate in 1516, see

D. Rosand and M. Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut*, Washington DC, 1976, p. 36, note 14.





150. Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Diligence*, c. 1592–93, engraving printed from an engraved plate and a single relief woodblock to add a light green tone, 358 x 237 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).





151. Ugo da Carpi, after Titian, *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, c. 1516–17, woodcut, 156 x 95 mm (London, British Museum).

with which he approached the chiaroscuro.

Lepape explicitly favours what she calls a ‘material’ approach. This is in line with the method adopted by Naoko Takahatake in the introductory essay for her exhibition catalogue *The Chiaroscuro Woodcut in Renaissance Italy* of 2018.<sup>2</sup> Takahatake made very convincing new attributions by concentrating on the precise materials and procedures used. Identifying the practices within specific workshops, she was able firmly to locate the production of individual prints, avoiding the subjective judgements inherent in stylistic and formal methods of attribution.

Lepape believes that using style to make attributions implies a conception of chiaroscuro prints as vehicles for painters and designers, and that those who have adopted this method have often failed to take into account the particular qualities and skills that were crucial to their making. By adopting the ‘material’ approach, she aims to reveal: ‘un médium artistique en tant que tel, avec ses spécificités (an artistic medium in itself, with its own specific characteristics)’. It must be said that the introduction of the famous names of Cranach, Raphael and Rubens into the title of the exhibition slightly runs counter to her intentions.

A key characteristic of the chiaroscuro medium, according to Lepape, is its capacity to bring to mind other media, including painting, sculpture, medals, cameos and certain kinds of drawing. She is anxious to deny that she believes that the purpose of the printmakers was to produce imitations, but she does claim that spectators would have been expected to recognize, in particular

2. Reviewed by D. Landau in *Print Quarterly*, xxxvi, June 2019, pp. 211–18.



152. Joos Gietleughen, after Frans Floris, *The Bull and Bear Hunts*, 1555, woodcut, 431 x 2,625 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque



effects of light and shade, relationships with other media with which they were familiar. Traditionally, close connections have been seen to exist with certain sorts of drawings; by suggesting a wider range of connections she opens up the possibility of new readings. Here Lepape acknowledges the stimulus of the ideas of Magdalena Bushart, who pointed out the ways in which Vasari seems to have characterized the chiaroscuro print 'as an art form of the *as if*' ('als einer Kunst des als ob').<sup>3</sup> But Vasari, in pointing out similarities with other media, rather than characterizing chiaroscuro prints, was more probably seeking analogies to convey verbally their appearance to his readers. If the makers of chiaroscuro prints wanted their audiences mentally to link them to other media, it was, Lepape argues, to attract the attention of contemporary connoisseurs and intellectuals by referencing the kinds of works of art that were then fashionable.

It might be argued, however, that this attempt to define the essential characteristics of the medium imposes unnecessary limits on our understanding of these prints. As the selection of exhibits demonstrated, the medium could be used for all kinds of purposes, even for portraits, as seen in Christoffel Jegher's *Portrait of a Man* after Rubens, of 1632–36 (no. 72), and for city maps, such as Balthazar Arnoullet's *View of Poitiers*, of 1553–56 (no. 39). The new medium was not fixed from the start: printmakers and designers worked together, shaping and developing its potentialities. For example, the collaboration between Ugo and Titian on the *St Jerome* resulted in a tiny masterpiece of devotional im-

agery in which the technique ensures total attention to the agonized confrontation between the saint and the crucifix (fig. 151). Or, to take another example, Gietleughen's spectacular hunting scenes after Floris show how a desire to express a furious energy in conflicts between men and animals involved pushing the medium towards an astonishing display of dynamic theatricality (fig. 152). Qualities of drawing were called upon by Titian and Ugo, while painting lies behind the achievement of Gietleughen and Floris. Although definitions of essential qualities may not be so helpful, Lepape's ideas do draw attention to the way that designers and printmakers made use of visual effects drawn from different media in order to create, in print, an extraordinary variety of expressive effects.

One very interesting component of the catalogue is the exploration of chiaroscuro as a particular form of the colour print. There are informative essays by Peter Fuhling on the collecting of colour prints in France from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, and by Vanessa Selbach on the taste for colour prints in France in the first third of the seventeenth century. Finally, there is a report by Kilian Laclavetine and Lepape on the findings of a research project to analyse the inks used in north European colour prints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The project's purpose is to discover whether the use of particular inks can be linked to individual printmakers and/or to specific geographical areas. The provisional results are compared with what is known of Italian inks used in the same period.

3. M. Bushart, 'Mediale Fiktionen. Die Chiaroscuro-Holzschnitte von Hans Burgkmair und Jost de Negker', in *Technische*

*Innovationen und künstlerisches Wissen in der frühen Neuzeit*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2015, pp. 169–87.



# Art and War in Modern Japan

Christine Giviskos

*Conflicts of Interest: Art and War in Modern Japan*, edited by Philip K. Hu, contributions by Andreas Marks, Sonja Hotwagner, Sebastian Dobson, Rhiannon Paget and Maki Kaneko, exhibition catalogue, Saint Louis, Saint Louis Art Museum, 16 October 2016–8 January 2017, Saint Louis, Saint Louis Art Museum, Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 2016, 328 pp., 258 ills., \$49.95.

'The Shimizu-ya, a printshop at the corner of Ningyō-chō, had laid in a large stock of triptychs depicting the war ... mostly by Mizuno Toshikata, Ogata Gekkō, and Kobayashi Kiyochika. There was not one I didn't want.' Quoted separately by two authors of the volume under review, this 1955 reminiscence by Japanese novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, who was eight years old at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), provides a contemporary impression of the popularity of war prints (*sensō-e*) celebrating the heroic acts and victorious battles of Japan's newly modernized military during its transformative Meiji era (1868–1912). *Conflicts of Interest. Art and War in Modern Japan*, the catalogue produced to accompany the exhibition of the same title at the Saint Louis Art Museum, presents a lively and accessible historical survey of Japanese war prints during and after the Meiji era through six informative essays and 146 illustrated catalogue entries. Selected from the more than 1,400 objects presented to the museum by Charles and Rosalyn Lowenhaupt since 2004, the exhibition and catalogue focus primarily on colour woodcut war prints by more than 50 artists but also includes lithographs, printed postcards and game boards as well as scrolls, screens, and kimonos to 'demonstrate that the Japanese propaganda machine extended to all manner of cultural consumption' (p. 13). Providing essential, often detailed, historical context as well as technical information regarding the making and disseminating of different types of printed war imagery, the essays also illustrate numerous works from the Lowenhaupt gift not presented in the exhibition, including illustrated magazines, photographs and European prints related to the Japanese wars. With entries that concisely describe the people, places and actions depicted in the prints and other objects, *Conflicts of Interest* will surely become a key resource in English for students and scholars seeking richer understanding of *sensō-e* both as art objects and historical artifacts (fig. 153).

The introductory essay by Philip Hu provides a short overview of the Lowenhaupts' interest in collecting visual

material related to Japan's military actions at the turn of the twentieth century before summarily addressing historical factors that deemed Meiji-era colour woodcut prints to be inferior to those of the Edo period. An informative survey of private collections (past and present) and public institutions with significant numbers of Meiji war prints assembled in Japan, Europe and the United States follows, concluding with a short list of North American exhibitions mounted between 1980 and 2015 that focused on Meiji-era war prints. He also notes three significant exhibitions organized by Japanese museums since 2005, when the centennial of the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) invited serious reconsideration of its art and military history.

In 'Meiji-Period War Prints and their Publishers', Andreas Marks provides an engaging, detailed analysis of the production of war prints, centered in Tokyo, beginning with the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, focusing his discussion primarily on prints related to the Sino-Japanese War. Drawing on his own extensive scholarship on the publishing of Japanese woodblock prints, Marks notes the significant though temporary boost to a print publishing industry in decline almost immediately after Japan sent its troops to Korea in the summer of 1894, bolstering his discussion with illuminating statistics regarding the numbers of publishers and designs. Marks refers almost exclusively to works from the Lowenhaupt gift to demonstrate the regular practices of publishing prints in more than one version as well as the reprinting of works first issued by other publishers, with some examples illustrated within the essay and most others referring to items in another section of the book.

Sonja Hofwagner's short, unillustrated essay discusses three satirical print series titled *Long Live Japan! One Hundred Selections*, *One Hundred Laughs* by Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847–1915) – the most prolific designer of Sino-Japanese War prints, as noted by Marks. It includes some broad generalizations about Japanese caricature in an effort to historically and culturally contextualize the works that makes for some awkward transitions into her richer exploration of the prints. Sections on each of the three series include information regarding their creation and publication as well as explanations of specific iconography before more fully considering one print from each series and referring readers to catalogue entries, as in her mention of popular target Li Hongzhang (1823–1901), shown in fig. 154, who was the Chinese official in charge of directing the Chinese forces during the Sino-Japanese





153. Mizuno Toshikata, *Gun Being Fired on a Warship of the Imperial Navy in the Vicinity of Haiyang Island*, 1894, three woodblock prints, 733 x 373 mm (Saint Louis Art Museum).

War. Hofwagner contributed to entries on the twelve Kiyochika caricatures included in the exhibition, which include full translations of the texts that were essential to both the visual and verbal meaning of the compositions.<sup>1</sup>

Sebastian Dobson surveys the rapidly expanding field of Japanese war prints with his excellent essay considering the impact of lithography and photomechanically printed works on the mass circulation of war imagery. Including a clear and concise technical introduction describing the processes of lithography, collo-

type and halftone printing (pp. 42–43), Dobson first relates the early history of lithography in Japan with the establishment of presses by missionaries and trading settlements in the 1850s. An overview of the growth of commercial lithography in Tokyo during the 1870s and photomechanical reproduction during the 1880s follows. This highlights the efforts of the Gengendo, Toyodo and Shin'yodo printing companies to promote lithography and the entrepreneur Ogawa Kazumasa, whose first encounter with a photographically illustrat-

1. Note 9 of Hofwagner's essay refers to the valuable Department of Asian Studies, University of Vienna's *Ukiyo-e Caricatures*

1842–1905 website and database, [http://ukiyo.e.univie.ac.at/en/db\\_use.htm](http://ukiyo.e.univie.ac.at/en/db_use.htm)



154. Kobayashi Kiyochika, *A Big Headache for Li Hongzhang*, 1894, from the series *Long Live Japan! One Hundred Selections, One Hundred Laughs*, woodblock print, 375 x 252 mm (Saint Louis Art Museum).





155. Fujikawa Zosai after Hasegawa Sadanobu III, *The Three Brave Bombers*, 1932, three woodblock prints, 384 x 735 mm (Saint Louis Art Museum).

ed book as a student inspired his pursuit of photographic and photomechanical printing.

Dobson's discussion of the circulation of war subjects via illustrated magazines and postcards, as well as his informative account of the Japanese military's embrace of photography sets the stage for Rhiannon Paget's overview of 'Imagery of Japan's Modern Wars in the Western Media'. Interweaving her exposition of the historical factors leading Japan to war against China and Russia with examples of illustrations disseminated by publications such as the *London Illustrated News* and *Le Petit Journal*, Paget examines the depictions of battles and life at the front mostly in relation to the written accounts they accompanied. Her discussion points out the sensationalism and cultural preconceptions that were brought to bear on both the verbal and visual reporting of Japanese military actions, but there is no integrated discussion of these printed images in relation to the colour woodcut prints depicting the same incidents or to contemporary imagery of military actions in Europe.

The final essay, 'War Heroes of Modern Japan: Early 1930s War Fever and the Three Brave Bombers' by Maki Kaneko, serves as a coda to the discussions focused primarily on the wars with China and Russia, illuminating Japanese visual culture related to the militarism of the 1930s. Like Paget's essay, it provides detailed historical information and context through printed and other media, in this case for the elevation

of three Japanese soldiers into military and cultural heroes, 'just one example of the numerous war heroes and themes that colored Japanese arts and commodities of the period' (p. 70). Following their deaths in February 1932, during an attempt to destroy a barbed wire fence during a battle in Shanghai, the Three Brave Bombers became headline news for months, inspiring songs, books and fundraisers for their families (fig. 155). Primarily an investigation of the cultural factors that created a specific type of self-sacrificing Japanese hero, the essay is illustrated with a variety of images (none from the Lowenhaupt gifts) imagining the Brave Bombers final advance.

This beautifully produced and informative volume manages a tricky balance between the sometimes competing aims of museum publications: promoting a particular collection while presenting scholarly work on a specialized topic to a general audience. *Conflicts of Interest* provides a wealth of accessible historical and publication information, particularly for the colour woodcuts from the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, as well as a robust bibliography in several languages. The essays, especially those by Marks and Dobson, demonstrate avenues for including Japanese examples in more global considerations of later nineteenth-century printmaking and publishing, and together with the descriptive catalogue entries recommend *Conflicts of Interest* as a welcome contribution to the literature on these remarkable works.

# Prints by Kiki Smith

Wendy Weitman

*Touch. Prints by Kiki Smith*, edited by Michael Hering and Birgitta Heid, contributions by Franziska Stöhr, Susanne Wagini, Anna-Sophia Reichelt, Nine Schleif, Maggie Wright and Katrin Holzherr, exhibition catalogue, Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, Pinakothek der Moderne, 14 February–26 May 2019, Cologne, Buchhandlung Walther König, 2019, 256 pp., 170 ills., €58.

Kiki Smith (b. 1954) has been creating captivating, challenging art for more than 35 years – from wax and plaster women in confrontational poses to colourful wall-size tapestries of figures and animals in nature. Exploring themes of birth, death and regeneration, each of her works pulsates between the provocative and the beautiful, the visceral and the decorative. Primarily known for her sculpture, Smith has simultaneously ventured into other media including drawing, photography, artist's books and room-size installations. It is fair to say, however, that her true passion is printmaking. Smith has often said that she could be content if she worked exclusively as a printmaker. A prolific artist, long-standing teacher and devoted connoisseur of the medium, she is an ardent and generous champion of printed art. Rarely missing New York's autumn print fair, usually with her students in tow, she willingly expounds on the joys and challenges she experiences with the medium.

In 1990 Smith was invited to the renowned print workshop Universal Limited Art Editions on Long Island, New York. Her first collaboration with them, *Untitled (Hair)*, reveals how inventive a printmaker she would become, breaking conventions and bringing a sculptor's physicality to the flat medium (fig. 156).<sup>1</sup> She had begun printmaking before that, however, often making screenprints on her kitchen table. Smith has never had a proper studio; one carefully navigates her house, often stepping over works on the floor or gingerly avoiding them on the furniture. Collaborations at sculpture foundries and print workshops became her ideal working environments. In the late 1990s she discovered etching and worked extensively with a new

workshop run by master etchers Felix Harlan and Carol Weaver in New York. Etching has since remained her preferred medium. She revels in the vast range of tones and textures she is able to achieve and that in the digital age she can still carve into copper as Rembrandt did nearly 400 years ago (fig. 157).

Smith has completed more than 250 prints in various techniques ranging from etching, screenprint and lithography, to rubber stamp, potato cut, linocut and a myriad of photographic processes. She also produces illustrated books, a medium that particularly reveals her inventive approach to paper, image and text. She has worked at many print shops including those in professional and university settings. In addition to etching, Smith's recent efforts have explored the medium of cyanotype.

Fortunately for scholars and collectors alike, the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München has produced an informative and beautifully illustrated compendium of over 200 of Smith's editioned prints. Accompanying an exhibition held this year, *Touch. Prints by Kiki Smith* includes a detailed illustrated checklist of the artist's extraordinary gift to the Munich institution, which extends to her future prints as well. The Staatliche Graphische Sammlung has thus become an essential research centre for the study of Smith's work. The catalogue includes eight essays, an illuminating interview with the artist and a comprehensive bibliography of Smith's printmaking.

To complement this publication and gift, the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung has begun work on an online catalogue raisonné of Smith's editioned prints.<sup>2</sup> Catalogues raisonnés in digital formats have a tremendous potential to reach a large and varied audience, with the obvious advantage of allowing new or newly identified works to be added. They can accommodate complex searches and photographic zoom features which can offer a deeper study of an artist's work. Currently the online catalogue raisonné covers only the works listed in the published volume, which documents the artist's gift.<sup>3</sup> Entries for missing works will, however, be added, along with Smith's new works.<sup>4</sup>

1. To create this lithograph Smith printed inked wigs, corn silks and photocopies of her own hair. Imprints of the side of her face are visible in the print's upper corners.
2. [www.sgsm.eu/sammlung/sgsm-online/kiki-smith-catalogue-raisonne/](http://www.sgsm.eu/sammlung/sgsm-online/kiki-smith-catalogue-raisonne/).
3. The catalogue's foreword by Director Michael Hering states that their exhibition presents 'her [Smith's] oeuvre of prints in

its entirety'. This does not appear to be accurate.

4. Unlike the digital catalogue raisonné, the checklist in the printed catalogue is numbered. This author presumes that numbers will be assigned once all missing works are entered. Unfortunately, the photographic zoom feature is limited. Perhaps as the project continues, higher resolution images will be uploaded.





156. Kiki Smith, *Untitled (Hair)*, 1990, lithograph, 914 x 914 mm (© Kiki Smith / Universal Limited Art Editions).

The hardcover volume provides detailed catalogue information on each work listed, but the digital version cites stamps as well as literature on individual works and reproduces every spread of the illustrated books. The entries cited as 'monoprints' are somewhat misleading. For the most part these works are rubber stamps, a medium that Smith uses often and that reveals her spontaneous and lively approach. The cataloguing does not include this information, listing instead the medium for *Hands*, for example, as 'monoprint; ink on Losin Prague paper'. Only in the excellent essay by conservator Katrin Holzherr is Smith's use of rubber stamps discussed.

The essays address the major themes in Smith's

work, including the body, fairy tales and the cycle of life. One of the most interesting is Nina Schleif's 'Filled with Stars / Artist's Books of Kiki Smith'. Smith's artist's books have not been independently studied and merit specific attention. They are vibrant with originality, ranging from a traditional portfolio format, to a tied and folded design, to a freestanding leporello. Schleif focuses on four very different books included in the Munich exhibition. Of interest to readers of this Journal is her discussion of Smith's *Color Noise* of 2012. As she often has, Smith used two distinctly different papers, one of which appears to be a pastel-coloured Asian paper that she has used in the past for a project



157. Kiki Smith, *Falcon*, 2001, etching and aquatint, 883 x 711 mm (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung © Kiki Smith, courtesy Pace Gallery).





158. Kiki Smith, *Healers*, 2018, etching, 622 x 759 mm (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung © Kiki Smith, courtesy Pace Gallery).

to benefit the AIDS Community Research Initiative. Schleif points to this connection and to a series of works of 1993, *Untitled (Blood Noise)*, that Smith has said recall her sister who died of AIDS. These references lend a sombre tone to this project.

In 'Feathers and Fur: Kiki Smith at Harlan & Weaver' Maggie Wright's personal viewpoint as Smith's printer offers a particularly insightful picture of the artist's printmaking techniques. Working closely with Smith in the Harlan & Weaver workshop, Wright allows the reader to peer over Smith's shoulder as she works and observe her creative process. Revealed, for instance, is Smith's desire to proof perfect impressions of all eighteen of the states for the portrait *Remains* of 2003, a series in which the image emerges through her additional layers of etching and aquatint.

Smith is generously forthcoming in curator Birgitte Heid and director Michael Hering's interview. When discussing her recent print of dandelions entitled

*Healers*, of 2018 (fig. 158), she describes her changing preoccupations since living primarily in rural upstate New York in recent years:

To me, the most interesting thing to pay attention to during the past few years has been the healing properties in nature. That is something extremely powerful and necessary .... Dandelions are also a very healing medicine. The dandelion root, the tinctures, and so on. That's why I called it *Healers* ....<sup>5</sup>

Smith's husband is a beekeeper and she comments on her newfound recognition of bees' role as pollinators, of the myth and lore that surrounds these cherished insects and the long history of their depiction.

This comprehensive catalogue will enlighten readers as to the richness and complexity of Smith's printed art and her significance in contemporary printmaking. The online catalogue will further reveal and document the outstanding contribution of our generation's most talented and dedicated printmaker.

5. K. Smith, 'Interview', in Hering, op. cit., p. 38.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Emanuel von Baeyer has been a dealer in fine art in London since 1998. He deals principally in fine European drawings, prints and paintings from the fifteenth through the twentieth century and in post-war and contemporary art. He publishes regular catalogues in these fields and curates monthly online exhibitions at Emanuel von Baeyer Cabinet.

Marco Simone Bolzoni is Curator of Old Master and 19th-century Drawings of the Leon and Debra Black collection, New York, and author of *Il cavalier Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino: maestro del disegno* (2013) and co-editor of *La Scintilla Divina: Il disegno a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento* (2020).

Judith Brodie is retired Curator of American and Modern Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, and an artist. Her exhibitions and catalogues include *Three Centuries of American Prints* (2016), *Yes, No, Maybe: Artists Working at Crown Point Press* (2013) and *Shock of the News* (2012).

Michael Bury, former Reader of Italian Art at the University of Edinburgh, is a member of the Editorial Board of this Journal. He is the author of *The Print in Italy 1550–1620* (2001) and co-editor and co-translator of *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters: Giovanni Andrea Gilio* (2018).

Paul Coldwell is an artist, Professor of Fine Art at the University of the Arts, London, and a member of the Editorial Board of this Journal. He is the author of *Printmaking: A Contemporary Perspective* (2010) and has conducted a series of public conversations with printmakers including Jim Dine and Christiane Baumgartner.

Thierry Depaulis is an independent historian who specializes in the history of mind games and their instruments, like playing cards, the main focus of his research. This has led him to investigations into the history of woodcut and of paper. He is editor of *Le Vieux Papier*, the French ephemera society's journal.

Marzia Faietti is scientific collaborator of the Gallerie degli Uffizi and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck Institut, as well as Professor at the University of Bologna and Milan (Università Cattolica). She has recently co-authored with Matteo Lafranconi the exhibition catalogue *Raffaello 1520–1483* (2020).

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Antoinette Friedenthal is an independent art historian currently researching the history of the catalogue raisonné that is intimately linked with collecting and connoisseurship of prints. Her edition of correspondence between Jean and Pierre Jean Mariette, occasioned by the collections of Prince Eugene of Savoy, is forthcoming.

Helmut Gier is the former Director of the State and City Library of Augsburg. He is the co-editor of *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (1997) and of numerous articles on the history of books, prints and libraries in Augsburg and eastern Swabia in the early modern period.

Christine Giviskos is Curator of Prints, Drawings and European Art at the Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. She curated the 2015 exhibition 'Picturing War,' which featured a selection from the museum's collection of Japanese war prints.

Giorgio Marini, former Curator of Prints at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, is Curator of Special Projects at the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica in Rome, and a member of the Editorial Board of this Journal. He is currently editing a book on the reception of Belgian and Dutch prints in early twentieth-century Italy.

Alexander Marr is Reader in the History of Early Modern Art at the University of Cambridge, where he is also Founding Director of the Centre for Visual Culture. He is a Fellow of Trinity Hall. His current fields of research include Dürer; Holbein; and ingenuity and visual wit.

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

Andrew Morrall is Professor of Early Modern European Art and Material Culture at Bard Graduate Center, New York, and has published widely especially on art in northern Europe. His book *Jörg Breu the Elder. Art, Culture and Belief in Reformation Augsburg* (2002), was reissued in paperback in 2018.

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 and he has published on Christiane Baumgartner and Johann Gotthard and Johann Friedrich Müller, among others.

Britany Salsbury is Associate Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Cleveland Museum of Art. Her research interests include printmaking in late nineteenth-century Europe, the history of print collecting, and print portfolios. She co-edited, with Ruth Iskin, *Collecting Prints, Posters, and Ephemera: Perspectives in a Global World* (2019).

Jan Stuart is Melvin R. Seiden Curator of Chinese Art at the Smithsonian's Freer and Sackler Galleries and former Keeper of Asia at the British Museum, exhibiting and acquiring contemporary art for both institutions. She is co-author of *Empresses of the Forbidden City, 1644–1912* (2018).

Daan van Heesch is a Postdoctoral Fellow at KU Leuven and affiliated with Illuminare – Centre for the Study of Medieval Art. He is currently preparing a book on the cross-cultural receptions of Hieronymus Bosch in the Habsburg world (1500–1700).

Wendy Weitman is an independent curator and former Curator of Prints and Illustrated Books at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, where she curated the exhibition 'Kiki Smith: Prints, Books & Things' in 2003. She has published on contemporary art, Pop prints, multiples and John Baldessari, among others subjects.

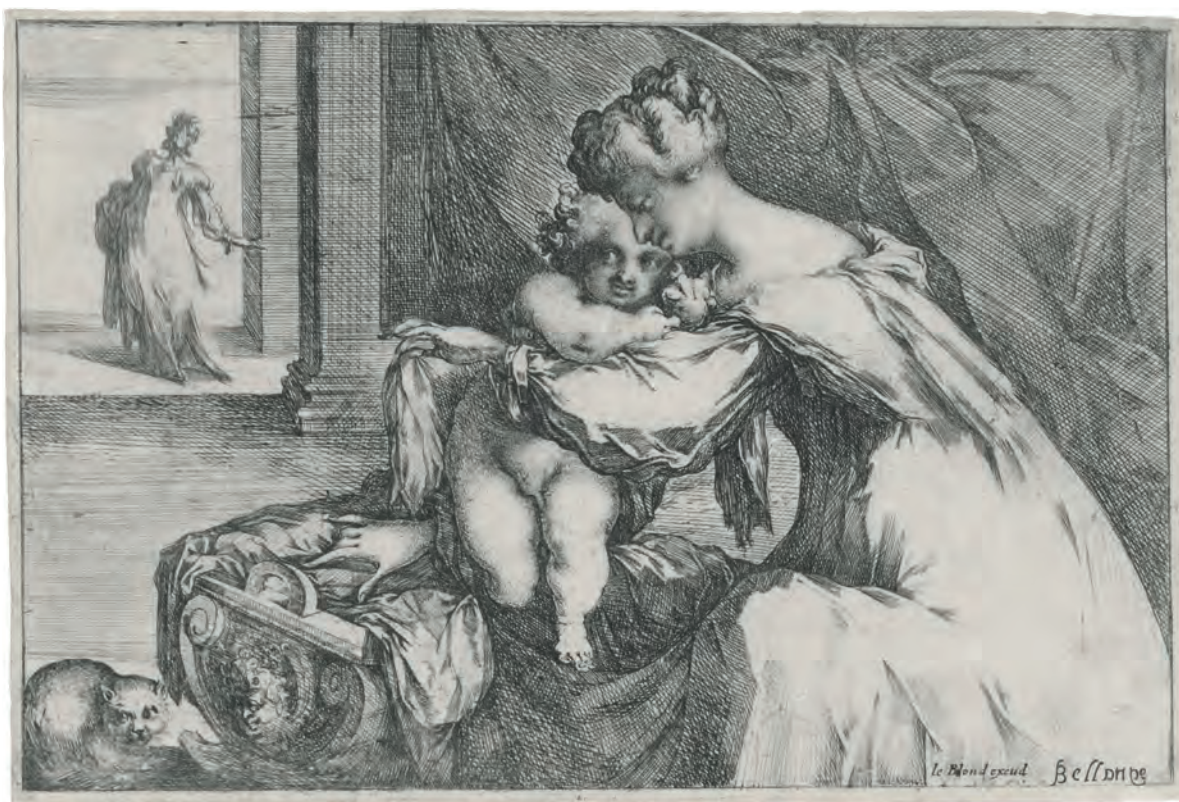


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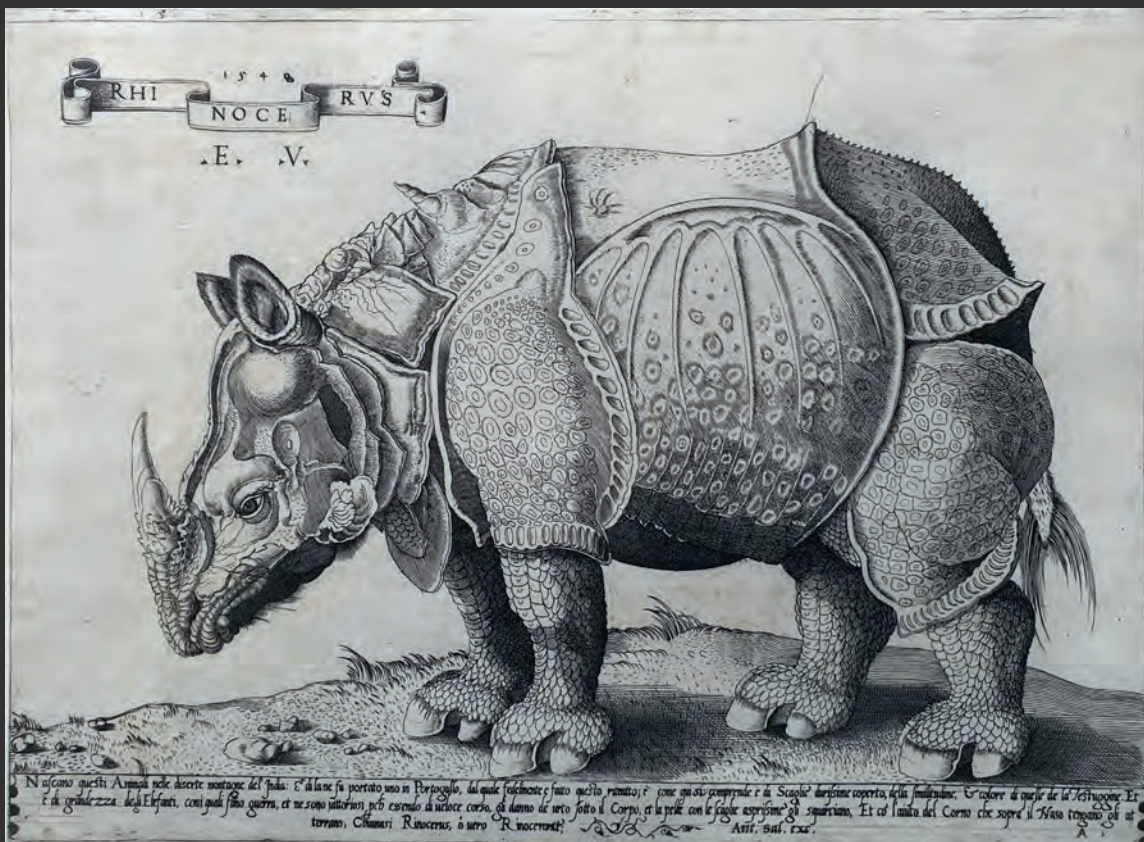
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Interested individuals should write me at [coleprints@gmail.com](mailto:coleprints@gmail.com).

Please pass this information along to colleagues who may want to participate.

**William Cole, Ph.D.**

I am an art and rare book dealer. I have published dozens of articles, reviews, and notes concerning connoisseurship in *Print Quarterly*, *The Library*, *Word & Image*, *The Burlington Magazine*, *The Art Journal*, *Art in Print*, *Modern Philology*, *The Book Collector*, and many other journals, both scholarly and semi-scholarly. Among my books are *First and Otherwise Notable Editions of Medieval French Texts Printed from 1742 to 1874* (2005), *The Juvenilia of William Kentridge: An Unauthorized Catalogue Raisonné* (2016), and *A Jack Greenberg Lexicon* (2017).



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## LAURA MELOSI

# D'ANNUNZIO E L'EDIZIONE 1911 DELLA COMMEDIA

Nel 1911 Leo Samuel Olschki stampa con la tipografia Giuntina (fondata allo scopo un paio di anni prima) una storica edizione della *Divina Commedia*, inaugurata da un proemio di Gabriele d'Annunzio attorno al quale ruotarono per lunghi mesi i rapporti del poeta con l'editore e con Giuseppe Lando Passerini, curatore dell'opera monumentale. Lo studio ricostruisce le fasi di questa collaborazione tanto ambita quanto tormentata, sulla base dei carteggi e dei documenti conservati negli archivi della Casa Editrice e del Vittoriale, rivedendo la



versione aneddotica e a tratti incongrua dei fatti trasmessa dalle biografie dannunziane. Chiave di volta della vicenda è il ritrovamento di un disperso manoscritto autografo della prima stesura del proemio, che con le lettere inedite a esso correlate offre nuovi elementi per una corretta definizione della trattativa. Viene inoltre chiarito l'episodio della tentata vendita, nel 1910, di una cospicua sezione di autografi dannunziani, da cui emerge il ruolo fiduciario di Olschki come libraio antiquario ben inserito nei circuiti del collezionismo internazionale.

*In 1911 Olschki printed a historical edition of the Divine Comedy with a foreword by d'Annunzio, that followed months of intense exchanges between the poet and the publisher and Passerini, who curated this publication. The study reconstructs the phases of this tormented collaboration based on the correspondence and the documents found in the archives of the Publishing House and the Vittoriale. It aims to set the record straight and to do away with the incongruities and inaccurate anecdotes found in d'Annunzio's biographies.*

LAURA MELOSI insegna Letteratura italiana presso l'Università di Macerata, dove dirige la Cattedra Giacomo Leopardi. Si occupa di letteratura e civiltà dell'Ottocento, con particolare attenzione alle forme del Classicismo e alle poetiche del Romanticismo, al genere epistolare, agli archivi femminili. È autrice di numerosi contributi leopardiani, tra cui un commento alle *Operette morali*. Per i tipi di Olschki ha curato, anche in collaborazione, diverse edizioni di lettere d'autore (*Carteggio Giordani-Vieusseux*, 1997; *Leopardi nel Carteggio Vieusseux*, 2001; *Lettere di Paolina Leopardi a Teresa Teja dai viaggi in Italia*, 2019), e i volumi *Leopardi a Firenze* (2002), *L'identità italiana ed europea tra Sette e Ottocento* (2008), *Traiano Boccalini tra satira e politica* (2015), *Ius Leopardi. Legge, natura, civiltà* (2016).

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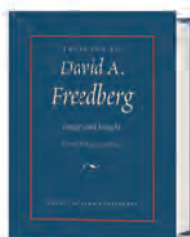
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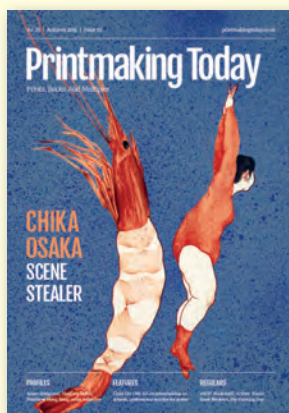
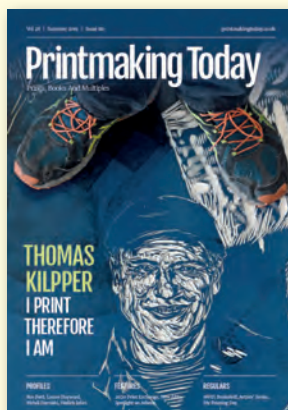
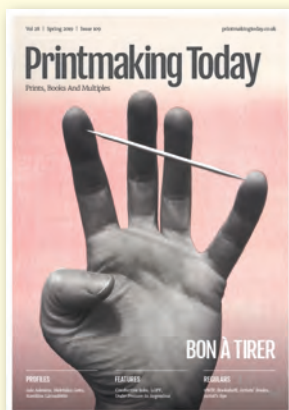
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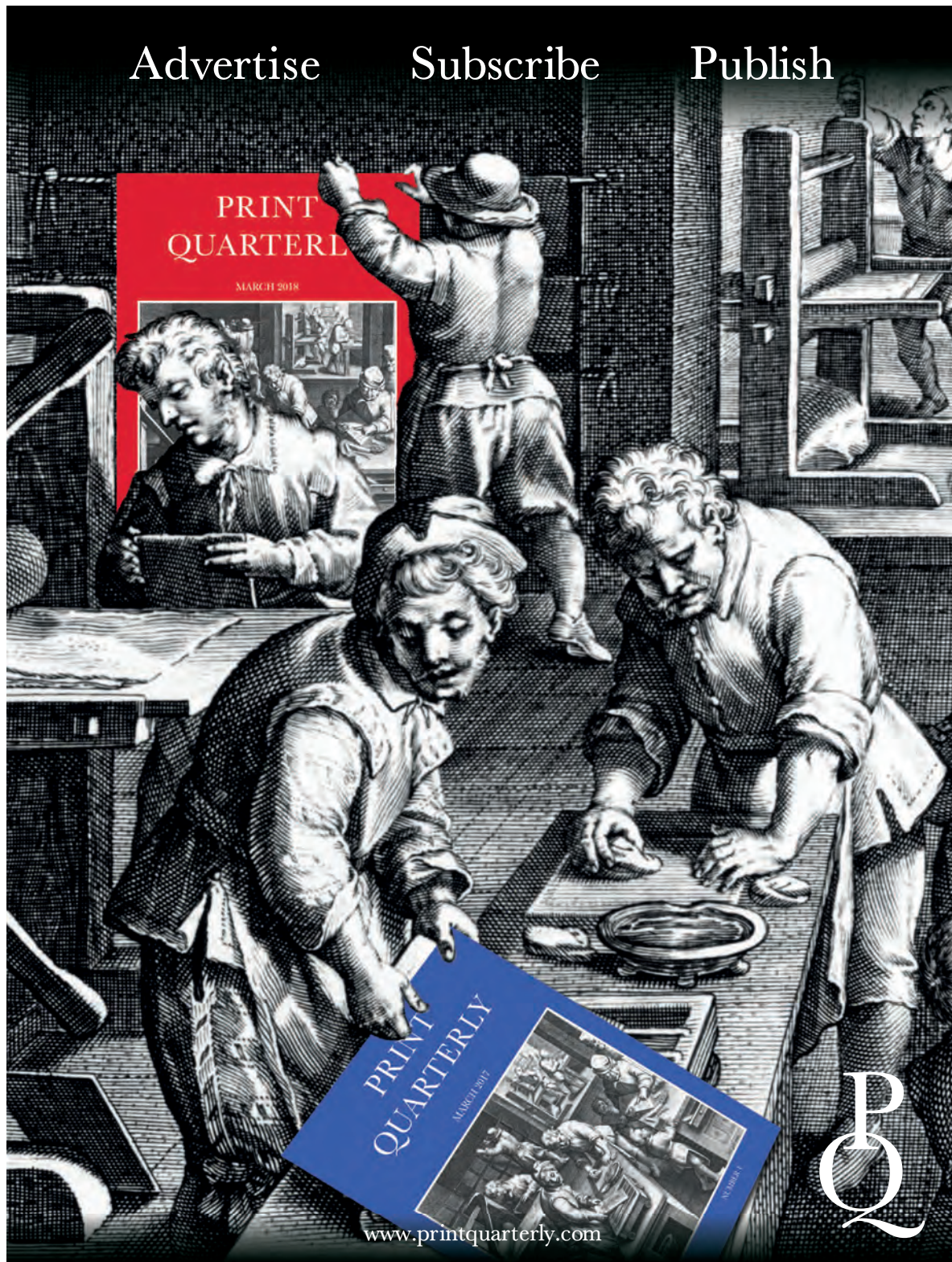
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