

PRINTS AND DRAWINGS BETWEEN ORIGINALITY,  
AUTHENTICITY AND AUTHORITY  
EXAMPLES FROM THE VALVASOR COLLECTION  
IN ZAGREB, CROATIA

Milan Pelc

Institute of Art History, Zagreb, Croatia

**KEYWORDS:**

*Johann Weichard*

*Valvasor, Justus van*

*Nypoort, prints, drawings*

**ABSTRACT**

*Processing drawings and prints from a historical collection such as Valvasor's is a very complex and demanding task. Some aspects of that complexity are analysed in this paper. The primary difficulty in the cataloguing of drawings is associated with the determination of their authorship. The questions of authorship also involve questions of authenticity or originality. Many of the drawings contained in Volume XVII of the collection were made in Valvasor's workshop as exercises by anonymous and not always overly skilled artists, who copied models from the existing prints. On the other hand, there are also drawings which served as models for prints, like ones made by Justus van Nypoort, most probably the strongest artistic personality in Valvasor's workshop. Furthermore, the paper also presents some other characteristic types of the relationship between the drawings and prints in relation to city views in Valvasor's main work *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain* (1689). It seems that Valvasor, as the main authority, sponsor and leader of the project for the creation of those city views, has deliberately suppressed on them the information about the authorship of his artist-associate Justus van Nypoort.*

The Library of the Archdiocese of Zagreb, today stored at the Croatian State Archives, holds one of the most valuable collections of prints in this part of Europe. It was owned by a versatile scholar from Carniola, Baron Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641-1693). Valvasor was a writer, researcher, publisher of important historical and topographic works, collector and artist. His library of 2,600 or so titles, along with his prints collection, was purchased around 1690 by the Zagreb Bishop Aleksandar Mikulić, who added it to the Zagreb Cathedral Library, the so-called Metropolitana.<sup>1</sup> Originally, Valvasor's prints collection consisted of 18 large folio volumes. One volume (Nr. IV) disappeared before the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The remaining 17 volumes contain 6,990 prints and 770 drawings. In more recent times, the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts published a facsimile of the entire Valvasor Collection in an expensive *de luxe* edition, which can be consulted in several European libraries.<sup>2</sup>

The work on the facsimile was completed between 2003 and 2008. This kind of work principally involves the cataloguing of each and every print and drawing, primarily entailing the identification of authors, i.e., painters, printmakers, text authors and editors who contributed to its production. However, unlike the prints, which were catalogued by a group of eight experts from Slovenia and Croatia, the drawings have remained uncatalogued, because no one could responsibly undertake such a delicate task. The renowned Slovenian art historian, Jure Mikuž, wrote an accompanying commentary for the volume, where he actually recapitulated the state of current research, but did not venture into further attribution.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 About Valvasor cf. Branko Reisp, *Kranjski polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1983); Irmgard Palladino and Maria Bidovec, *Johann Weichard von Valvasor (1641-1693): Ein Protagonist der Wissenschaftsrevolution der Frühen Neuzeit: Leben, Werk und Nachlass* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2008).
- 2 Lojze Gostiša, ed., *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, vol. I – III, V – XVIII (Ljubljana: Fundacija Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja pri Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti; Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija, Knjižnica Metropolitana, 2004-2008).
- 3 Cf. Jure Mikuž, "Drawings in Album XVII of the Valvasor Print Collection. State of Research," *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, vol. XVII (Ljubljana: Fundacija Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja pri Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti; Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija, Knjižnica Metropolitana, 2008), XXXI-II-XXXVII.

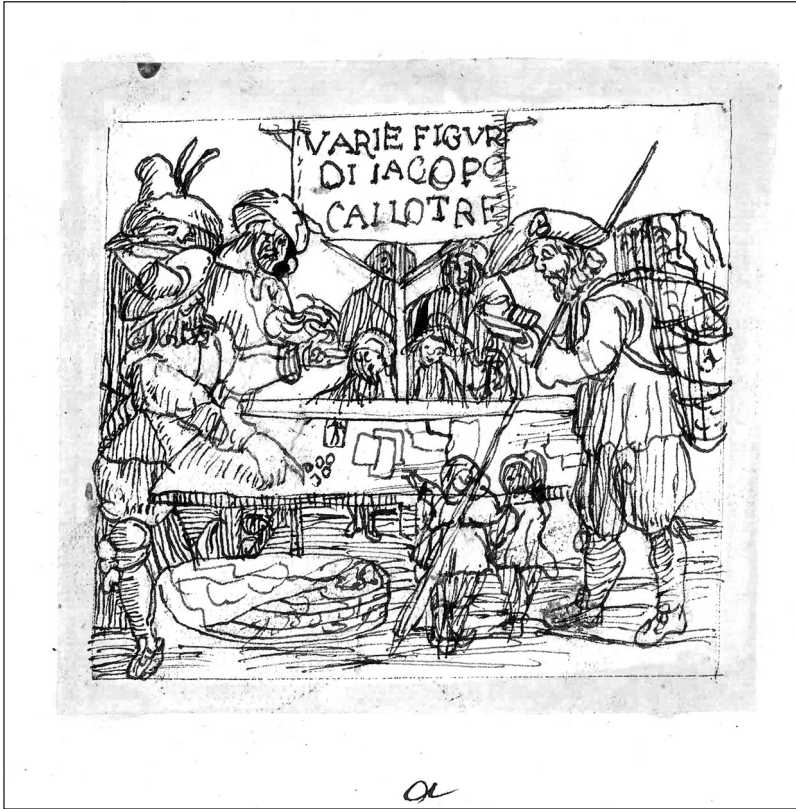
The cataloguing of drawings is a much more demanding task than the cataloguing of prints, precisely because of the difficulties in determining authorship. In the processing and especially in the attribution of drawings, specialist knowledge comes to the fore, even more than in the case of prints. Different technical methods of paper or ink analysis are definitely helpful in determining the true period in which a drawing or a print was made. An efficient approach to image recognition using a technical computing environment for visual data analysis will perhaps open new possibilities for dealing with more complicated issues, such as the recognition of authorship of prints and drawings.<sup>4</sup> Traditionally, however, in order to recognize an authentic drawing and to distinguish it from possible copies and imitations, one has to have a trained eye for the entire oeuvre of an artist, most notably his drawings. Thus, for instance, Erwin Pokorny, a specialist for the oeuvre of the Dutch painter David Teniers the Younger, at one point analysed around sixty of his drawings from Volume XVII of the Valvasor Collection.<sup>5</sup> Maybe in the not too distant future the expert will be replaced by an image processing technique, i.e., by computer software and a huge image database. However, at present we must still more or less rely on the knowledge of human experts.

Naturally, questions of authorship involve questions of authenticity or originality. Drawings are unique works of art, most often without the signature of the author. However, the uniqueness of a drawing does not rule out the possibility of it being a copy based on a model of any kind, which means that its originality may be very limited. Indeed, many of the drawings contained in Volume XVII were made in Valvasor's workshop as exercises by not overly skilled artists, who copied models from the existing prints.<sup>6</sup> One of them was Valvasor's associate, the painter Bartolomeus Jernej Ramschüssel (1664-1711), who in 1680 produced a number of pen and ink drawings (Figure 1) based on an etching series by the famous

4 For this cf. on the internet Image recognition methods US 6763148 B1, <http://www.google.com/patents/US6763148>.

5 Erwin Pokorny, „Unbekannte Zeichnungen von David Teniers dem Jüngerem in der Sammlung Valvasor,“ *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 11 (2006): 177-197.

6 Cf. Jure Mikuž, “Drawings in Album XVII,” XXIII. See also Mirna Abaffy, “Crteži i grafike – predlošci u Valvasorovoj zbirci Nadbiskupije zagrebačke,” in *Klovičev zbornik: Minijatura – crtež – grafika 1450.-1700.*, ed. M. Pelc (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2001), 187-204.



**FIGURE 1** Bartolomeus Jernej Ramschüssel, Printseller who displays his prints on a table and offers them to interested costumers, drawing. Zagreb, Valvasor Collection of the Zagreb Archdiocese, VZ XVII, 397a

French printmaker Jacques Callot, entitled *Variae figure* (1617-1621).<sup>7</sup> However, we would be mistaken to think that what Ramschüssel had in front of him were Callot's original etchings, conceived and designed as they were as miniature patterns intended for artists to exercise their own drawing skills. Ramschüssel's models were not Callot's originals, but rather were very good copies (Figure 2) made by an unknown printmak-

7 Mounted in VZ XVII, 397a-400d. Ramschüssel even signed some of the sheets with his name or monogram. One of them (VZ XVII, 399d) is signed and dated 1680.



**FIGURE 2** Unknown author, Printseller who displays his prints on a table and offers them to interested costumers, etching after Callot. Zagreb, Valvasor Collection of the Zagreb Archdiocese, VZ XIV, 128a

er and acquired by Valvasor for his collection.<sup>8</sup> Ramschüssel used these etchings as models for his drawing training, but he was unable to convey the fineness of Callot's etched line and had no desire to capture a deeper meaning hidden in the originals. How far away Ramschüssel's drawings are from the meaning of the original is best seen in the first sheet of the series, showing a print seller displaying his prints on a table and offering them to interested customers. If we were not familiar with the original, we would find it difficult to understand what Ramschüssel actually wanted to

<sup>8</sup> Mounted in VZ XIV, 128a-135b. The only original by Callot from this series is VZ XIV 136a (Peasant woman with one arm outstretched). Cf. Lojze Gostiša, *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, vol. XIV, Nr. 128a-135b, 136a.

present. However, those drawings held a certain importance for Valvasor, who decided to include them, along with many others that were similar in character, into Volume XVII.

That Valvasor was aware of the poor artistic value of many drawings is explicitly confirmed by the cover page of Volume XVII, which says: “Various sketches and drawings with mundane and spiritual themes, that are either well or badly sketched and drawn by different painters and artists.” Such a varied choice of works, without strict aesthetic criteria, fits well with the profile of the entire collection. In fact, Valvasor incorporated in his collection a series of less important engravings and woodcut prints, and sometimes even cuttings from illustrated books. This “catch-all” approach to collecting prints is a characteristic of the 17<sup>th</sup> century collectors.<sup>9</sup> Of course, one should keep in mind that Valvasor’s richer contemporaries from the aristocratic circles could afford to purchase more works by renowned artists and thus achieve a higher “artistic” level in their collections. Yet, owing to this thematic “mishmash” and the collectors’ tolerance of aesthetically less valuable prints, the Valvasor Collection provides a good insight into all forms and types of the printmaking production of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, due to the inclusion of the drawings and etchings made by his associates in Bogenšperk, it also reflects Valvasor’s own situation as a local cultural entrepreneur in Carniola at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Also falling in the category of training, but this time with a better outcome, are the drawings copied after the engravings by Albrecht Dürer and Heinrich Aldegrever, which are also preserved in Volume XVII.<sup>10</sup> Unlike Ramschüssel’s exercises in free imitation, these drawings were apparently made with a desire to copy every single move of the engraving needle in the original image. The format of the drawings fully matches the format of the engravings. The drawings, as for instance *St. George with the Dead*

9 Examples of a similar approach are the collections of the Bavarian Prince-Elector Maximilian I (1573-1651) or of the Imperial Marshall and Prince Maximilian Willibald von Waldburg (1604-1667). Cf. Stephan Brakensiek, *Vom „Theatrum mundi“ zum „Cabinet des Estampes“: Das Sammeln von Druckgraphik in Deutschland 1565-1821* (Hilesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms, 2003), 186-236. While the collection of the Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, which contained nine volumes with around 12,000 sheets, is known only thanks to the inventory list of prints, the collection of Maximilian Willibald von Waldburg is still kept at the Wolfegg Castle, Oberschwaben. This collection includes more than 120,000 sheets.

10 The drawings are mounted in VZ XVII, 113-118, 120.



FIGURE 3 Unknown author, St. George with the Dead Dragon, drawing. Zagreb, Valvasor Collection of the Zagreb Archdiocese, VZ XVII, 115b

*Dragon* after Dürer (Figure 3), convey almost all the details of the print work, but under a closer examination one can see that the copyist omitted some small parts (for example, the end of St. George's flag) or that his drawing skill was far below the artistic level of the original.<sup>11</sup> The en-

11 The drawing is mounted in VZ XVII, 115b.



**FIGURE 4** Hieronymus Wierix, St. George with the Dead Dragon, engraving about 1600. VZ XVII, 42b

gravings that served as models for these drawings are partly contained in the collection.<sup>12</sup> A comparison of the drawings and the prints from which

<sup>12</sup> The relative prints by Aldegrever are mounted in VZ XV, 70a (Hercules killing centaur Nessus), VZ XV, 71a (Hercules killing the giant Anthaeus). The prints by or after Dürer are in VZ XV, 42b. (St. George killing the dragon, copy by Hieronymus Wierix); VZ XV 53a (Peasants at the market, anonymous, reverse copy), VZ XV, 53b, (the same, copy by Hieronymus Wierix). See the descriptions in Lojze Gostiša, *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, vol. XV. The prints by Dürer that served as models for other drawings from the same draughtsman in VZ XVII are not in the collection. Perhaps the drawings are an indication that these prints had also been owned by Valvasor, but were later lost.

they were generated (Figure 4) shows the inferiority of the draughtsman, which may lead to the conclusion that the drawings were created at Valvasor's workshop. At a later date, at the lower margins of the drawings with Dürer's monogram, a rough hand inscribed in black ink an ex libris of the new owner *Bibl Metrop Zagreb* – Zagreb Metropolitan Library. It seems that someone, assuming that these were particularly valuable drawings by Albrecht Dürer, wanted to mark them forever as the Metropolitan's property.

Markings on the margins of the drawings are not rare. In some cases, the collector himself took care to indicate an author. This is, for instance, the case with the portrait of a man with a hat (Figure 5), undersigned in Valvasor's own handwriting as *Schenfeld Pictor*, which has already been examined by Mirna Abaffy.<sup>13</sup> Through this notice the drawing was connected with one of the leading painters of the early South German baroque, Johann Heinrich Schönfeld (1609-1684), who in Valvasor's time worked in Augsburg, both as a painter and an engraver.<sup>14</sup> The same figure is shown as a mirror image on an etching (Figure 6), also present in the Valvasor Collection, without the signature of the engraver but with the inscription "Schönfeld" written twice on the back side of the etching.<sup>15</sup> The drawing probably served as its starting point, but the attribution of the drawing as well as of the print to Schönfeld remains uncertain.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, if the drawing is not by Schönfeld, if neither the print nor the drawing is

13 Mounted in VZ XVII, 201, cf. Mirna Abaffy, *Crteži i grafike*, 188.

14 About Schönfeld cf. Christof Trepesch, Stefanie Müller, Wilma Sedelmeier (ed.), *Maler von Welt: Johann Heinrich Schönfeld im Bestand der Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg* (Augsburg: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010); Ursula Zeller, Maren Waïke (ed.), *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld – Werk der Götter, Heiligen und Heldenmythen* (Friedrichshafen: DuMont, 2010); Gerlinde Lütke Notarp, "Johann Heinrich Schönfeldt to Johann C. Schott," in *Hollstein's German Engravings, etchings and woodcuts 1400-1700* (Rotterdam: Sound&Vision, 2000), 3-23.

15 Mounted in VZ XII, 168, cf. Mirna Abaffy, *Crteži i grafike*, 188. Cf. also Lojze Gostiša, *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, vol. XII, 168.

16 Cf. Mirna Abaffy, *Crteži i grafike*, 188. According to M. Abaffy, this etching is of a poorer quality than other works by Schönfeld in the Valvasor Collection. Due to the formal and technical differences from other etchings by Schönfeld, M. Abaffy does not consider it as a Schönfeld's work. According to the description by Ana Lavrič in Lojze Gostiša, *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, vol. XII, 168, the etching was certainly made in Valvasor's workshop after a drawing in VZ XVII, 201. It is probably a portrait (or even a self-portrait) of the painter Johann Heinrich Schönfeld. Cf. Herbert Peé, *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld. Die Gemälde*, Berlin, 1971., 240-241, cat. nr. P1-5. Still, the resemblance of this figure with the known portraits of Schönfeld is very questionable. The drawing from the Valvasor Collection is not included in the working list of 56 drawings by Schönfeld in Hans-Martin Kaulbach, *Zeichnungen im Werk Johann Heinrich Schönfelds*, in Ursula Zeller, Maren Waïke (ed.), *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld*, 230-235.



**FIGURE 5** Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Portrait of a man with a hat, drawing. Zagreb, Valvasor Collection of the Zagreb Archdiocese, VZ XVII, 201

a portrait or a self-portrait of Schönfeld, why would Valvasor have put Schönfeld's name on them? Schönfeld, though blind in his left eye and unable to use his left hand, was a highly renowned painter, so the indication of the authorship of the drawing was probably very important to Valvasor



**FIGURE 6** Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Portrait of a man with a hat, etching. Zagreb, Valvasor Collection of the Zagreb Archdiocese, VZ XII, 168

as a guarantee of its value. But the corresponding etching must have also been somehow connected with Schönfeld, which was important to the collector too. Here we are in the terrain of uncertainties and presumptions. There is also the question of how the collector acquired the drawing

and the etching as well as the question of who actually is represented on both of them. Further research into this topic may provide some answers, but as we already know, many similar cases have remained unresolved.

The authorship connections between the drawings and the prints in the Valvasor Collection are very diverse and, in many cases, not fully understood.<sup>17</sup> Between its covers, Volume XVII contains the drawings that served as models for the prints included in other volumes, as for example a group of drawings by the Dutch painter and graphic artist Justus van der Nypoort (around 1645/49-after 1698), who spent some time working at Valvasor's Bogenšperk Castle (Wagensberg) near Litija in present-day Slovenia. It is well known that in Bogenšperk Valvasor gathered artists who produced prints for his editions, but some of them, such as van Nypoort, also made drawings and prints independently, irrespective of their direct usefulness for Valvasor. Particularly interesting among Nypoort's drawings are genre works, all of which were signed and sometime dated by the master himself. Using some of those drawings as models, Nypoort made engravings in reverse and signed most of them as well.<sup>18</sup> An example is a genre drawing called *A quack doctor pulling a tooth* and its corresponding etching (Figures 7, 8).<sup>19</sup> It shows an improvised outdoor doctor's office in which a country doctor is pulling a man's tooth, while his assistant is distilling some herbal remedy. Another man with a sick tooth is standing in the background, waiting for his turn for the treatment. The scene is permeated with an authentic sense of humour: Nypoort even signed the drawing by writing his name on a medical licence with stamps, which lies on the table to the right – the artist signed himself as a quack doctor, in a jocular and self-mocking fashion. In the engraved version of the drawing, his signature is moved to the left, below the lower edge of the image, with the marks *In (venit) et f (ecit)*, which indicate his complete authorship as

17 Cf. the examples in Mirna Abaffy, *Crteži i grafike*.

18 Uroš Lubej, "Justus van der Nypoort (Utrecht, ok. 1645/49, po 1698): življenje in delo holandskega umetnika na Kranjskem in v drugih deželah Nemeškega Cesarstva" (PhD diss., University of Ljubljana, 2008), drawings under catalogue numbers A 1 – A 40.

19 The drawing is mounted in VZ XVII, 45, the engraving in VZ VIII, 270. Cf. Renata Gotthardi-Škiljan, *Justus van der Nypoort: Grafika i crteži iz Valvasorove zbirke Nadbiskupije zagrebačke*, (Zagreb: JAZU, 1972), nr. 9 (engraving), nr. 54 (drawing). The drawing can be dated between 1677 and 1679; cf. also Uroš Lubej, "Justus van der Nypoort", Nr. A 21.



**FIGURE 7** Justus van der Nypoort, A quack doctor pulling a tooth, drawing. Zagreb, Valvasor Collection of the Zagreb Archdiocese, VZ XVII, 45



**FIGURE 8** Justus van der Nypoort, A quack doctor pulling a tooth, etching. Zagreb, Valvasor Collection of the Zagreb Archdiocese, VZ VIII, 270

an inventor and engraver. The fact that the author so carefully signed his works points to his artistic pride and desire to make his authorship highly visible.

In some cases, however, this concern for author's identification is lacking. This is the case with the panoramic views made for the topography of Carniola or, roughly, present-day Slovenia, published by Valvasor as an album of engravings under the title *Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae modernae*. It was printed by the printer Johannes Baptist Mayer in Ljubljana in 1679. Mayer printed the text, while the engravings were prepared in Bogenšperk. The book has a preface in Latin by Valvasor's friend from Croatia, the historian and writer Pavao Ritter Vitezović. In addition to the title-page engraving, made by Andreas Trost, Valvasor's important collaborator in Bogenšperk, the album includes 319 views of cities, market towns, monasteries and castles within the borders of the then Duchy of Carniola, which also encompassed a large part of Istria and the Croatian Littoral.<sup>20</sup> For each engraved view a drawing was first made in the field and later transferred to a copper plate at the Bogenšperk workshop. Most of those drawings are preserved in the so-called *Book of Sketches*, which is still held at the Metropolitan Library. *The Book of Sketches* is an album in which Valvasor, neatly and in alphabetical order, inserted and bound all the field-made panoramic views that had been prepared for the topography of Carniola.<sup>21</sup>

An attempt to analyse those drawings and engravings once again raises the question of authorship. The question is made all the more complicated by the fact that the creation of as many as 300 engraved views assumed the

20 The copy of this book held by the Metropolitana Library (originally from the Valvasor's Library) was stolen in 1987; cf. Božena Kukulja and Vladimir Magić, *Bibliotheca Valvasoriana. Katalog knjižnice Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja* (Ljubljana-Zagreb: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1995), nr. 2414. Some copies are held by the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana and in the National and University Library in Ljubljana. Facsimile edition: Janez Vajkard Valvasor, *Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae modernae*, ed. Branko Reisp (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1970), with an introductory study by Branko Reisp, *Janez Vajkard Valvasor in njegova Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae modernae iz leta 1679*, 1-18.

21 The original does not have a cover or title page. It is usually referred to as: *Skicna knjiga za topografiju Kranjske, 1678.-1679.*, held in the Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese, MR 199. In the catalogue by Božena Kukulja, Vladimir Magić, *Bibliotheca Valvasoriana*, nr. 2408, it is described as: 'Knjiga načrtov za delo „Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae modernae“'. The facsimile edition was published under the title: Janez Vajkard Valvasor, *Topografija Kranjske 1678-1679. Skicna knjiga*, ed. Branko Reisp. (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2001).

participation of several draftsman and engravers. Field sketches, however, seem to have been made mostly by the same draftsman, which is clearly visible from his drawing style. The researchers of the Valvasor Collection have long been puzzled by the question: who was the draftsman? Some earlier authorities – F. Stelé, E. Cevc and B. Reisp – thought that Valvasor himself created the drawings, along with the very vivid descriptions of each locality.<sup>22</sup> The descriptions and the drawings clearly show that their author visited those sites.

However, as shown by concurrent studies by Uroš Lubej, things are not that simple. Lubej demonstrates, beyond any doubt, that Valvasor was not a good enough draftsman to be able to produce such high-quality drawings as are, for the most part, those contained in *The Book of Sketches*.<sup>23</sup> After a careful analysis, Lubej was able to establish that most of them were created by the aforementioned Justus van Nypoort.<sup>24</sup> Lubej, whose doctoral thesis was on Nypoort's oeuvre, demonstrated that the pen and ink technique with graded wash, which was used in the creation of the drawings in Volume XVII signed by Nypoort, and the one used in the drawings from *The Book of Sketches* are from the same hand. The drawings must have been finished by 1679, i.e., before the album with the engraved views of Carniola was published. This corresponds with the time of Nypoort's documented stay in the circle of Valvasor's associates in Bogenšperk.<sup>25</sup> In this case, an art historian specialized in the oeuvre of an artist was able to penetrate into the secret of the authorship of unsigned drawings, proving

22 Cf. France Stele, "Valvasorjev krog in njegovo grafično delo", *Glasnik muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 9 (1928): 5-50; Branko Reisp, *Kranjski polihistor*, 123; Emilijan Cevc, "J. V. Valvasor kot mentor slikarjev", in *Janez Vajkard Valvasor Slovencem in Evropi: Johann Weichard Valvasor to the Slovenes and to Europe*, (Ljubljana: Narodna galerija, 1989), 169-199, particularly pg. 194; Branko Reisp, "Valvasorjeva skicna knjiga za topografijo Kranjske", in: Janez Vajkard Valvasor, *Topografija Kranjske*, 3-17. Here Reisp does not take into account Lubej's doubts about Valvasor's authorship of the drawing, presented in the article by Uroš Lubej, "Justus van der Nypoort na Kranjskem", *Varstvo spomenikov. Journal for the protection of Monuments* 37 (1997): 54-62. Recapitulating once again the older theses, L. Gostiša attributes all the drawings, executed in the then most widespread techniques – ink wash, chalk drawing, pen and ink drawing – to Valvasor; cf. Lojze Gostiša, "Poskus likovne označitve risarskega opusa Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja", *Vis imaginis. Baročno slikarstvo in grafika. Jubilarni zbornik za Anico Cevc* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2006), 381-399.

23 Cf. Uroš Lubej, "Justus van der Nypoort", 98 ff.

24 125 drawings were made in red chalk and 225 in pen and ink, washed or unwashed, as well as the sketch for the cover. Cf. *Ibid.*, 180-206; on Nypoort's drawing technique 103 ff.

25 Cf. *Ibid.*, 13 ff.

that they belonged precisely to that artist! It is at first sight surprising that Nypoort, mentioned above as a proud draftsman and printmaker, did not leave his signatures on those drawings. The reason probably lies in the nature of drawing city views, which does not require the same degree of originality as do genre drawings or prints.<sup>26</sup> Apparently, the field sketching of city views was not thought to be an inventive and original work, but rather a technical task whose results would undergo two additional phases: 1. copying the original drawing in reverse; 2. engraving this copy to a copper plate. Valvasor himself, as the main authority, supervised the entire work and, as demonstrated by Lubej, made corrections already in the drawings, especially in relation to the titles of city views.<sup>27</sup>

Now, however, we face a new puzzle. Most of the engravings in *The Topography of Carniola* album were signed not only by different engravers, such as Andreas Trost, Pavao Ritter Vitezović and Peter Mungerstorff, but also by Valvasor, who marked them with his monogram and the note: *delineavit* – indicating himself as the author of the drawings based on which the engravings were made. A number of engravings remained unsigned. Ten years later, Valvasor included those engravings, along with numerous new city views, into his masterpiece *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Krain*, published in Nuremberg in 1689. In the introductory notes to the 11th book of this great encyclopaedia of Carniola, which contains descriptions of cities and their images, Valvasor stresses – on two occasions – that what he presents before the reader are not only the descriptions of the cities and castles, but also their images (*Abrisse*), “[...] which were drawn by my own hand, according to the actual situation on site.” In the spirit of his patriotic enthusiasm he continues: “This way, the entire world will find out that this Duchy, which has been subject to Austrian rule, is equally excellent as any other, and in many things even more delightful (*köstlicher*).” In the end, he stresses again that the engravings (having actually in mind the drawings they were based on) were drawn (*abgeschildert*) by his own hand, on the spot.<sup>28</sup>

26 Cf. *Ibid.*, 111.

27 Cf. *Ibid.*, 105.

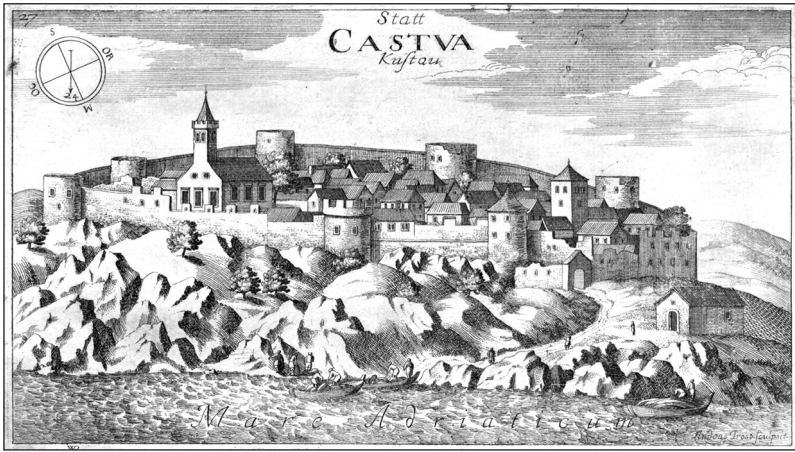
28 Johann Weichard Valvasor, *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Krain* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1689), Book 11, Kurzer Vorbericht, 3 f.



FIGURE 9 Justus van der Nypoort, View of Kastav, drawing. *Skicna knjiga za topografiju Kranjske*, 1678.-1679., The Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese, MR 199.

All of this speaks in favour of the older opinion that Valvasor was the author of the drawings.<sup>29</sup> Still, a keen eye can recognize Nypoort's hand in them. I will try to illustrate this complicated relation by means of the drawing of the town of Kastav (Figure 9), which at the time, together with other towns on the Liburnian coast, all the way to Rijeka (St. Veit am Flaum), belonged to the Duchy of Carniola. The alleged Nypoort's drawing of Kastav, made in pen and brown-ink wash, is similar to most of the other drawings in *The Sketchbook*. The town is shown on a hill, but at a short distance from the sea, which is actually unrealistic since it can hardly be seen from there. However, the town had its own little port, which is visible

29 For example, a leading authority on Valvasor, Branko Reisp, in Janez Vajkard Valvasor, *Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae moderna*, 5 ff. considers Valvasor as the author of most of the original drawings. In the commentary to the facsimile edition of *The Topography of Carniola* Reisp writes: "The author of the Book of Sketches and its successor, the album with engravings of Carniola, was Janez Vajkard Valvasor, not only as its initiator, patron, organizer and investor, but also as the main creator and the final editor of the pictures. This conclusion stems from his own statements in several places in his works [...]": Reisp, "Valvasorjeva skicna knjiga za topografijo Kranjske", 17.



**FIGURE 10** Andreas Trost, View of Kastav, engraving, in: JANEZ VAJKARD VALVASOR, *Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae modernae*, Ljubljana, Johannes Baptist Mayer, 1679.

on the drawing. The contact with the sea was of a crucial importance for the town, while the information about it had an indispensable value for the viewers.<sup>30</sup>

Nypoort's drawing served as a model for an engraving by Andreas Trost – one of the most important engravers of Valvasor's workshop in Bogenšperk – which was published in *The Topography of Carniola* album (Figure 10). Trost signed himself as the author at the bottom right of the engraving, using the formula: *Andreas Trost sculpsit*. In this way, he made it clear that he was only the engraver, while the original drawing, used as the basis for his engraving, was created by another author, whose work is denoted with the term *delineavit*. That other artist, as appears from the reference in the engraving, was Valvasor himself. He signed the bottom left corner below the line of the frame, with the monogram: WD (*Valvasor delineavit*).

Thus, the same question arises again: how is this possible if, according to the compelling analysis of Uroš Lubej, the city views preserved in *The Book of Sketches* were created by Justus van Nypoort? Perhaps it was pos-

30 The same is true for the city views of Brseč, Moščenica and Veprinac – other Liburnian towns above the sea in Valvasor's book that had their own little ports.



**FIGURE 11** Justus van der Nypoort, View of Ljubljana, drawing. *Skicna knjiga za topografiju Kranjske*, 1678.-1679., The Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese, MR 199

sible because, according to Lubej, there must have been a concrete field cooperation between the two authors. Nypoort and Valvasor toured together the towns of Carniola, and while Valvasor was surveying and describing locations, Nypoort was creating field sketches, which ended up as final drawings in *The Book of Sketches*.<sup>31</sup> This is clearly confirmed on the drawing with the city view of Ljubljana in *The Sketchbook* (Figure 11). Its foreground to the left shows both of the participants in the creation of the city view – the painter, sitting and sketching, and the writer behind him, describing and surveying. Some objects in the city view are marked with letters, which are explained in a separate, printed legend. This part was also Valvasor's task. According to Lubej, Nypoort's drawings served as an operational basis for Valvasor, who corrected them linguistically and editorially, and supplemented them with a compass rose.<sup>32</sup> It seems, however, that the possibility of Valvasor's even more direct involvement in the creation of the drawings, for instance through the production of auxiliary sketches based on his surveying, or through copying the original drawings in reverse, should not be excluded either. All these forms of participation were probably the reason why Valvasor denoted himself as the author of

31 Cf. Uroš Lubej, "Justus van der Nypoort na Kranjskem", 56.

32 Cf. *Ibid.*

most of the model drawings, and, as Lubej put it, Nyport has remained in his shadow.<sup>33</sup> However, the entire situation is further complicated by the fact that Valvasor's monogram is present in most of the engravings in *The Topography of Carniola* album, but not in all of them. There are about thirty engravings without his signature, mostly the city views based on the drawings made in red chalk. Lubej again attributes them to Nypoort.<sup>34</sup> It seems that in these cases Valvasor, although a "big name" and renowned authority, felt more respect for his associate's authorship, though he did not show it by putting his name on the plates, but rather by dropping his own.

About ten years later, Valvasor used the plates from *The Topography of Carniola* album for his monumental main work *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Krain* (1689), but he had them cropped and adjusted to the new book format.<sup>35</sup> In addition to this, Valvasor ordered some completely new city views, which were not present in *The Topography of Carniola* album, for instance Volosko – Volovska, Trieste, and many others. Finally, and most interestingly, some views were made again as adjusted and simplified copies of Trost's engravings from *The Topography of Carniola* album: Alben, Antignana, Auersperg von der Hinterseiten, Brseč, Biben, Bilichgraz, Bishafflackh, Burgstall, Castva, Cirkniz, Crainburg, Creuz, Drogembl, Egg, Fischern, Freidenthal, Freienthurn, Gallenek, Gimpl, etc. The question of why Valvasor in these cases did not use the adjusted original plates from *The Topography of Carniola* album remains unanswered. Perhaps they were damaged, worn out, lost or destroyed? We do not know. However, I hope that from this short recapitulation, based mostly on the results of the previous research, we can get an impression of how demanding the process of creating those city views was and how uncertain the process of determining the authorship in such cases must be.

Irrespective of how much Valvasor was involved in the creation of the

33 Cf. Uroš Lubej, "Justus van der Nypoort", 98 ff.

34 Cf. Uroš Lubej, "Justus van der Nypoort na Kranjskem", 56.

35 These are, for instance, the views of Moščenica, which was cropped from the left side; St. Iacobi, cropped from the right side; Žminj, cropped from the right side (whereby the signature of P. Ritter was cut out); Veprinac, cropped from the right side; Beram, cropped from the left side (whereby the monogram VD was cut out, but the monogram R., and even the numeration from *The Topography of Carniola* album, remained – this was more often the case) and so on.

city views as an author, what is most important from the cultural-historical point of view is his attempt to provide his readers and viewers with the most exact possible written and visual information about the towns, castles, monasteries and fortresses represented in his work. Although the name of Valvasor stands for the credibility of the written and visual information offered to the users of his albums and books, we always have to bear in mind that it was achieved through complex teamwork with different grades of originality. The final result is impressive – a huge and amazing collection of authentic visual documents with a relatively high level of artistic and information value.

## REFERENCES

- ABAFFY, MIRNA. "Crteži i grafike – predloži u Valvasorovoj zbirci Nadbiskupije zagrebačke," in *Klovičev zbornik: Minijatura – crtež – grafika 1450.-1700.*, ed. M. Pelc. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2001., 187-204.
- BRAKENSIEK, STEPHAN. *Vom "Theatrum mundi" zum "Cabinet des Estampes": Das Sammeln von Druckgraphik in Deutschland 1565-1821.* Hilesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms, 2003.
- CEVC, EMILIJAN. "J. V. Valvasor kot mentor slikarjev," in *Janez Vajkard Valvasor Slovincem in Evropi: Johann Weichard Valvasor to the Slovenes and to Europe.* Ljubljana: Narodna galerija, 1989., 169-199.
- GOSTIŠA, LOJZE, ed. *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, vol. I – III, V – XVIII. Ljubljana: Fundacija Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja pri Slovenskoj akademiji znanosti in umetnosti; Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija, Knjižnica Metropolitana, 2004-2008.
- GOSTIŠA, LOJZE. »Poskus likovne označitve risarskega opusa Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja,« in *Vis imaginis. Baročno slikarstvo in grafika. Jubilarni zbornik za Anico Cevc*, Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in

- umetnosti, 2006, 381-399.
- GOTTHARDI-ŠKILJAN, RENATA. *Justus van der Nypoort: Grafika i crteži iz Valvasorove zbirke Nadbiskupije zagrebačke*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1972.
- KUKOLJA, BOŽENA and VLADIMIR MAGIĆ. *Bibliotheca Valvasoriana. Katalog knjižnice Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja*, Ljubljana-Zagreb: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1995.
- LUBEJ, UROŠ. "Justus van der Nypoort na Kranjskem," in *Varstvo spomenikov. Journal for the protection of Monuments*, 37 (1997): 54-62.
- LUBEJ, UROŠ. "Justus van der Nypoort (Utrecht, ok. 1645/49, po 1698): življenje in delo holandskega umetnika na Kranjskem in v drugih deželah Nemškega Cesarstva", PhD diss., University of Ljubljana, 2008.
- MIKUŽ, JURE. "Drawings in Album XVII of the Valvasor Print Collection. State of Research," *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, vol. XVII. Ljubljana: Fundacija Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja pri Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti; Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija, Knjižnica Metropolitana, 2008, XXXIII-XXXVII.
- GERLINDE LÜTKE NOTARP. „Johann Heinrich Schönfeldt to Johann C. Schott,“ in *Hollstein's German Engravings, etchings and woodcuts 1400-1700*. Rotterdam: Sound&Vision, 2000, 3-23.
- PALLADINO, IRMGARD and MARIA BIDOVEC. *Johann Weichard von Valvasor (1641-1693): Ein Protagonist der Wissenschaftsrevolution der Frühen Neuzeit: Leben, Werk und Nachlass*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2008.
- HERBERT PEÉ. *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld. Die Gemälde*. Berlin, 1971.
- POKORNY, ERWIN. "Unbekannte Zeichnungen von David Teniers dem Jüngeren in der Sammlung Valvasor," *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 11 (2006): 177-197.
- REISB, BRANKO. *Kranjski polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor*. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1983.
- REISB, BRANKO. "Valvasorjeva skicna knjiga za topografijo Kranjske," in Janez Vajkard Valvasor. *Topografija Kranjske*, 3-17.
- STELE, FRANCE. "Valvasorjev krog in njegovo grafično delo," *Glasnik muzejskega društva za Slovenijo*, 9 (1928): 5-50.
- CHRISTOF TREPESCH, STEFANIE MÜLLER, WILMA SEDELMEIER (ed.). *Mal-*

- er von Welt: Johann Heinrich Schönfeld im Bestand der Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg.* Augsburg: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010.
- VALVASOR, JOHANN WEICHARD. *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Krain.* Nürnberg: Endter, 1689.
- VALVASOR, JANEZ VAJKARD. *Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae modernae,* ed. Branko Reisp. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1970.
- VALVASOR, JANEZ VAJKARD. *Topografija Kranjske 1678-1679. Skicna knjiga,* ed. Branko Reisp. Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2001.
- URSULA ZELLER, MAREN WAIKE (ed.). *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld – Welt der Götter, Heiligen und Heldenmythen.* Friedrichshafen: DuMont, 2010.

## GRAFIKE I CRTEŽI IZMEĐU ORIGINALNOSTI, AUTENTIČNOSTI I AUTORITETA PRIMJERI IZ VALVASOROVE ZBIRKE NADBISKUPIJE ZAGREBAČKE

### KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

*Johann Weichard  
Valvasor, Justus van  
Nypoort, crteži, grafike*

### SAŽETAK

*Obrada crteža i grafika u povijesnoj zbirci poput Valvasorove vrlo je složen i zahtjevan zadatak. Neki aspekti te složenosti analizirani su u ovom radu.*

*Katalogizacija građe provedena tijekom rada na faksimilnom izdanju čitave zbirke, objavljenom između 2005. i 2008. godine pod naslovom Iconotheca Valvasoriana (voditelj projekta i urednik Lojze Gostiša), pokazala je, između ostalog, da je primarna poteškoća povezana s utvrđivanjem autorstva. U pitanjima autorstva prelamaju se, pak, i pitanja autentičnosti odnosno originalnosti. Pritom je atribucija crteža, uvezanih u XVII. svezak zbirke, mnogo delikatniji zadatak od atribucije grafika. Crteži su unikatna djela, najčešće bez potpisa autora, no unikatnost crteža ne isključuje mogućnost da se radi o kopiji prema nekom predlošku bilo koje vrste – što znači da mu originalnost može biti vrlo ograničena. Dapače, mnogi su crteži u XVII. svesku nastali u Valvasorovoj radionici kao vježbe anonimnih, ne uvijek pretjerano vještih umjetnika, koji su kopirali predloške s grafika. Unatoč njihovoj niskoj umjetničkoj vrijednosti za Valvasora su ti crteži imali određenu važnost koja ga je i potakla da ih, kao i mnoge druge slične po karakteru uvrsti u XVII. svezak. Zahvaljujući tematskom „svaštarenju“ i tolerantnosti kolekcionara prema estetski manje vrijednim grafikama, Valvasorova zbirka omogućava jedinstven uvid u presjek svih oblika i vrsta grafičke produkcije 17. st. U radu su prikazani još neki karakteristični oblici odnosa crteža i grafika s obzirom*

na originalnost i autentičnost, posebice kad je riječ o bakroreznim vedutama u Valvasorovom glavnom djelu *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain* (1689.). Kao glavni autoritet, naručitelj i voditelj projekta izrade tih veduta Valvasor je, kako se čini, na njima svjesno suprimirao autorstvo svog umjetnika-suradnika i crtača predložaka Justusa van Nypoorta.