

four cards are still missing. Let us hope that they did not end in unknown cisterns or wells but will turn up one day.

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DIOCLECIO REDIG DE CAMPOS, *Raffaello nelle Stanze*, Milan, Aldo Martello, 1965. Pp. 43; 76 pls., 24 figs.

It is the seventy-three color plates which provide the *raison d'être* of this book, and the recent restorations in the Vatican Stanze which have enabled these revealing reproductions to be made. It should be said straight away that their quality is uneven: the smallest details are excellent, and provide a clear indication of the brushwork and a new insight into Raphael's use of color; as soon as the scale is reduced, the results become less satisfactory, until with the full views of a whole fresco they become almost worthless. The lithographic method of reproduction does not help, and even the black and white photographs are hardly interpretable. The value of these detail plates, however, should not be underestimated by purist art historians, for they provide a far better corpus than any previously available, and one which must be taken into account in any attempt to discuss the various hands involved.

The restoration has added strikingly to the clarity of the frescoes, especially that of the *Liberation of St. Peter*, and it has laid bare a sketch for one of the angels in the *Heliodorus* (pl. XLV), a fascinating discovery, which would have been even more interesting had we been shown the corresponding detail of the finished fresco.

The careful investigations of the frescoes made possible at this time are also responsible for what is new in the text: the changes made by Raphael in the window embrasures, new information about the construction of the Stanze, and the evidence that the small scenes on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura were already in existence before Raphael began his work.

For the rest, what we are given is basically a summary of the most generally accepted theories, including those already published by Dr. Redig de Campos. Presumably the author had no time to take into account the suggestions put forward by Shearman in his study of the drawings in *Walter Friedlaender zum 90. Geburtstag*, where a different history is proposed for the evolution of the *Leo and Attila* scene, and the name of Johannes Ruysch is suggested for the earlier paintings on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura. Shearman's convincing suggestion that Raphael originally planned a *Last Judgment* for the *Giustizia* wall is of the utmost importance, since it calls in question the identification of this scene as an allegory of the Virtues in general, and hence the Neo-Platonic interpretation of this Stanza as a whole. This has already been weakened by the removal from the system of the small scenes on the ceiling, and one might add that Redig de Campos's misinterpretation of Wind's identification of the putti (the pointing gesture should belong to Hope and the torch to Faith, not, as here, the other way round) underlines the imprecision of these gestures and attributes in what is otherwise an extremely precisely defined series of representations; had they been intended to play such a vital role, would they have been left so ambiguous?

Like most other writers on the Stanze, the author is deeply interested in the possibility of identifying the portraits, and the many suggestions which he makes are plausible, if seldom completely convincing. In one footnote to his discussion of the *Disputa* he generously accepts both Hartt's identification of Julius II in the figure of St. Gregory the Great and Kitzle's identification of the same person in the figure of Julius I at the right, claiming that the one hypothesis does not exclude the other; that even the author does not take this improbable claim very seriously is shown by his later statement that Julius II is shown only twice in the Stanza della Segnatura (p. 23).

Redig de Campos maintains that Raphael's preoccupation with other work, particularly for the Fabbrica di San Pietro, prevented him from executing the frescoes in the Stanza dell'Incendio, and few would quarrel with this judgment; he sees them, however, as based on Raphael's drawings, a proposition which is open to doubt in the case of the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, and far more so in that of the *Oath of Leo III*. He makes no mention of the Sala di Costantino. Wholly convincing is his claim that the cleaning has confirmed beyond question Raphael's execution of the *Liberation of St. Peter*. Whether or not one agrees with his acceptance of Donati's attribution of the ceiling of the Stanza di Eliodoro and *Justinian Presenting the Pandects* to Jean de Marcillat (and I do not), this is scarcely a reason for not illustrating the latter, an omission which leaves a serious gap in the coverage provided by the plates.

At the end of the illustrations we are given a series of measured drawings for the walls of the three rooms discussed, and a fascinating set of photographs of the frescoes (excluding the scene of the Decretals as well as the Pandects) with white lines indicating the placing of the *intonaco*. These have no evident connection with the text, but one is none the less grateful for any further apparatus which may serve future students of these masterpieces.

Even admitting that the book is devoted exclusively to the work of Raphael, one must regret that it includes no general views. Whatever else they may be, these paintings are also decorations, and no matter how imperfectly photographs may reproduce the sensation of actually standing in the rooms, some indication of the way in which the walls relate to one another and to the ceilings would have been a valuable addition to a useful compendium of information.

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GIULIANO BRIGANTI, *Gaspar van Wittel, e l'origine della veduta settecentesca*, Rome, Ugo Bozzi, 1966. Pp. xii + 388; 549 ills., 31 color pls. L.16,000.

Giuliano Briganti's latest book is a most important contribution to our understanding of the development of view painting in Italy. Briganti's primary focus is Gaspar van Wittel, an artist whose historic "mission" was to lay the groundwork in the seventeenth century for the panoramic cityscapes that Carlevarijs, Panini, Canaletto, and Bellotto produced in the eighteenth century. Preceding the discussion of van Wittel, the author has written a history of view painting in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rome, tracing the trends that developed up to the time of van Wittel's arrival there in the mid-1670's. The author's material is not restricted to painted

view scenes; he examines all artistic phenomena—prints and drawings as well as paintings—that led to the creation of the eighteenth-century *veduta esatta*.

Following the text is a chronology of van Wittel's life, which seems particularly useful because Briganti has listed in it, along with the biographical data, all the artist's known dated paintings. He notes that van Wittel's career as a painter is characterized by an "immobilità stilistica," making any attempt to date a painting on stylistic grounds alone an almost, if not entirely, impossible chore. This is true to such an extent that one wonders whether the author's efforts to establish specific dates in the catalogue for the undated paintings really contribute much either to an understanding of van Wittel's historical importance or to an appreciation of his charming and colorful scenes of Italian life.

A catalogue raisonnée of all van Wittel's known paintings and drawings concludes the book. This is a major achievement, encompassing a mammoth corpus of works. Because it is arranged by topographical subject matter, the reader finds his way through the material with no difficulty. The catalogue and its illustrations show succinctly van Wittel's main failings as well as his principal importance; his reduplications of subject matter and qualitative sameness throughout his long career are balanced by his achievement in establishing for future generations of painters the basic pictorial formulas for view painting in Venice, Rome, and Naples. The artist's unexpected capabilities as a draftsman are revealed in the second part of the catalogue, which deals with the drawings. Quite different from his familiar and rather dry architectural renderings are such sheets as numbers 13d, 198d, and 204d. The last drawing (shown since publication of this book in the 1967 exhibition *I Vedutisti Veneziani* at the Palazzo Ducale in Venice) is especially fine and suggests the possibility that van Wittel's predilection for subtle luministic transitions exerted an influence, however slight, on such later *vedutisti* as Michele Marieschi and Francesco Guardi. The Dutchman's interest in flickering lights and shadows, as seen in this drawing, is not far from Guardi's own depictions of Venice "trembling" in the atmosphere. Contrasted with drawings such as number 204d are the rather dry and mechanical (*per forza*) illustrations for Cornelis Meyer's 1676 treatise on the navigation of the Tiber. These are reproduced in their entirety, and their inclusion is welcome. One fault may be found with the catalogue, however: adjacent to the entries there are no page numbers referring the reader to the photographic details and enlargements found in the text proper. Because the catalogue illustrations are, of necessity, small, it would have been useful to have such references. (The text figures, in fact, do not illustrate the arguments next to which they stand; they do, however, refer to the catalogue entries.) This is merely an inconvenience, though, and does not detract from the catalogue's enormous value.

Briganti's introductory essay, preceding the study of van Wittel, discusses the history of the *veduta* in Renaissance and Baroque Rome and deals as well with the development of the genre's "cousin," the ruin-fantasy painting. At the very beginning of the essay, the author quotes from an early seventeenth-century letter of Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, in which the Marchese, writing to Theodor Ameyden, lists as the sixth of the various "distinzioni, e gradi di pittori, del modo di dipingere . . .": "saper dipingere bene

le prospettive, ed architetture, al che si richiede l'aver pratica dell'architettura, ed aver letto libri che di essa trattano, e così libri delle prospettive, per aver cognizione degli angoli regolari e visuali, e fare che tutto sia d'accordo, e dipinto senza sproposito." Briganti, following the reading of Roberto Longhi ("Viviano Codazzi e l'invenzione della veduta realistica," *Paragone*, 6, No. 71, 1955, 40–47), affirms that Giustiniani "aveva certo in mente, . . . vedute architettoniche." The Marchese's stress, however, is surely on pure perspective and geometry, not on view painting. He emphasizes the need to render architecture correctly within a traditional Renaissance perspective system. Any interpretation more specific in meaning does not find clear support in the Marchese's own statement, and that he thought definitely in terms of "vedute architettoniche" seems to me anything but certain. It is strange that Briganti has given such prominence to this passage, which, whatever one's interpretation, has no great importance for his story. Briganti himself writes that the "veduta di città" is based primarily on "intenzioni rappresentative e descrittive" rather than on the formal rules of perspective, and he stresses the artistic impulse that sought "un rapporto inscindibile fra paesaggio, inteso come ambiente naturale, e antiche memorie, . . . quindi fra presente e passato. . . ."

Briganti's ability to understand and explicate the cultural attitude that preoccupied the minds of the view artists is perhaps his greatest contribution to the knotty problem of why the genre developed. The Roman ruins were no longer seen, as they had been by Renaissance artists, as "l'eseemplificazione dei Cinque Ordini," but were instead, for the new generation of painters, "rovine viste in quanto rovine." It was both the desolation of the historical sites and their romantic associations that appealed to artists around 1600 to 1610. And, in fact, ruins themselves were a novelty. As the author points out, the majority of view painters came from northern Europe, where broad, flat, monotonous plains and uninterrupted horizons were the only vistas. Briganti's discussion on these pages is brilliant; he evokes the Rome of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and describes the effect the city had upon the Northerners as they attempted to portray it.

The eighteenth-century *veduta esatta* merged several earlier pictorial traditions. In his essay Briganti emphasizes, rightly I think, the importance of one aspect of Northern painting, the "propensione nordica per la visione lontana." The panoramic and romantic vistas, with their craggy cliffs and wooded hillsides, painted by such landscapists as Pieter Brueghel, Roland Savery, and Gillis Coninxloo, provided both the spiritual impetus and the artistic basis for artists like Gerard ter Borch and Willem van Nieulandt II. These two, among others, traveled to Rome early in the seventeenth century, before 1615, where they reproduced topographical and semi-topographical representations of the countryside and of the city's byways. In their views, a great distance separates the spectator from the principal object represented. It is as if a building's unique qualities could only be captured pictorially if seen from afar, the building silhouetted against the sky. The fascination with the monuments of Rome was so great that the painters were scarcely interested in the activities of the city's populace. Briganti says that these artists captured "la realtà cittadina," but it seems to me that their principal concern was the physical substance of the city, its mortar and brick. Human figures are represented only as compositional motifs; their

presence does not explain the city, nor do they, in most instances, relate to the surrounding buildings. It is, perhaps, an indication that these foreign artists were never really a part of the community and could not identify with or understand the daily scene. Nieulandt and ter Borch, however, did make a basic contribution to the genre. In combining their knowledge of the Northern panoramic landscape and their fascination with the Eternal City, they created urban scenes that stand as autonomous works of art.

Briganti also discusses the Dutch Italianate landscapists Cornelius Poelenburgh and Bartholomeus Breenbergh: “. . . elaborarono ulteriormente i motivi della ‘veduta ideata.’” These artists composed works that, unlike those of Nieulandt and ter Borch, show imaginary sites (cf. illustrations in Briganti, pp. 18–19). With a charm peculiar to the *veduta ideata*, these paintings convince us completely of the actuality of their imaginary scenes. Breenbergh accomplished this clever pictorial ruse by placing in his ruins peasants who, by their very drab existence, confirm the reality of the architectural constructions. Briganti is right: these artists have created “una Roma immaginata ma non immaginaria, dove mito e realtà s’incontrano . . . di fronte a grotte leggendarie. . . .” Perhaps their principal importance for *veduta* and *capriccio* painting is that they introduced into their representations of Rome—real or imaginary—the laborers and beggars of the city scene. Nieulandt and ter Borch were concerned, for the most part, with the great monuments of the city, such as Santa Maria Maggiore and Castel Sant’Angelo. They looked at Rome with the eyes of tourists. But Breenbergh and Poelenburgh ignored the topography of the city; instead they looked at Rome’s inhabitants. These two separate interests in early seventeenth-century view painting—the accurate depiction of a real geographical site and a concern with portraying a town’s citizenry—were the basic elements in the formation of the modern cityscape.

In the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century several artists, among them Willhelm Baur and Viviano Codazzi, combined these separate elements and painted both real monuments and figures with equal interest. These artists did not visualize the Roman monuments isolated from their actual surroundings—an attitude that tended to make a view painting into an almost iconic image of a city scene—nor did they exclude from their paintings the life in the city streets. The activity and bustle animating their paintings make their views more palpable for us, in terms of our own experience, than almost all previous *vedute*. Baur, however, used his gigantic representations of the monuments of Rome to dwarf the figures, and in this respect he follows pictorial distortions current in contemporary prints. But his views are significant for the development of the genre, for they mirror a city’s human life as well as its physical appearance.

Viviano Codazzi looks at a city differently from his predecessors and is called by Briganti “l’inventore della veduta realistica.” Quite frequently, Codazzi paints an important monument from an oblique angle, giving a new view of the structure and its *ambiance*. For this artist, the way one looks at a scene—that is, the act of viewing itself—becomes as important as what is seen. He views the Colosseum and the Arch of Titus, for example, from vantage points that lead to a new appreciation of these ruins, for they are now seen in conjunction with their surroundings. But, beyond the mere existence of the ruins, what interests Codazzi are the monuments’ mottled

and time-worn surfaces. A light of strong contrasts cuts across them to form exciting luministic patterns. Appreciation for this factual record is thus increased by the artist’s insistence upon purely artistic and painterly matters.

Briganti states that realism in view painting is more than a “propensione a raffigurare luoghi realmente esistenti, come fedeltà cioè all’esattezza topografica.” An understanding of space and the light that fills it is part of any real visual experience, and Codazzi is the first view painter to appreciate these pictorial essentials. In his *Palazzo Gravina a Napoli* (cf. *Paragone*, 6, No. 71, 1955, tav. 23) there are shown, for example, not only the palace but the buildings surrounding it and the piazza which they all face. The space in the piazza becomes the central subject in this painting. Light is used to unite elements in the composition; the building on the right casts a shadow that falls across the square and onto the Palazzo Gravina at the left. Figures stroll by, accenting the line of the cast shadow. Codazzi wishes to make an artistic statement as well as a documentary record of this part of Naples. Visual data are merely the tools here for a painting about the atmosphere and light that describe our world. Codazzi has taken an important step that leads, as Briganti indicates, to the paintings of Canaletto and Bellotto.

The introductory essay concludes with passing mention of such artists as Jakob de Heusch and Isaäk de Moucheron, and brings us in time up to van Wittel’s arrival in Rome. The essay is of course not a definitive history of the entire view tradition. However, the author, with his profound awareness of an epoch’s sensibility, has been able to define types of view painting, to trace trends in the genre, and to bring into focus many of the questions that puzzle the student of the cityscape. Until recently, its principal practitioners were held to be the Venetians Canaletto and Guardi. Briganti’s essay, which analyzes with acute insight many artists not cited in this review, has here expanded our knowledge; Canaletto and Guardi now can be regarded as only the brilliant conclusion to a historical process that, throughout its entire development, produced attractive as well as documentary works of art. Briganti’s discussion of general stylistic trends is most perceptive, and it is difficult to quarrel with his ideas. However, the argument is not always easy to follow. The author tends to present his conclusions without explanation, and the processes by which he arrives at his judgment are, for the most part, not revealed to the reader.

The second half of Briganti’s text is devoted to a discussion of van Wittel’s career, and primarily to his years in Italy. Although little is known of his earlier life in the Netherlands, it is, I think, unfortunate that this part of his career receives so little attention. As the author himself points out, Vanvitelli’s “atteggiamento quando cominciò a Roma a dipinger vedute, anche se tanto diversamente determinato dalla realtà esterna, non era poi del tutto dissimile [from Dutch examples] nella sostanza.” An examination of Dutch views would have been very helpful in this context, for it is surely out of this tradition that van Wittel developed. He studied in Amersfoort during the 1660’s and early 1670’s, when the Dutch townscape was developing into a popular form of painting. Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712) and Gerrit Berckheyde (1638–1698), to name only two artists working in the genre, were producing views of Amsterdam completely different from Italian *vedute*. The Dutch views did not and could not show the kinds of buildings that

existed in Rome—ancient ruins or monuments of the early Church. Amsterdam was neither a cultural nor a religious center, and what the Dutch artist was anxious to show, and his patron anxious to see, was the financial prosperity and civil peace that were the distinguishing features of that city's life. The *Town Hall at Amsterdam* by van der Heyden (see exhibition catalogue, *La Vie en Hollande au XVII^e Siècle*, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Jan. 11,–March 20, 1967, No. 8, pl. 4), for example, proudly proclaims the happy and secure life led by the citizens of that town. Brilliant sunlight shines on the town hall, as if conferring a secular blessing on the civil officers who, from their chambers inside the building, insure domestic tranquility. Two gentlemen bow to each other in the foreground, echoing the theme of well-being and prosperity. The scene is enlivened by townsfolk, moving freely through the square, carrying out their daily chores. The realistic treatment of the bright Dutch sky, against which the town hall belltower and the church spire stand in harmony, contributes in large part to the understanding that these are people at peace with their surroundings. Roman view scenes were meant primarily to inspire awe in the spectator. The Dutch works impart a sense of calm and comfort—they please us with their images of an ordered urban existence.

It is unfortunate that Briganti treats van Wittel's pre-Italian years so briefly, particularly because his discussion of the artist from the year of his arrival in Rome, about 1674, to his death in 1736 is in many ways so very fine. Here, Briganti takes special care to determine exactly when "Gaspere dagli Occhiailli" (a name given to him because of his spectacles) traveled to the various cities he depicted. Indeed, before publication of this book, the dates of van Wittel's trip to Venice were uncertain, and therefore problems existed in terms of the development of the Venetian *veduta*. Fortunately, Briganti has now established, on the basis of dated drawings and paintings, a definite chronology for the artists, and for this the reader is most appreciative. Yet, it seems to me that the author has not really explained how van Wittel achieved his own form of view painting.

Briganti defines concisely and accurately the artist's major accomplishment: "Saper cogliere questo vivente aspetto di Roma, nel suo particolare carattere e nei suoi contrasti, fu il merito maggiore del van Wittel e lo differenzia nettamente da quanti prima l'avevano preceduto." My impression is that van Wittel's most distinguishing characteristic is the broad panoramic scope of his views. He depicts, on a flat canvas, a space that seems to sweep around the spectator. He represents an entire vista—center and periphery, near and far—with the same sharp focus and precision that in reality are reserved only for those areas we look at directly. It is, in other words, a primarily intellectual way of picturing space. Paradoxically, it convinces us of the site's actual, physical reality. In addition, van Wittel does not neglect to include in his extensive panoramas all the minutiae present in typical urban scenes. For the first time in Italian view painting cityscapes seem so real that the viewer can sense how it would feel to live and move within them. When van Wittel represents Venice, he does not do so merely to impress us with the city's charms or with its interesting tourist attractions, but rather he asks us to enter and explore, if only imaginatively, a real spatial environment.

Sky and light are particularly important elements in van Wittel's

search to depict a convincing space. While his predecessors certainly did not ignore those aspects of a view, van Wittel gave great significance to them. No doubt this emphasis, as well as the overall bright tonality of his works, reflects his firm basis in Dutch artistic traditions. Landscape painting in Holland during the third quarter of the century is characterized in part by broad expanses of sky, and by the activity of light and clouds in that sky. Van Wittel, of course, does not achieve the exciting luministic transitions that are among the glories of van Ruisdael's landscapes, for instance. But he does reflect the Dutch interest in showing various atmospheric conditions. Codazzi's light is primarily one of strong contrasts, in which space is cut, as if by a knife, into light and shadow. Van Wittel, however, is interested in describing a space where shadows merge with light areas to create flickering highlights. In an early work such as *La Piazza e il Palazzo Montecavallo* (cat. no. 15, illustrated p. 74), the subtle changes of the light across the piazza and its crowds, and on the surfaces of the buildings, help to give the space a breadth and amplitude that are new in Italian seventeenth-century view painting.

Van Wittel's works are particularly impressive for their great masses of humanity. The artist seems intent upon showing us all facets of Roman life. He goes far beyond Codazzi in the accuracy with which he depicts not only the architecture but the varied classes of Roman society as well. This preoccupation with the general movement and activity of the city scene again reflects Dutch practices. Every view of a street or square in Amsterdam shows the citizenry, from *hoi polloi* to wealthy burghers. The Dutch artist understood that a view painting was only a conglomeration of buildings and did not really mirror a city's appearance unless the painting was animated with the activity in the streets. A painting such as *Piazza Navona* (cat. no. 22, illustrated pp. 92 and 103) is alive and interesting exactly because it shows how the Roman populace lived in the seventeenth century. People are depicted as individuals, each functioning alone but relating to the general life of the city. Van Wittel sought not just to commemorate famous monuments of the past or to fix in the memory images of strange and foreign lands, but aimed instead at communicating a sense of a city's heartbeat, and this proves him to be of great historical significance for the development of the *veduta settecentesca*.

Crucial for the understanding of van Wittel is the question of his patronage. Briganti suggests that perhaps the "Grand Tour" was responsible for the popularity of view painting, and, although he does not state so explicitly, he also hints that van Wittel himself painted for the peripatetic buyer (p. 109). But what is known of the artist's patronage does not fit in at all with the pattern familiar to us from Canaletto's career, for instance. The Colonna family alone had 105 works by van Wittel in their Roman palace and 18 of them were specifically catalogued as views of Rome (*Catalogo dei Quadri e Pitture Esistenti nel Palazzo . . . Colonna*, 1783). Many others probably were also "Roman" paintings, though listed, for convenience, merely as *vedute* or *vedutine*. It is also known that van Wittel was invited to Naples by the Spanish viceroy of that city to make visual documentation of the viceroy's urban developments there. In addition, the great majority of van Wittel's works exist today in Italian private collections, and they were, one suspects, originally commissioned by Italians themselves. One can conclude, then, that the artist's patrons wanted paintings that showed their

own physical surroundings; they had the same civic pride as had the Dutch patron. Van Wittel was successful, therefore, because his portraits of thriving city life pleased wealthy men who felt satisfaction in seeing their own immediate environment depicted in works of art.

One last problem arises in Briganti's subtitle, "l'origine della veduta settecentesca." In terms of the general scope of the book, it is misleading. One expects, but does not find, a definition of the "veduta settecentesca": what were its purpose, its visual impact, and its artistic significance? But, more important, in dealing primarily with the Roman view and only summarily with the Venetian and Dutch traditions, the author has not fulfilled the promise of his subtitle. The scope of the book as it stands is not in question, only the accuracy of its title.

The many accomplishments of this book cannot be enumerated in their entirety. Briganti's profound observations on individual painters' styles and his ability to formulate acute questions that open up new areas for research more than outweigh the several lacks that I have noted, and the author's clarification of van Wittel's place in seventeenth-century painting is of fundamental value. One must congratulate, too, Dr. Ugo Bozzi, whose firm has handsomely illustrated the book with excellent black and white illustrations and an abundance of beautiful color plates. Indeed, the publisher has set a remarkably high standard for art historical publications, both in photographic quality and in general presentation. In its totality, it is a work that is of great significance for those interested in Italian art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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TOMÁS HARRIS, *Goya, Engravings and Lithographs*, 2 vols., Bruno Cassirer, Oxford, 1964. Vol. I, *Text and Illustrations*, pp. xv + 234; 155 ills. (unnumbered). Vol. II, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. xiii + 461; 325 ills. (unnumbered). £26.6.

These two fine volumes represent a notable labor of love on the part of the late Tomás Harris, who was fortunately able to see the page proofs just before his untimely death in an automobile accident. His purpose was nothing less than to provide the print lover with everything that is known about the history, condition, states, proofs, and editions of the entire graphic work of Goya. Since the study is frankly a technical one, it does not include iconographic interpretation or stylistic analysis; insofar as possible it is purely factual. The result is an encyclopedic study which must surely answer virtually every question that a collector or curator might ask, with the exception of prices, which are not included.

The numerous illustrations are not numbered but are skillfully keyed in with the sequence established for all the prints so that they are not difficult to locate. In addition, they are well cross-referenced throughout the book. Where the plates are used to illustrate techniques, show details, reveal the appearance of plate wear, or make comparisons, they are unusually fine, beautifully printed on special paper tipped in to the printed page. The illustrations for the catalogue raisonné, however, are small and serve simply to identify each print. The two volumes are in no way a facsimile

edition of the whole oeuvre; they are working adjuncts to the plates themselves.

There is no doubt that this is the definitive publication to date, and in view of our extensively documented knowledge of the several series, it is hard to believe that it will ever be superseded. Mr. Harris himself owned one of the great collections of Goya's graphics, he was familiar with all the others, and he was endlessly patient in collecting an immense mass of data on every aspect of his subject. For him there were but three superlative graphic masters: Dürer, Rembrandt, and Goya; and a detail from a print by each introduces the first volume in a triple fold-out.

There may be errors here and there (though I know of none) but the work is clearly both reliable and exhaustive, as well as interestingly written. The reader is struck above all by the completeness of the discussion: every facet of the topic is dealt with clearly and at considerable length. What might well have been a fragmentary and confusing assemblage of material is disciplined into a natural order that is easy to follow, even for the nonprofessional.

At the beginning of the first volume, the author explains that by "engraving" he does not mean the narrow definition of a plate whose lines are cut with a burin, but rather all intaglio processes whether bitten or cut into the metal. He also explains why he has not followed the usual classification by states but rather has chosen to divide the prints into "working proofs" (those taken by the artist himself while still working on the plate), "trial proofs" (those made by the printer), and "edition impressions." This system avoids many of the difficulties caused otherwise by the rather peculiar circumstances under which many of the series were published.

A chronological table of Goya's life is followed by a most informative chapter on the collecting of Goya's graphic work, especially by the Spaniards themselves and by the French. The latter were, so to speak, exposed twice to Goya's art, once early in the nineteenth century when Vivant Denon's set of *Los Caprichos* was bought at auction for the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1826, and again in the 1850's and 1860's when collections were formed, new plates discovered, and some of the most important work was published for the first time, such as *Los Desastres de la Guerra*, in 1863. The location of the best modern collections is given along with a brief history of each.

Then Harris proceeds to a careful examination of all of Goya's techniques from dry-point to aquatint and lavis, each one being superbly illustrated by details, comparisons with the drawings, and comparisons between different proofs. Printing methods are described, as are the papers used, and there is a most important section dealing with the deterioration of the plates under repeated printings. The owner of a given example is here given the means for a careful estimate of its quality and condition by comparison with early proofs. Many of the plates were electroplated with steel, and the author is careful to point out that in some cases late impressions made in modern times are as fine as those from Goya's lifetime or the mid-nineteenth century.

In the next section Harris discusses each of seven groups or categories into which the engravings naturally fall: early religious subjects, copies after Velasquez, the single plates, *Los Caprichos*, *Los Desastres de la Guerra*, *La Tauromaquia*, and *Los Proverbios*. A final section deals with all the lithographs, especially the *Bulls of*