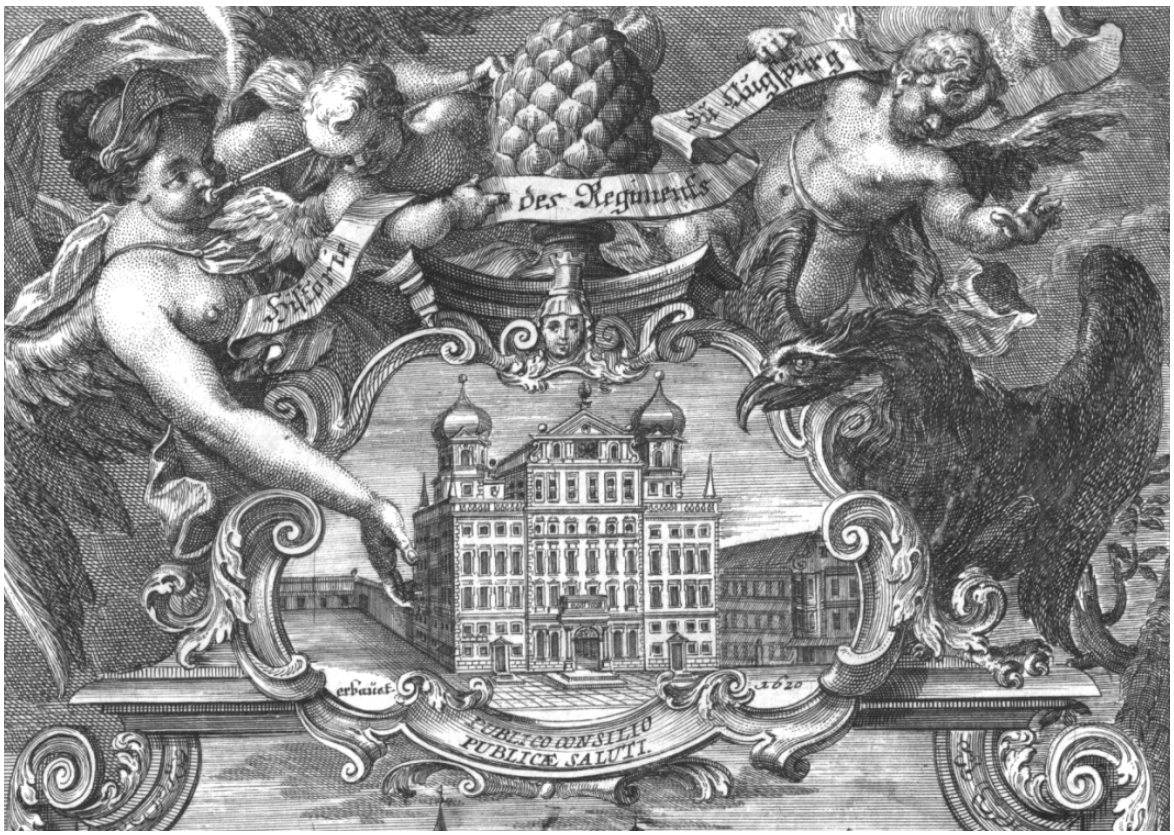
Peter Stoll

Empire of Prints

The Imperial City of Augsburg and the Printed Image in the 17th and 18th Centuries[1]



Detail from the frontispiece to David Langenmantel's *Historie des Regiments in des Heil. Röm. Reichs Stadt Augspurg* (Augsburg 1734); engraving by Jakob Andreas Friedrich:

Augsburg city hall; on top of the cartouche the pine cone from the city's coat of arms; to the right the eagle signifying the Holy Roman Empire.

[1] This text, in a Spanish translation, first served as one of the introductory essays in an exhibition catalogue dealing with Augsburg prints as modellos for baroque paintings in Quito, Ecuador ('El imperio del grabado: La ciudad imperial de Augsburgo y la imagen impresa en los siglos XVII y XVIII', in: Almerindo E. Ojeda, Alfonso Ortiz Crespo [ed.]: *De Augsburgo a Quito: fuentes grabadas del arte jesuita quiteño del siglo XVIII*, Quito 2015, pp. 17-66). For the present purpose, all passages of the text which only made sense in the context of the exhibition have been removed. Nonetheless, the 18th century bias of the text as well as the selection of artists which come under closer scrutiny still reflect the origins of the essay. As it was meant to address not only art historians, but also a general interest readership, it contains much basic information about print-making and the cultural history of Augsburg.

A very particular type of factory

When in 2001 Johan Roger Paas edited a volume of essays dealing with prints from Augsburg in early modern times, with an emphasis on the 17th and 18th centuries, he coined the sobriquet 'Europe's image factory' for Augsburg, with 'image' in this case referring to the printed image.[2] So current has the phrase become since then that it has lost some of its initial freshness, but it still does come in handy for giving a first impression of the sheer scope of the Augsburg print production in these centuries, even if 'factory' emphasizes mass production and possibly detracts from the superb quality of some of these prints.

A good example for the adequacy of Paas's phrase is the set of engravings for the Litany of Loreto from the extremely prolific Augsburg workshop of the brothers Klauber, first published in 1749 as part of a devotional book (ill. 8). As there were several subsequent editions in Latin and German, these prints probably circulated widely in Roman Catholic areas; and supportive evidence for such an assumption comes from the fact that artists used these prints, as was their wont to do, as models for their own creations: Reflections of the Klauber Litany can, e.g., be found in the frescoes of the small village church in Göslikon (Switzerland) as well as in those of the venerable abbey church of Teplá (Czechia). True, much of this circulation took place in the Holy Roman Empire or its immediate vicinity; but the Klaubers themselves prepared a French edition, and accordingly must have had a Francophone clientele in mind; and the Litany engravings (or copies made after them) also occur in books written in Italian, Spanish and Dutch.[3] The 'European' in Paas's phrase is thus not an exaggeration; and the Litany prints even spread beyond the confines of the Old World to Latin America and procreated new works of art there (cf the series of oil paintings by Antonio Vilcas in the Iglesia de Surite in Peruvian Cusco,1803).[4]

What sort of place was this city? What was its position within the Holy Roman Empire? How does making prints fit into its cultural history? Who were the artists and craftsmen operating the 'image factory'? How did they set about making prints, which were the steps involved in the process? What was the role of religion in this context? When did Augsburg lose its predominance in this area, when, so to speak, did the factory shut down? And why did this happen? These are the main issues to be addressed on the following pages.

[2] *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas*. Paas edited a similar volume in 2013 (*Gestochen in Augsburg*). For full references of works mentioned in the footnotes see the bibliography.
[3] Amaral; Stoll 2013.
[4] See *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (PESSCA)*, https://www.colonialart.org

From Roman antiquity to early modern times

Augsburg, located some 60 km west of Munich and some 40 km south of the Danube on the river Lech, ca 278,000 inhabitants as of 2013, third largest city of the federal state of Bavaria and capital of its district of Swabia:[5] today, one could hardly name anything relating to the city that needs to be measured on a European scale; and, truth be told, it has to strive for attention even on a purely national level. Even staunch local patriots would probably agree that most of the city's glory resides in the past; fortunately, it is at least a past which reaches back far.[6] Augsburg owes its existence to Roman emperor Augustus's decision, taken in 15 B.C., to send his stepsons Drusus and Tiberius across the Alps to make conquests. From one of the military camps set up on this occasion a civilian settlement evolved which later was to become capital of the province of Raetia and which was called, after one of the Celtic tribes living in the area, Augusta Vindelic(or)um. This name has a direct bearing on the topic here at hand, as abbreviations such as 'AV', 'Aug. Vind.' etc. are frequently added to the names of engravers or publishers on prints made in Augsburg.

Augsburg has been on record as the seat of a bishop since the 8th century; the most famous bishop to the present day being city patron St Ulrich (in office 923-973), who was at the side of Emperor Otto I when the Hungarians suffered a crushing defeat in the Battle of Lechfeld (955) in the immediate vicinity of the city. Developments in the course of the 13th century brought a gradual emancipation of the citizenship from episcopal rule, and in a process whose last stages belong to the early 15th century, Augsburg turned into a Free Imperial city, i.e., a city within the Holy Roman Empire which was subordinate only to the Emperor and whose city council was not answerable to any intermediate authority such as a prince-bishop, a prince, a duke, an elector etc. The Imperial city enclosed a small area around the cathedral which remained part of the bishop's ecclesiastic principality (i.e., the territory where the bishop not only exercised spiritual rule, as he did in his diocese, but also secular rule); the administrative seat of this principality, though, later moved to Dillingen, a town ca 40 km north-west of Augsburg. The fact that from 1643/44 onwards the city enclosed another small area which was immediately subordinate to the Emperor, but not part of the Imperial city (the Benedictine monastery of St Ulrich and Afra), gives some idea of how the Empire in parts resembled a patchwork quilt. Walking in, say, 1650, the short distance from St Ulrich and Afra to the cathedral (ca 1,3 km), meant traversing three different territorial entities.

From the middle of the 14th century onwards, cloth production became an important segment of Augsburg's economy; and it was weavers from Graben, a village some 20 km south of Augsburg, from whom descended the Fuggers, the most famous of those Augs-

[5] Note that ‚Swabia', taken as an adminitrative entity of the present-day Germany, only refers to the south-western district of the federal state of Bavaria; in a wider historical and ethnic perspective, though, ‚Swabia' refers to an area consisting of (most of) the Bavarian district and a considerable part of the neighbouring federal state of Baden-Wurttemberg.

[6] The main source for historical information in my text is *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*. In particular, I draw on the chapters surveying the history of Augsburg at the beginning of the book.

burg families of traders and bankers to whom Augsburg owned a period of economic prosperity, never surpassed since then, in the later 15th and the early 16th century. These families kept branch offices in European trading centres, extended their activities overseas to India and Latin America (with the Welser family particularly enterprising in this respect) and lent money to princes and monarchs, often in exchange for silver or copper mining rights in places such as Tyrolia (today part of Austria) or Hungary. Beyond that, they exerted considerable political influence, such as when Jakob Fugger, aptly surnamed 'the Rich' (1459-1525), raised the money needed in 1519 to make the electors vote for Emperor Maximilian I's grandson as their next emperor, Karl V. Jakob Fugger also bestowed on Augsburg a testimony to his charity and one of today's prime tourist attractions, the Fuggerei, a gated estate whose houses are to the present day rented out to poor citizens for a nominal fee below 1 € per year.

The flourishing economy was of course a fertile soil for cultural achievements. These were the decades when the Fuggers erected their funerary chapel in St Anna's, one of the first monuments to transplant Italian Renaissance to Germany (1509 ff.), and when Hans Holbein the Elder (ca 1460/65-1524) painted imposing winged altars on the threshold between Gothic and Renaissance. (His son Hans the Younger would later move to Basel and London and portray Erasmus of Rotterdam and Henry VIII of England). These were also the decades which laid the foundation for Augsburg's reputation as a city of print: In 1467, Günther Zainer from Reutlingen in Wurttemberg opened the first printing office in Augsburg and thus set the city on its way towards becoming a hub of book printing in early modern times;[7] sometime around 1500, Daniel Hopfer (ca 1470-1536) took the step from embellishing armour with etched decoration to etching designs into plates for the purpose of printing from them. (Some 150 such etchings have survived). Furthermore, in the first decades of the 16th century, Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493-1519) repeatedly drew on Augsburg artists, among them Hans Burgkmair (1473-1531),[8] for ambitious propagandistic projects involving woodcuts; and on a less elevated level, there were the so-called 'Briefmaler', a term in which 'Brief' means 'short document' and 'maler' ('painter') refers to their role as illuminators: woodform cutters who produced unassuming prints (devotional images, playing cards etc.) as well as short illustrated pamphlets pandering to a taste for the sensational.

The death of Emperor Maximilian I (1519) and the first stirrings of the Reformation (more on this issue later) meant the onset of more turbulent times, but Augsburg coped comparatively well, economically as well as culturally. In the course of the 16th century, craftsmen specialized on luxury goods rose to the fore, prominent among them goldsmiths, who flourished in symbiosis with Augsburg's quasi-monopoly in silver trading and whose artifacts were increasingly in demand all through the Empire, and sometimes beyond.[9] The late 16th century even brought the dawn of a new 'golden age' for Augsburg art, a period

[7] For early book printing in Augsburg see the relevant chapters in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen*.
[8] For a concise and handsomely illustrated introduction to Augsburg print art of this period see Jecmen/Spira.
[9] *Silber und Gold*; Seling. 'Goldsmith' will be used in these pages in the sense of someone working with gold or other precious metals such as silver.

during which commissions from the city council shaped and redefined the core of the city in a way which has left its stamp to the present day. Among the most impressive results of this municipal art-sponsoring programme are the three magnificent fountains, dedicated to Emperor Augustus (1588-1594, Hubert Gerhard), Mercury, god of trade, and Hercules (1596-1599, both Adriaen de Vries), the latter fountain meant as an allegory of man taming the forces of water and thus alluding to the importance of rivers and canals for the city's economy. The peak achievement of these years is of course the famous Renaissance city hall, erected in 1615 ff by Augsburg's city master mason Elias Holl (1573-1646), a building likely to show up even in the most concise one-volume histories of German art (see ill. on p. 1). Its interior housed the vast, sumptuously decorated 'Golden Hall', which World War II almost entirely reduced to rubble, but which was reconstructed from old photographs in the years 1980-1990.

It was also during the last third of the 16th century that engraving (i.e., engraving by burin) gained a foothold in Augsburg, something which is quite rightly considered a milestone on the city's way towards becoming a centre of print production on a European scale. Engraving was one of those intaglio techniques which were to predominate on the 17th and 18th century print market; and whereas the pioneering days of etching are closely linked to Augsburg (see above), it had taken some time for engraving by burin to make its way to Augsburg, as it had already been practiced in the German Upper Rhine area and in Italy in the first half of the 15th century.

Even if these pages are almost exclusively concerned with intaglio techniques, it should be noted that their rise did not sound the death knell for woodcutting and did not even altogether relegate it to such utterly menial tasks as adding modest ornamental elements to pages printed in movable type. Augsburg even offers an example for a cultural habitat in which woodcutting went on thriving to a certain extent all through the 17th and 18th centuries. True, bygone were the days when Augsburg woodcuts had attained a quality which could satisfy even Imperial taste, but there is the (admittedly, odd) case of the city council preferring woodcutting when it commissioned a heraldic calendar in 1642;[10] and the 'Briefmaler ' and related crafts still went about plying their trade, producing prints and pamphlets meant for mass consumption:[11] The fact that the number of Augsburg Briefmaler rose from 21 in 1610 to 38 in 1619 indicates that the business was very much alive and highly competitive. When Paas reconstructed from archival records a profile of one of them, Georg Kress (ca 1561/65- before 1639), he found that he belonged to the middle group of taxpayers and thus had achieved a level of modest prosperity. On the other hand, Paas also emphasized that the taxes paid by Kress were well below those paid by Dominicus Custos (ca 1560-1615), leading Augsburg engraver of his days and key figure in Augsburg print history.

Custos[12] was a native of Antwerp, home to such notable book and print publishers as Christoffel Plantin, Jan Moretus and Hieronymus Cock; also home to a host of artists,

[10] Biller, pp. 102 ff.
[11] The following information taken from Paas 1990.
[12] Appuhn-Radtke 1997, pp. 736 ff.

among them Custos's father Pieter Baltens, a prosperous and well-respected painter and engraver. Growing religious unrest in Antwerp since the 1560s and the concomitant economic and artistic decline of the city may have played a role in Dominicus's decision to relocate to Germany (a decision also taken, e.g, by his Antwerp colleagues Johan I Sadeler and Raphael Sadeler), and when he eventually turned his steps to Augsburg, this was probably due to his contacts with the Fugger family. It is not known how these contacts first came about (one might speculate that they originated with the branch office the Fuggers maintained in Antwerp up to 1576), but he must have enjoyed the family's support since the 1570s.

Custos was not the first Augsburg craftsman who engraved with a burin, but he was the first to set up an important and prolific workshop in the city, a notable part of whose output consisted in portraits of rulers, noblemen and members of high-standing families such as the Fuggers (ill. 1). The support of the latter probably helped to get his career underway, but what ultimately secured him a sound grounding for this career was the acquisition of citizenship by marrying in 1588 the widow of Augsburg goldsmith Bartholomäus Kilian the Elder. This union also was the cornerstone of one of those artists' families which were to become such an essential feature of Augsburg print history; but what distinguishes this particular family from others such as the Küsel, Rugendas, Heiss, Klauber etc. and makes 'dynasty' a more appropriate term, are its fecundity and longevity: The generation following upon Dominicus counted five artists (his sons Raphael, David and Jakob as well as his stepsons Lukas and Wolfgang Kilian); the next generation brought forth Bartholomäus Kilian the Younger (1630-1696), one of the finest German engravers of his days (ill. 2); and the last artist who descended from this family, Georg Christoph Kilian, died as late as 1781, at a time when Augsburg's glorious days as a centre of print production had almost come to a close.

It should also be noted that Dominicus Custos married into a goldsmith's family. This and the fact that his brother Thobias had also embraced this profession testify to the closeness of both crafts, the one counting among its tasks the embellishment of metal surfaces by means of engraving, the other using quite similar means for the purpose of producing metal plates from which prints can be drawn. This closeness had already been apparent in two of the most celebrated 15th/16th century engravers, Albrecht Dürer and Martin Schongauer, both of whom were sons goldsmiths (the latter, incidentally, of a goldsmith who had moved from Augsburg to Alsatian Colmar). Later examples from Augsburg art history for this interplay between two related crafts are Dominicus's stepson Lukas Kilian (1579-1637), a highly gifted engraver, who is also known to have participated in the decoration of the metal parts of a luxury table (1626),[13] or Johann Andreas Thelott (1655-1734), one of the most famous goldsmiths of his days, but also engraver of, say, scenes from Vergil's *Aeneid*.

Considering that Custos was a Protestant, one may wonder if one reason for leaving Antwerp was that Spanish rule posed a constant threat to Protestantism there and that the situ-

[13] Seling, vol. 1: ill. XIII, p. 129, 294; vol. 3: ill. 572-573. Munich, Residenz, Treasury.

ation for its adherents worsened dramatically when in 1585 Spanish troops under Alexander Farnese first laid siege to the city and then conquered it, which ultimately meant that Protestants either had to convert or to emigrate. It is at least tempting to see a connection between the fall of Antwerp in 1585 and Custos definitely settling down in Augsburg by marrying the Kilian widow in 1588. In those last decades of the 16th century Augsburg certainly was a safer place for a Protestant than Antwerp, as it was a city where both denominations enjoyed equal rights and where thus, for the time being, the religious strife initiated by Luther had been assuaged.

Augsburg had taken early on centre stage in this strife. It was here that in October 1518, in the wake of the Diet, Luther met the papal legate Tommaso de Vio; in the house of Jakob Fugger, incidentally, who had been deeply involved in organizing the very indulgence which had incurred Luther's wrath and inspired his 95 theses. It was here that in 1530, on the occasion of another Diet, Philipp Melanchthon's *Confessio Augustana*, containing fundamentals of Protestant doctrine valid to the present day, was first read to an audience; and it was from here that printing presses were busy disseminating Luther's writings to an extent that surpassed other Reformation hotspots such as Nuremberg or Straßburg. (At the same time, writings in defence of Catholicism were conspicuously lacking from the output of Augsburg print offices.)

Compared to other South German Imperial cities, Augsburg, though, took its time to declare openly in favor of the new creed (maybe because it was surrounded by staunchly Catholic territories and to a certain degree dependent on their resources): It was in 1537 that the council decreed the complete abolition of 'popish idolatry'. A backlash came 10 years later, when the defeat of the Protestant Schmalkaldic League (1547) helped to restore supremacy to Catholicism in Augsburg, but the Peace of Augsburg, proclaimed at the Diet of 1555, eventually ruled that equal rights should be granted to both Protestants and Catholics in Imperial cities with a biconfessional population. Dominicus Custos thus came to a city where adherents of both denominations had learnt to live next to each other, even if in the years immediately preceding his marriage the council's attempt to introduce the Gregorian calendar had met with Protestant resentment and had stirred up major disturbances, and even if the close proximity of Catholic and Protestant religious infrastructures could be a source of permanent squabbling and bickering (if, e.g., a Catholic monastery and a Protestant parish had to share a bell tower).

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) of course upset this careful balance and alternately gave both confessions opportunity to claim once again supremacy, depending on whether Emperor Ferdinand had got the upper hand and ordered that Augsburg should entirely revert to Catholicism (1629/30), or whether the Swedish king Gustav II Adolf occupied the city and made the pendulum swing back to Protestantism (1632). The Peace of Westphalia (1648) ending the war, though, not only reinstated biconfessionalism, but strengthened it by introducing the principle of parity, which required that from the burgomaster downwards there should be always two incumbents for every public office, one Catholic and one Protestant. This ruling did not usher in an era of boundless tolerance and mutual understanding, and a highly influential book on Augsburg in the times of parity is aptly called

‚the invisible border' (a border which, e.g, made Augsburg citizens shy away from inter-confessional marriages),[14] but the times when the two confessions went at each other's throat were past forever. No mean achievement this.

The impacts of the war were of course not just of a confessional nature. During its first years, Augsburg had not yet become a theatre of war, but it hit the city with full force in the years 1629 ff. The scope of the devastation may be guessed from the fact that a population counting some 45,000 on the eve of the war (meaning that Augsburg then was one of the largest cities in the Empire) had shrunk to some 16,400 in 1635; and as late as the mid-18th century, the number of inhabitants had only risen to some 30,000. On the whole, however, the city recovered surprisingly well from the war, and even though the times of grandeur it had experienced before the war were never to return, it quickly established itself once again as an economic and artistic centre of the Empire, a state of affairs which was to last until deep into the 18th century.

Goldsmithery kept its place as a field where the economic acumen of Augsburg trading houses and the supreme accomplishments of its craftsmen combined spectacularly to cater for even the most refined tastes all through Europe (the number of practitioners of these crafts increased from 160 in 1661 to 275 in 1740);[15] and painting offers an example how city authorities after the war encouraged artists from outside to settle in Augsburg to replenish the ranks of the local artistic community and prevent a lapse into provincialism: 1652 saw the advent of Johann Heinrich Schönfeld (1609-1684), one of the most distinguished German 17th century painters, who had previously spent some 18 years in Naples and Rome; Johann Heiss (1640-1704), ancestor to notable Augsburg mezzotint engravers, came in 1677; and Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688), painter and pioneering historiographer of German art, must be mentioned even if he only spent a few years in Augsburg (1670-1673). It was at his initiative that Augsburg artists met in private homes for drawing sessions, activities which eventually led to the foundation of the Augsburg Imperial Art Academy in 1710. This institution did not become the hub of strenuous intellectual effort (and for most of the time of its existence was located, rather unimpressively, in the butcher's guild house, with unpleasant smells wafting down from the Collegium medicum on the floor above); but it offered solid training and had for directors notable Catholic and Protestant artists (in accordance with the rules of parity, simultaneously one of each confession all the time). Most of the Catholic directors were experienced practitioners of fresco painting, a technique figuring prominently in 18th century Augsburg art; Protestant directors usually specialized in portraiture or print art.

The print business, too, had weathered the upheavals of the war surprisingly well, and it was in its aftermath that the engines of the European image factory started to work at full throttle, or, to use the more elevated metaphor from this essay's title, that the Augsburg print empire attained its full glory, a glory which lasted well into the next century. One indication of this is the fact that the number of engravers rose from 6 in 1661 to 23 in 1698

[14] François.
[15] *Silber und Gold*, p. 61 (Ralf Schürer).

and to 47 in 1721[16]; it certainly helped that Augsburg, unlike, e.g, Nuremberg, did not subject engravers to the restrictions of guild regulations: anyone who settled in the city and acquired its citizenship was allowed to practice the craft.[17] It is 'engraving' in the general sense of intaglio printing that the rest of this essay will be concerned with exclusively.

Themes and types of print

A large part of the print production was taken up with religion, and within this important subset it was Catholic topics which prevailed. This at first sounds more or less self-evident, as Catholicism was much preoccupied, at times even obsessively so, with visual experience; but it is worth keeping in mind that Lutheranism, the predominant Protestant creed in the Empire (and the one to which Augsburg citizens usually adhered), was by no means iconophobic. This is something to which Baroque Protestant churches in Augsburg such as St Anna's, St Ulrich's and Holy Cross impressively bear witness: oil paintings scattered all over the place, elaborately painted loft parapets, gilded angels raising their trumpets atop pulpits, even stuccoed and frescoed ceilings. Thus, prints related to Holy Scripture would be readily appreciated by Protestants and Catholics alike, and, aware of this fact and eager to maximize profits by catering for members of both denominations, producers of such prints would sometimes emphasize that care had been taken to make their prints and the accompanying texts engraved on it acceptable to both Protestants and Catholics and to avoid anything that might be offensive to either. Christoph Weigel made a statement to this purpose when in 1695 he published his folio-size *Biblia ectypa* ('Engraved bible'), and so did Johann Ulrich Kraus in the preface to his *Heilige Augen- und Gemüths-Lust* ('Sacred pleasures for eyes and minds', 1706), a series of complex engravings illustrating the Gospel and epistle readings as they occur in the course of the church year. The Whore of Babylon wearing a papal tiara, as she appears on a woodcut from the Cranach workshop for the text of Revelations in early editions of Luther's German bible, would have stood no chance in biconfessional Augsburg.

There were of course other images acceptable to both denominations, images referring to articles of faith such as the Trinity, the Last Judgment, the three Theological Virtues, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit etc., but Catholics in addition needed many more images, mainly of a type for which Protestants had no use at all and which even ran counter to their most cherished tenets. For one thing, there were all those innumerable saints, with the 'Regina sanctorum omnium', the 'Queen of all saints' at the top of the hierarchy as an inexhaustible source of inspiration to artists of all kinds. Indeed, what would South German Baroque culture be without all those Virgins ascending to heaven in swirls of clouds and angels, without those Immaculatas stepping haughtily, or at times nonchalantly, on the

[16] Gier, p. 493.
[17] Augustyn, p. 794.

snake coiled round the globe at their feet, or without those pleading Mothers of God interceding on behalf of suffering mankind? Further down the ladder of hierarchy, there came the evangelists, the apostles, the fathers of the Church, the founders of religious orders and hosts of other saints (or blessed) to which the faithful were encouraged to address themselves according to their stage of life, their profession or some particular distress: St Margaret, patron saint of women giving birth, St Aloysius of Gonzaga, patron saint of youth, St Leonhard and St Wendelin, patron saints of peasants, shepherds and prisoners, St Florian, protector against fire, St Apollonia, helper in case of toothache, St Barbara, protectress against sudden death. They all needed to be put before the eyes of the faithful; and reproducing them in print meant that even those of modest means could take them in effigie to the privacy of their homes, put them up on their walls or keep them between the sheets of their prayer books: artefacts ready to be looked at or taken out whenever the praying mind desired some visual aid to focus its thoughts.

There were also prints of saints whom even devout Catholics back in the 17th and 18th centuries hardly would have been familiar with at first sight; saints who were called into service when part of the purpose of the prints was to impress the viewer by sheer numbers. Thus, when someone, possibly a member of the Augsburg Dominican convent, commissioned from the Klauber workshop a series of prints commemorating the glorious achievements of this order and its members, he thought fit to muster not only such obvious candidates as St Dominic, St Thomas of Aquinas or St Catherine of Siena, but also, to name just a few, Alvarus of Cordoba, Ambrosius Sansedoni, Dalmatius Monerius and Stephana de Quinzani. And in case someone had set himself the task to produce a series of prints featuring one saint for each day of the year (there are at least two well-known Augsburg series of this type, which will be mentioned later), he also would have had to resort to lights shining less brightly in heaven. For some days of, say, June, grand and popular saints such as Peter, John the Baptist, Anthony of Padova or Vitus were of course available, but in order to cover indeed every single day, ranks would have to be filled with such saints as Pamphilius, Medardus, Avitus, Silverius, Ediltrudis, Primus, Felicianus and Samson (not the luckless Old Testament strongman, but a 5th /6th century native of Wales, doing mission work in Iceland, Ireland and the Bretagne).

Then there were those sacred objects, anathema to pious Protestants, which in some mysterious way were particularly efficient transmitters of miraculous powers from above and which therefore became the destination of pilgrims; objects which also were highly eligible for mass reproduction by print, as pilgrims liked to take home keepsakes and as those reproductions might even be looked upon as substitutes holding some fractions of the potency of the original item and thus useful when this item itself was out of reach (especially useful if there had at one time been some sort of physical contact between the original and the reproduction). Some of these objects were related to Christ, such as splinters of the true cross (plentifully available in those days) or miraculous consecrated wafers (one of which, the so-called ‚Wunderbarliche Gut', was housed in Augsburg in the Augustinian Canons' church of the Holy Cross); the majority of these objects, though, were connected with saints: On the one hand, there were relics, ranging from tiny fragments of bone to complete

bodies or skeletons (the latter again available to virtually any village church since in the 16th century Rome had started dispatching dead from the catacombs, considered Christian martyrs in those days, in large numbers across the Alps); on the other hand, there were images, either painted or carved, and among them, as is to be expected, a vast number of wonder-working images of the Virgin.

The small but quite attractive mid-18th century print in ill. 3**,** just a random example from a multitude of similar sheets, is meant as a 'true' representation of such a specially endowed painting on display in the village church of Wiesing in Tyrolia and depicts St John of Nepomuk, a saint particularly popular in South Germany and Austria even before his canonization in 1729. (St John, a high-ranking cleric in Prague, was drowned in 1393 on order of King Wenceslaus IV. This happened in the course of a complicated controversy between church and throne, but legend had it that John suffered martyrdom because he had been unwilling to disclose what the queen had told him in confession.) The print may also serve as an apt reminder that Augsburg prints not only targeted at markets in the city and its close neighbourhood, though in the case of Catholic subject matters it was certainly welcome that the adjacent territories were staunchly Catholic and that migration from these territories to a city whose population had been depleted by the Thirty Years' War had tipped the scales in favour of Catholicism. (Whereas in 1645 Protestants still accounted for 70% of the population, in the middle of the 18th century Catholics held a majority of some 60%.)[18] But the Augsburg image factory of course needed a market beyond these narrow confines and was heavily dependent on long-distance export; and the Wiesing example shows that for this purpose it not only supplied ready-made items which might appeal to customers in various parts of the Empire (and sometimes beyond), but also prints tailor-made to the requirements of particular customers and places. To such an extent was Augsburg an established trade-mark on the print market that even a small Tyrolian village, when it needed a print of one of its spiritual treasures, did not turn to Innsbruck, the Tyrolian capital some 40 km away and itself no cultural backwater (seat of an archduke and of a bishop), but rather to Augsburg, situated some 200 km away across a range of the Alps.

A type of print playing an important role in long-distance trade from Augsburg, not exclusively devoted to religious subjects but always intimately bound up with Catholic intellectual life, was the thesis print, indeed a segment of the market which Augsburg at times had all but monopolized as far as the Empire was concerned (ill. 2, 16, 17, 22).[19] This type of print takes its name from the theses which someone had to elaborate on in the course of an academic disputation before an audience (or which he had to stand up for, hence the appellation 'defendant'). In the course of the 16th century, it became usual to print the theses so that they could be put up as announcements of the impending event or handed out to the audience; and a further step in this direction was to mark solemn occasions of this kind, e.g. a disputation whose defendant had completed his course of study and on whom a degree was to be conferred, by large size sheets combining the text of the theses with a printed image, something made in Augsburg for the first time in 1628 by Lucas Kilian. This vi-

[18] *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, p. 90 (Mark Häberlein).
[19] For generously illustrated volumes on thesis prints see Appuhn-Radtke 1988, Schemmel and Telesko.

sual enrichment, however, occurred only in Catholic contexts, so that commissions for thesis prints either came via Catholic universities (which closely associates the genre with the Jesuits, who back then ran all universities in the Empire apart from the Benedictine university in Salzburg) or from monasteries, which sometimes included disputes into solemnities staged on various occasions.

The prints might be tailored to a specific disputation, in which cases the images contained references to the topics of the theses, to the place where the disputation took place, to the defendant or to the defendant's benefactor under whose patronage the disputation took place. But for those who did not want to go to such expenses, Augsburg publishers also kept a stock of ready-made sheets with religious subjects suitable for most disputations, sheets which had some space left empty at the bottom into which theses for some particular occasion could be printed (blanco thesis print), or sheets which could be sold independently of any disputation context, but which could be adapted for such a context by attaching an additional strip of paper containing the theses to the bottom of the sheet. Considering that inscriptions on prints in those days rarely made mention of dates, thesis prints giving the date of disputations are particularly welcome: If the image can be identified as referring to this particular disputation, the plate must have been produced a short time before; if a ready-made print had been adapted, the disputation at least supplies a terminus ante quem for the printed image.

This, incidentally, was a type of print for which there was hardly any market inside the city walls, as Augsburg did not have a university in these days. (Today's University of Augsburg goes back only to 1970.) When back in the middle of the 16th century, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, cardinal and bishop of Augsburg, had founded a university and transferred it to the Jesuits a few years later, he had done so in the town of Dillingen, the administrative seat of his principality. The Augsburg Jesuits did, however, have their college of St Salvator since the 1580s and ran a school there, the latter the Catholic counterpart of the Protestant Gymnasium of St Anna's.

Compared to the abundance of prints tied in with Catholicism, Augsburg prints serving specifically Protestant needs are far and few between. There was a certain tradition of commemorating important events of Reformation history in anniversary years, and when in 1730 the 200 year anniversary of the Augsburg Confession came round, almost all those prints issued forth from Augsburg workshops and spread from there through the Protestant realms of the Empire, among them such peculiar items as tiny circular prints meant to be put inside screw medals (i.e., medal-shaped vessels which could be opened by screwing the top off the bottom). The most noteworthy contribution which 17th/18th century Augsburg made to Protestant print culture, though, is connected with the 'Friedensfest' ('Peace Festival', August 8th), which was introduced after the Thirty Years' War to commemorate the return of Protestantism to the city and is to the present day a holiday within the city confines: From the early 1650s to 1789, it was the custom to hand out prints to Protestant schoolchildren on this occasion, prints which were somewhat misleadingly called 'Frie-

densgemälde‘ (i.e., ‘peace paintings‘).[20] A new print, accompanied by a sheet with versified explanations set in movable type, was prepared every year, drawing for its subject matter on allegory, history or Scripture. But even if the subject matter is distinctly Protestant (see, e.g., in the example given in ill. 4 the clergymen or the small interior view of the Protestant church of St. Anna’s), there is nothing to distinguish these images stylistically from contemporaneous Catholic prints: South German Protestants didn’t necessarily opt for a slimmed-down version of Baroque.

Considering that a substantial part of the 17th and 18th century Augsburg print production was tied up with specific Catholic subject matter, the question arises how this interacts with the fact that till well into the 18th century the majority of engravers were Protestant: In 1679 all 8 Augsburg engravers were Protestant; in 1701 there were 24 Protestants as opposed to one Catholic, in 1720 29 Protestant as opposed to 3 Catholics. (There seem to be no later statistics available giving the number of engravers as well as indicating their denomination.)[21] The answer is that Protestant engravers received all Protestant commissions (such as the Peace engravings just mentioned), but in addition accepted Catholic commissions without batting an eyelid. It was the same pragmatic disregard for confessional borders, the same willingness to employ him who was able and available rather than him who adhered to the right creed, which prevailed here as it did in the areas of other arts and crafts: The bishops of Augsburg may not have welcomed the strong Protestant presence in the city, but they did not mind Protestant Johann Heinrich Schönfeld painting altarpieces for their cathedral, as he happened to be the leading South German painter of his days; and when later in the 18th century Augsburg Protestants thought that a ceiling in one their churches needed some colour, they quite naturally turned to Catholic fresco painter Johann Georg Bergmüller, as this was a technique in which Protestant painters had no experience. This sort of pragmatism had already existed before the Thirty Years’ War, when Protestant Elias Holl, architect of the city hall, also built Catholic churches; and it was not a feature restricted to biconfessional places such as Augsburg: Joachim von Sandrart, who spent only a few years of his life in Augsburg, was a Calvinist, but nonetheless on excellent terms with several monasteries in Austria, where counterreformation reigned supreme. (During his Augsburg years, he proudly put a 700 x 400 cm congregation of saints in heaven, destined for Vienna, on exhibition in the city hall.)

Augsburg print business, of course, was not all about religion. Even thesis prints, as has already briefly been mentioned, gave some leeway to secular topics, meaning that defendants frequently decided that the image should pay allegorical homage to their benefactors; and of course allegory, one of the favorite modes of expression of the 17th and 18th centuries, was very much alive in entirely secular contexts, running, as it did in the clerical sphere, the whole gamut from artful visualization of sophisticated reasoning to the intellectually unassuming and at times frankly formulaic rendering of well-worn conceptual groups such as the four elements or the five senses. Mythology often came in handy when allegories

[20] Jesse.
[21] François, pp. 136 ff.

had to be devised, but also supplied picturesque incidents which might be turned into prints without the need of allegorical justification.

If we now move on to other types of secular prints flourishing in Augsburg, a very brief survey must suffice, considering that there are so many of them. The topics covered by these prints include portraits, historical events, natural sciences (animals, plants, scientific instruments), topography (maps, city and landscape views, with some of the letter specially made for peep show devices), architecture, ornaments and genre scenes (ranging from moderately realistic to downright escapist); and the picture would not be complete if one failed to mention that there were also rather coarse satirical prints and prints unabashedly catering to a taste for the downright scurrilous: Leafing through the catalogue of the publisher Martin Engelbrecht (1684-1756),[22] one comes, e.g., across prints of 'Maitre Corneille de la Coucage being crowned by a lady with deer's antlers' and of 'Mr de la Cajolerie besieging a lady in her bedroom', sheets which make one wonder if Augsburg workshops at times produced even less discreet images for gentlemen (an issue about which scholarship as yet nothing seems to have to say). Engelbrecht also had such offerings as 'the most brutal Annibal Thunderbrains' or 'the puffed-up noble Sir Pomponius of Grimaceburgh' and probably contributed as well to the grotesque dwarf prints flooding the market in the years 1720 ff.,[23] a brand of humour many might find questionable today. There were other categories of prints meant to entertain which were defined by their function rather than by their contents: anamorphic prints, e.g., which could only be appropriately viewed by moving sideways to a particular vantage point or by placing a cylindrical mirror at right angle in their centre. (Augsburg was home to noted makers of scientific instruments who turned trading with these prints and the attending mirror devices into a sideline of their main business.). There were also prints specially designed for the genteel pastime of making paper cut-outs and pasting them upon other artifacts suitable for such embellishment (ill. 5).

As has become already clear from the above, prints came either as single sheets or as series of thematically related sheets, counting from three sheets to several hundred. Once one has a more extensive series bound, one gets something very similar to a book, especially if the first sheet of the series has a title or even some sort of imprint engraved on it; and the border between print series and books blurs even more if one considers that one and the same print series might either be combined with typographic text to make up a book in the conventional sense or be allowed to stand on its own, i.e., be sold and possibly be bound without the text.

The fact that typographic text often needed images to accompany it of course added to the demand for prints, be it only that the very beginning of the book should be graced by a frontispiece or an engraved title page, both of which were very popular in the 17th and 18th centuries (ill. 6, 32; ill. on p. 1). Books were a particular boon to engravers in a city like Augsburg where book printing and book publishing had played a major role since the days

[22] Schott, pp. 142 ff.
[23] Bauer.

of Gutenberg and where these trades kept on flourishing in unmitigated fashion after the Thirty Years' war. As in the case of engravings, an increasing number of the books produced in Augsburg after the war were concerned with Catholic subject matter (turning Augsburg, so to speak, into an antipole to Leipzig, book centre in the Protestant north of Germany); and there is a further parallel in that Protestant printers, outnumbering their Catholic colleagues well into the 18th century, did not hesitate to accept Catholic commissions. But even if book business soared in their own city, Augsburg engravers still produced numerous sheets for books published outside Augsburg; conversely, Augsburg publishers at times drew on resources from outside if they needed illustrations for their books.[24]

The workflow of printmaking

Whereas up to now the process of producing prints has been treated somewhat summarily, it is now time to differentiate more carefully between the individual tasks and steps involved in this process.[25] The first of these steps, it might seem, was to provide a design or modello for a given theme, such as a drawing, which could then be transferred to a metal plate. But in many cases just naming a theme would not suffice and what instead was called for was a more detailed elaboration of what was to be depicted, i.e., some sort of concept. Of course, any artist with a but moderate level of experience would know instantaneously how to set about a Nativity or a Conversion of St Paul, but things such as, say, intricate allegories needed more consideration. If the artist had had some advanced schooling and was able to draw on reference sources such as Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (first edition 1593), he might even in such cases come up with sensible ideas of his own. But surely many artists at times took a similar stance as Hans Georg Asam, pioneering Bavarian fresco painter, who in 1708, when entrusted with the decoration of a pilgrimage church, emphasized that he couldn't take over the role of 'poet' or 'inventor' and needed a clear concept (which eventually was written up by the Jesuits of a nearby town).[26]

When such a concept behind a print originated with a person other than the artist in charge of the modello, we usually do not know this person's name. In some cases, one might venture a guess and assume, e.g., that the cleric presiding over a disputation, the so-called praeses, had also worked out the concept for the accompanying thesis print; and there are rare cases when this person's identity is stated explicitly: In some editions, the first sheet of the Klauber brothers' prints illustrating the Litany of Loreto (ill. 8) bears the inscription ‚R.P. Udal. Probst S.I. invenit' ('has invented'), which here clearly does not mean that the Jesuit Ulrich Probst made the modellos for the prints, but that he had written up suggestions how the individual invocations should be depicted; an assumption which is confirmed by the wording of the preface to the book.

[24] Appuhn-Radtke 1997; Augustyn.
[25] For a recent very detailed treatment of all technical aspects of intaglio printing, see Stjinman.
[26] Langenstein, pp. 71 ff.

Usually, of course, 'invenit' on prints refers to the artist who had supplied the modello; someone who in the case of prints produced in Augsburg was often recruited, as is to be expected, from the extended local artistic community, but who for various reasons might also be called in from outside. 'Invenit' might mean a lot of things in this context: that the artist himself had devised the intellectual concept behind the image entirely on his own, that he was just responsible for the arrangements of the figures (which would not preclude liberal borrowing from other artists' work), or anything in between. 'Invenit' does not tell us either which technique he had chosen for his modello; something which is more clearly specified by two other terms often to be found on prints in combinations with artist's names, 'del[ineavit]' ('has drawn') and 'pinx[it]' ('has painted'). Sometimes a print may bear even two such designations, as in the case of the print in ill. 11 with an episode from the War of the Spanish Succession: 'Georg Phil. Rugendas del.' in conjunction with 'Abraham Drentwett Ornam[entum] del.' here tells us that Rugendas (see below) had drawn up the military scene proper, whereas Drentwett (1647-1729; again one of those goldsmiths involved in print production) was responsible for the elaborate ornamental framing devices surrounding this scene.[27]

Even if there is just one inscription naming the author of the modello, several draughtsmen may have contributed to what may be called a 'composite modello'. Thesis prints, e.g., often included a view of the university or the monastery where the disputation took place, or portraits of noteworthy persons connected with it, in which cases one may assume that drawings made by specialists had been supplied for these parts. The engraver later had to integrate these additional drawings into the main drawing, which outlined the design of the print as a whole and whose author's name appears at the bottom of the print.[28] It should be stressed here, though, that many prints unfortunately bear no such 'invenit' inscription at all and leave us entirely in the dark as to who created the modello, as they also do when they have been severely cut, perhaps because some previous owner mistakenly thought that all that mattered was the image proper inside the frame line. Sometimes the authorship of the modello can still be deduced by applying stylistic criteria.

Whereas 'delineavit' on a print mostly implies that there was a work of art specially prepared for the print in question, 'pinxit' as well as the more general 'invenit' are altogether more ambiguous and must be interpreted according to the context. 'Pinxit' might mean that an artist indeed painted something that should be turned into a print, usually a grisaille (a practice going back to the 16th century, later on quite popular with the Rubens workshop and also with some South German artists). 'Pinxit', however, might also mean that the print had taken for its modello an oil painting or a fresco which at first had not been created for the specific purpose of being reproduced by print; and 'invenit' might also refer to such a work of art originally not related to print production. Whenever an engraver could not possibly have had access to such an 'invention' or for practical reasons could not have copied it directly (e.g., he could not well have set up workshop in a church in front of a painting), one must assume an intervening stage between the painting and the print, a stage

[27] *Repraesentatio Belli ob successionem in Regno Hispanico*, ca 1715. Teuscher, pp. 64 ff.
[28] Appuhn-Radtke 1988, p. 44.

which might have again taken the form of a drawing, or of another print for that matter. Thus, when Gottlieb Heiss (1684-1740) in Augsburg made a print after a 'Vision of St Francis Xavier' by Ciro Ferri (1633-1689), he probably used an engraving by Francois de Louvemont after Ferri as a modello. To complicate matters even further, inscriptions on Louvemont's engraving say that it is based on an invention (a painting, in all likelihood) by Ferri and a drawing by Pietro Lucatelli, which the latter must have made after Ferri's painting ('Cyrus Ferrus invenit. Petrus Lucatellus delineavit'). Three artists thus had had a hand in what eventually served as a modello for an Augsburg engraver.[29]

Prints, in fact, were quite frequently employed as a basis for new prints, as they were easily available modellos, there for the taking, so to speak, and did not necessitate anyone to strain his inventive faculties or to pay an artist for creating something fresh. What is more, prints often reproduced popular works of arts, on whose popularity an engraver could cash in by copying already existing prints. This is a marketing strategy which might be expected to pay especially rich dividends if the original prints were hard to come by and/or expensive, and if a moderately priced re-edition thus might reckon with numerous prospective buyers. Reasoning of this kind, e.g., inspired Augsburg engraver Johann Ulrich Kraus to copy Sébastien Le Clerc's engravings after the tapestries which French court painter Charles LeBrun had designed for Versailles. (*Tapisseries Du Roy, Ou Sont Representez Les Quatre Elemens Et Les Quatre Saisons ...*, first edition 1687).

Using an already existing engraving as modello for a new print often had one more advantage, namely, that the engraver had something in front of him which he theoretically could reproduce line by line and dot by dot when creating his own etching or engraving. Even the process of transferring the design of the modello to the metal plate must have been more or less child's play in such cases, be it that one traced the outlines of the design with a pointed instrument after dusting the back of the modello sheet with crayon powder and placing it on the plate, be it that one perforated the sheet before placing it on the metal and pounced charcoal dust through the holes, to name just two of several methods available for the purpose of transferral.

Most preparatory drawings for prints, on the other hand, were not confined to clear-cut linear elements, but made liberal use of washes and white hightening for indicating tonality, something which the engraver had to translate into lines, dots and hatchings to achieve similar effects; and of course such a process of translation, requiring skills beyond mere mechanical copying, was also needed if a painted modello had been supplied. It has sometimes been assumed that such cases necessitated an intermediary step between the modello proper and the engraved plate, i.e., a drawing derived from the original modello by the engraver or one of his assistants, which already translated the modello into a system of lines which were suited for being subsequently engraved. In 1677 Bartholomäus Kilian the Younger wrote something to the abbot of the Upper Austrian Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster which might point in this direction, namely, that it had taken him some trouble to ‚bring order' to a drawing he had received. Whatever Kilian exactly meant, this

[29] Dreyer, p. 244.

shows that engravers sometimes took the liberty to interfere with modellos supplied by other artists before starting to engrave them.[30]

Drawings with washes or paintings were of course more immediately translatable into print when mezzotint had been chosen as a printing technique, as this technique in particular aimed at improving the possibility of convincingly rendering tonal values and painterly effects in print. Some 30 years after its inventor Ludwig von Siegen, a nobleman and amateur artist, had used it for the first time (1642) and a short time after it had gained a foothold in Nuremberg, it was introduced to Augsburg by Georg Andreas Wolfgang (1631-1716) and found its first major practitioner there in Elias Christoph Heiss (1660-1731), grandnephew to the painter Johann Heiss and once owner of the stately home that today houses the art treasures of the municipal Maximilianmuseum.[31]

Which intaglio technique eventually was chosen for a particular print depended on several facts, such as the individual skills of the person who was to work on the plate, the effect the print was desired to achieve, or the amount of labor and money that should be invested into the process. Accomplished etching certainly needed some experience if someone really wanted to have command over the way acid bites into metal, but its basics could be learnt within a short time ('in the space of a morning', as Stijnman has it)[32] and the method of drawing with a needle into an etching ground was very similar to other drawing techniques, which meant that virtually any draughtsman could try his hand at it. Engraving with a burin and mezzotint, on the other hand, required prolonged study under a master's tuition; if practiced on a high level, they were time-consuming as well as costly and not suited for everyday purposes. (In Augsburg mezzotint was often used for large-size luxury items such as thesis prints; ill. 16, 17.) The fees paid for executing an engraving or a mezzotint could thus be much higher than those paid for a preparatory drawing, even if it is difficult to believe that Augsburg-born Salomon Kleiner (1700-1761) should have been promised 20,000 fl. for engraving the frescoes in the Vienna Court Library, for which the painter himself had received only 17,000 fl. (This was a print project, though, which did not come to fruition.)[33]

There was also the issue of how many copies could be drawn from a plate. In connection with a major project of his Augsburg publishing house, Johann Andreas Pfeffel (1674-1748) once said that he reckoned with some 2,000-3,000 copies from a plate which had been etched, but with some 6,000-8,000 copies from a plate which had been engraved with a burin.[34] In practice, techniques were frequently combined: 17th century craftsmen became increasingly fond of subtly nuanced surface structures which could be achieved by making etched and engraved lines interact; and often it was found convenient to first etch the outlines of a design, independent of which technique would later be used to fill the spaces in between. Christian Rugendas (1708-1781) is also known to have used proof copies of such

[30] Appuhn-Radtke 1988, p. 41.
[31] *Die also genannte schwarze Kunst* [...]; for Augsburg, see pp. 152 ff. (Bernd Schäfer, Martina AltSchäfer).
[32] Stijnman, p. 196.
[33] Prange, p. 21.
[34] Müsch, p .67.

outline etchings for applying washes to them and thus testing the painterly effects that he wanted to create by using mezzotint.[35]

Engravers often inscribed their names upon the plate, accompanied by an abbreviation of 'sculpsit' ('has engraved') such as 'sc.' or 'sculps.' (again, though, they did not do so as regularly as one would have wished, and again cutting a print may have removed this name). The names of those persons in charge of the next step, i.e., the craftsmen operating the printing press, however, can but rarely be rescued from anonymity with regard to a particular print. The archival records concerning the heraldic calendar of the Augsburg city council offer such a rare opportunity, as for a period of some 150 years they detail all persons involved in the production of the calendar in a particular year. As is to be expected, the person who had engraved the plate or who had touched up a plate that had already been in use for several years may be identical with the printer, but often this was not the case, as drawing prints from engraved plates had developed since the late 16th century into a special branch of business.[36] Another anonymous contribution to the finished product might be colouring, executed in widely varying degrees of subtlety by one of the numerous Augsburg 'Briefmaler' or 'illuminists'. (In 1735, there were about 200 of them.)[37]

There is one person whose name frequently appears on a print, who has not been mentioned as yet, though he was at the head of the process of print production from the first steps onwards, i.e., the publisher, whose name on the print is usually accompanied by an abbreviation of 'excudit' ('has published'). It was the publisher who organized the whole workflow, who saw to it that there was a modello, someone to engrave and someone to draw prints from the plate; it was he who had taken the financial risk and who put the prints on the market, either by offering them for sale in his own shop, by disseminating them via travelling salesmen or by preparing catalogues of what he had in stock. He might also have taken care that his products were to some extent safeguarded against illicit reprints by applying for a printing privilege. The quite frequent abbreviation C.P.S.C.A. on many Augsburg prints indicates that the publisher had obtained such a privilege covering the whole Empire ('Cum Privilegio Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis').

Artists and craftsmen

After briefly characterizing the three principal roles involved in print production, i.e., supplying a modello, engraving and publishing, we will go on to explore how individual participants in the print business either took over all three of these roles or limited themselves to two or even just one of the roles. By necessity, only a few representative examples for the various types of participants can be given here.

[35] Krämer.
[36] Biller.
[37] Gier, p. 493.

We will start with the 'generalists', i.e. those who combined all three roles, and name first ***Johann Georg Bergmüller*** (1688-1762), Catholic academy director since 1730 and an artist whose main fame rests on his frescoes and altarpieces.[38] After Bergmüller, a native of Swabian Türkheim some 40 km southwest of Augsburg and a pupil of Johann Andreas Wolff in Munich, had settled in Augsburg in 1713, he was at first mainly occupied with altarpieces, whereas commissions for major fresco decorations failed to come in as yet. At this early stage of his career, he was probably glad that prints offered another opportunity to spread his name round and to introduce him to prospective future employers, such as the Jesuits in Augsburg and Dillingen and the Dominicans in Eichstätt (see of a neighbouring diocese); all convents with which originated books published in the years 1715-1718 and containing prints after modellos supplied by Bergmüller. These prints were engraved by Jakob Andreas Friedrich the Elder (1684-1751) and inaugurated a period which was to last for more than 20 years during which Catholic Bergmüller and Protestant Friedrich would repeatedly team up for inter-confessional cooperation (ill. 6).

In 1714/15, i.e. the years immediately following Bergmüller's arrival in Augsburg, his name also already started appearing on thesis prints, which in these cases were destined for Prague (back then the capital of Bohemia, today of Czechia), for Olomouc (Moravia; today part of Czechia) and Graz (Styria; today part of Austria), all of them seats of Jesuit universities far to the east of Augsburg. In the years to come Bergmüller would contribute to many more thesis prints for places all through the Empire, such as Dillingen (Swabia), Ingolstadt (Upper Bavaria), Bamberg, Würzburg (both in the northern part of present-day Bavaria called Franconia), Vienna, Innsbruck (Tyrolia; today part of Austria), Salzburg (back then an archbishop's principality; today part of Austria) or Breslau (Silesia; today part of Poland). Friedlmaier's catalogue from 1998 all in all counts 86 such sheets, and more have come to light since its publication. Bergmüller's contributions to these prints, many of them engraved and published by Elias Christoph Heiss, usually took the form of supplying paintings as models which in the first place had served a different purpose (e.g., altar paintings).

Bergmüller also saw to it that his frescoes were disseminated via print. Thus, Jeremias Wolff's heirs in 1740 somewhat belatedly published a series of prints by an anonymous engraver after Bergmüller's frescoes from ca 1732 in the Augsburg Augustinian canons' church of the Holy Cross, 'ut clarior in publicam lucem prodeant', as the foreword has it ('that they may shine more brightly in public'); in point of fact the only way these frescoes may still 'shine' today, as the church suffered heavy damage in the course of World War II. There are other series in whose gestation Bergmüller was even more actively involved, such as the prints executed by Hieronymus Sperling after Bergmüller's frescoes in St Mary's Chapel in Augsburg cathedral (Bergmüller's first major fresco commission in Augsburg, again lost during the war), prints which Bergmüller published himself. In the case of the prints depicting his frescoes from 1728 in St Katharina's (parts of which have survived, but are today hidden under a layer of plastering), he in addition took over the part

[38] Epple/Straßer; Friedlmaier; Straßer 2004.

of engraver (ill. 7).[39] Several other series could be mentioned in which Bergmüller either acted as publisher of prints made after his drawings by other engravers (the illustrations for his books on human proportions and on the orders of columns belong to this category), or in which he retained control over the whole process of print production, such as he did in the 'Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit' from the 1730s. Here, he explicitly states on the title page that the figures had been 'newly invented' by him (in this case for the specific purpose of print), that he had 'made' the engravings, and that they could be bought from him as their publisher.

On some engravings of the early 1730s, inscriptions identifying Bergmüller as inventor and publisher occur together with 'Götz sculp.', indicating that ***Gottfried Bernhard Göz*** (1708-1774), arriving in Augsburg around 1729/30, had for a brief time been in Bergmüller's employment. Göz, a Catholic who had received training as a painter in his native Moravia, is perhaps the most conspicuous Augsburg example of an artist sharing his efforts to equal measure between large scale painting (frescoes, altarpieces) and the print business (inventing, executing and publishing prints all included).[40] For the first decade or so of his Augsburg years, though, there is hardly any evidence of his being active as a painter, and print thus seems to have been his main occupation during these years. Apart from Bergmüller, he worked for several other publishers such as Johann Andreas Pfeffel (see below) or Johann Georg Merz the Elder; and around 1738 he founded a publishing house together with the Klauber brothers.

Soon afterwards, in 1739, Göz's career as a fresco painter got under way with an allegory of trade in the home of Augsburg banker Christian Georg von Köpf, a painting so charming and accomplished that it is difficult to accept as Göz's first attempt at mastering this technique; and in the years to come many more fresco commissions were to follow. Among them, two cycles painted on behalf of Cistercian patrons (an order with whom Göz maintained particularly close relations) stand out for their scope, inventiveness and vivid virtuoso brushwork: the frescoes in the pilgrimage church of Neu-Birnau on the Lake of Constance (1748/49), a site in charge of the nearby abbey of Salem, and the frescoes in Leitheim Castle (1751), the summer residence of the abbots of Kaisheim in North Swabia.

Neither the frescoes nor the numerous altarpieces issuing forth from his workshop, though, detracted Göz from print production; on the contrary, he founded his own print publishing house in 1742 (but went on to collaborate with the Klaubers from time to time and supplied, e.g., some of the drawings for the Litany of Loreto; ill. 8). There are also several instances of how commissions for frescoes, oil paintings and prints were interrelated: Thus, when Augsburg goldsmith Franz Thaddäus Lang, godfather to Göz's son Franz Regis, told Göz that he had obtained a commission from the Cistercians of Admont in Styria and that this was a place where disputations were staged once a year, Göz went on to write to the abbot of Admont and offered his services as supplier of thesis prints; an initiative which ultimately earned him a commission for a 24-part series of large oil paintings of the fathers

[39] Schawe.
[40] Isphording 1992; Isphording 1997; Wildmoser.

of the church (1745/47). After finishing his work in Neu-Birnau, to give another example, he was asked to design and execute a thesis print for the disputation to be held in connection with the solemnities celebrating the inauguration of the new church. Göz also arranged for the printing of the plate (the copy printed on red sateen probably being the one the abbot of Salem had dispatched to Rome as a gift to the Pope); and the fact that Göz charged the abbot 1413 fl. for 405 copies is telling evidence of how costly these items could be, considering that Göz had received only 425 fl. for the two Neu-Birnau side altar paintings (sized ca 250 x 130 cm).[41]

All in all, Göz engraved ca 500 prints himself and in addition made drawings for several hundred more prints executed by others, among them many series of varying scope; an extraordinary achievement combining an astoundingly fertile imagination with confident mastery of different techniques such as line engraving, stipple engraving and etching. It is just mezzotint that plays but a minor role in his output.

There are two particular features in this output which still deserve special mention, one of them relating to a certain type of design, the other to the question of printing in colour. When Göz applied for an Imperial printing privilege in 1741, he claimed for himself the idea of prints whose images dispensed with any sort of framing and just set the (often highly irregular) shapes of figures, objects, buildings, clouds etc. against the background of the paper. This is something which he certainly had not invented and for which precedents may be found, e.g., in the work of Jacques Callot (*Petite Passion*, ca 1624/25), but which he may well have introduced to the 18th century Augsburg print scene (ill. 8-10). It was, anyway, a device which was adopted by many other 18th century artists and also occurs in a modified form, in which parts of the image are enclosed by some sort of linear or ornamental frame, whereas other parts are left frameless.

It must have been soon after 1741 (otherwise, he would certainly have mentioned it, too, in his request for the privilege) that Göz started experimenting with colour printing à la poupée (ill. 9), i.e., applying inks of different colours to different parts of the plate; a technique not to be confused with the method devised early in the 18th century by Jacob Christoph Le Blon (1667-1741), which consisted in printing several mezzotint plates in different colours superimposed over each other.[42] Again, Göz was not the first to work à la poupée, as Dutch artists such as Johannes Teyler (1648- ca 1709) had already made successful use of the technique; but one should probably not altogether dismiss the account that Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815, founding member of the Royal Academy of Arts in London) took some lessons with Göz, who in this case would have been instrumental in spreading the technique to London. The subtle results Göz achieved (he only used stipple engravings for this purpose) were a far cry off the crudeness so typical of many coloured 18th century prints; but the utmost care needed for the inking made the procedure time-consuming and expensive, so that it was not suited for large scale production, and only comparatively few

[41] Isphording 1982, text volume, pp. 354 f.
[42] For a detailed account of the various techniques of colour printing, see Stijnman, pp. 341-375. He does not, though, mention Göz.

specimens have survived to the present day.[43] When the abbot of Admont in 1745 enquired about large colour engravings, Göz went to some length to point out the pitfalls and costs of such an undertaking and seemed altogether not particularly enthusiastic about it.[44]

Whereas Bergmüller and Göz represent the inventor-cum-engraver-cum-publisher type with an emphasis on Catholic subject matter, we will now turn to two Protestants who belong to the same group of all-round print producers, but were for the most time preoccupied with altogether different topics.

Georg Philipp Rugendas the Elder (1666-1742), first Protestant director of the Augsburg art academy in the years 1710-1742 and member of a family from which several notable artists and craftsmen descended,[45] mainly turned his inventive faculties as a painter and print maker towards scenes of warfare, sometimes also to horses and riders outside the context of battles. In 1705, e.g., he made a series of etchings documenting the 1703/04 siege of Augsburg by Bavarian and French troops in the course of the War of the Spanish Succession (ill. 11), events which he had witnessed on the spot (and which had been less of an inspiration to, say, Johann Ulrich Kraus, who gives a lively account of how he risked his life to salvage the near-finished plates for his *Heilige Augen- und Gemüths-Lust* mentioned above from his house after it had been hit by enemy fire). The high esteem Georg Philipp enjoyed as a painter is apparent from the commission for four large battle canvases he received from Lothar Franz von Schönborn, Prince Bishop of Bamberg as well as Elector and Archbishop of Mainz.

Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767) on the other hand, a pupil of Rugendas and Protestant director of the art academy in the years 1759-1767,[46] made animals his principal concern (mainly in print), at times rendering them with scientific detachment and stressing the true-to-life character of his prints (‘ad vivum delineavit’), at times embroiling them in fights and thus catering to a craving for the spectacular, at times showing them in the process of acting out the morals of fables (ill. 12). Ridinger’s prints were reissued for educational purposes far into the 19th century, and even in the second half of the 20th century persons of insecure taste in search of something vaguely historic to adorn their home with, something whose subject was easily recognizable, might have opted for a Ridinger. Some of the reason why his once considerable popularity has declined may be that a characteristic part of his output is taken up with hunting: Present-day ecologic sensibilities often do not respond well to a display of slaughtered animals, be it ever so artistic, and hunting as a method of aristocratic ego-boosting, as it is celebrated, e.g., in a print series of stately stags slain by noble lords, is also a concept which has not worn well. All this, though, should not prevent one from appreciating Ridinger’s skill in evoking the tactile qualities of surfaces such as fur and feathers, or in conjuring up a suggestively crepuscular woodland atmosphere.

[43] Wildmoser (1984, p. 336) says that he had been able to track down all in all 38 colour prints by Göz, 16 of which had much faded because of exposure to light.
[44] Isphording 1982, text volume, p. 341.
[45] Teuscher.
[46] Thienemann.

Even to those familiar with Rugendas and Ridinger it might come as surprise that they both contributed to thesis prints, Ridinger to a lesser, Rugendas to a more substantial degree. In the case of Rugendas it is quite interesting to note how even in this genre he quite frequently found opportunity to indulge his taste for battle, turmoil and violence. Admittedly, on second thought this may not be all that remarkable, as such episodes figure large in the Bible as well as in hagiography (e.g., St Paul being converted to Christ amidst a flurry of horses and warriors, or St James goading the Spanish troops on to victory in the Battle of Clavijo, both subjects appearing on thesis prints by Rugendas). But there definitely are instances when one wonders if Rugendas foisted a particular story on a customer because it coincided with his personal preferences: There may be nothing unusual about St Aloysius Gonzaga on a thesis print, but who indeed would have chosen the incident how the child Aloysius visiting a military camp is protected by his guardian angel when he starts meddling with a cannon?

Several thesis prints are results of a collaboration between Georg Philipp the Elder and his son ***Christian Rugendas*** (1708-1781),[47] who after his father's death went on to produce and publish prints derived from the latter's works without, as it seems, adding anything of his own invention. He quite openly and almost endearingly flirts with his deficiencies in this respect when he comments on the drawing he added to the 'Stammbuch' (friendship book) of his colleague Johann Esaias Nilson (more about him later) that he had copied it from a work of his late father, as he himself ‚lacked thoughts of his own'.[48]

One of the most famous examples for this type of engraver-publisher who spent little or no time at all on invention are the Klauber brothers,[49] with whom we are firmly back on Catholic territory, to some extent even, as we shall see, Catholicism of the type Church militant. Considering that the workshop of ***Joseph Sebastian Klauber*** (1710-1768) and ***Johann Baptist Klauber*** (1712-1787) is so often looked upon as an epitome of Augsburg 18th century print art, the idea takes some time getting used to that the brothers were almost exclusively reproductive artists and that there are very few prints whose invention can confidently be claimed for them. The well-known 'Klauber Bible', e.g., consisting of 100 medium-size prints in landscape format usually cramming numerous biblical incidents unto a single sheet (ill. 13),[50] might just as well, or even with better reason, be called 'Stockmann Bible': Johann Adam Stockmann (? – 1783) is named as inventor at two strategically important places, the title pages to the Old and New Testament, something from which one might justifiably infer that he made the drawings for the whole bible. In many other cases, the Klauber workshop left no explicit reference whatsoever to the identity of the draughtsman, whose disclosure is thus dependent on clever stylistically informed guesswork or serendipitous finds (which, of course, holds true of other workshops as well). In the case of the Litany of Loreto (ill. 8), a set of drawings relating to the print series turned up on the

[47] Teuscher; Krämer.
[48] Krämer, p. 48 f.
[49] Ruck/Sapcenko.
[50] *Historiae Biblicae [...] Biblische Geschichten des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Augsburg 1748. Stoll 2007.

art market in the 1990s, which helped to solve part of the riddle: It contains unmistakable evidence that Göz had contributed to the preparatory drawings for the series.[51]

Similar vexing questions of who exactly did what often arise when it comes to the execution of the prints. True, there are instances when inscriptions unequivocally mark prints as the work of one of the two brothers, but one also meets with signatures such as 'Io. Bapt und I. S. Klauber' or just a laconic 'Klauber'. In the latter cases, it is not just a question of making a choice between the two brothers: In order to cope with their workload, the Klaubers must needs have had assistants, which means that 'Io. Bapt und I. S. Klauber' and 'Klauber' is rather to be taken as a firm imprint, an assumption which is borne out by the fact that even within one and the same series of prints, such as the Klauber Bible, different styles of engraving may occur, and certainly more than just two such styles.

One might still try to identify the stylistic individuality of at least each of the two brothers by a close examination of the surviving output of their workshop, but anyone who, for whatever reason, would set his mind on conducting an approximately complete survey of this output, would have to face up to a truly daunting task, as this output is, bluntly put, vast. It comprises a variety of genres with, as will be clear by now, a strong bias on religion (one may note, though, that the Klaubers were also much sought after as suppliers of portrait prints); and what is at least as fascinating as the sheer scope, is the array of widely differing levels of quality: The workshop churned out prints for mass consumption, whose pretences sometimes hardly go beyond pedestrian craftsmanship, but sometimes reach for something more distinguished (ill. 3); at the other end of the scale, it created prints apt to satisfy the demands of even the most discerning patron: supremely refined large-scale mezzotints (ill. 17, 22) as well as delightfully sketchy small etchings such as the one in ill. 23, aligning St Francis Xavier with the sense of taste (one of the traditional five senses), a highly fanciful invention which was also executed as a large-scale engraving. (In this case, this latter version, but not the etching, tells us that the print is based on a drawing by Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner, more about whom later.) [52]

The most gifted engraver of the Klauber family, renowned mainly for his portraits, probably was Johann Baptist's son, Ignaz Sebastian Klauber (1753-1817), who, however, spent long years in Paris (1781-1790) and St Petersburg (1796-1817, from 1805 onwards as custodian of the print department of the Eremitage) and thus rather hovers on the margins of Augsburg art history. There is one other family member which we should mention, Catharina Klauber, if only to instantly dismiss her again. To be sure, there were notable women engravers in 17th and 18th century Augsburg such as Johann Sibylla Küsel (ca 1650-1717; daughter and niece, respectively, to the engraver brothers Melchior and Matthäus Küsel and wife to Johann Ulrich Kraus) or Catharina Sperling (1699-1741, wife to Hieronymus Sperling and also an esteemed painter of miniatures), but Catharina Klauber owes her existence to a misinterpretation of 'Cath[olici]', an epitheton which the Klaubers often added to their family name on their prints. Although the venerable Thieme-Becker dictionary of

[51] Isphording 1993.
[52] Schemmel, pp. 132 ff.

artists as early as 1927 cleared up this misunderstanding, she keeps haunting the art market to the present day; and even in August 2014, a European antiquarian who shall remain unnamed offered via internet a series of prints by 'Catharina Klauber', in this case explaining the name as a pseudonym for Joseph Sebastian Klauber. (Why on earth, one wonders, should Joseph Sebastian have cared to mask as Catharina?) The presence of 'Cath.' on the prints, though, should be properly taken note of: In a city whose print business had long been dominated by Protestants and where it had been a matter of course to assign Catholic subjects to Protestant engravers, the Klaubers' public emphasis on their denomination can only mean that they wanted to entice Catholic patrons away from Protestant engravers by implying that now, in the middle of the 18th century, Catholics at last no longer needed to turn to heretics for prints.

Impressive though the output of the Klauber workshop was, including series running to more than 100 prints, the brothers yet never tried their hands at something on the scale of the *Physica sacra*, the most ambitious business venture of their colleague ***Johann Andreas Pfeffel*** (1674-1748), another one of those engraver-publishers who seems to have made but few creative efforts of his own.[53]

The *Physica sacra* (1727-1735)[54] was the brainchild of Johann Jakob Scheuchzer, a Protestant scholar living in Swiss Zurich, who had made it his aim to comment on anything relating to natural sciences in the Bible and who, in the hope of thus minimizing the interference of Zurich censorship, had decided to have the book published in Augsburg. It consists of some 2000 folio-size pages of text and more than 750 engravings (ill. 14) and would offer an excellent opportunity to detail the multifarious tasks an enterprising publisher had to juggle at times and to show how Augsburg on such an occasion could become the hub of a publishing network drawing on various resources from outside. As space is limited here, though, we can but briefly go into how Pfeffel forwarded the drawings by Scheuchzer's compatriot Johann Melchior Füßli (1677-1736) to Nuremberg academy director Johann Daniel Preißler (1666-1737), who added decorative frames to enhance their aesthetic appeal; how he next saw to it that the engravings were executed by a team of 26 Augsburg and Nuremberg engravers; how he himself worked most of the plates over once again, as apart from Hieronymus Sperling from Augsburg none of the engravers had performed to his satisfaction; how he had the Swiss German idiosyncrasies of the author's language removed from the text, as they might have been detrimental to a wide circulation of the book; how he made arrangements for the printing of the text (again a commission that went outside the city walls, to the Ulm printing shop of Ulrich Wagner the Elder); how he had to deal with the fact that there would be more than the 400 plates initially mentioned in the call for subscriptions, which also meant that more money had to be collected from possibly indignant subscribers, etc. etc. Scholarship has it that Pfeffel's mass production of unassuming religious prints served as a sort of financial backbone on the basis of

[53] The following paragraphs are based on Müsch.

[54] *Kupfer-Bibel / In welcher Die Physica Sacra, Oder Geheiligte Natur-Wissenschafft Derer In Heil. Schrifft vorkommenden Natürlichen Sachen / Deutlich erklärt und bewährt [...]*

which he could tackle momentous risky undertakings such as *Physica sacra* (or, for that matter, the grand architectural views from Vienna he published in the years 1724 ff.).[55]

Whatever profits the *Physica sacra* eventually yielded to Pfeffel, he seems to have kept on prospering in the years immediately following its completion (1735). There are no tax registers available for these years such as they are for 1717, when Pfeffel paid 30 fl., which incontrovertibly ranks him with the top earners; but in ca 1736/37 he had the facade of the mansion he owned in a prime location at the heart of Augsburg painted al fresco ('Art triumphing over Ignorance and Envy', among other topics) and also had the ceiling of his garden pavilion embellished with a charming allegory of the flux of time (the months dancing to the tunes of time). The painter in both cases was a young man who after living for some years with Johann Georg Bergmüller had moved into Pfeffel's house either late in 1735 or early in 1736, and was to stay there till 1738: ***Johann Evangelist Holzer*** (1709-1740; Catholic) from Burgeis in South Tyrolia.[56] Compared to the artists discussed in some detail in the preceding paragraphs (Bergmüller, Göz, Rugendas, Ridinger, Klauber, Pfeffel), Holzer belongs to a different category, as he made prints after his own inventions and supplied modellos for prints executed by others, but never in his short life got involved in publishing.

Most of the few prints he made during the years he spent in Bergmüller's workshop (1730-1735/36), among them, touchingly, a heraldic exlibris for his teacher, use the then popular combination of engraving and etching and have something experimental about them. He might have also had a hand in the invention of some prints whose inscriptions would seem to assign the modellos firmly to Bergmüller; especially the echoes of Watteau in some prints bearing Bergmüller's name are something one would not expect from this artist. Clear evidence that a seemingly unequivocal 'Bergmüller invenit' is compatible with creative input from Holzer (whom, according to Augsburg engraver and art historiographer Georg Christoph Kilian, Bergmüller treated less like a 'pupil' than as a 'compagnon') comes from the heraldic calendar of the Augsburg city council first used in 1733: The calendar itself, engraved by Hieronymus Sperling, says ‚JG Bergmüller delin[eavit]', whereas the preparatory drawing for the head part has ‚J. Holzer fecit 1732 Sub Directione D[omi]ni J. G. Bergmiller'. i.e., Holzer had made the drawing 'under the guidance' of Bergmüller.

Supplying paintings and drawings for prestigious prints (mainly mezzotints) such as thesis prints (ill. 16) or calendars was certainly Holzer's chief contribution to print culture, with some of these sheets again derived from paintings which in the first place were created for a different purpose, such as altarpieces. It is, though, to the large scale altarpieces themselves, and to a an even greater extent to his frescoes, that Holzer owes his posthumous fame, indeed a fame so outstanding that it marks him off from all other 18th century Augsburg painters, perhaps even from all other South German painters of his time. Andreas Felix von Oefele, Bavarian court librarian, co-founder of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and one of the torch-bearers of South German Enlightenment (and thus probably not a per-

[55] Prange, pp. 103 f.
[56] *Johann Evangelist Holzer*.

son given to lavishing cheap praise on a church painter) in 1757 enthused about him as the 'Raphael d'Allemagne du siècle présent'; and Holzer drew praise from even more unlikely sources such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), most classical icon of German literature, and Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), Germany's then leading protagonist of Neoclassicism and antiquarian studies. (The latter referred in particular to the facade of the Pfeffel house.) What probably made Holzer so attractive even to people who usually kept their distance to Baroque art, was the way he fused the lessons he had learnt from Bergmüller (sound academic rules for shaping human bodies, a sense for well-judged proportions and dignified postures) with a heightened sensibility all his own (not entirely immune to the lures of the frankly sentimental and at times just stopping short of the plain maudlin). Holzer also for most of the time, at least in his large scale paintings, steered clear of the exuberant ornamental fancies so dear to late Baroque, but equally odious to more enlightened spirits in the second half of the 18th century; in prints based on Holzer's inventions, though, bizarre ornamental excrescences do occur, sometimes even verging on the mildly monstrous (ill. 16).

Apart from the qualities inherent in his paintings, there are certain biographical details which probably added to the fascination he exerted on posterity, chief among them his tragically early death at the age of 39, coming quite unexpected immediately after he had been whisked away by Clemens August, Elector and Prince Bishop of Cologne, to Clemenswerth in North West Germany, where he was to decorate the chapel of the episcopal castle. And there is something else conducive to myth-making, namely, the almost wanton cruelty fate had in store for most frescoes by this most gifted of Augsburg painters: The numerous frescoes by his hand that once adorned the houses of Augsburg artists, tradesmen, bankers and innkeepers have long since fallen victim to weather inclemencies; and his magnum opus, the frescoes in Balthasar Neumann's Benedictine abbey church of Münsterschwarzach in North Bavaria (1738/40), perished when the church was pulled down early in the 19th century, something frequently quoted to the present day as one of the most flagrant atrocities of the Bavarian Secularization. Johann Esaias Nilson, Protestant academy director in the years 1769-1786, commemorated the 25th anniversary of Holzer's death with a series of prints after his Augsburg frescoes (aptly named 'Ars longa, vita brevis'; ill. 15), and oil sketches by Holzer tantalizingly hint at the splendours of Münsterschwarzach; but the only place conveying to this day an adequate impression of Holzer as a fresco painter is the pilgrimage church of St Anton's in Upper Bavarian Partenkirchen at the foot of the Alps: St Anthony working his miracles in a chiaroscuro environment where colours glow and shadows abound, a mysterious world from which much of the light usually suffusing fresco ceilings has been drained.

What we are left with now is the group of those artists who took over just one of the roles. We will not detain us long with those, numerous though they were, who limited themselves to engraving, as these craftsmen have as yet been little explored as individuals (even if studying their individual performances can at times be a quite rewarding task); and we will only briefly touch on those print publishers who did not at all actively participate in the process of creating prints and who just brought organizational skills and entrepreneurial

acumen to their business. They counted Protestant ***Jeremias Wolff*** (1663-1724) among their ranks, head of one of the most prospering Augsburg book and print publishing houses of his time: He had dabbled with little success in making watches and automata before he found his true calling in the art business. (See ill. 11 for a series published by Wolff.)

We will, however, have a closer look at some artists (all of them Catholics) who didn't publish, who, apart perhaps from the odd experimental try, abstained from engraving, but whose drawings or paintings served as modellos for prints. Before we turn to two important Augsburg-based artists of this type, Johann Chrostoph Storer (1620-1671)[57] may serve as an example for those painters and/or draughtsmen who spent their life quite at some distance from Augsburg, but still supplied fuel for the print factory. Storer was born in Constance (on the lake of the same name in South West Germany) and returned after long years spent in Italy to his native city to open a workshop which specialized in altarpieces, many of them with a strong Flemish flavour, and in drawings for prints. This workshop was held in high regard all through Catholic South West Germany and Switzerland, so that it need not come as a surprise that Storer, among others, received commissions for four altarpieces when Baroque made its entrance into Augsburg Cathedral in the years 1655 ff., or that he was chosen to paint the huge ‚Parting of St Peter and St Paul' (1661) for the high altar of the parish church of Dillingen, administrative centre of the Bishop of Augsburg's principality. Storer maintained particularly close relations with the Jesuits, and the drawings he made for thesis prints (ill. 2) and illustrations in books written by Jesuits almost invariably went to Augsburg to be engraved there, notably by Melchior Küsel, Matthäus Küsel and members of the Kilian family.

There were even closer ties between the Jesuit order and ***Christoph Thomas Scheffler*** (1699-1756),[58] a native of Lower Bavaria who in 1722 joined the order as a lay brother. Soon afterwards, when he was still quite young, the order entrusted him with the frescoes and altarpieces in its church in Ellwangen in Wurttemberg (1725 ff.), works in which Scheffler is still easily recognizable as a pupil of Cosmas Damian Asam (1686-1739) in Munich, the leading Bavarian fresco painter in the first third of the 18th century. In 1728, Scheffler resigned as a lay brother in order to be all the better able to pursue his vocation as a painter; still, towards the end of his long career, which had taken him to Swabian villages as well as distant places such as Neiße (Silesia), Mainz and Worms on the Rhine and Trier on the Mosel, Scheffler so to speak returned to his spiritual roots and frescoed the Jesuit churches of Dillingen and Landsberg am Lech (Upper Bavaria, some 40 km south of Augsburg). Whereas the colouristically highly refined Dillingen frescoes (1750/51) are usually considered the masterpiece of Scheffler's late period, the Landsberg frescoes (1753/54) are often criticized as a relapse into a by-then dated High Baroque ponderosity. Such stylistic nit-picking, however, is not likely to prevent an appreciative spectator's gaze from being irresistibly drawn into the maelstrom of the Battle of the Milvian bridge Scheffler painted upon the Landsberg choir vault.

[57] Appuhn-Radtke 2000.
[58] Braun; Dölling; Hartmann.

When in 1728 Scheffler applied for a residence permit in Augsburg, which indeed was to become his home for the rest of his life, he proudly enumerated the places where he had worked side by side with the famous Asam, but also thought it wise to recommend himself as a supplier of modellos for prints and stressed that in this capacity he had already ‚insinuated' himself (the very word he uses) with Augsburg engravers.[59] This was an argument which, as archival evidence shows, carried some weight with those responsible, who eventually granted his request. Some 10 years later, Scheffler married and subsequently acquired full citizenship.

The thesis print in ill. 17, based on a drawing by Scheffler, is a fine example of how the somewhat loose or even casual approach to shaping figures which Scheffler had taken over from Asam gave way to clear outlines and well-defined bodies once he had come under the influence of the Augsburg genius loci and such artists as Johann Georg Bergmüller. It also shows how Scheffler, quite unlike Bergmüller, at times allowed his imagination to run wild, in his grisaille paintings and drawings for prints as well as in his frescoes. (There will be opportunity later for briefly returning to Scheffler at his most uninhibited.) Scheffler is also notable for boldly transferring a popular device in print design, the frameless image (which Göz had claimed as his invention; see above), to the monumental scale of fresco painting: His ‚Coronation fo the Virgin' in Dillingen seems to float freely in the choir vault; indeed, one gets the impression that it might just drift away if the stucco cartouches hadn't somehow tacked it tapestry-like to the ceiling (ill. 18).

Whereas Scheffler came quite early to fresco painting (at the age of 26, as we have seen), ***Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner*** (1702-1761),[60] if he was indeed born in 1702, and not in 1712, as had previously been assumed, painted his first frescoes at the fairly advanced age of 52; and, even more remarkably, only a few years later created a fresco cycle which shows perfect mastery of the technique and is universally considered one of the most brilliant achievements of all South German 18th century painting: the cycle in the pilgrimage church in Upper Bavarian Bergen; incidentally, another Jesuit commission, as it was their convent in nearby Neuburg on the Danube which was in charge of the pilgrimage centering round a splinter of the Holy Cross.

Baumgartner's quite idiosyncratic way of handling the brush to some extent sets him apart from his South German colleagues and makes it all the more regrettable that the question where he took his formative schooling and from whom has found as yet no satisfactory answer. His career as a whole, one might say, was odd from the very beginning. He is said to have first been apprenticed in his native Tyrolian village of Ebbs to his father, a smith, and then to have learnt the art of reverse glass painting from a musician (!) in Salzburg. When in 1733 he applied for a residence permit in Augsburg, as Scheffler had done 5 years before, he emphasized that it was only glass painting he wanted to practice and that he thus would pose no threat to already established painters, none of whom as yet worked in this field. He was granted right of residence with the stipulation that he indeed should restrict

[59] Braun, p. 97.
[60] Bushart; Straßer 2009.

himself to glass painting, but when in 1746, i.e. 13 years later, city authorities admonished him that it was now high time that he should acquire full citizenship and join the painters' guild, archival records relating to this incident make it clear that in the meantime he had not stayed with glass painting, but had also made good money with drawings for print publishers; a fortunate branching-out, one is tempted to say, in view of the glass paintings by his hand that have come to light as yet, which do not amount to much more than solid craftsmanship. It is also telling that the print publishers Martin Engelbrecht and Georg Christoph Kilian acted as bondsmen when Baumgartner eventually complied, after some balking, with the request from above and became an Augsburg citizen in 1746. He seems to have been an altogether difficult character, and when in 1749 the guild wanted to take part in the burial of his infant daughter, as was their wont in such cases, an ugly quarrel ensued, which would almost have ended up with Baumgartner taken into custody.

Baumgartner would now have had the right to take on commissions as a painter, but, and here is another riddle, it seems that several years passed before he actually made use of this right. In 1753, the first volume appeared of what would become a four volume octavo book containing for each day of the year an engraving of a saint commemorated on this day, accompanied by a brief text (*Tägliche Erbauung eines wahren Christen*, 'Daily edification of a true Christian'). The book was published by a so-called 'Society of Free Arts and Sciences' (later, more grandiloquently, 'Imperial Franciscan Academy of Free Arts and Sciences'), an undertaking headed by the Augsburg engraver-publisher family Herz, which was highly controversial at the time, and has had a decidedly mixed press in art historiography since then. Baumgartner painted rather sketchy oil modellos for ca 280 of the 365 engravings, most of which were executed in Augsburg, apart from a handful outsourced to workshops in Venice, Paris and Avignon; and there would have been nothing particularly unusual about Baumgartner's share if he had painted his sketches en grisaille, but instead they are in colour (ill. 19-20). This seems to be without precedent, and the only other instance from 18th century art that comes to mind are the oil modellos painted for the same series by Vienna-trained Franz Sigrist, who clearly followed Baumgartner's example.

At first, one is likely to be nonplussed why colour should have been chosen for this purpose, as colour does not convey information from which an engraver might benefit; and there is no reason to assume that the sketches were intended as modellos for printing in colour or for illuminating engravings. The fact that they were later exhibited in the rooms of the Society suggests that they may have been meant to serve a double purpose: Once the designs had been transferred into print, the sketches might be presented to the public, and possibly sold off, as autonomous works of art in their own right. Whatever the reason, it was certainly a happy coincidence that Baumgartner had been asked to supply colour sketches (or had the idea come from him?), for colour, glowing, iridescent, blazing or luminous, turned out to be very much his forte, be it in oil or be it in fresco painting. (His grasp of human anatomy, on the other hand, at times was definitely shaky.) The fresco from the chapel in Baitenhausen on the Lake of Constance (1760; ill. 21) gives some impression of the subtle colouristic effects he achieved; and it also shows how features typical of prints kept intruding into the fresco painter's art: in this case, the way the nightly

view of the town of Meersburg on the Lake of Constance rises above a sort of pedestal made of shells and seaweed, but is left frameless in the upper region, or the way topography here takes centre stage, which occurs but rarely in ceiling frescoes, but frequently in prints.

Baumgartner's closeness to the print business impacted on his career in other respects, too: It seems that the Klauber brothers (for whom he made modellos for close to 50 thesis prints; cf ill. 22) had recommended him to the Neuburg Jesuits for the Bergen commission; and according to a letter Baumgartner wrote to Neuburg in 1759, the Klaubers had also recommended him (rather than Göz, as he somewhat smugly emphasizes) for Vierzehnheiligen. Frescoing this pilgrimage church in North Bavaria, one of the most spectacular edifices of Late Baroque in Germany, would have been a challenge even surpassing Bergen; but construction work in Vierzehnheiligen stalled, and when the church was eventually ready for a fresco painter, Baumgartner had already died. Georg Christoph Kilian holds that the air and the wine on the Lake of Constance, where Baumgartner had painted his last frescoes, had not agreed with him and had caused the 'consumption' which carried him off soon after.

The 'Augsburg taste'

The thesis prints engraved after Holzer, Scheffler and Baumgartner (ill. 16, 17, 22) are remarkable for the emphasis they place on ornament. It is, moreover, predominantly a type of ornament which deserves particular attention as it has an altogether special place in the history of Augsburg print culture, even Augsburg art history as a whole. Prints entirely or to a large extent devoted to ornament had figured large in Augsburg since Lukas Kilian had played a leading role in the dissemination of scrollwork, and subsequently Augsburg engravers readily took up changing fashions such as acanthus and strapwork; but it was Rococo ornament to which Augsburg responded with particular enthusiasm and with which it entered into an almost symbiotic relationship, to a degree which made 'Augsburg taste' ('Augsburger Geschmack') more or less synonymous with Rococo all through the Empire.[61]

The term 'Rococo' is frequently applied to several stylistic tendencies emerging in the first third of the 18th century which have shed the heaviness of High Baroque and aim at something more elegant and delicate. In a narrower sense, it sometimes refers to a style defined by the presence of a very distinctive basic element, namely, rocaille, an asymmetric curvilinear entity whose striated surface resembles a shell and whose outlines at times are wavy or even jagged in a way reminiscent of tongues of flame. (The Baumgartner fresco in ill. 21 demonstrates almost in textbook fashion how the ornament owes its existence to nature morphing into art.) The term 'rocaille' originally referred to misshapen rock used for the

[61] The following paragraphs are mainly based on Irmscher 2005, Irmscher 2009, Laing and Vanuxem.

decoration of grottoes; if rocaille in the more common sense is more closely associated with shells, this may be so because shells also served as grotto ornaments, or because certain types of shells especially popular with collectors for their bizarre appearance (and there seems to have been a veritable mania for shell collecting in 18th century France) were called 'rocher' (French for 'rock'). The term 'Rococo' might be a conflation of 'rocaille' (or just 'roc') with either 'coquille'/'coquillage' (French for 'shell') or with 'barocco' (in its original sense of 'misshapen, convoluted'); anyway, it was a term coined probably late in the 18th century and originally meant to be derogatory. Those who created Rococo or knew it when it was in fashion, would have called it, e.g., 'style nouveau', 'genre pittoresque', or 'Augsburg taste', for that matter.

The origins of the style are frequently supposed to lie in 17th century Italy, but as the very term 'rocaille' implies, it was France where it blossomed into maturity towards the end of the 1720s. It was in 1728 that Juste-Aurèle Meissonier (a native of Turin, by the way) designed his famous candelabra so often quoted as early epitomes of the style; and when in March 1734 the *Mercure de France* announced a series of engravings after Meisssonier,[62] it did so in a brief text encapsulating spot-on what the new style all was about. It promised 'des Fontaines, des Cascades, des Ruines, des Rocailles, et Coquillages, des morceaux d'Architecture', i.e., inventions blending nature (water, shells) and art (fountains, architecture), nature turned into art (rocailles) and art reverting to nature (ruins). The advertisement went on to say that these inventions aimed at piquing the curiosity of connaisseurs ('piquer la curiosité du Public et des Curieux de meilleur goût') by means of extraordinary effects ('des effets bizarres singuliers et pittoresques'; '[des] formes piquantes et extraordinaires'), and it stressed asymmetry as one of these effects ('[des] formes ...dont souvent aucune partie ne répond à l'autre'). Just translate this announcement into German, and you would get, with a pinch of salt, an advertisement perfectly suited for drawing prospective buyers to such artifacts as the St Francis Xavier thesis print after Baumgartner (ill. 22): Such artifacts would be entirely lost on minds just in search of pious edification; they simply need the appreciative glance of those who want their curiosity piqued and who delight in out-of-the-way fabrications.

Augsburg, as has already been hinted at above, was not just any place producing prints in this style. There is some controversy if François de Cuvilliés the Elder (1695-1768), court architect to the Elector of Bavaria and designer of superb interiors in and around Munich, may have been the first to transplant the style to Germany, but no one could possibly doubt the pivotal role of Augsburg in spreading the style east of the Rhine. Some take it that the style here was first adopted in the early 1730s by stuccoworkers such as the Feichtmayr family, who had come to Augsburg from the area around the Benedictine abbey of Wessobrunn in Upper Bavaria (a veritable hotspot of South German Baroque); but even if print came second, it was this highly mobile and (at times at least) relatively low-cost medium which eventually was best suited for disseminating the style all through the Empire. When exactly Augsburg workshops, prominent among them those of Johann Georg Merz the Elder (1694-1762) and Johann Georg Hertel the Elder (1700-1775), started producing prints

[62] Quoted after Laing, pp. 113 f.

which either straightforwardly copy Meissonnier and his contemporaries (Jean Mondon, François Boucher, Jacques de Lajoue) or vary their inventions, is difficult to decide, as prints usually do not give a year.

Franz Xaver Habermann (1721-1796), a native of Silesia,[63] is probably the best-known of those Augsburg artists who specialized in designing prints whose main function was to depict rocaille ornaments, either for the pure pleasure of viewing, or for other artists in need of inspiration: sculptors, goldsmiths and cabinet makers as well as craftsmen decorating objects, such as china painters. Apart from designing pure ornaments (ill. 24) or objects whose appearance was frequently determined by ornaments (altars, pulpits, wrought iron gates, vases etc.), Habermann also took up a French tradition which for convenience's sake one might call 'capriccio': inventions, that is, in which architecture, figures, plants, objects etc. were freely combined with Rococo ornaments, at times with a strong bias in favour of the latter; inventions which at times make do without any clearly discernible theme, at others do have themes, such as the elements, the seasons, the months, the senses etc. 'Capriccios' incorporating ladies and gentlemen enjoying the pleasures of polite conversation, of the coffee-table, of walks in the garden or fancy-dress balls, very much became the domain of inventor-engraver-publisher Johann Esaias Nilson (1721-1788; ill. 25), already mentioned above in connection with Holzer.[64]

It does not surprise that this type of invention lends itself to certain kinds of goldwork and silverwork (the fragile pavilion in ill. 26, sheltering a group of musicians, among them an Indian beating time, once served as a luxury cruet stand on the table of the Prince Bishop of Hildesheim);[65] but so taken was Augsburg with the 'capricious' rocaille manner, if we may call it so, that it was also applied to much less frivolous subjects, as we have already seen: Structurally, a thesis print such as the one shown in ill. 22 is nothing else than a large-size 'capriccio', as ornaments here do not just add marginal embellishment, but are the backbone of the entire design, create spaces for the figures to inhabit, at times even dwarf the figures and relegate them to second rank. The print illustrating the invocation 'Spiritus sancte deus' from the Litany of Loreto, executed after a drawing by Göz (ill. 8), cannot deny this descendancy either: The way the upper part of the background architecture seems to dissolve into ornament in just one case in point.

Augsburg artists, or those inspired by their example, even went a step further and transferred this style to large-scale wall painting: In a fresco by Göz in the Dominican nuns' church at Habsthal in Wurttemberg (1748, ill. 29), the figures of the nuns praising the Virgin huddle together under a richly curving, rocaille-bedecked fabric devoid of any architectural logic, strongly reminiscent of a similar irrational edifice Göz designed for an engraving in the *Annus dierum sanctorum* (ill. 28), a Göz-Klauber collaboration featuring a saint or a feast for every day of the year. (The engraving in the *Annus* in its turn clearly harks back to French models; cf ill. 27.) In a fresco by Christoph Thomas Scheffler in the Trier church of St Paulin's (1743), to give another example, hypertrophically sprawling ro-

[63] Krull 1977.
[64] Helke.
[65] *Silber und Gold*, pp. 532-592.

caille becomes a stage for mass slaughter (ill. 30), a strange and unsettling effect far removed from the playful elegance rocaille so often is associated with.

What Baumgartner, Göz and Scheffler did here are instances of how in Germany the 'genre pittoresque' was taken to spheres the French would not have considered appropriate. In France, rocaille by and large remained secular art to be appreciated by those of a highly sophisticated taste in the privacy of their homes; if it ventured beyond the realm of print, it was employed for the decoration of intimate interiors and luxury appliances, but hardly ever found its way into official buildings or churches, apart perhaps from church furnishings. In Germany, on the other hand, and in particular in South Germany, rocaille recklessly infiltrated into religious art, took possession of all kinds of buildings, proliferated in all fields of art (print, painting, wood carving, stucco) and was thus popularized to a degree which would have been unthinkable in France.

Crisis and decline

Given that Augsburg prints and indeed Augsburg art as a whole was so closely associated with Rococo, it will not come as a surprise that the rise of Neoclassicist aesthetics in the second half of the 18th century spelt trouble: Things such as Baumgartner's St Francis Xavier thesis print or the frescoes by Göz and Scheffler just mentioned must have simply appalled dedicated proponents of Neoclassicism. As early as 1758 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who may have had kind words for Holzer but had an intense dislike for the extravagancies of Rococo, in a letter famously spat venom at 'Augsburg grimace painters' ('Augsburger Fratzen-Mahler'), as he called them;[66] and if this may be downplayed as the stance taken by a North German Protestant towards a South German culture alien to his sensibility, one should note that sceptical eyebrows soon were raised closer to home, too: In 1770, the elector in neighbouring Bavaria (an area virtually littered with Rococo art) decreed that henceforth newly built churches should abstain from 'superfluous stuccowork and other incongruous and ridiculous ornaments' and should instead strive for a 'noble simplicity suitable for places of worship'[67]; and in 1779 Augsburg art historiograph Paul von Stetten the Younger regretted that Gottfried Bernhard Göz in his paintings had often indulged in 'dazzling ornaments' to the detriment of 'good taste'.[68]

Even if Rococo had taken deep roots in Augsburg, its artists could of course not, for economic reasons alone, entirely fail to heed the changing tide of fashion. Thus, Johann Esaias Nilson sometime around 1770 had on one of his prints a young man standing next to an antique-style monument and conspicuously tearing up a sheet with the inscription 'Muschelwerk' ('shell work', i.e., rocaille); and for another example for such adaptive tenden-

[66] Johann Joachim Winckelmann: *Briefe*, vol. 1, Berlin 1952, p. 353.
[67] Büttner, p. 165.
[68] Stetten 1779, p. 328.

cies (many more could be quoted) we will turn to the last Catholic academy director Johann Joseph Anton Huber (1737-1815).[69] He was mainly a fresco painter and contributed but little to the print business; but still it is highly instructive to compare the personifications of the four continents he drew and etched early in his career with the frontispiece for a book presenting a collection of medals (*Medaillen-Werk*), executed in mezzotint in 1781 by Johann Elias Haid after a painting by Huber dating from the same year: Whereas in the first Huber shows himself expert at dealing out the charms of the 'Augsburg taste' (ill. 31), in the second he has changed sides and has cast the allegorical homage to medal collector Johann Carl von Hedlinger in an austerely neo-classicist idiom (ill. 32).

It was, though, not only a question of pruning back the ornamental exuberance of Rococo; subject matter, too, came under critical scrutiny, in particular with respect to religion. When Berlin writer, publisher and bookseller Friedrich Nicolai (1733-1811), a leading exponent of German Enlightenment, wrote down an account of his travels in Germany and Switzerland in 1781, he dedicated a whole chapter to Augsburg devotional prints, one of the best-known, and perhaps the most extensive diatribe against the 'Augsburg taste'.[70] Nicolai lashes out vociferously against these prints, which in his opinion are apt to disseminate and keep alive the worst kinds of superstitions, and the Jesuits, one of his favorite bugbears, come in for a severe mauling in this context. We will, however, only concern ourselves here with something he dwells on in connection with Gottfried Bernhard Göz, whose prints he singles out for closer inspection.[71] Nicolai grudgingly bestows some praise on Göz's 'fairly pleasing manner', on his 'facile' draughtsmanship, his 'neat' stipple engraving and his 'pretty' colour prints, but he has no patience with the 'excessively bigoted' and 'nonsensical' topics of the prints. In order to make his point, he even has an engraving by Göz copied and inserted into his text, an engraving on which three hens carry a basket with three Easter eggs representing the three theological virtues faith, love and hope: an 'altogether grotesque fancy', Nicolai rails, and is convinced that only a 'pictor catholicus' was capable of concocting such 'weird ideas' (ill. 10).

Again one might argue that this is a Protestant's view from outside which need not necessarily hint at a crisis in Augsburg or in those Catholic areas to which it exported its art, especially as Nicolai asserts that the prints so odious to him were in Augsburg still popular in all walks of life. They may indeed still have been so, but one should also consider that Göz, Nicolai's crown witness for the diseased imagination at work in Augsburg, had been dead for some 10 years when he visited the city; and the other prominent artists on whose works one is likely to draw in search of similar weird Catholic fancies had long been dead by then, too (Bergmüller: 1762, Scheffler: 1756, Baumgartner: 1761). Thus, even if prints with theological Easter eggs etc. still circulated in Augsburg in 1781, the fact that they were by and large products of days bygone indicates that the type of wit and sophistication they embody had passed its peak in South German Catholic circles, too. Circumstantial evidence for this may also be gleaned from the much-read books on homiletics written by

[69] Menath-Brosch; Hämmerle.
[70] Nicolai, vol. 8, 1787, p. 79-98, ‚Augsburgische Heiligenbilder'.
[71] Nicolai, vol. 8, 1787, pp. 81 ff.

Upper Austrian Benedictine Rudolph Graser (1728-1787), most of whose editions were published in Augsburg in the 1760s and 1770s. Graser, taking his cue from the ‚noble simplicité apostolique' postulated by the famous French archbishop and author François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715), condemns the 'unexpected ideas', 'constrained allusions', 'contrived antitheses' and 'childish puns' prevalent in many sermons of the first half of the 18th century and dismisses these artifices as 'tasteless playthings of barbaric mock erudition': terms and phrases which Nicolai certainly would have been delighted to see applied to Augsburg devotional prints.[72]

Nicolai also distorts reality to some extent when, writing about the year 1781, he says that thesis prints, which of course could not fail to arouse his contempt, still made for the largest part of the sales volume of the Klauber 'print manufacture'[73]: As early as 1765 Stetten stated that thesis prints had recently 'somewhat gone out of fashion'[74], which might be an early indication that they also would increasingly be frowned upon as strongholds of faux erudition; and when in 1773 the Jesuit order was abolished and expelled from the universities, this had more or less spelt the end for thesis prints.[75] (The Augsburg Jesuit church, frescoed by Göz, was eventually pulled down in 1871, but the splendid assembly hall of the Marian Congregation in the former college building with its frescoes by Catholic academy director Matthäus Günther has survived.) This is just one instance of another kind of challenge Augsburg publishers of religious prints would have to face up to in the years to come: The market for one of Augsburg's export hits had virtually collapsed not just because a change of taste had occurred, but also because those who had regularly ordered these items were no longer available as patrons; they had, from a commercial point of view, simply disappeared. Further important customers who had kept the Augsburg image factory busy were lost when from the 1780s onwards several waves of secularization swept through Europe: In the 1780s, reform-oriented Emperor Joseph II dissolved hundreds of monasteries in the areas where he ruled as head of the House of Habsburg (Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, but also parts of South West Germany); in 1802/03 the rulers of Bavaria as well as of Baden and Wurttemberg to the west followed suit; and a similar fate awaited the monasteries in those parts of the Empire west of the Rhine which the Peace of Lunéville (1801) had assigned to Napoleonic France. The repercussions of all these events on the book market, incidentally, also dealt a blow to Augsburg book publishing, so closely tied up with Catholicism, from which it would never properly recover.

It might at first sight been tempting to assume the crisis of religious prints was abetted because Enlightenment ideas had taken root in the hearts of people; ideas which perhaps did not turn them straight into sceptics or infidels, but possibly made them cut down on potentially print-inducing devotional practices such as pilgrimages etc. [76] But even though authorities since the later 18th century increasingly issued directives against forms of devo-

[72] Rudolph Graser: *Vollständige Lehrart zu predigen*, Augsburg 1768, p. 141; quoted after Büttner, p. 167.
[73] Nicolai, vol. 8, 1787, p. 85 f.
[74] Stetten 1765, p. 224.
[75] Appuhn-Radtke 1988, p. 18.
[76] This paragraph is based on information taken from *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (1993), pp. 957 ff. (Walter Pötzl), vol. 3 (1991), pp. 809 ff. (Walter Pötzl).

tions they considered aberrations (including, apart from excessive pilgrimage travelling, image-related traditions such as Good Friday processions with figural representations of Christ's sufferings and Holy Sepulchre installations in churches), large parts of the population tenaciously clung to the old ways, and not just in remote rustic areas: In 1804, the Catholic citizens in Augsburg insisted on a spectacular celebration of the 1500th anniversary of the martyrdom of city patron St Afra. And there are figures from Altötting in Upper Bavaria, one of the foremost pilgrimage places in South Germany, which not only show that people just would not be kept from flocking to its famous black madonna, but also that there was still a market for religious prints, even if parts of the religious infrastructure had crumbled away and allegorical flights of fancy were no longer order of the day: In the late 18th century, Altötting sold a yearly average of 3,500 devotional prints, a number which dropped around the turn of the century and reached its low in 1808 (ca. 1.800 prints sold), but afterwards was again on the rise.

Whatever market was left, though, Augsburg in the 19th century no longer figured as one of its major players, neither on a European, nor on a national level. True, the image factory did not grind to a standstill: There were new editions of the Klauber Litany (ill. 8) in 1809, 1831, 1839 and 1840, one example that the 'Augsburg taste' still had some lease of life, and Spamer in his survey of devotional prints enumerates several 19th century Augsburg engravers and print publishers. But even for him these people, whose names today even in South Germany are at best known to highly specialized print historians, were just 'able' exponents of a grand tradition slowly fading away, incapable of arresting the shift away from Augsburg to other centers of religious prints such as Prague.[77] There may be some uncertainty how sudden and dramatic the shift was, as comparatively little research has as yet gone into 19th century religious print production in Augsburg and as its actual scope is difficult to gauge, but such research is unlikely to come up with results calling for a significant reversal of judgment.

Thus, Augsburg failed to adapt when it came to secure its position on the print market, and whereas in the case of religious prints one might adduce as mitigating circumstance that the 19th century was indeed, after all, more worldly-minded than the 17th and 18th centuries, Augsburg also failed with respect to segments of the print market where demand surely was stable or even increased in the course of the 19th century, such as topography, architecture, natural sciences, news coverage or illustrating fiction. It is not as if there had not been efforts towards the end of the 18th century to go with the times and play to the market. Thus, to name just two examples, in 1777 Georg Christoph Kilian turned his attention to Ottavio Antonio Bajardi's *Antichità di Ercolano* (Naples 1757 ff.), a sumptuous book about the recent excavations in South Italian Herculanum available only to a select few, and made it accessible to a wider audience by supplying low-cost reproductions confined to outlines done in etching; and in 1792 the Engelbrecht publishing house brought out the first installments of Gottlieb Tobias Wilhelm's lavishly illustrated *Unterhaltungen aus der Naturgeschichte* ('Entertainments from natural history'), a venture redolent of Enlightenment desire to educate the public, whose considerable success kept it alive all through the

[77] Spamer, pp. 256 ff.

years of European warfare to come and which was even translated into French. But all these and similar efforts did not suffice to pave the path into the 19th century in a way which ensured Augsburg ongoing ascendancy on the print market.

This is not the place to enquire deeply into all the circumstances that concurred to dethrone Augsburg; but still, might the deterioration of craftsmanship as a consequence of the very boom prints had experienced in Augsburg be a viable explanation? After all, in 1765 Paul von Stetten complained that the high demand for prints in previous years had enticed even those into engraving who had no real talent for the craft, so that Augsburg was now home to more engravers than ever before, who, though, could not even begin to measure up to earlier generations. He also held that in their desire to simply make as much money as possible out of print, masters did no longer properly train their apprentices and often did not care about the quality of their prints, as long as they had large quantities to sell.[78] In 1779, on the other hand, the same Stetten says that the number of engravers had decreased compared to 20 years ago; a development, though, which in his opinion obviously had not gone hand in hand with the desired increase in quality.[79]

Around the same time Georg Christoph Kilian, last artistic descendant of a great dynasty, in the preface to the second volume of his Herculanum book (1778) also felt the need to pray to God that 'new generations should rise equaling my ancestors in talent, industry and will', as art was 'tottering' and in need of support, but the established Augsburg families of print artists who were not extinct yet would just die off or dwindle into insignificance in the years to come: Georg Christoph Kilian died in 1781 (his Herculanum opus as yet unfinished); Johann Baptist Klauber died in 1787 (and those descendants of the family who would keep the workshop running till 1840 were artistically of no consequence whatsoever); Johann Elias Haid died in 1809, after having officiated since 1786 as last Protestant academy director. The Rugendas family arguably was the only one from whom 19th century artists of some distinction descended: Johann Lorenz Rugendas the Younger (1775-1826), who shared the predilection for battle and warfare congenital to the family; and most notably Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802-1858), who, however, spent most of his life away from Augsburg. In the years 1821-25 and 1831 he lived and travelled in South America, producing numerous painting and drawings, many of which were subsequently used as models for lithographs.[80]

Lithography, which was invented in 1796 by Alois Senefelder in Munich and was to become one of the major 19th century reproduction techniques, provides another cue for explaining at least partially the decline of the Augsburg print business in the 19th century, as in spite of early encounters in the years 1799, the city failed to avail itself of the new technique to any significant extent.[81] There are also types of print which would probably have needed for further flourishing a more vibrant intellectual and scholarly infrastructure than Augsburg could offer, a place which had just one academy for the practical training of art-

[78] Stetten 1765, p. 247 f.
[79] Stetten 1779, p. 409.
[80] Teuscher.
[81] Gier, p. 515.

ists, but no university, and where learned societies had never really taken root. Maps might be a case in point: Publishers such as Tobias Conrad Lotter, Matthäus Seutter and Johann Michael Probst could hold their ground in the 18th century as long as it was sufficient to copy, compile and recycle the same stock of maps over and over again; but once their by then dated and old-fashioned sheets no longer appealed to buyers, Augsburg lost out to cities such as Berlin, Leipzig and Wien, where cartography was able to meet the increasing demand for scientific precision.[82]

There was decline in other areas apart from print as well. True, fresco painter Johann Joseph Anton Huber, pupil of Göz and Bergmüller, read the signs of the time, switched from Rococo to a Neoclassicism at times maddeningly statuesque and symmetrical, and just managed to carry the great Augsburg tradition of fresco painting into the 19th century (his swansong in a village church to the east of Augsburg dates from 1810); but still, it was the Munich circle of artists round King Ludwig I who would soon take the lead when it came to infusing fresh vigor into wall painting. True, too, in the 1770s and 1780s the Augsburg goldsmiths still enjoyed sufficient fame to receive substantial commissions from Catherine II of Russia; in 1788 goldsmiths in Augsburg still outnumbered, say, bakers (166:88);[83] and in 1806 there were still as many as 119 practitioners of the craft:[84] But even the market for their once coveted products inexorably went downhill in the course of the 19th century. There was some future in store for Augsburg as a city of banking, textile production and engine building, but it had definitely played out its role as a center of arts and crafts. It may be a bit of a simplification, but for the sake of a chronology easy to memorize one might say that this happened around the same time the Holy Roman Empire expired and Augsburg lost its state as an Imperial city, i.e., around 1805/06. It was in these years that Augsburg was swept into the embrace of Bavaria (electorate up to 1805, kingdom from 1806 onwards) and had thus to acquiesce into a fate which had already befallen other territories in the area, among them several Imperial cities; and it was in August 1806 that the abdication of Emperor Franz II meant the definite demise of the Empire.

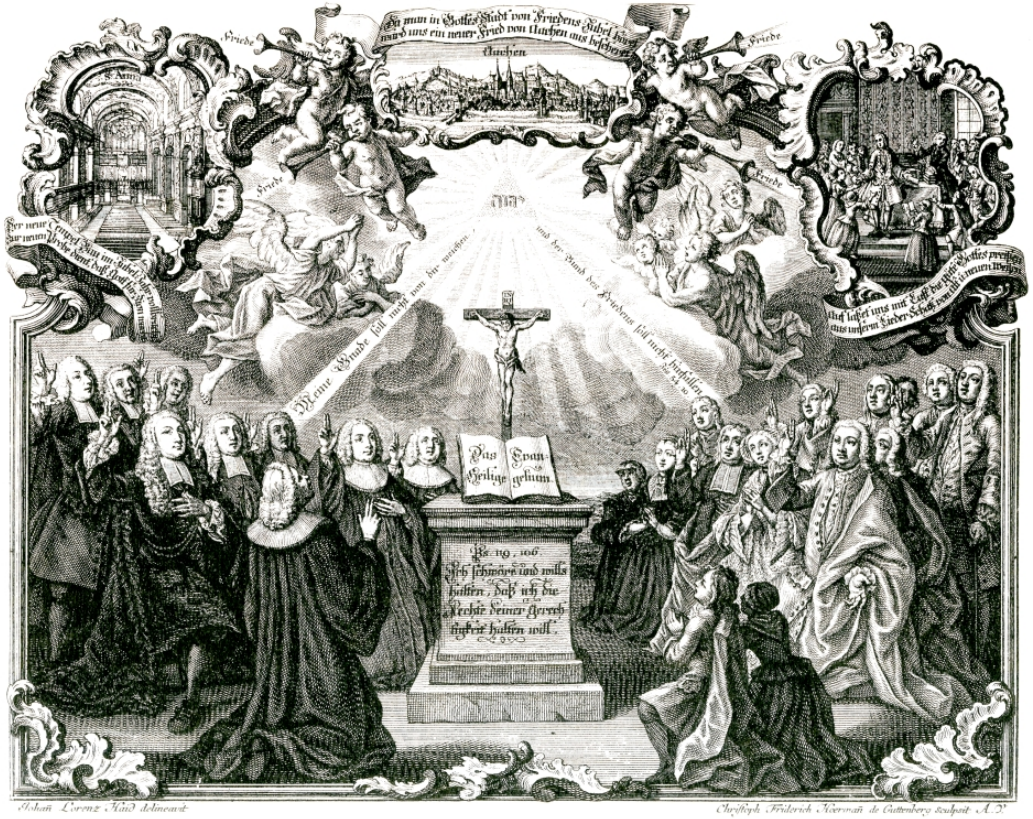
God would indeed send the ‘new generations’ of artists for which Georg Christoph Kilian had prayed in 1778. In doing so, however, God just wouldn’t show any particular preference for the city from which the prayer had risen.

[82] Ritter, p. 262 f.
[83] *Silber und Gold*, p. 65 (Ralf Schürer).
[84] *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, p. 214 (Bruno Bushart).

1 Dominicus Custos: The Augsburg humanist Marcus Fugger; from *Atrium Heroicum Caesarum […]*, vol. 2, 1601

2 Bartholomäus Kilian the Younger after Johann Christoph Storer: The world mission of the Jesuit order (thesis print; 1664 or earlier)

3 Klauber workshop: Image of St John of Nepomuk in the parish church of Wiesing, Tyrolia



4 Christoph Friedrich Hörmann von Guttenberg after Johann Lorenz Haid: Augsburg Protestants celebrating the Peace of Aachen, 1749

5 Workshop of Martin Engelbrecht: cut-out sheet

6 Jakob Andreas Friedrich after Johann Georg Bergmüller: Madonna and Christ child handing out rosaries to St Dominic and St Catherine of Siena; frontispiece to Joseph Neumayr: *Hortus Rosario-Marianus*, Eichstätt 1715

7 Johann Georg Bergmüller:
The glory of St Catherine of Alexandria; engraving after a fresco in St Katharina's in Augsburg

8 Klauber workshop after Gottfried Bernhard Göz: 'Spiritus sancte deus'; from *Litaniae Lauretanae*, Augsburg1750

9 Gottfried Bernhard Göz: The supper at Emmaus; from *Heilige Communion- und Buß-Spiegel*, Augsburg 1762

10 Copy after Gottfried Bernhard Göz: The three theological virtues; from Friedrich Nicolai: *Beschreibung einer Reise ...*, vol. 8, Berlin and Stettin 1787

11 Johann August Corvinus after Georg Philipp Rugendas the Elder and Abraham Drentwett: The conquest of Dendermonde; from *Repraesentatio Belli ob successionem in Regno Hispanico*, ca 1715

12 Johann Elias Ridinger: „Fabul: II“; from *Lehrreiche Fabeln aus dem Reiche der Thiere*, Augsburg 1743/44

13 Klauber workshop after Johann Adam Stockmann: Scenes from the Book of Genesis; from *Historiae biblicae*, Augsburg 1748

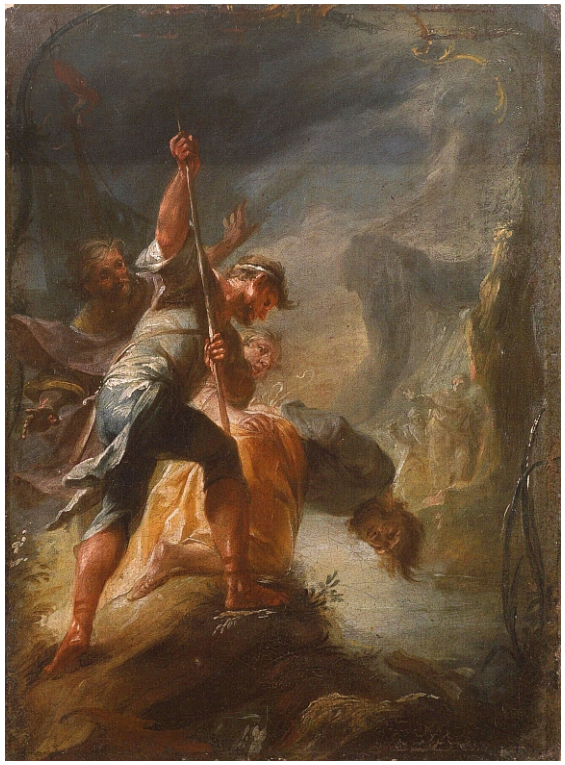
14 Johann Georg Pin(t)z after Johann Melchior Füßli and Johann Daniel Preißler: 'I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys' (Song of Solomon 2,1); from Johann Jakob Scheuchzer, *Physica sacra*, Augsburg 1727 ff.

15 Johann Esaias Nilson: The sacrifice of Isaac, after a facade fresco by Johann Evangelist Holzer; from *Ars longa, vita brevis*, 1765 ff.

16 Gottlieb I Heiß after Johann Evangelist Holzer: St Francis Xavier, called upon to join the Jesuit order; thesis print, 1739

17 Klauber workshop after Christoph Thomas Scheffler: St Thomas of Aquinas; thesis print, 1744 or earlier

18 Christoph Thomas Schefller: The coronation of the Virgin; fresco in the Jesuit church in Dillingen, 1750/51



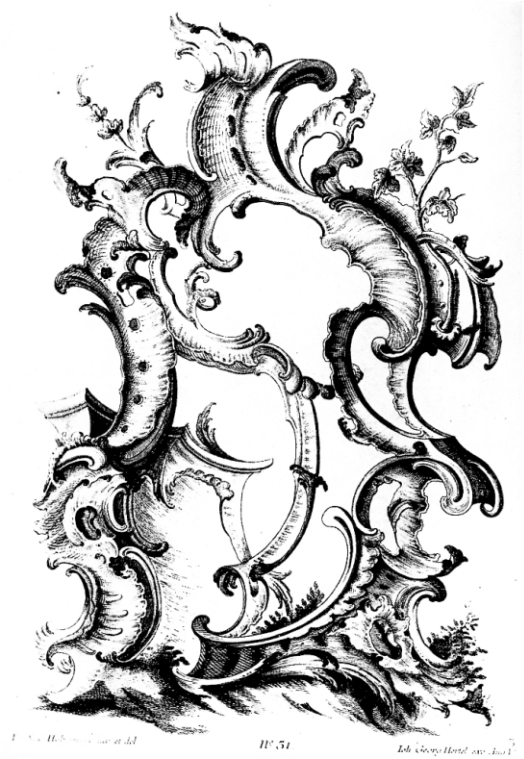
19 Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner: The martyr - dom of St Aedesius, oil sketch for an engraving, ca 1754 (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle)

20 Georg Daniel Heumann after Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner: The martyrdom of St Aedesius; from *Tägliche Erbauung eines wahren Christen*, vol. 2, 1754

21 Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner: ‚Beautiful as the moon' (Song of Solomon 6,10); fresco in the pilgrimage church of Baitenhausen, 1760

22 Klauber workshop after Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner:
St Francis Xavier and the miracle of the crab returning the cross; thesis print

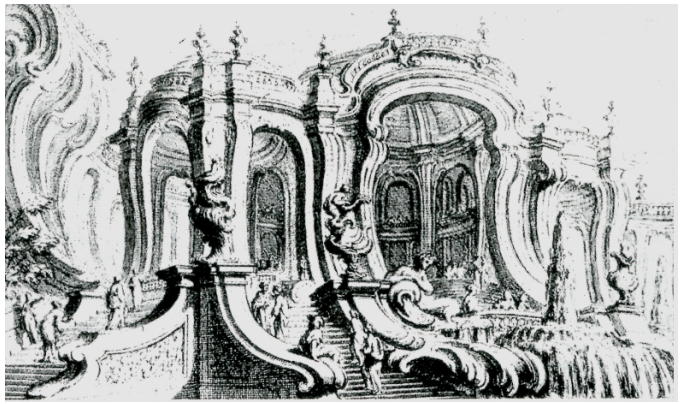
23 Klauber workshop after Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner:
St Francis Xavier sucking pus from a sick man's leg



24 Franz Xaver Habermann: rocaille ornament

25 Johann Esaias Nilson: ‚Invention d'une cascade'

26 Bernhard Heinrich Weyhe: centerpiece of a service, ca 1761/63; Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum



27 J.-A. Meissonnier: engraving from *Livre d'Ornemens*, 1734
28 Klauber workshop after Gottfried Bernhard Göz: St William of Eskill; from *Annus dierum sanctorum*, ca 1740

29 Gottfried Bernhard Göz: Dominican nuns praising the virgin; fresco in the monastery church of Habsthal, 1748

30 Christoph Thomas Scheffler: The martyrdom of the Christians of Trier; fresco in St. Paulin in Trier, 1743
31 Johann Joseph Anton Huber: America

32 Johann Elias Haid after Johann Joseph Anton Huber: Allegorical homage; frontispiece to *Des Ritters Johann Carl Hedlingers Medaillen-Werk*, Augsburg 1781

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