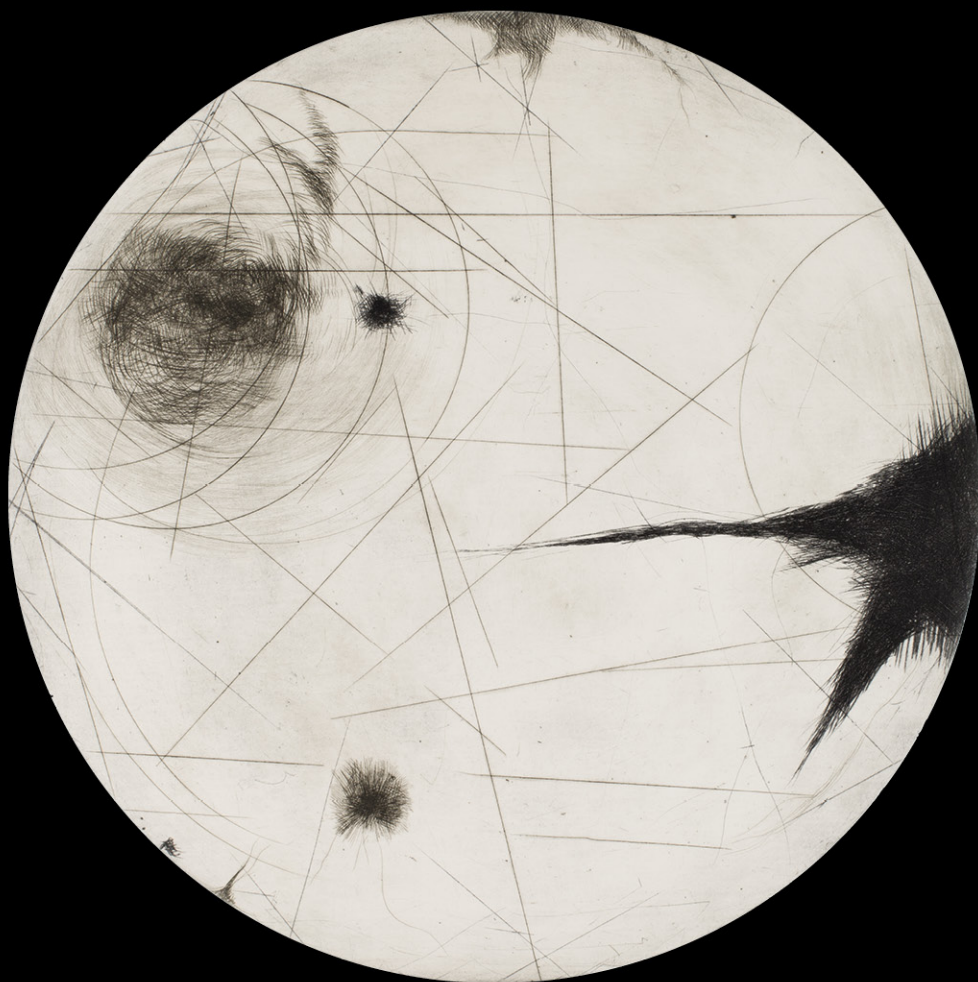


TRILOGY ABOUT SEVERAL URBAN VIEW AND LANDSCAPE PRINTS

M. Rosa Vives





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Contents

Preface. Views of the City and Views in the City, by <i>Antoni Remesar</i>	9
Introduction	15
I. Landscape Prints Divided into Two: Canaletto, Goya and Hokusai	17
<i>Imaginary View of Venice</i> by Canaletto	20
Partition line, gap, fissure... ..	25
Goya's landscape prints: Landscape with Great Rock, Buildings and Trees, and Landscape with Great Rock and a Waterfall	28
Value and use of the material. Making the most of the copper.....	31
Divided landscape	32
On the Goyesque landscape	32
Symbology of the rock	38
The rock in Japanese prints.....	41
Hokusai's split rock	44
Partitions, modules, windows and other analogies	45
II. From the Sign to the Double Image: Landscape/Face, Face/Landscape on Several Prints by Picasso	51
Signic drifts.....	51
Double image: landscape/face or face/landscape?	59
III. Repertoire of Urban Views of the Paris of 1900. The Etchings of Joaquim Sunyer.....	71
Sunyer the etcher	75
Colour prints	77

A Catalan <i>flânant</i> around Paris	80
Shows and entertainment	81
The humble trades in the street, at the time the decline of the tradition was setting in.....	84
Strollers in Le Jardin du Luxembourg	93
Repertoire of street scenes	97
Canal Saint Martin.....	99
Rue de la Lune.....	105
Rue des Abbesses.....	109
Place de l'Abreuvoir	111
Rue Lepic.....	113
Rue de Montmartre.....	117
Devant le guignol [parc des Buttes-Chaumont]	118
La blanchisseuse du quartier de Belleville	121
Rue de Belleville.....	122

PREFACE

Views of the City and Views in the City

City views have drawn attention in all-powerful ways. Let me emphasise the concept *powerful*. In the 16th century, Philip II, the powerful king of Spain, was well aware that it was impossible to map the empire on a scale of one to one, as Borges would later caricature in *The Rigor of Science*. But he also understood that chorography had the potential to become an effective instrument to control his territories. City views enabled him to have an overall perspective of his possessions and recreate an image of power and control over half the globe.

But city views also attracted the attention of the nascent middle and commercial classes. It was a form of travelling, of getting to know the world without leaving home by simply thumbing through magnificent books of views. The popularisation of the printing press made a notable contribution to those books, and an entire publishing industry developed around the production of views. Various printing processes were used, and even coloured prints could be obtained. The drawing artist would go, whenever possible, to a high vantage point to get an overall view of the city, make sketches and then compose the view, most likely in a cooperative effort with the engraver.

The views created during this early stage denote a certain will for objectivity, although subject to acts of artistic freedom, which range from adapting the depiction of urban artefacts – generally drawn with the idea of reproducing the “type” of a building, church or cathedral – to eliminating elements that disturb the composition, and even changing the location of some urban features.

The extensive dissemination of views enabled the emergence of copying, if not plagiarism, and, more seriously, manipulation of the very content of the image. Perhaps one of the most well-known cases, partly thanks to its inclusion in the book *Delirious New*

York by Rem Koolhaas, is that of the French engraver Gérard Jollain. In 1672, he published a view of New Amsterdam, the present-day New York, which is actually an image of Lisbon, based on the original engraving in the series *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572 – 1617). *Civitates* was published in six volumes, which appeared in succession in 1572, 1575, 1581, 1588, 1598 and 1617, and was reprinted and republished on numerous occasions and in many countries. The undertaking was managed by George Braun, who held the post of what today would be called *editor*, while Franz Hogenberg was the main engraver for the series. A large number of reporters, artists and collaborators made up the team, which means that the original drawings were made by several artists. Of these, it is worth highlighting Georges Hoefnagel, a Flemish artist who travelled to many countries to compose his views. The fascination for city views also attracted painters, from El Greco to Canaletto and Guardi of the Venetian school of the *vedute*.

A specific line of chorography is that of the prospective rulers (princes and kings), whose training included travelling to the European capitals, accompanied by artists who wrote the contents of the royals' travel journals. One example is Lorenzo Magalotti, who accompanied Cosimo de' Medici on his journey around Spain and Portugal in 1668 and 1669.

In addition to bird's-eye view images, painters, sketchers and engravers also explored the creation of close-range depictions of the urban landscape, framing details of the urban composition (such as buildings, parks and scenes) that highlight a city's attractive, interesting and picturesque aspects. Those fortunate enough to go on the Grand Tour had at their disposal this kind of guide books that advised them about *what* they had to see. Gradually, objectivity yielded to ways of seeing betokened by the *zeitgeist*, by the vision of remote times and ruins, as in Piranesi's famous *vedute* of Rome, which are still being reissued today and are a profitable business in the print selling market.

In the 19th century, travel became a real possibility thanks to the advances made in means of transport and the consolidation of the urban middle classes, while photography contributed to the development of a thriving industry of bird's-eye view prints – recall the image of Nadar flying in a hot air balloon and photographing Paris. Artists no longer needed to climb a nearby mountain to obtain views, they simply had to get into a hot air balloon along with a photographer who would take still pictures of the city, and make notes; later, back in the workshop, the artist would finish the composition of the view that was to become a full-colour lithographic print. This is exactly what the French architect, engraver and lithographer Alfred Guesdon did in the mid-19th century to create his lithographs of various European cities for publication in the Paris magazine *L'Illustration*, *Journal Universel*.

The rapid rise of the illustrated magazine in the 19th century took place alongside profound changes in urban organisation, in the structure and morphology of the cities of the first and second waves of industrialisation. Those transformations were disseminated thanks to the prints made by a pleiad of artists associated with the industrial sector of the printing press. The picturesque views and the chorography of specific features eventually became prominent features of advertising material, first that of the Universal Exhibitions and later in efforts to attract foreign visitors to the cities.

This evolution of city views occurred alongside an evolution in the procedures used to transfer drawings and produce a print on paper. Chalcography engraving gradually replaced the woodcut, but then lithography took over from both until, following the use of offset, views began to be reproduced by photographic procedures. Photographic chorography has dominated the world of city depiction, from the 19th century to the present day, in both analogue form, and electronically or digitally.

Throughout the 19th century, the period of artistic genres and Impressionism, many painters specialised in the creation of city views. In contrast to the almost cartographic description of space, and to the realism and architectural precision of their fellow engravers who worked for the media, these painters enhanced aspects of the setting of the depicted landscape. They portrayed human environments, including the interiors of the new communal locations (cabarets, restaurants, bars...), and the urban environments formed by the new promenades, railway stations, ports and parks. With painters having freed themselves from cartographic description, their novel views were dominated by the distinctive language of painting itself, the treatment of light through colour. Many of these artists also experimented with engravings of views using a more expressive and creative approach.

The fascination with the bird's-eye view of the city takes us back to the passages of the New Testament which describe how the devil tempts Jesus: "[...] *et dixit illi haec tibi omnia dabo si cadens adoraveris me*" ([...] and he said to Him, "All these things I will give You, if You will fall down and worship me"; Matthew 4:9). *Tibi dabo* gives name to the magic mountain of Barcelona, the ancient Roman Hill of the Eagle – one of the most preeminent viewpoints of Barcelona. Viewpoints, whether natural sites or built structures, such as the Santa Justa viewpoint in Lisbon, were a new urban artefact of the 19th century, offering views over the city and ... to the viewfinders of cameras. Sometime later, the aeroplane and the helicopter transformed chorography into aerial cartography, which eventually took us to Google Earth, whose "chorographic cartography" on demand enables us to place ourselves on the cartographic plane (the map) and on the chorographic plane (3D views and street-level photographic views).

This new form of virtual tourism receives contributions from the entertainment industry – from cinema to television and Netflix – which is constantly presenting us with views of US cities, and as a result, today we are more familiar with the skyline of Los Angeles, New York or Washington than that of our own city. In his 1967 film *Playtime*, Jacques Tati, apart from creating Tativille on the outskirts of Paris, had the idea of pointing to a new mode of chorographical vision in movement: the bus with the transparent roof. Bit by bit, this vehicle grew higher, became a double decker, and now forms part of the repertoire of “synthetic views” on the hop-on hop-off routes of global tourism.

All of this and more is discussed in this book which, in the words of the author, arises from her long academic experience in which:

[...] teaching fuelled by research and, conversely, research fuelled by teaching and educational debate, have not only allowed me to transmit the insights I may have accumulated, but primarily, also, to study, open and expand my own expertise and to learn, aspiring to be able to transmit in a committed and honest way all that I may know and, above all, everything that may contribute to the body of knowledge.

During the last decade of her academic activity, Rosa Vives, professor of engraving at the Faculty of Fine Arts in Barcelona, held the posts of director of the Department of Arts-Conservation/Restoration, researcher at the POLIS Research Centre, and lecturer for the master's degree in Urban Design: Art, City, Society at the University of Barcelona, where she taught the subject Engravings of Villages and Cities.

As the reader will see, this publication is composed of three independent essays which stem from this extensive academic and research experience.

The first, *Landscape Prints Divided into Two: Canaletto, Goya and Hokusai*, deals with the

[...] special cases of landscapes which the artist or some other person has, for any of a variety of reasons, divided into several parts or split in half – the case we are dealing with here. Divisions may have been applied for different reasons: the sheer size of a composition such as a mural engraving, large or oversize, which was worked on using several modular plates that served to make prints on different sheets of paper that were joined together after the printing process to form the compositional whole; the reading layout, where, depending on the relationship of the engraving in large books or albums, the prints were included in folded form; the characteristics of the elements used, including the sizes of the plates, the sheets of paper and the presses; the need to make the most of the copper and other materials; or simply for reasons that we are unaware of.

The second essay of the trilogy, *From the Sign to the Double Image: Landscape/Face, Face/Landscape. On Several Prints by Picasso*, examines the landscapes that Picasso made in the south of France between 1947 and 1973, in which he explored the expressive potential of signs. The author points out that, while Picasso was not particularly given to representing views and landscapes, and even less so in engravings, his body of work includes some very interesting and highly original lithographs and linocuts, specifically *Vallauris Landscape* and *Gardens of Vallauris*, both from 1953, and *Tête de femme au chapeau/Paysage aux baigneuses et au pêcheur* from 1962.

The study of the latter, a linoleum print catalogued as “unfinished” and as a rare item in Picasso’s output, raises the question, “Is it a portrait of a young woman with a hat, showing a face that is made up of a landscape animated by bathers and a fisherman with his boat, or is it an animated landscape that is giving shape to an attractive face?” To answer the question, the essay delves into “figurative cartography” and the analysis of what the surrealists labelled the “Arcimboldo effect”.

The third essay, *Repertoire of Urban Views of the Paris of 1900. The Etchings of Joaquín Sunyer*, is based on the article “Joaquim Sunyer: Urban Prints of the Paris of 1900”,¹ which the author presented at the 2018 seminar Theories of Representation.

In the Paris of the early 20th century, the Catalan engraver Joaquín Sunyer recorded a variety of facets of public spaces and everyday urban life. The author maintains that, “given the quality of his work and the interest of the subject matter, Sunyer deserves to be examined more closely than he has been up to now”.

Sunyer left Spain to avoid being drafted for the country’s colonial wars in Cuba and the Philippines, and took up residence in Paris, where he got to know the colony of Catalan artists living in the *cit  de la lumi re*. In his career as an engraver, Sunyer produced a large body of etchings, including pieces in colour. The subject matter of these works consists of views of the city and scenes from everyday life in the public space and other collective places, to which he adds extensive portrayals of popular characters.

This third essay also presents a comparison between the views created by Sunyer and those recorded photographically by artists such as Atget, List, Kertesz, Cartier Bresson, and Doisneau. A curious detail is that several images in this essay remind us that, a hundred years ago, Paris was a river port.

¹ Vives Piqu , R. (2018). “Joaquim Sunyer: estampas urbanas del Paris del 1900”. on the *w@terfront. Public Art. Urban Design. Civic Participation. Urban Regeneration*, 60(13).

Video taken from <http://revistes.ub.edu/index.php/waterfront/article/view/26094>. This video-document was a part of the Theories of Representation seminar organised by the POLIS Research Centre in June 2018, as a tribute to Dr Lino Cabezas, another researcher at the centre, on the occasion of his retirement.

Although independent of each other, the three essays form a thematic whole that centres on the study of certain prints which share the landscape and the urban view as their main subject matter. The essays, consistently well-documented, examine various works by a range of artists, from the perspectives of contextualisation, documentation, and the creative and iconographic links with other authors and other mediums, particularly photography.

These essays certify the relevance of the decision we made almost a decade ago to include the subject Engravings of Villages and Cities in the syllabus of the interdisciplinary master's degree in Urban Design at the University of Barcelona. The eye of a person who is both an artist – perfectly familiar with the processes of engraving – and an able researcher in the field of engravings representing villages and cities, has been of singular value in the formulation of Urban Design studies and a great contribution to the training of those who, whether professionally or academically, want to dedicate themselves to “creating the city”.

In application of the rules of the retirement process, Rosa Vives is no longer a member of staff at the University of Barcelona, but fortunately her personal ties make it possible to maintain a relationship with the Research Centre. In this regard, I choose to see this trilogy not as a farewell upon her retreat from academic life, but rather as the beginning of a new stage, which we hope will bring us more artistic work and more research.

ANTONI REMESAR

Director, POLIS Research Centre
Coordinator, master's degree in
Urban Design: Art, City, Society

INTRODUCTION

These three essays, independent of each other, centre on the observation of certain prints which, for a variety of conceptual, formal, historical and technical reasons, have especially awakened our interest. Overall, the main subject matters are the landscape and the urban view, which form the basis for reflection on contextualisation, documentation and creative and iconographic links with other authors and with other mediums, particularly photography. These aspects have allowed us to think about, and rethink, not only the nature of the images, but also the intimate links the engraving has had, in the field of plasticity, with humanistic culture and society throughout different periods. In addition, the exercise has led to the presentation of several previously unpublished pieces, such as a drawing by Jean Cocteau and several prints by Joaquim Sunyer. With this work, we want to celebrate a long-lasting academic dedication to research and teaching, accompanied by Canaletto, Goya, Hokusai, Picasso, Joaquim Sunyer, and several others.

To be sure, a large number of the ideas put forward here arose during lectures delivered over the past few academic years within the master's degree in Urban Design: Art, City, Society at the University of Barcelona. The sessions were dedicated to the study of prints of outdoor views, made before the advent of photography. We focused specifically on landscapes and views of towns and cities, and examined how they were represented in the West, considering images ranging from the Symbolist landscape to the urban views of the late 19th and early 20th century under the lens of photography. During the study, we brought up for debate not only the aspects specific to historiographic and iconographic documentation, but also the conceptual and formal ideas, their temporal validity among antecedents and sequents and technical processes. At the same time, special emphasis was given to the importance of the functionality of the print alongside its creative aesthetic values. Print has been, and still is, a means of expression and representation, with a language of its own, with its own particular technology and a sensory form of expression and

communication that served as a driver of the expansion of images and, therefore, of culture.

Teaching fuelled by research and, conversely, research fuelled by teaching and educational debate, have not only allowed me to transmit the insights I may have accumulated, but primarily, also, to study, open and expand my own expertise and to learn, aspiring to be able to transmit in a committed and honest way all that I may know and, above all, everything that may contribute to the body of knowledge. The group of students – from Portugal, Italy, Mexico, Colombia, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Ecuador, Syria, Iran, United Arab Emirates, China, and a few from Spain – was highly heterogeneous in terms of education and cultural background and, when faced with their questions and comments, some of which I had not even considered myself, I was forced to engage in stimulating self-reflection during the preparation of the sessions and in the efforts towards reasoned, contrasted, clear and understandable instruction. Therefore, the challenge of attracting the interest of these students, beyond the generalities, was one of the most rewarding experiences in my career and for this I will always be grateful to the supervisor of this master's degree, Dr Antonio Remesar, who entrusted me with teaching the course and at all times assisted us with all our needs.

Now the time has come to retire from academic life, to take stock of my dedication to teaching and research (and, no less important, to free myself of academic paperwork!), we all become aware of how much we have learned thanks to our teachers and our students. Teaching is really, as George Steiner put it, a kind of allegory of selfless love, a love which, I must say, I too received from excellent teachers. They gave me the tools to acquire knowledge, to know how to direct my gaze, to piece together comprehensive opinions, to study, practice, research, and teach. Most particularly, to teach about the art of engraving, in which life seems to have made me a specialist. And so, other than just a simple poetic expression of gratitude, I owe a real heartfelt *thank you* to my old professors, my young students, my colleagues, the service and administrative staff at the UB and my friends. Thank you to all, and... I hope our paths will cross again!

M. ROSA VIVES
September 2019

/ I. Landscape Prints Divided into Two: Canaletto, Goya and Hokusai

La lama delle falce incontrò il libro e lo tagliò di netto in due metà per il lungo. La parte della costola restò in mano al Buono, e la parte del taglio si sparse in mille mezze pagine per l'aria...

Le pagine del Tasso con i margini bianchi e i versi *dimezzati valorano sul vento e si posarono sui rami dei pini, sulle erbe e sull' acqua dei torrenti.*

ITALO CALVINO. *Il visconte dimezzato* (1952)

Throughout the history of printmaking, it is not unusual to find special cases of landscapes which the author or some other person has, for any of a variety of reasons, divided into several parts or, simply, split in half – the case we are dealing with here. Before all else, it should be noted that divisions may have been applied for different reasons: the sheer size of a composition such as a mural-size print, large or oversize,¹ which was worked on using several modular plates that served to make prints on different sheets of paper that were joined together after the printing process to form the compositional whole; the reading layout, where, depending on the relationship of the print in large books or albums, the prints were included in folded form; the characteristics of the elements used, including the sizes of the plates, the sheets of paper and the presses; the need to make the most of the copper and other materials, or for other reasons that we are unaware of.

These works are often panoramas or views which, once divided into two halves, can still be interpreted as a whole, including those which were divided after they were printed. In those, despite the fact that the fracture means that a few millimetres of physical continuity are lost, it is the plate mark, especially in chalcography, that

¹ Lilian Armstrong, Suzanne Boorsch, Stephen Goddard and Alison Stewart. *Grand Scale. Monumental prints in the age of Dürer and Titian.* (Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff, eds.). New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008.

frames the unbroken outline of the landscape, a role that is also occupied by the margins of the paper, which may be wider or narrower, depending on the times. From among many examples, suffice it to call to mind the spectacular *View of Venice* by Jacopo de' Barbari (1500), a masterpiece in the history of woodcutting and of city view prints.² It is impressively large, measuring 132.7 × 281.1 cm, and made up of six blocks of wood which, fortunately, are now preserved in the Correr Museum in Venice (figs. 1 and 2).

We can also highlight a preceding work on the same subject matter, but of lesser proportions, the *View of Venice* (1486) by Erhard Reuwich. This image, which is associated with the famous book by Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (ca. 1505), is a composition on eight blocks of wood which together have a total measurement of 31 × 103 cm. A short time later, in 1527, Dürer made the engraving *A Siege of a Fortress* (fig. 3), which is included in his book *Treatise on Fortifications*.³

The woodcut, measuring 22.6 × 72.3 cm, is carved into two wooden blocks and has a fillet delimiting the composition of each half. In other words, the work was intentionally made in this manner, without hiding the partition, in the same way as in oriental, Chinese, Korean and Japanese books produced in the butterfly format.⁴ *The Triumphal Arch of Emperor Maximilian I* (1515), engraved by several authors under the supervision of Dürer, should not be overlooked here. Surely the greatest masterpiece of monumental and mural print,⁵ its original edition was formed by 192 blocks, with the assembly as a whole measuring 357 × 295 cm. With regard to chalcographic engravings, smaller than the previous examples, but of great interest, it is worth mentioning *The Siege of Breda* (1628) by Jacques Callot, which depicts a great panoramic view with high topographical precision.⁶ The etching is composed of six large copper

² L. Servolini. *Jacopo de' Barbari*. Padua, 1944; T. Pignatti, "La pianta di Venezia di Jacopo de' Barbari". *Bollettino dei Musei Civili Veneziani*, IX, 1964, pp. 9-49; Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500", *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 60, no. 3 (Sep 1978), pp. 425-474.

³ Albrecht Dürer, *Etliche underricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schlosz und Flecken*. Nuremberg, Hieronymus Andreae, 1527; Joseph Meder. *Dürer-Katalog*. New York, Da Capo Press, 1971, no. 272.

⁴ The inclusion of prints in books also entailed the need for modules inserted between pages and texts. For more details on assembled engravings, see, particularly: Stephen Goddard, "Modular prints. A special case of the assembled woodcut in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries", in *Grand Scale. Monumental prints in the age of Dürer and Titian*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008, pp. 87-97.

⁵ Adam von Bartsch. *Illustrated Bartsch*. (Walter L. Strauss, ed.). New York, Abaris Books, vol 10, no. 138; Friedrich W. H. Hollstein. *German engravings, etchings and woodcuts ca. 1400-1700*. Amsterdam, Menno Hertzberger, 1954(?), vol. 5, pp. 200-201.

⁶ Jules Lieure. *Jacques Callot. Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre gravé*. San Francisco, Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1989, vol. I, no. 593.

LANDSCAPE PRINTS DIVIDED INTO TWO: CANALETTO, GOYA AND HOKUSAI



Fig. 1. Jacopo de' Barbari (Venice ca. 1445-1470 – Brussels or Mechelen ca. 1515-1516). *Bird's-eye View of Venice*, 1500. Woodcut, 134 × 280.8 cm. (British Museum 1895,0122.1192-1197).

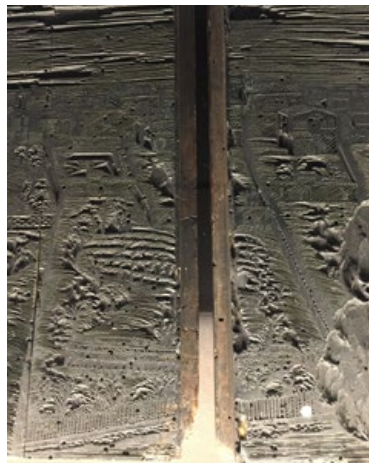


Fig. 2. Detail of the separation between two engraved blocks of wood. (Photo: the author, with permission from the Correr Museum, Venice).



Fig. 3. Albert Dürer (Nuremberg 1471 – 1528). *A Siege of a Fortress*. 1527. Woodcut, 22.6 × 72.3 cm. (British Museum 1895,0122.716-717)

plates, which together measure 123 × 140.5 cm. In the same line of oversize works, we can consider the colossal Trajana and Antonina columns made by Piranesi between 1774 and 1779, both of exceptional measurements.⁷ *Veduta del prospecto principale della Colonna Trajana* is composed of six etched copper plates, used to make a print on five sheets of paper measuring 285 × 46.5 cm in total. *Veduta del prospecto principale della Colonna Antonina*, also made of six consecutive etched plates, is slightly larger at 306.8 × 48 cm.

However, we are not going to discuss landscape images that are split into parts because of their size. Quite the opposite – we will be dealing with singular cases of medium-sized partitioned engravings which, given their particular features, have prompted a series of reflections linked to ways of looking, the observation of compositions and the interrelationships between authors and motifs.

> *Imaginary View of Venice by Canaletto*

Along with Rome and perhaps Paris, Venice has surely always been one of the most frequently portrayed cities in the world, especially in prints before the advent of photography. In 18th-century Venice, there was a powerful printmaking industry, and great artists who, in addition to producing the typical *vedute* of the city, were also dedicated to producing fine art etchings that represented a milestone within the artistic speciality: Giambattista Tiepolo and his sons Giandomenico and Lorenzo, Canaletto, Marieschi, Bellotto, and several others.

Among these, the Venetian painter and engraver Giovanni Antonio Canal, known as Canaletto (1697 – 1768), is the author of a rather succinct corpus of etchings, containing only 34 works made in the mid-1740s. He is noted for his personal style, combining a topographical vision with an objectively photographic way of framing scenes, combining actual views with made-up landscape features typical of the *capricci*. They are phantasies, in which ruins, vegetation and water appear to be real. There is indeed a play with architectural fidelity that makes real what is unreal and makes the unreal seem real, and that uses a gradient of light which is always carefully measured and effective, avoiding the dramatic quality of chiaroscuro, and able to capture the silvery density of the city of the lagoon. All of this is rendered in etchings with an exquisite repertoire of strokes which, doing without hatching and crosshatching, form

⁷ John Wilton-Ely. *Giovanni Battista Piranesi. The complete etchings*. San Francisco, Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1994, vol. II, nos. 687 and 708.

patterns based on bundles of short, parallel, undulating, often frothy lines which are of great efficacy in the reflections on the waters. In the words of Boorsch:

Like Ricci and Tiepolo, he made his etchings mostly using parallel lines. The luminous fluidity, clarity, and grace that he achieved with the etching tool and maintained throughout the series perhaps find their best counterpart in the contemporaneous late works of the Venetian composer Antonio Vivaldi.⁸

These characteristics are obvious in the *veduta* we are examining here, *Imaginary View of Venice*, which was originally entitled *Capriccio with Venetian Buildings* (fig. 4).⁹ One of his earliest works, and the only one known to bear the year on the plate, 1741, it reveals itself as a magnificent example of Canaletto as a *peintre-graveur*.¹⁰ It represents an imaginary composition that is nonetheless credible, because it emanates the full Venetian atmosphere, made up of elements representative of the Most Serene Republic of Venice, away from the focus on local characteristics, and because it includes corners that are beyond the display cabinet constituted by the palazzos, the Grand Canal or St Mark's Square. It is the Venice of fishermen, boatmen and solid, humble houses that coexist with respectable architectural constructions of monumental tendencies.

In the foreground a hill can be seen, with, from left to right, a series of houses. The first one has a typical terrace roof where a woman seems to be hanging out the laundry, and it has the date and the artist's initials engraved on the façade: MDCCXLI A.C. It is the only known dated and signed engraving by Canaletto. In the background, a majestic *duomo* appears and between the dome and a small palazzo on the right there is a *squero* – a small shipyard for building or repairing gondolas and fishing boats. The *squieri* proliferated around the lagoon and still exist today, such as that of San Trovaso in the Dorsoduro, which is very popular with tourists (fig. 5).

⁸ Suzanne Boorsch. *Venetian Prints and Books in the Age of Tiepolo*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997, p. 18.

⁹ For further details about this work see: Alexandre de Vesme. *Le peintre-graveur Italien*. Milan, 1906, p. 451, cat. nos. 12 and 13; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Notable Acquisitions, 1965-1975: Prints, Architecture and Ornament*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975, p. 194; Ruth Bromberg. *Canaletto's etchings. Revised and enlarged edition of the catalogue raisonné*. Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, San Francisco, 1993, cat. no. 12, p. 95, ill.; *The Glory of Venice. Art in the Eighteenth Century* (exh. cat.). Washington, National Gallery of Art; London, Royal Academy. (J. Martineau, A. Robison, eds.). London, 1994, cat. no. 145.

¹⁰ In the British Museum there is a drawing of this composition (1895,0915.862) which Edward Croft Murray attributed to William Henry Hunt (London 1790 – 1864).



Fig. 4. Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canal) (Venice 1697 – 1768). *Imaginary View of Venice*. 1741. Etching, 30 × 43.7 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1973.634).

The palace in the centre right has a pronaos and a peristyle, and in the distance a panoramic view opens up featuring a canal, the contours of a city with a dome, a church bell tower and gentle mountains further away. At the right-hand side of the composition, an anonymous figure catches the eye, his back turned, and holding an oar in his hand. He is a romantic boatman or gondolier, sitting on a crumbling wall, contemplating the coming and going of the boats in the distance. He forms the counterpoint to the characters standing on the left, and the three others in the centre of the composition. The entire scene is imbued with light diffused by thin clouds that cover the sky and evoke the presence of the sirocco winds. As Succi observed, with the crystalline luminosity of the atmosphere and the vibrations in the sky coming from broken, evaporating clouds, Canaletto would seem to be bringing forward the innovations introduced by the Impressionist painters, although, naturally, this relationship only applies to formal aspects *avant la lettre*.¹¹ Very few prints exist of this etching measuring 29.8 × 43.5 cm, most of which are preserved in different museums. Bromberg makes reference to only six copies of the composition as an undivided

¹¹ Dario Succi. "Canaletto. Vistas inventadas tomadas del lugar", in Dario Succi and Annalia Delneri. *Canaletto, Una Venècia imaginària*. Barcelona, Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, Institut d'Edicions, Diputació de Barcelona, 2001, pp. 33-41 and 80.



Fig. 5. Squiere di San Trovaso. Dorsoduro (Venice). Photo: the author.

whole, since it appears that at one point Canaletto himself partitioned the copper plate.¹² This resulted in two new etchings titled *The House with the Inscription* (29.8 × 21.5 cm), which corresponds to the left part of the composition, and *The House with the Peristyle* (29.8 × 21.5 cm.), corresponding to the right part (figs. 6 and 7). After he had divided the plate, Canaletto reworked the right part into a new state, which means two different states are now known. There is only one known state of the other part.

Nevertheless, without knowing what reasons the artist had for the partition, it is a fact that afterwards the plates were joined on several occasions to make combined prints. Done with more or less precise adjustments, with the plates closer together or further apart, and even with the plates inverted, the assemblies make it apparent that, between the two parts of the composition, three millimetres of the centre were lost in the partitioning process (fig. 8).

¹² Vesme, 1906, p. 451, refers to the existence of the undivided plate but in his description he erroneously inverts the order of the images. Of great interest is the extensive and meticulous description of the states of the work, with comparative details of the various phases of execution, presented by Bromberg in the main reference catalogue of Canaletto's engraved work (Bromberg. 1993, pp. 94-103). See also: Rodolfo Pallucchini, G.F. Guarnati. *Le Acquaforti del Canaletto*, Venice, 1945.



Fig. 6. *The House with the Inscription.*



Fig. 7. *The House with the Peristyle.*



Fig. 8. Canaletto. *Imaginary View of Venice.* Print made from the partitioned etching, 32 × 45.6 cm. (Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 807805).

>> Partition line, gap, fissure...

Certainly, when the two halves are used together to make a print, a white line will inevitably remain between them, a relief of the paper, marking a small gap that can be wider or narrower, and more or less obvious optically and tactilely, depending on how close the copper plates are placed to each other on the bed of the press. The partition line creates a fissure in the whole, a gap that, as a physical feature, might interrupt the perception of the whole, though, admittedly, it rarely acts as an optical separation, since it is understood that the speed of vision and memory ensure that the proper perception of the image as whole predominates.

The composition, divided symmetrically in terms of measured space, but not in terms of composition, may lead us to study formal analogies with other kinds of works and in different contexts. One example is the silver salt photograph *Court of the First Model Tenement* (fig. 9), by the American photographer Berenice Abbott (1898 – 1991), who captured “unadorned realism” in the manner of Eugène Atget. Like nobody else, she recorded the urban life and architectural élan of the New York of the 1930s in an artistic, documented inventory of the Big Apple that culminated in the book *Changing New York*, her reference work published in 1939. Abbott consolidated her modern and complex perspective on the photographic record and came up with an innovative way of reflecting urban temporality through the juxtaposition of light and shadow, through framing and movement. “Photography doesn’t teach you how to express your emotions; it teaches you how to see”, she asserted.¹³



Fig. 9. Berenice Abbott (Springfield, Ohio 1898 – Monson, Maine 1991). *Court of the First Model Tenement in New York city, 361-365 71st Street, 1325-1343 First Avenue, 360-364 72nd Street*, 16 March 1936. Silver print, 34.92 × 27.94 cm. (National Museum of American History 69.216.08).

¹³ https://collections.mcny.org/C.aspx?VP3=SearchResult_VPage&VBID=24UP1G7JRVQG&SMLS=1&RW=1513

These words are exemplified in *Court of the First Model Tenement*. The subject matter is highly social, since it captures the structure – the thin lines running from a central axis – formed by the shared clotheslines that serve to hang laundry out to dry in the open air in a neighbourhood courtyard. There and then, before the proliferation of laundromats and domestic tumble dryers, the shared clothesline became an everyday element of the urban landscape, especially in social housing estates. The scene framed by Abbott is in the neighbourhood courtyard located at 361-365 71st St., 1325-1343 First Ave. and 360-364 72nd St. The only people present are three small children, barely visible in front of the majestic, intimate testimony of the residents: the public display of their white clothes, hanging from a grid of strings that converge on a central pole. On paper, the post forms a thick, black line in the foreground, dividing the composition into two practically symmetrical parts. It creates a gaping wound, a void that causes the division of the courtyard into two halves.

A white fissure in Canaletto and a black fissure in Abbott are features we will come across again – whether white, black, or in colour – as we progress through modernity to the work of the artist and art theoretician Barnett Newman (1905 – 1970). His pieces are based on fields of colour structured around lines he referred to as *zips*: vertical stripes in the rectangle, at times serving to divide and at times to unite. The rectangle itself is a means of attracting the spectator to material peculiarities, to the essence of surface and colour, and to the traditional dilemma between background and figure. Both in painting and in engraving, the zips – lines that are opening and closing – serve to separate and at the same time band together a surface as they divide it into two halves, as can be seen in his 1969 etching and aquatint *Untitled Etching #1* (fig. 10).¹⁴ The monochrome print, black ink on white, is medium-sized and landscape-oriented (37.2 × 59.4 cm), and has three forceful vertical stripes, two which are uniform, and the one on the right formed by a cluster of four thin, parallel lines traced very close together.

&RH=1046#/SearchResult&VBID=24UP1G7JRVQG&SMLS=1&RW=1513&RH=1046&PN=7 [consulted 12 August 2018];

<https://www.leegallery.com/where-we-lived-vintage-photographs-exhibition/berenice-abbott-court-of-the-first-model-tenement-new-york/> [consulted 11 August 2018].

¹⁴ Gabriele Schor. *The Prints of Barnett Newman, 1961-1969*. Berlin, Hatje Cantz Publishers, 1996, p. 113.

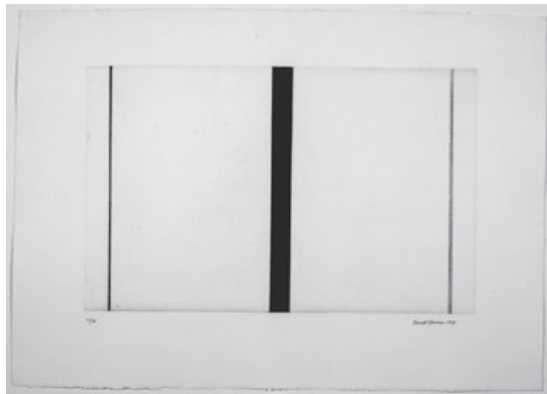


Fig. 10. Barnett Newman (New York 1905 – 1970). *Untitled Etching #1*, 1969. Etching and aquatint, 37.2 x 59.4 cm. (Tate Britain P77732).



Fig. 11. Barnett Newman. *Canto III*, 1963–64. Lithograph, 42.4 x 32.4 cm. (Tate Britain P01029).

The thick central line divides the space into two halves, but, given that there is a large expanse of white space from the central axis both to the line on the left and to the cluster of lines on the right, it breaks up the monotonous symmetry that the uniform spacing would otherwise provide. On the contrary, the 'landscape' is envisaged as a split unit which holds up the overall continuity. While the idea for *Untitled Etching #1* stems from the painting *Shining Forth (To George)*, which Newman painted in memory of his deceased brother, the work was originally meant to be part of a project in homage to Martin Luther King Jr, but that was never carried out as planned. The composition was, therefore, evidently an idea that Newman associated with mourning and memory,¹⁵ with loss and fracture.¹⁶ The fracture is the central feature; it is a void, that may be dark or may be light, as in the lithograph *Canto III* (1963), and has a forcefulness as sharp as the cut in the copper plate that is visualised on the paper (fig. 11).

¹⁵ Hugh Davies (ed.). *The Prints of Barnett Newman, exhibition catalogue*. New York, Barnett Newman Foundation, 1983, pp. 20 and 28; Gabriele Shor. *The Prints of Barnett Newman 1961–1969* (cat. exp.). Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 25 and 33; *Barnett Newman: Drawings and Prints* (cat. exh.). Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, 2016, pp. 56–57 and 92.

¹⁶ Thomas B. Hess highlights the notions of pain in Newman's work: "There is the tragedy of death, and of 'being', living in the face of death". (*Barnett Newman*. New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1971, p. 107).

As Kandinsky said,

[...] the line as mobile internal tension, born of movement, the perfect opposite to the horizontal, is the vertical that stands at right angles to it; height opposes flatness, coldness is supplanted by warmth: it is the opposite in both an external and an internal sense. Therefore, the vertical is the most concise form of the potentiality for endless warm movement.¹⁷

> Goya's landscape prints: Landscape with Great Rock, Buildings and Trees, and Landscape with Great Rock and a Waterfall

The question of the partition in Canaletto's *veduta* reappears in two landscape prints by Francisco de Goya (1746 – 1828). These magnificent works do not belong to any of his great series and, having landscapes as their subject matter, they constitute a peculiarity within the whole of his production of prints.¹⁸ The two etched and aquatint engravings are *Landscape with Great Rock, Buildings and Trees* and *Landscape with Great Rock and a Waterfall*. They are twin works and, as the titles indicate, feature a large boulder as the main motif. Experts place the time of execution after the series of *Los Caprichos* and before work began on *The Disasters of War*.¹⁹ For both prints, Goya previously made drawings with the compositions inverted (Prado Museum D04279 and D04278; figs.12 and 13). They have been dated at around 1799 and are therefore almost contemporaneous with the drawings for *Los Caprichos*, in which he applied the same sanguine technique.

¹⁷ Kandinsky. *Punto y línea sobre el plano*. Barcelona, Barral Editores, 1971, p. 59.

¹⁸ Since numerous bibliographical references exist, we will only cite the most relevant ones here. Firstly, the catalogue raisonné of Goya's prints: Tomás Harris. *Goya Engravings and Lithographs*. San Francisco, Alan Wofsy, 1983, vol II, no. 23 and 24, pp. 42-43; P. Gassier and J. Wilson-Bareau. *Vida y obra de Francisco Goya: reproducción de su obra completa, pinturas, dibujos y grabados*. Barcelona, Juventud, 1974, no. 750, footnote p. 166; Eleanor A. Sayre. *The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1974, nos. 93 and 94, pp. 122-124; J. Gállego. "Estampas que no forman serie", in *Goya grabador*. Madrid, Fundación Juan March, 1994, p. 227-230 [229], 235, no. 6; J. Wilson-Bareau and E. Santiago Pérez. "Ydioma Universal": *Goya en la Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Sociedad Estatal Goya 96 and Lunwerk, 1996, p. 45, 200, nos. 195-196; M.L. Cuenca, J. Docampo and P. Vinatea. *Catálogo de las estampas de Goya en la Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Sociedad Estatal Goya 96 and Lunwerk, 1996, p. 57, no. 65; J. Carrete Parrondo. *Goya. Estampas: grabado y litografía*. Barcelona, Electa (Random House Mondadori), 2007, p. 363, no. 110, p. 174.

¹⁹ Sayre, 1974, pp. 122-124.



Fig. 12. Francisco de Goya (Fuendetodos 1746 – Burdeos 1828). *Landscape with Great Rock, Buildings and Trees*, ca. 1799. Sanguine drawing, 15.1 x 25.8 cm. (Museo del Prado D04279).



Fig. 13. Francisco de Goya. *Landscape with Great Rock and a Waterfall*, ca. 1799. Sanguine drawing, 15.2 x 25.8 cm. (Museo del Prado D04278).



Fig. 14. Francisco de Goya. *Landscape with Great Rock, Buildings and Trees*, ca. 1812. Etching and aquatint, 16.8 x 28.2 cm. (Biblioteca Nacional de España Invent/45609).

Landscape with Great Rock, Buildings and Trees measures 16.8 x 28.3 cm and represents a wide landscape featuring, on the right, a large rock with two thin trees leaning to the right crossing in front of it, and an elevated mound behind it, on which two buildings²⁰ can be seen. On the left, on a low horizon, there is a house and, in the foreground, a donkey or a horse and what seems to be a carriage (fig. 14). Only three proofs

²⁰ R. Usón García. *Fantasia y razón. La arquitectura en la obra de Francisco Goya*. Madrid, Abada Editores; Zaragoza, Fundación Goya en Aragón, 2010, p. 98-99.

are known to exist of the finished etching: in the National Library of Spain, the Art Institute of Chicago, and a private collection in Germany. This is because, as mentioned above, it is estimated that the work was executed shortly before 1810, when Goya began the *The Disasters of War*, and the copper plate was partitioned so that the master could use the verso of the two parts to engrave images 13 and 15 of this series.

In a similar fashion, and as the title suggests, *Landscape with Great Rock and a Waterfall* (fig. 15) represents a large rock, tilted to the right, which occupies the foreground of the composition. Behind it, on the left, there is a bridge along which a group of persons is passing, and below the bridge, covering the bottom third of the scene, a wide waterfall is flowing. Several buildings can be made out in the background. On the left half of the copper the number 23 is engraved in dry-point (appearing inverted on the print).²¹

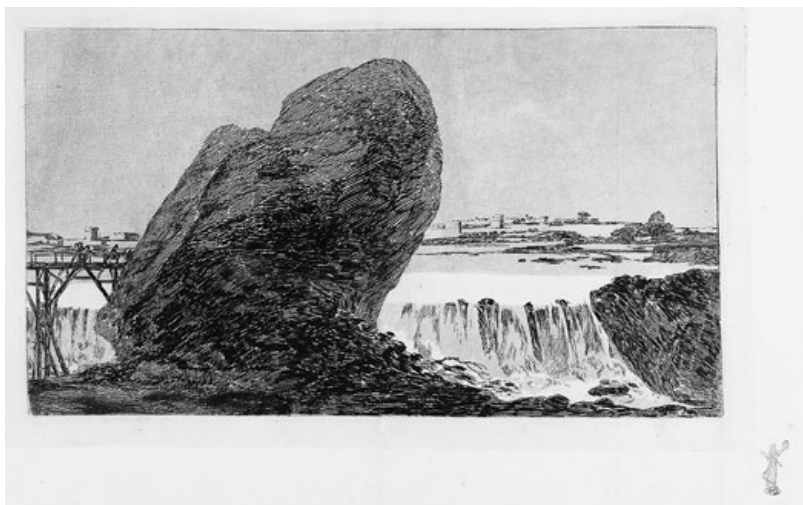


Fig. 15. Francisco de Goya. *Landscape with Great Rock and a Waterfall*, ca. 1812. Etching and aquatint, 16.6 × 28.5 cm. (The Art Institute of Chicago, 1974.16).

Only two proofs are known to exist of the undivided plate – one, from the Carderera collection, is in the National Library of Spain in Madrid, and the other is preserved in the Art Institute of Chicago. As in the previous engraving, Goya divided the plate in half and used the versos of the two parts to engrave images 14 and 30 of *The Disasters of War*.

²¹ Harris, II, 1983, no. 24; M.B. Mena Marqués. "Paisaje con peñasco y cascada", in *Goya en tiempos de guerra*. Madrid, Museo del Prado, 2008, pp. 172-173, no. 23.

>> Value and use of the material. Making the most of the copper

Unlike in the case of Canaletto, we know why Goya cut both copper plates in two, since he used the halves precisely to make etchings of four compositions of the series of *The Disasters of War* on the backs. While also considering the limited number of proofs the artist made of the compositions as a whole, this suggests, firstly, that he was not interested in publishing these prints. A second hypothesis may be that he was making the most of the copper. This is because it is unlikely that Goya was able to find plates of copper in Madrid in a period of war.²² That is to say, a kind of copper with the qualities of compactness, hardness and lamination required for printmaking, a noble material that has always been highly esteemed and is particularly well-suited for this use. As Harris pointed out, Goya engraved the series *La Tauromaquia* and *Los Proverbios* on copper plates from England, and we know the manufacturer's trademark, name and address, since they were often inscribed on the backs of the plates.²³ The business in question is the legendary firm William and Maxwell Pontifex of Long Acre, London. William Pontifex, Sons & Co. was a factory with one of the longest traditions in the copper industry, operating from 1789 to 2010, serving great artists, including William Blake²⁴ and, years later, another internationally renowned Spanish artist, Mariano Fortuny Marsal.²⁵

Taking advantage of the back of a plate and even making an engraving on top of a prior work – whether out of necessity or, as we would say today, as an act of recycling – is not an unusual practice in engraving workshops. We only need to recall that Rembrandt made one of his major prints, the etching *The Three Trees* (1643), on top of another, no less interesting print, *The Death of the Virgin* (1639). As a result, the mortuary scene acts as a palimpsest whose traces of the angel are clearly visible in the cloudy sky of *The Three Trees*. Rembrandt did not only apply this intensive use to his own plates, but also made etchings on other artists' plates. This is evident in his re-etching of the plate *Tobias and the Angel* by Hercules Segers, where he took over the landscape, but eliminated the figures made by Segers, transforming the composition into *The Flight into Egypt*.

²² Harris, I, 1983, pp. 27, 139 and 175.

²³ Harris, I, 1983, pp. 27 and 175.

²⁴ The importance of this dynasty of manufacturers and its history are discussed by Mei Ying Sung in *William Blake and the Art of Engraving*. London, Pickering Chatto, 2009, pp. 120-130.

²⁵ This is described in *Anacoreta. Fortuny (1838 – 1874)*. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2017, p. 353.

We would like to take the opportunity to express our sincere thanks to Mr Javier Blázquez, printer at the National Chalcography (San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts) in Madrid, for the assistance he has provided in visualising the marks on the backs of the copper plates.

>> Divided landscape

However, to continue with the vicissitudes of Goya's landscapes, we must note that around 1920, in the National Chalcography – where the plates have been conserved since their acquisition by the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts in 1862 – the halves were joined to recompose the landscapes, and a small of number prints were made (figs. 16 and 17). As in the case of Canaletto's *veduta*, the separation mark between the plates is plainly visible and Goya's impressive and mysterious landscapes are split by a white line in the centre of the composition. The partition may be more or less readily visible, depending on the distance between the two halves.

This activity has given rise to some curiosities, such as the recently discovered proof in which, from each work, the halves containing the large rock were printed together (fig. 18). While it is not known what the intentions of the press operator were, the creation is a dystopia.

It is an odd composition with the two stone triangles forming a coarse, pyramid-shaped mass, which obviously has nothing to do with the aim of the artist, and in our opinion is due to an unfortunate mix-up of the plates while the impression was being prepared, rather than a deliberate effort by the press operator to perform a comparison.²⁶ Whatever the case, it is possible to establish that a variety of interpretations can be prompted by partitions and modular variations, provided, of course, that these are the artist's decision.

>> On the Goyesque landscape

Aside from the aspect of division that we are studying here, we do not want to disregard the main theme of these two peculiar engravings by Goya. It is a well-known fact that in Spain, up to the 19th century, the landscape was a very seldom-used subject for engravings, and extremely rare in Goya, even in his paintings and drawings. Only five of his catalogued works are dedicated to landscapes, two of which are the preparatory drawings for the engravings we are dealing with here. De Beruete observed that Lefort and others referred to them as "fantastical landscapes", although

²⁶ We are grateful to Mr Francisco Molina, director of Taller del Prado, who facilitated our examination of the print and provided the photograph reproduced here. At present, the print is the property of the Zaragoza Provincial Council. See also: Ricardo Centellas Salamero. "Una prueba inédita de los paisajes grabados por Goya. Su recepción crítica y mercado (1907–1928)", in *Artigrama*, no. 32, 2017, pp. 153-179. And also: <http://www.unizar.es/artigrama/pdf/32/2monografico/06.pdf> (consulted 6 October 2018).

LANDSCAPE PRINTS DIVIDED INTO TWO: CANALETTO, GOYA AND HOKUSAI



Figs. 16 and 17. Francisco de Goya. *Prints made with the partitioned plates* San Fernando Royal (Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Madrid).



Fig. 18. Francisco de Goya. Print of the two halves with the boulders. (Courtesy Galería Taller del Prado, Madrid).

in his opinion they are totally realistic. This realism, admittedly, does border on the unreal given the generous dimensions and the impressive rocks which evoke a memory rather than a reality.²⁷ These rocks maintain, as Manuela Mena has adequately expounded, a close link with his paintings, since indeed “the theme of the independent landscape is singular in Goya’s works, where it is used as a backdrop for his scenes and portraits”. The link also lies in “the idea of that magnificent rock that emerges diagonally from the ground, converted into the distinguishing sign of other landscapes in which the action in the foreground carries an element of tragedy or tension, such as *The Shipwreck*, made in 1793, and *The Manufacture of Bullets*, from the period of the war” (figs. 19 and 20).²⁸

In *The Manufacture of Bullets*, the rock that appears somewhat diluted in the distance is, in our opinion, indeed the same, also standing at the same angle, as the one that dominates the print we are examining.

The boulders are enormous, commanding the view and minimising the mule and the characters walking over the bridge. The effect is so strong that their presence



Fig. 19. Francisco de Goya. *The Shipwreck*, 1793-94. Oil on tin plate, 50 x 32 cm. (Collection Mr. Placido Arango).



Fig. 20. Francisco de Goya. *The Manufacture of Bullets*, ca. 1814. Oil on wood panel, 33 x 52 cm. (Palacio de la Zarzuela, Madrid).

²⁷ A. de Beruete. *Goya grabador*. Madrid, Blass y Cía, vol. III, 1918, pp.145-146.

²⁸ M.B. Mena Marqués. “Paisaje con un árbol, peñasco y edificios / Paisaje con peñasco y cascada”, in *Goya en tiempos de guerra*. Madrid. Museo del Prado, 2008, pp. 172-173, nos. 22 and 23. https://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/comparativa/goya/paisaje-con-cascada/?tx_gbgonline_pi1%5Bgoitemcompareuid%5D=1761

hardly brings life to the landscape. The prints extol not only the mineral element, but also the force of nature, the natural environment, the aquatic factor – through the waterfall – and the delicate trees that stand at an angle in front of the rock. Sayre has suggested that the inspiration to include all these ideas may have been drawn from the engraving *Two Countries* by Perelle (1603 – 1677), several of whose prints were listed on the 1812 inventory of Goya's properties.²⁹

It has also repeatedly been commented that there may be a relationship with *Le Gran Rocher* by Jacques Callot (fig. 21), but we agree with Mena, who asserts that "Goya awarded a singular character to his two strange scenes, which departs from topographic notions or the late Mannerist effect of the great rock formation in Callot's print, in order to show a subjective representation of nature".³⁰ Indeed, the modern view of the Goyesque rock extols nature, with its force and permanence, as a surprising space that is to be unveiled and captured in an image worthy of divulging. This was achieved, a long time after Goya and with another medium, in the views created by the American photographer Carleton E. Watkins (1829 – 1916), especially in the



Fig. 21. Jacques Callot (Nancy 1592 – 1635). *Le grand Rocher*, from the series "Paysages Gravés pour Jean de Médicis appelées aussi Paysages Dessinés a Florence, Vues de Florence, Paysages d'Italie, et Paysages Définitifs", ca. 1618. Etching, 15.5 × 27.7 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art 57.650.369 9).

²⁹ Sayre. 1974, nos. 93, 94 and 95, p. 122; F. Sánchez Cantón. "Como vivía Goya". *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 19, 1946, p.106.

³⁰ Mena observes that M. Stuffmann considered the possible influence of Jacques Callot and his print *Le Grand Rocher* because of the impressive rock formations, while the landscape format and the buildings in the background are reminiscent of *Vista de Toledo* by the Spanish artist Fernando Brambila, a contemporary of Goya. ("Paisaje con un árbol, peñasco y edificios / Paisaje con peñasco y cascada", in *Goya en tiempos de guerra*. Madrid, Museo del Prado, 2008, pp. 172-173, nos. 22-23).

1861 image of Mt. Broderick and Nevada Fall in the Yosemite Valley (fig. 22). The rock is framed in a left to right direction, forming a large triangle surrounded by trees at the base, and there is a waterfall in the background on the right.³¹



Fig. 22. Carleton E. Watkins (Oneonta, New York, 1829 – Napa, California, 1916). *Mt. Broderick and Nevada Fall. Fall = 770 ft.*, 1861 Yosemite. Albumen print, silver salts, 41.8 × 52.1 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.100.1184).

In the effort to explain Goya's intention in representing this tilted stone mass, this boulder invading the open space, several antecedents have been pointed to, but the formal analogies do not check out. The Goyesque composition is so personal that it escapes those referents. Having the same subject matter, the referents in the domain of the print are actually much broader and even make up an entire iconology that exceeds the simple concept of the landscape because it decidedly connects with emblematic symbology and even with scientific illustration.³²

In fact, upon mentioning *Le Grand Rocher* by Jacques Callot, it should be noted that the artist himself used the same subject in other prints.³³ Among the most note-

³¹ "Early Photographers of the American West: 1860s–70s", in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000; http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/phws/hd_phws.htm (October 2004); Peter E. Palmquist. *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1983.

³² An example worth mentioning is the diagrammatic engraving (fig. 23) illustrating the formation of clouds in the section "Traité des éléments et des météores" in René Descartes' masterpiece, *Discours de la Méthode, plus la Dioptrique, les Météores et la Géométrie*. Leyde, l'Imprimerie Ian Maire, 1637, p. 168. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86069594/f1.image> [consulted 30 August 2020].

³³ *Le Grand Rocher* is one of the landscapes dedicated to Don Giovanni de' Medici (Florence 1567 – Murano 1621). In Callot's next work, *The Naval Battle*, two tilted rocks appear to the right of the composition, in a position

worthy antecedents is the great rock by Hendrick Goltzius, *Cliff on a Seashore* (ca. 1597-1600), a chiaroscuro woodcut (fig. 24).³⁴

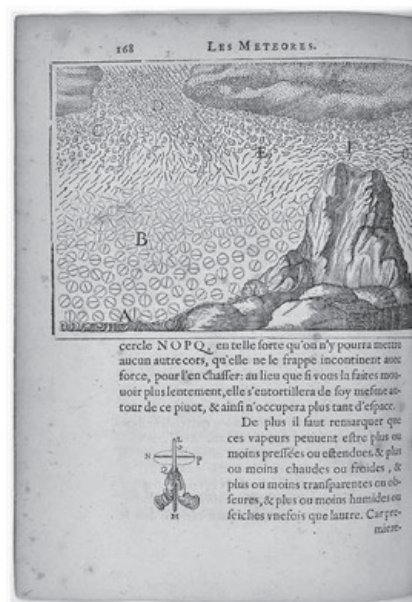


Fig. 23. Engraving; illustration in the section "Les Meteores" by R. Descartes, 1637, p. 168. (Source: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86069594/f252.image>).



Fig. 24. Hendrick Goltzius (Brüggen, Germany 1558 – Haarlem, Netherlands 1617). *Cliff on a Seashore*. ca. 1597-1600. Chiaroscuro woodcut, 11.4 x 14.5 cm. (Rijksmuseum RP-P-1939-241).

It represents a landscape that revolves around a great stone mass, and also features the blows of the waves, and harbours a small chapel and a hermit kneeling before the cross. Tending towards naturalism, and accentuated by the imprint in different tones, it is markedly different from the symbolism that emanates from the etching *Il monte dei Filosofi* (ca. 1655) by Stefano della Bella (1610 – 1664). This image shows a rigid pyramidal structure that alludes to virtue and blessedness. It has been demonstrated that it was intended to be literary or emblematic, since, with its allusion to the triple gibbosity of the emblem of the Chigi house, it served as a dec-

similar to that in Goya's print; in addition, he reproduced *Le Grand Rocher* with an allegorical perspective. Jules Lieure. Jacques Callot. *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre gravé*. San Francisco, Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1989, vol. I, nos. 276, 277 and 512, respectively.

³⁴ Nancy Bialler. *Chiaroscuro Woodcuts. Hendrick Goltzius (1550–1617) and his Time*. Amsterdam/Ghent, Rijksmuseum; Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993, no. 52, pp.186-189.



Fig. 25. Stefano della Bella (Florence 1610 – 1664). *Il monte dei Filosofi*. Etching. *Il monte dei Filosofi*, ca. 1655. Etching, 27.2 × 21.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

orative element in a thesis in honour of Alexander VII, who had been elected pope (fig. 25).

The engraving's literary destiny at a palace meant that it remained poorly known.³⁵ On the other hand, there is *Il viaggio di Giacobbe in Egitto* (1645), which depicts Jacob's journey to Egypt to visit his son Joseph. In this work, there is a small rock which is inclined to the right and centres the composition. Even though, rather than a rock, it is simply an elevation in the terrain, the diagonal arrangement reminds us of the Goyesque promontory.³⁶

>> Symbology of the rock

Needless to say, the rock is an element with a long iconographic history. The Spanish word *peña* derives from Latin

pinna, *pluma*, *ala* and *almena*, and denotes a large, unworked stone, as created by nature. Hill, elevation, rock, bedrock. Rock that is attached to the terrain in a natural way. Rocky outcrop. Promontory or wall of rock, prominent mass of land that protrudes from the lower-lying lands. Cliff or high, steep rock. Headland. These are all ways of naming it, and across different cultures, its meaning is symbolic for strength, solidity and immutability. When it appears alone and imposing, it represents sacred and eternal knowledge, the indestructible truth where the gods reside. It is present in mythology, where mountains – the daughters of the Earth – were considered sacred places, and were worshipped, oftentimes as deities, in sites such as Mount Par-

³⁵ Ch. A Jombert. *Essai d'un catalogue de l'oeuvre d'Etienne della Bella, peintre et graveur florentin*. Paris, 1772, 185 (18); A. De Vesme. *Le peintre graveur italien*. Milan, 1906, no. 69; Anna Forlani Tempesta. *Incisioni di Stefano Della Bella*. Florence, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1973, pp. 148-149, no. 86.

³⁶ Forlani, 1973, pp. 77-78, no. 45.

nassus, Mount Cithaeron, Mount Hymettus and Mount Olympus. With their height and verticality, mountains symbolically evoke an idea of spiritual elevation, and become an allegorical image of supreme celestial divinity.³⁷ Contrastingly, in the world of dreams, a black rock of these characteristics may also represent an insurmountable obstacle to progression that must be overcome unconsciously.³⁸ Ever since classical antiquity it has been a recurring literary symbol – from among many other examples, one only needs to recall Homer's *Odyssey* in which Poseidon, following advice from Zeus, takes revenge for the harm Ulysses inflicted on his son, by turning the ship which Ulysses used to return to Ithaca into a rock:

Upon hearing those words, Poseidon, the earth-shaker,
set off for Scheria, where the brave Phaeacians live,
and there he waited; the ship arrived quite quickly
with powerful thrust. Then, he who shakes the earth approached it,
turned it to stone, and with a blow of his extended hand,
rooted it to the bottom of the sea, and then he turned around again.³⁹

In the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid, Book 9, Fable 3 sees Lichas punished and transformed into a rock, and in Book 14, Fable 1, Scylla is converted into a rock by Circe who is suffering the ill effects of jealousy.⁴⁰ The symbolism is also clearly evident in the emblem book *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617) by the alchemist Michael Maier (1568 – 1622), with



Fig. 26. El Roto. *Paisaje*. Drawing.

³⁷ Michel Cazenave (dir.). *Enciclopédie des symboles*. Paris, Le Livre de Poche, 2015.

³⁸ An oneiric and brutally phantasmagorical representation of the rock is the drawing recently made by editorial cartoonist Andrés Rábago, better known as El Roto. The work is one of his reinterpretations of the Goya drawings exhibited in the Prado Museum (fig. 26). *El Roto. One Cannot Watch*. Original title: *El Roto. No se puede mirar (y otras estampas)*. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, Reservoir Books, 2019, p. 29.

³⁹ Homer. *Odyssey*. Quote is a translation of the Spanish version in: Homero. *Odisea* (intr. M. Fernandez Galiano; trad. José Manuel Pabón). Madrid, Ed. Gredos, 1982, Canto XIII, 160, p 305.

⁴⁰ *Resumen en prosa de las Metamorfosis de Ovidio* (written by Father Ragois). Madrid, Imprenta de la hija de Ibarra, 1807; and in poetry: Ovidi. *Les Metamorfosis* (trad. Jordi Parramon). Barcelona, Quaderns Crema, 1996, pp. 234 and 355.



Fig. 27. Emblem XLIII. *De Secretis Natura*, in Michael Maier. *Atalanta Fugiens*, 1617. Engraving by Matthäus Merian.

numerous rocks appearing in the engravings by Matthäus Merian (1593 – 1650; fig. 27).⁴¹

Another example we may recall is *Emblem 87* by Cobarrubias,⁴² which reads as follows:

Like the rock which, enveloped by the
[sea,
And battered by foaming waves,
Attacked by furious winds,
Is besieged by perpetual storm:
So should you envision a distraught
Heart surrounded by passions,
Harmed by all manner of thoughts,
Executioners of its sorrow, and its
[torment.

No less important is its meaning in the sacred Hebrew texts and in the Christian Bible, where it is a symbol of Jesus Christ. “He is the Rock, his works are perfect, and all his ways are just. A faithful God who does no wrong, upright and just is he” (Deuteronomy 32:4). “I love you, Lord, my strength. The Lord is my rock, my fortress and my deliverer; my God is my rock, in whom I take refuge, my shield and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold” (Psalms 18:1-2).

In the moral emblems and even more so in the Sacred Scripture, one who is afflicted with hard labour is similar to a rock, standing in the middle of the sea, beaten by the impetuous waves all around. The large, towering rock, emerging as a more or less solitary element, very often surrounded by water or fire,⁴³ has acquired great symbolic

⁴¹ The digitised version of the Brown University Library can be consulted online at: <https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:698524/>

⁴² Sebastián de Cobarrubias. *Emblemas Morales*. Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1610.

⁴³ This is without excluding other elements of a very specific allegorical nature, such as those that appear on coats of arms or in initial letters. In this regard, although it means straying a little from the main objective of this essay, we will allow ourselves to make the digression, as we consider it particularly interesting to mention the capital letter A, a woodcut engraving, which appears at the beginning of the book by Valverde de Hamusco, the most important Spanish anatomist of the Renaissance, and a follower of Vesalius (*History of the Composition of the Human Body*, written by Ioan de Valverde de Hamusco. Rome, printed by Antonio Salamanca and Antonio Lafrery, 1556).

On page iii, the preface addressing the reader begins with a beautiful and imposing letter A (fig. 28). Behind the letter, a rock can be seen, above which there are two angels cutting the rock with a frame saw, in an allusion

meaning that is felt simultaneously in both West and East.

>> The rock in Japanese prints

The rock is indeed rich in symbolism in the East too, in countries such as India, China and Japan. In Japan with its connatural landscape, the archipelago, and its religious cosmogony, the rock is considered an image of permanence. Mountains and water are mythical elements of the domain of the gods and represent borders, the boundaries of human territory, the cosmic forces of Shinto veneration. The tectonic forces of the volcanoes act as the synthesis between order and chaos. And this is how we see this motif reflected in numerous Japanese woodcuts. Special emphasis should be given to the prints of Hokusai and Hiroshige, and to the powerful influence they exercised in the West within the current called *Japanism* that influenced many 19th-century European artists. A fine example is *A Fisherman in Kajikazawa* (ca. 1831) by Hokusai (fig. 29), which shows a fisherman and his companion on a rocky promontory, casting their nets on the waves that are lashing around them. It forms a magnificent landscape in a composition which is divided into markedly triangular spaces, and dominated by Prussian blue, the colour that by virtue of its energy, and at the same time its sensitivity, was a source of admiration and inspiration for many artists after Hokusai.⁴⁴



Fig. 28. Capital letter, woodcut (54 × 50 mm), on page iii of the book *History of the Composition of the Human Body*, written by Ioan de Valverde de Hamusco. (Author's collection).

to the hardness of marble. These elements also appear on the coat of arms of the Monastery of Montserrat, which was placed on the main door of the Emmaus Monastery in Prague in 1635. Most versions of this coat of arms feature, rather than a single large rock, a mountain with several peaks – which is in agreement with the orography of Montserrat (a mountain in Catalonia; the name means *serrated mountain*). At first, one might think that the initial capital refers to the mountain of Montserrat, especially because of the saw that the angels are holding. However, taking into account the context of the letter's location, and considering the observation that the ends of the frame saw cheeks resemble the epiphyses of long bones, we are led to think that it is not a direct allusion to the mountain of Montserrat, the symbol of Catalonia, but rather an allusion to the writer, and physician and surgeon to Charles V (Charles I of Spain), Bernardino Montaña de Montserrat (Barcelona ca. 1480 – Valladolid 1558). He was the author of the first book on anatomy in Spanish (*Libro de la Anathomia del Hombre*. Valladolid 1551) which shortly afterwards was surpassed by the Valverde publication in terms of lexicon, information and the beauty of the engravings that accompany the text.

⁴⁴ Here we limit ourselves to mentioning, as outstanding examples appropriate to this topic, the works *Piramides de Port Coton* by Monet (fig. 30) and several rock formations by the French exponent of Japanism, Henri Rivière.



Fig. 29. Hokusai. (Tokio (Edo), 1760 – 1849). *A Fisherman in Kajikazawa*, ca. 1831. Woodcut, ōban, 26.2 × 38.5 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, JP2581).

Also worthy of mention are several prints by Hiroshige, featuring well-known rock formations, such as *High Rocks by a Lake* (*Hakone-Kosui no zu*; ca. 1831-34; fig. 32) and *A Temple on a High Rock. The Kannon Temple at Cape Abuto in Bingo Province* (ca. 1853-55; fig. 33). The latter is from the series *Famous Views in the Sixty Provinces* and shows a Buddhist temple dedicated to the god Kannon at the top of a rock. Another good example is the triptych *Landscape with the Whirlpools at Awa* (1857), an extended panorama divided into three parts which are separated by the inevitable white lines (fig. 34).⁴⁵

These include *Coup de vent, la vague vient de taper et retombe en cascades* (Tréboul) (fig. 31) from the series *La Mer, études de vagues*, 1892, and the five-block woodcut *Le rocher Ar-Frich* (Ploumanac'h) from the series *Paysages bretons*, 1891. See: Philippe Le Stum. *La Bretagne de Henri Rivière*. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Image, 2009, and Valérie Sueur-Hermel (dir.). *Henri Rivière. Entre impressionnisme et japonisme*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2009.

⁴⁵ Matthi Forrer, Suzuki Jūzō, Henry D. Smith II. *Hiroshige. Prints and Drawings*. Munich/New York, Prestel, 1997, nos. 18, 62 and 119.



Fig. 30. Claude Monet (Paris 1840 – 1926). *Pyramides Port Coton*, 1886. Oil on canvas, 65.5 × 81.5 cm (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/es:Creative_Commons).



Fig. 31. Henri Rivière (Paris 1864 – Sucy-en-Brie 1951). *Coup de vent, la vague vient de taper et retomber en cascades, Tréboul*, 1892. Colour woodcut, 25 × 35 cm. (BnF).



Fig. 32. Hiroshige (Tokio (Edo) 1797 – 1858). *High Rocks by a Lake (Hakone-Kosui no zu)*, ca. 1831-34. Colour woodcut.

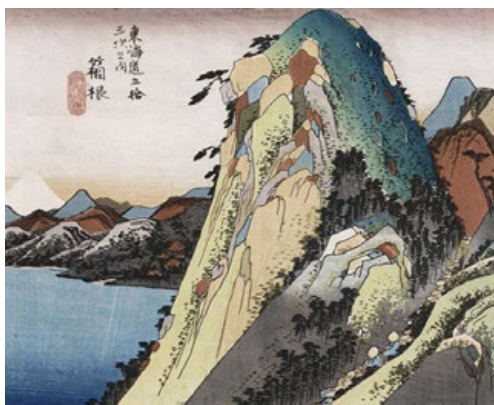


Fig. 33. Hiroshige. *A Temple on a High Rock. The Kannon Temple at Cape Abuto in Bingo Province*, 1853-55. Colour woodcut.

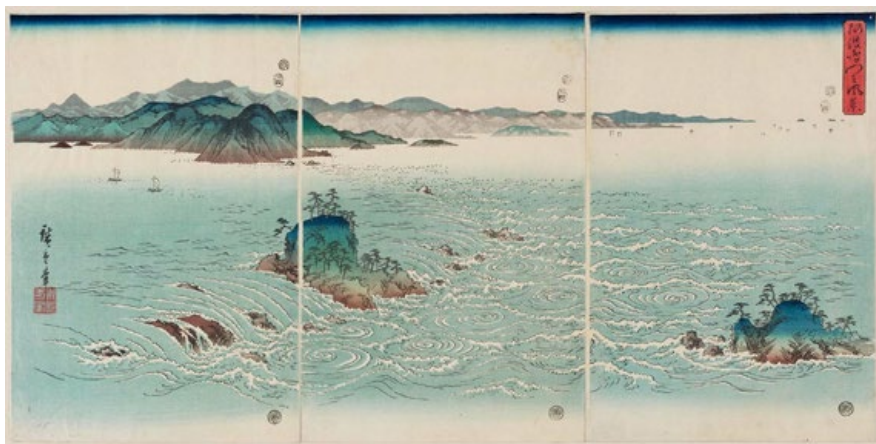


Fig. 34. Hiroshige. *Landscape with the Whirlpools at Awa*, 1857. Colour woodcut.

> Hokusai's split rock

However, during our observations, we are taken back to the question of partitioned plates by the image of a marvellous split rock which Hokusai included in Volume 9 of his *Manga* series (fig. 35). Due to the book format, this composition was, from the outset, divided into two equally-sized parts. The partition is perfectly delimited by the compositional lines, or fillets, that form the perimeters of the two halves of the image. The enormous rock is slanted, just like the rocks by Goya, and the dominant triangulation of the landscape is another shared feature. The two halves are quite separated, with the gap between them being notable up to the point where the visual interpretation only just maintains the continuity of perception of the scene as a whole.⁴⁶

The structure of Hokusai's *Manga* book, which greatly influenced the strip cartoons of the 19th and even the 20th century, is of Chinese origin. The volume, or *maki*, is composed of folded bifolios, printed on one side only and sewn with a fine thread through the folds. In 18th-century Japan, there were books known as *fukurotoji*. These consist of bound-together sheets with woodcut prints on one side only, each sheet being folded in half to form a double page, with the unprinted side facing inwards. While

⁴⁶ A general discussion of *Manga* can be found in: James A. Michener. *The Hokusai Sketch-Books. Selections from the Manga*. Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Comp., 1983; Jocelyn Bouquillard, Christophe Marquet. *Hokusai First Manga Master*. New York, Abrams, 2007; Matthi Forrer. *Hokusai. Prints and Drawings*. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1991, p. 87.

this way of binding is reminiscent of our untrimmed books, the fineness of the paper is not. The thinness of *washi* (in Japan) or *xuán* (in China) necessitates the folding, and even then, depending on the intensity of the imprint, the images usually show through each other.



Fig. 35. Hokusai. *Manga* Vol 9. Woodcut. (Author's collection).

>> Partitions, modules, windows and other analogies

Since ancient times, the relationship between whole and part has been the object of analysis. "Continuous totality inevitably implies one thing, movement!", Hans Richter proclaimed,⁴⁷ and so, the partition along an axis which is symmetrical in measurements, but asymmetrical as to content in the two halves, does, at first glance, interrupt the continuity of the composition. But it must be agreed that, despite the vertical fracture of the space, which is both optical and tactile, the visual memory of the observer tends towards continuity in reading and towards a left-to-right direction of reading, in the West, disregarding the division in order to recover the whole. "The frame is what lends integrity to the scene", and the partition is seen as the onset of interrupted movement, like when we look at a landscape through the window of a moving train. "The

⁴⁷ Hans Richter. "Une expérience du mouvement dans la peinture et le film". Gyorgy Kepes (dir.). *Nature et art du mouvement*. Brussels, La Connaissance, 1968, p. 144.

frame is the space that the eye can capture in a single glance. The gaze is the agent of totality, the fixed point of view, the travelling camera which is meant to capture movement and therefore space", says Wacjman.⁴⁸ Whereas sensations may be changeable and mobile and tend towards a balance that is not necessarily symmetrical, perception is constant and stable.

An orderly and conventional interpretation of the full composition of an engraving implicitly comes with the sensation of progression through the black strokes and the blanks on the paper among textures, both optical and tactile, which have great closeness and sensory impact. But that sensation is suddenly truncated by a void, a fracture, a crack or a fold – depending on the width of the vertical dividing line and the technical means employed in the printmaking processes.

The landscape from Hokusai's *Manga* is an illustration of the empty space, the white gap, which only involves an optical effect. This is because the block of wood has not been partitioned, but simply includes an area that has not been worked on, and because of the engraving and printing modes – in relief and flat, typical of the woodcut technique. The production of relief prints from woodcuts does not leave any marks, unlike in chalcography where the printing process leaves traces and incisions or cuts in relief on the paper. This is the case in the split landscapes of Canaletto and Goya: it is not possible to recompose the spaces between the halves of the divided plates nor, therefore, in the landscapes, as there has been a loss – which is small, but nonetheless still a loss – of material between the two parts. This inevitably creates a void, a crack or a fold that will even alter the physical structure of the print, depending on how near or far apart the two parts are arranged at the time of printing. It may look like a fissure formed by only the slightest bit of missing material from the plate, which in the print will appear as a mere white thread in the paper base. If, on the other hand, the disconnection between the two parts is greater, then, a small fold, a crease or a wide vertical cleft may appear in the paper, resulting from the empty space between the plates, as happens in nature or in the more solid elements. "The ploughshare, cutting a sheet of material rather than the ground itself, does not create a surface but divides the material: thus the dressmaker cuts lines in her material with scissors, as does the puzzle-maker with his jig-saw... While cuts may or may not be accidental, cracks always are: they are fractures in materials, resulting from stress, collision or wear and tear."⁴⁹ It is without doubt something that happens naturally, even in the most solid elements, such as rocks. A good example is the crack in *Fractured Rock of*

⁴⁸ Gérard Wacjman. *Fenêtre. Chroniques du regard et de l'intime*. Lagrasse, Éditions Verdier, 2006, p. 263.

⁴⁹ Tim Ingold. "El corte, la grieta y el pliegue", in *Lineas. Una breve historia*. Barcelona, Gedisa, 2015, pp. 72-77.

Gameza in Colombia, a lithic mass of great historical and cultural relevance due to the petroglyphs at its base. Its appearance is as unreal as that of the rocks drafted by Goya, and we cannot avoid making formal, perhaps illusorily, comparisons with the Goya print in which the halves of two different rocks are arranged facing each other (fig. 36).

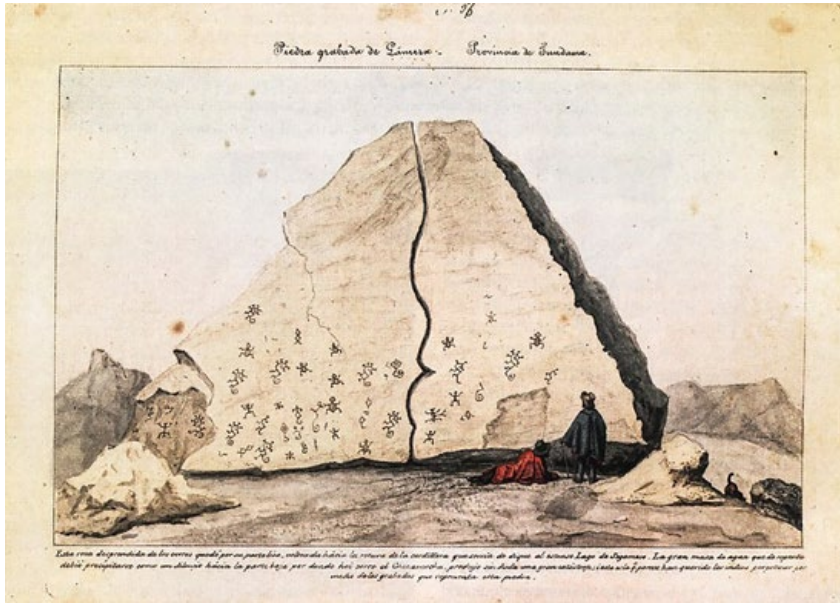


Fig. 36. Carmelo Fernández (Guama, Venezuela 1809 – Caracas 1887). *Fractured Rock of Gamiza, Tundama province* (today Boyacá), 1851. Water colour, 29 × 21 cm. (Biblioteca nacional de Colombia). (<https://www.wdl.org/es/item/9032/manifest>).

However, in the three cases we have considered, the cut has optically broken the monad, or the harmony, if we think of harmony in Leibniz's sense, as monadological.

In addition to the break in the continuity of movement, the division creates two units of space which, at the same time, correspond to two units of time. They are vertical diptychs in which the sum of both halves produces a re-established image that shows the same moment once again – space divided into two, like a fragmentation of what each eye sees separately. The observer's eye is deprived of the uniform, uninterrupted field of vision. Adding other senses, such as touch, these white spaces can suggest, imagine, intuit and visualise continuities and correspondences in paths, constructions or an extended landscape. Indeed, the subjectivity of the improper and of correspondence gives way in these white spaces, as occurs with the central jamb

of a two-panel window that obscures the view of the landscape when looking out, and obscures intimacy when looking in from the outside. The diptych window, with its two sashes, fragments the landscape, the panoramic view of the exterior from the inside, in the same way as the landscapes examined above have been divided or modulated into rectangles. The lines that mark those modules obscure part of the whole, denying the eye part of their unity. What actually happens is that the vision of the whole is fragmented in a similar way to these split prints. The Hokusai print in particular follows the structure of the window with two sashes, since it is not only the composition that is partitioned, but also the paper, the pages of the *Manga*, which are sewn through the folds in the middle.

As Wajcman recalls in his seminal book on the window, “the starting point for the unity of place is the inscription of the frame of the painting; this unity of place is already present in Leon Battista Alberti. It is an invention of painting, that is to say, an invention of the window”.⁵⁰ Certainly Alberti, in his treatise of 1435, made his analogy public with these words:

First of all, on the surface on which I am going to paint, I draw a rectangle of whatever size I want, which I regard as an open window, through which the subject to be painted is seen; and I decide how large I wish the human figures in the painting to be (...) the rectangle marks the inside and the outside.⁵¹

Wajcman reaffirms that Alberti was devising a new window, perfectly separated or detached from architecture: the window of the depiction, called *the painting*.⁵²

The work of art follows the tradition that it must respond to a unity, an entirety which has given rise to numerous philosophical reflections throughout history. But the truth is that when we approach a work to observe it, its entirety becomes disfigured. The case at hand here is the print, which requires reading at close range, observation through the graphic fabric of patterns making up the chiaroscuros on the white surface of the paper. With entirety disfigured, the eye centres on a point and starts following a path, more or less orderly, in order to recreate and understand the totality of the print. This also makes the relationship between whole and part an unavoidable aesthetic problem in which the physical quality of the materials intervenes: the ink,

⁵⁰ Wajcman, 2006, p. 288.

⁵¹ Leon Bautista Alberti. “Los tres libros de la Pintura”, in *El tratado de la Pintura por Leonardo de Vinci y los tres libros que sobre el mismo arte escribió Leon Bautista Alberti* (translation by Diego Antonio Rejón de Silva; introduction by Valeriano Bozal). Murcia, Colegio de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos de Murcia, 1980, p. 215.

⁵² Wajcman, 2006, p. 247.

the surface finish of the paper, the depression formed by the plate contour, the depth of the strokes and the density of the stains, the shading, the dotting, the direction of the strokes, the undulation, the continuity, and so on. In this regard, the landscape, as has been stated above, indeed also supposes movement – but it is the fixed movement of the gaze we direct. Maurice Brock links this to the birth of the landscape when he speaks of routes through the extra-urban places⁵³ and refers to Crary's idea that "over the course of the nineteenth century, an observer increasingly had to function within disjunct and defamiliarized urban spaces, the perceptual and temporal dislocations of railroad travel, telegraphy, industrial production, and flows of typographic and visual information. Concurrently, the discursive identity of the observer as an object of philosophical reflection and empirical study underwent an equally drastic renovation".⁵⁴

In short, the re-impression of the two halves of the partitioned copper plates, of both Canaletto and Goya, serves as proof of the observer's resistance to disconnection, of an eagerness to see the whole and to put together once again that which had previously been a unity. It concerns a will that opposes fragmentation and tends to the 'one', to what is considered complete, even above and beyond the artist's own intentions.

⁵³ "The landscape is an essential part of the *veduta*, a fragment of nature set in a square in a window, or a view of the countryside on the horizon of a street within the city walls. The landscape is urban, because the window is urban. Painting is urban. The point of view is the town. The landscape is nature, seen from the town, from a window. In Alberti's division of space between town, region and province, the landscape is the region as seen from the villa, and the province, beyond the villa, is precisely that part of the region that cannot be seen from within the town." Maurice Brock. "L'invention du paysage, le voyage des Rois Mages dans la peinture toscane de la Renaissance", in *Les paysages du cinéma*. Champ Vallon, 1999, p. 263.

⁵⁴ Jonathan Crary. *Las técnicas del observador*. Murcia, Cendeac, 2008, p. 28.

/ II. From the Sign to the Double Image: Landscape/Face, Face/Landscape on Several Prints by Picasso

Through an infirmity of our natures, we suppose a case,
and put ourselves into it, and hence are in two cases
at the same time, and it is doubly difficult to get out.

PAUL AUSTER. *Ghosts*, 1983

> Signic drifts

During his stay in the south of France, between 1947 and 1973, Picasso found himself far from the Paris workshops, but he did not stop working on engravings with the traditional mediums of etching and lithography, and also added to his work a magnificent and novel series of linocut prints. Vallauris was where he rounded off the project, begun in 1945, for the signic lithographs¹ that were to illuminate the handwritten black poems which Pierre Reverdy (1889 – 1960) had conceived, mostly during the German occupation,² and which make up the book *Le Chant des morts* (fig. 1).³ A two-author effort which, more than an illustrated book, is an illuminated

¹ Gilot recalls how the lithographer Mourlot left the lithographic plates ready for Picasso to draw on, in the Ramié ceramics workshop in Vallauris: "A cette distance, le papier-report aurait été plus commode à transporter, mais les résultats ne sont jamais aussi satisfaisants, et Pablo avait donc décidé de faire les illustrations sur zinc; il aurait, en effet, été impossible de transporter les pierres elles-mêmes. Mourlot avait indiqué sur les zincs la place occupée par le texte de Reverdy pour que Pablo puisse se rendre compte exactement de ce qu'il lui restait pour les enluminures. Comme Pablo n'avait toujours pas d'atelier, Mourlot porta les plaques chez Ramié, où Pablo les étendit è même le sol, dans la grande pièce du premier qu'ils utilisaient pour sécher les poteries, et les peignit directement à l'encre lithographique. Cela lui a pris une quinzaine de jours en tout" (Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake. *Vivre avec Picasso*. Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1965, pp. 241-242).

² As Reverdy himself observed: "Ce n'est pas un livre illustré, mais un manuscrit enluminé par Picasso". Pierre Reverdy, Pablo Picasso (pref. François Chapon). *Le Chant des morts*. Paris, Gallimard, 2016, p. VIII.

³ Published in 1948, Paris, by Tériade, as part of the Verve publications, with a print run of 270 copies. It has 117 pages, featuring 125 lithographs by Pablo Picasso and Reverdy's handwritten typography, which was autographically transcribed. (Patrick Cramer, Sebastian Goeppert and Herma Goeppert-Frank (dir.). *Pablo Picasso. Catalogue raisonné des livres illustrés*. Genève, Patrick Cramer, 1983, no. 50; Fernand Mourlot, revised by the

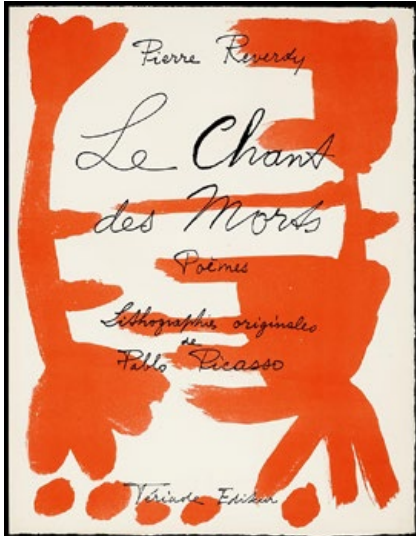


Fig. 1. Pierre Reverdy (Narbonne 1889 – Solesmes 1960) and Pablo Picasso (Málaga 1881 – Mougins 1973). *Le chant des morts*. Paris, 1948. Cover. (KB National Library of the Netherlands, Koopm E 37).

manuscript with enormous signic, visual and verbal strength, and solid coherence in both Reverdy's poetry and Picasso's pictorial and gestural work. It is the product of a duet in the most classical spirit of *ut pictura poesis* and forms one of the most powerful *livres d'artiste* of the 20th century,⁴ made and published just after the Second World War, in a France that had been devitalised and also had to reactivate its culture.⁵ Reverdy's manuscript poems, in clear, regular and rhythmic calligraphy, printed in black ink, allude to the suffering of the French people during the war. The lithographs, which Picasso made at the request of the Tériade publishing house, are based on signs drawn with a thick brush while applying significant material and formal economy. They are practically reduced to

Picasso Project. *Picasso's Paintings, Watercolors, Drawings and Sculpture: A Comprehensive Illustrated Catalogue, 1885–1973: The Lithographic Work*. San Francisco, Alan Wofsky Fine Arts, 2009, no. 117; Felix Reuße, Erich Franz, and Ulrike Gauss (eds.). *Pablo Picasso lithographs*. Graphikmuseum Pablo Picasso Münster. The Huizinga collection, Ostfildern-Ruit, 2000, nos. 243–367, pp. 96–111).

⁴ Elza Adamowicz, defines artist's book in *The Livre d'Artiste in Twentieth-Century France* (French Studies 63, no. 2, 2009), and uses *Le Chant des morts* as an example: "Over time the livre d'artiste has evolved to mean a high-quality limited edition illustrated book comprising unique handmade prints that an artist created specifically to illustrate a literary text. *Le Chant des morts* is considered to be an excellent example of a livre d'artiste". Riva Castleman also commented on the work in *A century of Artists Books* (New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1994, p. 129): "Having already made several artistic statements about war, Picasso chose to enhance Reverdy's mourning stanzas with rubies, the red marginalia added by scholars to old manuscripts that commented or expanded upon the text. For his marks, Picasso surrounded the handwritten text with the branched and knotted bands that delineated forms in his paintings of the time".

⁵ On the gestation, context and execution of this work, please consult the documented article by Rodney T. Swan, "Turning Point, the Aesthetic Genealogy Surrounding Picasso's Illustrations of Reverdy's *Le Chant Des Morts*", in *Art and Book. Illustration and Innovation* (Peter Stupples, ed.). Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016, pp. 85–104. Available online at:

[https://www.academia.edu/32328093/Turning Point-The Aesthetic Genealogy Surrounding Picassos Illustrations of Reverdys Le Chant Des Morts](https://www.academia.edu/32328093/Turning_Point-The_Aesthetic_Genealogy_Surrounding_Picassos_Illustrations_of_Reverdys_Le_Chant_Des_Morts) [consulted: 2/07/2019].

See also: Irene Small. *Le Chant des morts (The Song of the Dead)*. *Pierre Reverdy in Picasso and the Allure of Language* (Susan Greenberg Fisher and Mary Ann Caws, eds.). New Haven, CT, Yale University Art Gallery, pp. 163–167; Richard L. Hattendorf. *The Artists' Books of Pierre Reverdy: Poetic Theory in Concrete Form*. PhD diss., University of California, 1986, p. 126; Richard L. Hattendorf. *The 'Ensemble Concertant' of Reverdy and Picasso's Le Chant des Morts*. *The Comparatist*, vol. 16 (May 1992), University of North Carolina Press, pp. 123–139.

straight lines, curves, circles and dots, which are rendered in a uniform and dazzling red ink and enclose, highlight and delimit Reverdy's texts (fig. 2).⁶ According to Françoise Gilot, these signs constituted a great challenge for Picasso, because he had to decide on the most appropriate image, given the tragic subject matter and the inherent abstraction of Reverdy's collection of poems.⁷



Fig. 2. *Le Chant des morts*, pp 104-105.

Paul Klee, one of the most influential plastic artists in the conceptual theory of 20th-century art, reflected on this signic link between writing and the creation of compelling strokes:

... il y a lieu de circonscrire le domaine des moyens plastiques dans le sens *idéal* et de faire preuve de la plus grande économie dans leur emploi. L'ordre de l'esprit s'y affirme mieux que dans l'abondance des moyens. Éviter l'emploi massif des données matérielles (bois, métal, verre, etc.) au profit des données idéelles (ligne, ton, couleur, – qui ne sont pas des choses tangibles). Certes, les moyens idéels ne sont pas dépourvus de matière, sinon on ne pourrait pas 'écrire'. Quand j'écris le mot vin avec de l'encre, celle-ci ne tient pas le rôle principal mais permet la fixation durable de l'idée de vin. L'encre contribue ainsi à nous assurer du vin en permanence. *Ecrire et dessiner* sont identiques en leur fond.⁸

⁶ "We see in *Le Chant des morts* [in] a text by Reverdy concerned with 'la débacle du présent' how quickly he had mastered the potentiality of the medium. The premier coup splashes of vermillion used to highlight the poems lithographically transcribed by the poet, anticipate action painting." W.J. Strachan. *The Artist and the Book in France. The 20th Century Livre d'Artiste*. London, Peter Owen, 1969, p.108.

⁷ Françoise Gilot. *Matisse and Picasso; A Friendship in Art*. London, Bloomsbury, 1990, pp. 35-36.

⁸ Paul Klee. *Theorie de l'art moderne*. Paris, Editions Gonthier, 1968, p. 58.

This is a universal and valid premise, which Ingold upholds when he affirms that “writing is still drawing”,⁹ and it is in this sense that we contemplate Picasso’s *Arabesques*, the works where he uses his own original, plastic language in drawing and writing at the same time. Gilot, who witnessed the gestation of the book in person, gave a description of the source that inspired Picasso, positioning its origin in the red initials of the illuminated manuscripts and in musical scores of the 15th century.¹⁰ That is to say, it is a reference to writing, to a writing that is more elaborate than calligraphically instinctive, to a writing that is drawn with luxurious strokes, and is even pre-technological. And, no less interesting, it is a reference to musical writing. But that is something that Picasso does not emulate – on the contrary, he prioritises free gesture in order to create his own signs.¹¹

These signs do not, as has already been said, represent an alphabet, since by themselves they have no meaning, but they confine themselves to form and movement. They had a long reach since, in terms of syntax, rhythms and ductus, the *Arabesques* already had their antecedents in *Le Chant des morts* and, moreover, they survived in Picasso’s later works, even those of a very different character and far removed from abstraction.¹² Indeed, they are also found in drawings and paintings as well as in many other lithographs from 1948 and 1949, including *Figura*; the *Woman in an Armchair* series; the still lifes *The Table with Fish*, *Homards et poissons*, *Le homard* and *Nature morte et vase de fleurs*; *Tête de jeune fille*, portrait of Françoise; *Femme aux cheveux verts* and *La femme à la résille*, and *Figure au corsage rayé*.¹³

⁹ Tim Ingold. *Lineas. Una breve historia*. Barcelona, Gedisa, 2015, p. 173. On page 180, the author reasserts, “Among artists of modern times, Paul Klee stands out as having recognized the original identity of drawing and writing. In notes he prepared for his Bauhaus lectures in autumn 1921, Klee remarks of the line that, ‘at the dawn of civilisation, when writing and drawing were the same thing, it was the basic element’”.

¹⁰ Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake. *Vivre avec Picasso*. Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1965, pp. 240-243.

¹¹ Gertrud Stein correctly noted the presence of calligraphy in Picasso’s work, see: Gertrude Stein. *Picasso*. Madrid, Casimiro, 2017, pp. 49-55. This fact was also considered in the 2019-2020 exhibition dedicated to *Picasso the poet*, held at the Museu Picasso in Barcelona. In the catalogue, the expert on Picasso, Claustra Rafart, points out that “the genesis of Picasso the poet can be found in his childhood and youth. On the sheet of paper, essentially only with the pen and the pencil, he performed his first artistic exercises at the same time as the Picasso of the word was born and, along with him, the Picasso of writing” (*Abecedari. Picasso poeta*. Barcelona – Paris, Museu Picasso – Musée National Picasso-Paris, 2019, p. 109.)

¹² Gilot recalled this in his memoirs: “After *Le Chant des morts*, Picasso continued to create images with variants of these arabesques in other paintings and cites the painting *La cuisine* as an example” (Gilot and Lake, 1965, p. 183).

¹³ Mourlot, 2009, nos. 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 142, 143, 146, 145, 147, 148, 178 and 179, respectively.

In *Le Chant des morts*, Picasso chooses to formalise a series of vigorous, unequivocal strokes which arrange the space by securing and highlighting the area of handwritten poetry, as if it were a territory to be protected with lines of defence, with red bastions of maximum alert. Looking at the open book, at the pages side by side, the strokes form a genuine map, marking grand generic contour lines, a painted cartography (fig. 3). And, in fact, keys, legends and outlines are the basis of such representations of the Earth. As Gombrich wrote, “It was commonly said that there are no lines in nature and therefore, that outlines are a human creation, a cartographic resource”.¹⁴

It is true that Picasso showed little inclination to represent views and landscapes, and even less so in print,¹⁵ even though the medium was a traditional option for the diffusion of the subject matter. Still, his oeuvre includes several especially interesting lithographic and linocut prints, which are highly original because of the approach he applied. Two works that stand out among these are the views of the village of Vallauris,¹⁶ made on 14 and 15 January 1953.

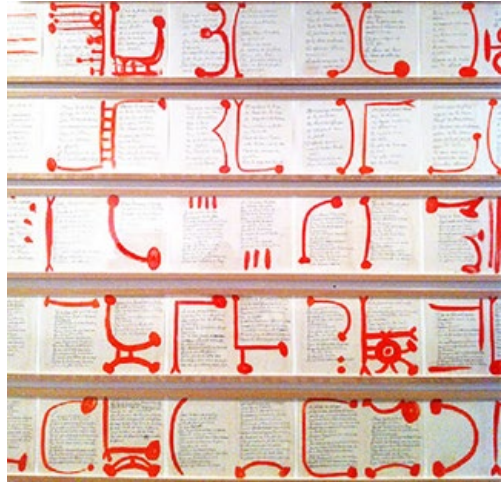


Fig. 3. *Le Chant des morts*. Set of open pages of the book.



Fig. 4. Kiyoshi Hasegawa (Yokohama 1891 – Paris 1980). *Paysage de Vallauris*, 1924. Etching and drypoint, 13.4 × 21 cm. (Courtesy private collection, France).

¹⁴ E.H. Gombrich. *La imagen y el ojo*. Madrid, Alianza Forma, 1987, p. 188.

¹⁵ We discuss this aspect more extensively in “Paisajes en blanco y negro”, in *Picasso. Paisaje interior y exterior*. Barcelona, Electa and Museu Picasso. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1999, pp. 27-39.

¹⁶ Mourlot, nos. 237 and 236. Among the few engraved references to the village of Vallauris worth mentioning is the view by the French-Japanese Kiyoshi Hasegawa (1891 – 1980), *Paysage de Vallauris*, an etching and drypoint, made in 1924. The composition is organised in silent Cezannian volumes and features strong chiaroscuro far away from the Mediterranean sun (fig. 4).

In these, Picasso drew an outline on the sheets of paper to delimit the 'maps' of *Vallauris Landscape* (fig. 5) and *Gardens of Vallauris* (fig. 6), which both feature the same labyrinthine structure, a kind of schematic mandala. In this particular microcosm, the information has given way to a poetic type of writing, and the "keys" are formed on the basis of a code of individual signs that distribute and occupy the space on the two maps. The signs seem to be ideograms which form the drawing and at the same time arrange a descriptive morphology, because they are not reduced to the stroke, and the stroke should not be confused with the drawing. In May 1945, Picasso commented, "A painter has to observe nature, but must never confuse it with painting. It can be translated into painting only with signs. But you do not invent a sign. You must aim hard at likeness to get to the sign. For me, surreality is simply that, and has never been anything else, the profound likeness beyond the shapes and colours by means of which things present themselves".¹⁷



Fig. 5. Picasso. *Vallauris landscape*. 1953. Lithograph, 49.2 × 64.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

¹⁷ Brassai. *Conversaciones con Picasso*. Madrid, Aguilar, 1964, p. 201.

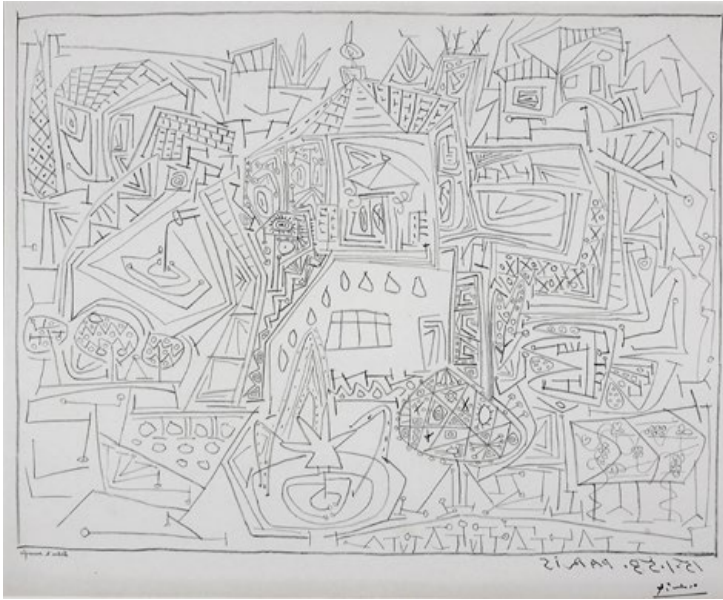


Fig. 6. Picasso. *Gardens of Vallauris*. 1953. Lithograph, 49.2 × 64.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

Precisely these views of Vallauris are formed by an orderly accumulation of signs, of basic geometric elements that can be enumerated or classified: straight lines which are short or long or broken, lozenges, dots, arcs, circles, triangles, star shapes, small ovals, lines with a dot at one end looking like sewing pins, or lines with a separated dot, looking like exclamation marks... Grouped together, and some set within others, they organise the urban space of streets, squares and gardens (figs. 7 and 8).



Figs. 7 and 8. Details of the signs.

They are never superimposed, which means they do not bring about any shading or chiaroscuro effects. Everything is flat. The signs are simple and abstract, and their arrangement prompts the observer to identify buildings, monuments, houses and streets, gardens, fountains, water, trees and so on. In *Vallauris landscape*, these are marked by short, thicker lines which are similar to the black eighth notes of a musical score on a limpid white background.¹⁸ Here the collection of strokes made with the thin tip of a lithographic pencil preserve the *tractus*, the direction and the rhythm of the thick brush strokes of *Le Chant des morts*.

At the same time, this Picasso repertoire, which here seems to have been adapted and made expressly for these maps, was migratory. We can find it without distinction in the configuration of very different images, such as the ink drawings on the subject of war which he made in Vallauris somewhat earlier, in October 1951: *La guerre* (fig. 9) and *Paix combattante fera reculer le char de guerre* (Musée National Picasso-Paris, nos. 1404 and 1405 respectively). In these, the signs serve to anthropomorphise war can-



Fig. 9. Picasso. *La guerre*, 5 October, 1951. Drawing. (Musée National Picasso-Paris, 1404).

¹⁸ This relationship is reaffirmed by the ink drawings *Quatre Études de guitare* and *Trois Études de guitare*, from the sketchbook for *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu* of 1924 (Musée National Picasso-Paris 1869; 26v, 27r). In these works, the strokes are arranged to form orderly structures with a sculptural feel, while also evoking musical notation and even the future graphic scores of composers such as Robert Moran and his *Four Visions*.

nons. Other examples are the series of lithographs included in the set *Portrait of Balzac*,¹⁹ of 1952 (fig. 10), the portrait of his daughter, *Paloma avec poupée*,²⁰ of the same year, and the *Dos cabezas*²¹ works from the sketchbook of 24 September 1956. In addition, this signs repertoire also appears in works created with a different technical medium, such as the linocut, which requires, besides guiding the direction of the gesture, the application of pressure to make the incisions of the carving.

As we will see below, the brush stroke arabesques of *Le Chant des morts*, reappearing in a smaller extension, traced with a brush, with a pencil, or carved in linoleum, form an inventory of Picasso codes which, grouped together, structure the spatial representation by alloying image and landscape.



Fig.10. Picasso. *Portrait of Balzac*, 1952. Lithograph, 70 × 53 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

> Double image: landscape/face or face/landscape?

Whatever the shift in one direction or another, what we are presented with is a symbiosis between human figure and nature, between the human realm and that of the plant, a double image. This fusion is especially clear in the series that Picasso worked on from 1959 to 1962, with respect to the interpretations of Manet's *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*. In this series, he achieved very innovative solutions with different mediums while basing his work on the model by Manet. One of the solutions he found was in linocut, the technique that led to his involvement in colour print work. It should be not-

¹⁹ Mourlot, nos. 223, 224 and 226.

²⁰ Mourlot, nos. 228 and 229.

²¹ Christian Zervos. *Pablo Picasso*. Paris, Cahiers d'Art, 1932 – 1978, vol. XVII, nos. 212 and 213.

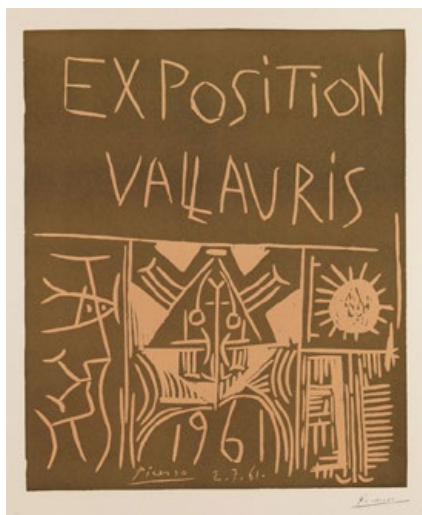


Fig. 11. Picasso. *Exposition Vallauris*, 2 July, 1961. Linocut, 75.3 x 62 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

ed that Picasso did not, in general, deal with colour engraving in the other techniques, and in this regard, he remained within the more classic parameters of black and white engraving. It was the experience of linocut that induced him to experiment and improve colour printing using a single matrix.²² Indeed, in the linocut poster *Exposition Vallauris*, dated 2 July 1961, the signs discussed above – appearing widened by the cutting edge of the gouge – form a sort of landscape which, when observed upside-down, conforms a face (fig. 11).

However, this anthropomorphisation of the landscape is more evident in the linocut made between January and March 1962, *Tête de femme au chapeau/Paysage aux baigneuses et au pêcheur*, printed in ochre on white, which was not published and has been catalogued as an unfinished work, making it a rarity among Picasso's output (figs. 12 and 13).²³ Is it a portrait of a young woman with a hat,



Figs. 12 and 13. Picasso. *Tête de femme au chapeau/Paysage aux baigneuses et au pêcheur*. January-March 1962. Linocut, 64.2 x 52.7 cm. (Courtesy private gallery).

²² See Brigitte Baer. *Una aventura de Picasso. El linogravat in Picasso linogravador*. Barcelona, Museu Picasso, 1989, pp. 15-20.

²³ Brigitte Baer. *Picasso. Peintre graveur*. Berne, Kornfeld, T. V, 1988, no. 1284.

showing a face that is made up of a landscape animated by bathers and a fisherman with his boat? Or is it an animated landscape that is giving shape to an attractive face?

Interpreted vertically, it is the young woman's head, but when read horizontally it is the landscape. As Giraudy has already pointed out, it is positively a double image in the manner of certain Arcimboldian designs.²⁴ A scene with,

Human limbs, human heads, human landscapes, human animals, human objects located in a human setting: these are what, in spite of certain appearances, we ultimately find in Picasso. Never before has man so powerfully affirmed, in the realm of art, what constitutes his nature and his *humanity*.²⁵

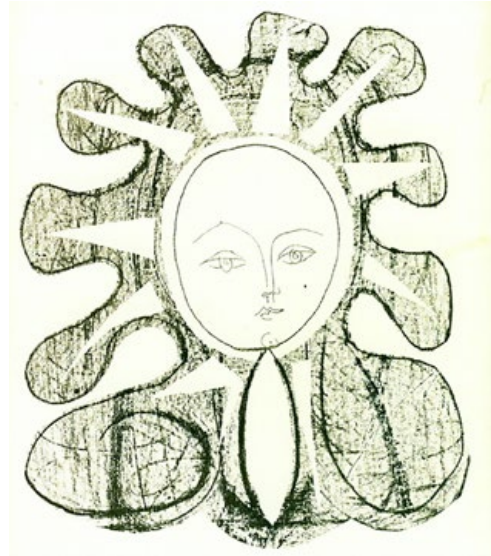


Fig. 14. Picasso. *Françoise en soleil*, 1949. Lithograph, 22.9 × 17.5 cm.

Leiris refers to human landscapes, human objects, a human setting, and that is what is happening: 'humanisation' invades Picasso's work and uncontrollably appropriates all represented motifs. It is easy to think of Françoise as metamorphosed into a flower or the sun, or – why not? – think of the flower and the sun as having transformed into Françoise (fig. 14).

These changeovers are very much akin to the way the Victorian artist Edward Lear (1812 – 1888) drew his botanical images, which were 'nonsensical' (fig. 15) and showed a great sense of humour. They advocate surrealism,²⁶ in that the object loses its initial function to become the support for the surreal dream,²⁷ while at the same time formally evoking the traditional representation of anthropomorphized herbs in

²⁴ Danièle Giraudy. *Picasso linogravador*. Barcelona, Museu Picasso, 1989, p. 12.

²⁵ Michel Leiris. *Documents*, no. 2, 1930. Also, a little later, in 1938, Gertrude Stein said, "The head the face the human body these are all that exist for Picasso. I remember once we were walking and we saw a learned man sitting on a bench, and Picasso said, look at the face, it is as old as the world, all faces are as old as the world" (*Picasso*. Madrid, Casimiro, 2017, p. 24).

²⁶ Edward Lear. *Nonsense Botany*. London, Thomas McLean, 1846.

²⁷ Aline Jacquot. *Quattro secoli di surrealismo. L'arte fantastica nell'incisione*. Milan, Milano Libri Edizioni, 1974, p. 200, no. 68.

the *Herbarium virtutibus* by Pseudo-Apuleius and his many followers since the 15th century²⁸ (fig. 16).

Certainly, many of Picasso's contemporaries worked along these lines. There was Max Ernst, who made the frontispiece for the 1965 reprint of *Un Autre monde* (1844) in tribute to J.J. Grandville (1803 – 1847), the author-conjurer of a large body of work based on anthropomorphisation, zoomorphisation and therianthropy. Of the many others, one we are particularly interested in is Jean Dubuffet, whose drawing *Paysage aux trois compères ivres* was commented on by Damish:

sous l'espèce d'un graphe informe, à la figure-relais du spectateur établi au premier plan, aux patients méandres du *Paysage aux trois compères ivres* de Jean Dubuffet, dans le réseaux intriqués desquels il nous font rechercher les figures qu'annonce le titre: de l'inverse légère du trait – un trait ici bien visible, identifiable com tel....²⁹

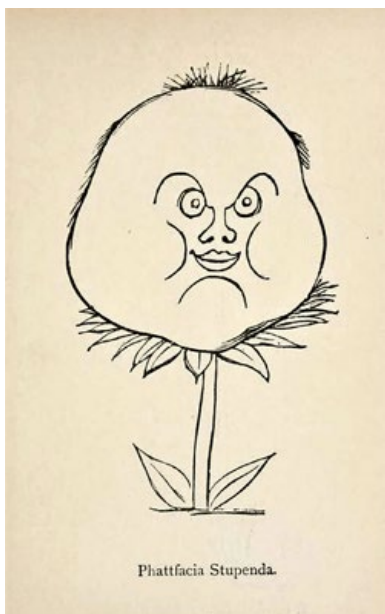


Fig. 15. Edward Lear (Holloway 1812 – San Remo 1888). *Phattfacia Stupenda*. Drawing in *Nonsense Botany*, 1846.



Fig. 16. Botanical illustration. *Erbario*, manuscript, fol. 76v. Italy (15th century, exact date unknown). Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection. Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania, Oversize LJS 419.

²⁸ <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/9958047623503681>

²⁹ Hubert Damish. *Traité du trait*. Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995, p. 176.

Damish was remarking on the pre-eminence of the long path of the simple stroke, which, nevertheless, acquires the complexity of expressing two things at the same time – its own path and the figuration it is concealing (fig. 17).

However, a more conspicuous character appears to be contending for primacy in landscape composition – that of a naked woman lying on a bridge, in *Pont d'Avignon, pont brisé*, by Man Ray. The artist worked on different technical versions, including drawing and bas-relief, for this piece, in which, at first glance, the architecture of the broken bridge is the prevailing element (fig. 18).³⁰

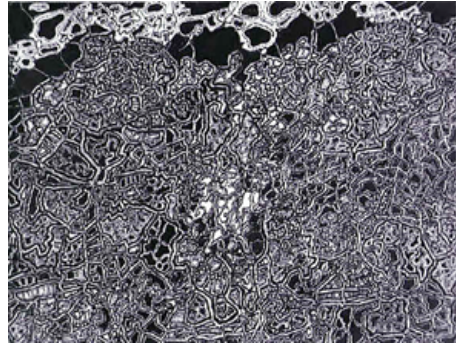


Fig. 17. Jean Dubuffet (Le Havre 1901 – Paris 1985). *Paysage aux trois compères ivres*, 1952. Drawing ink. (© Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais).



Fig. 18. Man Ray (Philadelphia 1890 – Paris 1976). *Pont d'Avignon. Le pont brisé*, 1936. Drawing ink, 28 × 38.5 cm. (Sotheby's catalogue, October 2018).

³⁰ See Agnès Vinas, https://www.lettresvolees.fr/eluard/mains_libres.html [consulted 22/9/2019]; Paul Eluard and Man Ray. *Les Mains libres*. Paris, J. Bucher, 1937; Jean-Louis Benoit. *Les Mains libres de Man Ray et Paul Eluard: De la lyrique amoureuse au libertinage érotique*. L'École des lettres, L'École, l'École des loisirs, 2015. fhal-01104408v2f (<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01104408/document>) [consulted 1/9/2020].

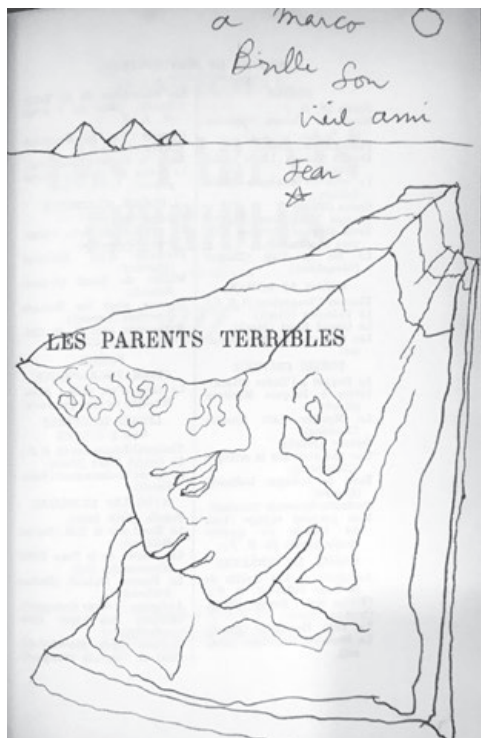


Fig. 19. Jean Cocteau (Maisons-Laffitte 1889 – Milly-la-Forêt, Francia 1963). Drawing and dedication, ink, 18.4 × 12.5 cm. (Author's collection).

Even more momentous than this female figure sleeping on the bridge is the head that emerges from a monumental architectural structure, evidently inspired by the sphinxes of ancient Egypt. We believe that this exquisite drawing by Jean Cocteau is still unpublished, or at least little known, given its location.³¹ The simple, continuous lines, traced in pen and black ink, delimit the right edge of the page and form a polyhedral stone mass from which the shape of a head advances towards the observer, its physiognomy reminding us of Cocteau himself, as if it were a self-portrait. Far in the distance, three small pyramids and a tiny full moon can be seen, and between them is a handwritten dedication, that is, several orderly calligraphic signs set within the compositional field (fig. 19). And, in accordance with the links between writing and drawing, between poetry and plastic arts, we should recall Cocteau's reflections on the transition

from writing to drawing, which he recorded in the dedication to Picasso of his first book of drawings: "Les poètes ne dessinent pas. Ils dénouent l'écriture et la renouent ensuite autrement". And more explicitly: "Les dessins de poètes ne sont pas du dessin. Plutôt de l'écriture qui se déguise, des majuscules dénouées, renouées ensuite autrement. Portraits, charges, ménagerie de notre subconscience".³²

³¹ The drawing is inserted in Cocteau's book *Les Parents terribles. Pièce en trois actes*. (Paris, Gallimard, 1938, in-12, 251 pp.). Copy 'E' of three 'hors de commerce' copies from the first edition, with the original, unpublished drawing on the title page, along with a handwritten dedication to Marcel Brille. Brille was also known as 'Marco', a renowned dental surgeon who died when he was deported (private collection, Barcelona). *Les Parents terribles* is a tragic *huis clos* that Cocteau personally adapted for the cinema in 1948.

³² <https://cocteau.biu-montpellier.fr/index.php> [consulted 30/7/2019].

Several works which provide a general discussion of Cocteau and the drawing: A. Fraigneau and P. Chanel, *Jean Cocteau, poète graphique*. Paris, Ed. du Chêne, 1975; A. Youssef and J. Lacouture, *Cocteau l'Égyptien*. Monaco, Ed. du Rocher, 2001; François Nemer, *Jean Cocteau* (cat. exp.). Paris, Centre Pompidou, 2003; P. Ful-

It was the surrealists who, while renewing the subconscious and the optical illusion, rediscovered the representation of the double image and the anthropomorphisation of the landscape. They labelled it the “Arcimboldo effect”, a term coined to describe the double images they used in their paintings, especially those that were inspired by elements of nature, and it referred to the caption on a canvas by Arcimboldo: “Man is the sum of the created world”.³³ The 20th-century theory on this term was fed by the first modern claim made by Alfred H. Barr, which linked it to the Dadaists and Surrealists in an exhibition at the MoMa in 1936-37. Eventually, quite a few years later, in 1987, this led to the Arcimboldo effect forming the centre point for the great exhibition in the Palazzo Grassi in Venice, coordinated by Roland Barthes, on the historical convergence and the link with the Surrealists such as Dalí, Breton, Ernst and Tchelitchew. An art brimming with linguistic charge, with metonymies, metaphors, allusions, and so on. An art containing a whole series of rhetorical concepts that, all things considered, also respond to the classic *Ut pictura poesis* expressed by Horace in his work *Ars Poetica* (Epistle to the Pisos) on correspondence in the arts. In the words of Barthes:

Such an exercise of imagination does not only belong to the realm of art, but also to that of knowledge: to intercept a metamorphosis (as Leonardo da Vinci does several times) is an act of knowledge: all knowing is linked to a classifying order; to expand or simply modify knowledge requires experimenting, through bold operations, with that which subverts the classifications of use: this is what the noble function of magic consists of, the ‘sum of natural wisdom’ (Pico della Mirandola). This is how Arcimboldo reasons: from play to great rhetoric, from rhetoric to magic, from magic to wisdom.³⁴

However, returning to the art of printmaking, which is the medium this essay focuses on, we can see that the double image is a representation with a long tradition. As Kenneth Clark adequately explains in the history of the representative evolution of both the printed and the painted landscape,³⁵ the concept and the conscious form as such emerged in the Renaissance, and almost immediately, the human form and the

acher et D. Marny, *Jean Cocteau le magnifique*. Paris, Gallimard, 2013; D. Marny. *Jean Cocteau ou le roman d'un funambule*. Monaco, Ed. du Rocher, 2013.

³³ T. Dacosta Kaufmann. *Arcimboldo. Visual Jokes, Natural History and Still-Life Painting*. Chicago-London, University of Chicago Press, 2010; S. Ferino-Pagden (ed.). *Arcimboldo. 1526–1593*. Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz, 2008; Jean-Hubert Martin (ed.). *Une image peut en cacher une autre - Arcimboldo, Dalí, Raetz* (cat. exp.). Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 2009.

³⁴ Roland Barthes. *Arcimboldo, retórico y mago*. Madrid, Casimiro, 2014, pp. 31-32.

³⁵ Kenneth Clark. *El arte del paisaje*. Barcelona, Seix y Barral, 1971.

constructions made by man were closely linked with the plant world of nature, with the landscape.

In addition, the concept of the representation of the exterior, of the Earth, soon became highly reinforced by the aspect of functionality in engraving: illustration, dissemination of popular and cultural material, etc. But it was also reinforced by the need for representations of cities, detailed topography of villages and countries, along with cartographic items, maps and plans. To satisfy this need, print workshops were established that specialised in these types of images. Printing, with its range of different techniques, was the only medium that allowed the creation of multiple copies up until the advent of photography.



Fig. 20. Heinrich Bünting (Hanover 1545 – 1606). *Europa Prima Pars Terrae in Forma Virginis*, 1581. Hand coloured-woodcut. (http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/archivedetail/21632/Europa_Prime_Pars_Terrae_In_Forma_Virginis_1548_Rare_Variant_edition/Bunting.html).

Certainly, from the beginning, symbolic images proliferated, with territories represented by figures carrying attributes related to the area, and linked to mythology or the Bible. A paradigm of popularity were the woodcut engravings of maps by the Protestant theologian Heinrich Bünting (1545 – 1606), in the book *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* (Travel book through Holy Scripture) published in 1581. It features images

such as that of Europe represented by a richly dressed and crowned woman (fig. 20), and Asia in the form of Pegasus.³⁶

There was a rapid shift from symbolism to representations of landscapes with double images, deriving especially from the emblematic production of the Swiss-German Matthäus Merian I (1593 – 1650), one of the most outstanding engravers, and a prolific creator of maps and views of cities.³⁷ He set up a workshop that remained operational until 1726 and was the master behind a very large body of engravings, with noteworthy series including *Theatrum Europaeum*, *Neuwe Archontologia Cosmica*, *Itinerarium Italiae* and *Topographia Germaniae*. A remarkable fact is that he achieved most popular acclaim for his engraving of a double image – a biomorphic landscape. It aroused a great deal of interest, and the countless reinterpretations that were made until the 19th century meant that the composition became a recurrent model.



Fig. 21. Matthäus Merian (Basel 1593 – Frankfurt 1650). *Head of a Man Forming a Landscape with Figures and Constructions*, ca. 1625. Burin, 11 × 16.8 cm. (Swann Auction Galleries, cat., New York, 2016).

The work in question is *Head of a Man Forming a Landscape with Figures and Constructions* (fig. 21), a burin engraving, usually dated between 1620 and 1623, which was probably based on a painting with clear influences by Arcimboldo. When

³⁶ Dietrich Briesemeister. *Apuntes sobre la cartografía figurativa. Alegorías, símbolos y emblemas en mapas y globos de la Edad Media y temprana Modernidad, en Mapas de Heinrich Bünting*. Burgos, Siloé, 2010. See also: Horacio Capel. *Mapas y civilización: Historia de la cartografía en su contexto cultural y social*. Barcelona, Serval, 2002.

³⁷ Maria Iaccarino. *L'immagine delle città europea nell'opera di Matthäus Merian (1593–1650)*. Roma, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2009.



Fig. 22. Athanasius Kircher (Geisa 1601-1602 – Roma 1680). *Ars magna lucis et umbrae*, "Iconismus XXVIII, Fol. 807" (http://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/ECHOdocu-View?url=/mpiwg/online/permanent/einstein_exhibition/sources/5G6UYVGT/pageimg&start=841&viewMode=image&mode=imagepath&pn=931).

the print is observed horizontally, we see a landscape with constructions, a balcony overlooking a river, paths and stairs with allegories of hunting, fishing, and agriculture. However, when viewing it vertically, the large head appears of an elderly man whose gaze is directed to the horizon. The nose is made up of walls of worked stone, the ear is a built structure with stairs, and the hair, beard and moustache are formed by vegetation. The paradigmatic success of this composition is confirmed by the repeat versions, variations and copies made by other renowned authors. One example is the signed but undated work by the great Czech engraver Wenceslaus Hollar, who joined master Merian's workshop in 1627 to receive training. The original Merian image appears in the publication by Athanasius Kircher, *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* (The Great Book of Light and Shadow) – Iconismus XXVIII, Fol. 807, *Naturae pictricis opera* (Work of painted nature), in the first edition of 1646, and in the second edition of 1671, issued in Amsterdam.

The engraving appears between two others; the one above is an illustration of the anthropophagous root of the mandrake and of alphabet characters set in stone, and the one below shows a design for a camera obscura. The print serves as an illustration for a section on an anthropomorphic mountain and bears in its left margin the legend "Campus anthropomorphus uide fol. 810". Here, Kircher alludes to man's bond with God and nature, the presence of man in nature, and nature as an artist (fig. 22). Many years later, in 1780, the German artist Johann Martin Will (1727 – 1806) also made some outstanding versions of Merian's composition (fig. 23).



Fig. 23. Johann Martin Will (Kempton 1727 – Ausburgo 1806). *Asia*, 1780. Etching, 18.8 × 29.3 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

In addition, this development was probably what formed the beginning of an entire, very popular trend in the Netherlands of the 17th century, which eventually also led to humorous illustration.³⁸ The numerous engraved compositions were well-received in the country, and featured a face hidden in the landscape or the profile of a bearded man set in or lying on the mountains. This symbolism and dual interpretation mean that one can ask what the main subject really is, and if one is more important than the other. Or it may be, as Gombrich pointed out, a matter of perception, of the priority of optical illusion: “It is easy to discover both readings. It is less easy to describe what happens when we switch from one interpretation to the other”.³⁹ Furthermore, let us not forget that in engraving, the author faces the daunting challenge of executing the work reversing left and right – but that is altogether a different dis-

³⁸ See the following essays: *The Art of Hidden Faces. Anthropomorphic Landscape* in:

<https://publicdomainreview.org/collections/the-art-of-hidden-faces-anthropomorphic-landscapes/> [consulted 7/8/2019]; *Los paisajes antropomórficos del siglo xvii, o por qué el ser humano quiere ver su figura en todas partes* in:

<https://www.faena.com/aleph/es/articles/los-paisajes-antropomorficos-del-siglo-xvii-o-por-que-el-ser-humano-quiere-ver-su-figura-en-todas-partes> 9 [consulted 6/8/2019]; Jutta Assel and Georg Jäger. *Vexierbilder und Scharaden zu Neujahr 2015*, in:

<http://www.goethezeitportal.de/digitale-bibliothek/quellen-und-studien-zur-bildungs-und-kulturgeschichte/neujahr-2015.html> [consulted 9/8/2019].

³⁹ E.H. Gombrich. *Arte e ilusión*. Barcelona, Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1970, p. 20.

TRILOGY ABOUT SEVERAL URBAN VIEW AND LANDSCAPE PRINTS

cussion. Changes in conception, changes in reading under the constant mutation of our vision, of our understanding, all mean that both the simple stroke and the most elaborate figuration are not what they appear to be, which gives rise to the recurring and intriguing phrase, "nothing is what it seems".

III. Repertoire of Urban Views of the Paris of 1900. The Etchings of Joaquim Sunyer*

Paris quarters were like that, we all had our quarters, to be sure when later we left them and went back to them they did look dreary, not at all like the lovely quarter in which we are living now. So familiarity did not breed contempt.

GERTRUDE STEIN. *Paris France* (1940)

It is a fact that traditionally, since ancient times, printmakers have used city views as a main compositional theme, not only to satisfy aesthetic tastes or as a creative challenge, but also to further various important interests – of a geographical, topographical, identitary, strategic or historical nature – or to simply serve as a memento for visitors.¹ To recall just a few examples, we can mention the spectacular view of Venice, made in 1500 by Jacopo de' Barbari; in the 17th century, there were the excellent Dutch landscape prints, with Rembrandt heading a great string of magnificent, and even experimental engravers of views and panoramas; and 18th-century Italy saw the emergence of the *vedute* by Canaletto, Bellotto, Marieschi and, of course, the great Piranesi with his monumental views of ancient and Baroque Rome. In addition to views and landscapes, printmakers have also depicted the characters and scenes of urban life, either as genre images or as part of a repertoire of typical figures, markets and leisure activities. However, the representation of bourgeois life

* A summary of this essay was presented during the lecture *Joaquim Sunyer: estampes urbaines del Paris del 1900*, delivered in the main lecture hall of the University of Barcelona in June 2018. The lecture has been published in *on the w@terfront. Public Art. Urban Design. Civic Participation. Urban Regeneration*, vol. 60, no. 13, 2018, and also online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ck3ypJQG1js&feature=youtu.be>

¹ For a general reference, see the book by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Cities of the World. Complete Edition of the Colour Plates 1572–1617*. Köln, Taschen, 2011. This work includes an extensive register of images and a selective bibliography.

in the street, the animated urban view, did not make its appearance until modern times.

Especially during the Impressionist movement, artists set out to work in the 'plein-air' and shifted their focus from the countryside landscape to the urban landscape, to the street, in order to capture the everyday life of the city. The concept rapidly became influenced by the new photographic way of framing a scene, and the immediacy that the medium entailed, and also by the discovery of Japanese woodcuts. The prints of the Ukiyo-e genre reflected everyday moments both indoors and outdoors, while at the formal level offering a form of composition and an array of colours that were unknown in Western printmaking. From the mid-19th century, this fascinated the entire Western artistic avant-garde, giving rise to the trend of Japonism, which attracted artists of a diverse range of styles, including those of the late 19th century, the Symbolists, the Impressionists, and others who were active until well into the 20th century. Along with a new taste among the bourgeoisie, that wanted to recognise itself and its home cities in images, all these factors brought about a style of prints of urban views. To call to mind just a few examples: the etchings by Whistler with views of Venice and the Thames; the etchings by Meryon, who prioritised the representation of solid and ancestral Parisian monumentality; the more graceful style of Félix Buhot; the lithographs by Bonnard, with views of Parisian streets and boulevards at different times of day. Somewhat later, on the other side of the Atlantic, there were Edward Hopper's quiet scenes and, particularly, the works of Martin Lewis, who gave expression to the urban life of the New York of the 1930s, through prints whose composition and tone point to the impact of photography, and the early influence of black and white cinema.

And if we focus on Paris, and the first years of the 20th century, we find an exceptional example in the series of prints representing various facets of urban life that was made by the Catalan artist Joaquim Sunyer. Given the quality of his work and the interest of the subject matter, Sunyer deserves to be examined more closely than he has been up to now, especially in the Spanish and Catalan bibliographies, which have tended to place him back in his *noucentista* period.²

By way of a brief reminder, we should note that Joaquim Sunyer (Sitges, Barcelona 1874 – 1956) was a painter and engraver who underwent training at the School of Fine Arts in Barcelona, where he coincided with the finest of a successful generation of Catalan painters, including Gaspar Camps, Ricard Canals, Javier Gosé, Oleguer

² This is evident in the exhaustive *Summa Artis* compendium, vol. XXXII, 1988, dedicated to "Engraving in Spain (19th–20th century)", which does not deal with Sunyer's fruitful and experimental Parisian period. Yet, in our opinion, when considering the artist's entire oeuvre, it is undoubtedly the most interesting period.

Junyent, Joaquim Mir, Isidre Nonell, Joaquín Torres García, Juli Vallmitjana, and several others with whom he shared his passion for art and his curiosity for the novelties from Paris.³ In the summer of 1896, at the age of twenty-two, avoiding the draft for the colonial wars in Cuba and the Philippines (1895 – 1898) in compliance with the procedures for commutation of military service, he travelled to the capital on the Seine for the first time. He immediately became imbued with the local artistic life and completed his studies there. Between 1896 and 1913, he lived in several places, first in Montparnasse, but very soon he moved to the area around the Bateau-Lavoir building in Montmartre. The specific addresses were Rue Delambre, Rue Vercingétorix, Avenue Breteuil, Rue Ravignan (where at number 13 the Bateau-Lavoir stands), 35 Rue Notre Dame de Lorette, 69 Rue de Caulaincourt, 34 Rue de Montaigne and, finally, in 1913, he was living at 7 Rue du Général Henrion Bertrier, in Neuilly. The address of Rue Notre Dame de Lorette is referred to by Fernande Olivier,⁴ and also by Joyeux-Prunel in her discussion of the Spanish artists who were living in the area around Place Pigalle:

[Sunyer] a 35, rue Notre Dame Lorette. Avec Picasso et d'autres artistes catalans, il prolonge à Paris le milieu anarchiste du cabaret du Quatre Gats. La production de ces artistes se réfère souvent à Toulouse-Lautrec (période bleue de Picasso). Sunyer participe avec Nonell, Iturrino, Losada, Picasso, à 'l'invasion espagnole' à Paris décrite par Félicien Fagus dans la *Revue Blanche* (*Revue d'Art*, 1 September 1902).⁵

Although his life in Paris proved to be precarious rather than pleasing, Sunyer soon stood out for his artistic worth and began to collaborate in various publications. In the magazine *Le cri de Paris*, he published the drawings *Dernière rose d'été* and *Intérieur de cabaret*, on 3 October and 17 December 1897, respectively. In that year, he also illustrated the *Soliloques du pauvre* by Jehan Rictus (Paris, Pierre Duffau, 1897) with nine colour lithographs. The first print run for the limited edition of 200 copies included eight prints, and the ninth was added in the second print run. The author was very

³ In the academic year 1894–1895, Joaquim Suñé Miró was registered under number 115 in the list of 153 students enrolled at the Higher Schools of Painting, Sculpture and Engraving of the Official School of Fine Arts of Barcelona. Other well-known artists, such as Gaspar Camps and Xavier Gosé, also went to Paris and became very successful in the Art Nouveau and Deco styles respectively. It is worth mentioning here that he did not coincide with Picasso, who was studying at the same institution between 1895 and 1897, and whose father was a teacher there, because the two artists were in different years. However, Sunyer and Picasso would meet later in Paris. (Lists of students enrolled in the School of Fine Arts, 1894-1895, fol. 49. Archivo RACBASJ).

⁴ Fernande Olivier. *Souvenirs intimes*. Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1988, p.180.

⁵ Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel. "Le Salon d'Automne (1903-1914), l'avant-garde, étrangers et la nation française", in *Histoire & Mesure*, XXII, 1, 2007, pp. 145-182, note 78. <http://histoiremesure.revues.org/2333?lang=en> [consulted 4 May 2017].

pleased with the work, of which a previous edition had been illustrated by Steinlen, and he made this clear in the dedication in the copy owned by Pere Ynglada (Fundació Noguera de Guzman, Barcelona):

Paris le 10 Novembre 1897./ Monsieur./ Veuillez je vous prie trans/mettre à Monsieur Sunyer mes/ félicitations sincères et mes /remerciements pour la très/ belle suite de lithographies/ qu'il a faites d'après mon/ livre./ Agréez Monsieur mes/ salutations cordiales./ Jehan Rictus.⁶

In 1898 and 1899 he exhibited at the *Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts* and created a lithograph titled *La Foule et la Vérité* (fig. 1) as a contribution to *Homage des artistes à Picquart*, a publication about the defender of Dreyfus, with a foreword by Octave Mirbeau.⁷ The lithograph forcefully expresses social demand and represents an isocephalic mass of frenzied people around a tall beam of light – which might be a female figure or just a monumental void – and, as a backdrop, a stronghold of powerful buildings, houses and factories of the big city. In 1901, he illustrated *5 Heures de la rue du Croissant (Les minutes parisiennes)* by Henry Fèvre, and he published the etching *Rue Lepic* along with seven press proofs in an edition of 44 copies



Fig. 1. Joaquim Sunyer (Sitges 1874 – 1956). *La Foule et la Vérité* (1899). Lithograph. (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15215585/f39.image>).

⁶ R. Sindreu. *L'obra gravada de Joaquim Sunyer. Catàleg raonat*. Doctoral thesis, unpublished. Barcelona, University of Barcelona, Faculty of Fine Arts, 1992, pp. 867-868.

⁷ *Homage des artistes à Picquart*. Paris, Société libre d'éditions des gens de lettres, 1899. <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb35670638w>

of the May issue of the magazine *L'Estampe Nouvelle*. *Le Fureteur* reproduced his dry-point image *Tête de vieux*. And in 1903, he made the drawings to illustrate *7 Heures/Belleville (Les Minutes Parisiennes)* by Gustave Geffroy; these drawings were reproduced in woodcut by T.J. Bertrand and Dété.⁸ During this period he met Steinlen, one of his iconographic references, who was living in the same neighbourhood, and he was in close contact with the other Catalans and Spaniards in Paris: Francisco Iturrino, Paco Durrio, Picasso, Canals, Manolo Hugué, Ramon Pichot and Maillol.⁹ In those days, Fernande Olivier was his lover, but she would soon leave him for Picasso.¹⁰ In 1903, 1904 and 1905, he participated in the art exhibitions of the Salon d'Automne. In 1904, he took part in a collective exhibition with Marquet, Matisse and Vuillard, and in 1909, he visited Renoir. At that point, his prints were already reference works for other artists, such as the Italian Giovanni Costetti (1874 – 1949), who was an admirer of Zuloaga and of Spanish taste. As Hopkinson has pointed out, the strokes in Costetti's etchings are very similar to those of Sunyer.¹¹ However, we will not expand any further on his life story, which is already well documented in the monographic reference list. What we aim to do here is focus on his activity as an etcher and, more specifically, on his series of prints of urban views of Paris at the beginning of the 20th century.¹²

> Sunyer the etcher

We do not know where Sunyer learned etching techniques, but we do know that he made his first incisions on copper plates in Paris, showing amazing skill and swift and efficient technical determination. He worked on the etchings with a very free, forceful and well directed ductus, combining it with textured aquatints of various intensities and great pictorial effectiveness. He profusely shaped the different states with the dry-point and the roulette wheel, by scraping and burnishing, and introducing *pentimenti* that, if opportune, would easily imply a shift from dark to light, reverting the ordinary

⁸ On-line: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8630613k.texteImage> [consulted: 17-3-2019].

⁹ Francis Carco. *L'ami des peintres*. Paris, Gallimard, 1953, p. 22.

¹⁰ Olivier, op. cit., pp. 173-186. This is also dealt with by Sue Roe in *In Montmartre. Picasso, Matisse and Modernism in Paris 1900-1910*. London, Penguin Books, 2015, pp. 69-70 and 90-91.

¹¹ Martin Hopkinson. *Italian prints 1875-1975*. London, The British Museum Press, 2007, p. 36.

¹² Rafael Benet. *Sunyer*. Barcelona, Editorial Polígrafa, 1975; *Joaquim Sunyer. 1874-1956* (exhibition catalogue). Barcelona, Fundació Caixa de Pensions, 1983; Sindreu, op. cit., and *Joaquim Sunyer. La construcció d'una mirada* (exhibition catalogue). Barcelona, Museu d'Art Modern MNAC, 1999.

process of going from light to dark. He always took a highly speculative approach and, following a process that tended to individualise the multiple, he quite often turned the proof states into working proofs as he reshaped them with other graphic mediums such as pencils, ink, pastel, and chalk. He also highlighted the proof state in the inking stage, thereby redoubling his position as a *peintre-graveur*.

From 1898 onwards he also engaged in colour etching, working and exploring the technique in the studio of Eugène Delâtre. They became good friends, which is confirmed by the dedication in a proof of *Les amis*, which reads: "A mon bon ami Delâtre".¹³ There are also records which state that the print publisher and lithographer E.I. Pierrefort, established at 12 Rue Bonaparte, published some of Sunyer's etchings, and that on 18 February 1901, he donated four Sunyer prints to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (D.9633): *Les étudiants au Luxembourg* (also known as *Au Luxembourg*); *Le Chiffonier*; *Le Marchand de Lacets*, and *Devant le guignol*.

Sunyer also collaborated with Edmont Sagot (1857 – 1917), who published and sold his prints, most of which bear the stamped printer's mark "Sagot/Editeur/Paris". Roser Sindreu, author of the catalogue raisonné of Sunyer's prints, provides valuable detailed documentation on each item, obtained directly from the Sagot-Le Garret gallery, which is still in operation.¹⁴ However, towards 1907, Sunyer broke off this prolific period as an etcher. He returned to the technique around 1921, but with a radical change in execution and with a more austere conception, forgoing colour and covering subject matter that was in line with motifs corresponding to the premises of Catalan *noucentisme*.

When placing Sunyer's French period in context, it is worth remembering that the Paris of the second half of the 19th century saw a great revival of original creations in etching. Lithography and photography had already originated, with the latter taking over the reproductive role until then occupied by engraving. Having lost that function, engraving then boosted itself as a plastic language by and of itself, viewing the work of the *peintre-graveur* as a reference. In other words, the examples to be followed were Dürer, Rembrandt and the Dutch school of the 17th century, and Goya – all of whom were endorsed by the art critics of the time: Baudelaire, Gautier, Burty, and several

¹³ Eugène Delâtre (1864 – 1938) had a workshop in Montmartre, and towards 1900 became the great printer of the so-called *âge d'or de la gravure*. He also stood out as a printmaker of colour etchings, and not in vain did he follow in the family tradition started by his father, Auguste Delâtre, who several years earlier had made prints of etchings by another well-known Catalan, Mariano Fortuny. In addition, Eugène Delâtre was the first printer to work for Picasso, which means that the Delâtre family is intimately linked to the production of prints by the finest Spanish artists in Paris. For further details on his work and his experience in colour print, see: Philip Denis Cate, Hélène Koehl and Henri Zmelly. *Impressions à Montmartre. Eugène Delâtre & Alfredo Müller*. Milan, Silvana Editoriale, 2013.

¹⁴ Sindreu, op.cit.

others who contributed greatly to promoting the taste and appreciation for printed works. In fact, in 1860, Paris, with its population of one and a half million inhabitants, had a total of 1180 brands of printer-illustrators, which demonstrates the great demand for multiple images and the resulting presence of a powerful infrastructure required for printing them.

Accordingly, while progressing towards the new millennium, artists understood that print was a medium that could promote the dissemination of their creations without reducing them to mere reproductions of their paintings or sculptures. This understanding contributed to the appearance of publishers who used the limitation of the print run and the artist's signature on the print – on the paper, that is – to revalue the fine print as a limited-edition original work.

Among the many testimonies to this fact is the occasion, in January 1889, when Gauguin told Vincent van Gogh that he had “commenced a series of lithographs for publication in order to make myself known”.¹⁵

> Colour prints

We now turn our attention specifically to colour prints, among which the series we are examining here – the Paris prints by Sunyer – is truly outstanding. It is appropriate to mention that this technique had been relatively little used throughout the history of printmaking, something which is probably due to its technical complexity, the increase in cost that the execution and material might entail, and a certain shortage of colour dyes. So, the truth is that throughout history the colour print was far less plentiful than the monochrome black and white print. The first colour etchings date back to around the 16th century, and most were illuminated, with the intention of approaching painting.¹⁶ At an earlier stage there had been the experience of the *camaïeu* or *chiaroscuro* in woodcut prints, as well as the method of colouring popular prints by hand or with cut stencils. Some artists, such as Domenico Campagnola, had made prints in sanguine, Parmigianino printed in brown, Jacques Callot in red, Jean Duvet in red, purple and bistre, and the great theoretician of printmaking and excellent engraver, Abraham

¹⁵ Quote taken from: Colta Ives. *French Prints in the Era of Impressionism and Symbolism*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988, p. 4.

¹⁶ For more details on the origins of etching, see the article by Nadine M. Orenstein and Ad Stijnman. “Bitten with Spirit: Etching Materials and Techniques in the Sixteenth Century”, in *The Renaissance of Etching*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019, pp. 15-23.

Bosse, had by then considered the system of camaïeu in chalcography.¹⁷ Then there was Hercules Segers (1589-90 – ca. 1640), who wrote essays on colour etchings. As the most experimental of all, he aimed to find a close symbiosis between painting and engraving, and produced a set of prints that is unique in the history of printmaking and in which the magic of colour predominated.

In 1710, Christophe Le Blon (1667 – 1741) developed three-colour printing,¹⁸ based on Newton's theories of colour. The technique involved rounds of overprinting using three plates: one for blue, one for yellow, and one for red. Immediately afterwards the system was improved by Jacques-Fabien Gautier-Dagoty (1716 – 1785), who added a fourth plate for black for the most prominent lines and the shadows, thereby effectively creating the four-colour printing model – CMYK (cyan, magenta, yellow, black) – which is still in use today.¹⁹

As for the *poupée* method, attributed to Francesco Bartolozzi (1725 – 1815), who practiced it around 1765, it was not until 1870 that it was revived by artists such as Bracquemond, Buhot, Pissarro, Degas and, above all, Mary Cassatt, who, like the other Impressionists from 1860 onwards, was influenced by the chromatic splendour of Japanese prints.²⁰ In addition, they knew how to handle the ink and control its consistency, composition and quality; and, more particularly, they knew how to properly apply it, how to manually spread it, and how to wipe and remove the excess from the surface of the copper, which can produce favourable or unfavourable accents; they knew how to apply plastic effects and artificial inking, advocated by Potémont, as opposed to the canonical method of natural inking²¹ (figs. 2 and 3). And while it is true that occasional attempts had been made in several periods and with a range of techniques, the real breakthrough in colour printing came with the Impressionists.

¹⁷ Abraham Bosse. *Traite des manières de graveur en taille douce sur lairin*, Paris, 1645, pp. 74-75.

¹⁸ J.C. Le Blon. *Coloritto; or the Harmony of Colouring in Painting: reduced to Mechanical Practice under Easy precepts, and Infallible Rules; Together with some colour'd figures*. London, 1725. (Reissued: New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1980). Almost forty years later, Manuel de Rueda produced the first transcription of this method into Spanish: "a new method of engraving plates to make colour prints, simulating Painting", in his manual *Instrucción para gravar en cobre...* Madrid, Joachim Ibarra, 1761, pp. 167-192.

¹⁹ Florian Rodari and Maxime Préaud. *Anatomie de la couleur. L'invention de l'estampe en couleurs*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1996; Elisabeth Savage and Ad Stijnman. *Printing Colour 1400-1700. Histories, Techniques, Functions and Receptions*. Leiden, Brill, 2015; Anthony Griffiths. "Colouring prints", in *The Print Before Photography. An introduction to European Printmaking 1550-1820*. London, The British Museum, 2016, pp. 144-164.

²⁰ In 1872, Théodore Duret defined the Degas monotypes in *Gazette des Beaux Arts* as "dessins faits à l'encre grasse imprimés".

²¹ Adolphe Martial Potémont. *Nouveau Traité de la gravure à l'eau-forte*. Paris, A. Cadart, 1873, p. 54.



Figs. 2 and 3. Joaquim Sunyer. *Les amis*. Etching. Details of versions with natural inking and with colour inking worked on with the blending stump.

Sunyer found himself immersed in a propitious environment, in which colour print was at its height, and he immediately experimented with multi-colour printing, using the different methods that were in vogue in *intaglio* printmaking processes at the time. He worked mainly with two techniques: the aforementioned *à la poupée*, in which the coloured inks are arranged side by side on a single plate, and eventually become mixed when they are wiped off the surface; and the method that employs several plates of the same size, one for each colour, to make overprints in successive pulls through the press, while ensuring that the shapes of the composition coincide exactly by making printing registration adjustments (*repérées*). He also applied to his monochrome prints the method described by Lalanne,²² Potémont²³ and Auguste Delâtre²⁴ a few years after.

²² Maxime Lalanne. *Traité de la gravure à l'eau-forte*. Paris, Cadart et Luquet, 1866, pp.85-89. Available online at: [Traité de la gravure à l'eau-forte / texte et planches par Maxime Lalanne ; \[lettre-préface par Charles Blanc\] | Gallica \(bnf.fr\) \(8/07/2018\)](#) [consulted 8 July 2018].

²³ Adolphe Martial Potémont (1828–1883), known as Martial, was the highly popular author of over 300 etchings dedicated to the city of Paris. He published the book *Nouveau traité de la gravure à l'eau-forte pour les peintres et les dessinateurs*. Paris, Cadart, 1873, in which he explains, as Lalanne had also done, the process for obtaining proofs with 'plate tone' ('ton d'estompe' or 'retroussage', equivalent to Spanish 'entrapado'); pp. 53-54. Available online at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470163v.image> [consulted 8 July 2018].

²⁴ Auguste Delâtre. *Eau-Forte. Pointe sèche et Vernis mou*. Paris, A. Lanier, G. Vallet, 1887, pp. 31-33.

The book contains a valuable and long letter from the Belgian artist Félicien Rops in which he explains to Delâtre his experiences with the different printmaking techniques he uses (pp. 22-30).

It involved obtaining blurred black strokes, with blending stump effects, based on the inking and wiping technique known as *retroussage* or *ton d'estompe*, which is the exact opposite of the method for making proofs with natural inking. With this method, Sunyer achieved a great variety of nuances in each print, even up to the point where he generated notable differences among prints, rejecting cloning and exalting original creation. Another inking method he used with success was that which emulated the practice of Degas, that is to say, using pastel to monotype many of the prints.²⁵

Sunyer took up quite a profession, and, as we have stated above, he undoubtedly learned the craft in the Paris workshops. In this regard, both for the beauty and for the quality and quantity of his prints, Sunyer can be considered the most innovative Catalan – and by extension Spanish – printmaker of his period, and placed at the level of the finest European artists. He was indeed included as such in the 1992 exhibition and corresponding catalogue *From Pissarro to Picasso. Color Etching in France*²⁶ and, in fact, at the beginning of his career he was already mentioned with admiration by Gustave Boucard.²⁷

> A Catalan *flânant* around Paris

After this technical aside, we focus on Sunyer's etchings and examine the thematic series dedicated to life in the public sphere in turn-of-the-century Paris.²⁸ It is similar

²⁵ See: Sue Welsh Reed and Barbara Stern Shapiro. *Edgar Degas: The Painter as Printmaker*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1984; Jodi Hauptman (ed.). *Degas: A Strange New Beauty*. New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 2016.

²⁶ Phillip Dennis Cate and Marianne Grivel. *De Pissarro à Picasso. L'eau-forte en couleurs en France*. Paris, Zimmerli Art Museum/Flammarion, 1992, p. 194. See also: J. Bailly-Herzberg, *Dictionnaire de l'Estampe en France. 1830–1950*, Paris, Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1985, pp. 309 and 355.

²⁷ In his description of three etchings by Sunyer (*Blanchisseuse*, *Rue Caulaincourt* and *Rue des Abbesses*), Gustave Boucard says: "Toutes ces eaux-fortes en couleurs, tirées généralement en *repérage* à 25 ou 30 épreuves, ont une saveur très particulière, elles sont absolument *différentes* de celles obtenues par le même procédé et l'artiste, qui est Espagnol, il a apporté une note très hardie et très crânement originale. On peut encore citer: *La rue Rodier* et *Au Moulin Rouge*, une des plus typiques". (*A travers cinq siècles de gravures 1330–1903. Les estampes célèbres, rares ou curieuses*. Paris, Georges Rapilly, 1903, p. 552).

²⁸ In the words of Gustave Coquiot: "Il fait des eaux-fortes en noir et en couleurs, singulières, prenantes. Cet Espagnol 'découvre' mieux Paris que n'importe quel Parisien. Mince, très jeune, l'air d'un Japonais, on le rencontre alors partout: dans les bals, dans les promenoirs de music-halls, autour des champs de courses ; mais aux Salons et même au Musée du Louvre, il préfère toujours la Vie.

"Il est un nouvel 'Homme des foules' tenace, obstiné; il ne rentre chez lui que lorsque la rue est déserte ; – que lorsqu'il a suivi le dernier passant et qu'il l'a vu disparaître soudainement dans le noir d'un Faubourg.

"Ses gamines, ses camelots, ses étudiants, c'est toute une famille qui est bien à lui, bien créée par lui ; et l'on ne retrouve chez aucun de ces amusants personnages des aspects, des tics et des attitudes conventionnels."

Cubistes Futuristes Passéistes. Essai sur la Jeune Peinture et la jeune Sculpture. Paris, Librairie Ollendorff, 1914, pp. 172-173.

to Pierre Bonnard's series of 12 colour lithographs, *Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris*, published by Vollard in 1899. In these images, both urban features, such as traffic, pavements, furniture and shops, and the different characters of a plural and populous society can be perceived thanks to the descriptive quality of the prints.²⁹

Even though these animated views contain a certain amount of *couleur local*, they elude the parameters of illustration. With his understanding vision, Sunyer captures both bohemian society and the middle and working classes, and sometimes even marginalised groups who stray through the city. He depicts the entertainment of dances and shows, debates in groups of idle students, street markets, workers, people strolling by and a series of characters with a long iconographic lineage, such as those dedicated to the humble trades: sellers of threads and lace, wafer vendors, and traders buying rags, paper and the like. They appear in identifiable settings, streets and squares, which often give their name to the print. In these prints, the viewer can recognise buildings, shops and public houses, means of transport, pavements, street lighting and other elements, so that the whole series ends up forming a particular repertoire that bears witness to the Paris of the period.³⁰ At the same time, though, the series steers clear of the frequently depicted great monuments, such as the Eiffel Tower and the Notre-Dame.

> Shows and entertainment

As a young man, Sunyer discovered the Montmartre that was brimming with life and art, the Montmartre that the previous generation of Catalan artists, such as Casas and Rusiñol, had experienced before him. Years later, when looking back, Rusiñol observed:

Montmartre does not rest. In this multitude of workshops where work goes on all day long with untiring zeal, in this immense beehive where they make use of the daylight up to the very last glimmer, the ants inhabiting it turn into cicadas when the daylight fades; into modern cicadas that sing under the brightness of the gaslight and the white electric light, because Montmartre, as a proper artists' nest, is the land of songs.³¹

²⁹ Francis Bouver. *Bonnard. The Complete Graphic Work*. New York, Gallery Books, 1981, pp. 76-101; Colta Ives. *French Prints in the Era of Impressionism and Symbolism*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 36-41.

³⁰ For more information on the references and precedents of the Spanish artists' perspective on Paris, see: Denise Bonnafox. "Paris vu par les peintres espagnols au tournant des xix^e-xx^e siècles", *Cahiers d'études romanes. Revue du CAER*, 6, 2001, pp 39-61. <http://etudesromanes.revues.org/270?lang=en> [consulted 14 May 2018].

³¹ Santiago Rusiñol. *Desde el molino. Impresiones de un viaje a París en 1894*. Barcelona, Ediciones Mercedes, 1945, p. 80-81.

Sunyer made a set of prints on the world of show business on *la butte*, dedicated to the café-concert and the music-hall.³² In these, he set up compositions in the style of Toulouse Lautrec to portray the bohemian lifestyle, the sadness of absinthe, the whiffs of tobacco smoke and the impact all these things had on the lonely souls in those sombre interiors.

These prints include *Au Moulin Rouge* (1899), *Les femmes au Moulin Rouge* (1899), *Concert des fortifs*³³ (1900; fig. 4), *Woman Alone at the Ball* (1905), and *Cabaret Interior in Montmartre*³⁴ (1898; fig. 5). The latter is a composition that shows a woman wearing a hat, a glass in front of her, and looking at the observer, while the other patrons, seated at the tables, are listening to a singer or reciter who is identified as the *chansonnier* Marcel Legay (1851 – 1915). Legay – who performed songs of his own, and lines by Victor Hugo, Guy de Maupassant and Zola that had been set to music – worked in the cabaret Quat'z'Arts,³⁵ which is precisely where Jehan Rictus gave recitals and sold his book *Soliloques du pauvre*.³⁶ In contrast, *Au café* (1902), represents a daytime scene with a family atmosphere in a crowded café. The composition is repeated almost identically in other works that are referred to in *7 Heures/Belleville* (*Les Minutes Parisiennes*).³⁷

³² The period between 1880 and 1914 was also known as *l'âge d'or* of the Paris cabarets, most of which were located in *la butte*, Montmartre.

³³ The term *fortifs* was used to describe troublemakers: "mauvais garçons, prostituées, gamins — qui en font leurs terrains de jeu et de mauvais coups", (Régine Deforges. *Le Paris de mes amours. Abecedaire sentimental*. Paris, Plon, 2011, p. 125). They lived in the underworld, in the slums on the outskirts of Paris, in the shadow of the numerous fortifications – the *fortifs*. These structures had been built from 1848 by Louis Philippe I, and remained standing until 1919, when the city started demolishing them to create the area labelled La Zone and recover plots of land for the construction of social housing units under the urban land use plans devised by the building society Société Française des Habitations à Bon Marché (HBM), founded in 1890. The subject is dealt with in detail in: James Cannon. *The Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840–1944*. UK/Burlington, Farnham/US, Ashgate, 2014.

³⁴ Phillip Dennis Cate. "1898–1904, les graveurs dans le Montmartre fin de siècle. Les nouvelles tendances au tournant du siècle", in *De Pissarro à Picasso. L'eau-forte en couleurs en France*. Paris, Zimmerli Art Museum. Flammarion, 1992, pp. 76-77.

³⁵ A rich repertoire exists of photographs and portraits of Legay, made by a range of artists of the time. They include works by Henri Gabriel Ibels, a friend of Sunyer's, and a drawing by Georges Leroux, executed with Pierre Noire and blending stump, in line with the drawing style of our artist (fig. 6). See also: <http://www.marcel-legay.fr/> [consulted 5 August 2018].

³⁶ Théophile Briant. *Jehan Rictus*. Paris, Editions Seghers, 1973, p. 201.

³⁷ Gustave Geffroy. *Les Minutes Parisiennes. 7 Heures/Belleville*. Paris, Société d'Éditions Littéraires et Artistiques. Ollen Dorff, 1903, p. 81.

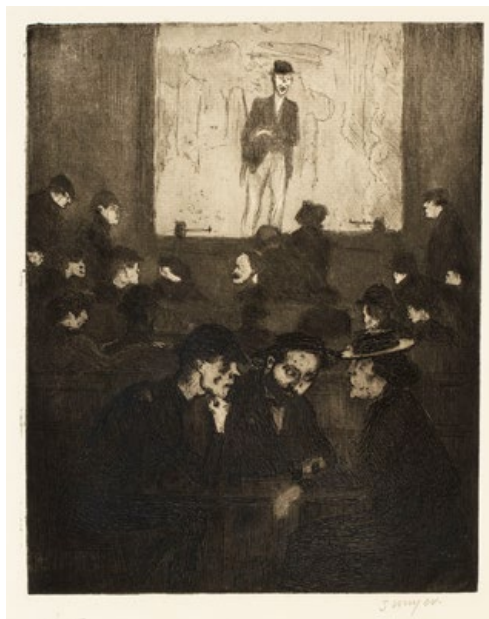


Fig. 4. Joaquim Sunyer. *Concert des fortifs*, ca. 1900. Etching and aquatint, 24.8 x 19.8 cm. (Image courtesy of Sala d'Art Artur Ramon).



Fig. 5. Joaquim Sunyer. *Cabaret Interior at Montmartre*, ca. 1898. Etching and aquatint in colour, 32.7 x 28 cm. (MNAC 007136-G).



Fig. 6. Georges Leroux (Paris, 1877 – death place unknown, 1957). *Le chansonnier Legay au cabaret Les Noctambules*, 1906. Drawing with Pierre Noire, blending stump and white highlights, 36 x 54 cm. (Catalogue of the Artcurial auction, 24 March 2010).

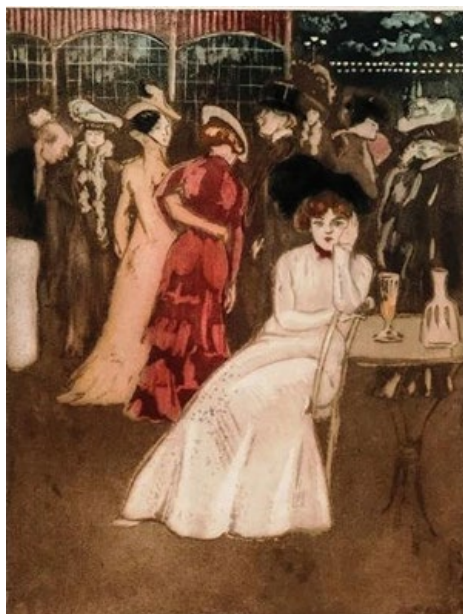


Fig. 7. Joaquim Sunyer: *Dames au café*, ca. 1901. Aquatint in colour, 44.1 × 32.9 cm. (Image courtesy of Sala d'Art Artur Ramon).

In addition to those images, a beautiful print, unpublished until now, has recently come to light: *Dames au café* (fig. 7). Executed in aquatint and printed in dominating reddish colours, it shows a group of six ladies, all standing and elegantly dressed in coats and hats. Among them is a gentleman, who is also wearing a hat, while a waiter with a long white apron closes the group on the left. On the right, in the foreground, is the main protagonist, another woman. Dressed in white and wearing a black hat, she is sitting at a pedestal table with a long glass and a jug of water, and she is looking at the observer with a melancholic expression as she rests her head on her hand. Her demeanour is similar to that found in other compositions of the same motif, such as *Au Moulin Rouge* (fig. 8), in which it seems we can identify the

same model with a round face and a head of thick combed hair with a fringe that is rolled back, looking like a beret. She looks very much like Sunyer's partner Fernande Olivier, as we can see when comparing the model to the known photographs of Olivier at the time, and even to the drypoint portrait that Pablo Picasso made of her in 1906 (fig. 9).

> The humble trades in the street, at the time the decline of the tradition was setting in

Leaving interior scenes behind, we turn to a group of prints dedicated to the humble trades and to popular street characters, lowly and needy persons, such as the *clochard*, the old woman, the wafer vendor, the rag-and-bone man and the peddler. They are the characters who roam the big city and maintain long-lived buying and selling practices which have had a long iconographic tradition in artistic production throughout Europe and remained present until well into the 20th century. To give just one example, Georges Perec listed sixteen trades along with the corresponding captions in his 1978 novel

La Vie Mode d'Emploi, considered one of the most important works of French literature of the time.³⁸



Fig. 8. Joaquim Sunyer. *Au Moulin Rouge*, 1899. Etching with aquatint and burnishing tool; 40.4 x 30.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 9. Pablo Picasso. *Portrait of Fernande Olivier*, 1906. Drypoint. (Musée National Picasso-Paris).

It is worth mentioning, as direct precedents for the prints about trades, the popular “Cries of Paris” that became well-known outside of France too. These include the three series of *Les Cris de Paris*, by Caylus and Fessard, made according to drawings

³⁸ Derrière eux, sur le mur peint en blanc cassé et dont les moulures sont laquées en jaune clair, sont accrochés seize petits dessins rectangulaires, dont la facture rappelle les caricatures fin-de-siècle. Ils représentent les classiques « petits métiers de Paris » avec, en légende, pour chacun, leur cri caractéristique : LA MARCHANDE DE COQUILLAGES « Ah le bigorneau, deux sous le bigorneau ! » LE CHIFFONNIER « Chiffons, Ferrailles à vendre ! » LA MARCHANDE D'ESCARGOTS « Les escargots, ils sont frais, ils sont beaux, On les vend six sous la douzaine ! » LA POISSONNIÈRE « À la crevette, À la bonne crevette, J'ai de la raie tout en vie, Tout en vie ! » LE MARCHAND DE TONNEAUX « Tonneaux, tonneaux ! » LE FRIPIER « Habits, Marchand d'habits, Habits ! » LE REPASSEUR AVEC SA CLOCHE « Couteaux, ciseaux, rasoirs ! » LA MARCHANDE DES QUATRESAISONS « À la tendresse, à la verdure, Artichauts tendres et beaux Ar-tichauts ! » LE RÉTAMEUR « Tam tam tam C'est moi qui rétame Même le macadam C'est moi qui mets des fonds partout Qui bouche tous les trous Trou trou trou ! » LA MARCHANDE D'OUBLIES « Vià le plaisir, Mesdames, vià le plaisir ! » LA MARCHANDE D'ORANGES « La Valence, la belle Valence, la fraîche orange ! » LE TONDEUR DE CHLENS « Tond les chiens Coupe les chats, les queues et les oreilles ! » LE MARAÎCHER « À la romaine ! À la romaine ! On ne la vend pas On la promène ! » LE MARCHAND DE FROMAGES « Bon fromage à la cré, fromage à la cré, bon fromage ! » LE REPASSEUR DE SCIES « Avez-vous des scies à repasser Vià le repasseur ! » LE VITRIER « Vitri Vitri-er Carreaux cassés Voilà le vitrier Vitri-er ! ».

Georges Perec. *La vie mode d'emploi*. Paris, Le Livre de Poche, 1980, pp. 307-310.

by Edmé Bouchardon (1698 – 1762) and published between 1737 and 1746, and all the subsequent series up to the one coordinated by Henri Beraldi in 1890, perhaps the closest to Sunyer's work.³⁹ And we know that within the subject matter of genre depiction there were other antecedents that can be dated back to the Middle Ages, or that have been treated with a more modern approach by Callot, Rembrandt, Picard, Mitelli, and others. Likewise, in England, the *Cries of London* appeared, linking with a tradition dating back to the Middle Ages.⁴⁰ The *Cris* unquestionably became highly popular everywhere. In Portugal, for example, there were the *Colecção das Ruas de Lisboa* (1809 – 1836) attributed to Manuel Godinho, and the *Costumes Portuguezes ou Colecção dos trajos, uzos e costumes mais notaveis e caracteristicos dos habitantes de Lisboa e provincias de Portugal*, (1832 – 1835).⁴¹ They were, of course, also popular in Spain, where the images were emulated by both popular and cultivated engraving, and by ephemeral illustration that developed in the 19th century. A good proof of this is the attention they received in the press of the time, such as the magazine *Museo de las Familias*, which in its 25 December 1848 issue speaks of the main street vendors who were then roaming around Madrid, describing their characteristics in detail and adding illustrations. They include the sand miner, the water carrier, dealers in rags and scrap metal (who buy rather than sell), and sellers of cherries, curd, rugs, oranges, roasted hemp seeds, mats, tiger nut milk, buns, eggs, radishes, wafers, brooms, feather dusters, escarole and other vegetables, chestnuts, chilies, slippers, cloth and rags, bird cages, ribbons, grease, ham, crayfish, junket, garlic, and strawberries. The magazine's unnamed columnist commented on the latter as a "typical Madrid character whose uprightness should not be trusted much when it comes to handling the scales".⁴²

³⁹ Paul Sébillot. *Légendes et Curiosités des Métiers*. Paris, Ernest Flammarion, Éditeur (ca. 1860); Victor Fournel, *Les Cris de Paris, types et physionomies d'autrefois, ouvrage accompagné de 70 gravures*. Paris, Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1887; Vincent Milliot. *Les cris de Paris ou le peuple travesti. Les représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVI-XVIII)*. Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995; [Henri Beraldi] *Paris qui crie. Petits métiers. Préface per Henri Beraldi. Dessins de Pierre Vidal*. Paris, Pour les Amis du Livre, 1890.

⁴⁰ See the article by Sean Shesgreen, "The Cries of London from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century: A Short History". <https://brill.com/abstract/book/edcoll/9789004253063/B9789004253063-s007.xml> [consulted 20 June 2018].

⁴¹ António Gomes da Rocha Madahil. *Trajos e Costumes Populares Portugueses do Século XIX, em litografias de Joubert, Macphail e Palhares*. Lisboa, Edição Panorama, 1965, p. 22. This subject is also dealt with by Luis Nuno Pinto Henriques in "'Typos Nacionais' o retrato fisiológico em Portugal e a Regeneração. 'Classes laboriosas', 'classes perigosas', 'classes ociosas'", in his doctoral thesis: *Ilustração. Imagem da Modernidade em Portugal*. Barcelona, UB 2015, pp. 153-200. <https://www.tesisenred.net/handle/10803/299802#page=1>

⁴² "Los vendedores de Madrid". *Museo de las familias*, T. VI, 25-XII-1848, pp. 273-277.

<http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/results.vm?q=parent%3A0002541900&s=70&lang=en> [consulted 20 October 2018].

However, even before that, Juan de la Cruz had created images such as *The Sausage Vendor*, *The Barley Drink*, or *The Greengrocer Woman* (1777) with a sense that was more plastic, yet at the same time ethnological. The depicted characters became models for those types and, according to Valeriano Bozal, somewhat later and along with Gamborino's *Gritos de Madrid* (1793), they led to the consolidation and diffusion of Spanish *Costumbrismo*. The models were explored by Alenza, among other artists, and their influence was so marked that even Goya himself felt it.⁴³ Bozal stated it specifically: "When examining some political issues, we were inevitably forced to refer to society, its configuration and customs. We now find ourselves before the second great aspect of satirical criticism: society, its customs, ideals, conceptions, configuration, structure, components, and so on. As we will see, society is understood from its typical representatives, the representatives of social sectors, groups or classes. The type always turns out to be much more picturesque, since it is where features develop that are genuinely found in a multitude of individuals; if dissolved into a general sample of individuals, those features would lose a large part of their picturesque appeal..."⁴⁴

As stated above, in Sunyer's work these characters are represented in a different key, more social, realistic and personalised, although not without a certain romanticism. The stirring realism in his depictions coincides with the contemporary photographic testimony provided by Eugène Atget⁴⁵ and Louis Vert,⁴⁶ a vision that persisted until well into the 20th century in the photographs of New York by Berenice Abbott, an admirer and guardian of Atget's work.⁴⁷ Indeed, the similarities in some themes and compositions are very noticeable, and even though they are the product of the focus on *couleur local*, they are configured conceptually – in line with the theories of Lukács – because the characters appear as main aesthetic figures, free from touches of local customs or irony. They are presented on the basis of an appreciation

⁴³ Valeriano Bozal. "La estampa popular en el siglo XIX. La formación del costumbrismo". *Summa Artis*. "El grabado en España (siglos XV-XVIII)", XXXI, 1987, pp. 668-711.

⁴⁴ Valeriano Bozal. "Crítica de costumbres", in *Ilustración gráfica del XIX en España*. Madrid, Comunicación Alberto Corazón Editor, 1979, p. 61.

⁴⁵ Sylvie Aubenas and Guillaume Le Gall. *Atget. Une rétrospective*. Paris, Hazan, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2007.

⁴⁶ A contemporary of Atget, and a fellow printer and photographer, Louis Vert captured the activity in the streets of Paris, especially the humble trades, following the iconographic tradition of *Les Cris de Paris*. See: Alain Fourquier. *Louis Vert (1865–1924) Photographe de l'animation de la rue à Paris*. Paris, Au Bibliophile Parisien, 2008.

⁴⁷ See: *Berenice Abbott. Retratos de la modernidad*. (exhibition catalogue) Madrid, Fundación Mafre, 2019.

that is socially nostalgic and empathetic, in a manner that shows their personality and individual situation (figs. 10, 11 and 12).

This brings us to the etchings *Seated Old Man* (1898) and *La vieille femme* (1900); *Le clochard* (ca. 1900; fig. 13), which was reproduced on 23 February 1905, with mention of the artist and title, in *Le Courrier Français* under the editorship of Pierrefort;⁴⁸ *Old Wafer Vendor* (fig. 14); *Le marchand de lacets* (1901);⁴⁹ *Le chiffonier*



Figs. 10, 11 and 12. Eugène Atget (Libourne, France, 1857 – Paris 1927). *Chiffonier*, ca. 1899-1901. Albumen print, 22.2 × 18.1 cm. (The Getty Center, Object 71252); *Chiffonier*, ca. 1900. Albumen print, 22.2 × 18 cm; *Clochard*, 1899. Albumen print, 17.7 × 22.5 cm. (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105067982.item>).

⁴⁸ This illustrated weekly magazine, which came out on Sundays and often reproduced prints, published several works by Joaquim Sunyer.

⁴⁹ Phillip Dennis Cate. "1898-1904, les graveurs Dans le Montmartre fin de siècle. Les nouvelles tendances au tournant du siècle", in *De Pissarro à Picasso. L'eau-forte en couleurs en France*. Paris, Zimmerli Art Museum, Flammarion, 1992, p. 72.

(1900, fig. 15);⁵⁰ *La soupe* (ca. 1903; figs. 16 and 17); and *Marchande des quatre-saisons* (1905).



Fig. 13. Joaquim Sunyer. *Le clochard*, ca. 1900. Etching with aquatint, 34 x 31 cm, printed in sepia and black. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 14. Joaquim Sunyer. *Old Wafer Vendor*, ca. 1900. Etching, 40 x 30.6 cm. (MNAC 003823-G).



Fig. 15. Joaquim Sunyer. *Le chiffonnier*, ca. 1900. Etching, 23.5 x 17.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 16. Joaquim Sunyer. *La soupe*, ca. 1903. Etching, 30.8 x 40.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 17. Louis Vert (Paris 1865-1924). *Street vendor selling soup. Paris, 1900*. Photograph. (© Louis Vert / Société française de photographie).

⁵⁰ The *chiffonniers* were concentrated on the outskirts of Paris, around the fortifications mentioned earlier, where they piled up and selected the rags, and odds and ends they had collected in the city. Their longstanding presence was the central theme of the first film by Georges Lacombe (Paris, 1902 – 1990), *La zone: au pays des chiffonniers* (1928), a silent report with a naturalistic leaning that bears witness to these characters. Before that, however, Baudelaire also drew inspiration from them and composed the poem *Le vin des Chiffonniers*:

“... On voit un chiffonnier qui vient, hochant la tête, / Butant et se cognant aux murs comme un poète, / Et, sans prendre souci des mouchards, ses sujets, / Épanche tout son coeur en glorieux projets...” (One sees a rag-picker go by, shaking his head, / Stumbling, bumping against the walls like a poet, / And, with no thought of the stool-pigeons, his subjects, / He pours out his whole heart in grandiose projects).

Baudelaire. *Poesia completa* (Spanish translation by Enrique Perellada). Barcelona, Libros Río Nuevo, 1974, pp. 290-291.

The latter represents one of the street markets set up by vendors who go around different neighbourhoods on different days of the week to offer their fresh produce – fruit, pulses, vegetables or cheese – from the platforms of their carts (fig. 18). The specific figure of a woman or a man⁵¹ pushing a market cart appears nearer or further in the background in various compositions by Sunyer. The figure is present in both paintings and etchings, and has become a recurrent icon of the artist's particular Parisian microcosm.⁵² This is yet another instance of a popular motif that Sunyer represented in other works, and that was also taken up by other artists, such as Pierre Bonnard, who made *Le marchand des quatre-saisons*, a lithograph from the series *Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris* (1899). A curious testimony of the constant presence of these street vendors is the photo which Jean Cocteau took in Montparnasse in 1916, showing Picasso and the painter Moïse Kisling standing by one of these market carts (fig. 19).



Fig. 18. Joaquim Sunyer. *Marchande des quatre-saisons*, 1905. Etching and drypoint, 23.7 × 31.7 cm. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 19. Jean Cocteau. *Picasso and Kisling in Montparnasse*, 1916. Photograph (Wikimedia Commons).

⁵¹ Balzac referred to this figure with the words, "une de ces marchandes des quatre-saisons dont le type est d'autant plus curieux qu'il en existe encore des exemplaires dans Paris, malgré le nombre croissant des boutiques de fruitières" (Honoré de Balzac. *Scènes de la vie parisienne. Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*. Paris, Alexandre Houssiaux, Éditeur, 1855, p. 600. Available online at: La Bibliothèque électronique du Québec. Collection À tous les vents, Volume 1094: version 1.0 <https://beq.ebooksgratuits.com/balzac/Balzac-50.pdf>).

⁵² As pointed out before, this subject with its long tradition in the humble trades was depicted by Sunyer in paintings, drawings and pastels, either as a protagonist or as a secondary figure. Among the works that bear a similarity with this one, we can mention: *Rue Lepic, market* (ca. 1905), oil on canvas (Benet, 54); *Rue Lepic*, (ca. 1903), oil painting (Benet, 50); *Market* (1904; Benet, 68); and several drawings and pastels (Benet, 98, 99, 376 and 377).



Fig. 20. Joaquim Sunyer. *La blanchisseuse du quartier de Belleville*, ca. 1900. Etching and drypoint, 33 x 23.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 21. Honoré Daumier (Marseille 1808 – Valmondois 1879). *La blanchisseuse*, ca. 1863. Oil on wood panel, 33 x 49 cm. (Paris, Musée d'Orsay© RMN-Grand Palais (Musée d'Orsay/Hervé Lewandowski).

In this section, mention should also be made of the etching *La blanchisseuse* (ca. 1900), known as *La blanchisseuse du quartier de Belleville* (fig. 20). For Sunyer, the figure of the washerwoman was another recurrent theme in both painting and graphic work,⁵³ appearing as commonly as it did in pieces by his contemporaries Daumier (fig. 21),⁵⁴ Gavarni, Steinlen (figs. 23 and 24), Degas, Signac, Pissarro, Whistler and Bonnard. As

⁵³ In addition to the prints referred to here, Sunyer represented the same figure in *Market of Rue Lepic*, oil on canvas (exhibition catalogue La Caixa, 1983, no. 6); *La Blanchisseuse* 1902?, pastel, (Benet, 52); *La rue des Abbesses (Blanchisseuse)* ca. 1903, etching and aquatint (exhibition catalogue La Caixa, 1983, 4); *Rue de Paris*, 1904, oil painting, (Benet, 55), and *La Blanchisseuse*, oil on canvas (Benet, 340).

⁵⁴ This work is probably the most impressive representation of all, due to its solidity and compactness, and because it does not give in to clichés. Focillon commented on it with the following words: "Daumier sees the woman in all her greatness when he transfigures her into a maternal Republic or when he shows her crouching under a bundle of wet clothes, while climbing the narrow stairs of a quay in Anjou" (Henri Focillon et al. *Honoré Daumier*. Madrid, Casimiro, 2013, p. 31).



Fig. 22. H. Daumier. *Le nouvel étendard des blanchisseuses*. Lithograph (from *Actualités*, published in *Le Charivari* on 26 August 1857, p. 430). Met Museum Accession Number 22.61.237). (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/678727>).

Venturi affirmed, these artists coincided, along with others, in their aim to reflect the reality of the humble trades and their local makeup, applying a greater or lesser degree of characterisation that results from the conceptual symbiosis of the comical aspect – the caricature – and the sublime aspect. This is a result of these artists' efforts to renew artistic rhetoric and open up new paths towards modernity and fantasy,⁵⁵ something that is also perceived in Sunyer, as we will see later in the analysis of this particu-



Figs. 23 and 24. Théophile Alexandre Steinlen (Lausanne 1859 – Paris, 1923). *Blanchisseuse*, ca. 1900. Colour etching, 28.8 × 38.7 cm. From *The Studio Volume 22*. [The Offices of The Studio Ltd., London, 1901]; *Les Repasseuses*, 1898. Etching, aquatint and drypoint, colour, 36 × 27 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

⁵⁵ Lionello Venturi. "Daumier, pintor", in Henri Focillon et al. *Honoré Daumier*. Madrid, Casimiro, 2013, p. 55. Likewise, and with great sense of humour, Daumier also depicted the demand for recognition of the trade in an image of washerwomen carrying voluminous underskirts transformed into trade identity banners (fig. 22).

lar print. We should also consider the fact that the figure of the washerwoman may have a background that Sunyer was very fond of, one that is linked to the popular memory of the nativity scene tradition which is deeply rooted in Catalonia. In nativity scene arrangements, along with the crib, the ox and the mule, and the shepherds and other characters, there is usually a river, made of pieces of glass or mirror, or simply tin foil. Apart from a fisherman, a figure that is usually present by the river is the washerwoman, crouching down and washing the white rags used by the mother in childbirth and baby Jesus's first nappies. This activity turned the washerwoman into a symbol of purity and an image that is representative of one of the most important dogmas of the Catholic Church: the virginity of Mary.

While nativity scenes never have a washerwoman without a river, or a river without a washerwoman, the clay figurine can also be seen standing up, carrying a bundle of laundry and walking to and fro between the stable and the river, that is to say, moving along as represented in these illustrations (fig. 25).



Fig. 25. *Washerwomen*. Clay figurines for nativity scenes.

> Strollers in Le Jardin du Luxembourg

The Jardin du Luxembourg⁵⁶ was a very significant reference point for Sunyer, and several of the most meritorious compositions in his *corpus* of etchings are dedicated to it, portraying the park with exuberant vegetation and animated by strollers, children, loving couples, lonely dreamers and the like.

As is well known, Le Jardin du Luxembourg, located in the 6th arrondissement of the city on the Seine, is a large public park covering 23 hectares. It was created in

⁵⁶ A contemporary vision of several places and characters, coinciding with those portrayed by Sunyer, is described in the text and the ad-hoc illustrations by F. Berkeley Smith. *The Real Latin Quarter*. London, Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1901.

1612 by Marie de' Medici to complement the Palais du Luxembourg, and over the centuries its boundaries have been modified and rearranged. During the First French Empire, for example, it was restored by the architect Jean-François Chalgrin, who also designed the Avenue de l'Observatoire. Napoleon I wanted the garden to be used as a leisure area for children. And the Second French Empire saw the decisive influence of Baron Haussmann's urban planning projects, which included the opening up of thoroughfares such as Boulevard Saint-Michel and Rue de Médicis.⁵⁷ The park has always received large numbers of visitors, and is one of the main green lungs of the city. It is also one of the most beautiful parks in Paris, if not the most beautiful, thanks to the layout of the parterres initiated by Le Nôtre, its wide and appealing avenues, the architecture of the pavilions, the sculptures, the landscaping, the park furniture, and the entertainment offered to the public. But we will not give a detailed description here of the standing of this park as it would draw us away from the main objective of this essay, the prints by Sunyer. Just to round off, we should add that the park has served as a source of inspiration for many artistic endeavours, from painting to poetry and from fiction writing to music and cinema. In this regard, one of the most frequently quoted poems is that of Gérard de Nerval, *Une allée du Luxembourg*, from 1832, which he published in *Odelettes* in 1853:

Elle a passé, la jeune fille
 Vive et preste comme un oiseau :
 À la main une fleur qui brille,
 À la bouche un refrain nouveau.

 C'est peut-être la seule au monde
 Dont le cœur au mien répondrait,
 Qui venant dans ma nuit profonde
 D'un seul regard l'éclaircirait !

 Mais non, ma jeunesse est finie...
 Adieu, doux rayon qui m'as lui,
 Parfum, jeune fille, harmonie...
 Le bonheur passait, il a fui !⁵⁸

⁵⁷ For more on the history of the creation of the park, consult the text by L.-A. Justin, "La création du jardin du Luxembourg par Marie de Médicis", *Archives de l'art français*, 1916, tome 8, pp. 86-109. Online: <https://archive.org/stream/archivesdelartfr08guifuoft#page/86/mode/2up> [consulted 7 July 2018].

⁵⁸ Gérard de Nerval. *Poésies complètes*. Paris, Calmann Lévy Editeurs, 1877, p. 291.

Sunyer seems to be honouring this poem by Nerval, exalting the bucolic aspect, maybe also recalling the *locus amoenus*, in his representations of the park – sometimes simply as a romantic backdrop, sometimes with identifiable corners, but always with the avenues and the trees as they are in their imposing reality. The views are brought to life by groups of characters, among which one or two main figures stand out. In addition, in these prints, Sunyer once again displays his competence in colour print. They are proof of his effectiveness in achieving the brownish tones of autumn, and the great intensity of the velvety textures that shape the heaps of fallen leaves and enhance the sentimental atmosphere. The effect is so strong that it even calls to mind the song *Les feuilles mortes*. The works he dedicated specifically to Le Jardin du Luxembourg are: *Two Ladies in a Park* (1898); *Group in the Luxembourg* (1898); *Les amis* (1900); *Les étudiants au Luxembourg* (ca. 1900; fig. 26); *Les rapins au Luxembourg* (ca. 1902; fig. 27);⁵⁹ and *La grande allée du Luxembourg* (ca.



Fig. 26. Joaquim Sunyer. *Les étudiants au Luxembourg*, ca. 1900. Etching, aquatint, roulette and burnishing, colour, 26.5 × 37.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

⁵⁹ The *rapins* were the Beaux-Arts students who basically moved around in Montparnasse, while in those days the real artists used to congregate in Montmartre until they began to disperse around 1909. The term *rapin* can be defined in particular as: artist, poor artist, bad painter, talentless painter, bohemian, or art student, and it is often used in a pejorative sense. The *rapins* used to identify themselves through the type of clothing they wore: black suits, bow ties, cloaks and hats. According to Zola, they were "...une cohue de jeunes gens qu'il était facile d'identifier à leur uniforme carié (si l'on peut dire): des rapins". Charles Baudelaire noted that: "...bien que le temps soit passé où les rapins s'habillaient en mamamouchis et fumaient dans des canardières..." ("Salon de 1846", *Écrits sur l'art*. Librairie Général Française, col. Le Livre de Poche, Paris, 1992, p. 152). And, in a letter to

1901; fig. 29), a spectacular view of the avenue which is flanked by large, leafy trees, and leads to the Panthéon and the Place de la Sorbonne. In the background of Sunyer's work, we can indeed see the Panthéon with its large dome, inspired by the Bramante temple in Sant Pietro in Montorio, and the façade that emulates that of the Pantheon in Rome. In addition, if we look closely, we can also identify a bronze sculpture in the background, standing on the right, in front of the great building. It is *Rapsode, ou Ac-*



Fig. 27. Joaquim Sunyer. *Les rapins au Luxembourg*, ca. 1902. Etching, 19.8 x 24.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 28. Honoré Daumier. *Le Rapin*, 1836. Coloured lithograph. Plate 17 of the series *Types Français*. (Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 1993.66.8).

Victor Hugo, dated 23 September 1859, he also stated, "J'ai vu quelquefois dans les galeries de peintures de misérables rapins qui copiaient les ouvrages des maîtres. Bien ou mal faites, ils mettaient quelquefois dans ces imitations, à leur insu, quelque chose de leur propre nature, grande ou triviale" <https://the-dissident.eu/lettre-de-charles-baudelaire-a-victor-hugo-1859/> [consulted 8 July 2018]. André Salmon refers to the *rapins* in *The Passionate Life of Modigliani* (Barcelona, Acontilado, 2017, pp 81-82) in a similar vein: "He was indeed quite good-looking [referring to Modigliani] and pleasant, but unfortunately, saying that meant you sounded like the rascals of La Butte and the Latin Quarter who pretended to be artists, or like their fellow students at the Lapin Agile who emerged from the cabaret in troupes – troupes of small-time painters – those pretentious good-for-nothings who said *Luco* to talk about Le Jardin du Luxembourg, the royal garden and garden of the poets; they were the very same ones who transformed Fyodor Dostoyevsky, the ghostly genius of whom they had only a vague and confused notion, into a puppet called *Dosto*".

The subject is dealt with more broadly in: François Pédrón. *Les rapins. L'âge d'or de Montmartre*. Paris, Les éditions de la Belle Gabrielle, 2008.

Daumier also represented *Le Rapin* in plate no. 17 of his series of lithographs dedicated to *Types Français* (1836; fig. 28).



Fig. 29. Joaquim Sunyer. *La grande allée du Luxembourg*, ca. 1901. Etching and aquatint, colour, 31.5 × 45 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

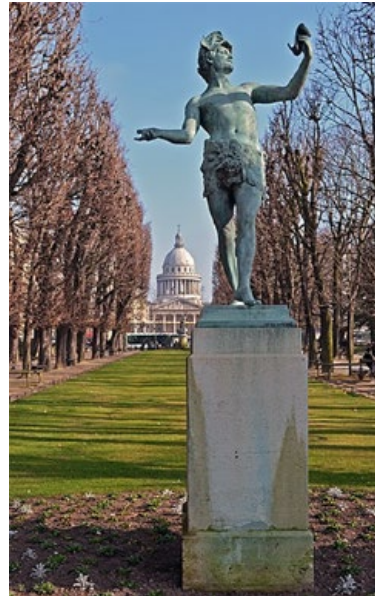


Fig. 30. Le Jardin du Luxembourg with the Panthéon in the background and the statue by Charles-Arthur Bourgeois (Dijon 1838 – Paris 1886), *Greek Actor*, 1868, bronze. (Wikimedia Commons).

teur grec, by Charles Arthur Bourgeois (1838 – 1886), and was installed in that location in 1868 (fig. 30). As in *Promenade sentimentale* (1900; fig. 31), the park's monumental grove is represented in a composition that is typical of photographic framing, something which indeed also occurs in photographs by Eugène Atget (fig. 32).

> Repertoire of street scenes

In addition to the lithographs and drawings he made to illustrate *5 Heures-La rue du Croissant* (*Les minutes parisiennes*, no. 6) by Henry Fèvre, Sunyer dedicated seven etchings to capturing and engraving specific occasions on several streets of the great capital. Sunyer's work contradicts what Benjamin said in his article *Paris, the City in the Mirror*, “there is not a single monument in the city that has not inspired a masterpiece to the poets”,⁶⁰ be-

⁶⁰ Published on 30 January 1929 in the magazine *Vogue* and included in Walter Benjamin, *Imágenes que piensan*. Madrid, Abada Ed., 2014, p. 77.

cause, far from representing the great avenues or monuments of Paris, Sunyer portrayed popular streets, streets in his own neighbourhood, which results in them manifesting their own particular everyday routine, a certain urban 'plein-air'. He captured characters he saw every day, creating a kind of still photos or snapshot views in which places and buildings appear that have been preserved until today and can still be recognised.⁶¹ Streets where sometimes, as George Perec used to say, nothing actually happens:

The people in the street: Where are they coming from? Where are they going? Who are they? People in a hurry. People strolling along. Packages. Cautious people who have brought along their raincoats. Dogs: the only animals that can be seen. You can't see birds – still, we know there are birds – you can't hear them either. We might be able to see a cat slinking beneath a car, but this does not actually happen.

In short, nothing happens.⁶²



Fig. 31. Joaquim Sunyer: *Promenade sentimentale*, 1900. Etching, aquatint and burnishing, colour, 32 x 21 cm. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 32. Eugène Atget. *Le Luxembourg*, 1923-25. Albumen print, silver salts, 17.5 x 22.8 cm. (The Museum of Modern Art, New York 1.1969.1823).

⁶¹ Jacques Hillairet. *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris*. Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1997, 2 vol.

⁶² "Gens pressés. Gens lents. Paquets. Gents prudents qui ont pris leur imperméable. Chiens : ce sont les seuls animaux visibles. On ne voit pas d'oiseaux – on sait pourtant qu'il y a des oiseaux – on ne les entend pas non plus. On pourrait apercevoir un chat en train de se glisser sous une voiture, mais cela ne se produit pas.

Il ne se passe rien, en somme."

Georges Perec. *Espèces d'espaces*. Paris, Galilée, 1974, p. 73.



Fig. 33. Joaquim Sunyer. *Canal Saint Martin*, ca. 1897. Etching, 49 × 33.8 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

>> Canal Saint Martin

The first (in chronological terms) print of this group is one of the most famous of Sunyer's, the etching dedicated to *Canal Saint Martin*, dated around 1897 (fig. 33). He created the same composition in a painting, but with the image inverted left-to-right (fig. 34). In this print, he focused his particular urban observatory on a magnificent view of one of the arched iron bridges of the second half of the 19th century that cross the Saint Martin canal.

The image represents intense work activity in the middle of the day, with people and vehicles coming and going on the upper bridge, on the swing bridge at street level, on the footbridge and on the pavement, altogether in an industrial setting marked by the smoke drifting from the buildings on the right. On both sides of the canal there are large buildings, in the distance another bridge can be seen, and also barges moving through the water, while two figures halfway across the main bridge are leaning against the railing and contemplating the activity below.⁶³

⁶³ There are many literary and artistic references that feature this iconic landscape; to give an example, we may recall that Flaubert chose it as the setting for the beginning of his novel *Bouvard et Pécuchet*:



Fig. 34. Joaquim Sunyer. *Matinée*. Canal Saint Martin, 1889-90. Oil on canvas, 89 x 116 cm. (Private collection).



Fig. 35. Photogram from the film *L'Atalante*.



Fig. 36. Film set from *Hotel-du-Nord*. Alexandre Trauner. Photograph: ImperialFilm SEDIF.



Fig. 37. André Kertész (Budapest 1894 – New York 1963). *Paris. Canal Saint Martin*, 1963. Photograph. (© Estate of André Kertész / UVA Law Library).

"Comme il faisait une chaleur de trente-trois degrés, le boulevard Bourdon se trouvait absolument désert. Plus bas le canal Saint-Martin, fermé par les deux écluses, étalait en ligne droite son eau couleur d'encre. Il y avait au milieu un bateau plein de bois, et sur la berge deux rangs de barriques. Au delà du canal, entre les maisons que séparent des chantiers, le grand ciel pur se découpait en plaques d'outremer, et sous la réverbération du soleil, les façades blanches, les toits d'ardoises, les quais de granit éblouissaient. Une rumeur confuse montait au loin dans l'atmosphère tiède ; et tout semblait engourdi par le désœuvrement du dimanche et la tristesse des jours d'été. Deux hommes parurent".

Gustave Flaubert. *Bouvard et Pécuchet*. Paris, A. Lemerre, 1881, p. 1.

And in the history of cinema, outstanding references are two films which capture the atmosphere of the canal and its bridges with poetic realism: *L'Atalante* (1934) by Jean Vigo (fig. 35), and *Hôtel du Nord* (1938) by Marcel Carné (fig. 36). Yet another reference is found in a 1963 photograph by André Kertész, titled *Paris, Canal Saint Martin* (fig. 37), which returns to this viewpoint of the bridge, and also depicts characters on the bridge,

Sunyer depicts the daily routine in one of the most characteristic places in Paris, including goods transport, workers and several sailors unloading the barges, passers-by, idle onlookers, adults and children. It is an organised setting, much like that on a theatre stage. The bridge is seen from below, which has the added effect of suggesting a particular 'point of view' within the scene itself, in same the way as Japanese artists had done in their prints ever since the famous series by Hokusai on *Wonderful Views of the Most Famous Bridges in the Provinces* (fig. 38). These had become an iconographic paradigm of Ukiyo-e woodcuts, which had a prolonged influence on Western art from the time of Impressionism. In this regard, some examples that can be pointed to as antecedents for Sunyer's bridge are the woodcut by Yashima Gakutei, *Moon-lit Night at Suehiro Bridge (Fan)*, from the series of famous places in Osaka, dedicated to views of the rivers and canals in the city (ca. 1834-1838; fig. 39), and *Kyoto Bridge in the Moonlight* (1855) by Utagawa Hiroshige (fig. 40).

We have not been able to locate the exact point of the canal, but, comparing the etching with some photographs of the period, we are inclined to think that it may be the *tournant* (rotating) bridge in the lock that had been built in 1890 at Pont Grange aux Belles, on Quai Valmey (figs. 41 and 42). It is, without a doubt, one of Joaquim Sunyer's most interesting prints because of the subject matter and the way he executed the work, in a realistic and social key, as a counterpoint to the indulgence of the bohemian world and the romanticism of the Luxembourg gardens we have just discussed. In addition, he offers a much more socially advanced vision of the famous painting *Bridge of Europe* (1876) by Caillebotte, which presents the magnificent work of engineering more as a platform for elegant figures to stroll along than an urban pathway that is accessible to all (fig. 43). Another work with a make-up similar to that of Sunyer's is the painting by Monet, *The Coal Dockers* (1875), a scene by the Asnières bridge over the Seine (fig. 44).

Furthermore, we cannot overlook the fact that near the figures observing the scene from on top of the bridge, there is another that deserves special attention – the washwoman (fig. 45).

contemplating the activity below. In the foreground, there is also a vagabond sleeping on a bench, an icon that was already common in Atget's photographs and in the repertoire of Sunyer's prints discussed here.



Fig. 38. Hokusai. *Fuji with seven bridges*. From the series *One Hundred Views of Fuji*, Vol 2, 1835. Woodcut, colour, 22.8 × 13.5 cm. (Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of the Friends of Arthur B. Duel, 1933.4.1081).



Fig. 39. Yashima Gakutei (ca. 1786 – 1868). *Moon-lit Night at Suehiro Bridge (Fan)*, ca. 1834-1838. Woodcut, colour, 25.7 × 37.9 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, P1412).



Fig. 40. Utagawa Hiroshige. *Bamboo Market at Capital Bridge*, 1857. Woodcut, colour, 35.7 × 24.1 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, JP2521).



Figs. 41 and 42. View of the canal around 1900 and view of a *tournant* swing bridge. Postcards.



Fig. 43. Gustave Caillebotte (Paris 1848 – Gennevilliers 1894). *Le pont d'Europe*, 1876. Oil on wooden panel, 125 × 181 cm. (Musée du Petit Palais, Geneva).



Fig. 44. Claude Monet (Paris 1840 – 1926). *The Coalmen or The Coal Dockers*, ca. 1875. Oil, 54 × 66 cm. (© RMN-Grand Palais (Musée d'Orsay)/Jean-Gilles Berizzi).

As we have mentioned earlier, this figure is present in other engravings and paintings, such as *Blanchisseuse et bateau-lavoir au bord du Canal de Saint Martin*, from the same period (fig. 46). The washerwoman is holding a small child by the hand and a bundle of clothes under her arm.⁶⁴ If we observe the print carefully, we can see

⁶⁴ The representation of the *blanchisseuse*, *lavandière*, *laveuse*, *buandière*... the terms are synonymous but imply differences of activity and status within the tasks of cleaning and taking care of clothes. The *blanchisseuse* could be a hired or an independent worker – which is the case when she is seen in the street together with her children – who specifically handled delicate items, party dresses and lace-trimmed suits, and used to work in association with other women who took care of going over the seams and of ironing. The figures are presented in different ways to reflect these varying working conditions. The washerwoman carried the dirty laundry in a sack or in a bundle on her back, depending on the volume and the weight she had to lift; once the clothes were clean and folded, the woman in charge of mending the seams carried the load in a basket. The third person involved in the laundry ritual, the ironing lady, is represented either in the act of ironing, or at the moment she



Fig. 45. Joaquim Sunyer. *Canal Saint Martin*. Etching. Detail of the washerwoman, men on the bridge and the *lavoir moderne* under the bridge.



Fig. 46. Joaquim Sunyer. *Blanchisseuse et bateau-lavoir au bord du Canal de Saint Martin*, 1898. Oil on canvas, 46 x 55 cm. (Private collection, Madrid).

where she has come from by the direction she is taking. She must indeed have just left the washhouse located in a wooden building on the side of the canal, just below her. The washhouse announces itself with a sign on the roof that reads “Lavoir Moderne”; in contrast to the many washhouses along the canal and also on the quays of the Seine, which stand in the open air and use open water, the sign indicates that this is one of the new laundry establishments that are covered and subdivided into three spaces: one for soaking the clothes in ashes and hot water, one for washing and rinsing, and a space on the upper level for drying the laundry. This washhouse was an immovable structure, unlike those that were set up on barges and were therefore prone to rocking to and fro.⁶⁵

Today the Saint-Martin canal is a place for leisure and rest, with small recreational boats passing through, landscaped spaces, urban furniture, and bicycle lanes, and it has become an attraction for tourists who want to get away from the noise of the ur-

is returning the clothes, neatly arranged in flat baskets, to the owners. The ironing ladies themselves used to wear speckless, starched aprons. This explains the difference between, for example, the washerwomen portrayed by Daumier or Sunyer, and those in Steilen's works.

The history of these female workers is recounted in the publication by Michèle Caminade. *Linge, lessive, lavoir. Une histoire de femmes*. Paris, Editions Christian, 2005.

⁶⁵ The famous Bateau Lavoir house, the large building in Montmartre with the workshop that took in a whole generation of avant-garde artists in those years, had acquired its name because of its similarity with these washhouses, in terms of the timber structure and the distribution of spaces.

ban centre.⁶⁶ Located in the 10th arrondissement, the canal runs from Stalingrad Square to Bastille Square; some sections are covered, there are pavements on either side, it is crossed by the footbridges of La Douane, Bichat and La Grange-aux-Belles, and it has a swing bridge and nine locks (fig. 47).



Fig. 47. A present-day view of a section of the canal (Passerelle Bichat). Photograph: De Atlant (CC by 2.5, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=293839>).

>> Rue de la Lune

The etching titled *Rue de la Lune* (1900) is one of Sunyer's most interesting etchings because it features still extant buildings which we are able to identify today (fig. 48). The image shows us the convergence, at acute angles, of three streets with tall buildings on the corners. The scene is viewed from the intersection on Boulevard Saint Denis, which is teeming with people and has three girls in the foreground. Rue de la Lune is located in the 2nd arrondissement, in the Bonne-Nouvelle district, near Porte Saint-Denis, where the old city wall, *enceinte de Charles V*, has been preserved in the topography. Not only is the street still part of the city's urban fabric, but up to today we can recognise the curious buildings represented in the print, which stand out because of their dimensions. Another element that can be made out is the footbridge

⁶⁶ The transformation has been, and continues to be, an object of study. An interesting example is found in the reflections of Michèle Jolé, in her article "Le destin festif du canal Saint Martin" in the January 2006 issue of the magazine *Pouvoirs*, dedicated to *La Rue*, pp. 117-130. Available online at: <http://www.revue-pouvoirs.fr/-116-La-rue-.html> [consulted 21 July 2017].



Fig. 48. Joaquim Sunyer. *Rue de la Lune*. 1900. Etching, 21.2 × 15 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

with its metal railing⁶⁷ at the intersection of the streets Boulevard de Bonne-Nouvelle, Beauregard and Cléry (figs. 49 and 50). In the print, Rue de la Lune is on the right, along the central building at the corner of Rue Beauregard, and Rue de Cléry is on the left. Rue de la Lune starts in the east at number 5 bis Boulevard de Bonne-Nouvelle, near Porte Saint-Denis, and ends at 36 Rue Poissonnière.

The building on the right, at the tip of Rue Cléry and on the corner of Rue de la Lune, has a striking appearance, due to its narrow, wedge-shaped volume, which is six storeys high and topped by a mansard roof. Renovated in 1896, it is one of the narrowest buildings in Europe, and the narrowest in the city of Paris, since it is only five metres wide, and has a surface area of only 24 square metres at its base (fig. 50). Behind it, centring the composition in a kind of third plane, there is another building at Trigano Point. It has four

storeys, is equally narrow and has a long history. In 1793, this house, at 97 Rue de Cléry, was the residence of the poet and forerunner of Romanticism André Chenier (1762 – 1794), who was guillotined by the French Revolution on 25 July 1794.⁶⁸ Because of its

⁶⁷ In reference to this footbridge, Victor Hugo, in describing the revolt against Napoleon III, wrote, "Of these four barricades, that one which looked towards the Madeleine, and which was destined to receive the first impact of the troops, had been constructed at the culminating point of the boulevard, with its left resting on the corners of Rue de la Lune, and its right on Rue Mazagran. Four omnibuses, five furniture-moving vans, the office of the inspector of hackney coaches, which had been thrown down, the vespasian columns, which had been broken up, the public seats on the boulevards, the flag-stones of the steps on Rue de la Lune, the entire iron railing on the sidewalk, which had been wrenched from its place at a single effort by the powerful hand of the crowd-suds was the composition of his fortification, which was hardly sufficient to block the boulevard, which, at this point, is very broad" (Victor Hugo, *Napoléon le Petit*. T. 7, Paris, Ollendorf, 1907, p.70).

⁶⁸ His life inspired the opera *Andreas Chenier* by Umberto Giordano, which premiered at La Scala in Milan in 1896. Charles Lefeuve commented on Rue Cléry in *Les anciennes maisons de Paris sous Napoleon III* (Paris, Brussels,

literary history, the house has always been intensively photographed; an example that is closest in age to Sunyer's engraving is found, once again, in the work of Eugène Atget, in an image from 1907 (fig. 52). There are also later pictures by other great masters of photography, such as that by Robert Doisneau from around 1943 (fig. 53) and Cartier Bresson's 1952 print (fig. 54).

Like other prints, this work is not only a faithful reference to the actual city dweller, but also a testimony to the new social phenomenon of the bustling streams of people coming and going, filling the street, invading and enlivening the public space. The image focuses on some young women in the foreground who draw the attention of the observer, and are well aware of the fact that they are being looked at.



Fig. 49. Map of the convergence of the streets Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, Rue de la Lune, and Rue Beauregard, which ends at Rue Cléry.



Fig. 50. Present-day view. (Wikipedia commons. Tangopaso).

s.n., 1873, vol. IV, pp. 229-230) with the words: "Enfin, dans un immeuble à gauche, faisant retour, sur la rue Beauregard, à l'extrémité de celle Cléry, s'opéra l'arrestation d'André Chénier, condamné à mort le 7 terminor au XI. Le poète s'y livrait à l'étude beaucoup plus qu'aux conspirations; mais il fait insérer dans le *Journal de Paris* des lettres qui le rendaient un des chefs du parti proscrit le 7, mais triomphant le 9 du même mois". The author also describes the various buildings in Rue de la Lune on pages 305-307 of the same publication.

In addition, with regard to the field of great literature, it is worth remembering that Balzac uses this street as the location of the humble home of Lucien, Mr de Rubempré, and Coralie, the emblematic characters in his novel *Lost Illusions*.

"A neuf heures, il était si complètement gris, qu'il ne comprit pas pourquoi sa portière de la rue de Vendôme le renvoyait rue de la Lune.

— Mlle Coralie a quitté son appartement et s'est installée dans la maison dont l'adresse est écrite sur ce papier.

Lucien, trop ivre pour s'étonner de quelque chose, remonta dans le fiacre qui l'avait amené, se fit conduire rue de la Lune, et se dit à lui-même des calembours sur le nom de la rue."

Honoré de Balzac. *Oeuvres Complètes. Illusions perdues*. Vol. 8, Tome 4. Paris, Imprimerie de E. Martinet, 1874, p. 356.



Fig. 51. The narrowest building in Paris on Rue Cléry and Boulevard de Bonne- Nouvelle in an illustration from 1896.



Fig. 52. Eugène Atget. *Maison d'André Chenier en 1793, 97 rue de Cléry*, 1907. Albumen silver print, 22 × 18 cm. (The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1.1969.1607).



Fig. 53. Robert Doisneau (Gentilly 1912 – Paris 1994). *Maison Chenier. Paris*. 1943. Photograph. (© Robert Doisneau).



Fig. 54. Henri Cartier Bresson, *Rue de Cléry, 2ème arrondissement, Paris*. 1952. Photograph. (Musée Carnavalet - Histoire de Paris, PH1719).

>> Rue des Abbesses

This print is titled with the name of the street, even though the main motif is the imposing figure of the washerwoman. Rue des Abbesses is located in Montmartre, the 18th arrondissement in Paris. The street is in the Grandes-Carrières district and runs from 89 Rue des Martyrs to 34 Rue Lepic and 2 Rue Tholozé (fig. 55). The print shows an unidentified point on the street, but the dominant feature of the composition is certainly not the street itself. The impressive *blanchisseuse* was, as we have stated before, a recurrent character in Sunyer's work, and typical of the period, as was the secondary motif appearing in the background on the right, a street vendor pushing a cart full of fruit.



Fig. 55. View of rue des Abbesses. Postcard from the period.

The etching and aquatint *La rue des Abbesses* (1901) is a simple yet beautiful composition in vertical format, with sharp-angled asymmetrical vanishing lines, and imbued with a hazy, blue-greyish atmosphere produced by the special treatment of the colour, which has a considerable pastel gradient (fig. 56). In addition, the general structure and the appearance of the washerwoman reveal compositional traits that are reminiscent of Japonism, such as the well-profiled figure with its undulating forms, the head shown in profile, and the hair put up in a bun.



Fig. 56. Joaquim Sunyer. *La rue des Abbesses*, 1901. Etching and aquatint, colour, 43 × 32 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

The depiction of only part of the body – the feet are not visible in the print – reminds us of the works of Utamaro (fig. 57) and Kuniyoshi, and also those of Mary Cassatt, who assimilated a great deal from Japanese art in her works dedicated to the everyday life of women. However, far from the kindness and the comfort of Utamaro or Cassatt, the figure in Sunyer's print conveys a strong feeling of melancholy, due to her lifeless gaze, as if she were resigned to her situation, perhaps because of the harshness of the work, perhaps because of the weight of the bundle she is carrying. As mentioned above, this vision is much more social, much closer to Daumier's conception than to Steinlen's illustrations.

>> Place de l'Abreuvoir

This print, a colour etching and aquatint featuring a group of figures, is also titled with the name of the setting the artist chose for the composition, the square *Place de l'Abreuvoir* (1901) (fig. 58). It shows four people sitting on a bench in the square with their backs towards each other. In the background are several other figures talking to each other. Behind them is an avenue with fences, tall trees and buildings, which should help to identify the exact corner of the square. It is located in the district of Grandes-Carrières in Montmartre, the 18th arrondissement, near Rue Caulaincourt, which is the title that Boucard gave to this engraving.⁶⁹ However, it has not been possible to identify the exact spot because of the undefined nature of the representation which presents persons as the dominant feature, and also because several redevelopment projects have been carried out in the area, although some of the abundant trees have been preserved.

By a decree of 23 May 1863, a section of Rue Girardon and a section of Rue de la Fontaine-du-But were joined. In 1899, the square Place Constantin Pecqueur was built in honour of the French economist and socialist theorist. The square covers the area between 42 Rue Saint-Vincent and 42 Avenue Junot. Since 1936 the square has been the site of a monument to the painter Alexandre Steinlen, who, as we have mentioned earlier, was one of Sunyer's artistic references. The central part of the square has been renamed and is now known as Square



Fig. 57. Kitagawa Utamaro (1754 – 1806). *Parrot Komachi (Ômu Komachi)*, from the series *Little seedlings seven Komachi*, (Futaba-gusa nana Komachi), 1803. Woodcut, colour. (British Museum, 1907,0531,0.115).



Fig. 58. Joaquim Sunyer. *Place de l'Abreuvoir*. Etching and aquatint, colour, 21 × 28 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

⁶⁹ Op. cit., note 111.

Joël-Le-Tac. The water troughs of Montmartre, which no longer exist, were the fountains where animals were taken to be watered (figs. 59 and 60).⁷⁰ Gérard de Nerval called the place to mind in *Promenades et souvenirs* (1854):

Ce qui me séduisait avant tout dans ce petit espace abrité par les grands arbres du Château des Brouillards, c'est d'abord [...], c'est ensuite le voisinage de l'abreuvoir qui, le soir, s'anime du spectacle des chevaux et des chiens que l'on y baigne, et d'une fontaine construite dans le goût antique, où les laveuses causent et chantent [...].⁷¹



Fig. 59. A.J.H. Water troughs of Montmartre in 1860. Postcard.



Fig. 60. Eugene Delâtre (1864-1938). *L'Abreuvoir. Montmartre*, 1873. Etching. (Private gallery).

⁷⁰ Among the old graphic references of the trough are a postcard from 1860, which reproduces a drawing by A.J.H., and an etching from 1873 with an interpretation of the postcard image, made by Eugène Delâtre, the printer who worked for Sunyer.

⁷¹ The article was the first in a series of three for the magazine *L'Illustration*; it was dedicated to "La butte Montmartre" and published on 30 December 1854.

>> Rue Lepic

Also located in the 18th arrondissement of Paris, Rue Lepic runs from Boulevard de Clichy up to Place Jean-Baptiste Clément, at the top of Montmartre. Sunyer frames a view of this well-known street in an etching from 1901, of which monochrome proofs and colour prints exist (figs. 61 and 62). It is a wide perspective, with a central vanishing point through which the street fades away. The walls of the street's large buildings bear advertisements for places ranging from a trusted butcher to the Moulin de la Gallette or the Grand Bal... The same setting is depicted in a postcard taken from the same vantage point, Place Blanche, on Boulevard Clichy, at the beginning of Rue Lepic and Rue Puget. The spot has been photographed innumerable times, and more recently the building on the right corner has disappeared, leaving an open space (figs. 63 to 67). On the left side of Sunyer's print, a horse is entering the scene, its body cut at the hind-quarters but, since we can see reins, we can suppose it is pulling a cart. Further back, there are other figures among which we can see, once again, a street vendor pushing a cart of fruit, which, given the tone in the colour prints, seems to be oranges. In front



Figs. 61 and 62. Joaquim Sunyer. *Rue Lepic*. 1901. Etching and aquatint, 43 × 31.3 cm. Monochrome and colour prints. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 63. Detail of *Rue Lepic*.



Fig. 64. View of *Rue Lepic*. Postcard.



Fig. 65. Georges Chevalier (1882 – Boulogne-Billancourt 1967). *View of Rue Lepic and Rue Puget*, 1914. Autochrome. (Archives de la Planète, no. Inv. A 13 714).



Fig. 66. Herbert List (Hamburg 1903 – Munich 1975). *Près de la Rue de Tholozé. Montmartre, 18ème arrondissement*, 1936. Photograph. (Image Reference PAR443489 (LIH1936004W00003) © Herbert List/ Magnum Photos).



Fig. 67. *View of Rue Lepic and Rue Puget*, 2013. (Photograph by the author).

of her, in the middle of the street, two dogs are playing with each other. In the foreground, entering the composition from the right, are two ladies wearing coats, hats, and ankle boots, and they are both carrying a bag. This city view shows the interaction between different urban actors who are moving around, and once again, we can relate the image to the compositions of the Japanese print, particularly because of the position of the two ladies and the horse. Consider, for example, *Otenma-cho-momen-ten...* (fig. 68) and *Totsuya Naito Shinjuku...* (fig. 69) by Hiroshige.



Figs. 68 and 69. Hiroshige. No 7, *Otenma-cho momen-ten/Meisho Edo Hyakkei*, 1858. Woodcut, colour. (British Museum 1906,1220,0.679); No 86, *Yotsuya Naito Shinjuku/Meisho Edo Hyakkei*, 1857. Woodcut, colour. (British Museum 1906,1220,0.731).

The originality of the composition in the latter woodcut lies in the abrupt, left-to-right entering into the scene of the horses, of whom we only see the legs that mark the foreground of the view. In Sunyer's print, a little more is shown, almost half the horse, an option that the great photographer Català Roca also selected much later in his framing of *Via Layetana* in Barcelona (1954; fig. 70).⁷²

⁷² <http://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/collection/artwork/layetana-barcelona-layetana-barcelona> [consulted 3 August 2018].



Fig. 70. Francesc Català Roca (Valls 1922 – Barcelona 1998). *Via Layetana. Barcelona*, 1954. Photograph. (Private collection).

It is not surprising that Sunyer dedicated an engraving to Rue Lepic; not only because he lived nearby, but also because the street was highly popular. It is one of the most typical streets of Paris, and the renown it had at that time has continued until today. Some of the present-day buildings were already there in the old quarter and date back to the redevelopment of the street that took place around 1840. Rue Lepic is in fact a clear example of the character of present-day Montmartre, where a heterogeneous string of modest houses coexists with imposing post-Haussmann buildings on the plots formerly occupied by the small houses of what used to be a village. Merely to highlight the popularity of the street, we can recall that in 1910 the famous cabaret *La Vache Enragée* was located there; *Moulin de la Galette* still stands at number 77; between 1886 and 1888, Theo and Vincent van Gogh⁷³ lived in the house at number 54; the printers Auguste and Eugène Delâtre, mentioned above, had their workshop at, successively, numbers 92, 87, 97, and 102. The painter and sketch artist Jean-Louis Forain lived at number 64 in 1910, and Jean Rictus also lived there from 1918 to 1923.

⁷³ In 1887, Van Gogh painted and drew several views of the city from the window of this apartment. These works include *View from Theo's Apartment*, which can be seen in the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam, and *View from the Artist's Room, Rue Lepic*, which the painter gave to Toulouse-Lautrec, and currently is in a private collection.

At number 53, there is a plaque that recalls that the poet and chansonnier Pierre Jacob lived there between 1939 and 1979; Jacob was the author of the famous song *Rue Lepic* sung by Yves Montand, among others:

... Et la rue
Monte, monte toujours
Vers Montmartre là-haut
Vers ses moulins si beaux
Ses moulins tout là-haut
Rue Lepic...

And today, number 15 has become a place of pilgrimage, since it is the location of Café des 2 Moulins where scenes from the film *Amélie* were shot.



Fig. 71. Joaquim Sunyer. *Rue de Montmartre*, ca. 1903. Etching, colour, 27.2 × 22 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

>> Rue de Montmartre

Around 1903, Sunyer made the etching titled *Rue de Montmartre*; it was printed in a sepia tone with touches of colour *à la poupée* in the sky and in the fruit on the street vendor's cart halfway in the background (fig. 71). This composition has several protagonists. In the foreground on the right there is a group of three, formed by a boy who, in a relaxed attitude, is embracing two young girls and seems to be singing. A dog is sitting in the middle of the street, and further back on the left a girl is sitting on the footpath; behind her there is a couple in conversation, and still further away there is another couple, the man wearing a light blue jacket. In the distance some other characters can be made out. In the middle of the street, a street vendor is approaching with a cart that is, judging by the colour, full of oranges. To restate what we have observed earlier, this figure appeared frequently in prints of Sunyer's period in Paris and was also present in works by other artists.⁷⁴ The vanishing point in this perspective with sharp-angled

⁷⁴ In this regard, we are thinking of works such as the prints by Félix Buhot (1847 – 1898), particularly his 1878 etching *Fête Nationaux au Boulevard Clichy*, in which an identical figure appears halfway in the background

lines is slightly displaced to the right. The print shows a steep street, with old houses from before the redevelopment that took place in Montmartre. There are no references to determine the exact viewpoint, but the whole conceptually captures the essence and the atmosphere of the neighbourhood, in line with the illustrations the artist made for *7 Heures/Belleville* (*Les minuts parisiennes*).



Figs. 72 and 73. Félix Buhot (Valognes 1847 – Paris 1898). *La fête nationale du 30 juin boulevard de Clichy*, 1878. Color etching, aquatint and drypoint, 31.9 × 24 cm. The Library of Congress, Washington D.C.). Detail.

>> Devant le guignol [parc des Buttes-Chaumont]

Near Rue de Belleville, in the park of Buttes-Chaumont is the popular Anatole puppet theatre, which has a long-standing tradition. In the 1900 etching *Devant le guignol*, Sunyer captures a moment from the emblematic puppet theatre from Lyon. It shows a devoted audience, seated, of different ages and backgrounds, from young labourers, and elegant men and women wearing hats, to the girls and boys in the front row who are cheerfully watching the performance that is being enlivened by the music of the accordion (fig. 74). It is an outdoor scene, in the evening, and – changing the accordion for a harp – it formally very much resembles Eugène Atget's 1898 photograph of the

(figs. 72 and 73). Jay Mckean Fisher and Colles Baxter, and Jean-Luc Dufresne. *Felix Buhot. Peintre-graveur. Prints. Drawings and Painting*. Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1983, pp. 66-67.

guignol of the Luxembourg garden (fig. 75). At first, this led us to believe that Sunyer had represented the theatre in that garden too.



Fig. 74. Joaquim Sunyer. *Devant le guignol [parc des Buttes-Chaumont]*, 1900. Etching and aquatint and scraping, 22.2 × 31 cm. (Author's collection).

However, upon close examination of his engraving, we saw that the artist himself indicated that it is a depiction of the “real Anatole puppet theatre”. At the top right of the composition is a heading, which reads, “AU vrai GU / de Anatolia / SEANCES EI / VILLE / 0,10 par place / Guignol MOU” (fig. 76). This observation, together with the history of this small open-air theatre, means it must have been located in the park of Buttes- Chaumont, in the 19th arrondissement, where it was set up in 1892. Before that, it had been installed in the Champs-Élysées, its first location in Paris since its creation in 1836 by Laurent Mourguet (1769 – 1844), a puppeteer, dentist, and vendor of household items from Lyon. He created a variation on Polichinelle named Gnafron, who in turn was a partner of the character Guignol. Mourguet achieved great popularity for his satirical sketches related to current affairs.⁷⁵ So, seeing “Guignol MOU” on the last line of the heading in Sunyer’s print, we are prompted to think that, if the text were continued, we would read “Guignol Mourguet”.

⁷⁵ Paul Fournel, *Guignol, les Mourguet*. Paris, Seuil, 1995.

As for the exact location, things are not so clear, since there are two puppet theatres in the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont (fig. 77). One is in the northern part, in front of the district town hall, and the other is at the southern end of the park, parallel to Rue Botzaris, 100 metres from the entrance on Avenue Simon-Bolivar. Performing in the theatre more to the north was the puppeteer Emile Labelle, who was also from Lyon. From 1903, he promoted the theatre as “Vrai Guignol” and also gave it the name of “Théâtre Guignol Anatole”, which is why we think this is the one that Joaquin Sunyer represented. Today both theatres are still active and among the popular attractions of the neighbourhood.



Fig. 75. Eugène Atget. *Guignol au Luxembourg*, 1898. Albumen silver salts photograph, 17.8 × 22.2 cm. (Getty Center/ lido.getty.edu-gm-obj70035).



Fig. 76. Detail of Sunyer's etching with part of the *guignol* name.

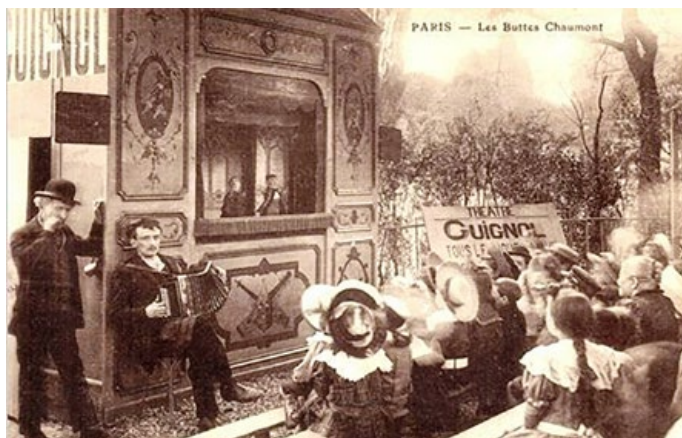


Fig. 77. Postcard of the *guignol* in Les Buttes Chaumont.

>> La blanchisseuse du quartier de Belleville

This *blanchisseuse* (1900) is a sinuous, full-body figure that brusquely enters the composition from the left, moving towards the centre of the print. It is a typical washer-woman, dressed in a blouse and long skirt, but without an apron; on her shoulder she is carrying a bundle of dirty clothes, in line with the terms detailed earlier. In this print, the woman is framed by a backdrop of towering buildings that close off the perspective of the street like a fortress, while at the same time a marked social contrast manifests itself, because, while she is rushing about, busy with her work, three characters are casually chatting in the background on the left, and a large group of elegantly dressed passers-by are walking along on the right.

Both monochrome sepia prints and colour prints exist of this engraving, and, judging by the dark blue tones of the known colour versions, we can determine that the time of day is towards nightfall (fig. 78). The density of the tones provides several highly interesting pictorial traces which intensify the mood of dusk, and the reflections on the grey ground evoke the last rays of light or the last drops of rain. Altogether, the resulting piece confirms Sunyer as an exceptional colour etcher. Apart from the treatment of colour, the presentation of this instant in the public space does not shun elements of Japonism, as has already been observed with regard to the other prints. The parameters coincide in that they create the illusion of space with a minimum of elements: views with sharp angles, and a perspective based on converging lines, often with little horizon. The Japanese, who were keen observers of Western art, applied these principles between 1740 and 1890, and the approach was, in turn, called “photographic composition”, without this implying photographic objectivity, and only concerning the composition itself.⁷⁶



Fig. 78. Joaquim Sunyer. *La blanchisseuse du quartier de Belleville*, ca. 1900. Etching, aquatint, drypoint and scraping, colour, 33 × 23.5 cm. (Courtesy private collection).

⁷⁶ “Une saisie brusque de l’espace qui, sous la forme la plus évoluée, comportait un horizon occulté à l’avant et latéralement, par un élément naturel ou non, cadré de manière à n’être que partiellement visible : au-delà de cet élément en gros-plan l’espace reculait rapidement vers l’arrière-plan.”

Sunyer chose Belleville as the setting for this view, one of the most characteristic and popular neighbourhoods in the capital on the Seine. He represented the area in various works, one of which is another engraving that was recently unearthed; it is titled with the name of the street it depicts and is presented below.

>> Rue de Belleville

To round off this thematic series of views of Paris we have an engraving that was unknown until now but has been preserved in a private collection in Barcelona, *La Rue de Belleville*, which we date between 1902 and 1903. There are four known states of this etching, which allows us to see, step by step, the evolution of the composition and Sunyer's *modus operandi*, which we commented on at the beginning of this essay.⁷⁷

"S'apparente au cliché instantané qui privilégie, tout en les amputant, des éléments qui se trouvaient dans le champ de l'objectif au moment de la prise du vue. C'est ce qu'on appelle ici 'la composition photographique,' en insistant sur le terme 'composition'. Jatsumani Hirokazu." ("La composition photographique dans l'estampe de paysage de l'école Ukiyo-e". *Estampes Japonaises: Collection des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*. Brussels, 1989, pp. 55-60).

⁷⁷ The four states we have been able to study are:

FIRST STATE. Etching. Unbevelled plate (33 × 26.2 cm). The composition is already fully determined. The whole has been made with etchings of deep and concise lines. In the upper left part of the plate we can see two horizontal drip lines that leave a whitish impression; these are probably the result of an unfortunate accident with the varnish or the acid. The proof is printed with black ink on white Arches paper, with full watermark. Margins cut irregularly (36.5 × 27.3 cm). Signed in pencil: "Sunyer". Annotation in pencil on the back: "La rue de Belleville" (fig. 79).

SECOND STATE. Etching, drypoint and direct application of roulette wheel. Unbevelled plate (33 × 26.2 cm). The clothes of the two central characters have been darkened with touches of drypoint. All the characters on the footpath on the left have also been darkened with new strokes. The trousers of the man carrying the ladder are now black. In general, the characters on the right have also been shaded with new lines. The buildings on the left have been made darker and the shading of the doors of the buildings on the right has been accentuated. The shadows of the couple pushing the cart, and the ground a bit further back have been made darker with direct passes of the roulette wheel. Proof printed in black ink on ivory-coloured Moret-Becioux laid paper with full watermark (35 × 27.5 cm). Signed in pencil: "Sunyer". Annotation in pencil on the back of the print: "La rue de Belleville" (fig. 80).

THIRD STATE. WORKING PROOF. Etching, drypoint and direct application of roulette wheel. Unbevelled plate (33 × 26.2 cm). Both the sky and the shadows of the buildings on the right have been darkened with new lines. Above the street vendor, several rather long diagonal lines have been added. The awnings above the shop windows have also been darkened, all the way up to the end of the street, where the shadow cast by the buildings opposite has been accentuated. In the foreground, new passes with the roulette wheel have added dotted lines on the ground and around the carts. Print made with black ink; the two buildings at the end on the left have been worked on with a graphite pencil, which makes this print a special working proof. Printed on thin, cream-coloured vellum paper with cut margins (33.7 × 26.6 cm). Signed in pencil: "Sunyer", on a paper tab on the bottom right edge of the print (figs. 81 and 82). This original way of signing is similar to that used by the North American engraver J. McNeill Whistler (fig. 83), who, we should recall, was also a regular customer of the Delâtre workshop. Annotation in pencil on the back of the print: "La rue de Belleville".



Fig. 79. Joaquim Sunyer. *Rue de Belleville*, 1902-1903. Etching, 33 x 26.2 cm; 1st state. (Courtesy private collection).



Fig. 80. Joaquim Sunyer. *Rue de Belleville*, 1902-1903. Etching, drypoint and direct application of roulette, 33 x 26.2 cm; 2nd state. (Courtesy private collection).



Figs. 81 and 82. Joaquim Sunyer. *Rue de Belleville*, 1902-1903. Etching, drypoint and direct application of roulette, 33 x 26.2 cm; 3rd state and detail of signature. (Courtesy private collection).

FOURTH STATE, the last and definitive known state. Etching, drypoint and direct application of roulette wheel. Unbevelled plate (33 x 26.2 cm). Similar to the third state, but with all the characters on the left side darkened. Other elements that have been darkened are the façades of the first two blocks of buildings, of which the second was done with drypoint, and the façade of the first building on the right and the area around the couple that is approaching the stall in the foreground. On the ground, by the bottom left edge, paving stones have been added. Proof printed in cold black, on creamy white, Arches laid paper with a trimmed watermark (36.1 x 27 cm). Signed in pencil: "Sunyer". Two proofs of this final state are known (private collection, Barcelona; fig. 84).



Fig. 83. James Abbott McNeill Whistler (Lowell, Massachusetts 1834-1903). *Windsor (Memorial)*, 1887. Drypoint 13.2 × 9.6 cm. (Art Institute of Chicago 1938.1944).

The print shows bustling activity early in the morning. People are coming and going through the street; on the left some workers can be seen from behind, on their way to work; in the foreground, a couple is pushing a cart full of vegetables, with the price signs clearly visible; on the right, another couple is serving some customers at the stall that has already been set up. It is the typical *marché des quatre-saisons*, and a comparison of the print with old photographs of the time shows that it coincides fully in the details, meaning it could correspond to any of the countless streets where these activities habitually took place (fig. 85). However, in this case, in addition to the indication of the location provided by the artist himself, it is possible to ascertain that it indeed is Rue de Belleville by comparing the engraving with postcards of the period. This enables us to identify some

buildings and the lamppost – although inverted left-to-right – as well as the pavement, and the suggestion of the tracks of the cable car that operated there between 1891 and 1925 (fig. 86).

This lively view of the crowded street with large buildings was made with the same compositional approach as the prints we have examined above. It has a marked perspective with a central vanishing point, and once again, we can link it with the views created by Hiroshige (fig. 87).

Dating back to 1679, Rue de Belleville has a long history, and was formerly known as Rue de Paris and Rue du Parc. It forms the border of the 19th and 20th arrondissements and runs from the Belleville metro station to Porte des Lilas. It starts at 2 Boulevard de la Villette and 132 Boulevard de Belleville, and ends at Boulevard Sérurier and 261 Avenue Gambetta. It is the Belleville of *Ma pomme* by Maurice Chevalier, and of the *môme Piaf*, who was born on 19 December 1915 on the steps of the house at No. 72. It is a bustling street with a lot of commercial activity that enlivens the centre of the neighbourhood of the same name, one of the most typical districts in Paris, both cosmopolitan and working-class and very fashionable at the moment.



Fig. 84. Joaquim Sunyer. *Rue de Belleville*, 1902-1903. Etching, drypoint and direct application of roulette, 33 × 26.2 cm; 4th and final state. (Courtesy private collection).

The art critic, journalist, essayist and novelist Gustave Geffroy, a local figure from Belleville, described the street in the publication mentioned earlier and illustrated by Sunyer, *7 Heures/Belleville (Les minuts parisiennes)*: “marche journalière, régulière, aux mêmes heures, de la population qui va, au matin, vers la besogne nécessaire, qui s’en revient, au soir, pour recommencer le lendemain. Combien de courants et de vagues au creux et à la surface de cet océan”. These words were no doubt evoked in this print, and they also remind us of the chronicles of a distinguished Spanish exile, the Valencian Vicente Blasco Ibáñez who, in 1890, described the atmosphere with the following message: “the Parisian people, those workers in their long white shirts, with their fuming pipes, those badly paid eternal choristers of all the revolutionary trage-



Fig. 85. View of Rue de Seine. Postcard.

dies that rock the world, who still remember the *Commune*, who have not forgotten the upheaval caused by Boulanger and who, in the tranquil times that France is currently going through, feel nostalgia for the struggle and dream of revenge; [...] and then those national policies that do not give them the opportunity, as in other times, to erect barricades in the narrow streets of the Belleville neighbourhood”⁷⁸

In addition, this multiracial neighbourhood is also present in contemporary literature, since it is the setting for the adventures of the characters in the seven novels about the “Maulassène tribe” by Daniel Pennac, who himself has been a neighbourhood resident for many years. More recently, Belleville has been the leit-motif of the novel and play *Monsieur Bel-*



Fig. 86. View of Rue de Belleville. Postcard in which the lamppost, buildings, and advertising on the wall can be identified.

⁷⁸ Blasco Ibáñez, Vicente. *París. Impresiones de un emigrado*. (E. Sales, ed.) Valencina de la Concepción, Sevilla, Renacimiento, 2013, p. 36.

leville by Thibault Amorfini (Paris. *L'Oeil d'Or*, 2014). It is an epic urban tale that conveys the seasons, the smells and the sentiments of the poetry of the city by the hand of the extravagant and absurd character, Monsieur Belleville.

Rafael Benet reproduces in the Sunyer catalogue a pastel drawing titled *Rue de Paris* and dated 1902, which has the exact same subject matter, but with the composition inverted left-to-right – which is normal, due to the inversion that always occurs in print. We are even prompted to think that the drawing may have served as a model for the print. The dates of this drawing and of the illustrations in *7 Heures/ Belleville (Les Minutes Parisiennes)*, serve as guides for us to determine the date of the etching.⁷⁹

Finally, for now, this etching serves to expand the particular ‘Sunyerian directory’ of the French capital of 1900. We can recognise elements, mindsets and atmospheres of this Paris. However, it is a Paris that is now a beautiful and melancholic memory of something that we have not experienced, but are capable of imagining. Of something that we want to believe is real because of the feeling that it expresses. But we should not deceive ourselves, for, as Benjamin said, “from one century to the next, things become stranger and stranger”. An artistic creation is not a reliable document that confirms some notary-certified reality. Let’s be satisfied with capturing the artistic feeling that this work sends out, the feeling that its author was imbued with, the feeling that enables us to enjoy and meditate on its phenomenology. The sentiment that leads us back to the Jungian symbolism of the city as a mother who provides us with shelter in her heart. If this does come about, it is no irrelevant thing, and we firmly believe it is what happens with these beautiful and evocative prints by Joaquim Sunyer.



Fig. 87. Hiroshige. No 90, Saruwaka-cho yoru no kei/ Meisho Edo Hyakkei, 1857. Woodcut, colour. (British Museum, 1906,1220,0.741).

⁷⁹ Benet, op. cit., pp. 198 and 228, fig. 351.

TRILOGY ABOUT SEVERAL URBAN VIEW AND LANDSCAPE PRINTS

Trilogy about Several Urban View and Landscape Prints presents three essays dedicated to the specific observation of prints, by great artists such as Canaletto, Goya, Hokusai and Picasso, whose main theme is the representation of outdoor space: landscapes and urban views. M. Rosa Vives studies the contextualisation of these prints and their creative and iconographic links with tradition, and with other artists and creative media. The works remind us that engraving has been, and continues to be, an artistic medium with its own language, a particular technology, and a sensorial form of expression and communication. They also recall how, before the advent of photography, engraving was a major force behind the spreading of images and culture.



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