## Collecting Prints and Drawings

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Edited by

Andrea M. Gáldy and Sylvia Heudecker

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Edited by Andrea M. Gáldy and Sylvia Heudecker

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ACA Archivo Casa de Alba, Madrid

AGP Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid

AHPM Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Madrid

AHN Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Toledo

ARABASF Archivo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San

Fernando, Madrid

BMS Frederic George Stephens and Mary Dorothy George,

Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British

Museum, 11 vols., London, 1870-1954.

BNE Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

exp. expediente/file cart. cartella/folder

FBM Fundació Bartolomeu March, Palma de Mallorca

fol(s). folio(s)

inv. nr. inventory number

Inv. 1596 Inventory of the Ambras collections of 1596 (ÖNB, Cod.

8228 [ed. Boeheim 1888, Nr. 5556; Boeheim 1889, Nr. 5556])

KHM Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

LC Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

L./leg. legajo/File (Bundle)

MET Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Ms(s). Manuscript(s)

ÖNB Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Op. var. Opera varia p. protocolo r. recto

RA The Royal Archives, Windsor Castle RCIN Royal Collection Inventory Number

RL Windsor, Royal Library

SLUB Saxon State and University Library, Dresden

TNA The National Archives, Kew, London

UvA University of Amsterdam

v. verso

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## **FOREWORD**

Mr. Corcoran's portrait may not have pleased Mr. Worple as a likeness of his only child, but I have no doubt that editors would gladly consider it as a foundation for a series of humorous drawings. If Mr. Corcoran will allow me to make the suggestion, his talent has always been for the humorous. There is something about this picture—something bold and vigorous, which arrests the attention. I feel sure it would be highly popular.

—P.G. Wodehouse, "Leave it to Jeeves", 12 My Man Jeeves, first published 1919, available as EBook #8164 under

https://www.gutenberg.org/files/8164/8164-h/8164-h.htm.

As pointed out so helpfully by Jeeves, prints and, even more so, drawings possess an immediate and vigorous quality that makes them particularly suitable as documentary evidence, for example as regards portraiture. In certain cases the evidence may even go beyond attesting to a likeness or stating the outward appearance of a new species from a far-away part of the world. Indeed, prints and drawings often conveyed something more than mere information; both genres lent—and continue to lend—themselves to caricature and satire by means of their boldness of execution and their speed and economy of dissemination. In addition, since they are based on paper, their very fragility turns prints and drawings into ephemeral arts, attractive to the type of collector who might otherwise gather moths and butterflies.

For reasons of technical progress, cabinets of prints and drawings belong to the earliest art collections of early modern Europe. From the sixteenth century onwards some of them acquired such fame that the necessity for an ordered and scientific display meant that sometimes a dedicated keeper was employed to ensure that fellow enthusiasts as well as visiting diplomats, courtiers and also artists might have access to the print room. Often collected and displayed together with drawings, prints formed a substantial part of princely collections. They sometimes achieved astounding longevity as a specialised group of collectibles, for example in the case of the Florentine *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe* at the Uffizi (GDSU).

Prints and drawings, both bought and commissioned, were collected by princes and by private amateurs. As the rest of their collections, the prints and drawings were usually preserved and displayed as part of or near the owner's library in close proximity to scientific instruments, cut gems or small sculptural works of art. Both prints and drawings not only documented an encyclopaedic approach to the knowledge available at the time but also depicted parts of the collections in the form of a paper museum. Prints and drawings also served as a guide to the collections. They spread its fame, and with it the renown of its owner, across Europe and into new worlds of collecting East and West.

The topic of the present publication explores issues such as these: when, how and why did cabinets of prints and drawings become a specialised part of princely and private collections? How important were collections of prints and drawings for the self-representation of a prince or connoisseur among specialists and social peers? Is the presentation of a picture hang in a gallery, for example by Charles Eisen for the Royal Galleries at Dresden, by Nicholas de Pigage for Dusseldorf (prints) or the von dem Knesebeck projects for Schwerin Castle (drawings), to be treated as documentary evidence? Are there notable differences in the approach to collecting, presentation and preservation of prints and drawings in diverse parts of the world? What was the afterlife of such collections up to the present day?

"Collecting" and "display" are the keywords that characterise the scholarly aims of the international forum, which was founded by three scholars in 2004 (www.collectinganddisplay.com). The group has run a series of research seminars at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London since 2005 and managed a chapter in Florence from 2008 to 2012. From 2006 Collecting & Display have organised summer conferences in London, Ottobeuren, Florence, Memmingen, Jerusalem and Irsee. The present publication is the sixth in the series of conference proceedings and it is our hope that it will be followed by many more dedicated to different aspects of collecting and display.

The first conference took place in July 2006 at the Institute of Historical Research and discussed the connection between collecting and dynastic ambition (CSP 2009). This was followed by the conference on collecting and the princely apartment (CSP 2011), on female collectors (CSP 2012: *Women Patrons & Collectors*), and by *Collecting East & West* (CSP 2013), which examined the (often-times vicarious) encounters between different worlds via the collectibles imported from foreign cultures and displayed in settings that were intended to give at least a flavour of their original provenance. In 2013 Collecting & Display turned

<sup>\*</sup> See *Collecting and the Princely Apartment*, edited by Susan Bracken, Andrea M. Gáldy and Adriana Turpin. Newcastle: CSP, 2011.

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to collections of *naturalia* and *artificialia* (May 2013) in collaboration with Schwabenakademie Irsee. In 2014 two conferences took place: the first on collections of prints and drawings (Irsee, June 2014), the contributions to which are presented in this volume, and the second which addresses the interesting synergy between historical collection studies and new trends in museology (Memmingen, October 2014).

From 2014 onwards, our publications with CSP form part of a peer-reviewed special series under the heading of *Collecting Histories*. It is hoped that this "open series" will further enrich the discussion and exchange of cutting-edge research we aim to encourage through our conferences and seminar sessions.

London, Irsee and Munich, August 2016

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

# THE 1875 INVENTORY OF PRINTS IN THE MARTIN VON WAGNER MUSEUM (WÜRZBURG) AND THE CONVENTIONS OF EARLY MODERN COLLECTING\*

## **ECKHARD LEUSCHNER**

Writing an introductory note to this volume of essays on the history of collecting prints and drawings in early modern Europe is a challenging task, since the text will have to do justice to the contributions dealing with historical collectors and collections assembled here and, at the same time, give an outlook on the influences that the gathering, ordering and systemising of individual art collections may have had on our art historical methodology or episteme.

As every study of historical inventories demonstrates, many conventions of arranging works of art in terms of subject matter, media, artists, groups of artists, "classes" or "schools", art historical periods etc. were coined in early modern art collecting and handed on to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; they often are still very much alive in today's museums. Therefore, historical practices connected with collecting and their theoretical assumptions need to be studied carefully. In addition to that, historical collecting conventions and canon building need to be considered in relation to cultural and social contexts: what principles governed the (print) collections of high and lesser nobility, of clerics, of the bourgeoisie, not to forget those of artists, art academies and art dealers? And, how did these preferences influence today's prestige of certain artists or periods? Given the focus of the present volume on the collecting of drawings and

<sup>\*</sup> My thanks to Damian Dombrowski, Carolin Golll and Tilman Kossatz for making the von Wagner documents mentioned in this text available to me and for discussing aspects of their significance.

prints, my introduction will employ as a case in point an inventory drafted in 1875 (Fig. 1) of the prints that Martin von Wagner (1777–1858)<sup>1</sup> left to the art museum of the University of Würzburg: a museum that still carries the name of its first benefactor. The Würzburg inventory is ideally suited for discussing the ways, in which established (sometimes contradictory) conventions of classification and cataloguing, personal taste and methodological fashions in art and art history have influenced the organisation of a collection of graphic art at a particular moment in time.

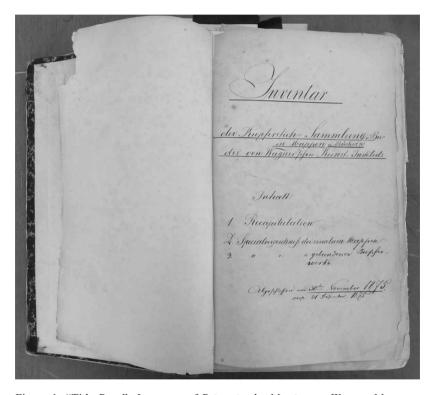


Figure 1: "Title Page", *Inventory of Prints in the Martin von Wagner Museum*, Würzburg, 1875 (source and © Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg, University Museum Archive).

<sup>1</sup> On Martin von Wagner as an artist and art collector see the contributions in Kummer and Sinn 2007; Moret 2007, 97-109 and 2012, 9-22.

The historical holdings of the Martin von Wagner Museum were largely defined by the founding bequest of its namesake, Martin von Wagner, artist and "art agent/dealer" (Kunstagent) to King Ludwig I of Bavaria.

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Figure 2: First page of the list of Rembrandt prints in the Martin von Wagner Museum, 1875 inventory (source and © Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg, University Museum Archive).

Von Wagner's collection consisted of works left to him by his father Johann Peter (1730–1809), court-sculptor to the bishop of Würzburg, and, to a larger extent, of his own acquisitions made in Italy, Germany and perhaps elsewhere. It comprised Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities, paintings (late medieval, renaissance, baroque, neo-classicist and romantic), drawings and prints. The von Wagner bequest brought to the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg one of the best art collections owned by a German university today. While other parts of von Wagner's collection, especially the drawings, have received a certain amount of scholarly attention, the character and organisation of his print cabinet remain unstudied. This fact is not entirely surprising, since important parts of the historical holdings of the Martin von Wagner Museum's print room. among these most of the Italian renaissance and baroque prints and the large collection of Rembrandt etchings (Fig. 2), were looted shortly after WWII and have never been recovered. By contrast, the collections of Greek and Roman antiquities, paintings, drawings as well as the holdings of prints by Dürer and Goltzius suffered little damage. Nonetheless, the already mentioned inventory of the Würzburg print room drafted in 1875 survives and can give a clear idea of the engravings, etchings and woodcuts accumulated by the museum at that date and which appear to have come almost exclusively from you Wagner's collection. In fact, the "W.S" (= Wagnersche Sammlung [Wagner's collection]) stamp, with which the prints from his bequest were marked in the museum, still makes them easily recognisable.<sup>2</sup>

Even though the majority of entries in the 1875 inventory are today *signifiants* without a *signifié*, because the prints themselves are missing, the inventory as such remains an important document for the organisation of a large print collection assembled by an artist-connoisseur in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Having been incorporated into the museum, its storing and cataloguing still followed a system of *Mappen* (folders), many of which appear to have been those in which von Wagner had kept and ordered his prints.<sup>3</sup> The single prints or series of prints are

<sup>2</sup> See http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/9817 and http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/9818.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Some of von Wagner's original *Mappen* have survived in the museum, cf. Kummer and Sinn 2007, 154 and 159. The Martin von Wagner Museum is currently analysing previously unknown documents in the university archive of Würzburg connected with the history of von Wagner's bequest. Among these documents, there are several shortlists or partial inventories of von Wagner's collection predating the inventories in the museum archive, particularly an "Übergabeliste" (inventory of all works brought from Rome to Würzburg after the

listed together with short titles, generic size descriptions (small/large 4°, folio etc.) and an estimate of their then current (=1870s) value on the art market. The latter provides interesting indications of the (non-) appreciation of certain artists or art historical periods at that moment. Printing states are rarely mentioned. The catalogue contains no references to the *Peintre-Graveur* by Adam von Bartsch (publ. Vienna 1802–21) or to other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholarly catalogues of printmakers' oeuvres.<sup>4</sup> This silence is further proof of the fact that the organisation of the Würzburg museum's print room as documented in 1875 was indeed still identical to what von Wagner himself had devised for his collection. The apparent irrelevance of von Bartsch's standards. needless to say, does not exempt us from identifying the models or art historical standards, on which von Wagner did base his collection, including the system of folders and their internal sequence. Such an identification seems all the more important, since large parts of the Würzburg inventory feature artists also dear to von Bartsch and to earlier print historians such as Baldinucci, Mariette, or Huber. It is sufficient to mention his holdings of prints by Italian engravers and etchers active in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, among them Marcantonio Raimondi, Agostino Veneziano, Giulio Bonasone, Diana Mantovana, Antonio Tempesta, Pietro Testa and Salvator Rosa, Whenever necessary, in the 1875 inventory the works of these printmakers are accompanied by the names of the inventors or of the creators of the original drawings. The same cataloguing system—*oeuvre* lists of individual printmakers that also

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artist's death) dated 1859. Unlike the 1875 inventory of prints, the section devoted to prints in the "Übergabeliste" does not mention individual work titles, but the titles of the "Mappen" are listed. Interestingly, the number of folders containing prints is significantly smaller than in the inventory discussed here, implying that some of the steps leading to the organisation of the print collection as described in the 1875 inventory were made in the Würzburg print room rather than by von Wagner himself. However, more research on these aspects is needed. My thanks to Carolin Goll for her information on the new archival documentation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The inventory of von Wagner's library ("Älterer Bücher Catalog d. Wagner Sammlung"), also kept in the museum's archive, lists not even a single copy of the *Peintre-Graveur* or of other manuals for print collectors, and only a surprisingly small number of standard works of "Kunstliteratur", among these editions of Leonardo da Vinci's *Trattato della Pittura*, Vasari's *Lives*, Lomazzo's *Idea del tempio della pittura*, the *Malerbuch* by Gerard de Lairesse, Joachim von Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie* and Stefano Ticozzi's *Dizionario degli architetti, scultori, pittori, intagliatori in rame*. However, the newly found documents in the university archive of Würzburg (cf. note 3) imply that not all of von Wagner's books came to Würzburg.

mention inventors or draughtsmen—is applied to engravers and etchers who were known to have exclusively relied on models by other artists, i.e. printmakers generally labelled as reproductive. On account of the low prestige assigned to these artists in the early nineteenth century, many of them were excluded by von Bartsch. Such was the fate of, for example, Francesco Villamena, Claude Mellan, Robert van Audenaerde and Domenico Cunego. Yet, all these engravers have their own sections in the 1875 inventory, implying that von Wagner did not restrict his collecting to the limits prescribed by von Bartsch's rigid selection from the history of printmaking.

Von Wagner's far-reaching approach to collecting is also exemplified by large catalogue sections listing the works of Francesco dell'Aquila and of Pietro Santi Bartoli, whose etchings, likewise excluded by von Bartsch, reproduce ancient sculpture and some of the most admired works of the High Renaissance, in particular Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican, And. von Wagner created *Mappen* that contained printed reproductions of the paintings and frescoes by the painters most esteemed during the eighteenth century, notably by the Carracci family, by Reni, Domenichino, Guercino, Poussin, Rubens and by Le Brun. He thus endowed them with an internal organisation according to subject matter, starting with religious themes, followed by mythology and allegory. In the case of the most highly valued painter of the early modern era, i.e. Raphael, the considerable number of reproductive prints in the collection required a more detailed iconographic structure (=scenes from the Old and New Testament, Madonnas, Apostles, Saints etc.) not unlike the thematic organisation of larger oeuvres in the Peintre-Graveur. Still more research on these structural parallels and their reasons is needed. On the one hand, von Wagner's "oeuvres in reproduction" conformed to eighteenth-century standards of art collecting; on the other, the overwhelming presence of Raphael and of the Bolognese artists also aimed at a meticulous documentation of the academic (neo-classicist) canon of his own day. He thus combined his efforts as a connoisseur, dealer and collector of renaissance and baroque art with his own activities as a professional painter educated in the circles of Heinrich Friedrich Füger and Jacques-Louis David.

Other parts of the inventory, however, appear to have been guided by diverging patterns. Some prints had been quite clearly grouped together on account of technical principles; for example there was a folder containing *clair-obscure* woodcuts by Ugo da Carpi, Antonio da Trento, Nicolo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Including the original engravings by Agostino Carracci.

Boldrini etc. and one with lithographs by Horace Vernet and by other early nineteenth-century artists. A considerable number of prints made in sixteenth-century Rome were grouped under the names of their publishers. Salamanca and Lafreri. The 1875 inventory also comprises a separate list of prints in bound volumes, many of which were large series of architectural or ornamental models or reproductions of entire art collections such as the "Galleria Giustiniana". Most importantly, there are several "theme" sections, e.g. of portraits (with subsections: scholars, artists, clerics etc.), Christian subject matter (including Alterthümer"), of ancient sculpture (with subsections: marble, ivory, terracotta, cameos), and of modern sculpture (Bandinelli, Cellini, Bernini, Canova, Schadow etc.). Within the "theme" sections, names of individual printmakers are mentioned less frequently, indicating that the documentary value of these prints was considered to be much higher than that of their engraver or etcher. A similar observation applies to the *Mappe* dedicated to the decoration of ephemeral monuments erected for occasions of mourning or celebrations of victory and of artificial fountains ("Trauer-, Siegesmonumente und Wasserwerke") by Paul Decker and others, artistic genres that were more at home in the court culture of the ancien régime than in the post-Napoleonic era. Many of these prints may in fact have come to Martin von Wagner through the bequest of his father, the bishop's court sculptor. Nevertheless, even in the "theme" sections, trajectories to the monographic approach can be found, since the *oeuvres* of certain artists who were known to have specialised in a particular subject matter received folders of their own. For example the original etchings by Herman van Swanevelt, Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi and Christian Reinhard were filed under "Landscapes". In a similar manner, Mappen containing the works of Johann Elias Ridinger and reproductions of the paintings by Philips Wouverman represented the genre of "Hunting Scenes".

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The *Gebundene Werke* contained, among others, the "Galleria Giustiniana", the "Arti di Bologna" after Annibale Carracci, the "Altaria et Sacella Varia" by Johann Jacob Sandrart, the "Fêtes publiques données par la ville de Paris à l'occasion du mariage de Monseigneur le Dauphin … 1747" after François Blondel as well as several of von Wagner's own print series.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Many prints listed in the 1875 inventory under the heading of bound volumes and containing ornamental models by Gilles-Marie Oppenort, François de Cuvillies etc. may have had the same provenance.

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Figure 3: First page of the list of "Oldest Sheets" (Älteste Blätter) in the Martin von Wagner Museum, 1875 inventory (source and © Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg, University Museum Archive).

While certain parts of the above-mentioned catalogue either reflect the by then already dated collecting cultures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or may actually describe sub-collections that must have been assembled in that period and incorporated *en bloc* into von Wagner's holdings, other pages of the 1875 inventory reveal Martin von Wagner as a collector of contemporary prints who was quite familiar with current trends in art production as well as in art history. He owned a considerable number of prints by contemporary—mostly German—artists such as Angelica Kaufmann, Friedrich Overbeck, Joseph Anton Koch and Peter von Cornelius (many of who were supported by his own patron, King

Ludwig I of Bayaria) and supplemented them with bound editions of prints by or after Flaxman, Percier & Fontaine and Thorvaldsen. He also collected "medieval art" on paper. Contrary to expectation, however, the catalogue section in question ("Älteste Blätter", Fig. 3) does not list prints from the initial phase of European printmaking before Schongauer, of which Martin von Wagner appears to have owned very few. Equally, his collection of drawings contains almost no examples dating from the times before Raphael or Dürer. The "Oldest Sheets" in the 1875 inventory were, in fact, engraved reproductions of pre-1500 works such as the Basel Antependium or Filarete's Door of St. Peter's and of selected works by Cimabue, Giotto, Ghiberti, Donatello and Uccello ("Meister des XIII. und XIV. Jahrhunderts"). On these pages of the inventory, it becomes clear that von Wagner tried to gain broad art historical knowledge. Either, he had not enough opportunity to acquire original pre-1500 works (on paper) or he was reluctant to enlarge the neo-classicist canon in that direction—the artistic canon guiding his own practice as a painter and draftsman.

A thorough study of the 1875 Würzburg inventory still needs to be undertaken. Worse still, there is no comprehensive list of prints mentioned in the inventory and still kept in today's Martin von Wagner Museum, which means that the prints from von Wagner's collection cannot be distinguished from later bequests or acquisitions without checking them individually. Although there is no doubt that an improved documentation of the preserved prints from the von Wagner collection would be very important, such a project should be carried out in close connection to a more ambitious agenda. The exploration of von Wagner's collecting of prints (as well as of other works of art) requires a clear understanding of his artistic, intellectual and cultural standards as collector, artist and art dealer. Such an approach necessitates the comparison with contemporary and earlier collections and with the models and inspirations available to him. It ought to include a study of the possible tensions between current artistic practice and the collecting of historical art or, alternatively, of individual "progressive" interests and of the established uses or functions of prints. Martin von Wagner is just one example, of course; but through research undertaken in this manner, the study of collectors and collecting will have a decisive impact on the future directions of art history.

## CHAPTER ABSTRACTS

### PART I

## Chapter One Valérie Kobi

From June 1717 to June 1719, the Parisian printseller and publisher, Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774), travelled through Europe at the service of Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736). The main purpose of this trip was to systematise the prince's collection of prints in Vienna, where Mariette stayed for more than a year. Mariette's numerous letters to his father, today kept in the Louvre, document this undertaking. Through this source, one can follow not only the initial indecision of the young connoisseur but also his innovations.

Indeed, in working on the prince's collection, Mariette progressively decided to add some *petits préliminaires*, or small introductions, at the beginning of each master's *oeuvre*. The purpose of these texts was to introduce the artist and to guide the viewer to evaluate his artistic manner by distinguishing its principal characteristics. These texts were followed by the *oeuvre*'s catalogue in order to facilitate consultation of the prints. By systematically cataloguing the prints, Mariette transformed the collection into a true *recueil*, in the sense of a "collection raisonnée" as defined by Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean le Rond D'Alembert (1717–1783) in their *Encyclopédie*. Through an analysis of this dynamic, the essay examines how the theoretical model the connoisseur had built in Vienna guided his conception of art history.

## Chapter Two

## María López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral

The origins of collecting drawings in Spain may be traced back to the first and most important collection ever gathered in the country, that of the Marqués del Carpio (1629–1687). Carpio was both a skilful politician and a committed patron of the arts. His biography was deeply influenced by the cultural policies of the Spanish court, by his family connections—as heir of the great minister Conde Duque de Olivares—and by his time as ambassador and viceroy in seventeenth-century Italy. Despite its importance in early-modern Europe, his large drawing collection has only recently become the focus of study. While collecting drawings had no