Chapter 6

The printed picture in the Renaissance

Charles Harrison

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the two principal modes of printmaking employed during the Renaissance, to explain their distinctive properties, processes, techniques and potential, and to discuss a selection of works by notable artist-printmakers. Consideration is given to the early history and development of woodcuts and engravings both in northern Europe and in Italy, to the part played by the artist's print in the international transmission of styles and designs, and to the connections of printmaking with book publishing. This discussion of printed pictures in the Renaissance will be grounded in an initial comparison of two similar images, one by a German and one by an Italian artist.

1 A practical comparison

The first printed picture in this comparison (Plate 6.2) is a work by the German painter and printmaker Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). It illustrates a scene from the life of the Virgin, as recounted in *The Golden Legend* of the thirteenth-century Dominican writer Jacopo da Voragine. The principal figure is the Virgin's supposed father, Joachim. According to the legend, Joachim's offering at the temple had been rejected on the grounds that the childlessness of his wife Anna must be a punishment from God for his sinfulness. In shame, Joachim retired to the mountains with his flocks. But after five months an angel

appeared to inform him that Anna would after all bear a child. Dürer has represented the angel's announcement in the form of a written covenant: as though it were a contemporary legal document inscribed on vellum, complete with appropriate seals.

The second printed picture (Plate 6.3) is a work by the Italian Marcantonio Raimondi (*c.*1480–*c.*1534). It is clearly based very closely on Dürer's work. There are telling differences, however. It is a useful exercise to register these, to consider their effects and to try to explain them. The differences might be divided into two kinds. First, there are discernible differences in *what* is depicted. In the top right quarter of Dürer's work, the sky is full of birds. None of these appears in Marcantonio's version. Slightly lower down, Dürer's image shows three boats. The nearest of the three is omitted in Marcantonio's copy, though there are two very faint lines at right-angles to mark where it would have been.

Second, there are differences in the manner and style of the two images. These might be summed up by saying that the outlines in Dürer's work are generally stronger than in Marcantonio's, and that the lines used for modelling and shading are thicker, darker and fewer. Compare, for instance, the shading of Joachim's garment, especially beneath his left shoulder and around his right knee. Marcantonio's work has much finer lines, a

Plate 6.1 (Facing page) Andrea Mantegna, *Battle of the Sea Gods* (detail from Plate 6.21).

Plate 6.2 Albrecht Dürer, *The Angel Appearing to Joachim*, c.1504, woodcut, 30 × 21 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photo: © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Maria Antoinette Evans Fund, 30.1155.

Plate 6.3 Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Angel Appearing to Joachim*, c.1508, engraving, 30 × 21cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photo: © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Harvey D. Parker Fund, P1293.

more velvety texture and a more gradual passage from light to dark. In such details as the fringed edge of the tree to the right of the hovering angel, Marcantonio's line is crisper and the rhythm of the curlicues more repetitive. The background tone of his image is a variegated pale grey, whereas in Dürer's it is a uniform off-white. In general, the tonal contrast or chiaroscuro is more clear cut in Dürer's image.

It is a consequence of these various differences, I think, that the scene as interpreted by Marcantonio *feels* slightly calmer than it does in Dürer's original, Joachim and his shepherds a little more graceful, the wood behind the angel not quite so wild and dark, the pollard willow tree at the right less bizarrely creature-like. It is tempting to suggest that what is apparent here is a kind of broad cultural difference between north and south: between the 'Gothic' or Germanic tendencies of the one and the 'classicising' or Italianate tendencies of the other. This would be tantamount to saying that the differences between the two images can be explained in terms of the different national origins and cultural tendencies of the two artists.

It is certainly likely that differences in training, in individual style and even perhaps in taste will register in otherwise similar images, even where one is closely copied from the other. But it is not a good idea to treat assumptions about cultural differences as though they were *explanations* for such specific differences as may be observed in pictures – if only because one is then the less likely to pay attention to crucial differences in materials and technique and to their consequences. In this case, for all the evident similarities between the two images, there is an all-important practical distinction to be made – a distinction which, once it *is* made, will go a long way to explain the observable differences between them. They were in fact executed using quite different materials and by radically different means. To review the practical differences in question is to distinguish between the two principal avenues through which the printing of pictorial images developed in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The work by Dürer is a woodcut, which is a type of relief print. This is to say that the image derives

from the projecting surface of a carved block. It was made from a design that would have been either executed by the artist on paper and pasted onto a plank of wood (typically from a fine-grained species such as box, maple or some variety of fruitwood) or drawn directly by him onto the wooden surface. Since the design would be reversed by printing, it would have been necessary either to execute it in reverse or, if paper were used, to paste this onto the plank face-down and oil it so that the paper would be rendered transparent and the drawing would show through. An expert block-cutter – usually not the artist himself – would then have excavated the unmarked areas of the design, first with a pointed knife bevelled on one side to isolate the black lines, and then with a chisel or gouge to remove the blank areas. Finally, the detailed surface thus left outstanding would have been carefully inked and impressed on a sheet of damp paper, resulting in the image reproduced here (Plate 6.2).

Marcantonio's copy, on the other hand, is an intaglio print, which is to say that the image is produced from a design incised into a flat plate. Three principal forms of intaglio print were made during the Renaissance: drypoint, engraving and etching. While there are surviving European woodcuts datable to the later part of the fourteenth century, the earliest surviving intaglio prints date from around the late 1430s. They were made in drypoint. This is the term used where a design is scratched into the metal plate with a pointed needle. The first engravings were probably made a few years later, using a sharp steel tool known as a burin, usually on a copper plate. Its pointed blade-like form gives a particular aspect to the engraved line: it is not so much scratched *into* the copper as carved or gouged *out* of it. In the third form of intaglio print, etching, the design is drawn with a stylus into a waxy or resinous covering laid over a metal plate. When the plate is immersed in acid, this design is bitten into the plate wherever the protective covering has been removed. Following its employment in the decoration of armour, etching was first used to produce prints from iron or steel plates around 1500. The technique was not widely developed until after the end of the period covered by this book, however, so it will not figure again in this chapter.

Marcantonio's print is an engraving. It was made by incising Dürer's design – in reverse – into a copper plate, using a burin. When the design was complete the plate would have been inked all over and then wiped so as to leave a residue in the incised lines. The plate would then have been covered with a sheet of dampened paper and put through a press – probably a roller press – under sufficient pressure to ensure that the paper took the residue of ink from the incised lines on the plate. That pressure would have been considerably greater than was required to print the woodcut, which was inked on its outstanding surface. In a heavy press the woodcut would in any case have been vulnerable to damage in areas of outstanding detail.

This vulnerability apart, and so long as the material remained stable, a woodcut block would generally yield many more good impressions than a copper plate – possibly running into many thousands. In the case of engravings, and more particularly of drypoints, the quality of impressions tends to decline far sooner due to the relative softness of the metal and the fineness of the incised lines. There is no entirely reliable evidence on the number of impressions a Renaissance printmaker might expect to take from a single plate, nor, given the number of variable factors, is it easy to generalise on the basis of any specific case. Besides designing woodcuts, Dürer was a celebrated maker of intaglio prints. In 1519 he sent the plate of a portrait engraving to its subject, Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, together with 200 impressions, following this four years later with a second plate and 500 impressions.[1] But in these instances as in any other there may have been some trade-off between quantity and quality. While a deeply engraved and carefully managed plate might yield several hundred impressions of comparable quality, a decline in a particularly fine or lightly engraved composition might actually be noticeable after the printing of as few as 50 copies. For this reason impressions made early in the life of a copper plate are nowadays prized much more highly than those taken later – often centuries later – when wear has usually led to considerable loss of detail and of subtlety of tone, or when the plate may have been re-engraved so as to strengthen its design

(both eventualities being more likely in the case of those celebrated images for which demand has been high). In some early impressions of intaglio prints – and particularly of drypoints – there is a rich velvety quality to the printed line. This is due to the fine ridge of metal – or burr – left along the edges of the incised lines, which, if not burnished away, will tend to catch the ink. This burr wears down very quickly in printing.

What should now be clear is that many of the observable differences between the two images under consideration are attributable to differences in the technical processes involved. It might be said that Dürer's design contains about as much detail as the most skilled of block-cutters could achieve, while Marcantonio's engraving exploits the finer lines and textures possible in work with a burin on copper. In the case of the woodcut, each line in each passage of detail had to be separately isolated by the cutter, whereas a skilled engraver such as Marcantonio was able to maintain a constant rhythm in passages of shading or of repetitive detail, such as the fringe of leaves to the right of the angel, or the lines of shading on the trunk of the central tree. In the woodcut, the birds dotting the otherwise empty areas of sky served a practical purpose: they would have maintained the level of the relief surface so that an even pressure could be kept on the sheet of paper. With an engraved plate an even pressure is in any case ensured, so such details could be dispensed with unless otherwise justified. In Dürer's work there is a clear contrast between printed and unprinted areas – a contrast enhanced by his use of a particularly glossy black ink. Marcantonio's technique, on the other hand, allows for a greater tonal subtlety and variation than is present in the original. A woodcut is inked only on its relief surface, and care must be taken to prevent run-down from the outstanding areas, which can lead to blurring of the printed design. An engraved plate, on the other hand, is inked all over before being wiped. The uneven background tonality seen in Marcantonio's version of the composition was produced by a light film of ink left on the surface of the plate after wiping. (Since a plate has to be separately inked for each printing, individual impressions may well vary in the amount of background tone they display.)

2   Authorship and the division of labour

Each of these two different media in its own way shaped and qualified the relationship between artistic inventiveness and artisanal skill. In the case of the current comparison, it is significant that the woodcut is known as a work by Dürer, while the names of his block-cutters are generally known only to specialist researchers, if at all. The authorship of the print is thus conventionally associated with its design rather than with the actual execution of the woodcut. On the other hand, the engraved copy of that design is known as a work by Marcantonio, despite his repetition of Dürer's monogram in the bottom right-hand corner. This apparent contradiction reveals something of the complexity of the divisions of labour in the production of engravings and woodcuts in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It would seem on the face of it that the artisans responsible for executing engravings during this period have generally been more readily recognised – and recognised as artists – than those responsible for the cutting (as opposed to the design) of woodblocks, this despite the considerable skills developed by many block-cutters. These skills were at a particular premium in Germany, where demand was driven by the expansion of book-publishing and by rapid improvements in the technology of printing.

Some explanation for this apparent discrepancy is suggested by the nature of the respective processes and by the different practical conditions under which the relevant skills were exercised. Despite the rise in the demand for book illustrations, the principal employment of the block-cutter in the later fifteenth century might well have been in the making of type punches for book printing, or in the decorative aspects of furniture making. In the early stages in the development of the woodcut, the functions of invention and transcription were on the whole less easily distinguished, but then the images in question were very much less sophisticated than Dürer's. By the late fifteenth century few recognised artists cut their own blocks. Of course, enterprising block-cutters might on their own initiative undertake the translation into the woodcut medium of celebrated designs by other artists that were originally produced for other purposes. But in cases where the artist was producing a design specifically for the woodcut

medium, the typical block-cutter, however skilled, was someone who slavishly followed a drawn or pasted-on design from which there must be no departure.

On the other hand, the development of engraving both in northern Europe and in Italy during the later fifteenth century was largely driven by artists – Andrea Mantegna (c.1431–1506) in Italy, Martin Schongauer (1450–91) and Dürer again in Germany – who, as will be seen, were the originators of the images they engraved, and who had established careers as painters. At a time when the market for artists' drawings was in process of establishment, an engraving was like a highly finished and pristine drawing from the artist's own hand that could be issued in multiple copies. While many engravers, including Dürer himself, were the offspring of goldsmiths or were trained as goldsmiths, by the end of the fifteenth century they tended, like Marcantonio, to have been trained in drawing and to emerge from artists' workshops. Even where engravers were following existing images by other artists, they were generally working on the plate by eye. They could hardly help but interpret, and in interpreting, to impart an idiosyncratic character to the outcome, even, as in the case of *The Angel Appearing to Joachim*, where it was another print that was being transcribed.

It should not be assumed, however, that the skills of block-cutters went wholly unrecognised or unrewarded. A specific case examined by David Landau and Peter Parshall provides some indication of the rates at which different stages in the production of a typical woodcut were valued and rewarded. For a large and ambitious illustrated publication planned in 1494 under the patronage of the humanist Sebald Schreyer in Nuremberg, proposed rates of pay were specified for the supply of wooden blocks, for the provision of initial designs, for the exact drawing of these designs onto the blocks and for the cutting of the blocks for printing. On Landau and Parshall's calculations, the proposed fee for the initial design of each illustration (10 to 11 denar) was set only slightly higher than the payment to be made to the carpenter for the prepared but uncut block (8 to 9 denar for larger blocks and half that for smaller ones). About three times the price of each design was allocated to the illustrator for the crucial work of drawing the finished composition onto the block (34 denar for large blocks and half that for

smaller). Finally, around four times the amount of the illustrator's fee was to be paid for the laborious work of the cutter (135 denar for large blocks and half that for small). In this case, then, the block-cutter stood to earn about 12 or 13 times as much from each illustration as was paid for its initial invention.[2]

It should also be noted that there were significant exceptions both to the tendency for artists to delegate the work of block-cutting to others, and to the relative anonymity of specialist block-cutters. Dürer himself was trained in the workshop of Michael Wolgemut in Nuremberg, where catering to the growing demands of the book-printing business led to rapid advances in the techniques of woodcut illustration. It may well be the case that the blocks for Dürer's earliest prints were cut by the artist himself,[3] while it is clear that the brilliant designs of his later works in the medium were grounded in substantial practical experience. His esteem for the relevant skills is certainly a matter of record:

> A man may often draw something with his pen on a half-sheet of paper in one day or cut it with his little iron on a small block of wood, and it shall be fuller of art and better than another's great work whereon he has spent a whole year's careful labour, and this gift is wonderful.[4]

Later, during the first decade of the sixteenth century, the potential of the chiaroscuro woodcut was developed by certain artists both in Germany and in Italy. This involved the composing of images from two or more blocks, each differently inked, so that when the impressions were superposed, a middle range of tone could be introduced to mitigate the normal dark–light contrast. The varied effects of the resulting prints were comparable to those of brush drawings and even of paintings, and their designers tended to claim an appropriate status as inventors. An early chiaroscuro woodcut designed from three blocks by Hans Burgkmair of Augsburg (1473–1531) was marked conspicuously by the artist with his own name (Plate 6.4). The image is composed of four graded tones of brown, with the pale buff colour of the uninked paper providing the lightest of these.

However, there are extant impressions of this print that bear the overprinted name of Jost de Negker (c.1485–c.1544), a block-cutter from Antwerp. What

this demonstrates is not that de Negker necessarily cut the original blocks for Burgkmair's composition, but rather that he took possession of them at some point and issued impressions on his own behalf. There are other later prints that bear the signatures of both artists, testifying to a productive collaboration, while Landau and Parshall note that 'Probably at some point after 1512 de Negker began to commission designs from Burgkmair directly, printing and publishing them under his own auspices.'[5] In this case, then, the artist was working under the effective direction of the professional block-cutter.

Both severally and jointly the two works compared at the outset of this chapter represent a high point in the making of printed images. It will be the remaining business of this chapter to address the development of the respective media during the immediately preceding period, and to consider some notable examples of their use. An important point should first be registered. In their relative similarity, the two versions of *The Angel Appearing to Joachim* represent a moment of greatest convergence in the development of the two principal printmaking media. This is not simply because one is a copy of the other. Rather, the very fact that Marcantonio thought Dürer's woodcut design worthy of engraving serves to demonstrate just how far the technique of block-cutting had advanced by the early sixteenth century, particularly in Germany. In fact, by the first decade of the century the monochrome woodcut had been brought to a point of sophistication that was never really to be surpassed. On the other hand, it is in the differences between the two images that the further potential of engraving is made clear. Marcantonio's version of *The Angel Appearing to Joachim* is a relatively early work in the engraver's career, but it provides ample indication of the possibility for combining graphic detail with tonal range and subtlety that engraving offered to the skilled practitioner, and that was to be further exploited by Marcantonio and others over the ensuing quarter century. As command of the medium increased, so did the engraver's ability to capture nuances and gradations of tone, and thus to convey complex effects of modelling and illumination.

Plate 6.4   Hans Burgkmair, *Lovers Overcome by Death*, c.1510, chiaroscuro woodcut from three blocks, state III, 21 × 15 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

3   Early woodcuts and the emergence of intaglio printing

I have already discussed differences in the practical implications of woodcutting and engraving. These differences are underlined when account is taken of the various ends for which the techniques of block-cutting and engraving were largely employed before the last third of the fifteenth century, which is to say before printmakers began fully to exploit the potential of independent and repeatable pictorial images. Apart from the stamping of designs on textiles, the principal early uses of woodblocks were for the multiple printing of playing cards and of simple religious images, the latter issued as tokens for indulgences, as souvenirs at shrines or as talismans of one kind or another. All these uses were already widespread by the end of the fourteenth century, though in no instance were the printed images liable to be preserved for their intrinsic value as artistic pictures. The woodcuts that have survived from the early fifteenth century represent a very small proportion of what must have been a massive output, and very few of those can be dated with precision. A talismanic image of Saint Christopher, the patron saint of travellers, originating from south Germany is exceptional in bearing a date (Plate 6.5). The legend translates as an assurance that a sight of Saint Christopher – presumably such as the print itself has to offer – will provide daily protection from the risk of sudden death. Among the probable makers of images such as this were monks trained as scribes, working for the most part in monasteries.

As a means of replicating pictorial images the intaglio print emerged in Europe considerably later than the woodcut. The principal established uses for techniques of engraving during the early Renaissance were in the decoration of armour and weaponry, and of such items of fine metalwork as were employed in religious observance: crosses, candlesticks, chalices, reliquaries and so forth. Impressions taken from designs incised into objects such as these were probably the first pictures made on paper from engraved surfaces. They were taken by goldsmiths, not to provide multiple copies for distribution, but rather to record designs or to check their quality. In Italy the early development of drypoint and engraving is closely connected to the established practice of work in *niello*, a technique in which a kind of black enamel

is melted into the excavated areas of fine relief work in silver. An example of *niello* work (Plate 6.6) has been attributed to the Florentine artist Baccio Baldini (c.1436–87), who was also to make a number of engravings, among them a set of 19 after Botticelli's illustrations to the *Divine Comedy* of Dante. In his *Children of Mercury* (Plate 6.7), metalworkers are pictured in a goldsmith's shop, one at work on the engraving of a plate for printing.

The earliest surviving intaglio print that appears to have been purpose made and that bears a date is an engraving of *The Flagellation*, made in Germany and marked 1446 (Plate 6.8). This was preceded, however, by undated designs for playing cards that were made in drypoint in the Upper Rhine region of south-west Germany, probably in the late 1430s (Plate 6.9). These are the very earliest intaglio prints known to have survived. (The majority are

Plate 6.5   Unknown south German, *Saint Christopher*, 1423, hand-coloured woodcut, image 29 × 21 cm, John Rylands University Library, University of Manchester. Photo: reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester.

Plate 6.6   Florentine, attributed to Baccio Baldini, *Mary Magdalene*, c.1464–5, detail of processional cross; decorated with 20 niello plaques, silver, partly gilded; niello; copper with traces of gilding over wood, 55 × 32 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: all rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.499).

now held in collections in Dresden and in Paris.) Extant impressions can be divided into four suits: beasts of prey (lions and bears), birds, deer and flowers. The close parallel strokes of the drypoint needle produce a texture similar to contemporary brush drawings, with solid modelling and marked highlights.

It seems clear that as soon as woodcut and intaglio techniques could be practically compared as means to the making of repeatable pictures, drypoint and engraving were relatively esteemed for their ability to transmit a finer level of detail. Card games were introduced into Europe from the Islamic world in the fourteenth century and their popularity rapidly became widespread. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries countless cheap packs of cards must have been produced. At the time the most efficient way to reproduce the designs would have been by means of woodcut blocks. These packs would presumably have been regarded as

disposable once no longer fit for use, and they have thus left little trace. (An exceptional survival helps to support the general case. An uncut printed section from a woodcut design for a series of playing cards has been discovered in a sixteenth-century house in Antwerp, where it had been recycled as ceiling paper.[6]) The survival of the drypoints, on the other hand, testifies to the relative value that these fine images were accorded as designs in their own right. Not only were they repeated by various subsequent engravers, evidence of their early and widespread use as patterns for illumination has been found in manuscripts produced before 1455 in Holland, Savoy, Saxony, the Tyrol, the southern Netherlands, the Rhinelands and England.[7] The date ascribed to the playing-card designs is due in part to the repetition of specific beast, bird and flower motifs in manuscript illuminations that can be dated with certainty. These borrowings provide clear evidence both of the early and rapid circulation of certain engraved images across Europe, and of the readiness of their adoption and adaptation by artists working in various fields.

From this specific case there are also some general points that may be made regarding the different markets, distribution and rates of survival of woodcuts and intaglio prints respectively. Generally speaking, engravings tended from the first to attract a more sophisticated and wealthier audience, and they were more liable to be saved by being pasted into books. Copper is more expensive than wood, the techniques of engraving allow for more independent development and initiative than those of woodcutting, and the printing of engravings requires more equipment, time and skill than the printing of a woodblock. As A. Hyatt Mayor has noted,

> In 1520 Dürer's price per sheet for his engraved Passion was four and a half times that for his little woodcut Passion … The typical engraving of the later 1400s has survived in two or three impressions, the typical single-sheet woodcut in one.[8]

The principal developments in the intaglio print in the third quarter of the fifteenth century were made by artists working in the Upper Rhine region of south-west Germany who are now identifiable only by their individual styles, or in rare cases by the initials with which they signed their plates. Notable among these is the engraver who signed some of his work 'ES', and

Plate 6.7   Baccio Baldini, *Children of Mercury*, c.1480, engraving, 32 × 22 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.
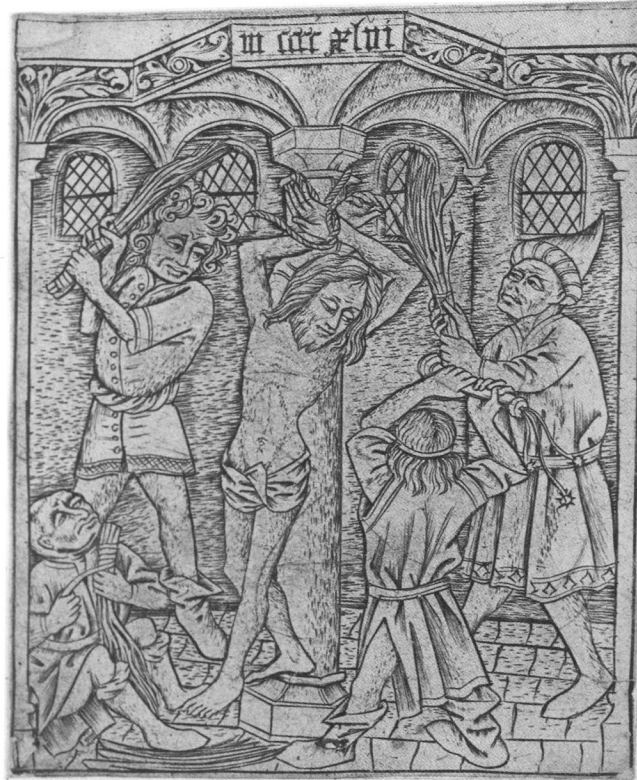
Plate 6.8   Master of 1446, *The Flagellation*, 1446, engraving, 10 × 8 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: © 2007 bpk/Staatliche Museen, Berlin/Jörg P. Anders.

Plate 6.9   Master of the Playing Cards, *Nine of Beasts of Prey*, c.1435–40, drypoint, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.
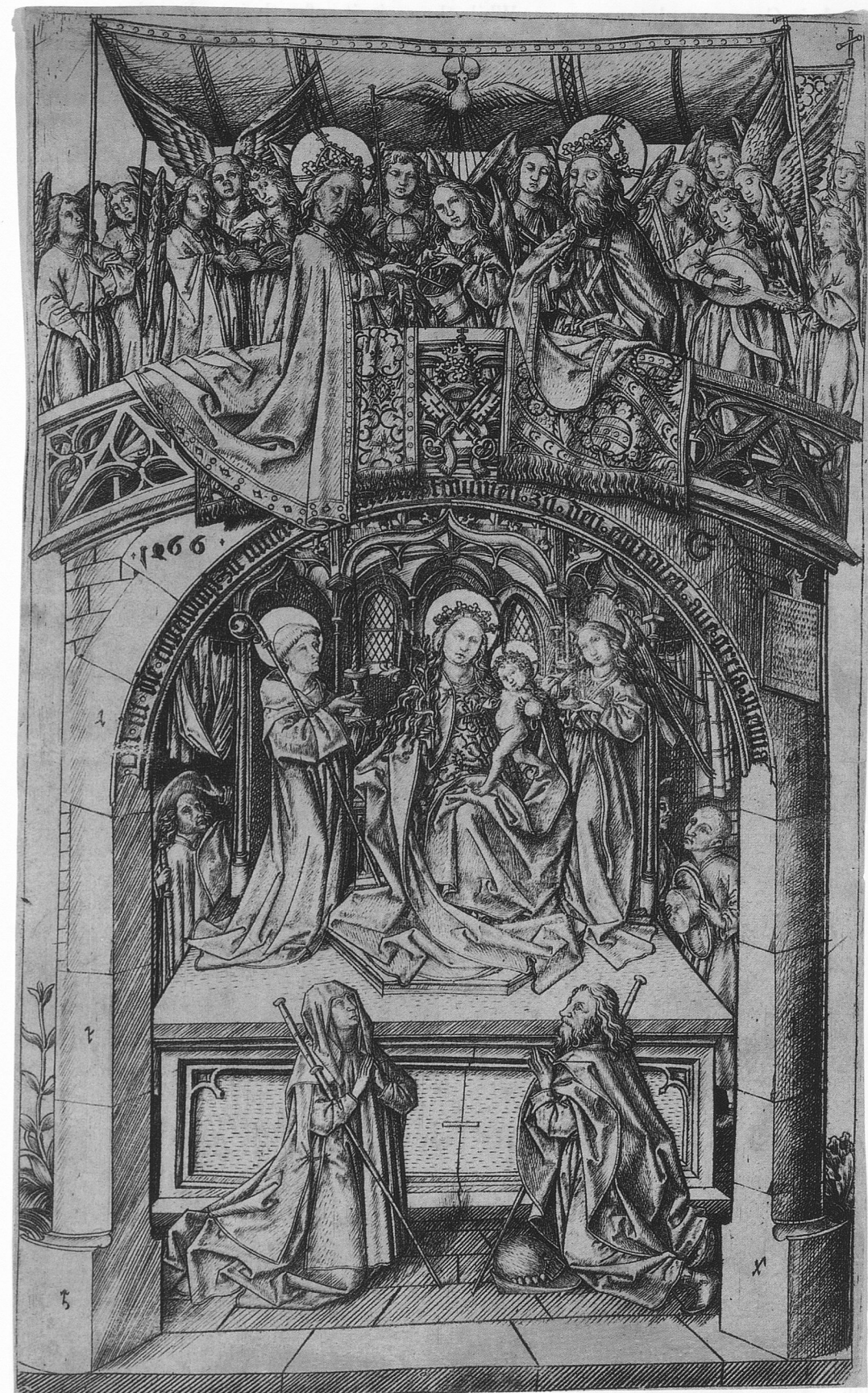

Plate 6.10   Master ES, *Large Einsiedeln Madonna*, 1466, engraving, 21 × 13 cm, Art Institute of Chicago. Photo: © The Art Institute of Chicago. Kate S. Buckingham Fund, 1972.1.

who is thought to have worked from the 1450s until the late 1460s. Although his monogram appears on only 18 surviving engravings, some 300 have been attributed to him. It is probable that he was trained as a goldsmith, and that he then pursued the professional opportunities that arose once suitable paper was available for the printing of pictorial designs from metal plates. His engraving of the dedication of the Einsiedeln monastery in Switzerland (Plate 6.10) must have been produced on commission. Copies of this and two other images were sold to pilgrims attending the 500th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the monastery in 966. This followed a supposed miraculous appearance of the Virgin and Child attended by angels, for which a papal indulgence was granted.[9] In the engraving, the representation of the miraculous event is deliberately conflated with an image of pilgrims worshipping at the shrine built to commemorate it, while the Trinity is represented on the balcony above.

Technically, the work of Master ES is marked by the kind of systematic hatching and cross-hatching that would from that point on be typical of the use of the burin. The distinctive style of his draped figures is reminiscent of Netherlandish painting – and of the work of Rogier van der Weyden in particular. It has also been associated with the work of the Netherlandish sculptor Nicolaus Gerhaerts of Leyden, who was working in Trier and Strasburg in the 1460s, and who executed the high altar of Constance Cathedral in 1465–6 at a time when Master ES was also in Constance. In turn, his engravings were to be mined for figure-types by an ensuing generation of German sculptors working in a late Gothic idiom, among them Veit Stoss (c.1445/50–1533), Michael Pacher (active 1462 – d.1498) and Tilman Riemanschneider (c.1460–1531) (see Plates 6.11 and 6.12). The prints of Master ES thus formed a significant bridge in the transmission of styles and designs for the representation of the human figure in northern Europe. It was even suggested at one time that

the apparent unity of style in German sculpture in the late fifteenth century might be attributed to the common resource that his work represented.[10] Though this thesis is not now widely supported, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that prints were among the valued resources of sculptors' workshops throughout Europe at the time.

While the majority of early intaglio prints were devoted to religious subjects, one of the most remarkable of early northern printmakers is distinguished by the number of his works that are on profane and courtly themes, and by the evident interest that these held for his contemporaries. He is known as the Housebook Master (after

the illustrations in pen and ink on vellum in a surviving manuscript known by that name) or as the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (after the nearly comprehensive collection of his surviving prints that is held in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam). He may have been of Netherlandish origin, though he seems to have worked in the Middle Rhineland in Germany during the period between 1470 and 1495. His prints are made exclusively in a delicate drypoint style that suggests the training of an illustrator rather than a goldsmith (see Plate 6.13). They appear to have been executed on plates that must have been even softer and thus more vulnerable than unalloyed copper, and they cannot therefore have been intended for circulation in more than a very limited number of copies, where they were intended for circulation at all. (Out of a corpus of some 89 prints attributed to the Housebook Master, 70 are known in only one impression.) Although the implication is that these were images made for an elite clientele, they must have achieved sufficient currency for their highly refined style and technique to draw the attention of other artists, Dürer certainly among them.

Plate 6.11   Master ES, *Madonna with the Book (Virgin Mary on a Crescent)*, c.1450–67, engraving, 20 × 14 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate 6.12   Tilman Riemenschneider, *Madonna and Child*, 1516–22, sandstone, Liebighaus, Frankfurt.

Plate 6.13   Housebook Master, *Stag Hunt*, c.1485–90, drypoint, 17 × 9 cm, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Photo © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

4 The engraving as independent work of art

In consideration of the development of intaglio printing in the later fifteenth century, two further German engravers are deserving of particular attention, one for the inventive quality of his work, the other for his remarkable success in exploiting the work of others. The first, Martin Schongauer, may have been apprenticed to the Master ES. He was the son of a goldsmith, though trained as a painter. Like the Master ES he clearly had first-hand acquaintance with the work of Netherlandish painters, though he worked in Colmar (now in eastern France, but at the time in south-west Germany). It is an indication of the importance he attributed to his authorship that he signed all of his prints with his monogram. In devoting to his engraved work an attention equal to that required for the making of a painting, he both advanced the status of the printmaker's art and established a precedent that other painter-engravers were quick to follow. Schongauer's distinctive contribution to the printmaker's technique was further to establish the rhythmic properties of the engraved line –

possibly by introducing the practice of rotating the plate on a leather cushion against a steadily held burin, so as to gouge out regular and continuous curves from the copper plate. He also situated his animated and roundly modelled figures within the kind of coherent pictorial space that distinguished the advanced Netherlandish painting of the time. Like the work of the Master ES, his single figures and even entire compositions were widely used as models by sculptors (see Plates 6.14 and 6.15).

Altogether Schongauer made 116 engravings between 1470 and 1491, among them some of the most complex and ambitious compositions to have been attempted in any European art form at the time. His large *Christ Carrying the Cross* contains over 50 figures (see Plate 6.16). In their survey of Renaissance printmaking during the period 1470–1550, Landau and Parshall refer to this as 'the most influential print made in northern Europe throughout the full span of our inquiry'.[11] Schongauer's engravings have survived for the most part in several impressions, while the majority of them were copied within his lifetime by other engravers, most of whom signed the resulting
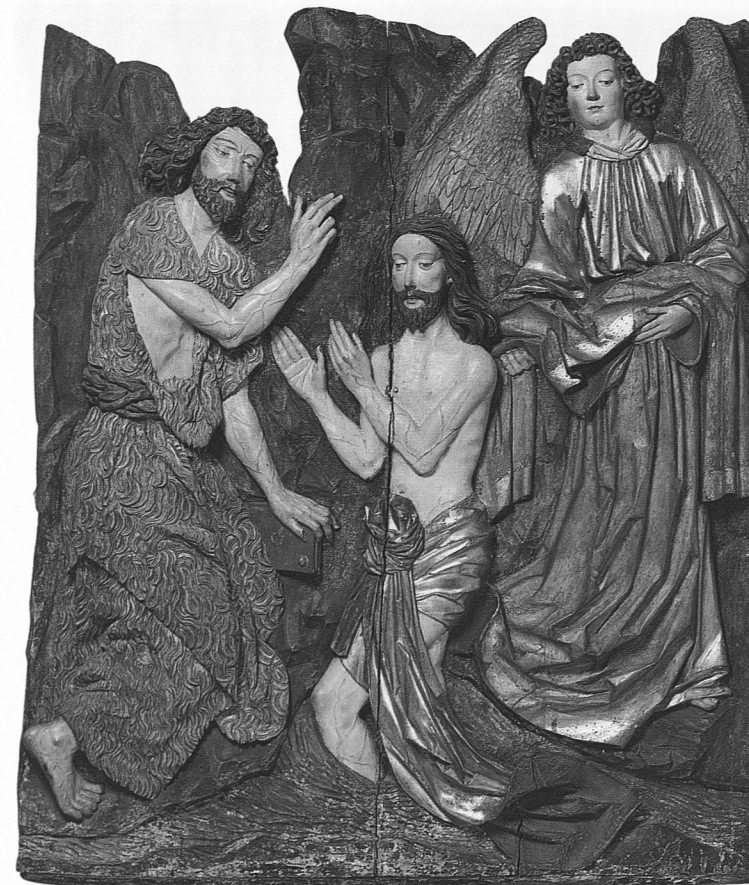

Plate 6.15   Follower of Veit Stoss, *The Baptism of Christ*, 1480–90, limewood with polychromy and gilding, 122 × 102 × 8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: © 1985 The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.130.1).

Plate 6.14   Martin Schongauer, *The Baptism of Christ*, c.1480–90s, engraving, 16 × 16 cm, Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Photo: © 2005 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.
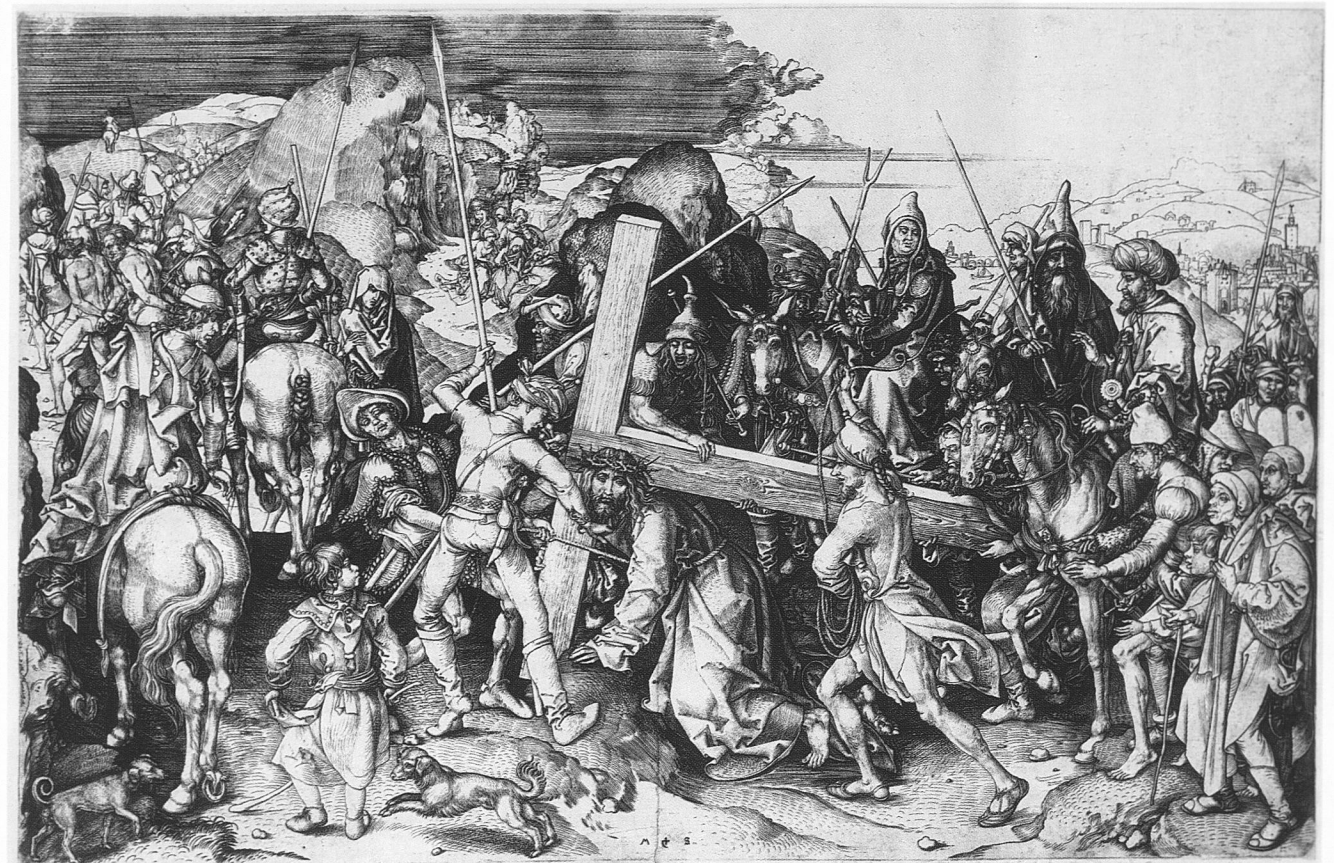

Plate 6.16   Martin Schongauer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, c.1470–5, engraving, 28 × 43 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Kunstmuseum, Basle. Photo: Kunstmuseum, Basle.

Plate 6.17 Martin Schongauer, *Death of the Virgin*, c.1480, engraving, 26 × 17 cm, Preußischer Kulturesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: © 2007 bpk/Staatliche Museen, Berlin/Jörg P. Anders.

Plate 6.18 Israhel van Meckenem, after Schongauer, *Death of the Virgin*, c.1490–1500, engraving, 25 × 17 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

compositions as their own. This evidence suggests that the independent print had now acquired real value as a marketable and collectable commodity, and that it was with Schongauer's personal style that that value was principally associated. When in 1490 the 19-year-old Dürer completed his apprenticeship, he set off on a lengthy journey through Germany and possibly the Netherlands.

In the autumn of 1491 he arrived in Colmar to visit Schongauer. Given Dürer's own ambition it may well have been that his aim was to join the older artist's workshop. But Schongauer had died earlier that year.

The second German figure deserving of particular attention was among those who made copies of Schongauer's prints – 58 in all. He was a goldsmith by trade, working in the town of Bocholt near the border with the Netherlands between 1465 and 1503. His name, conspicuously displayed in full or in initials on the copies in question, was Israhel van Meckenem (c.1440/5–1503). The same signature appears on some 200 copies of prints by the Master ES, on some 30 copies from the Housebook Master and on numerous other prints that appear to have been made from the heavily

re-engraved plates of other artists, including a further 41 by the Master ES. Altogether, over 600 prints were issued in Israhel's name, of which over 90 per cent are somehow identifiable as versions of the work of other engravers, leaving a remainder of less than 10 per cent as his own original designs. Schongauer's widely imitated *Death of the Virgin* was copied in reverse by Israhel van Meckenem (Plates 6.17 and 6.18).

Plate 6.19 Israhel van Meckenem, *Self-Portrait with his Wife Ida*, c.1490, engraving, 13 × 17 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

As this copy demonstrates, Israhel was not the most sensitive of engravers. He was concerned rather with clarity and firmness of impression than with subtlety of line and tone. He was nevertheless by far the most successful printmaker working anywhere at the end of the fifteenth century, and one of the most influential. The crucial factor in his success was his realisation that it was the owner of engraved plates rather than the inventor of compositions who controlled the distribution and sale of printed images. There is evidence from the last decade of the century that prints he had issued were in use by painters and illustrators 'in an area extending from the Baltic to Spain'.[12] A close relationship exists between certain of his prints and elements of the Weingartner Altar, made for Augsburg Cathedral by Hans Holbein the Elder (c.1460/5–1534) in 1493. This has led to suggestions that there might have existed a working relationship between painter and printmaker not unlike that which was later to develop in Rome between Marcantonio and Raphael.[13] While the tendency of early commentators was to disparage Israhel as a pirate, the emphasis of more recent studies has been on the significance of his role as an entrepreneur. It has also been persuasively argued by Landau and Parshall that those of his prints for which no previous author has been established are innovative in bringing a sharp intelligence and wit to the interpretation of up-to-date and vernacular subjects, and that they thus helped to free the audience and market for printed pictures from its virtual domination by religious interests.[14] Israhel's double portrait of himself and his wife certainly appears to be a strangely advanced image for its time (Plate 6.19). Among known engravings, it is both the first signed self-portrait and the first double portrait. From a modern perspective this image may suggest the unabashed self-confidence of a successful business partnership. However, given that husbands at that period became the legal owners of their wives'

earnings after marriage, it would be inappropriate to think in terms of partnership in any economic enterprise. It is more likely that the engraving relates to the kind of painted marriage portrait that patricians tended to commission, and that it thus serves both as an advertisement for Israhel's abilities as a provider of low-cost images, and as a claim on his own behalf to the status of a respectable and well-married burgher.

In establishing the printed design as a substantial work of art in its own right, Schongauer's equivalent and approximate contemporary in Italy was the painter Andrea Mantegna, whom Vasari credited with the invention of copperplate engraving (a mistake he corrected in the second edition of his *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*). However, where Schongauer's output can confidently be numbered at 116 prints, all of them signed, Mantegna's considerable status in the history of printmaking rests on a corpus of at most 23 known images (the number attributed to the artist by Adam Bartsch in his volume on the early Italian engravers, published in 1811). Even this slender body of work is disputed. In 1992 a major exhibition of Mantegna's work was organised by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Royal Academy of Arts in London. The catalogue included two essays on his activity as a printmaker.[15] The author of one of these, David Landau, attributed ten plates at most to the artist's own hand, some of them clearly unfinished, but the majority highly ambitious in size and scope. Among these were the *Entombment with Four Birds* (Plate 6.20), which is generally dated to around 1465, the *Battle of the Sea Gods* (Plates 6.1 and 6.21) and the *Virgin and Child* (Plate 6.22), described by Landau and Parshall as 'the artist's last and most beautiful print'.[16] The author of the second essay, Suzanne Boorsch, argued that there were no surviving prints actually from Mantegna's own hand, and attributed 23 prints – not all of them the same as those catalogued by Bartsch – to a single professional engraver working from Mantegna's designs.

There is a general consensus of opinion that Mantegna employed engravers in his workshop in Mantua, perhaps from as early as the mid-1470s. (The same craftsmen may well have been employed in engraving the ceremonial armour visible in contemporary portraits of Mantegna's Gonzaga patrons.) We can be more certain that engravings

both from his own drawings and from the earlier prints associated with his name were made in the 1490s by others working in his employ. There are surviving drawings from his hand that are closely followed in prints definitely attributable to other printmakers, among them the professional engraver Giovanni Antonio da Brescia (c.1460–c.1520). What can also be said with confidence is that the limited number of prints nowadays attributed to Mantegna's own hand by the majority of scholars – including the three reproduced here – show a remarkable range and inventiveness overall, together with a considerable development in technical sophistication and subtlety from the earliest to the latest. It is a reasonable conclusion that Mantegna cut his own prints while he was exploring and developing the potential of the medium, and that later in his career he employed other engravers to reproduce and to publicise his work.

The relatively crisp style and parallel hatching of the *Entombment* recalls the work of the early German engravers, and particularly of the Master ES, contrasting markedly with the so-called Fine Manner of cross-hatching that was prevalent in the contemporary work of Florentine niellists and printmakers. (The term 'Fine Manner' refers to a method of printmaking with a goldsmith's tool that tended to produce a fine and shallow groove in areas of shading. The resulting relatively thin and fragile lines wore down quickly in printing. For example, see Plate 6.7. In contrast, the Broad Manner was produced with a burin that cut a deeper groove, leading to a less abrupt distinction between outlines and shaded areas and encouraging the use of firm parallel strokes. The resulting incisions retained more ink, enabling stronger contrasts (see Plate 6.3). The Florentine engraver Francesco Rosselli (1448–before 1513) has been credited with introducing the Broad Manner to Florence in the early 1480s, following a trip north of the Alps. It is suggested that he learned the use of the burin with lozenge-shaped section from German engravers.)[17]

If the *Entombment* is a large print by the standards of the time, the extraordinary *Battle of the Sea Gods* is massive, measuring not far short of a metre when the two adjoining plates are printed together (see Plate 6.21). Notwithstanding the boldness of Mantegna's composition, the mixture of engraving with drypoint produces considerable subtlety

Plate 6.20   Andrea Mantegna, *Entombment with Four Birds*, c.1465, engraving, 45 × 36 cm, Albertina, Vienna.
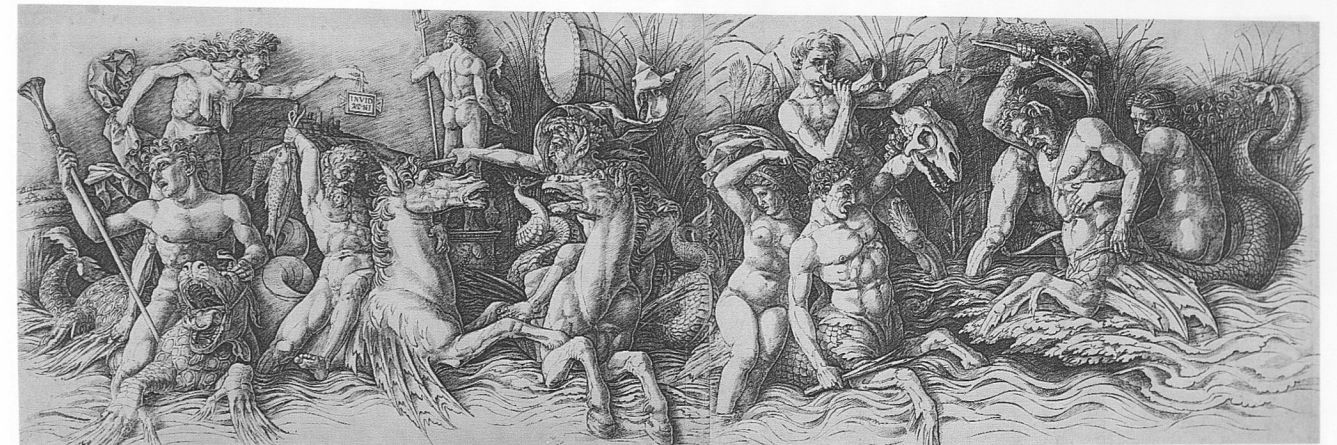

Plate 6.21   Andrea Mantegna, *Battle of the Sea Gods*, 1470s, engraving and drypoint, 28 × 83 cm, © The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

Plate 6.22   Andrea Mantegna, *Virgin and Child*, c.1480–5, engraving and drypoint, 25 × 21 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.
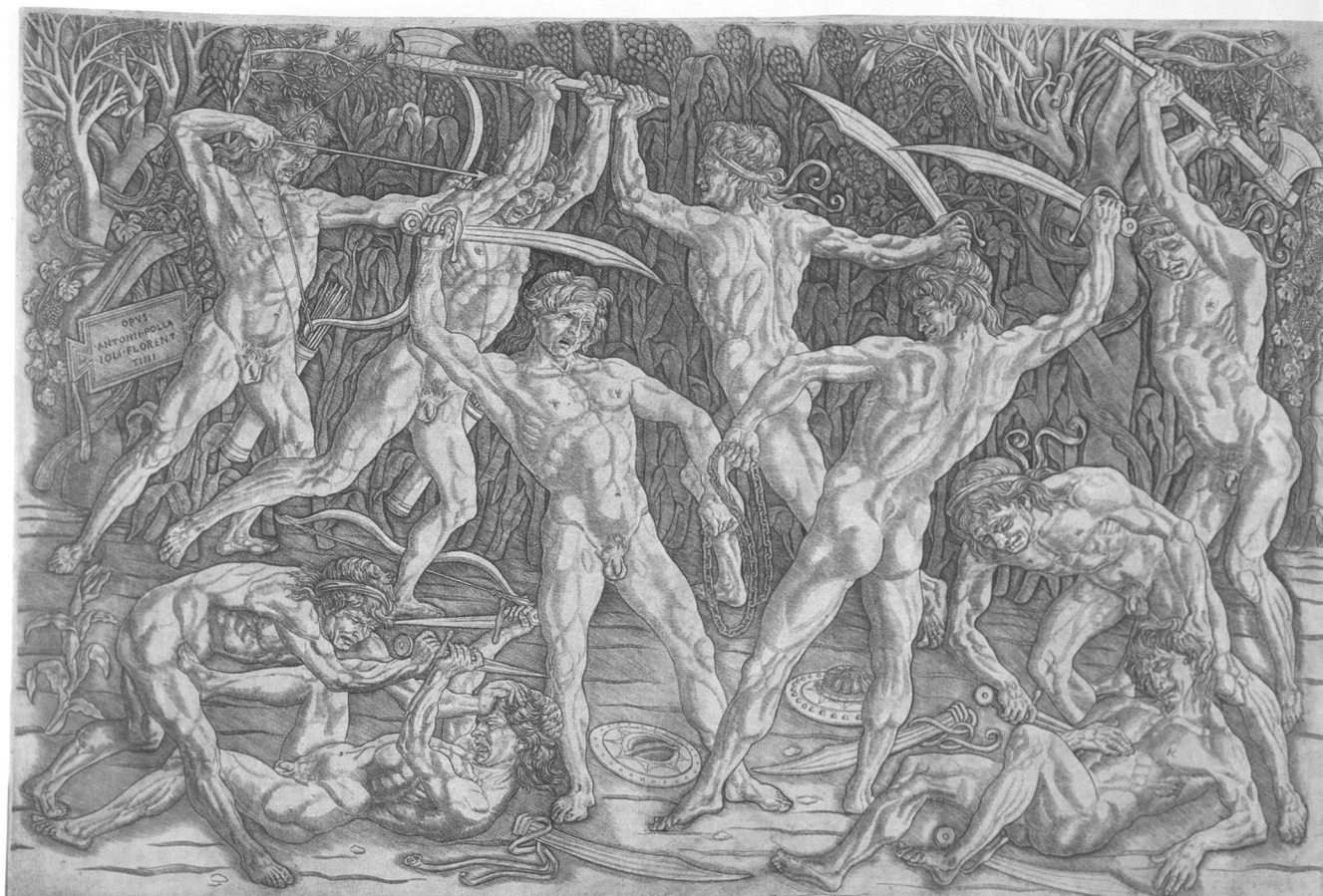
Plate 6.23   Antonio Pollaiuolo, *Battle of Nude Men*, 1470–5, engraving and drypoint, 42 × 60 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo: © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2002. Purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund, 1967.127.

and range of tone in early impressions. The only other Italian print of comparable size and scope is the *Battle of Nude Men* (Plate 6.23), originally engraved in the Fine Manner by Antonio Pollaiuolo (1432–98) in Florence in the early 1470s. (The plate was subsequently reworked with a burin in the Broad Manner, probably by another engraver.) Mantegna's print also invites comparison with Schongauer's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Plate 6.16) in terms of its ambition and complexity. It is clearly identifiable as Italian work, however, reflecting the courtly and literate milieu in which it was produced. It is distinguished not only by the references to classical precedents in the treatment of nudes and grotesques, but by the more marked plasticity of the figures and the more articulate organisation of the pictorial space. The artist's clear intention was to produce a graphic equivalent for the kind of carved frieze with which Roman sarcophagi were ornamented.

While the *Virgin and Child* offers a clear contrast to the *Battle of the Sea Gods* both in its theme

and in its expressive aspect, it testifies in equal measure to Mantegna's remarkable ability to hatch relief-like figurative compositions out of the flat surfaces of his copper plates. Whether or not the artist had the actual reliefs of Donatello and his followers in mind, the *Virgin and Child* offers a reminder of the continual cross-fertilisation with sculpture that coincided with the emergence of the print as an independent work of art. (Mantegna may well have been specifically interested in the bronze reliefs that Donatello produced in Padua, where he himself worked on the Ovetari Chapel in the 1450s.)

5   Paper, printing and publication

While relief and intaglio printing tended to develop along relatively independent lines during the fifteenth century, with Dürer and a few other (mostly German) artists exceptional in exploring both techniques, certain background factors were common to the development of both media. The

first of these – and the most crucial – was the increasing availability of paper, and specifically of paper of sufficient quality to preserve detailed impressions. This was a factor of particular significance in the development of intaglio printing. It took some while for the invention of paper in China to spread through the Islamic world to North Africa and thence to Europe, where its manufacture and use were slowed by Christian prejudice against all things associated with Muslim civilisation, and by restrictions on the transmission of the papermaker's craft. The first paper mill in Italy was established in 1276, in France in 1348, and in the Holy Roman Empire beyond Italy not until late in the fourteenth century. Italy remained the main European source for paper throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that paper was made in any appreciable quantity in either Holland or England.

The major factors that drove expansion of papermaking across Europe were the invention of movable type by Johann Gutenberg of Mainz around 1440, the ensuing development of the printing press, and the resulting rapid spread of book publishing from the mid-century onwards. It has been estimated that between 15 and 20 million books were printed in Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century.[18] Paper quality remained variable, however, and demand for material of suitable standard tended to outstrip supply throughout the Renaissance. Artist-printmakers must have been among the most demanding of purchasers. Under the technical conditions of the time it would have required a paper of quite exceptional fineness and consistency in order to capture the full and remarkable refinement of an engraving such as Dürer's *Virgin and Child with a Monkey* (Plate 6.24).

It should also be kept in mind that the care Dürer must unquestionably have exercised in the selection and acquisition of his paper would have been wasted had he not also had recourse to ink of an appropriate opacity and oily consistency. The manufacture of fine printing inks followed the development of oil painting, with which certain materials and techniques were shared, and was similarly governed by closely guarded recipes. (Typical basic ingredients were linseed or walnut oil, burnt pitch residue or lampblack, and turpentine.) While the demand for inks was

Plate 6.24   Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child with a Monkey*, c.1498, engraving, 19 × 12 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

intensified, like the demand for paper, by the rapidly developing printing industry, the artist-printmaker would have expected to exercise at least as much care over the selection or making of his own ink as he would over the medium for a painting.

The development of book publishing in itself provided a further major impetus to the development of the fine-art print, as has already been suggested. The major factor here was the demand for illustration. At least one-third of all books printed before 1500 were illustrated in some fashion,[19] though since books published during this period were made using relief printing techniques, where pictures were required they were supplied almost exclusively by woodcuts. (A woodblock could be bound into the printing form and inked together with the type. The inking and printing of an engraved plate required a quite separate process.) The demand for illustrations grew dramatically

during the 1470s, particularly in Germany and Italy. In many cases these amounted to little more than simple decorative vignettes, but by the later 1480s enterprising publishers in Mainz, Nuremberg and Venice were beginning to plan lavish editions that required substantial pictorial designs.[20] The *Peregrinationes in terram sanctam* of Bernard von Breydenbach provides an important early instance. Published in Mainz in 1486, this was an account of the author's pilgrimage to the Holy Land three years previously. It was copiously illustrated with woodcuts by Erhard Reuwich (1455–*c*.1490), who had been employed to accompany von Breydenbach on his travels. The most impressive of these illustrations were fold-out views of townscapes, including a view of Venice which opened to a metre and a half in length.

As has already been suggested, the rapid evolution of the woodcut followed upon a tendency for different specialisations to emerge in what had previously been one integrated practice. It was during the later fifteenth century that the named artist-designer emerged as a generally distinct figure from the cutter of the resulting blocks, in the process laying claim to a status denied to the anonymous craftsman responsible for woodcut pictures earlier in the century. A further significant point in this evolution is marked by Dürer's *Apocalypse*, printed in the name of the artist himself in 1498 and published by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg. This consisted of a cycle of illustrations to the Revelation of Saint John the Divine, with text printed on the back in separate German and Latin versions (see Plate 6.25). While this might still be taken as the illustrated form of a religious text, the clerics and humanists who acquired copies at the time presumably saw its religious value as greatly enhanced by the designs of the celebrated German artist.

A further high point in the development of the woodcut is marked by the extraordinary *View of Venice*, commissioned by the Nuremberg merchant and sometime bookseller Anton Kolb from the Venetian artist Jacopo de' Barbari and printed in Venice itself in 1500 (Plate 6.26). This provides the most dramatic of exceptions to the generalisation quoted earlier to the effect that woodcuts were addressed to a poorer clientele than engravings. Based on perspective studies made from the highest buildings of the city, the design was presumably either pasted or copied

directly onto the six walnut blocks from which it was eventually printed. Even individually these were of dimensions – approximately 66 by 92 centimetres – that required the manufacture and supply of paper of an unprecedented sheet size. The remarkable quality of the block-cutting has led to suggestions that German craftsmen may have been employed, in which case this was all the more clearly an international enterprise. The work of what must have been several years was rewarded by exemption from Venetian customs duties and by the granting of a four-year privilege (a kind of monopoly intended to protect an enterprise or to prevent copying, similar in effect to modern copyright but usually of much shorter duration). Kolb priced the printed sets at 3 ducats each (this might be estimated as the approximate equivalent of two months' wages for an unskilled labourer). The first state of the print is recorded in 12 surviving impressions. It is significant that although this was an independent print designed as a potential wall display, the immediate precedent for its publication lay in the cartographic illustrations to books published in Mainz and in Nuremberg in the 1480s and 1490s, such as those that Erhard Reuwich made for the *Peregrinationes*. In the year that the *View of Venice* was published, Jacopo de' Barbari moved north to Dürer's home town of Nuremberg to work for the Emperor Maximilian. The first Italian artist of note to travel to the German courts, he spent his last working years in the Netherlands.

Clearly, the development of a market in printed books could only increase the potential for circulation of independent prints of all kinds. The thinnest of lines divided printed books from printed broadsheets, and where books were distributed and sold, prints could be also. The person who funded the production of the one was increasingly likely to consider investing in the other, particularly as the improving technical quality of artists' prints attracted the attention of an educated and wealthy clientele. While intaglio plates might not have been generally used in book printing, it is reasonable to deduce that the rapid development of book publishing during the last quarter of the fifteenth century must in due course have provided a certain impetus to the development of engraving. Much of the evidence of acquisition of prints by collectors before *c*.1520 is furnished by impressions pasted into manuscripts or printed books, typically to

Plate 6.25 Albrecht Dürer, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, from the *Apocalypse*, 1498, woodcut, sheet 39 × 29 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: all rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919 (19.73.209).
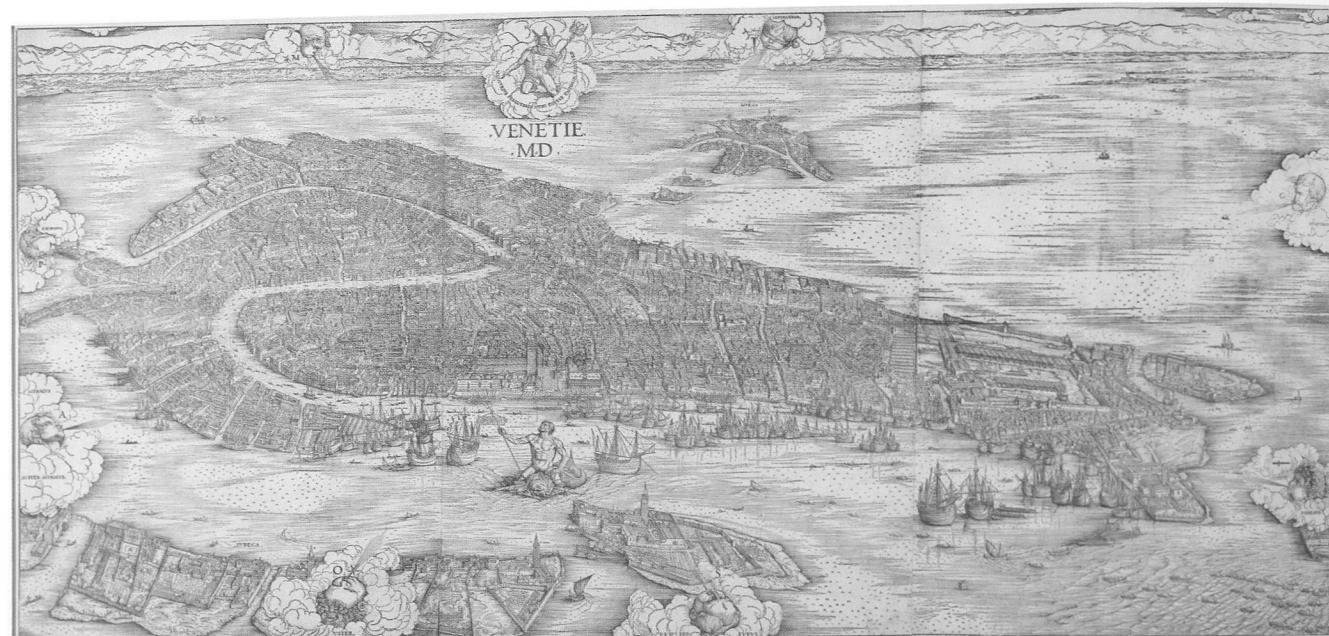
Plate 6.26 Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, 1500, woodcut from 6 blocks, 139 × 282 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

serve as a kind of illustrative accompaniment to the text.

What can be stated with confidence is that wherever in Europe the printing industry flourished – in Antwerp, Strasburg, Basle, Augsburg, Mainz, Nuremberg, Venice, Florence and, later, Rome – artist-printmakers tended also to emerge. The demand for illustration was one clear reason for this, the establishment of appropriate means of distribution and sale was presumably another. One further reason should also be taken into account. Landau and Parshall make the point that 'The publishing world in general stood at the advanced edge of entrepreneurial experiment and conflict in early modern Europe.'[21] To put the point another way, the development of a dynamic publishing industry required the presence or the emergence of an inquisitive and discriminating audience, which was a condition also highly favourable to the emergence of the print as an independent work of art.

6   Distribution and collection

As noted earlier, there is clear evidence that prints were in circulation among the workshops of painters, illustrators and sculptors from before the mid-fifteenth century. Particularly as techniques for the modelling and shading of form were developed by engravers, their works offered a

significant addition or replacement to the resource of graphic patterns and models upon which any practice would largely depend, and which the ambitious artist would always aim to enlarge and to update. Those prized drawings that served as fertile repositories of figure types and poses were by their nature unique. As was shown in Chapter 1, they tended to be guarded among artists' valued possessions and often to be handed down to their named heirs. Through the medium of engraving, on the other hand, distinctive compositions and inventions could circulate more widely and more rapidly, speeding the transmission and exchange of images and styles, not only in painting and sculpture but in goldsmiths' work, in the painting of majolica dishes, and in the design of marquetry.

The work of Marcantonio offers one mature instance of this transmission and exchange in operation. His engraving *The Climbers* (Plate 6.27) was completed some two years after his version of *The Angel Appearing to Joachim*. In this case the figures are derived from Michelangelo's celebrated cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*, which was made for a fresco in the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence. Marcantonio must have studied this work when he was in Florence in 1509. The background, on the other hand, is closely based on an engraving by the Netherlandish printmaker Lucas van Leyden (*c*.1494–1533) (see Plate 6.28). In considering the force of this example, it should

be borne in mind, first, that Lucas's engraving was made in Leiden in the north Netherlands a mere two years previous to Marcantonio's use of it in Italy and, second, that he was then far from being a well-known artist. *Mahomet and the Monk Sergius* is his earliest dated engraving, and for all its accomplishment he may have been a mere teenager when it was made.[22] (The story that provides the subject is taken from the fourteenth-century *Travels* of Jean de Mandeville. This tells how Mahomet became fascinated by the sermons of the Christian hermit Sergius. His resentful servants murdered Sergius, then, by showing the prophet his own bloodstained sword, deceived him into believing that he had done the deed himself after falling into a drunken sleep.) In fact, this may not have been the first instance of Marcantonio referring to Lucas's work, and it was certainly not to be the last. (His copy after Lucas's *The Pilgrims* is generally ascribed to the year 1508 or 1509.)

It seems clear enough that by the early sixteenth century prints were among the goods being rapidly carried and traded from one end of Europe to another. But what is particularly remarkable in the light of this example is the evident speed and sureness with which specific innovative prints came into the hands of fellow professionals, wherever they might be. One likely explanation for this is suggested by a passage in Vasari's 'Life of Marcantonio Bolognese and other engravers of prints'.[23] (While this is the text that furnishes much of the material from which a picture of the engraver's career has been constructed, it was not published until the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*. Its reliability as testimony should therefore not be taken for granted.) The passage in question concerns Marcantonio's first encounter with Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* series. According to Vasari's account, Marcantonio saw prints by Dürer 'cut and printed in wood and in copper' that were being offered for sale by some 'Flemings' in the Piazza San Marco in Venice.[24] In the transmission of pictorial styles and inventions in Renaissance Europe, it is likely that travelling dealers such as these played an easily overlooked but nevertheless significant part. Before the documented emergence of specialist print dealers in the later sixteenth century, these were people whose livelihoods depended in part on knowing where to look for attractive wares and new technical developments, who took the

risks involved in travelling with the resulting commodities, and who brought these commodities to the attention of those who might be attracted by them.

The investment of already well-regarded artists in the medium of engraving was certainly a major factor driving the market for prints in general and thus in ensuring their circulation. As to evidence for significant print collecting before the early sixteenth century by interested parties other than artists, this is patchy, though it is sufficient to confirm that a market was in process of development. Two substantial collections that have survived more or less intact from the late fifteenth century testify to the practice of pasting numbers of prints into books and manuscripts. The first of these was formed by Hartmann Schedel, a medical doctor and author of the *Weltchronik* – a major illustrated book published by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg in 1493. He appears mostly to have acquired prints by artists from the locality, though Dürer is a notable and surprising exception. The other was made by Jacob Rubieri, a much travelled notary born in Parma, who seems mostly to have acquired relatively low-grade images relevant to his travels. What is clear is that patterns of connoisseurship and patronage were changing around 1500, and that the development of the independent print was a factor in the relevant processes. As dealers and the artists themselves travelled between the various courts of Europe, prints were increasingly available to inform an enlarging community of interested parties outside the immediate circle of practitioners. They thus played an important part in narrowing the social and cultural gap between the practical pursuits of the workshop and the sophisticated intellectual interests of the humanist's studiolo. (This is the name given to a small private study often decorated with pictures.)

It is entirely to be expected, then, that the rise of the independent print in the last third of the fifteenth century should have coincided with the beginnings of a non-professional interest in and appreciation for the signs of individuality in artistic production. It is a telling symptom of this development that patrons who might formerly have restricted their interest to end results began to conceive of artist's drawings as objects of value in themselves, and accordingly to collect and to preserve them. In turn, as artists such as
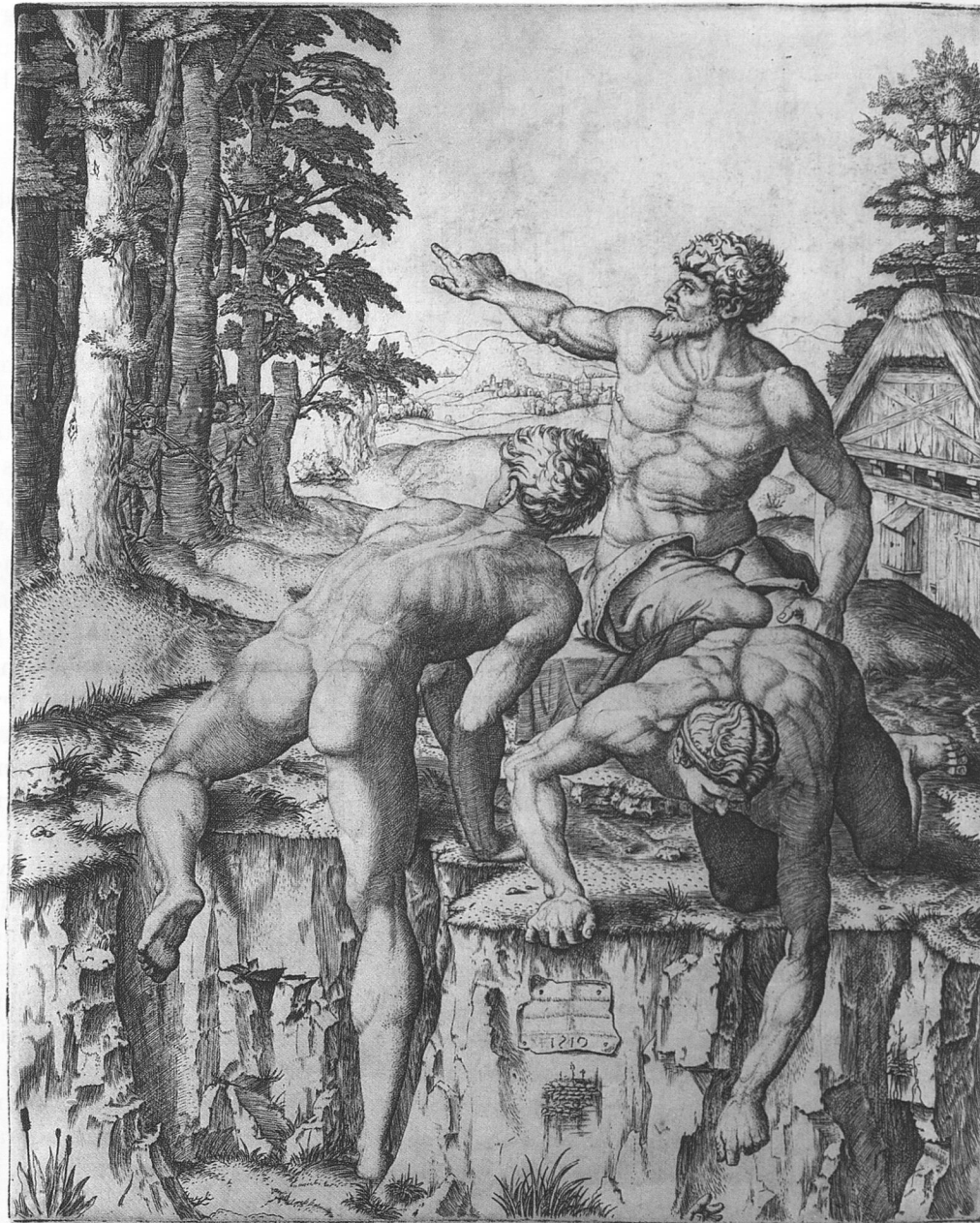
Plate 6.27   Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Climbers*, 1510, engraving, 29 × 23 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: all rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917 (17.50.56).

Plate 6.28   Lucas van Leyden, *Mahomet and the Monk Sergius*, 1508, engraving, 29 × 22 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Schongauer, Mantegna and Dürer devoted to the production of prints the same level of skill and attention as might be required in the execution of small panel paintings, engravings also began to be prized and collected by interested humanists and others outside the circle of fellow artists.

It has to be emphasised, however, that whereas artists tend to provide evidence of their print collecting through emulation and quotation, information about specific acquisitions is rarely available for collections made by amateurs before the second quarter of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, strong evidence of the status

potentially accorded to engravings is provided by a letter from Mantegna to the marquis Francesco Gonzaga on 21 December 1491. It concerns a 'small picture' (*quadretino*) that the artist had given him and that the marquis had then in turn presented to a contact in Milan:

> Having heard that your Excellency has sent the small picture to Milan, I am sending another, since I have the plates [*stampe*] to produce others in honour of the Virgin Mary.[25]

If it can reasonably be inferred that the original 'small picture' was an engraved image, what is implied is, first, that a print by Mantegna

– possibly the image of the Virgin and Child reproduced here (Plate 6.22) – was considered as a suitable gift not only *for* but *from* a person of the standing of Francesco Gonzaga and, second, that the marquis was not likely to be offended by being offered a repetition of the same image.

7   Invention and reproduction

The comparison of Dürer's woodcut and Marcantonio's engraving at the beginning of this chapter left a significant question to be addressed. It concerns the latter's motivation. Why should the Italian engraver have devoted such time and care to the copying of woodcuts by the German artist? It is easy enough to accept that he would have been impressed by Dürer's work and that he might have made a copy or two to familiarise himself with the character and intricacies of his style. This is indeed how Vasari represents the matter, in the text cited previously:

> Stupefied by Dürer's manner of working, he spent almost all the money he had brought from Bologna on these prints … Considering how much honour and usefulness one would be able to acquire if he devoted himself to that art in Italy, Marcantonio turned his attention to every detail of those prints in all diligence, and thus to copying Albrecht's prints, carefully studying stroke by stroke how the whole of the prints he had bought had been made.[26]

But *The Angel Appearing to Joachim* is only one of 17 images that Marcantonio copied from Dürer's series on the life of the Virgin. If his aim was to learn the secrets of the other artist's technique and invention, he was being thorough to the point of obsession. Some idea of the investment of time involved may be gained from a surviving contract signed with the engraver Bernardo Prevedari (1439–1554) for a print to be made in Milan after a drawing by the architect Donato Bramante (c.1443/4–1514) in 1481 (see Plate 6.29). A substantial fee was promised to Prevedari on the understanding that he would work on the plate 'day and night' and that it would be completed within two months.[27] The work in question was unusually large by the standards of the late fifteenth century, but even the smallest of compositions might take a week to engrave. Marcantonio was to be responsible for a large workshop in Rome from which almost 1,000 engravings issued in the course of some 15 years, but it has been estimated

that in the course of his busy career as a full-time printmaker he averaged no more than ten plates a year from his own hand. Dürer probably averaged fewer than four, though we should bear in mind that he maintained a highly successful career as a painter and designer of woodcuts.

Should it be assumed that Marcantonio was simply acting as a pirate, as Israhel van Meckenem is sometimes supposed to have done, and that his aim was to pass Dürer's designs off as his own? That suggestion seems inconsistent with the fact that he included Dürer's signature in his first copies. Vasari's account implies, rather, that Marcantonio aimed to profit from the fact that the German artist's works 'were highly regarded for their novelty and their beauty, so that everyone sought to have them',[28] and thus to pass his own work off as the other man's. He further records that Dürer saw copies of Marcantonio's versions, and that he travelled to Venice expressly to bring a suit against the Italian. 'However,' Vasari concludes, 'he got nothing but the sentence that Marcantonio could no longer add the name or monogram of Albrecht to his works.'[29]

There can be no doubt both that Marcantonio responded early to Dürer's work and that he was assiduous in copying it. His own version of the *Life of the Virgin* appeared *before* Dürer had completed and published the full set of 20 woodcuts. It is also true that in 1506 Dürer was in Venice and that he brought an action against the Italian in defence of his privilege. Although the Venetian senate might not have been much impressed by a privilege claimed by a German artist in the name of the Emperor Maximilian, Marcantonio does seem to have been forbidden from signing his later versions with the German artist's name. Thus, where the initials 'AD' appear in the tablet at the bottom right-hand corner of Marcantonio's *The Angel Appearing to Joachim*, in his later versions of Dürer's compositions the tablet is either left empty or bears the legend 'MAF', for 'MarcAntonio Fecit'.

Vasari's evidence should nevertheless be treated with some caution. Written some time after Marcantonio's death, his account encourages us to imagine a possibly hot-headed young Italian excited by the originality and evident accomplishment of Dürer's work and moved to speculative adventure, to the development of comparable skills, and to profit at the other artist's expense. But by 1506 Marcantonio was at least in
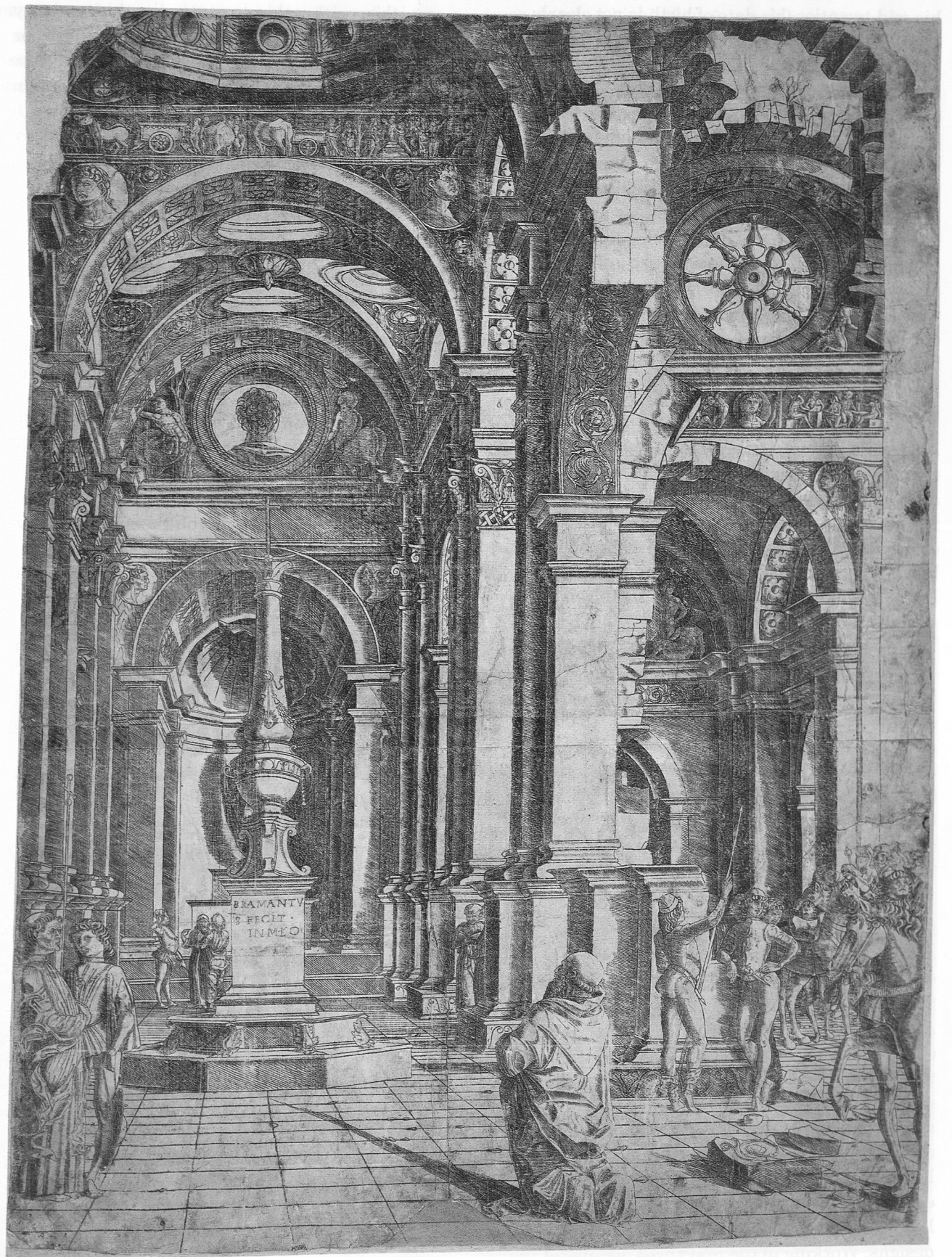

Plate 6.29   Bernardo Prevedari, after Bramante, *Interior of a Ruined Church, or Temple, with Figures*, 1481, engraving, 71 × 51 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

his mid-twenties (his date of birth is not clearly established) and had already served a considerable apprenticeship. Dürer was certainly assiduous in the pursuit of his own interests, though if he complained about the use made of his work by Italian artists, the complaints were not unmixed with pride at the recognition that such usages implied, while he himself drew freely on the work of Italian artists that he had seen on his first voyage to Venice in 1494–5. He may actually have been more concerned with the authenticity of his work and with his status as its originator than he was with controlling the distribution of the images in question. It seems to have been generally accepted both by artists and by those who regulated their practices that the *imagery* of prints might circulate in a kind of public freehold.

As for Marcantonio, he may have been less concerned to exploit the cachet of Dürer's authorship than to provide a series of high-grade images of the life of the Virgin from which multiple copies could be made. It has recently been claimed by Lisa Pon that the copies Marcantonio made of Dürer's illustrations to the *Life of the Virgin* were actually published – and presumably financed at least in part – by Niccolò and Domenico Sandri dal Jesus. These Venetian brothers were responsible for the production and sale not only of books concerned with the lives and teachings of the saints, but also of devotional images of the kind that had been made mostly in woodcut for over a century.[30] The suggestion is that the attraction of the project to the brothers lay less in its pirating of Dürer's style and invention than in its use as ready-made illustration to a religious narrative.

This is of course not to rule out the possibility that Marcantonio was independently motivated by interest in the German artist's work. He was certainly not discouraged by Dürer's action from making engraved copies after his work. Altogether he was to issue 74 engravings based on the German artist's prints. The one conclusion that can safely be drawn is that Marcantonio saw himself from the first not, like Dürer, as an *inventor* of pictorial images, but as a skilled agent of their interpretation and dissemination. I suggested earlier that the development of engraving in the later fifteenth century was largely driven by artists who engraved their own designs. Working in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, Marcantonio did more than

any other printmaker to contradict this tendency. But he was neither a straightforward copyist nor a dealer in plates engraved by others. He was the first fully *professional* engraver. His qualifications for this original career – and the impetus that drove it – are to be found in his combining of two abilities, each exercised at a high level: he had a discriminating eye for the work of others, and he brought both method and imagination to the representation of this work in printed form.

In fact, Marcantonio's response to Dürer's work in 1506 may well have been a factor not simply in defining his own vocation but in establishing a certain dependent function for the engraved image. It is certainly the case that from that point on the vitality of Marcantonio's business would depend upon a ready supply of original graphic images by considerable artists. Continuing as he did to draw upon the German artist's output, he was to be highly instrumental in the assimilation of Dürer's oeuvre by Italian artists of the sixteenth century. As suggested earlier, his print *The Climbers* (Plate 6.27) provided one articulate demonstration of how graphic resources from north and south might be fruitfully brought together. No one did more than Marcantonio to extend the *currency* of High Renaissance pictorial style at its most accomplished. After about 1510, when he settled in Rome, he was to establish a practical relationship with another of the most celebrated artists of the time. It was principally through the medium of Marcantonio's prints – engravings that were repeatable, easily transportable and relatively cheap to acquire – that the distinctive character of Raphael's graphic style was conveyed during the sixteenth century throughout Christendom and beyond.

A note of caution should be entered here. Marcantonio has been widely seen as establishing the technical apparatus of the reproductive engraving – a vocabulary of hatching and shading and dots and flicks by means of which heightened effects of modelling could be brought to the transcription of drawings, and a wide tonal range and variety of texture used as suggestions of the colour of paintings and the character of brushwork. It should be noted, however, that it was not until some time after the death of Raphael in 1520 that any reproductive prints were actually made after paintings, and not until the development of substantial print-publishing businesses some 30

years later that reproductive prints after paintings were issued in any quantity. The many engravings that Marcantonio made after Raphael and his school were based more or less closely on drawings that must have been made available to him, and that were not necessarily complete in all the details shown by the resulting prints. These were in a very real sense collaborative exercises, in which the engraver had a distinctive contribution to make to the character of the composition as printed. It is a paradoxical consequence of this collaboration that among its most remarkable outcomes are works, like *The Judgement of Paris* (Plate 6.30), for which no full compositional studies survive, so that in such cases the presumed accomplishment of Raphael's invention is recoverable *only* through the articulate medium of Marcantonio's engravings.

Where there are surviving drawings by Raphael that clearly relate to engravings by Marcantonio, the impression the evidence gives is by no means of the complete subordination of engraver to artist. It seems clear, on the contrary, that the distinctive competences of both parties were exercised in what

was clearly a highly fruitful working relationship. The most notable instance is provided by a composition on the Massacre of the Innocents which has been much studied.[31] It is recorded in a number of surviving drawings by Raphael and his workshop – ranging from preliminary figure sketches to carefully worked compositional studies – and in two engraved versions by Marcantonio, both of which are oriented in the same direction as the drawings, suggesting that the engraver may have traced an original composition. Both complete the scene with detailed background material missing from even the fullest studies attributed to Raphael (see Plates 6.31 and 6.32).[32]

It is argued by Landau and Parshall that the engraved compositions are derived from a complete drawing by Raphael that has not survived – and that was perhaps destroyed in the process of transcription.[33] There are two reasons for rejecting this argument, however. The first is that there are significant variations between Marcantonio's two engravings, which are known as 'with fir tree' and 'without fir tree', in recognition of the most

Plate 6.30   Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *The Judgement of Paris*, c.1515–20, engraving, 30 × 44 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate 6.31   Raphael or workshop, study for *The Massacre of the Innocents, c.*1510, pen and ink, 27 × 40 cm, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest. Photo: András Rázsó.

Plate 6.32   Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Massacre of the Innocents* (without fir tree), *c.*1513–15 or after 1520, engraving, 28 × 43 cm, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

conspicuous differences. The second is that it seems simply unnecessary to posit the existence of a complete drawing for Marcantonio to follow. It is evident both that he was quite capable of providing an appropriate background from his own resources, and that there is no strong reason to believe that his working relationship with Raphael was such as to prevent his exercising a degree of initiative. That relationship must have been based on a considerable degree of mutual reliance and trust. While the highly employed Raphael could have had no time for the business of engraving, even had he had the inclination, there was no question of the engraver claiming credit for what he had not himself produced. In the empty pedestal near the left-hand edge of the print Marcantonio's monogram appears beneath a clear acknowledgment of the other artist's invention of the composition: 'Rapha[el] Urbi[nas] inven[it]'. In the case of Marcantonio's engravings after Raphael, the status of the artist as inventor seems in most cases to have been reinforced in the ownership of

the plates. A substantial number of these were held by Raphael's agent, il Baviera.

An interesting footnote will serve to conclude this discussion – and to close the loop opened by the comparison with which this chapter commenced. The artist Tommaso Vincidor (active 1517– *c.*1534/6) was a minor member of Raphael's workshop who travelled to Flanders in 1520, where he met Dürer. On hearing from Vincidor of the death of Raphael, which occurred in that year, Dürer offered to exchange copies of his own entire graphic production for a set of prints in which Raphael's designs were recorded.[34] The implication is that he regarded these designs as indispensable contributions to the common and developing graphic resource upon which he and others would draw. It may safely be assumed that a significant number of the prints that Dürer thus aimed to acquire had been engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi.

54 Dhanens, 1973, pp.51–101.

55 Harbison, 1991, pp.195–7, 213, n.20, citing the doctoral research of Dana Goodgal.

56 Frequently translated as a 'sacred conversation', the name probably derives from the Latin *sacra conversatio*, meaning a holy company or gathering.

57 See Chapter 2.

58 The name of the woodworker who made the frame, Jacopo da Faenza, is inscribed on the back of the altarpiece, together with the date 1488. See Humfrey, 1993, cat. no. 38, p.348.

59 Goffen, 1986, pp.45–6. An *iconostasis* is the screen separating the sanctuary from the nave, on which the icons are placed.

60 Ibid., pp.32–4.

61 Ibid., pp.38–9.

62 Campbell, 1998, pp.387–91; Catherine Reynolds in Marks and Williamson, 2003, p.337.

63 For more detail on this altarpiece and its bibliography, see Zampetti, 1988, pp.264–5; Limentani Virdis and Pietrogiovanna, 2002, pp.264–77.

64 As Kauffmann (1970) demonstrates, the altarpiece was almost certainly commissioned by the confraternity of Valencia's municipal archers for the chapel in the confraternity's meeting house.

65 For examples of sculpted wood altarpieces, see Chapter 3.

66 For an early sixteenth-century Spanish *retablo major*, see Limentani Virdis and Pietrogiovanna, 2002, pp.380–91. For fifteenth-century Italian altarpieces combining sculpture and painting, see Humfrey, 1993, Plates 11, 117, and Welch, 2000, Plate 32.

67 Pagden, 1990.

Chapter 6 introduction

1 Statistics are drawn from Stevenson, 1991, p.234.

2 For engravings included within handwritten books, see Weekes, 2004.'

3 McDonald, 2005, p.20.

4 Bury, 1985, p.21.

Chapter 6   The printed picture in the Renaissance

1 Landau and Parshall, 1994, p.31.

2 Ibid, pp.40–1. The proposed publication was an anthology of classical authors which seems not to have been completed. It should be emphasised that contracts were by no means standardised at the time. Landau and Parshall refer to another project that Schreyer helped finance, the *Weltchronik* published by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg in 1493, in which the artists Michael Wolgemut and Hans Pleydenwurff were allocated a share of the profits (1994, pp.38–40).

3 The case was forcefully argued by Ivins, 1929, pp.102–11. The blocks Ivins attributed to Dürer on the basis of their distinctive treatment were those for *Samson Rending the Lion* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine*.

4 Dürer, quoted in Stechow, 1966, p.116.

5 Landau and Parshall, 1994, p.202.

6 Van der Stock, 1998, p.175.

7 The evidence is given in van Buren and Edmunds, 1971, pp.12–30.

8 Hyatt Mayor, 1971, unpaginated (between illus. 113 and 114).

9 See Landau and Parshall, 1994, p.49. Interesting evidence of the circulation of printing plates is provided by the reappearance of the plate for the *Large Einsiedeln Madonna* in northern Italy *c.*1490–1500, where it was reused for an engraving in the style of Urbino. The evidence is given in Bevers, 1986–7, pp.45–6.

10 This thesis was advanced by Wilhelm Pinder in the 1920s. It is cited in Shestack, 1967a, unpaginated.

11 Landau and Parshall, 1994, p.53.

12 Ibid., p.57.

13 Ibid., p.57. The relevant images are illustrated and discussed in *Israhel van Meckenem*, 1972 (see particularly Plates 69–72).

14 Ibid, pp.59–63.

15 Martineau, 1992. The essays in question were David Landau, 'Mantegna as printmaker' (pp.44–55), and Suzanne Boorsch, 'Mantegna and his printmakers' (pp.56–66).

16 Landau and Parshall, 1994, p.71.

17 See ibid., pp.72–3.

18 This estimate is given in Hyatt Mayor, 1971, between illus. 5 and 6.

19 See Steinberg, 1974, p.158.

20 Caution should be exercised before too close a parallel is drawn between the modern publishing profession and the activities of those who variously financed and organised the production and distribution of books, and occasionally of prints, during the Renaissance. As Lisa Pon has observed, 'No such term [as "publisher"] occurs in the sixteenth-century encyclopaediae of professions.' See Pon, 2004, p.49.

21 Landau and Parshall, 1994, p.11.

22 The principal early source for information on Lucas van Leyden is the *Schilder-boeck* of Karel van Mander, published in 1603–4, in which his date of birth is given as 1494. Lucas was clearly something of a prodigy, but it is unlikely that he was a mere 14 years of age at the time of completion of the print in question.

23 The original Italian is given in Vasari, 1976, pp.6–7. The English version is quoted in Pon, 2004, pp.39–41.

24 Quoted in Pon, 2004, p.39.

25 Quoted in Tietze-Conrat, 1957, p.241. The original text of the letter is given in Kristeller, 1902, pp.550–1, document nos 112–14.

26 Quoted in Pon, 2004, pp.39–40.

27 See Landau and Parshall, 1994, p.107.

28 Pon, 2004, p.40.

29 Ibid., p.41.

30 See ibid., pp.53–66. The principal evidence in support of Pon's argument is provided by Marcantonio's engraving of *The Glorification of the Virgin* from the *Life of the Virgin* series, on which a device appears which was used by Niccolò and Domenico Sandri del Jesus on books for which they are known to have been responsible.

31 See particularly the discussions in Landau and Parshall, 1994, pp.121–35, and in Pon, 2004, pp.118–36. While the authors of these studies are agreed on attributing both versions of the engraving to Marcantonio, they differ in their view as to the authorship of the drawing reproduced here (Plate 6.31). Landau and Parshall regard it as a study by Raphael preliminary to a final complete *modello* for the print. Pon sides with those who argue for another author, even entertaining the possibility that this might have been Marcantonio himself.

32 Various reasons have been offered for the existence of two versions of the composition. The most compelling, advanced by Landau and Parshall following information given by Vasari, is that the terms of Marcantonio's business relationship with Raphael were such that the plate for the first version would have been held by the latter's agent il Baviera, and that Marcantonio made the second version, as it were on his own time and possibly after Raphael's death, so as to be able to profit from impressions of the celebrated image. (The commercial success of the print is indicated by the existence of numerous early copies.) See Landau and Parshall, 1994, p.146.

33 Ibid., pp.123–4.

34 The meeting is mentioned by Dürer in a journal he kept of his travels in the Netherlands in 1520–1. See Conway, 1958, ch.7. It was Dürer's practice to travel with a stock of his own prints, which he used for gifts, for payments of certain expenses and for exchanges with other artists.

Chapter 7   Making histories, publishing theories

1 Leonardo da Vinci, 1970, vol.1, p.54: the terms used for 'lord' and 'God' are *signore* (that is, a temporal ruler) and *Dio* (the maker of the universe).

2 My special thanks go to Caroline Elam for her advice.

3 Alberti, 1972, pp.3–4. This is the English translation of the Latin *De pictura*. The same translation by Cecil Grayson but with a foreword added by Martin Kemp is available in Penguin (Alberti, 1991). Kemp helpfully put into italics those passages that Alberti did not translate from the Latin when he made his own Italian translation in 1436. For the English translation of the Italian *Della pittura*, which would have been the version accessible to artists themselves, see Alberti, 1966.

4 For the theoretical and historical texts considered in this chapter, the authoritative guide is still the survey by Julius von Schlosser-Magnino in the revised edition by his former pupil Otto Kurz: see Von Schlosser-Magnino, 1956.

5 Condivi, 1998, p.61.

6 For Leonardo's lists of Latin vocabulary and grammar rules dating from *c.*1490, see Leonardo da Vinci, 1977, vol.1, p.383, and vol.2, pp.130, 248, 353, 358, 387.

7 Van Even, 1869, pp.331–3. See Gilbert, 1980, pp.43–4: there were 28 books.

8 Vasari, 1996, vol.2, p.1020.

9 Milanesi, 1969, vol.1, p.354.

10 Levine, 1974, pp.31–49.

11 Aminadeb is one of the ancestors of Christ listed at the beginning of the Gospel of Saint Matthew (Matthew 1:4).

12 My translation from Boselli, 1977, vol.1, pp.80–1: 'Aminadeb q[uondam] m[agistris] joannini de Martinengo … Magistro Joanne de flandria magistro textur[a]e figurarum.'

13 Elizabeth Gilmore Holt (1957, vol.1, pp.1, 18, 22) offers a selection of texts, such as the treatise on art by Theophilus, who is thought to have been a Benedictine monk of Greek extraction and who probably wrote in the tenth century; the writings on religious art of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), founder of the Cistercian Order; and the description of the patronage of Abbot Suger (1081–1151) in his church of Saint Denis.

14 Baxandall, 1972, pp.114–53.

15 Roriczer, 1845, and for a translation into English, see Holt, 1957, vol.2, pp.95–101.

16 Brion-Guerry, 1962, p.151.

17 Dürer, 1958, p.121.

18 My translation from Barthélémy de Chasseneux, 1546, fol.213v: 'Quod mechanica ars septem habet species: Lanificium, Armaturam, Navigationem, Agriculturam, Venationem, Medicinam, et Theatricam. Et dicitur Mechanica scientia adulterina, sive non liberalis.'

19 My translation from Villani, 1997, p.153: 'antiquatam picturam … cepit ad nature similitudinem quasi lascivam et vagantem longius arte et ingenio revocare'.

20 Ibid., p.154: 'Extimantibus multis, nec stulte quidem, pictores non inferioris ingenii his quos liberales artes fecere magistros.'

21 My translation from Cennini, 1971, pp.3–4: 'dipingere, et conviene avere fantasia, e operazione di mano, … e con ragione merita metterla a sedere in secondo grado alla Scienza e coronarla di Poesia. La ragione è questa: che il Poeta, con la scienza, per una che ha, il fa degno [prima che el fa degno] e libero di potere comporre, e legare insieme sì e non come gli piace [pare], secondo sua volontà; per lo simile al dipintore dato è libertà potere comporre una figura ritta, a sedere, mezzo uomo, mezzo cavallo, siccome gli piace, secondo sua fantasia.'

22 Rossky, 1968, pp.49–73, esp. pp.43–5.

23 Cennini, 1960, p.2.

24 Ibid., p.91.