

and the ultimate triumph of photography shapes modern perceptions. Nonetheless, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the coexistence of reproductive prints and early photographs as vehicles to transmit paintings. As Macartney admits, the first photographers frequently shot prints rather than original canvases, and many of the earliest photographs of paintings were hardly successful. Visitors to the exhibition *No solo Goya* held in 2011 at the Prado had the chance to compare Laurent's alternate versions of Velázquez's *Surrender at Breda*, which surprisingly showed that the one made from the etching was in many ways a more satisfying image. Viewers today may scorn reproductive prints, particularly since advances in photography have rendered such works irrelevant, but nineteenth-century artists, collectors, and scholars prized them. In particular, Stephen Bann's work on the relation of painting, prints, and photography in France may offer insights into further ways to address the question.⁷

All in all, this volume offers a comprehensive and fascinating study which not only defines the subject but also opens it up for further research. As such, it could offer no finer tribute to Enriqueta Harris's memory. After writing this review, I learned that Nigel Glendinning himself had died, and it seems a fitting gesture that a book honouring another scholar should figure among Nigel's last publications.

The Hispanic Society of America, New York

PATRICK LENAGHAN

Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings from Spain. By MARK McDONALD. London: British Museum, 2012. Pp. 320. 350 col. illus. ISBN: 9780714126807. Published to accompany the exhibition 'Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings from Spain' at the British Museum, from 20 September 2012 to 6 January 2013

The story of painting in Spain 'from El Greco to Goya' has been well rehearsed. Traditionally told in monographic form, it encompasses a series of great names and great pictures, executed principally for religious, courtly, or private patrons. Often written out of this narrative, however, is the role of prints and drawings in Spain, how they relate to painting, sculpture, and architectural projects, and how they developed as independent, yet intersecting media throughout the early modern period. Multiple explanations have been given for this lacuna, ranging from the difficulties in identifying works on paper as 'Spanish', to the dearth of surviving examples when compared with their Italian, French, and Northern counterparts. Perhaps a more compelling reason, though, lies in the shifting attitudes towards prints and drawings, which were not as highly prized in early modern Spain, and which, even today, are at risk of being marginalized or treated in isolation.

But the story is starting to change. Recent exhibitions and scholarly publications have begun to fill the gap and address the problems concerning the study of Spanish works on paper. In 2010, the Frick Collection organized *The Spanish Manner: Drawings from Ribera to Goya*, which showcased over fifty Spanish drawings from public and private collections in the New York area. Chief among the artists represented was Goya, whose sheets were displayed within the context of his artistic forebears and comprised nearly half the drawings in the exhibition. The Courtauld Gallery followed in 2011 with *The Spanish Line: Drawings from Ribera to Picasso*, an exhibition accompanying the scholarly catalogue by Zahira Véliz, which marked the first complete catalogue of a national school from the Gallery's holdings. In contrast to the Frick exhibition, which cherry-picked drawings of the highest quality on the east coast, the Courtauld presented a range of works drawn entirely from its own collection, revealing

⁷ S. Bann, *Parallel Lines. Printmakers, Painters, and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001). J. Pearson Yamashiro also raises a number of interesting points in a review of 'A Higher Branch of the Art': *Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839-1880*, by Anthony J. Hamber in *Victorian Studies*, 40.4 (Summer 1997), 691-93.

the diversity of its holdings and underscoring the preparatory function of many Spanish sheets. Most recently, a catalogue raisonné of the Princeton University Art Museum's sizeable collection of Spanish drawings appeared in 2012, as did the publication complementing the British Museum's exhibition *Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings from Spain*, which is the focus of this essay.

The British Museum's show and catalogue differ from their antecedents in several respects. More ambitious in scope, they represent a greater number and variety of objects (over 140 in the exhibition, the majority from the British Museum's collection); for the first time, Spanish drawings are discussed and displayed together with Spanish prints; chronologically and geographically structured, the catalogue is arranged not by artist or object but, rather, in eight brilliant essays, thus eschewing the template of collection catalogues with brief introductions and endless entries. The author-curator, Mark McDonald, has provided the missing narrative of Spanish prints and drawings. He has stitched together the story of these objects by enabling them to speak to each other, and by considering them not in isolation, but in context.

The show opened with a striking juxtaposition: Francisco de Zurbarán's *Head of a Monk* with Francisco de Goya's *Spanish Entertainment* (Figures 1 and 2; no. 15, p. 134 and no. 50, p. 270). This provocative pairing set off the chronological bookends of the show and the diversity of media on display. Few surviving drawings have been associated with Zurbarán; the *Head of a Monk* is the only one with a firm attribution, given its similarity to the artist's paintings of saints, dramatically lit and reminiscent of Caravaggio. The down-turned eyes in the drawing complicate the question of whether this figure is dead or alive, reading or meditating. The stark contrast between light and shadow in Zurbarán's drawing is equally prominent



FIGURE 1 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Head of a Monk*, c. 1635–1655. Black chalk, grey wash with traces of pen and ink, 27.7 × 19.6 cm, British Museum, London.

Photograph: British Museum, London



FIGURE 2 Francisco de Goya, *Spanish Entertainment*, 1825. Lithograph, 30 × 41 cm, British Museum, London.

Photograph: British Museum, London

in Goya's print. One of four lithographs known as the *Bulls of Bordeaux*, which Goya executed after moving to France in 1824, this print represents an amateur ring at the start of a fiesta, when the bulls are allowed to run free. It is an outstanding example of Goya's virtuoso technique, and with Zurbarán's drawing, it aptly set the stage for the quality of works presented throughout the exhibition.

Like the catalogue, the show was divided by region and period into five sections: Castile (1500s); Madrid (1600s); Andalusia (1560–1740); Valencia, and Ribera in Naples (1550–1800); Madrid, Goya, and his contemporaries (1700–1828). The publication provides further contextual material with an opening chapter on the historiography and evidence of prints and drawings in Spain, followed by a chapter on the earliest surviving examples and collecting activities in the Iberian Peninsula. The eighteenth century is divided into two chapters, the first exploring the artistic context from which Goya emerged, the second devoted exclusively to the graphic works of this prolific master. Historical context was usefully translated in the exhibition through didactic panels: a map of early modern Spain; a timeline of key events; and a view of the Escorial near Madrid, which introduced the first section.

The greatest architectural achievement of Philip II's reign, the monastery-palace of the Escorial has played a major role in Spain's history since its foundation stone was laid in 1563. Dedicated to Saint Lawrence, it was designed as the burial chamber of the Habsburg dynasty and became the site of Philip's library and art collections. Following his extensive travels throughout Europe, Philip turned to foreign artists, notably Italian and Flemish, to decorate the austere monastery. The most renowned of the Italians was Federico Zuccaro, who worked at the Escorial for three years. Several of his preparatory drawings survive, including *The Pentecost*, a large finished study on blue paper for the painted composition on the upper story of the basilica's high altar (no. 10, p. 64). Among the works executed by Pellegrino Tibaldi, appointed Architect to his Majesty in 1586, is *Christ Presented to the People*, a fresco in the cloister, which he prepared in a highly finished squared drawing (no. 8, p. 62). Equally noteworthy is the work of Pedro Perret, whose engravings of the Escorial constitute one of the most elaborate sixteenth-century architectural publications (Figure 3; no. 28, p. 76). Having introduced large-scale copperplate engraving to Spain, Perret became the most important printmaker in the Peninsula, and his talents were exploited by the king, who recognized the potential of prints for broadcasting information.

Philip established Madrid as his capital in 1561, and soon thereafter the city witnessed a flowering of the arts, Spain's so-called 'Golden Age'. Leading figures of the next generation included Vicente Carducho, best known for his treatise *Diálogos de la pintura* (1633), but equally celebrated as a painter and draughtsman. His preparatory study for the *Adoration of the Magi* — carefully planned and squared for transfer — is exemplary of his technique (no. 8, p. 87). Friend and collaborator Eugenio Cajés joined forces with Carducho in attempting to form an official Spanish academy, yet to no avail. While drawing was considered fundamental to artistic training, prints were used for instructional purposes and as compositional sources; a drawing by Cajés depicting *The Circumcision of Christ* (no. 4, p. 24), whose central figures derive from a print by Hendrick Goltzius (no. 5, p. 25), also displayed in the show, is a case in point. Following the deaths of Carducho and Cajés, Antonio Pereda was one of the rising stars to make his mark in Madrid. A striking example of his draughtsmanship is *Saint Jerome in the Desert* (Figure 4; no. 21, p. 94): executed in mixed media, it reveals Pereda's interest in exploring colouristic effects. The drawing relates to a painting in the Prado of Saint Jerome (no. 20, p. 94), patron saint of the Hieronymite Order, which was especially active in the capital.

In the late sixteenth century, a number of publishing houses were established in Madrid; the most prominent was the *Imprenta Real*, founded around 1590. While many Spanish artists were involved in printmaking, it was generally not their main focus. The first to challenge the stronghold of foreign printmakers in Madrid was Pedro de Villafranca. Having been appointed Royal Engraver in 1654, Villafranca made several portrait engravings of Philip IV after

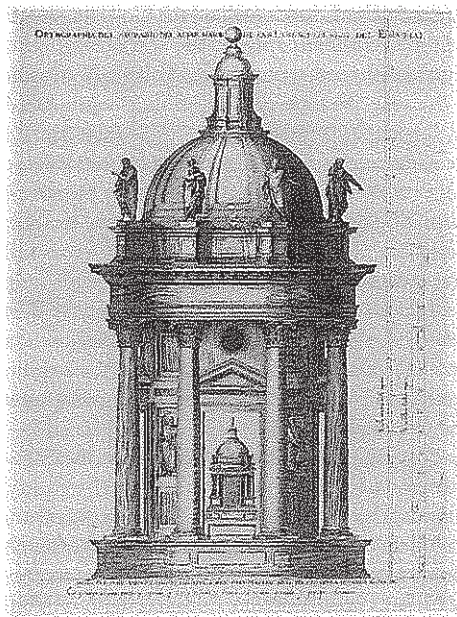


FIGURE 3 Pedro Perret, *The Tabernacle of the Holy Sacrament in the Church of San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial*, 1583. Engraving, 48 × 34.4 cm, British Museum, London. Photograph: British Museum, London



FIGURE 4 Antonio Pereda, *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, c. 1640–1645. Red, black, and white chalk with brown and grey wash, 25.5 × 21.5 cm, British Museum, London. Photograph: British Museum, London

Velázquez. His 1657 engraving reproduces Velázquez's painting, probably the later version in the National Gallery, London, and incorporates it into an elaborate design of his own invention (nos 58 and 59, p. 117).

Unlike Madrid, Seville had no court to structure patronage, so artists there relied primarily on the Church and private patrons for commissions. The dominant artist-theoretician in Seville was Francisco Pacheco, whose treatise *Arte de la pintura* (1649), like Carducho's *Diálogos*, emphasizes the importance of drawing in artistic practice. Two works in the exhibition — *Saint Matthew and the Angel* and *Saint John the Evangelist* — demonstrated Pacheco's precise, linear style and his preoccupation with documenting the process of drawing (nos 11 and 12, p. 132). Both sheets are inscribed at the bottom in the artist's hand with the day, month and year of execution, intimating their status as finished works of art. Among Pacheco's most celebrated students were his son-in-law, Diego Velázquez, and Alonso Cano from Granada. Velázquez and Cano became lifelong friends, though their attitudes towards drawing diverged sharply. Of the former, Pacheco wrote that he drew from life, yet few sheets attributed to Velázquez survive, suggesting that drawing did not play a central role in his artistic process. In contrast, many sheets are given to Cano, who used drawing to plan meticulously painting, sculpture and architectural commissions, and also to record finished works such as the ink-and-wash *Assumption of the Virgin* after his painting in Granada Cathedral (nos 27 and 28, p. 143).

Even more prolific a draughtsman than Cano, Antonio del Castillo spent his entire career in Córdoba. His preferred medium was pen and ink, as shown in the *Study of Seven Heads* (nos 32 and 33, p. 146). Clearly inspired by the pattern prints of Frederick and Abraham Bloemaert, an example of which was included in the exhibition, this sheet was perhaps

intended to be engraved for instructional purposes. The most successful artist in seventeenth-century Seville was Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. Working in a variety of media, he executed drawings ranging from the highly finished black and red chalk *Saint Francis of Paola* (no. 43, p. 153), which records rather than prepares the painted composition, to the cursory pen and ink drawing of *The Penitent Saint Peter* (Figure 5; no. 44, p. 154), which represents a preliminary sketch of the figure.

In addition to Murillo, José de Ribera emerged not only as a celebrated painter, but also as a leading graphic artist of the seventeenth century. Born in Játiva near Valencia, Ribera spent the majority of his career in Naples, which was then a Spanish territory governed by viceroys. His prints and drawings surpass those of his Valencian and Neapolitan contemporaries in their technical virtuosity and conceptual ingenuity. While Ribera drew throughout his life, his career as a printmaker was short-lived. Of the eighteen etchings that he produced, five were displayed in the exhibition: the *Large Grotesque Head* (no. 23, p. 180), *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgement*, *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (Figure 6; no. 25, p. 182), *The Drunken Silenus* (no. 26, p. 183), and the *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria* (no. 28, p. 184). An alternative selection might have included additional examples in order to trace Ribera's development as a printmaker and to forge more explicit connections between the works. For instance, his three anatomical studies, which recall the pattern prints by Bloemaert, exhibited nearby, directly relate to the *Large Grotesque Head*, which may be the missing plate of Ribera's abandoned pattern book. Indeed, the *Studies of Noses and Mouths* incorporates a grotesque element, and it pushes the boundaries of the pattern book by exploring not only physiognomy, but also expression.

Another connection could have been made by featuring Ribera's print of the *Small Grotesque Head*, which resembles the face of the principal executioner in *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*. However, the juxtaposition of the Bartholomew print with its preliminary study in pen and ink provided a window into the artist's working methods, as he prepared



FIGURE 5 Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Penitent Saint Peter*, c. 1670–1680. Pen and brown ink, 19 × 15.3 cm, British Museum, London.

Photograph: British Museum, London



FIGURE 6 José de Ribera, *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, 1624. Etching with engraving, 31.4 × 24.1 cm, British Museum, London.

Photograph: British Museum, London

his first multi-figured composition in etching (no. 30, p. 185). Moreover, the drawing of *Tityus or Prometheus* on view demonstrated the artist's reuse of the same sheet (no. 31, p. 185): McDonald convincingly proposes that Ribera may have rotated the page as he drew in order to study the writhing figure from different angles, a hypothesis that is reinforced by the flexible nature of paper as a support. But drawing was not simply a means to an end for Ribera. It also allowed him to explore related motifs independently from painted or printed compositions. *A Saint (Albert?) Tied to a Tree*, masterfully executed in red chalk, is the only drawing signed and dated by the artist (no. 32, p. 186). McDonald postulates that Ribera may have intended the design to be engraved, but ultimately it seems to have been conceived as a work of art in its own right.

A sea change in the graphic arts occurred in the eighteenth century following the establishment of the Academy of San Fernando in Madrid in 1744. Despite previous attempts to launch artistic academies, this, the first formal academy in Spain, was founded rather late compared to its counterparts in Florence, Rome, Paris, and Flanders. As in other European academies, drawing remained central to artistic training at the Academy in Madrid, and printmaking gained increasing importance for pedagogical instruction. Among the new generation of Spanish artists trained at the Academy were Francisco Bayeu, Mariano Salvador Maella, and Luis Paret. An exact contemporary of Goya's, Paret was represented in the exhibition by one of his finest preparatory drawings for a painting, *The Masked Ball in the Teatro del Principe* (no. 26, p. 209), as well as by a portrait drawing of María Luisa de Borbón, possibly intended for a print (no. 29, p. 210).

While skilled printmakers in early eighteenth-century Madrid were few, the industry expanded by around 1750, and printmaking in Spain was then divided between professional engravers and painter-printmakers. In addition to local talent, foreign artists were equally pursued. The Tiepolo family made the greatest impression on artist-printmakers in Spain, with works such as Domenico's series of twenty-seven etchings of *The Flight into Egypt* disseminating his technical mastery (no. 30, p. 211). Book projects called for collaboration between artists, one of the most prestigious publications being the 1780 illustrated edition of *Don Quijote*. Antonio Carnicero provided nineteen final designs for the book, including *Don Quijote Defeated by the Knight of the White Moon*, engraved by José Joaquín Fabregat (Figure 7; no. 42, p. 219). As a result of the thriving print market during these years, the Royal Chalcography was established in 1789, creating an annex to the Imprenta Real in order to centralize printmaking activities. Against this backdrop of evolving techniques, functions and perceptions of prints and drawings in Spain emerged the figure of Francisco de Goya, whose dominant artistic force transformed the landscape of the graphic arts in the Iberian Peninsula and beyond.

In both quantity and quality, Goya's graphic output upstaged that of his Spanish contemporaries, for he produced around three hundred prints and nine hundred drawings. There are many intersections between his works on paper, and, since his prints and drawings were not commissioned, they provide a window into the subjects that deeply preoccupied the artist. One of Goya's earliest prints, *The Garrotted Man*, is a noteworthy example of etching as an extension of drawing (nos 5 and 6, p. 238). Prominently juxtaposed in the exhibition, the drawing and the print together recalled the transfer process of the design, from the black chalk rubbed on the verso of the sheet to the plate using a stylus. Responding to the demand for prints after the Spanish Old Masters, Goya executed his first series of etchings after Velázquez. His rendition of *Los Borrachos* (no. 8, p. 239) contrasts with Manuel Salvador Carmona's engraving after the same picture (nos 39 and 40, p. 217): while the latter translates faithfully painting into print, the former interprets freely the subject of *The Drunkards*, converting Velázquez's figures into rustic types.

Goya's first series of original prints for which he is best known is *Los Caprichos*, published in 1799. A cycle of eighty prints representing whimsical subjects, the *Caprichos* served as an elaborate critique of eighteenth-century Spanish society. *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters* has become an iconic image (nos 11 and 12, p. 242). Inscriptions on the preparatory



FIGURE 7 José Joaquín Fabregat after Antonio Carnicero, *Don Quijote Defeated by the Knight of the White Moon*, 1780. Etching and engraving, 20.7 × 14.2 cm, British Museum, London.

Photograph: British Museum, London

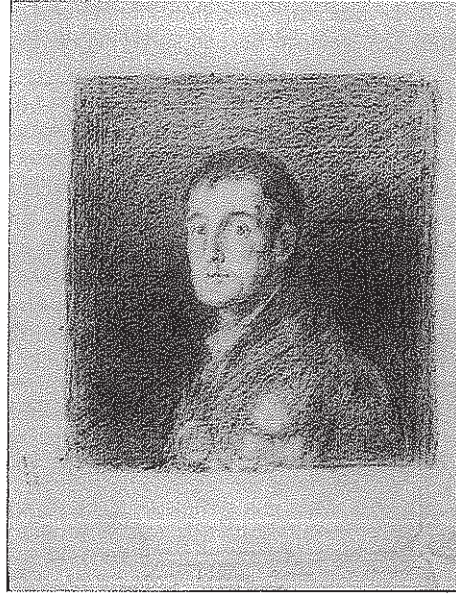


FIGURE 8 Francisco de Goya, *Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington*, 1812. Red chalk over black chalk and graphite, 23.5 × 17.7 cm, British Museum, London.

Photograph: British Museum, London

drawing indicate that Goya originally conceived the design as the title page, but then he abandoned this idea in favour of his self-portrait as the published frontispiece, shifting *The Sleep of Reason* to plate 43 in the sequence. Goya's following series of prints, *The Disasters of War*, comprise eighty aquatint etchings, executed c. 1810–1815 and published posthumously in 1863. The prints were made in response to the Napoleonic invasion of Spain (1808–1813), the famine of Madrid (1811–1812), and the repressive government of Ferdinand VII. Goya's first-hand experience of these atrocities is captured most explicitly in the etching entitled *I saw It*, which depicts peasants fleeing in terror (no. 23, p. 248).

Alongside *The Disasters of War*, Goya received commissions to paint official portraits of war heroes, notably Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, who commanded the victorious British army at the Battle of Arapiles (Figure 8; no. 28, p. 251). An outstanding red chalk study of Wellington served a triple preparatory function: for the equestrian portrait in Apsley House (no. 29, p. 251); for the half-length portrait in the National Gallery, London; and apparently for a print, given the strong platemark on the sheet and the reserve of paper below the sitter, left vacant for an inscription. While Goya drew throughout his life, it was not until he turned fifty that he started to draw increasingly for his own pleasure, executing eight 'albums' or sketchbooks of drawings that vary in length, size, and subject. A drawing from the so-called 'Inquisition Album', entitled *For Having Jewish Ancestry*, represents the subject of judicial abuse, evoking Goya's profound preoccupations with the human condition, which is a leitmotif throughout his painted and graphic oeuvre (no. 35, p. 255).

Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings from Spain should be commended for its ambitious achievement. Beyond surveying the British Museum's collection of a national school, it provides a comprehensive account of the evolution of graphic practices in early modern Spain, while paving the way for future scholars and curators to explore the legacy of Goya. The beautiful presentation of the catalogue with high-quality, colour illustrations was matched by the stunning display of the works themselves: uniformly in excellent condition, many had never been exhibited before. An invaluable appendix by Clara de la Peña McTigue on paper and papermaking in Spain analyses the material properties of these objects, recalling their fragility and thus the uniqueness of such an exhibition. Beyond a mere record of the show, however, the catalogue is now essential reading in the field, and it will serve as a standard text for any students of Spanish art history. Overall, the major contribution of this project is its reintegration of prints and drawings into the narrative of Spanish art, giving them pride of place in the broader history of the graphic arts in Europe.

The Morgan Library & Museum, New York

EDWARD PAYNE