



Sum. ex libris Joannis Georgij Zebellij.

The Venetian Print Album of Johann Georg I Zobel von Giebelstadt*

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The earliest examples of surviving print collections are manuscripts and books in which the owners stuck individual prints.¹ Over the course of the sixteenth century prints were increasingly pasted, mounted or bound into special print albums. For centuries, safe storage in books or albums protected prints from tears, creases, sunlight and other threats.

Nowadays volumes of prints like these are very rare. Almost all older print albums were later taken apart. This was long a standard procedure in print rooms, adopted so that the prints could be stored in accordance with the institution's own classification system. They were often filed under the name of the printmaker, instead of by subject or the designer's name – the way earlier collectors usually arranged their albums. Many print albums were also broken up by dealers so that they could sell the prints separately. Print albums that have survived the ravages of time are of great value as objects of study, because they provide insight into the way prints were originally produced, traded, collected and appreciated. It is for this reason that for some decades now the Rijksmuseum print room – where many a print album has been dismantled in the past – has focused on purchasing albums and other objects connected with the history of print collecting. The two *Thesauri* published by

Fig. 1
*Ex libris Johann
Georg I. Zobel von
Giebelstadt (verso
folio 1), c. 1568-80.*
Pen and brown ink,
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.222;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

Gerard de Jode in 1579 and 1585 and the Heemskerck Album are fine examples of early albums in the museum collection.²

More recently the museum acquired an unusual group of Italian prints that come from an album that had been disassembled. The first owner, the young German prelate and humanist Johann Georg I Zobel von Giebelstadt (1543-1580), must have compiled it around 1568. It remained intact for more than four centuries before it was taken to pieces by a German antiquarian bookseller in 1999. The separate sheets were sold to various museums and private collectors in Europe and the United States. The Rijksmuseum acquired the largest group of sixty-eight album sheets with 102 prints and the vellum binding. The other fifty-six album folios found their way into other collections. Research made it possible to produce a reconstruction of this intriguing early print album (see appendix). This allows us to study the original composition of the Zobel Album and provides new insights into the print market (in particular the Venetian market), the collecting of prints and the way prints were viewed and assembled in the sixteenth century.³

Johann Georg I Zobel von Giebelstadt

On the verso of the first album folio – with the print *Battle of the Amazons* by Nicolas Beatrixet – there is an *ex*

libris, handwritten in brown ink, with the name of the print album's owner: *Sum ex libris Joannis Georgij Zobellij* (fig. 1). Since the album was most probably put together around 1568-70 and Johann Georg Zobel died in 1580, we can assume that he was the first owner. Zobel's life is exceptionally well documented because of his great involvement with the Roman Catholic Church and his position as the thirty-fourth Bishop (elect) of Bamberg. Surviving documents in various Bavarian archives give us a good idea of his activities and his residences. There are also a number of secondary sources that mention Johann Georg Zobel. The earliest known biography can be found in the *Bamberger Reim-Chronik* by Jakob Ayrer, which dates from around 1600.⁴ This and later sources provide the following brief outline of his life.⁵

Johann Georg Zobel was born on 20 July 1543 in Röttingen, near Giebelstadt in Germany. He grew up there with his father (Johann) Hans Zobel von Giebelstadt (d. 1581), his mother Apollonia von Bibra, his three brothers and his two sisters. Zobel's mother was the niece of the Bishop of Würzburg, Konrad von Bibra (1490-1544). Zobel's father was related to Bibra's successor, Bishop Melchior Zobel von Giebelstadt (1502-1588).⁶ For a young man with such connections, a career as a priest was there for the taking. Zobel became a canon in Bamberg at the incredibly young age of eight. A year later, having received a papal dispensation for minority – most probably arranged by a family friend, Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514-1573) – the young Johann Georg once again became a canon, this time in Würzburg.

On 12 October 1556 Zobel began his education at the University of Ingolstadt, along with his brother Heinrich. In September 1560, having completed a four-year course of study, the young prelate went to Paris to study

ecclesiastical and constitutional law. During his time in Paris he started to keep a *Stammbuch* (also known as an *album amicorum*). Several pages from this *Stammbuch* have survived, some of which are now in the Germanisches National Museum in Nuremberg. The other pages may be in private collections or have survived only in transcribed form.⁷ Most of the entries – written by friends and fellow students – consist of a short message with a date, a place and a name, sometimes accompanied by a coloured drawing of a family coat of arms. These messages give us a useful insight into Zobel's travels. We know, for example, that between 1561 and 1566 he continued his studies at universities in Orléans (1561-62), Padua (1562-63) and Bologna (1564-66). Other places he visited during or shortly after his studies include Antwerp (1562), Ferrara (1564 and 1566), Ravenna (1565), Rome (1565), Montefiascone (1565) and Naples.⁸

After his travels Zobel returned to Bamberg, where his religious career peaked on 20 August 1577, when the dean and chapter unanimously, 'durch Inspirationswahl', elected him Bishop of the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg. This post meant that Zobel was also the regent of Bamberg, and under the immediate authority of Pope Gregory XIII. During his term of office Zobel lived in Bamberg's Old Town in Schloss Geyerswörth, a luxurious mansion which he had totally refurbished to meet his modern requirements, with a magnificent garden laid out in the Italian style.⁹

The well-stocked library Zobel kept there is also interesting – and wholly appropriate for a ruler and learned man who had studied at five universities at least.¹⁰ As print albums in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were part of libraries, it is highly likely that this is where the Zobel Album was kept.¹¹ The 1580 handwritten inventory of Zobel's possessions in Schloss Geyerswörth sums up thus: 'Die Biblia

quatrior/ linguarum/ Etliche Kunstbücher/ u. gemalte Tafeln/ Mappa/ Tisch mit einem debich/ darauff/ (A Bible in four languages, some books of art, and painted panels, maps, a table with a tapestry).¹² The print album is probably one of the 'Etliche Kunstbücher'. As far as we know the Zobel Album is the only object on the inventory that has been identified.

Unfortunately Zobel's career as a bishop was short-lived. He fell ill early in his term of office and, after receiving the last sacraments, Johann Georg Zobel died on 7 September 1580, at the age of thirty-seven. His untimely death meant that Zobel was never consecrated as a bishop. After his death his brothers Heinrich and Stephan, with the church council, had a commemorative sculpture erected in Bamberg Cathedral (fig. 2).¹³

The Deconstruction of the Album

At the end of the twentieth century Zobel's print album turned up with the German bookseller Konrad Meuschel in Bad Honnef am Rhein. He stated that the album had always remained in the possession of the Zobel family.¹⁴ In 1999 Meuschel published a sales catalogue which listed eighty-eight sixteenth-century Italian prints.¹⁵ The Rijksmuseum bought five prints from this catalogue to add to its collection of Italian prints. It was only when they arrived in Amsterdam that it became obvious that these early prints on large sheets of paper had come from a dismantled album. The Rijksmuseum then decided to acquire as many of the contents of the print album as possible. By then, other prints in Meuschel's catalogue had already been acquired by other museums and collectors, but the remaining prints from the album – not offered in the catalogue – were sold as a group to the firm of Boerner in Düsseldorf.¹⁶ The Rijksmuseum has managed to purchase a large number of prints in this group. At a later date some of the prints in Meuschel's catalogue also found their way to Amster-

dam by a circuitous route.¹⁷ The Rijksmuseum now has 102 prints from Johann Georg Zobel's print album divided among sixty-eight folios. It is to be hoped that more prints from the album whose whereabouts are presently unknown will come to light after the publication of this essay.

The Reconstruction of the Album

The album is unlikely to be made complete again because the individual Zobel prints were purchased by several museums, institutions and private collectors. The reconstruction of the print album presented in the appendix – a list of all Zobel prints in their original order – nonetheless gives us a good idea of how the print album looked in its entirety.¹⁸

We began the reconstruction process by trying to trace as much of the original

Fig. 2
HANS VON WEMDING,
*Commemorative
Sculpture for Johann
Georg I Zobel von
Giebelstadt, c. 1580*
Bamberg,
Michaelskirche; © 2009,
www.historyofgermany.
com.



content of the print album as possible. When we add the prints in Meuschel's sales catalogue to the prints offered by Boerner, we arrive at a total of 164 prints. We know from other sources that at least two other prints have to be added to this total. The first is a small print of a sea monster on the Brazilian coast (fol. 20a) by Nicolò Nelli (fl. 1563-79). This print is not listed in Meuschel's catalogue or on Boerner's sales list. However Meuschel describes the print as coming from Zobel's album in an article on Zobel and his prints published in 2000.¹⁹ The second print is *Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna* (fol. 69b) by Battista del Moro (c. 1515-c. 1573). This print is mentioned in correspondence about the Zobel Album with one of the private collectors who owns several Zobel prints.²⁰ With this information, we know that the album contained at least 166 etchings and engravings. That these prints were distributed over at least 124 folios is confirmed by the numbers, which are written on the upper left on each folio or on the insert strip in pen and brown ink. The highest number is 124. Only three entire folios and four half folios are missing in the numbering and their content remains unknown. Meuschel states that some prints had already been removed from the album before he acquired it.²¹

Tracing the prints was a veritable quest. Most of the Zobel prints have been found thanks to frequent correspondence with Meuschel, Boerner, other print dealers, museum curators and private collectors.²² Aside from those in the Rijksmuseum's collection, there are prints from Zobel's album in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, the Getty Research Centre in Los Angeles, the Kunstmuseum in Basel, the Lambeth Palace Library in London and in various private collections, including that of the German artist Georg Baselitz.

The final step was to reconstruct the original order of the prints. The folios that had been traced were

placed in the correct numerical order from 1 to 124. This leaves a group of sixteen prints whose location has not been traced and whose folio numbers are not listed in the sales catalogues.²³ These prints were placed in the gaps in a logical way on the basis of subject.

Shopping in Venice

The heterogeneous mix of prints in the Zobel Album bears the addresses of no fewer than fourteen different publishers (aside from printmakers who published their own prints).²⁴ Among them are six different Venetian publishers: Ferrando (c. 1525-c. 1571) and Luca Bertelli (fl. 1564-89), Giovanni Francesco Camocio (fl. 1552-74/75?), Nicolò Nelli, Bolognino Zaltieri (fl. 1555-76) and Domenico Zenoi (fl. 1560-80); four Roman publishers: Bartolomeo Faleti (fl. 1560-70), Antonio Lafreri (1512-1577), Pietro Paulo Palumbo (fl. 1562-86) and Antonio Salamanca (1478-1562); and four publishers who worked elsewhere: Clemens Agatius, Giovanni Borgiani (fl. 1561), Cristofano Bertelli (c. 1526-1580) and possibly the Monogrammist IHS (fl. 1556-72).²⁵ This diversity of publishers' addresses in one album is striking and raises the question – where did Zobel buy his prints?

Even though the publishers were based in different cities, there are enough indications to suggest convincingly that everything in the album was bought and bound in Venice.

The Selection of Prints

To date we know of no other surviving sixteenth-century print album that contains so many Venetian prints as Zobel's (at least sixty-three folios have prints on Venetian paper; twenty-one folios have prints on paper identified as Roman).²⁶ Zobel's selection of prints gives a fair cross-section of Venetian print production and what was on offer on the print market in the second half of the sixteenth century. Much of

the material popular in Venice is represented in the album, supplemented with Roman material that could have been easily available in Venice, too.

The album contains many prints fresh from Venetian presses. Contemporary Venetian printmakers like Giovanni Battista Franco (c. 1510-1561), Giulio Sanuto (fl. 1540-88) and Marco Angolo del Moro (c. 1537-after 1586), who made original designs, are well represented. The print of *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl* (fol. 5) is a fine example (fig. 3). This key work in Del Moro's oeuvre is a first state, as yet undescribed in the literature, without the address of the publisher Camocio. More remarkable, however, is that this sheet – most probably a proof – unmistakably shows the hand of the printer. The bottom half of the print

is darker than the top: the ink was applied more thickly there. Here and there the thick ink layer was wiped away to create highlights. The album also contains a set of six etchings of scenes from the lives of Romulus and Remus (fols. 13-15) (fig. 4) by Giovanni Battista Fontana (1524-1587), likewise as yet undescribed in the literature. This series, which was published in Venice in 1568 by Nicolò Nelli, depicts different episodes in the lives of the twin sons of Mars, set in etched Mannerist ornamental frames with Italian inscriptions. There are some similarities between this set and Fontana's large series of twenty-one prints devoted to the lives of Romulus and Remus published in 1573-75, however, the designs are different.²⁷

Aside from these original designs, much of what was on offer in Venice

Fig. 3
MARCO ANGOLO DEL
MORO, *Folio 5*:
*Augustus and the
Tiburtine Sibyl*,
c. 1550-70.
Etching and drypoint,
270 x 400 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-1999-114;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.



Fig. 4
 GIOVANNI BATTISTA
 FONTANA, Folio 13:
 a) Romulus and
 Remus Abandoned
 to Die in the River
 Tiber;
 b) Romulus and
 Remus Protecting a
 Herd of Sheep, 1568.
 Etching,
 198 x 185 mm,
 194 x 184 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-OB-105.229;
 purchased with
 the support of the
 F.G. Waller-Fonds.





Quis fra Podus i gauruoni francis
Sunt vestras nella tua urbe
E Mett per abe a figli suoi no mudi
Duo filio strano, et amno gualo.

Omne hora sen et il ferro ende ad fide
De la squadra de labri usano, e uile
Et her per abe, e spianato filio
Venero uacando le piu crudi bruo.

consisted of prints after contemporary paintings. There were, for instance, countless reproductive prints of paintings by Titian (1487-1576). The Zobel Album contains several prints after designs by the Venetian master. Three magnificent examples are the rare prints by the Venetian printmaker Giulio Sanuto: *Perseus and Andromeda* (fol. 32) (fig. 5), *Venus and Adonis* (fol. 26) and *Tantalus* (fol. 33) (fig. 6).²⁸ Zobel's selection also features various prints after paintings by Raphael (1483-1520) and Michelangelo (1475-1564). Many of these prints show nude gods and goddesses in an erotic context. The presence of the usual share of nudes in an album of prints compiled by a prelate might be explained as an intellectual interest in classical and mythological themes. At the same time we can well imagine that the young Zobel also appreciated them from a more aesthetic or even erotic point of view.

The two fifteenth-century prints on folio 55 in the Zobel Album are quite exceptional. This folio has two

extremely rare engravings, *The King of the Horn Carriers: A Satire on Cuckolds* (fol. 55a) and *Virgil the Sorcerer* (fol. 55b) (fig. 7), both attributed to Maso Finiguerra or Baccio Baldini. The prints were engraved in the 1460s, but the impressions in the Zobel Album were made on paper with a sixteenth-century Venetian watermark. This tells us that prints from the fifteenth century could still be easily reprinted a century later.

The album also contains a great many of the topical prints that were popular in Venice. A favourite subject was the Ottoman Empire, with which the Christian world was in continuous conflict. Folio 17 from the album carries the print *Family Tree with Thirteen Ottoman Rulers* by Niccolò Nelli.²⁹ This folio is followed by the large and fascinating print of *The Order of Battle of the Turkish Army* (fol. 18) by Sebastiano de' Valentinis (fl. 1549-58) (fig. 8). The birth of a deformed child in Venice was news of a very different kind. The event was recorded



Fig. 5
GIULIO SANUTO,
Folio 32: *Perseus
and Andromeda*,
c. 1550-70.
Engraving,
385 x 510 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-2002-120;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

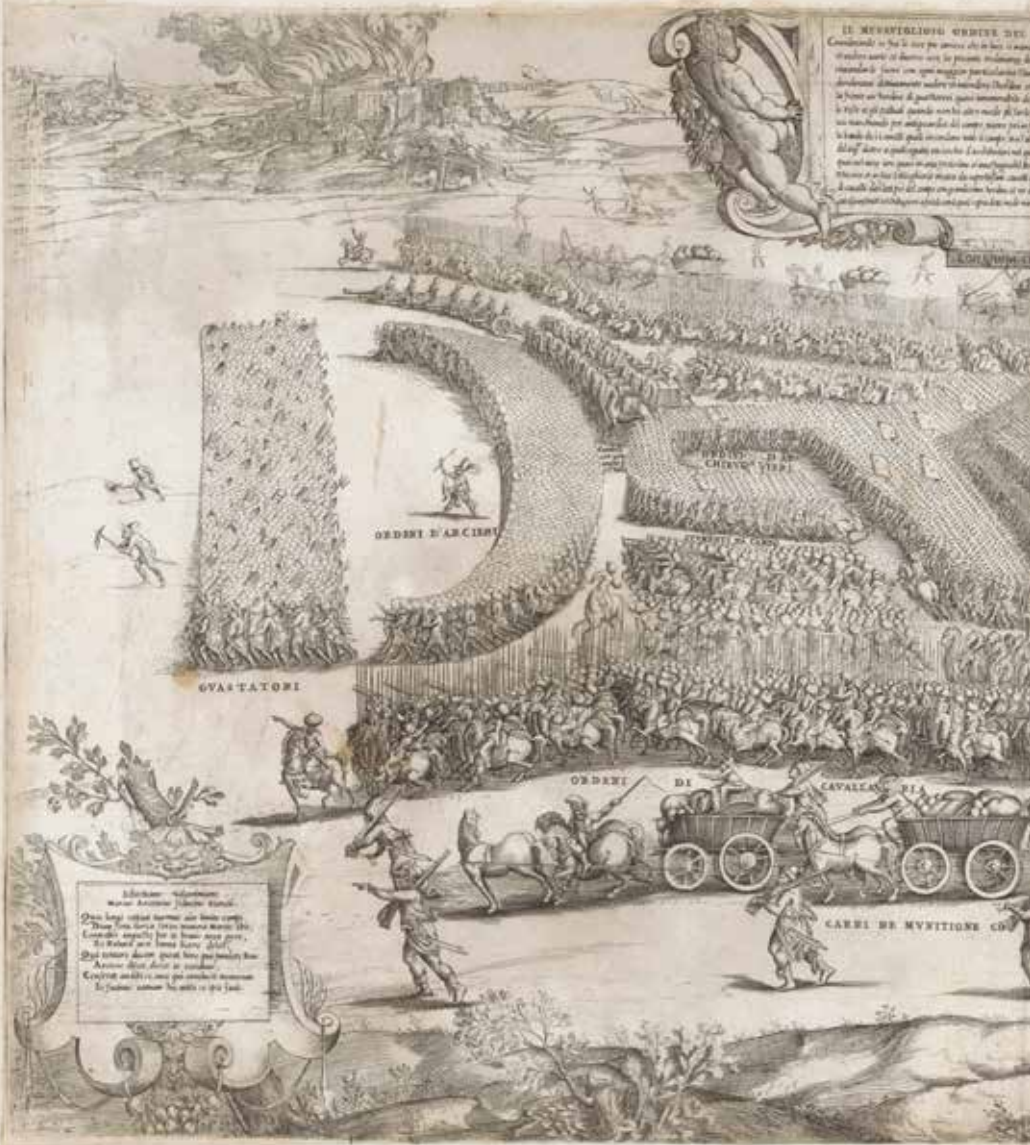


Fig. 6
GIULIO SANUTO,
Folio 33: Tantalus,
c. 1565.
Etching and engraving,
447 x 352 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-1999-113;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

pages 12-13
Fig. 8
SEBASTIANO
DE' VALENTINIS,
*Folio 18: The Order
of Battle of the
Turkish Army, 1558.*
Etching and engraving,
400 x 716 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.232;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

Fig. 7
MASO FINIGUERRA
OR BACCIO BALDINI,
*Folio 55b: Virgil the
Sorcerer, c. 1461-63.*
Engraving,
215 x 303 mm.
Minneapolis,
Minneapolis
Institute of Arts,
inv. no. P.99.14.1;
the Richard Lewis
Hillstrom Fund /
Bridgeman Images.





IL MESSAGGERIO ORDINE DEL
 Comandanti in Sea la loro per servizio che in loro
 di vederli tutti il detto con la presenza in detto
 mandando loro con ogni maggior particolarità
 di ordine di mandare a dire a tutti gli
 di fare un ordine di guastatori quasi come quelli di
 di fare in gli ordini quando non lo altro modo gli
 con una banda per accompagnare al campo essere per
 la banda di li ordini quali mandare tutti i campi per li
 di fare a tutti gli ordini in che li mandare con
 per un loro con ogni particolarità di mandare
 di fare in che li mandare a tutti gli ordini
 di fare a tutti gli ordini per il campo con grande banda di
 di fare a tutti gli ordini per il campo con grande banda di

Il Messaggio
 Messaggio Libero Messaggio
 Dopo ogni ordine mandare con grande banda
 di fare a tutti gli ordini per il campo con grande banda di
 di fare a tutti gli ordini per il campo con grande banda di
 di fare a tutti gli ordini per il campo con grande banda di
 di fare a tutti gli ordini per il campo con grande banda di



Fig. 9
GIULIO SANUTO,
Folio 68b:
*The Birth of a
Deformed Child*, 1540.
Engraving,
242 x 185 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-2013-25-3;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

in a print by Giulio Sanuto (fol. 68b). The inscription tells us that the child suffered from cyclopia, a rare birth defect.³⁰ The impression from the Zobel Album is in Georg Baselitz's collection. In 2013 the Rijksmuseum acquired a fine alternative impression of this unusual print (fig. 9).³¹ The news that a sea monster (an *Ipupiara*) had appeared on the beach of São Vicente (Brazil) was also deemed worthy of a printed report. The print, *Nel bresil di san Vincenzo ...* (fol. 20), is dated 1565, and bears Nelli's signature. In the Library of Zurich (Switzerland) they claim to have a unique impression of this print.³² However this is not the impression from Zobel's album. To date its whereabouts are unknown. Similar sensational occurrences, like

miscarriages and appearances of monsters, were often presented in topical prints as portents of great events or impending doom.

Prints of Roman antiquities frequently feature in sixteenth-century print albums. Due to the Renaissance discovery of Classical Antiquity in the *cinquecento* a huge market developed for scenes of ancient ruins and statues, above all in Rome.³³ Publishers like Salamanca and Lafreri took shrewd advantage of this with their prints. In the sixteenth century prints from Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* were extremely popular with collectors and enthusiasts.³⁴ This was an array of prints from which collectors could choose their favourites; they could then have them bound, preceded by a specially created title page. The Zobel Album contains some originals and also copies of *Speculum* prints, including *The Arch of Constantine* (fol. 107) (fig. 10), *Trajan's Column* (fol. 111) and *Piazza del Campidoglio* (fol. 96) (fig. 11). It is likely that Zobel visited many of these monuments and works of art during his stay in Rome. He may well have bought the prints later in Venice as souvenirs of his stay in the Eternal City, for many of the Roman prints in the album are noticeably older, discoloured, poorer quality and sometimes damaged. Perhaps these older Roman prints had been in stock in a Venetian print shop for a long time.

It is remarkable that the album of a German prelate contains hardly any prints of Biblical subjects. There are only three: *Abraham and Melchizedek* (fol. 6), *The Death of Zimri and Cozbi* (fol. 12) and *The Execution of Haman* (fol. 122).³⁵ The compositions are so classicized, however, that Zobel may not have recognized them as Biblical. The lack of topographical prints in the album is also striking. One would expect a keen traveller like Zobel to own printed cityscapes, maps and atlases. In the sixteenth century these



Fig. 10
AFTER AGOSTINO VENEZIANO, PUBLISHED BY ANTONIO SALAMANCA, Folio 107: *The Arch of Constantine*, c. 1550-70. Engraving, 294 x 217 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-08-105.264; purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.

Fig. 11
ETIENNE DUPÉRAC, PUBLISHED BY BARTOLOMEO, Folio 96: *Piazza del Campidoglio*, 1568. Engraving, 381 x 715 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1999-85; purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.



two groups accounted for a large part of the Venetian and Roman print markets. Biblical and topographical prints may have been kept in others of the *'Etliche Kunstbücher'* in Zobel's collection. Furthermore, the *'Mappa'* mentioned in Zobel's inventory may refer to mounted maps.

Mounting the Album

The individual folios from the Zobel Album were originally bound together in a plain parchment binding (fig. 12) that is quite unassuming compared with the more luxurious leather and vellum bindings found in the surviving princely print collections from the same



< Fig. 12

Cover of Johann Georg I Zobel von Giebelstadt's Print Album, c. 1568-70. Vellum, 545 x 885 mm (open), 540 x 440 mm (closed). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.451; purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.



period. Among them are the white vellum bindings, with titles, in the surviving collection of Ferdinand of Tyrol (1503-1564) and the thick brown leather bindings with the seal of the Escorial (the gridiron of St Lawrence) in Philip II of Spain's (1527-1598) collection.³⁶ The simple, badly damaged binding of the Zobel Album – stained, creased and torn – is in the Rijksmuseum. On the front there is a slight trace of a short, illegible inscription in brown ink – possibly a number. In the binding there is a blank flyleaf and remains of the thread that bound the folios in the album. Open, the binding measures approximately 54.5 by 88.5 centimetres.

The folio size is approximately 54 by 44 centimetres; this size is known as median size.³⁷ Most of the folios are mounted on a mounting strip, so that the compositions do not disappear into the album's fold.

The sizes of the Zobel prints vary considerably. Forty-seven folios have a single print printed on a sheet of the chosen median size. Folio 42, with Battista Franco's *Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna* (fig. 13), is a good example. Eighteen folios, such as 85 to 88, have several prints printed on one median-size sheet. These are a series of thirteen portraits of European monarchs by Battista Franco, where in each case

Fig. 13
GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO, *Folio 42: Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna*, c. 1530-61. Engraving, 344 x 213 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-2001-201; purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.

four small prints have been spread out over the folio. Folio 88 contains the last portrait in the series of thirteen at the upper left. The rest of the folio is filled with three prints of a similar size by the same printmaker, but with an entirely different iconography: the *Hurdy-Gurdy Player*, *Two Caricature Men's Heads* and *Two Old Caricature Women with a Salami* (fols. 88b-d) (fig. 14). This made it possible to attribute the last two prints to Franco.

Aside from these prints on median-size sheets, the album also contains impressions that are trimmed to the plate mark. These are mounted with the aid of four paper strips placed around the print like a frame to bring them up to the median size.³⁸ Prints larger than the chosen folio size were also given paper margins so that they became median size when folded. The gigantic folio 21, with Giulio Sanuto's engraving of *Apollo and Marsyas* (fig. 15), in which passages were copied after various paintings by Correggio (c. 1489-1534), Bronzino (1503-1572) and Raphael, deserves special mention. The print measures 51.5 by 125 centimetres. Including mounting strips, the entire folio measures 54.5 by 132 centimetres. The print is folded in three to fit in the album.

The prints from the Zobel Album are printed on paper with a great variety of watermarks.³⁹ At least thirty-four different watermarks have been found in the prints and the paper strips used for mounting.⁴⁰ The most common in the album are Venetian: *Siren in circle under six-pointed star A-B*, *Tree in shield A-C*, and *Anchor in double outline with six-leafed flower*. With the aid of David Woodward's study of sixteenth-century watermarks,⁴¹ we can determine that the paper on which the plates were printed was used by more than twelve different sixteenth-century Roman and Venetian publishers.⁴² The watermarks found in the mounting strips point us in the direction of Venice. This paper has only the two Venetian watermarks

Siren in a circle under six-pointed star A and B. According to Woodward, 'the Siren watermark can be confidently identified as of Venetian origin'.⁴³ The period of use has been established as 1568-70.⁴⁴

When we combine this information with the dates that appear on the prints – ranging from 1540 to 1568, with 1568 predominating – we can assume that the Zobel Album must have been bound together in one Venetian workshop or print shop, probably in or shortly after 1568. Unfortunately no evidence that Johann Georg Zobel spent time in Venice between 1568 and 1570 has yet been found. Thanks to a signature in Zobel's hand in Jakob Oelhafen's *Stammbuch* we know that Zobel went to Venice in 1563.⁴⁵ There is, moreover, a gap in the documents about Zobel's life in Bamberg between 14 March 1568 and 12 November 1568.⁴⁶ A trip over the Alps with a stay in Venice is certainly a possibility.

Other surviving albums from the sixteenth century, such as the Stuttgarter Sammelband,⁴⁷ the British Library Album,⁴⁸ the *Thesauri* and the Heemskerck Album, are usually made up of bound print series from the stock of one or more publishers.⁴⁹ The content of these albums was produced on the initiative of publishers and was bought ready-made to be bound. We can only speculate about how the Zobel Album was put together. The possibility that Zobel acquired his album ready-made from a Venetian dealer cannot be ruled out. The great diversity of material and the fourteen different publishers' addresses on the Zobel prints do, however, point to another scenario. It is also possible that Johann Georg Zobel himself made a varied selection of prints in print and book shops around the Rialto Bridge, and then had them bound by a Venetian print shop or bookshop. This could explain the great variety of sizes, subject matter and quality of the prints. There are some

Fig. 14

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO (c and d attributed to him), Folio 88 (from top left to bottom right): a) *Francesco Sforza*; b) *Hurdy-Gurdy Player*; c) *Two Caricature Men's Heads*; d) *Two Caricature Old Women with a Salami*, c. 1530-61. Etching and engraving, 151 x 115 mm, 155 x 122 mm, 120 x 153 mm, 120 x 153 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1999-108; purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.





Fig. 15
GIULIO SANUTO,
*Folio 21: Apollo
and Marsyas*, 1562.
Engraving,
515 x 1250 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-1999-115;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.





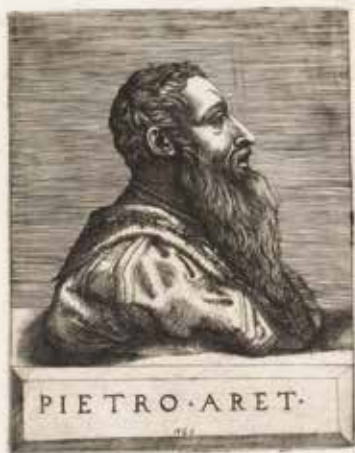
unusual choices for an album: for instance the uncut prints in folios 8 and 10. Folio 8 (fig. 16) – with an impression from an uncut plate by Battista Franco – has six small prints in different orientations. The fact that this has survived uncut is extremely rare. It demonstrates how copper plates and paper were used as economically as possible. The choice and combination of plates may even have been requested by the client in the print shop and may indicate a form of printing on demand.

The folios in the Zobel Album with more than one print on them are yet another phenomenon. Folio 48 (fig. 17), for example, contains four different prints widely spaced across the folio. These prints seem to be too widely spaced to have been printed with the objective of cutting them apart. The fact that there is another example of this unusual sheet in the print room in Warsaw, on paper with exactly the same watermark, suggests that ready-made album pages that could be bound

Fig. 16
GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO, *Folio 8* (from top left to bottom right): *A Judge Addressing Men; Soldiers Leading a Captive to their General; A Judge Seated at a Tribunal; A Pagan Sacrifice; A General Placing a Helmet on the Head of an Old Man; A General Addressing his Soldiers*, c. 1530-61. Etching, 156 x 133 mm; 142 x 102 mm; 154 x 117 mm; 157 x 130 mm; 160 x 107 mm; 132 x 115 mm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. p990003*.

Fig. 17 >
PUBLISHED BY NICOLÒ NELLI, *Folio 48* (from top left to bottom right): a) *Artemisia*; b) *Dido*; c) *Pietro Arretino*; d) *Michelangelo*, c. 1550-70. Etchings and engravings, 192 x 135 mm, 159 x 129 mm, 168 x 131 mm, 169 x 138 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1999-87; purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.

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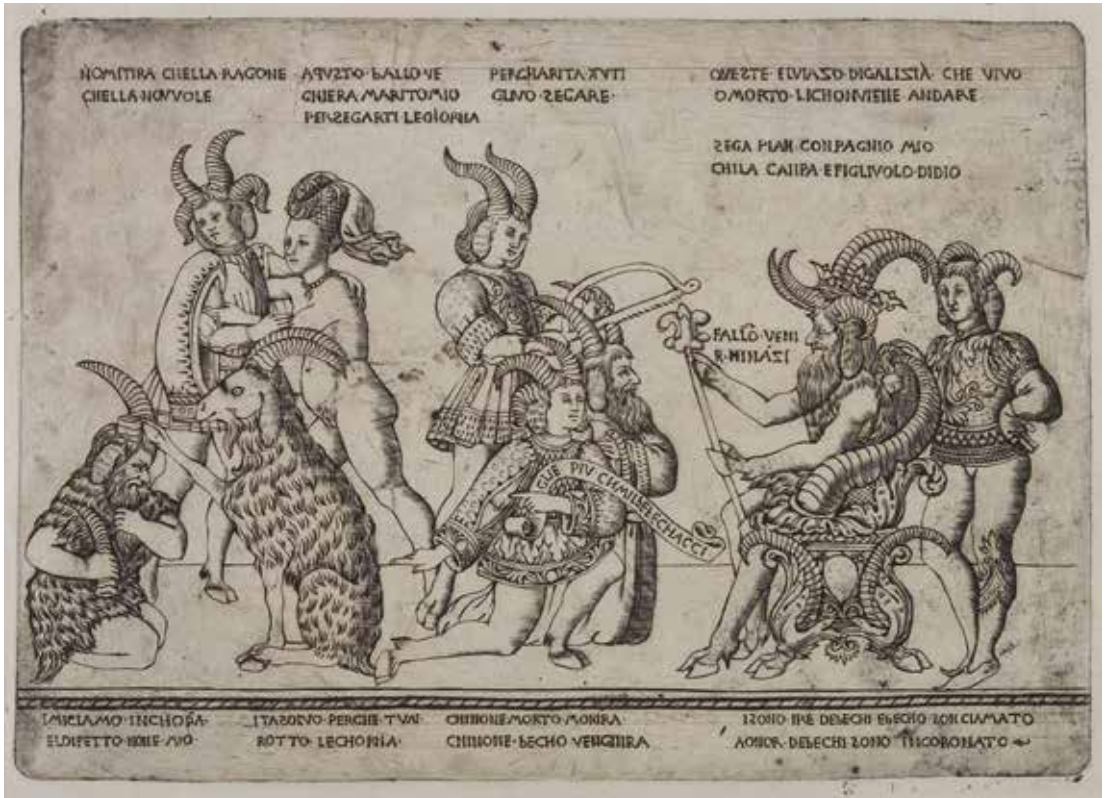


Fig. 18

MASO FINIGUERRA
OR BACCIO BALDINI
AFTER MASO
FINIGUERRA OR
ANTONIO DEL
POLLAIUOLO,
*Folio 55a: The King
of the Horn Carriers:
A Satire on Cuckolds,*
c. 1461-64.
Engraving,
179 x 251 mm.
Minneapolis,
Minneapolis
Institute of Arts,
inv. no. P.99.15.1;
gift of funds from
Charles A. Cleveland
and Janet and
Winton Jones in
memory of Thirza
Jones Cleveland /
Bridgeman Images.

together on request were produced in Venice.⁵⁰ Zobel's album appears to consist in part of Venetian album sheets like these, with the addition of older Roman material.

The Organization of the Prints

The reconstruction of the Zobel Album allows us to analyse the original organization of the volume. An initial examination shows that the prints were divided into seven successive thematic groups: ancient history (fols. 1-15), topical prints (fols. 17-20), mythology and allegory (fols. 21-74), portraits and caricatures (fols. 75-92), recent religious events (fols. 93-95), architecture (fols. 96-109) and sculpture (fols. 110-124).⁵¹ The prints were sometimes more specifically arranged by subject within these themes. In the topical prints category, for instance, the prints relating to the Ottoman Empire were placed together

(fols. 17-18). In the mythological and allegorical prints section, folios 42, 43 and 44 have prints with images of Hercules.

If we take a closer look at the album, however, there also appear to be anomalous criteria for arranging the prints. Some prints are grouped in a more freely associative way. We find an interesting and witty example of an arrangement like this in folios 54 to 56. The prints on these folios form a compound ensemble with horned beasts, men and mythological figures. Giulio Bonasone's print of *Jupiter's Youth* (fol. 54), shows the nymph Amalthea in the guise of a goat suckling the infant Jupiter. This print is followed by *The King of the Horn Carriers: A Satire on Cuckolds* (fol. 55a) (fig. 18), most probably by Baccio Baldini (c. 1436-1487). In this second print the king of the goats gives horns to adulterous people. The third



Fig. 19
 ATTRIBUTED TO
 MONOGRAMMIST
 IHS, AFTER GIULIO
 BONASONE, POSSIBLY
 PUBLISHED BY
 MONOGRAMMIST IHS,
 Folio 56: *Diana
 and Actaeon*, 1556.
 Engraving,
 308 x 412 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-OB-105.246;
 purchased with
 the support of the
 F.G. Waller-Fonds.

print is *Diana and Actaeon* by the Monogrammist IHS (fol. 56) (fig. 19), in which Actaeon is punished for spying on Diana and her nymphs. As punishment he is turned into a deer and given antlers.

Other prints appear to have been placed together more on the basis of formal and compositional elements. One such example is the sequence of prints that starts with folio 29, *Venus and the Rose* (figs. 20, 21), and ends with folio 33, *Tantalus* (see fig. 6) by Giulio Sanuto. Every print has a noticeable body of water in the foreground. In one it takes the form of a river or stream; in another a bath. Similarly we find three successive prints of tall monuments. Folios 110, 111 and 112 have *The Vatican Obelisk*, *Trajan's Column* and the *Colonna Santa* (fig. 22), in each case in the centre of the print. Arranging prints according

to formal elements occurs in other sixteenth-century albums as well. We see it, for example in the *Speculum Album* from the collection of Ottheinrich von der Pfalz (1502-1559).⁵³ In this album, for instance, all the prints of longitudinal monuments are placed together. Peter Parshall also identified rhyming images like this in Ferdinand of Tyrol's landscape and topography albums.⁵³ In a selection of gardens, a print of a round dance and three prints of mazes have been placed together. All these prints are dominated by a round form in the middle of their composition. In another section there are four prints that were placed together on the basis of 'a vertical stress along the left margin, a diagonal focus in the foreground, and a landscape receding to the right background'.⁵⁴

In Zobel's day, the only available handbook that touches on the arrange-



Fig. 20

MONOGRAMMIST
DWF AFTER GIORGIO
GHISI AND LUCA
PENNI, *Folio 29:*
Venus and the Rose,
1558.
Engraving,
315 x 228 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105-235;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

ment of a print collection and classifying images was *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* by the Antwerp scholar Samuel Quiccheberg, published in Munich in 1565.⁵⁵ The treatise begins with the organization of a royal *Kunst und Wunderkammer*. It also contains a short article about the arrangement of a print collection.⁵⁶ Although a number of the themes that Quiccheberg cites in his classification system are also present in the Zobel Album, a royal print collection is obviously very different from Zobel's, which was probably no more than a few albums. It is therefore by no means likely that he would have consulted Quiccheberg's principles of classification for his album. Whoever was responsible for compiling and classifying the collection – a print dealer or, most probably, Johann Georg Zobel himself – sought a logical and sometimes associative and even humorous and poetic arrangement for this fascinating group of prints.



Fig. 21

MONOGRAMMIST
GK AFTER JEAN
MIGNON AND
LUCA PENNI,
*Folio 30: Four Women
Bathing*, c. 1550-70.
Engraving,
309 x 241 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105-236;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

Fig. 22

MONOGRAMMIST
CAE AFTER NICOLAS
BEATRIZET, *Folio 112:*
Colonna Santa,
c. 1550-70.
Etching and
engraving,
420 x 125 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105-265;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.





APPENDIX

Reconstruction⁵⁷

The descriptions of the folios from the Zobel Album have been abbreviated as much as possible. All the prints are engravings unless otherwise stated. Measurements are given if known.

Folio 1

one print printed from two plates on two sheets, mounted with ten paper strips; 542 x 953 mm; folded in three

NICOLAS BEATRIZET,
Battle of the Amazons, 1559.
B 15.267.98; TIB 29.362.98.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.222.

Folio 2

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips; folded in two

MARCO ANGOLO DEL MORO
OR ORAZIO FARINATI AFTER
GIULIO ROMANO AND RAPHAEL,
Battle of the Milvian Bridge, published
by Giovanni Francesco Camocio,
c. 1550-70.
B 16.200.piece douteuse (Del Moro);
B 16.171.piece douteuse (Farinati);
TIB 32.311.200.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 3

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips; folded in two

GIORGIO GHISI AFTER GIULIO
ROMANO,
*Triumph of Scipio: Mocking the
Prisoners*, c. 1540.
B 15.413.68; TIB 31.144.68.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 4

one print printed on a median-size
sheet; 542 x 419 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER
ANTONIO DA TRENTO OR
GIUSEPPE NICCOLÒ VICENTINO
AFTER PARMIGIANINO,
Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl,
c. 1550-70.
B 12.90.7 (undescribed copy);
Oberhuber 1963, 31-32.65.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.223.

Folio 5

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 542 x 423 mm

MARCO ANGOLO DEL MORO,
Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl,
c. 1550-70. Etching and drypoint.

B 16.205.3; TIB 32.314.3.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1999-114 (see fig. 3).

Folio 6

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 544 x 425 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
Melchizedek Blessing Abraham,
c. 1520-61. Engraving and etching.

B 16.120.5; TIB 32.161.5-1.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.224.

Folio 7

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 544 x 423 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
Scipio Granting Clemency to the Prisoners, c. 1520-61. Etching.

B 16.136.54; TIB 32.210.54-1.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.225.

Folio 8

six prints printed from one plate on a median-size sheet; 545 x 425 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
c. 1520-61. Series of Etchings.

Judge Addressing Men

B 16.135.48; TIB 32.204-209.48.
Soldiers Leading a Captive to Their General

B 16.135.51; TIB 32.204-209.51.

Judge Seated at a Tribunal

B 16.135.52; TIB 32.204-209.52.

Pagan Sacrifice

B 16.135.49; TIB 32.204-209.49.

General Placing a Helmet on the Head of an Old Man

B 16.135.53; TIB 32.204-209.53.

General Addressing his Soldiers

B 16.135.50; TIB 32.204-209.50.

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute,
inv. no. P990003* (see fig. 16).

Folio 9

one print mounted with four paper strips; 543 x 423 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
AFTER MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI
AND RAPHAEL,
Alexander Preserving the Works of Homer, c. 1515-70.

B 14.168.207 (copy b).
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.226.

Folio 10

two prints printed from one plate on a median-size sheet; 542 x 421 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
c. 1520-61. Two etchings.
Roman Warrior Offering his Hand to a Young Woman

B 16.140.63; TIB 32.212.56.

Allegory of Wisdom

B 16.137.56; TIB 32.219.63.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.227.

Folio 11

one print mounted with four paper strips; 542 x 423 mm

GIORGIO GHISI AFTER
GIULIO ROMANO,
Rape of Lucretia, c. 1550-70.

B 15.396.27; TIB 31.78.27.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.228.

Folio 12

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
OR MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI
AFTER GIULIO ROMANO,
Death of Zimri and Cozbi, c. 1515-70.
B 14.15.14 (undescribed copy);
TIB 1978, 26.24.14a-1.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folios 13-15

three folios each with two prints
printed from two plates on a median-
size sheet; c. 540 x 423 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FONTANA,
published by Nicolò Nelli, 1568.
Life of Romulus series. Six etchings.
*Romulus and Remus Abandoned to
Die in the River Tiber*
*Romulus and Remus Protecting a
Herd of Sheep*
Romulus Founds the City of Rome
Acron and his Soldiers Attack Rome
Attack on the Antemnae
*Romulus Makes Peace with the
Sabines*
Undescribed series.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.229/231 (see fig. 4).

Folio 16

Unknown.

Folio 17

presumably one print printed on a
median-size sheet

NICOLÒ NELLI,
*Family Tree with Thirteen Ottoman
Rulers*, 1567.
Van der Sman 2000, 246
(print mentioned).
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 18

one print mounted with four paper
strips; 545 x 792 mm; folded in two

SEBASTIANO DE' VALENTINIS
AFTER FRANS HUYS,
Order of Battle of the Turkish Army,
published by Sebastiano de'
Valentinis, 1558. Engraving and
etching.
Bury 2001, 189.125.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.232 (see fig. 8).

Folio 19

presumably one print mounted with
four paper strips; folded in two

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
AFTER NICOLAS BEATRIZET,
AFTER NICCOLÒ CIRCIGNANI
(ATTRIBUTED TO),
*Deaths of the Eighteen English
Carthusian Martyrs under Henry VIII
in 1535 and 1537*, published by Pietro
Paulo Palumbo, 1564.
B 15.256.34.
London, Lambeth Palace Library,
inv. no. prints 027/002.

Folio 20

presumably two prints printed on a
median-size sheet; cut in two

NICOLÒ NELLI,
*Nel bresil di san Vincenzo nella citta di
Santes*, 1565. Engraving and etching.
De Moreas 1958, 96-99.
Bottom half unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 21

one print printed from two plates on two sheets, mounted with eight paper strips; 545 x 1324 mm; folded in three

GIULIO SANUTO
AFTER ANTONIO DA CORREGGIO,
AGNOLO BRONZINO,
MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI,
PONTORMO AND RAPHAEL,
Apollo and Marsyas, 1562.

Bury 1990, 44.5.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1999-115 (see fig. 15).

Folio 22

one print mounted with four paper strips; 547 x 613 mm; folded in two

GIULIO BONASONE
AFTER GIULIO ROMANO
(ATTRIBUTED TO),
Saturn and the Nymph Philyra,
c. 1545-50.

B 15.142.108; TIB 28 *Commentary*,
315.108.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.233.

Folio 23

Unknown.

Folio 24

(presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet)

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
OR GIULIO BONASONE AFTER
PARMIGIANINO AND TOMMASO
VINCIDOR,
Amor and Three Putti, c. 1550-70.
Etching.

Nagler 8.515.16; Dearborn Massar
2007, 282.158.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 25

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
MONOGRAMMIST IHS OR
RENÉ BOYVIN AFTER TITIAN,
Venus and Adonis, published by
Monogrammist IHS (attributed to),
c. 1550-70.

De Witt 1938, 135.7931.63
(René Boyvin).
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 26

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

GIULIO SANUTO AFTER TITIAN,
Venus and Adonis, 1559.

Bury 1990, 43.4.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 27

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

AGOSTINO VENEZIANO AFTER
RAPHAEL,
Venus and Vulcan Surrounded by Putti,
published by Antonio Salamanca,
1530.

B 14.261.349-II; TIB 27.46.349.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 28

one print mounted with four paper strips; 545 x 610 mm; folded in two

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR
NICOLÒ NELLI,
Venus and Amor, published by
Nicolò Nelli, 1565.

Hofmann 1994, 204.75.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.234.

Folio 29

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 422 mm

MONOGRAMMIST DWF AFTER
GIORGIO GHISI AND LUCA PENNI,
Venus and the Rose, 1558.

Nagler 2.488.1249 and 553.1467.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.235 (see fig. 20).

Folio 30

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 538 x 421 mm

MONOGRAMMIST GK AFTER
JEAN MIGNON AND LUCA PENNI,
Four Women Bathing, c. 1550-70.

Wilson-Chevalier 1985, 198.143;
Zerner 1994, 334-335.91.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.236 (see fig. 21).

Folio 31

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

NICOLAS BEATRIZET
AFTER MICHELANGELO,
Punishment of Tityus, published by
Antonio Salamanca, c. 1550-70.

B 15.259.39; TIB 24.296.39.
Private collection.

Folio 32

one print mounted with four paper strips; 546 x 684 mm; folded in two

GIULIO SANUTO AFTER TITIAN
AND ALBRECHT DÜRER,
Perseus and Andromeda, published by
Ferrando Bertelli, c. 1550-70.

Bury 1990, 45.11.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-2002-120 (see fig. 5).

Folio 33

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 420 mm

GIULIO SANUTO AFTER TITIAN,
Tantalus, c. 1565. Engraving and
etching.

Bury 1990, 45.12.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1999-113 (see fig. 6).

Folio 34

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
AFTER NICOLAS BEATRIZET
AND MICHELANGELO,
Abduction of Ganymede, c. 1550-70.

Schéle 1965, 205.235 (undescribed
copy).
Whereabouts unknown.

Folios 35-36

one print printed from two plates on two sheets (fols. 35-36), mounted with six paper strips; 546 x 733 mm; folded in two

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO
AFTER GIULIO ROMANO,
Preparations for the Banquet for Amor & Psyche, c. 1520-61. Engraving and etching.

B 16.135.47; TIB 32.202.47.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.237/238.

Folio 37

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips to median size

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
AFTER FRANCESCO SALVIATI,
Mars and Venus, c. 1550-60. Engraving and etching.

Strasser 2002, 176.75.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 38

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 421 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
OR MONOGRAMMIST IHS AFTER
MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI,
Three Graces, published by Mono-
grammist IHS (attributed to), 1556.

B 14.256.341 (copy).
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.239.

Folio 39

one print mounted with four paper strips; 540 x 419 mm

GEORGES REVERDY,
Leda and the Swan, c. 1550-70.

B 15.478.22; TIB 31.323.22.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.240.

Folio 40

one print mounted with seven paper strips; 547 x 746 mm; folded in two; detached from mounting strips

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER
HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER,
Triumph of the Riches, published by
Giovanni Borgiani, 1561. Etching.

Chamberlain 1913, 2.27.
Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. no.
1999.671.

Folio 41

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 419 mm

MONOGRAMMIST .O.O.V.I.VEN,
Allegory of Envy, published by Antonio
Salamanca, 1542.

Nagler 4.808.2661.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.241.

Folio 42

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 423 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna,
c. 1520-61. Etching.

B 16.132.39; TIB 32.195.39.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-2001-201 (see fig. 13).

Folio 43

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 423 mm

GASPARE OSELLO AFTER
MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI
AND RAPHAEL,
Hercules and Antaeus, published by
Nicolò Nelli, c. 1550-70.

B 14.258.346 (copy); TIB 27.43.346.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-2001-201.

Folio 44

one print printed a median-size sheet;
540 x 420 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
AFTER BACCIO BANDINELLI,
*Hercules with the Head of the Nemean
Lion*, 1548.

Ward 1988, 74.42 (print mentioned).
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-2011-126.

Folio 45

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 422 mm

MONOGRAMMIST IHS
(ATTRIBUTED TO) AFTER GIULIO BONASONE AND GIULIO ROMANO, *Pan, Pomona and Amor*, published by Monogrammist IHS (attributed to), 1561. Engraving and etching.

B 15.514.4 and 154.170 (copy);

TIB 31.387.4.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-2001-200.

Folio 46

two cut out prints pasted together and mounted with four paper strips to median size; 539 x 420 mm

MONOGRAMMIST DWF AFTER PARMIGIANINO AND ENEA VICO, *Woman Spinning*, c. 1540-50

B 15.301.39 (copy);

Nagler 2.488.1249.

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER PARMIGIANINO, *Nymph and Satyr*, c. 1550-70. Etching.

Undescribed.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.243.

Folio 47

two prints printed on a median-size sheet; cut in two

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO AND GIULIO ROMANO, *Followers of Bacchus in a Landscape*, published by Domenico Zenoi, c. 1550-70. Etching.

Nagler 2.501.1293.

Bottom half unknown.

Bottom half: whereabouts unknown.

Top half: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.244.

Folio 48

four prints printed from four plates on a median-size sheet; 540 x 418 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER GEORG PENCZ, *Artemisia*, c. 1550-70. Engraving and etching.

Undescribed.

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI AND RAPHAEL, *Dido*, published by Nicolò Nelli, c. 1550-70. Engraving and etching.

Undescribed

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER GIOVANNI JACOPO CARAGLIO, *Portrait of Pietro Arretino*, published by Nicolò Nelli, 1567. Engraving and etching.

Undescribed.

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, published by Nicolò Nelli, c. 1550-70. Etching.

Undescribed.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1999-87 (see fig. 17).

Folio 49

two prints printed on a median-size sheet; cut in two

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER, *Jupiter and Juno*, published by Nicolò Nelli, c. 1550-70. Engraving and etching.

Undescribed.

Bottom half unknown.

Bottom half: whereabouts unknown.

Top half: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.245.

Folio 50

one print printed on a median-size sheet

BATTISTA ANGOLO DEL MORO
AFTER GIULIO ROMANO,
Four Seasons, printed by Battista
Mondella (attributed to), 1565.
Etching.

B 16.189.22; TIB 32.295.22-I.
Collection Georg Baselitz, inv. no. 226.

Folio 51

four prints printed from four plates
on a median-size sheet; 539 x 423 mm

GIULIO BONASONE,
Seven Planets series, c. 1550-70.

Luna

B 15.490.9; TIB 31.350.9.

Mars

B 15.489.5; TIB 31.346.5.

Jupiter

B 15.488.4; TIB 31.345.4.

Mercury

B 15.489.8; TIB 31.349.8.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-P-1999-110.

Folio 52

four prints printed from four plates
on a median-size sheet; 541 x 423 mm

GIULIO BONASONE,
Seven Planets series, c. 1550-70.

Saturn

B 15.488.3; TIB 31.344.3.

Venus

B 15.489.7; TIB 31.348.7.

Sol

B 15.489.6; TIB 31.347.6.

GIULIO BONASONE AFTER
MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI

AND RAPHAEL,

Two Bacchants, c. 1550-70.

Undescribed.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-P-1999-109.

Folio 53

presumably one print printed on a
median-size sheet

BATTISTA ANGOLO DEL MORO
AFTER TITIAN (ATTRIBUTED TO),
Corrupt Judge (Iudicium Corruptum),
c. 1550-70. Etching.

B 16.197.35; TIB 32.308.35-I.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 54

presumably one print mounted with
four paper strips to median size

GIULIO BONASONE
AFTER GIULIO ROMANO,
Jupiter's Youth, c. 1550-70.

B 15.142.107; TIB 28 *Commentary*,
313-314.107.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 55

two prints printed from two plates on
one sheet; 540 x 420 mm; cut in two

MASO FINIGUERRA OR BACCIO
BALDINI AFTER MASO FINIGUERRA
OR ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO,
*King of the Horn Carriers: A Satire on
Cuckolds*, c. 1461-64.

TIB 24.1 *Commentary*, 265-267.124.

BACCIO BALDINI OR MASO
FINIGUERRA,

Virgil the Sorcerer, c. 1460-63.

TIB 24.1 *Commentary*, 87.040.

Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute
of Arts, inv. nos. P.99.15.1, P.99.14.1
(see figs. 18, 7).

Folio 56

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 422 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR MONOGRAMMIST IHS AFTER GIULIO BONASONE, *Diana and Actaeon*, published by Monogrammist IHS (attributed to), 1556.

B 15.514.5; TIB 1986, 31.388.5. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.246 (see fig. 19).

Folio 57

one print printed on a median-size sheet

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER CORNELIS BOS AND MICHELANGELO, *Leda and the Swan*, c. 1550-70.

Schéle 1965, 134-138.59a (copy II). Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 58

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 538 x 420 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER GIULIO BONASONE, *Nymphs and Satyrs Bathing*, c. 1550-70.

B 15.137.97 (undescribed copy); TIB 28.303.97; TIB 28 *Commentary*, 301.097CI. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.247.

Folio 59

one print printed on a median-size sheet

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO, *Ariadne and Bacchus, and Silenus on a Donkey*, c. 1520-61. Engraving and etching.

B 16.134.45; TIB 32.200.45. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 60

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 423 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO, *Diana and her Nymphs*, c. 1520-61. Etching.

B 16.134.46 (undescribed state); TIB 32.201.46. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.248.

Folio 61

one print mounted with four paper strips; 422 x 545 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR DOMENICO VITO AFTER PIERRE MILAN AND FRANCESCO PRIMATICCIO, *Jupiter and Callisto*, c. 1560-70.

LeBlanc 4.140-141 (undescribed copy); Zerner 1969, P.M. 4 (undescribed copy). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-2001-202.

Folio 62

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 423 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER GIULIO ROMANO (ATTRIBUTED TO), *Mars and Venus*, c. 1550-70.

Undescribed. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.249.

Folio 63

two prints printed from two plates on a median-size sheet; 543 x 415 mm

MARCO ANGOLO DEL MORO,

Mars and Venus, c. 1550-70.

B 16.206.5; TIB 32.316.5.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA ANGOLO DEL MORO,

Vulcan in his Forge, c. 1550-70. Etching.

B 16.189.21; TIB 32.294.21.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-P-OB-105.250.

Folio 64

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 546 x 409 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR BATTISTA ANGOLO DEL MORO,

Venus and Adonis, c. 1550-70. Etching.

Undescribed.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-P-OB-105.251.

Folio 65

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER PIERRE MILAN AND

ROSSO FIORENTINO,

Dance of Dryads, c. 1550-70.

Zerner 1969, P.M.I (undescribed copy).

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 66

one print mounted with four paper strips; 545 x 424 mm

GIULIO BONASONE (ATTRIBUTED TO) AFTER PERINO DEL VAGA, *Neptune Calms the Waves (Quos Ego)*,

c. 1550-70.

B 15.140.104; TIB 28 *Commentary*, 308.104.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-P-OB-105.252.

Folio 67

two prints printed from two plates on a median-size sheet; 544 x 409 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,

c. 1520-61. Engravings and etchings.

Woman in Roman Costume Picking Fruit from a Tree

B 16.141.68; TIB 32.224.68.

Youth Tied to a Tree Trunk

B 16.141.67; TIB 32.223.67.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-P-OB-105.253.

Folio 68

two prints printed from two plates on a median-size sheet; 547 x 419 mm; cut in two

GIULIO SANUTO

Two etchings.

The Birth of a Deformed Child, 1540

B 15.500.3; TIB 1986, 31.364.3.

Love, c. 1540-70.

B 15.501.4; TIB 31.365.4.

Top half: Georg Baselitz Collection, inv. no. 270; bottom half: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1999-112.

Folio 69

presumably two prints printed on a median-size sheet

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
OR MONOGRAMMIST IOV
AFTER MICHELANGELO,
Naked Youth Tied to a Tree,
published by Ferrando Bertelli, 1568.
Engraving and etching.

Zerner 1994, 231-232.34;

Strasser 2002, 130.53.

BATTISTA ANGOLO DEL MORO,
Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna,
c. 1550-70. Engraving and etching.

B 16.207.6; TIB 32.317.6.

Private collection.

Folio 70

presumably one print mounted with
four paper strips to median size

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
Abduction of Deianira, c. 1520-61.

Engraving and etching.

B 16.132.40-I or II; TIB 32.196.40.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 71

presumably one print mounted with
four paper strips to median size

JACOPO FRANCA AFTER
MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI,
Bacchus and his Followers, c. 1550-70.

B 15.460.7; TIB 31.296.7.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 72

presumably one print mounted with
four paper strips to median size

GIORGIO GHISI AFTER GIULIO
ROMANO,
Silenus Asleep, c. 1550-70.

B 15.405.55; TIB 31.119.55.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 73

one print mounted with four paper
strips; 541 x 421 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO
AFTER GIULIO ROMANO,
Golden Age, c. 1520-61. Etching.

B 16.143.73; TIB 32.229.73.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.254.

Folio 74

two cut out prints pasted together
and mounted with four paper strips;
540 x 422 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
AFTER ALBRECHT DÜRER,
Four Witches, c. 1550-70.

B 7.89.7 (undescribed copy);

TIB 10 *Commentary*, 167-168.75
(undescribed copy).

HIERONYMUS P AFTER
ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
OR GIULIO ROMANO,
Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius,
c. 1550-70.

B 14.152.186 (undescribed copy);

TIB 26.180.186 (undescribed copy).

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.255.

Folio 75

presumably two prints printed from
two plates on a median-size sheet

FABIO LICINIO,
Portrait of Angelo Poliziano,
published by Ferrando Bertelli,
c. 1550-70.

Nagler 2.2246.

Portrait of Marsilio Ficino

Nagler 2.2246.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 76

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Portrait Bust of Julius Caesar,
published by Antonio Salamanca,
1550.

Undescribed.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 77

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 422 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Portrait Bust of Titus Livy, published
by Ferrando Bertelli, c. 1550-70.

Undescribed.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.256.

Folio 78

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 422 mm

NICOLAS BEATRIZET,
Portrait of Pope Paul IV, 1558. Etching.

B 14.240.2; TIB 29.243.2.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute,
inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 79

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 417 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER
JACOBUS BOS,
Portrait of Thomas Aquinas, c. 1550-70.

Holl. Dutch 3.149.8 (undescribed
copy).
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.257.

Folio 80

one print printed on a median-size sheet

MARTIN ROTA,
Portrait of Pope Pius v, published by
Nicolò Nelli, 1567.

B 16.275.90; TIB 33.98.90.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute,
inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 81

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

AGOSTINO VENEZIANO,
Portrait of Geronimo Aleander, 1538.

B 14.376.517; TIB 27.190.517.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 82

one print mounted with four paper strips; 540 x 422 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Portrait Bust of Cosimo I de' Medici,
1548.

Undescribed.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.258.

Folio 83

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips to median size

NICOLAS BEATRIZET,
Portrait of Hippolyta Gonzaga,
published by Luca Bertelli, c. 1550-70.

B 15.241.2; TIB 29.246.4-1.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 84

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 539 x 421 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Equestrian Portrait of Ottavio Farnese,
published by Cristofano Bertelli,
c. 1550-70.

LeBlanc 1.307.7; Meyer 3.701.7.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-1999-84.

Folio 85

four prints printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 420 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
Thirteen Portraits of European Rulers,
c. 1520-61. Series of engravings and etchings.

Portrait of Borso d'Este
Portrait of Doge Antonio Grimani
Portrait of Giovanni de Medici, dalle
Bande Nere
Portrait of Alfonso v of Aragon
Thompson 2009, 3-18.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.259.

Folio 86

four prints printed on a median-size sheet; 539 x 419 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
Thirteen Portraits of European Rulers,
c. 1520-61. Series of engravings and etchings.

Portrait of Sultan Mehmet II
Portrait of Sigismondo Pandolfo
Malatesta
Portrait of Angelo da Castro
Portrait of Pietro Bembo
Thompson 2009, 3-18.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.260.

Folio 87

four prints printed on a median-size sheet; 540 x 420 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
Thirteen Portraits of European Rulers,
c. 1520-61. Series of engravings and etchings.
Portrait of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo
Portrait of Battista Saracco
Portrait of Maximilian II
Portrait of Sigismund II August
Thompson 2009, 3-18.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.261.

Folio 88

four prints printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 421 mm

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO,
c. 1520-61. Series of engravings and etchings.
Thirteen Portraits of European Rulers
series. *Portrait of Francesco Sforza*
Thompson 2009, 3-18.
Hurdy-Gurdy Player
B 16.139.60; TIB 32.216.60.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCO
OR GIACOMO FRANCO
AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI
(ATTRIBUTED TO),
c. 1520-61. Series of engravings and etchings.

Two Caricature Men's Heads
Undescribed.
Caricature of Two Old Women with a
Salami (Di quèsta sorte, sono i buon
salami)
Undescribed.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1999-108 (see fig. 14).

Folio 89

six prints printed from six plates on four sheets, mounted with five paper strips; 541 x 418 mm

BATTISTA FRANCO (ATTRIBUTED TO) AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI (ATTRIBUTED TO), 1530-61. Series of etchings.

Grotesque Male Head 1

Grotesque Male Head 2

Grotesque Male Head 3

Grotesque Male Head 4

Grotesque Male Head 5

Grotesque Male Head 6

Undescribed.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-P-1999-III.

Folio 90

two prints printed from two plates on a median-size sheet; cut in two

Top half unknown.

GEORGES REVERDY,

Ten Alchemists around a Fire, c. 1550-70.

B 15.486.39; TIB 31.340.39.

Top half: whereabouts unknown;

bottom half: Georg Baselitz

Collection, inv. no. 272.

Folio 91

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 551 x 427 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER GIUSEPPE ARCIMBOLDO, *Agricoltura*, published by Luca Bertelli, 1568. Etching.

Strasser 2002, 276.121.

Georg Baselitz Collection, inv. no. 276.

Folio 92

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips to median size

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER GIORGIO VASARI, *Six Italian Authors*, c. 1550-70.

Bowron 1971-73, 43-53-5.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 93

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips to median size

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER, *Council of Trent*, 1563.

Hülse 1921, 166.131b.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 94

one print mounted with four paper strips; 544 x 692 mm; folded in two

PAOLO FORLANI, *Great Council in Venice*, published by Bolognino Zaltieri, 1566.

Cicogna 1824-53, 4666;

Thieme Becker 1907-50, 12.599.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-P-1999-86.

Folio 95

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips; folded in two

ETIENNE DUPÉRAC, *Pope Pius v Blesses the People in St. Peter's Square*, published by Bartolomeo Faleti, 1568.

Hülse 1921, 161.92c.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 96

one print mounted with four paper strips; 544x779 mm; folded in two

ETIENNE DUPÉRAC,
Piazza del Campidoglio, published
by Bartolomeo Faleti, 1568.
Hülsen 1921, 161.91a (print
mentioned).
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1999-85 (see fig. 11).

Folio 97

one print mounted with four paper strips; folded in two

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
*Design for the Façade of the Palazzo
dei Conservatori*, published by
Bartolomeo Faleti, 1568. Etching.
Hülsen 1921, 168.151.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute,
inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 98

presumably one print mounted with
four paper strips folded in two

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
*Composition with Antique Fragments
and Ruins*, c. 1560. Etching.
Undescribed.
Private collection.

Folio 99

one print mounted with four paper
strips; 546 x 664 mm; folded in two

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Castel Sant' Angelo, c. 1550-70.
Undescribed.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.262.

Folio 100

one print printed on a median-size
sheet

B. BRANC (?),
Arena of Verona, 1558.
Nagler 1.2066 (Bartolomeo
Bramantino).
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute,
inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 101

one print printed from one plate on
two sheets, mounted with four paper
strips; 545 x 960 mm; folded in three

ENEA VICO,
Arena of Verona, published by
Clemens Agatius, c. 1550-70.
B 15.349.419; TIB 30.258.419.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-2001-204.

Folio 102

one print printed on a median-size
sheet; 541 x 422 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
*Temple of Hercules at the Forum
Boarium*, published by Antonio
Lafreri, 1568. Etching.
Hülsen 1921, 169.158.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-105.263.

Folio 103

Unknown.

Folio 104

one print mounted with four paper strips

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
AFTER GIULIO BONASONE,
Façade of the Accademia Bocchiana in Bologna, 1545.

B 15.12.178 (undescribed copy);

TIB 29.157.12 (undescribed copy).

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 105

one print mounted with four paper strips

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Santa Croce Chapel of the Latin Baptistery, published by Antonio Lafreri, 1568.

Hülsen 1921, 169.159.

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 106

one print mounted with four paper strips

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Design for Palace with Three Storeys, c. 1566. Engraving and etching.

Undescribed.

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 107

one print mounted with four paper strips; 542 x 422 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER
AFTER AGOSTINO VENEZIANO,
The Arch of Constantine, c. 1550-70.

B 14.385.537 (undescribed copy);

TIB 27.220.537 (undescribed copy).

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.264 (see fig. 10).

Folio 108

one print mounted with four paper strips; 541 x 421 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Street Scene for a Theatrical Set,
c. 1530-60.

Corsi 2004, 58.44.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1999-88.

Folio 109

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips to median size

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Architectural Study, c. 1550-70.

Thoenes 1989, 26.4.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 110

one print mounted with four paper strips

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR
MONOGRAMMIST IHS,
Vatican Obelisk, published by Monogrammist IHS (attributed to), 1558.

Hülsen 1921, 149.32d.

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 111

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips to median size

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR
ENEAS VICO,
Trajan's Column, published by Antonio Salamanca, c. 1550-70.

Hülsen 1921, 148.30f.

Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 112

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 542 x 423 mm

MONOGRAMMIST CAE AFTER NICOLAS BEATRIZET, *Colonna Santa*, c. 1550-70. Engraving and etching.

Hülsen 1921, 148.29 (undescribed copy).

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.265 (see fig. 22).

Folio 113

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 423 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR MONOGRAMMIST IHS, *Sepulchre of M. Antonius Antius Lupus*, published by Monogrammist IHS (attributed to), 1559.

Hülsen 1921, 151.41 (print mentioned).

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.446.

Folio 114

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 541 x 423 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR MONOGRAMMIST IHS, *Sepulchre of P. Vibius Marianus*, published by Monogrammist IHS (attributed to), 1558.

Hülsen 1921, 151.42 (undescribed copy).

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.447.

Folio 115

one print mounted with four paper strips

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER, *Dioscuri on the Quirinal* (frontal view), published by Antonio Salamanca, 1546.

Hülsen 1921, 153.53b.
Private collection.

Folio 116

presumably one print mounted with four paper strips to median size

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER, *Dioscuri on the Quirinal* (rear view), published by Antonio Lafreri, 1550.

Hülsen 1921, 153.54a.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 117

(one print mounted with four paper strips)

SEBASTIANO DI RE, *Two Dogs*, 1560.

Hülsen 1921, 169.155 (undescribed state).

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. P990003*.

Folio 118

one print mounted with four paper strips; 238 x 311 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER POLIDORO DA CARAVAGGIO, *Trophy after the Façade of Palazzo Milesi*, c. 1530-70.

Marabottini 1969, 2.154.3.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.448.

Folio 119

one print mounted with four paper strips; 543 x 422 mm

MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI AFTER RAPHAEL (ATTRIBUTED TO),
Façade with Caryatids, c. 1550-70.

B 14.385.538; TIB 27.221.538.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.449.

Folio 120

presumably two cut out prints mounted with five paper strips

MASTER OF THE DIE AFTER AGOSTINO VENEZIANO,
Terms: Two Young Women, c. 1550-60.

B 14.229.302a; TIB 26.299.302a.
Terms: Two Men, c. 1550-60.

B 14.229.303a; TIB 26.301.303a.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 121

presumably two cut out prints mounted with five paper strips

MASTER OF THE DIE AFTER AGOSTINO VENEZIANO,
Terms: Hercules, c. 1550-60.

B 14.228.301a; TIB 26.297.301a.
Terms: Two Men, c. 1550-60.

B 14.229.304a; TIB 26.303.304a.
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 122

one print printed on a median-size sheet; 545 x 420 mm

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER AFTER MICHELANGELO,
Execution of Haman, published by Antonio Lafreri, 1555.

Moltedo 1991, 34-35.30.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.450.

Folio 123

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER OR RENÉ BOYVIN AFTER NICOLAS BEATRIZET (ATTRIBUTED TO),
Image of the God of the Tiber, *Marforio*, published by Giovanni Francesco Camocio, 1566.

Hülsen 1921, 157.70 (copy).
Whereabouts unknown.

Folio 124

presumably one print printed on a median-size sheet

ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER,
Statue of Pasquino beside the Palazzo Braschi, c. 1550-70.

Hülsen 1921, 157.71 (print mentioned).
Whereabouts unknown.

NOTES

- * Most of the information presented here comes from my Master's thesis: J. Zelen, *The Print Album of Johann Georg Zobel: Reconstruction and Analysis*, Nijmegen (Radboud University) 2013. Many thanks are due to Rijksmuseum curator of prints Huigen Leeflang and Professor Volker Manuth for their advice and support. The research was largely made possible by the Rijksmuseum and the GWO Fonds. A small article on the Zobel Album was published previously, see J. Zelen, 'Shopping in Venice: De totstandkoming van Johann Georg Zobel's prentalbum', *Desipientia* 19 (2012), no. 1, pp. 27-32. Some assumptions have been revised in the present article.
- 1 P. Parshall, 'Art and the Theatre of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe', *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2 (1994), no. 3, pp. 7-36.
 - 2 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1988-312, RP-P-1995-25 and RP-P-1988-297. H. Mielke, 'Antwerpener Graphik in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Der Thesaurus veteris et novi Testamenti des Gerard de Jode (1585) und seine Künstler', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38 (1975), pp. 29-83; A. de Bruin et al., 'Conservatie, restauratie en onderzoek van een zestiende-eeuws prentenboek: het Heemskerck-album', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 38 (1990), pp. 73-214.
 - 3 The term Zobel Album is used in the Amsterdam print room to indicate the print album of Johann Georg I Zobel von Giebelstadt.
 - 4 J. Heller, *Jakob Ayrer's Bamberger Reim-Chronik, vom Jahre 900-1599; zum ersten Male herausgegeben, und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Joseph Heller*, Bamberg 1838 (*Bericht über das Bestehen und Wirken des historischen Vereins zu Bamberg*, vol. 2), pp. 86-88.
 - 5 The biography is based on A. Amrhein, 'Stammbüchlein des Bamberger Fürstbischofs Johann Georg Zobel von Giebelstadt aus seiner Studentenzeit', *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 74 (1916), no. 13, pp. 3-52; E. Gatz et al., *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1448 bis 1648. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, Berlin 1996; K. Meuschel, 'Johann Georg Zobel von Giebelstadt. Ein Bamberger Kunstsammler des 16. Jahrhunderts', in P.J. Becker et al., *Scrinium Berolinense. Tilo Brandis zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 554-68; D.J. Weiss, *Das Exemte Bistum Bamberg: die Bischofsreihe von 1522 bis 1693*, vol. 3, Berlin/New York 2000, pp. 201-14.
 - 6 Gatz maintains that Hans Zobel was Melchior Zobel's brother; see Gatz, op. cit. (note 5), p. 773. Amrhein claims that Hans and Melchior were cousins; see Amrhein, op. cit. (note 5), p. 3.
 - 7 In the collection of the Germanisches National Museum in Nuremberg there are eleven sheets from the *Stammbuch* (inv. no. GNM - HS. 7202). Other pages from the *Stammbuch* were transcribed by August Amrhein (Amrhein, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 3-52). The current whereabouts of these sheets is unknown. Konrad Meuschel maintains that sheets from the *Stammbuch* are in private hands: 'Bestände des Stammbuchs befinden sich in GNM, Nürnberg, Hs. 7202, sowie in Privatbesitz. Freundliche Mitteilung von Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Klose, Karlsruhe' (Meuschel, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 555 and 564 note 4).
 - 8 A message from Conrad Dinnerus that he wrote in the *Stammbuch* in Naples gives the date MDL. This must be a slip of the pen since Zobel did not start to keep his *Stammbuch* until after 1560 and because he would only have been seven years old in 1550. See Amrhein, op. cit. (note 5), p. 43.
 - 9 The garden can be seen on a plan of the city of Bamberg by Peter Zweidlers of 1602 (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. no. v B 22/1).
 - 10 J.H. Jäck, *Bambergische Jahrbücher*, Bamberg 1829-33, vol. 2, pp. 277-80, esp. p. 279: '[Zobel] kaufte die Bibliothek seines verstorbenen Kanzlers Dr. Walther Widmeyer für 500 Gulden und ließ einige geschriebene Bücher auf Pergament, unter welchen das Corpus juris sich befand, von dem Testaments-Erben des Dr. Rabenecker um 15 fl. kaufen und seiner Hofbibliothek einverleiben'.
 - 11 In 1565 Samuel Quiccheberg, who as Albrecht V of Bavaria's librarian was responsible for the duke's *Kunstammer*, advised collectors in his treatise *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* to house their prints and maps in a library. D.J. Jansen, 'Samuel Quiccheberg's *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi*. Uitgangspunten en achtergronden van de encyclopedische verzameling in de zestiende eeuw', in E. Bergvelt et al., *Kabinetten, galerijen en musea. Het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden*, Zwolle/Heerlen 2005, pp. 43-68. Philip II of Spain's print collection is still in his library in the Escorial in Madrid. M. McDonald, 'The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial', *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998), no. 1, pp. 15-35.

- 12 Johann Georg Zobel's inventory and will are in Bamberg, Staatsarchiv Bamberg and Archiv des Erzbistums Bamberg, St (B–B 84, no. 10b): *Instrumentum Notariale super Inventario Episcopi Joannis Georgii factum, cum etiam Inventarium ipsum insertum*, 10 September 1580.
- 13 Originally Johann Georg Zobel's monument was in Bamberg Cathedral. The monuments were moved to the Michaelskirche when the cathedral was restored in 1838.
- 14 Correspondence between the author and Konrad Meuschel, dated 5 December 2011: 'Der Band war nie im Handel gewesen; die ihn damals besitzende Familie hatte ihn seit Jahrzehnten in der Bibliothek stehen und zudem war die entfernt mit der von Zobel verwandt, so daß hier wahrscheinlich ein direkter Erbgang vorlag.'
- 15 Sale Bad Honnef am Rhein (Konrad Meuschel), 1999, no. 85: *Italienische Kupferstiche, Radierungen und Einblattdrucke des xvi. Jahrhunderts*.
- 16 In 2000 Boerner presented a sales list of seventy-one folios from the Zobel Album to the Rijksmuseum, together with a CD ROM of photographs of the prints.
- 17 The Rijksmuseum, thanks to the generous help of dealers Susan Schulman (New York) and Lesley Hill and Alan Stone (Hill-Stone Inc., New York), has been able to acquire eleven more prints from Zobel's album. All the Zobel prints in the Rijksmuseum have been purchased with support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.
- 18 All the Zobel prints are illustrated in their original order in my Master's thesis (Zelen 2013, op. cit. (note *)).
- 19 Meuschel, op. cit. (note 5), p. 559.
- 20 Correspondence between Ger Luitjen, head of the Amsterdam print room, and a German private collector, dated 8 June 2007.
- 21 Correspondence between the author and Konrad Meuschel, dated 5 December 2011: 'Die Hefung des Kunstbuches, eigentlich ein Mappenwerk, ... bereits aufgelöst, die numerische Ordnung nicht kontinuierlich und die noch vorhandene Folge der Blätter wies Lücken auf. Was fehlte und von wem und wann entnommen, war nicht zu erfahren und an der Hefordnung festzustellen.' Meuschel, op. cit. (note 5), p. 557: 'Die numerische Reihenfolge war zerstört; es fehlten nicht nur Nummern, sondern auch ihre Folge lief durcheinander.'
- 22 I would like to thank the following people who provided me with information: Rachel McGarry (Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis), Daniel Blau (Georg Baselitz Collection), Dr Christian Müller (Kunstmuseum, Basel), Courtney Wilder (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles), Armin Kunz (Boerner, Düsseldorf), Konrad Meuschel and private collectors who wish to remain anonymous.
- 23 In total the whereabouts of thirty-three whole and four half folios have not been traced. Boerner also gives the original folio numbers on his sales list. This enabled us to place the missing prints in the right place in the reconstruction with certainty. Konrad Meuschel says that a number of the untraced prints are in a collection in Halle an der Saale (correspondence between the author and K. Meuschel, dated 5 December 2011). Correspondence with collections in Halle an der Saale has unfortunately yielded nothing.
- 24 Michael Bury and Gert Jan van der Sman both explain that publishing prints in sixteenth-century Italy should not be regarded as a well-defined profession. The exceptions are the Roman print businesses of Salamanca and Lafreri. In Venice publishers pursued other paid activities including publishing books and maps, printing material themselves and even engraving prints themselves. Book and map shops were thus also places where prints were sold. See M. Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550-1620*, exh. cat. London (British Museum) 2001; and G.J. van der Sman, *De eeuw van Titiaan*, Zwolle 2002, p. 190.
- 25 With the exception of one print published in Antwerp (fol. 40) all the prints in the Zobel Album were published in Italy.
- 26 The other forty folios from the Zobel Album have watermarks that appear in paper on which both Roman and Venetian prints were printed. However a large number of these sheets in the Zobel Album contain prints by Venetian printmakers. See D. Woodward, *Catalogue of Watermarks in Italian Printed Maps ca 1540-1600*, Chicago 1996.
- 27 A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre-graveur*, 21 vols., Vienna 1803-21, vol. 16 (1818), pp. 227-32, nos. 24-50.
- 28 M. Bury, *Giulio Sanuto: A Venetian Engraver of the Sixteenth Century*, exh. cat. Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland) 1990, pp. 11-12.
- 29 On 12 February 1567 Nicolò Nelli received a privilege for publishing this family tree. C. L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance; Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, Leiden/Boston 2004, p. 159.
- 30 Bury, op. cit. (note 28), p. 42.
- 31 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-2013-25-3.
- 32 R. Borba de Moraes, *Bibliographia Brasiliana: A Bibliographical Essay on Rare Books about*

- Brazil Published from 1504 to 1900 and Works of Brazilian Authors Published Abroad before the Independence of Brazil in 1822*, Amsterdam/Rio de Janeiro 1958, vol. 2, p. 98.
- 33 R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, Oxford 1969, pp. 101-04.
- 34 For Lafreri's *Speculum* see P. Parshall, 'Antonio Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*', *Print Quarterly* 23 (2006), pp. 3-28.
- 35 Folio 67a may contain a fourth print with a Biblical theme. The woman in the print *Woman in Roman Costume Picking Fruit from a Tree* is also sometimes interpreted as Eve. The preliminary study for this print is in the Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1955-107. B. Aikema et al., *Maestri dell'invenzione: disegni italiani del Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 135-37, cat. no. 50.
- 36 P. Parshall, 'The Print Collection of Ferdinand Archduke of Tyrol', *Jahrbuch der kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien* 78 (1982), pp. 139-84; M. McDonald, 'The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial', *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998), no. 1, pp. 15-35.
- 37 For more on paper sizes see J.P. Filedt Kok et al., 'Jan Harmensz. Muller as Printmaker – II', *Print Quarterly* 11 (1999), no. 4, p. 364.
- 38 Michael Bury states that this method of mounting has only been observed once before, in a sixteenth-century atlas: *Civitatum aliquot insigniorum et locor: magis munitor: exacta delineatio Cum additione aliquot Insularum principalium. Disegni di alcune piu illustri cit..tà et fortezze del mondo, con aggiunta di alcune Isole principali*. See Bury, op. cit. (note 24), p. 173.
- 39 The watermarks of all the Zobel folios in the Rijksmuseum were researched by the head of the department of paper conservation Idelette van Leeuwen and the author. For the other folios, we used information about the watermarks supplied by curators and owners or given in Meuschel's sales catalogue and on Boerner's sales list.
- 40 For a complete overview of all the watermarks that occur in the Zobel Album I refer to my Master's thesis, op. cit. (note *).
- 41 Woodward, op. cit. (note 26).
- 42 The only exception is folio 40, which has an Antwerp print on paper with the watermark *Double eagle in shield*. See C.M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols., New York 1966, no. 333.
- 43 D. Woodward, 'The Analysis of Paper and Ink in Early Italian Maps: Opportunities and Realities', in S. Spector et al., *Essays in Paper Analysis*, Washington, D.C. 1987, p. 87.
- 44 Woodward 1987, op. cit. (note 43), p. 95.
- 45 I. Kekler, *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 640-41.
- 46 Meuschel, op. cit. (note 5), p. 563: 'Auch bei den nächsten Sitzungen war er anwesend, letztmals am 14. März 1568. Danach erscheint er in den Rezeßbüchern erst wieder am 12. November 1568'.
- 47 S. Brakensiek, *Vom 'Theatrum mundi' zum 'Cabinet des estampes'. Das Sammeln von Druckgraphik in Deutschland, 1565-1821*, Hildesheim 2003, pp. 139-62.
- 48 A. Griffiths and A. Puetz, 'An Album of Prints of c. 1560 in the British Library', *Print Quarterly* 13 (1996), pp. 3-10.
- 49 For the *Thesaurus* and the Heemskerck Album see Mielke, op. cit. (note 2), and De Bruin, op. cit. (note 2).
- 50 Besides the examples in the Zobel Album of album sheets with several prints printed on one piece of paper there are a number of such individual album folios in the print room in Warsaw. One sheet even has exactly the same combination of four prints as folio 48 in the Zobel Album (Warsaw, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. Gr.Ob.W.174845).
- 51 The division into seven thematic groups is not equally strict everywhere. Some of the folios with multiple prints, for example, have a print that would have been better suited to another category. Folio 68, for instance, has two prints by Giulio Sanuto, *Love* and *The Birth of a Deformed Child*. Obviously the allegorical depiction of love fits perfectly in the mythology and allegory section in which the folio has been placed. The second print would fit in better in the topical prints section.
- 52 *Sammlung von Kupferstichen aus Kurfürst Ottheinrichs Bibliothek*, 87 folios, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, inv. no. C 7222-50 Gross RES.
- 53 Parshall, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 18-20.
- 54 Ibid., p. 20.
- 55 There is only one surviving copy of this book, so it is difficult to ascertain how wide a circulation it had. The fact that there are no collections that indicate its use, aside from Albrecht V's, which is entirely organized according to Quiccheberg's principles, suggests that it was not that large. See Parshall, op. cit. (note 1), p. 24.
- 56 See D.J. Jansen, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 43-68.
- 57 In this Appendix the following literature is referred to in abbreviated form: B = A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre-graveur*, 21 vols., Vienna 1803-21; TIB = W.L. Strauss et al., *The Illus-*

trated Bartsch, 90 vols., New York 1978; Nagler = G.K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten, und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntem Künstler aller Schulen, welche sich zur Bezeichnung ihrer Werke eines figürlichen Zeichens ... etc. bedient haben*, 5 vols., Munich 1858-79. The following titles are referred to by author and date and listed chronologically: C. le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes, contenant le dictionnaire des gravures toutes les nations, dans lequel sont décrites les estampes rares, précieuses et intéressantes avec l'indication de leurs différents états et des prix auxquels ces estampes ont été portées dans les ventes publiques*, 4 vols., Paris 1854-88; J. Meyer and G.K. Nagler, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, 3 vols., Leipzig 1872-85; A.B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger*, London 1913; C. Hülsen, 'Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafrery', in C. Hülsen, *Collectio variae doctrinae Leonis S. Olschki Bibliopolae Florentino Sexagenario*, Munich 1921, pp. 121-70; E.A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni Veneziane*, 6 vols., Venice 1824-53; A. de Witt, *La collezione delle stampe: R. Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe*, Florence 1938; F.W.H. Hollstein, *Boekhorst-Brueghel: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 3., Amsterdam 1950; U. Thieme et al., *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols., Leipzig 1907-50; R.B. de Mores, *Bibliographia Brasiliana: A Bibliographical Essay on Rare Books about Brazil Published from 1504 to 1900 and Works of Brazilian Authors Published Abroad Before the Independence of Brazil in 1822*, Amsterdam 1958; K. Oberhuber, *Parmigianino und sein Kreis. Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik aus eigenem Besitz*, exh. cat. Vienna (Graphische Sammlung Albertina) 1963; S. Schéle, *Cornelis Bos: A Study of the Origins of the Netherlands Grottesque*, Stockholm 1965 (*Stockholm Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 10); A. Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, 2 vols., Rome 1969; H. Zerner, *École de Fontainebleau; gravures*, Paris 1969; E.P. Bowron, 'Giorgio Vasari's Portrait of Six Tuscan Poets', *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 60 (1971-73), pp. 43-53; K. Wilson-Chevalier and J.B. Roy, *Fontainebleau et l'estampe en France au XVIIe siècle. Iconographie et contradictions*, exh. cat. Nemours (Château-musée de Nemours) 1985; R. Ward, *Baccio Bandinelli, 1493-1560: Drawings from British Collections*, exh. cat. Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum) 1988; C. Thoenes, *Sebastiano Serlio*, Vicenza 1989; M. Bury, *Giulio Sanuto: A Venetian Engraver*

of the Sixteenth Century, exh. cat. Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland) 1990; A. Moltedo, *La Sistina riprodotta. Gli affreschi di Michelangelo dalle stampe del cinquecento alle campagne fotografiche Anderson*, Rome 1991; W. Hofmann et al., *La bella maniera. Druckgraphik des Manierismus aus der Sammlung Georg Baselitz*, Bern/Berlin 1994; H. Zerner, *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, exh. cat. Los Angeles (Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center) and elsewhere 1994; Van der Sman, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 235-47; Bury, op. cit. (note 25); N. Strasser et al., *Le Beau Style 1520-1620. Graveurs maniéristes de la collection Georg Baselitz*, Genève 2002; S. Corsi and P. Ragionieri, *Speculum, Romanae, Magnificentiae; Roma nell' incisione del Cinquecento*, Florence 2004; P. Dearborn Massar, 'Three Prints by Enea Vico?', *Print Quarterly* 24 (2007), pp. 281-82; W. Thompson, 'An Unknown Portrait Series by Battista Franco', *Print Quarterly* 26 (2009), pp. 3-18.

